Religion in the Armies of the Thirty Years War

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A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (D.Phil.)

Trinity Term 2022

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Short abstract

The aim of this thesis is to provide a full and balanced picture of religion and confession in the principal armies of the Thirty Years War. This demands treating religion as a historical factor in its own right rather than as merely a function of others, and distinguishing between its many facets, for example (and foremost) institutional religion (structure) and contingent religion (agency of individuals and groups). The overall picture of religion in the armies is given definition throughout the thesis via further comparisons and distinictions such as between Protestant and Catholic armies, individuals and groups, clergy and laity, and army leaders and common soldiers. A scope of religion which considers everything from individuals' "actual beliefs" to the armies' enforcement of rulers' policies shows that religion's importance did not decline over the course of the war (in some ways it increased), but only changed shape.

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Long Abstract

Rightly or wrongly, the Thirty Years War is generally considered the last and greatest of Europe's "religious wars", yet few have paid much attention to the beliefs of those who fought it. In the place of researched views on religion in the armies of the war are conflicting tropes, such as generals known for their piety leading armies known for their wickedness, or a soldiery aloof to religion and confession, somehow produced by a society in which religion influenced most aspects of life, fighting a "religious" war. A multi-confessional soldiery has been taken as proof of religious, and especially confessional, indifference of and in armies, and allowed the subject to be safely ignored. Furthermore, the subject of religion itself has for decades been dominated by debate – largely within German historiography – surrounding the confessionalization thesis. Though many contributions to this historiography remain relevant, its emphatically structural approach carried a materialistic conception which instrumentalized religion as a function of political, economic, and social factors. Traditional political and military histories have tended to privilege "hard" material factors, and accordingly conceive of armies primarily in terms of their purpose – making war – rather than in terms of their status as social entities.

This thesis is the first general study of religion in the armies of the Thirty Years War and seeks to answer recent calls for an approach which examines religion as a force of its own – religion *qua* religion, rather than religion *qua* politics, economics, or otherwise. It makes use of scholarship on confessionalization as well as more recent work in religious ambiguity and coexistence, examining not only religion *of* armies – often conceived of as a proxy for political loyalty and a source of motivation *ad bellum*

– but also religion *in* armies, which sees religion *in bello* as a human and social reality within the community of the army. This thesis commences by covering source material favoured by most historians of the war, such as official records of all kinds generated by the armies themselves and eyewitness accounts of combatants and civilians, but relies on material which has been mostly overlooked by studies of early modern European armies: a variety of types of sources generated by clergy themselves who were serving in the armies, including diaries, histories, sermons, correspondence, regulations, and devotional literature. Together these sources tell a story of a military environment far more permeated by religion/belief than has been recognized.

The body of the thesis is divided into two parts, in reflection of the institutional vs. social aspects of an army. Part I, "Structure: Religion and the Army as an Institution", begins with a chapter on army administration focusing on official sources generated by armies, which of all source types have received the most attention from historians of the war. These include muster rolls, expense reports, court records, recruiting pamphlets, and official correspondence. The chapter explains why religion, and especially confession, is markedly absent from many official sources and shows how heavy reliance upon these sources can make religion seem to have been absent from army life. However, a close look at military oaths, articles of war, regimental standards, and cooperation between military and ecclesial authorities reveals religion emerging nearer to the surface of army administration in the Thirty Years War. "Confessional" here is to be understood simply as denoting religious particularity, as opposed to a common, yet misleading use of the term to mean (religiously) "polemical", or "antagonistic".

Chapters III and IV expand this line of inquiry into an area of the institutional army which has been almost completely ignored until now: the field chaplaincies. Acting as mobile dioceses, they were intimately involved with the daily operation of the armies from the top to bottom of the ranks. The chapters detail the makeup of the chaplaincy and the background and daily experience of chaplains, based on 406 chaplains in the armies this study has identified by name. The key argument is that chaplaincies were on the whole larger, more organized, more influential, and more confessional than has been recognized. Furthermore, they increased in these respects throughout the war, which directly opposes the standard narrative of religion having decreased in importance as the war progressed. That the religious – and confessional – organizations of field chaplaincies were part of the institutional army itself is a fact which must be addressed by historians of the war.

Part II, "Agency: Religion and the Army as a Social Group" is composed of two long chapters. Chapter V considers religion as a function of the individual soldier and officer, particularly highlighting the importance of their agency and subjectivity. Unsurprisingly, some individuals were very devoted, many had some religion, and some had very little. Many in each of these groups also held beliefs relating to the occult and superstition. Chapter VI examines religion as a function of the group, touching on questions of group identity, norms, and massed action *in extremis.* Both Chapters V and VI (but particularly Chapter VI) address the importance of hierarchical military relationships in shaping religion's role in the army at a given time. Part II shows that religiosity in the armies was in most of its forms explicitly confessional, though it remained within understood boundaries enough to successfully coexist with a military culture that carefully avoided confessional antagonism, as well

as with the subset of soldiers who demonstrated irreverence, scorn, and disgust for religion.

The thesis concludes with an expansion of its main argument that religion played a major role in the life of the armies of the Thirty Years War, by tying together its multiple strands in a recasting of the perennial debate surrounding religion's role in the war. It highlights that religion merits recognition as a variable at least as important as those which for the last century have received the lion's share of attention by histories of the war and of early modern central European armies, such as politics, economics, tactics, and profiles of individual units and combatants.

Acknowledgements

I owe thanks to many who have generously helped me in the completing of this thesis. First to Peter Wilson, who at the beginning of the project pushed me to expand its scope and ambition beyond what I thought was even possible, and who throughout has been exceedingly insightful, reliable, and forbearing.

No less thanks are owed especially to my tutors at the masters level, to Steve Gunn for his feedback at key stages, and to Lyndal Roper for going out of her way to provide a friendly gathering place in the early modern German history workshop. Also to members Martin Christ, Ryan Asquez, Mette Ahlefeldt-Laurvig, and Natalie Cobo for their feedback and fellowship.

I am very appreciative of the support for this project granted by the Jenkins Memorial fund, the Europaeum, Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, the Oxford History Faculty, the Society for Army Historical Research, and the Reynolds Fund at New College.

In my research year in Munich Prof. Dr. Mark Hengerer was the picture of hospitality in introducing me to LMU, the city, and to German academic culture, for which I am deeply grateful. Thanks are also owed to Gerhard Immler and Monika von Walter for advising me on source material, to the rest of the professional staff at the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, and to Nik Funke and Derek Stauff who shared generously from their research on similar topics.

A highlight of the doctorate was the friendship of historians Tom Pert, Jan Lutheroth, Lucia(n) Staiano-Daniels, and Ilya Berkovich, and the intellectual companionship of Malte Oppermann, Abi Mues, and Jon Askonas. I am grateful also to Mark Almond, Emilie Noteboom, and Victor Garcia Ruíz for their input and encouragement at the outset and throughout this project.

Melissa, Mary, Erin, and Bethany, thank you deeply for your love, support, patience, and world-beating good cheer. I am indebted to you. Chrissie and Hugh John, thank you for your massive support and friendship; also Irene Dalichow, Roxana, and the Familie Kam.

Throughout this project I have been increasingly grateful for the support and character of the family I was born into – Mom, Dad, Bryson, and Conley – and of those who have gone before us. This thesis is dedicated to them.

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Abbreviations and conventions

DKA = Dreißigjähriger Kriegs Akten

FHAS = Fürstlich Hatzfeldt-Wildenburg'sches Archiv Schönstein

HHStAW = Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden

HSD = Hessisches Staatsarchiv Darmstadt

HSM = Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg

KuBayÄA = Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv

LBW = Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg

LSA = Landesarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt

NLW = Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv Wolfenbüttel

RACA = Rodinný archiv Clary – Aldringenove

RACG = Rodinný archiv Clam-Gallas

RAS = Rodinný archiv Šliků

SHD = Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden

SI = Stadtarchiv Ingolstadt

fl. = Florin

kr. = Kreuzer

rt. = Reichsthaler

th. = North German Thaler

dr. = Swedish Riksdaler

English city names (and spellings) of German cities are usually used where they exist (e.g., Cologne; Munich) whereas in cases where city names have changed over time, the name used is the same used by the relevant source itself (e.g., Breslau, not Wrocław). German personal names are usually left in the German; excepting where an individual's name and/or title is familiar in English, (e.g., "Maximilian of Bavaria", not "von Bayern"; "Johann Georg of Saxony", not "von Sachsen"). German personal and city names are spelled as found in the relevant text, unless there are multiple

spellings, in which case the most common variation is used (e.g., "Johann Tserclaes von Tilly").

Certain key words which lack a desirable English translation are introduced with a translation the first time they are used, but kept in the German when used subsequently, (e.g., *Passauer Kunst*). Archaic usage of the forward slash (/) in quotations and publication titles is replaced with a comma. Periodically the German convention of "f." and "ff." attached to a page number or range (e.g., "pp. 77f.") is employed to signify smaller and larger ranges, respectively, of a few relevant pages which follow on from the cited page number or range. Folio numbers of archival material are listed where they are paginated (usually they are not). Dates are new style.

Chapter I. Introduction

This thesis takes up the task of "putting religion back into the Wars of Religion". The memorable phrase from Mack Holt's 1993 article pointed out a curiosity of much twentieth century historiography of the so-called "Wars of Religion", namely that religion seems to have played virtually no discernable role.[1] Especially in the prevailing narrative of the Thirty Years War and its armies over the last century, religion has, aside from a few exceptions, typically appeared as little more than a subcategory of Imperial constitutional politics. One result is the strange paradox of apparently religiously indifferent armies fighting a three-decade-long "War of Religion". The thesis resolves this with a whole account of religion in the armies of the war – one still referenced in popular and political discourse as a pivotal moment in western political history, and in that of the German and Czech peoples.

Twentieth-century social historians of the Reformation era, including proponents of the confessionalization thesis such as Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard, commendably sought to distance themselves from the preceding century's *Kulturkampf* polemical-confessional historiography which refought the Reformation on paper. But where the nineteenth century historiography wanted balance, the twentieth century veered to the opposite extreme, emphasizing material and structural factors to the point of ignoring immaterial or subjective ones. The thinking behind this stance was captured by Henry Heller in his rebuttal to Mack Holt's article: "religious thoughts, acts, or utterances… need to be analyzed into their social, psychological, and semiotic components."[2] Histories tended to reduce religion to established religion, established

[1] M.P. Holt, 'Putting Religion Back into the Wars of Religion', *French Historical Studies,* 18 (1993).
[2] H. Heller, 'Putting History Back into the Religious Wars: a Reply to Mack P. Holt', *French Historical Studies,* 19/3 (1996), p. 855.

religion to established confessions, and established confessions to political blocs, effecting the disappearance of religion as an independent analytical category.

Accordingly, religious doctrine, teaching, tradition, practice, and belief were recast by proponents of the confessionalization thesis in material terms, which provided a means of reconciling the ubiquity of religion's presence in early modern European life with contemporary scholarly emphasis on structural and material historical factors. Focus centred heavily around political, legal, and economic history, leaving religion as merely one of the plethora of social factors to be shaped by material forces. Religious developments were interpreted as institutional phenomena (via their respective confessional establishments), more or less extensions of centralizing and consolidating state power. That the most used senses of the term "confession" within confessionalization historiography describe political blocs or legal entities within the Imperial constitution rather than systems of "actual belief"[3] is a reflection of this overweening structural emphasis. As one historian wryly observed, "It is a strange fact that confessionalization research has proceeded for thirty years without a definition of *confessio*."[4]

In defence of confessionalization scholarship, deep terminological confusion surrounding confession preceded it by four hundred years. As early as the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, when "confessions" were for the first time afforded an official legal status in the Holy Roman Empire (N.B. Initially, recognition was granted only to two confessions, Lutheranism and Catholicism; Calvinism was added in 1648, whereas Anabaptists, Moravians, and other sects remained officially excluded), the

[3] P. Wilson, 'Dynasty, Constitution, and Confession: The Role of Religion in the Thirty Years War', *The International History Review,* 30/3 (2008), p. 479.
[4] P. Büttgen, 'Was heißt konfessionelle Eindeutigkeit?: Konzeptionelle Überlegungen zum frühneuzeitlichen Begriff der *doctrina*', in A. Pietsch and B. Stollberg-Rilinger (eds), *Konfessionelle Ambiguität: Uneindeutigkeit und Verstellung als religiöse Praxis in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Gütersloh, 2013), p. 30.

constitutional history of the Empire developed in such a way as to effectively use the same term for related but distinct conceptions. "Confession" has since been taken to mean, a confession with legally recognized status; the religious, political, and social bloc of a respective confession; or most confusingly, the institutional church of a confession which has legally recognized status.

The terminology is further convoluted by the fact that confessional issues and disputes were situated in territorial or local settings where they often also served as proxies for regional, local, dynastic, and personal disputes – all the more so after the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio* was instituted by the Peace of Augsburg.[5] Easily lost was the chronologically and conceptually prior – and ultimately primary – sense of the term: respective systems of (Christian) religious belief, tradition, and culture. The primacy of this sense of the term "confession" is evidenced by the simple fact that the confessions necessarily existed as systems of religious belief, culture, etc. prior to any other compounded meaning of the term; the confessions were in 1555 not created, but recognized. (N.B. Accordingly the most fitting terminology to describe specific confessions is "Catholic*ism*", "the Catholic religion"; "Lutheran*ism*", "the Lutheran religion", recognizing their distinction from the correspondent ecclesial entity or entities: "the Catholic Church", or "the [particular] Lutheran Church").

Within confessionalization historiography, the vocabulary surrounding religion and confession was confused in an additional way: influenced by Oestreich's grand conception of social discipline as driving a world-historical meta-process steering society to modernity,[6] it spoke of religion as well as other social forces in quasi-

[5] See F. Brendle and A. Schindling, 'Religious War and Religious Peace in the Age of Reformation', in R.J.W. Evans et al. (eds), *The Holy Roman Empire 1495-1806* (Oxford, 2011).
[6] G. Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State,* trans. D. McLintock (Cambridge, 1982), p. 265; E. W. Zeeden, *Die Entstehung der Konfessionen: Grundlagen und Formen der Konfessionsbildung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe* (Munich, 1965).

pathological terms: "central indoctrination instruments" instead of religious practices or traditions, "the Deity" instead of God, "political stabilizing systems" instead of laws, and "processes" instead of events and decisions.[7] To be fair to the confessionalization thesis's forerunner in Gerhard Oestreich, he did acknowledge the "profound significance" of ideas,[8] devoting considerable attention to the thought of Justus Lipsius,[9] but the all-encompassing confessionalization thesis was to subsume religion, culture, and individual subjectivity, and led to a historiographical commonplace of neglecting to take religion and belief seriously on their own terms. Potential receptivity to immaterial factors on the part of Oestreich was largely ignored by the proponents of the confessionalization thesis, who instead saw in Oestreich's discourse on ideas merely another tool of the state's process of social discipline. Schilling and Reinhard, as much sociologists as historians, were admittedly concerned more with creating a "universal" model to explain human behaviour than attending to details: "we understand 'confessionalisation'… not as a partial… but rather as a universal historical process...."[10]

L'histoire des mentalités and the much later subjectivist turn of postmodern historiography appeared as countervailing forces, but they, least of all in

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[7] H.R. Schmidt, 'Sozialdisziplinierung? Ein Plädoyer für das Ende des Etatismus in der Konfessionalisierungsforschung', *Historische Zeitschrift* 265 (1997), p. 640; W. Reinhard and H. Schilling, *Die Katholische Konfessionalisierung* (Gütersloh, 1995), p. 430; J.D. Tracy, 'Luther and the Modern State: Introduction to a Neuralgic Theme', in J.D. Tracy (ed), *Luther and the Modern State in Germany* (Kirksville, 1986), p. 26; H. Schilling, 'Confessionalization in the Empire: Religious and Societal Changes in Germany between 1555-1620', in H. Oberman (ed), *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society* (New York, 1992), p. 243.

[8] ibid., p. 265.

[9] Oestreich, *Neostoicism,* p. 31.

[10] Reinhard, Schilling (eds), *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung*, p. 421; Schmidt, 'Sozialdisziplinierung?', p. 642; Tracy, *Luther and the Modern State,* p. 21; E. Francois, *Die Unsichtbare Grenze: Protestanten und Katholiken in Augsburg 1648-1806* (Sigmaringen, 1991)*,* p. 15. For a general work on the confessionalization thesis, see A. Schindling and W. Ziegler (eds), *Die Territorien des Reiches im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung* (7 vols., Münster, 1989-1997); for an overview in English, see W. Reinhard, 'Pressures towards Confessionalization? Prolegomena to a Theory of the Confessional Age', in C.S. Dixon (ed), *The German Reformation: The Essential Readings* (Oxford, 1999); or T.A. Brady, 'Confessionalization: the career of a concept', in J.M. Headley et al. (eds), *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555-1700: essays in honor and memory of Bodo Nischan* (Aldershot, 2004).

historiography of early modern Germany, did not dislodge the dominance of the debate surrounding the confessionalization thesis and its different articulations over a half-century of historical study of religion and behaviour, which until rather recently has been "generally recognized as the primary process of the period which runs from about 1550 to 1650".[11] Though state-driven consolidation of religious identities was patently not the all-encompassing force presented by the confessionalization thesis, confessionalization *happened*, and its research resists being discarded as readily as the sociological theories to which it was often tied.

Traditionally situated within military history, though in recent decades increasingly expanding beyond it,[12] the study of early modern armies has been dominated by its own brand of twentieth century materialistic reductionism that closely paralleled the confessionalization debate's position in the field of early modern social and religious history.[13] The "military revolution" thesis, originally proposed by Michael Roberts and taken up by many others, cites developments in weapons technology and tactical thinking during the seventeenth century as the root causes in the development of modern warfare and accordingly the wider international political landscape.[14] A characteristic quirk of military history, including the military revolution debate, is that it makes room for some exception to the materialist rule in highly rating certain immaterial factors such as a commander's charisma, group morale, "ways of war", or

[11] F. Jürgensmeier, "Multa ad Pietam Composita': Continuity and Change in Catholic piety, 1555-1648', in K. Bussmann and H. Schilling (eds), *1648: War and Peace in Europe* (2 vols, Münster and Osnabrück, 1998), i, p. 238.
[12] P. Wilson, 'Wars, States, and Gender in Early Modern European Warfare, 1600s-1780s', in *The Oxford Handbook of Gender, War, and the Western World since 1600* (Oxford, 2020), p. 75.
[13] P. Wilson, 'Obituary: Trevor Johnson (1961-2007)', *German History* 26 (2008).
[14] M. Roberts, *The military revolution, 1560-1660, an inaugural lecture delivered before The Queen's University of Belfast* (Belfast, 1956); G. Parker, *The Military Revolution, Military innovation and the rise of the West 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1999); M. Junkelmann, *Gustav Adolf* (Regensburg, 1993), p. 26; C. J. Rogers (ed), *The Military Revolution Debate: Readings on the Military Transformation of Early Modern Europe,* 2nd edn (New York, 2019); J. Black, *Rethinking Military History* (London, 2004), pp. ix, 150.

perceived decisive moments, despite the predominance of material ones.[15] But other immaterial factors such as culture, interpersonal relationships, and especially religion and belief are rarely noted,[16] which has left religion in early modern armies considerably understudied,[17] described by Peter Wilson – with regard to the Thirty Years War – as "one of the most under-researched aspects of the conflict".[18]

A growing body of recent research has begun to change this. Olivier Chaline's novel approach in his 1999 work, *La bataille de la Montagne Blanche: (8 novembre 1620): un mystique chez les guerriers,* was to look at the events in and surrounding a battle – White Mountain in 1620 – from an almost entirely religious perspective. The approach itself, to say nothing of its findings, is perhaps Chaline's most significant contribution: an analysis of religion in its own right, and not merely as a function of material history, whether economic, political, or military.[19] He brings whole areas of detail to the fore that otherwise go unobserved, for example the series of religion-imbued occasions on

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[15] Wilson, 'Wars, States, and Gender', p. 75.
[16] P. Burschel, *Söldner im Nordwestdeutschland des 16. Und 17. Jahrhunderts: sozialgeschichtliche Studien* (Göttingen, 1994); Black, *Rethinking Military History*; J. Nowosadtko, *Krieg, Gewalt, und Ordnung*: *Einführung in die Militärgeschichte* (Tübingen, 2002); P. Wilson, 'War in Early Modern German History', *German History,* 19 (2001); P. Wilson, 'British and American Perspectives on Early Modern Warfare', *Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit,* 5 (2001).
[17] K. von Greyerz and Y. Krumenacker, 'Conclusion. Religion et guerre au temps de la guerre de Trente Ans', in B. Forclaz and P. Martin (eds), *Religion et piété au défi de la guerre de Trente ans* (Rennes, 2015), p. 314; A. Naegele, *Abt Benedikt Rauh Von Wiblingen, Feldpropst Der Bayrisch-kaiserlichen Armee Im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Urkundliche Beiträge Zur Geschichte Der Deutschen Militärkuratie Und Des Benediktinerordens in Schwaben*. (Freiburg, 1911), p.1; M. Kaiser, 'Cuius exercitus, eius religio? Konfession und Heerwesen im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Kriegs', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 91 (2000), p. 317; R. Pröve, 'Reichweiten und Grenzen der Konfessionalisierung am Beispiel der frühneuzeitlichen Militärgesellschaft', in K. von Greyerz et al. (eds), *Interkonfessionalität – Transkonfessionalität-binnenkonfessionelle Pluralität. Neue Forschungen zur Konfessionalisierungsthese* (Heidelberg, 2003); N. Funke, 'Religion in the Holy Roman Empire c.1500-1650' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Sussex, 2011), pp. 49-50.
[18] P. Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy* (London, 2010), p. 828.
[19] Recent works in a similar vein include E. Kuijpers and C. van der Haven (eds), *Battlefield Emotions 1500-1800: Practices, Experience, Imagination* (London, 2017); T. Johnson, "Victoria a Deo missa?' Living Saints on the Battlefields of the Central European Counter Reformation', in J. Beyer, et al. (eds), *Confessional Sanctity: Sanctity in North-Western Europe During the Early Modern Period (ca. 1550 - ca. 1800)* (Mainz 2003); B. Heal., *The Cult of the Virgin in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500-1648* (Cambridge, 2007); R. Head, *Jenatsch's Axe: Social Boundaries, Identity, and Myth in the Era of the Thirty Years' War* (Rochester, 2016).

campaign which built up to those in the battle itself, and the important role of the close relationships between clergy and commanding officers.

On the other hand, for all the richness of Chaline's narrative of the Bohemian campaign, in his account and in some other recent "pro-religion" historiography, evidence of religion is too often depreciated by being associated with a holy war mentality.[20] Though the Bohemian campaign was certainly the moment most evocative of holy war in the Thirty Years War, it was in this respect a high point or even an outlier which coloured, rather than defined, the role of religion in armies throughout the war. Whether a holdover of a longstanding conception of the "Wars of Religion" in popular imagination, or perhaps another reaction – this time to the materialist histories of the twentieth century – it is difficult to judge, but advocates for religion's importance in war or in armies set up their own straw man by framing the religion question within the "holy war" paradigm, rather than the other way around.

Brendle and Schindling followed on from Chaline in commendable attempts to distinguish variously between religious war, confessional war, holy war, and even "war of Reformation", but, like the vast majority of historiographical commenters on religion and the war, they consider religion primarily in its role as a potential driver toward war on the political-constitutional level, rather than in its social, cultural, or personal significance (and practical importance) to individuals and groups concerned.[21] Such approaches have resulted in useful taxonomies and detailed knowledge of goings on at court, but have left underdeveloped the nature of religion's actual importance in the social consciousness, which inevitably also influenced

[20] V. Lavenia, 'Conscience and Catholic Discipline of War', *Journal of Early Modern History,* 18/5 (2014); V. Lavenia, "Missiones Castrenses': Jesuits and Soldiers between Pastoral Care and Violence', *Journal of Jesuit Studies,* 4 (2017), p. 555; P. Gangl, "Gebt dem Kaiser, Was dem Kaiser gehört.' Kriegserfahrungen und religiöse Rationalisierung', *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 128/4 (2006).
[21] F. Brendle and A. Schindling, 'Religionskriege Frühen Neuzeit. Begriff, Wahrnehmung, Wirkmachtigkeit', in A. Schindling (ed), *Religionskriege im Alten Reich und in Alteuropa* (Münster, 2006); Brendle and Schindling, 'Religious War and Religious Peace'.

decisions made in high places. Nonetheless, in step with the "religious turn" of broader early modern historiography since 2001, important groundwork was laid for the study of religion in early modern central European warfare which has, from almost nothing, been considerably built up in recent years.[22]

Regarding the redoubtable position of confessionalization within historiography of early modern central Europe, recent scholarly pushback against a materialist conception of religious history (however late-arriving in comparison to European counterparts) has expanded dramatically, beginning with research illuminating confession "from below" such as that of Marc Forster into the bishopric of Speyer, and of Peter Blickle's work on the "communal reformation". Forster describes an increasingly polarized confessional situation in Speyer in the later seventeenth century, largely in the absence of strong state authorities, and shows that the top-down institition of confession was not the only force shaping religious identity. Religious developments in Speyer primarily originated at the communal level via local religious practices and traditions; village churches tended to resist outside forces such as the territorial Lutheran Church on the Protestant side and the Society of Jesus on the Catholic. Blickle's discovery of a flurry of confessional activity which proceeded from

[22] M. Kaiser and S. Kroll (eds), *Militär und Religiosität in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Münster, 2004); O. Chaline, *La bataille de la Montagne Blanche (8 novembre 1620): un mystique chez les guerriers* (Paris, 2000); Johnson, 'Living Saints'; Funke, 'Religion'; H. Berg, *Military Occupation under the Eyes of the Lord: Studies in Erfurt during the Thirty Years War* (Göttingen, 2010); D. Gudmundsson, 'Kring krigsbönböcker och korum: Om bön i den svenska armén 1611-1721', *Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift* 87 (2011); J.A. Steiger, 'Bellum iustum, pax aeterna et consolatio militantium: Theologie und Ethik lutherischer Trostschriften für Soldaten zur Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 50/4 (1998). Forclaz and Martin, *Religion et piété*; L. Jalabert and S. Simiz (eds), *Le soldat face au clerc: Armée et religion en Europe occidentale (xve-xixe siècle)* (Rennes, 2016). J. Reller, *Die Anfänge der evangelischen Militärseelsorge* (Berlin, 2019) N.B. A second edition was published in 2021. F. Brendle and A. Schindling (eds), *Geistliche im Krieg* (Münster, 2009); E. Ringmar, *Identity, Interest, and Action* (Cambridge, 2009); for examples of historiography of the English Civil Wars, see the work of Blair Worden, Austin Woolrych, Ian Gentles, and most recently P. Liao, 'Religion and the Making of the Later Stuart Army, 1660–1714' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2019).

the local level in the earliest years of the Reformation (known as the "communal Reformation) similarly challenges a top-down view.[23]

Though parallel historiographies and debates often remain siloed from one another, there is little that should prevent "confessionalization from above" – emphasizing state consolidation, management, and discipline of religious behaviour – from being seen as complementary with "confessionalization from below", emphasizing the resilience and upward force of religion at the local, communal, and even personal level. Remaining within the overall theoretical paradigm of confessionalization, "confessionalization from below" still pointed toward a view of religion for which institutional and material factors alone were not able to give a full account. Furthermore, recent scholarship's rejection of confessionalization in its capacity of grand theory, and the increasingly wide acceptance that religion/belief played a generally important role in the lived experience of early modern life, does not detract from the definitiveness of confessionalization research regarding the widespread cooperation of Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist churches with the state in consolidating power in the post-Reformation period.

In the words of Heinrich Schmidt, what is needed is "a bridge between micro- and macro-history".[24] Or going further, in the words of Peter Wilson, "we need a framework that not only allows us to relegate religious motivation to other causes, but also allows scope for contingency and agency…."[25] Recent scholarship has moved also into this area, revealing aspects of religion and confession in social and political (and military) life which defy explanation in bare material terms and yet do not in

[23] P. Blickle, *Communal Reformation: The Quest for Salvation in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, trans. T. Dunlap (London, 1992).
[24] Schmidt, *Sozialdisziplinierung?,* p. 45.
[25] Wilson, 'Dynasty, Constitution, and Confession', p. 481.

principle detract from religion's social, political, or institutional aspects.[26] This thesis is inspired in large part by Chaline and other historians calling for fresh approaches to religious history which cut across the categories imposed by confessionalization and social discipline,[27] but is unique within the field of early modern central European historiography in being an outline of religion in armies over the course of a single (exceptionally long-lasting) war.

Secondly, this thesis proposes to replace instrumentalization of religion not with mere magnification of it, but with a grounding of religion in an "anthropologized" approach which conceives of institutions on the one hand, and cosmology, spirituality, morality, metaphysics, ideas of the final/common good on the other – in summary, the aspects which comprise the large part of religion – together simply as phenomena of human life in history. In the words of Kaspar von Greyerz, "the only promising strategy for at least beginning to understand the significance that the worlds of everyday life, imagination, and faith held for our ancestors lies in 'anthropologizing' or 'ethnologizing' our epistemological methods."[28]

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[26] K. von Greyerz, et al. (eds), *Interkonfessionalität – Trasnskonfessionalität – binnenkonfessionelle Pluralität. Neue Forschungen zur Konfessionalisierungsthese* (Gütersloh, 2003); Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger: "What role did sacramental practice and understanding of belief play? … Which notions of the relationship between the outer and the inner were at work in the relationship between outward acts and inner convictions, 'body' and 'soul', rite and dogma, visible and invisible Church?": B. Stollberg-Rilinger, 'Einleitung', in Pietsch and Stollberg-Rilinger, *Konfessionelle Ambiguität*, p. 15; B. Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500-1648* (Cambridge, 2007); B. Heal, 'Mary "triumphant over demons and also heretics": religious symbols and confessional uniformity in Catholic Germany', in H. Louthan et al. (eds), *Diversity and Dissent: negotiating religious difference in central Europe* (New York, 2011); Brademann also calls for similar research in J. Brademann, 'Konfessionalisierung als Institutionalisierung: Theoretisch-empirische Überlegungen zur kulturgeschichtlichen Erweiterung eines Forschungsparadigmas', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte,* 92 (2010), p. 451; Etienne Francois advocates for a "comparative" approach to "manifestations of difference between Catholics and Protestants….": Francois, *Die Unsichtbare Grenze*, p. 16.

[27] H. Schilling, 'The Reformation and the Rise of the Early Modern State', in J. D. Tracy (ed), *Luther and the Modern State in Germany* (Kirksville, 1986), p. 15. Harrington and Smith similarly acknowledge the "paucity" of studies which consider "the complex arena of multiple loyalties": J.F. Harrington and H.W. Smith, 'Confessionalization, Community, and State Building in Germany, 1555-1870', *The Journal of Modern History* 69 (1997), p. 100.

[28] K. von Greyerz, *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800* (Oxford, 2008), p. 6. See also J. Black *Rethinking Military History*, p. xi; A. Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, ed. and trans. Q. Hoare and G. Nowell-Smith (London, 1971); F. Boll (ed), *Volksreligiosität und Kriegserleben*

An alternative to endlessly debatable theoretical definitions and interpretations of what religion is, "anthropologized religion" facilitates especially the types of insights about religion which the historian (as opposed to the theologian, philosopher, or social theorist) is best able to offer by grounding it conceptually in the foundation of the actions of human persons – a practical locus which holds together the manifold complexities of religion, including a balance between human agency and social structures. It should be noted here that, in contradistinction to the term "anthropological" which naturally carries associations with the vast academic field of anthropology, the term "anthropologized" signals the taking of (in this case) religion and religious culture as a basic and typical phenomenon of human life.

If the lived experience of humanity is history's domain, then it is for historians, including historians of war, to provide if not a complete, then a rounded account of something so central to human experience as religion, reconciling aspects which other academic fields treat as discrete, but which in human events defy neat extraction.[29] Anthropologized religion shows the real-life effects (not only spiritual, but also social, professional, legal, or even military) of the religious "personalities" of individuals or groups, and emerges as an analytical subject of no less centrality than politics, economics, ethnos, gender, or class – another of the realities which form part of the life of a group of people such as an army of the Thirty Years War.[30] It also supports another of the arguments of this thesis, which is that religion shows itself, even in the most materially deterministic of human affairs – war – to resist deconstruction into other categories, whether on the material structural side such as economics or politics, or on the immaterial side of unlimited subjective agency of individuals and groups.

(Münster, 1997), who uses the term "*Volksreligiosität*" to describe a somewhat similar conception in his study of nineteenth and twentieth century warfare.

[29] E. Evans, *The Personality of Ireland: Habitat, Heritage and History* (Dublin, 1973), p. 10.

[30] See Greyerz, *Religion and Culture,* p. 5.

This thesis resoundingly shows that structure and agency were complementary halves of the whole of religion's role in the armies of the Thirty Years War, which it emphasizes in a two-part framework. Part I, "Structure", focuses on institutional religion, redressing the hitherto dearth of even general information about religion in the armies of the Thirty Years War, while examining its development over time. Part II, "Agency" addresses deficits both of information and analysis of religion as a personal and social force in armies, including religion's role in motivation, morale, and cohesion. It highlights different layers of religion's contingency, including crucial distinctions between dynamics of individuals and those of groups.

The focuses of Parts I and II are also reflected by the different primary source material drawn upon in each. In surveying a war which spanned half a continent and three decades, initial concerns that such a broad source base would be either impossible to collate or hopelessly fragmentary were turned on their head by the variety and volume of salient material which the research yielded. Official sources – manuals, regulations, official correspondence – are most drawn upon in Part I, and individual accounts and works – diaries, publications and sermons of all types, private letters, and news reports are more relied on in Part II. Anecdotal sources appear throughout. Archival material appears most prominently in Part I, though the most significant finding in them remains necessarily invisible: namely for the most part absence of religious content insofar as most types of official sources are concerned.

Part I. Structure: Religion and the Army as an Institution

Introduction to Part I

Part I, and the thesis as a whole, takes for its subject matter the main armies of the war which were raised and which fought mainly in the Empire. They receive attention in proportion firstly to their importance and duration in the war, and secondly to available primary source material. The latter can vary considerably from army to army, though source material is ample on the four armies which were by a considerable margin the major players over the war's duration (especially in the Empire, where and over which most of the war was fought). These were the Catholic armies of the Catholic League/Bavaria and the Empire itself (headed by the Emperor in Vienna, and known as the Imperial army, or Imperialists), and the Protestant armies of Electoral Saxony and Sweden. Much patchier are the primary and archival sources on the Protestant armies which were successively knocked out of the war in its first twelve years: those of the Bohemian Confederation, Christian von Braunschweig, Ernst von Mansfeld, and the Danes.

Typically of the Thirty Years War and the Holy Roman Empire, institutional and constitutional complexity verged on chaos; almost nothing was simple. What began the war under the command of general Johann Tserclaes von Tilly as the army of the Catholic League – ostensibly a coalition of Catholic principalities in the Empire conceived largely as a counterpart to the Protestant Union – was little more than a Bavarian front. After its disbandment in 1635 as part of the Peace of Prague, the army reverted to a more representative name, the Bavarian army. Accordingly, this thesis often refers to this continuous force as the Liga/Bavarian army. The Imperial army underwent no name changes but was itself merged with the Liga army into a single

command from 1618-20 under Bucquoy, and from 1630-2 under Tilly at the military height of the war, splitting again, and permanently, after Tilly's death in 1632. The combined army at these periods is referred to by this thesis as the Imperial-Liga army, though some contemporaries still referred to it as simply the Imperial or Catholic army.

The Swedish army was both a single force and an umbrella structure of multiple armies, including under its command at various periods smaller semi-independent forces such as those of Bernhard of Weimar, the Marquis of Hamilton, the forces of principalities within the Empire both large (such as Electoral Saxony, which began and ended the war allied with the Imperialists, and Brandenburg-Prussia) and small (such as Württemberg, or even as small as the County of Stolberg-Stolberg, boasting seventeen men at arms)[1] as well as clumps of regiments hailing from different locations across Europe, such as the Scots, the Finns, or the tens of thousands of German recruits first picked up by Gustavus in 1629-31. (So great was the proportion of non-Swedish recruits in the Swedish army that at the battle of Breitenfeld in 1631 the Swedish portion of the Swedish army was not more than 20-30%).[2] Over the course of the war, the Swedish army was without question the tone-setter and main influence on the Protestant side, and in the war's final two decades the hegemon and, for soldiers, chief clearinghouse on the Protestant side.

The Electoral Saxon army was probably the most consolidated major army of the war in terms of continuity in command and makeup of its officer corps and soldiery (helped by the fact that a single ruler, Johann Georg, lasted the war's duration). However, though remaining consistently Protestant (Lutheran) in its

[1] L. von Ledebur (ed), *Allgemeines Archiv für die Geschichtskunde des Preußischen Staates* (18 vols, Berlin, 1830-35), xi, p. 291.
[2] Wilson, *Tragedy*, p. 483.

institutional identity, it was an unreliable ally which swapped sides. Even though it fought on its borders in the early 1620s, Electoral Saxony maintained a neutral stance for a decade in the larger conflict before being strong-armed into allying with its Lutheran co-religionist Sweden at the war's height from 1631-5, afterward fighting against the Swedes alongside the Catholic Imperial army (and in alliance with the Bavarians).[3]

This thesis refers to armies as "Protestant" and "Catholic", despite the fact that they were populated by a confessionally mixed soldiery. Even though the Lutheran confession of most Protestant soldiers and Protestant armies is acknowledged, primarily using the term "Lutheran" to describe the armies and their consistories presents a number of difficulties; chief among them the appearance of anachronism in connoting a more consolidated Lutheran party-consciousness than was present, and which better characterizes Lutheranism (and Protestantism in general) from the later seventeenth century onward. In the more fluid time of the Thirty Years War, when this consciousness was still in early days, many Lutherans still had not given up on the idea of variously reuniting with Catholics on the one hand or Calvinists on the other.[4] (Though few made so little of confessional distinctions as Imperial general Lamboy's Jesuit chaplain, who, when asked by the Lutheran Duke of Holstein, "Is it not true, my dear Father, that you a have a different concept of us Lutherans than of the Calvinists?", answered that he found no more difference between them than between an ugly woman and an old, "unbeautiful" woman.[5])

"Protestant" is the best term for these armies – also because it was used by contemporaries ("*Protestantisch*"). *Evangelisch*, the term most commonly used by

[3] See discussion of Saxon dynastic issues below on p. 267.
[4] See G. Westin, (ed), *John Durie in Sweden 1636–1638: Documents and Letters* (Uppsala, 1936).
[5] Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen,* viii, pp. 737-8.

contemporaries to refer to Lutherans, does not translate to the English cognate, "evangelical". One may object to describing institutional armies of the Thirty Years War as "Protestant" or "Catholic" by citing apparent exceptions in which a force of one confession served with an army of the opposite confession, such as Protestant Electoral Saxony or Hesse-Darmstadt serving the Imperialists, or Calvinist Scots and Hesse-Kassel serving the Swedes. But the objection is confounded by the fact that these were themselves armies, retaining their own unit integrity, administration, and chain of command. It was routine for contingents serving with or within armies of an opposite confession (as well as for individual high-ranking officers doing the same such as Melander, Franz Albrecht of Saxe-Lauenburg, or Wilhelm Leopold Tättenbach-Reinstein) like the Scots and English serving the Swedes, or the Saxons serving the Imperialists, to be permitted to bring their own chaplains on campaign.[6]

Contingents marched with or formed up alongside larger forces for various periods of time, but their character as discrete forces was plain: the Electoral Saxon army which fought alongside the Swedes from 1631-4, and with the Imperialists (often independently) from 1620-2 and 1635-46, was not any less of "an army" when lined up next to Sweden than when it fought under its own command. Similar were Scottish forces which transferred intact, more or less seamlessly, from the war in Europe to the British Civil Wars from the latter 1630s, and those of the Hessians – Hesse-Kassel and Hesse-Darmstadt which fought their own war-within-a-war in the "Hessian War" (*Hessenkrieg*) against one another from 1645-8.

[6] Kirchhof, *Militaris Disciplina*, p. 146; Letter from Ferdinand III to Vicar General Paströyer, 25 July 1643, RACG 375 I; Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv Wolfenbüttel (NLW) 2 Alt., Nr. 41; Ferdinand III, 'Instruction für den Feld-Superior der Feldmission P. Peter Puschmann S.J. vom Jahre 1643', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, p. 353; Joannes Godofredus Floredus, *Christlichen Leichpredigt... über den tödlichen Hintritt... des Herren Peter Grafen zu Holtzappel...* (Wiesbaden, 1865); J. Böhm, 'Vorwort', in Jakob Balde, *Der wieder zum Leben erwachte große oder des großen Tilly Totenfeier*, ed. J, Böhm (Lindau, 1889), p. XIX.

The case of Hesse-Kassel raises a potential misconception which could be raised to challenge the use of "Protestant" to describe armies (as opposed to the more specific "Lutheran"), namely that the army of Hesse-Kassel under Calvinist Landgravine Amalie Elizabeth was a "Calvinist army". In reality, Hesse-Kassel was an example of the peculiar difficulties facing the development of Calvinist confessional institutions.[7] With the recently-Calvinized (1605) Landgraviate completely reliant upon its Lutheran subjects for support, a "Calvinist army" never materialized to begin with. Though for a time commanded by a Calvinist in Melander, and despite the Landgravine Amalie Elizabeth herself being a staunch Calvinist, the Hesse-Kassel army was almost wholly Lutheran. If Amalie Elizabeth had pushed the confessional issue, it would have meant rapidly finding herself on the losing end of the internecine dispute with Hesse-Darmstadt.

This remained true through the war's end, so much so that Amalie Elizabeth's successor Wilhelm took the unprecedented step at that point of declaring "equal status" (*Ausgleich*) of Lutheranism and Calvinism in Hesse-Kassel, and the Peace of Westphalia included a provision guaranteeing Hesse-Marburg's (a possession of Hesse-Kassel) Lutheran status.[8] In 1662 Electoral Brandenburg, likewise a majority-Lutheran populace under a Calvinist ruler (Friedrich Wilhelm), did similarly.[9] So delicate had been the confessional matter in Hesse-Kassel that its (Lutheran) consistory, which it had retained since Landgrave Moritz's conversion to Calvinism in 1605,[10] communicated extensively with Johann Georg of Saxony, playing the role of German Lutheran patriarch, down to details of the process of appointing individual

[7] Thadden, *Die brandenburgisch-preussischen Hofprediger,* pp. 70-1; B. Nischan, 'Johann Bergius: Irenicism and the Beginning of Official Religious Toleration in Brandenburg-Prussia', *Church History,* 51 (1982).
[8] B. Wenck, *Hessische Landesgeschicte, mit einem Urkundenbuch* (4 vols, Frankfurt, 1783-1803), ii; Helfferich, p. 70-1.
[9] A. Herzig, *Der Zwang zum Wahren Glauben* (Göttingen, 2000), p. 28.
[10] F. Uhlhorn and F. Schwind, 'Die territorial Entwicklung Hessens 1247 bis 1866', *Geschichtlicher Atlas von Hessen* (Frankfurt, 1966).

ministers in parishes.[11] Even the University of Marburg, a pillar of the Calvinist rump state centreing around the Landgraviate, had proven its fair-weather reliability in immediately reverting to Lutheranism during Tilly's occupation of the territory from 1624-31.[12] In sum, there was no "Calvinist army" in the war; the only force which can be said to have had a Calvinistic character was the Scottish contingent(s) fighting for Sweden, yet with no background in Britain of dispute with Lutherans (of whom there were none), pious Scottish military men found much more in Gustavus and Swedish Lutheranism with which to ally than to quibble, their home religious and political context differing so greatly from Calvinists in the Empire as to prevent much useful comparison.

Reflecting its theme, "structure", Part I focuses on the subject of religion in the army-as-institution. Army administration, the focus of Chapter II, is a natural starting point, providing familiar terrain (to the historian of early modern war) for *entrée* to the less familiar subject of religion. Administrative records – pay and muster rolls, orders, correspondence, reports, and other miscellany – are what mainly comprise official archives and have been by far the most-relied-upon source types for historiography of the armies of the Thirty Years War. The chapter shows and explains the relatively minor presence of religion (and the minimal presence of confession) in much of this source material. However, it also highlights overlooked areas of army administration in which religion and confession played a greater part than has been previously acknowledged, and which, though minimal in comparison to the other areas of army life examined in the subsequent chapters, even still are sufficient to undermine "the

[11] Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden (SHD), Geheimer Rat Loc. 8672/02, 'Landgraff Wilhelms zu Hessen Ritterschafft, so der Lutherischen Religion zugethan, und derer Prediger, 1629-46'.
[12] 'Die territorial Entwicklung Hessens', pp. 71-5.

inherited assumption" of modern scholars that religion (and especially confession) was unimportant in early modern armies.[13]

Chapters III and IV are the first dedicated studies of army chaplaincies of the Thirty Years War as well as the first systematic cross-confessional comparison between them. These chapters make clear that the relatively rare mention of the field chaplaincy in most official army archives is primarily due to their being one of the worst places to look, and that its minor presence in most of this archival material is not indicative of a minor presence in the institutional army. An ostensible shortage of material on chaplains is rather a direct result of a military-centric approach to source material which favours sources generated by military figures over those generated by other participants in and witnesses to many of the same events, for instance civilians, and most importantly in the case of religion, clergy. The result is an "exceedingly patchy" view of the chaplaincies, as it is blind to most of the relevant sources which were never present in army archives to begin with.[14]

This thesis hypothesized that under-explored archives, especially of individual army commanders as opposed to war chancelleries, could offer better source material on religion in the army. From among the scores of ecclesial, regional, or family archives of officers scattered across Europe, on the Catholic side alone, the Gallas archives in Děčín, the Schlick archives in Zámrsk, and the Hatzfeldt archives in Brauweiler yielded a good deal, including chaplains' correspondence, correspondence with generals and rulers about the field vicariate, rare court martial records, recruitment pamphlets, and the first and second known rolls of chaplains of the Thirty Years War. Aside from the exceptionally consolidated archives of more centralized states Sweden and Electoral Saxony (which yielded a surprising amount, including

[13] Liao, 'Religion', p. 16.
[14] Funke, 'Religion', p. 40.

regimental muster rolls which sometimes list chaplains), the archival trail of Protestant armies is generally more fragmented than that of Catholics armies for reasons of political discontinuity and especially military defeat.

Chapters II and III in particular sought out religious sources on religion in the army. Of primary importance among these are sources generated by chaplains themselves. The fact that chaplains were typically the only literate non-combatants accompanying armies (even, on occasion, into the lines of battle), give their accounts a unique value to any historian of the war, not just those interested in religion. These include fifty-seven sermons (the number which are referenced in the thesis; 159 surviving sermons of chaplains were found in total), thirteen diaries, and countless other relations, letters and and administrative documents in various forms conveying the work and workings of clerics ministering to armies. Regulations for chaplains were issued by the Saxon, Swedish, Bavarian, and Imperial armies, and by the Society of Jesus. War commissars' reports sometimes covered chaplains alongside sundry items of military business, albeit peripherally. Though the primary source base is by no means the same from army to army or from time to time, it more than suffices for the purposes of a detailed overview. In addition, a thorough search for secondary and printed primary material written by or about clergy ministering to the armies yielded a great deal, some of which even directly addresses religion in the army.[15]

Varying from time to time and case to case (as with most else to do with armies of the Thirty Years War) field chaplaincies were a part of the army. The work of hundreds of field chaplains was completely integrated not only within the culture, but also

[15] A few examples include literature on the voluminous archives of religious orders, such as Bernhard Duhr's multi-volume *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge,* the annual *Studien und Mittheilungen aus dem Benedictiner- und Zisterzienser-Ordens,* and Angelikus Eberl's *Geschichte der Bayrischen Kapuziner-Ordensprovinz*.

within the business, and even the military duties, of the army. Historians have variously asserted that "it was nearly impossible to acquire field chaplains", that there was "a chronic lack of chaplains", "no centralized organization of military pastoral services", that "documentation pertaining to military clerics before the mid-seventeenth century is exceedingly patchy,"[16] and that "a systematic examination of the chaplaincy [is] impossible".[17] Surprisingly, this study found that both numbers and centralization of chaplaincies to have increased over the course of the war in Protestant and Catholic armies.

That chaplains of both confessions, though much more commonly Catholics, commanded troops and on occasion bore arms *in extremis* evinced uptake of the "military" aspect of their vocations, and that chaplains understood as well as anyone its importance – even at times its priority – in a military culture which could not afford not to be pragmatic. This study found no instance of chaplains taking issue with the presence of large numbers of troops of an opposite confession within their army's ranks, no protesting of the destructive aspects of war, nor any scruples of conscience in serving an organization whose members regularly committed acts of gross crime – even by the army's own standards as set out in their legally binding articles of war – and injustice on a mass scale. Yet chaplains regularly and forcefully condemned the whoring, plundering, and blaspheming of their soldiers, which nonetheless continued, and it is unlikely that anyone outside the ranks was more aware of the evils that soldiers were capable of than were their chaplains. Tension between conflicting norms of religious culture and military culture was present and accepted in every army.

Furthermore, and roundly complicating previous narratives of religion in the army which tend to minimize the role of religion and especially confession, field

[16] A. Schübel, *300 Jahre evangelische Soldatenseelsorge* (Munich, 1964), p. 16; Funke, 'Religion' p. 50.
[17] ibid.

chaplaincies were emphatically confessional. Confessional, not in that chaplains were fanatical fundamentalists, though by today's standards most of them would be considered so, or that they incited dissension against the confessional "other" within the ranks, or even that they held an antagonistic posture toward other confessions, though many did, going so far as to present a view in which their army was the people of God or their analogue, and its enemy God's enemy, but rather that they took seriously the *particulars* of their religion. After all, they were religious professionals. And as such they presented a set of teachings and a worldview which were products of a specific religious culture with specific understandings of the world, history, the future, and morality, again formed by their religion. These understandings shaped the manner in which chaplains carried out their duties, as well as the duties which they believed were theirs to carry out.

Chapter II. Army Administration

Army administration is the subject of the lead chapter of this thesis, as it provides the essential structural context for what follows. It also engages with source types relied upon by most previous historiography of armies of the Thirty Years War – histories of its operational, political, or economic aspects. Despite cataloguing a plethora of data, mainly from administrative records in official archives, these accounts are, following their source base of official archives, largely devoid of material which illuminates personal, anecdotal, or qualitative realities. It is little surprise then that such histories make little of religion in the armies. This chapter draws from research in fourteen official archives in the "*Alte Reich*" as well as a wide range of printed sources to examine religion in army administration, showing that the presence of both religion and confession was in these areas of somewhat more significance than has previously been recognized.

Armies were influenced by the societies from which they came, and developed their own norms in a way broadly akin to a city or town.[1] A coalescence of long traditions of war-making – antique, Carolingian, medieval, and early modern – comprised the core of central European military culture at the time of the Thirty Years War.[2] However, military culture always remained distinct and somewhat independent, a characteristic which Hans-Michael Möller explains as a fulfilment of the necessary task of preserving political rulers' powers and prerogatives, known to previous

[1] See P. Wilson, 'Defining Military Culture', *The Journal of Military History* 72 (2008); For development of cultural norms in communities, see J. Theibault, *German Villages in Crisis: Rural Life in Hesse-Kassel and the Thirty Years' War, 1580-1720* (Atlantic Highlands, 1995), esp. pp. 26f.
[2] R. Asch, 'Kriegsrecht und Kriegswirklichkeit in der Epoche des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', *Osnabrücker Jahrbuch Frieden und Wissenschaft* V (1998), p. 108; F. Redlich, *De Praeda Militari*: *looting and booty, 1500-1815* (Wiesbaden, 1956).

centuries variously as *Heeresfrieden* or *Königsfrieden*, or even (for certain cities) *Burgfrieden*.[3] Overarching similarities shared by armies operating in central Europe stemmed as much from hundreds of years of precedent as from recent conflict such as the Long Turkish War of 1591-1606, preceding the outbreak of the Thirty Years War by only fifteen years, in which most of the high-ranking officers and commanders of the first half of the Thirty Years War were comrades.[4]

In the intra-European wars of previous centuries, religion played a minor and inconsistent role in the administration of armies.[5] With the obvious exceptions of the external Crusades and Ottoman wars, the less-polarized Christian context of the pre-Reformation Empire created little cause for infusing army administration with religious identity. But the religious rift of the sixteenth century brought about a cultural shift in western and central Europe in which religion (specifically confession) emerged as an identity marker, where religious identity had for centuries in Catholic Europe been more or less assumed. An uptick in religious content in army (as well as civilian) administration at this time is accordingly to be anticipated,[6] although its emergence in this area at this time may have had as much to do with the contemporary Europe-wide trend of institution building,[7] as the rise in religious content being almost always generically "Christian", and not recognizably Protestant or Catholic, would suggest. Confessional aspects were – at least with regard to

[3] H.M. Möller, *Das Regiment der Landsknechte. Untersuchungen zu Verfassung, Recht und Selbstverständnis in deutschen Söldnerheeren des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, 1976), p. 44; see also Asch, 'Kriegsrecht und Kriegswirklichkeit', p. 108; Redlich, *De Praeda Militari*, pp. 2-5.
[4] Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, p. 84.
[5] See E. von Frauenholz, *Entwicklungsgeschichte des Deutschen Heerwesens* (6 vols, Munich, 1935-41), ii (in two parts).
[6] Funke, 'Religion', p. 48; for an early example see 'Kaysers Maximiliani I. Articuls-Brieff', 1508, printed in J.C. Lünig, *Corpus Juris Militaris Des Heil. Röm. Reichs*. (Leipzig, 1723), pp. 3-4.
[7] Wilson, 'Defining Military Culture', p. 15; A. Goldgar and R.I. Frost (eds), *Institutional Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2004).

administration of armies as opposed to local and municipal militias – kept at bay in the confessionally heterogenous Empire through the sixteenth century.

This chapter finds in army administration of the Thirty Years War two developments from the status quo at the time of the war's outbreak: firstly, an increasing presence of religion, and secondly an introduction of a confessional element to religion. The first section confirms the minor role played by religion in the core functions and routines of army business, but in examining types of sources which have not been considered by previous historiography which has itself relied on administrative sources, it elucidates a new finding of a noticeable increase in religion and even confession in this sphere. Section two explores some of the possible influences on and reasons for this development, taking as its subject the realm of military law.

These were small beginnings which were largely subject to the agendas of individual rulers and army commanders and changing wartime circumstances. A multitude of powerful limiting factors, for instance the confessionally mixed composition of the soldiery, or the ambiguity of the confessional ties they did have (even more the case among soldiers than officers) largely prevented rulers from being able to "confessionalize" their respective armies, which during the Thirty Years War would have so jeopardized their position that it was never fully attempted. As one historian puts it, "The *ratio belli* forced warlords to resign to the fact that confessional homogeneity was theoretically desirable but practically unattainable."[8] However, as far out of reach as confessional homogeneity was, this did not prevent political leaders and clergy from cautiously promoting confessionally specific religion within their

[8] Funke, 'Religion', pp. 44-5; P. Sörensson, 'Das Kriegswesen während der letzten Periode des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', in H. Rudolf (ed), *Der Dreißigjähriger Krieg: Perspectiven und Strukturen* (Darmstadt, 1977), pp. 434-5.

armies, including for the first time in areas of army administration, which laid the groundwork for the increasingly confessionalized and confessionalizing armies of the Empire following the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.[9]

Army business

All armies of the Thirty Years War which operated primarily in the Empire shared, with variations, a single military culture – one which handled routine army business in a manner which was above all practical. The overwhelming preponderance of source material in the form of reports, missives, orders, lists, rolls, receipts, accountings, and letters in official archives yielded nothing in the way of religion beyond periodic passing references to God, indicating that religion was only rarely observable in routine functions and communications. More or less rote administrative documents included no space for religion. Muster rolls sometimes listed a regimental chaplain, but never (with only a single exception) the confession of soldiers, officers, or prisoners themselves.[10] The more free-form reports and military correspondence allowed scope for passing mentions of religion to appear, which are mostly similar across confessional lines. Some sound genuinely heartfelt, revealing perceptions of divine presence, or even guidance: "God blessed me, in allowing me to have made it from the beginning to the end unscathed", while others (more common) refer to God's providence or assistance in a generic way.[11] They were always brief, not in these contexts elaborated upon.

[9] Funke, 'Religion', p. 48.
[10] 'Interrogatorien, Aussagen und Verzeichnisse omnis generis 1633-1648', Bayerisches Haupstaatsarchiv, Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv (KubayÄA) 2904.
[11] Letter from anonymous lieutenant to general Matthias Gallas, 12 June 1647, Děčín, Státní oblastní archiv v Litoměřicích, Děčín-Podmokly, Rodinný archiv Clam-Gallas (RACG) 369 I; Letter from Correspondent Johan Hülsshorst to field marshal Herman Wrangel, 15 Nov. 1632, printed in G.

This study has identified two types of sources – one textual, the other material – which have been neglected by conventional accounts of the war and show beginnings of religion and confession creeping into army business: army commissars' reports and correspondence, and regimental standards. Additionally, though not entailing an overlooked source type *per se*, there is more light to be shed on religion in personnel (recruitment and promotion).

While these sources hardly overturn previous overall impressions regarding religion's role in army administration at the time of the Thirty Years War, they do further undermine the use of source material on army administration as support for interpreting religion as unimportant in army life as a whole. They show occasions in even the most practical and utilitarian aspects of army life when religion and confession were not entirely kept under the surface, and the beginnings of the greater role which religion and confession would play in decades following the war.

Commissars

Commissars were not contractors like army officers and soldiers, but employees of armies' political leaders, for whom commissars' power and influence was an extension of their own. Being the *raison d'être* of the commissariat, the close connection between rulers' authority and commissars remained broadly consistent, though a recent study has highlighted some variation between individual commissars.[12] The evidence found

Wittrock (ed), 'Frya Relationer om Slaget vid Lützen', *Historisk Tidskrift,* 52 (1932), pp. 302-4; Letter from Imperial cavalry officer, 19 Nov. 1632, printed in Wittrock, 'Frya Relationer', pp. 304-5; Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg (HSM) 4 h 355, 'Benthon Regiment zu Fuß 1645-1657 (nacher Wiederholt)', ff. 295, 303.

[12] K. Saito, 'Das Kriegskommissariat der bayerisch-ligistischen Armee während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges' (PhD thesis, University of Potsdam, 2020). For an earlier view see O. Hintze, 'Der Commissarius und seine Bedeutung in der allgemeinen Verfassungsgeschichte', in: O. Hintze et al., *Staat und Verfassung. Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Göttingen, 1962).

by this study indicates that commissars were much more active in Catholic than Protestant armies, where their role seems less prominent. Though in 1629 Christian IV instructed Danish commissars to ensure that each ship of Scottish troops was provided with a chaplain, and that they recited the Lord's Prayer and lead a hymn every morning and evening.[13] Commissars were the "eyes and ears" of the war chancellery in the ranks, overseeing payroll, delivering and representing direct orders of the political leader, and regularly reporting on all aspects of the army. Their role representing the ruler was most visible in their quarterly custom of reading aloud the articles of war to mustered regiments.[14] The directives they received and the reports they made show close attention to religious and confessional matters. In 1643, an imperial commissar was even giving instructions to the head of the field chaplaincy: vicar general Heinrich Paströyer was, after being informed of blasphemy among the troops, told to improve discipline, and "institute the Catholic religion... with authority."[15]

The most extensive material evincing commissars' attention to religious and confessional matters found by this study is in the archives of the Bavarian war chancellery. One of the best-organized official archives of any army of the war, it is also the only one known to this study which preserves commissars' reports and correspondence with the war chancellery in separate dedicated volumes rather than piled into the general archive at random. In these it is clear that Bavarian commissars were routinely involved with religious and confessional concerns. Though the majority

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[13] Letter from Christian IV to Danish war commissioners, 3 March 1629, printed in E. Marquard, Rigsarkivet et al. (eds), *Kancelliets Brevbøger Vedrørende Danmarks Indre Forhold* (39 vols, 1885-2005, Copenhagen), 1627-1629, p. 650. Sweden did apparently have commissars: Michael Havemann, *Christliche Leich-Predigt... Herrn Petri Brandt. Ihr Königl. Mayt. Und der Cron Schweden wohlbehalten General Kriegs-Commisari…* (Hamburg, 1648). Hesse-Kassel seems also to have had at least a handful of commissars: HSM 17 d Schenck zu Sb 163

[14] G. Droysen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des militärwesens in Deutschland... 1838-1908* (Hannover, 1875), pp. 23-4.

[15] Letter from Imperial vicar general Paströyer to Gallas, 2 May 1643, RACG 368 I.

of their correspondence focused on overseeing other matters, it also regularly relayed information about the religious side: pay, provision, and quartering of chaplains,[16] the quality of chaplains' work, the quality and content of their sermons,[17] their appointments, their reputation,[18] and the overall state of religion in the regiment.[19] Maximilian, like Ferdinand III, regularly paid close attention to the field vicariate, issuing at least nine separate regulations and proclamations pertaining to their respective field chaplaincies. In addition to corresponding with chaplains, they received regular reports about them from their war commissars, not coincidentally all of whom, in the Bavarian case, were Catholics.[20] If Maximilian could not have a Catholic officer corps and army, at least he could have these supervised and evaluated by Catholic eyes.

Personnel

If widespread accounts of pillage and rapine which followed the armies of the Thirty Years War are any indication, the stated desire of rulers for their soldiers, and especially their officers, to be law-abiding was very much unfulfilled. All the more remote then was the possibility of enforcing "correct" religion upon their armies, which they generally avoided, even to the point of intentionally excluding religion from some contexts altogether. This was true above all in recruitment. In the multiconfessional atmosphere in the Empire, rulers and commanders would have risked alienating the confessional "other" among potential recruits if their enlistment

[16] KuBayÄA 2257; KuBayÄA 2728, 1642, f. 19; KubayÄA 2729, 1642, ff. 1, 89, 141-2.
[17] KuBayÄA 2728, ff. 412-20.
[18] KuBayÄA 2728, f. 416; KubayÄA 2257 1619-32, KuBayÄA 2729, ff. 40, 88-92; KubayÄA 2729, f. 89; KuBayÄA 2728, ff. 658-61.
[19] KubayÄA 2729, ff. 141-2.
[20] C. Kapser, *Die Bayerische Kriegsorganisation in der zweiten Hälfte des Dreißigjährigen Krieges 1635-1649* (Münster, 1997), p. 110.

included explicit support of a confessional agenda. From the recruiting source material reviewed by this study, neither a single recruiting pamphlet out of twenty, nor a single recruitment roll out of hundreds, included any confessional element whatsoever. Recruiting pamphlets appealed to potential recruits' patriotism, sense of duty, desire for gain, honour, tradition, and many other things, but never religion, with the demand for manpower leaving leverage for little beyond patchily enforcing attendance at basic religious services, outlawing blasphemy, and providing chaplains.[21]

Other areas reflected intentional side-stepping of the confessional issue in personnel matters, most of all when it came to common soldiers. The impressment of prisoners of war into service (practiced by all sides during the war) such as Peter Hagendorf, a soldier memorialized for the extensive diary he kept – an anomaly among common soldiers of the time[22] – evinces this, as well as muster rolls which continued not to record confessional affiliation of soldiers and officers, a practice which would become common in the decades following the war. From hundreds of muster rolls of multiple armies (Protestant and Catholic) over the course of the war reviewed by this study, only a single exception to this was found.[23]

Confession was not the only data left unrecorded: while it became increasingly common practice in the latter half of the seventeenth century to record personal data such as place of birth, age, marital status, occupation, height, and confessional affiliation, in the Thirty Years War such data points were recorded only piecemeal, and often not at all. Even if the institutional army had wanted to tabulate the

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[21] Recruitment pamphlets: Bayerisches Haupstaatsarchiv, Dreißigjähriger Kriegs Akten (DKA) 2216, p. 303 (1619); DKA 2216 (1641); DKA 2208 (1638-95-); DKA 2209 (1639, 1642); HSM 4 h 306 (1619, 1620); Swedish Rolls: Svenska Krigsarkivet, Rullor 1620-1723; Bavarian Rolls: KuBayÄA 2208, 2209, 2221, 2225, 2257. See also E. Roth, *Gotische Wandmalerei in Oberfranken: Zeugnis der Kunst des Glaubens* (Würzburg, 1982), pp. 303f.
[22] Peter Hagendorf, *'Tagebuch eines Söldners aus dem dreißigjährigen Krieg',* ed. J. Peters (Göttingen, 2012).
[23] 'Interrogatorien... 1633-1648', KuBayÄA 2904.

confessional affiliations of its soldiers (which it did not), making use of such information was outside even its own perceived capabilities at the time of the Thirty Years War, with power remaining largely decentralized among individual regimental commanders.[24]

Michael Kaiser's 2000 article surveys the influence of religion on officers' careers, explaining that their confessional affiliation was "important, and often the deciding criterion" in appointment and promotion.[25] This was not an absolute importance, but rather a potential to be important, in conjunction with other factors. Nonetheless it reflected the considerable social distance between officers and soldiers in early modern military culture, and the much greater perceived importance of officers in terms of their influence upon issues touching confession.

The fact that confessionally "other" officers were common did not depreciate the expedience of confessional alignment between officers and their employers. An officer – even a recruiting officer – who professed the "wrong" confession, especially in the Liga/Bavarian army, could lose his job,[26] and, though a rare case, one of the terms of Franz Albrecht of Saxe-Lauenburg's contract to command an army of Saxons to fight in Silesia in 1641 recruited by the pious general Arnim, who had just died, was that Franz Albrecht attest that he was not a Catholic, as had been rumoured.[27]

Maximilian's confessional scruples over personnel extended even to the personal servants of his generals, as seen in his advising Gronsfeld to replace his

[24] See V. Groebner, *Who Are You?: Identification, Deception, and Surveillance in Early Modern Europe*, trans. M. Kyburz and J. Peck (Princeton, 2007).
[25] Kaiser, 'Cuius Exercitus', pp. 326-7.
[26] ibid., p. 327.
[27] J.S. Ersch, *Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste: Erste Section A-G* (Leipzig, 1848), p. 88.

Protestant servants with Catholics.[28] In 1629 Maximilian refused to allow a Protestant colonel to supervise a shipment of coin for the payment of his army.[29] He periodically complained to Tilly about the proportion of Protestant officers in his army and life guard regiment, and in November 1629 the two agreed to disband a Colonel Pechmann's regiment – according to Maximilian, "a weak regiment, with mostly uncatholic officers."[30] Similarly, Ferdinand II advised Maximilian in 1632 to involve only Catholic officers in the siege of Augsburg.[31] While this study found little evidence of this level of attention to the confession of officers among Protestant armies, Swedish king and commander Gustavus Adolphus did lose one of his most trusted commanders, Scotsman John Hepburn, after a spat at table about Hepburn's Catholicism.[32]

Confessional "otherness" had the potential to attract suspicion especially in the wake of misfortune or defeat, whether of active subversion, or simply deficiency of character or dedication. Examples include Imperial colonel Wartenberg blaming Protestant officers for the disastrous defeat of the Imperial-Catholic League army at Breitenfeld, or in an unusual instance in 1644, the Swedish commandant of Olmütz executing a "pious" Catholic corporal for "defeatist statements".[33] Suspicion of the loyalty of the confessional "other" was not always unfounded: in multiple instances, Protestant

[28] J. von Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte von Bayern, Franken, Pfalz, und Schwaben von 1506 bis 1651* (2 vols, Munich, 1868), ii, p. 328.
[29] ibid., p. 327.
[30] Letter from Maximilian to Tilly, 3 April 1623, printed in W. Goetz, D. Albrecht, A. Duch, K. Bierther et al. (eds), *Die Politik Maximilians I. von Bayern und seiner Verbündeten 1618–1651* (II parts, 2 and 10 vols respectively, Leipzig and Munich, 1907-2022), II, i, p. 115; Letter from Maximilian to Tilly, 4 Nov. 1629, printed in Goetz, Albrecht, Duch, Bierther et al., *Die Politik Maximilians,* II, v, p. 125; Kapser, *Bayerische Kriegsorganisation,* pp. 89, 101.
[31] ibid., p. 329.
[32] A. Grosjean, 'Hepburn, John [*known as* Sir John Hepburn] (c. 1598/1636)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, Sept. 2004), https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2648/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13005?rskey=djhaaF&result=2 (21 Jan. 2021).
[33] Kaiser, 'Cuius Exercitus', p. 329.

officers of the Imperial army were credibly suspected of passing intelligence on to (Protestant) Electoral Saxony.[34]

Meanwhile confessional "sameness" was often advantageous: commissars highlighted a Bavarian officer's Catholicism to induce Maximilian to promote him; officers were praised for their confessional devotion in private correspondence and letters of recommendation,[35] and conversion could serve as a prerequisite to an appointment.[36] Because of this, conversions came to be associated with changing military loyalties, especially in one direction: Schlick, Pappenheim, Götz, Sporch, Truchseß, Fahrensbach, Meusinger, and Wolff von Mansfeld were some of the more prominent generals and colonels to have converted to Catholicism before or soon after leaving the service of a Protestant army for a command in a Catholic one.

Ferdinand III's appointment of Calvinist Melander as Imperial field marshal in the final years of the war is the most well-known example of a cross-confessional appointment of a commander, and while it is true that the Imperial army in promotion and appointment was less attentive to confession than others, it has rightly been pointed out that such an appointment would have been unthinkable earlier in the war.[37] Notable leading generals such as Melander, Rudolf von Teuffenbach, and Franz Albrecht of Saxe-Lauenburg serving political leaders of the "other" confession were treated as exceptions, as emphasized by Bavarian regulations for the field chaplaincy which instructed chaplains to make rites and religious services available to

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[34] ibid., p. 330.
[35] HSM 4 h 3551, f. 15, 'Thüngen Regiment zu Fuß'; HSM 4 h 3551, f. 107, 'Gelbe Rgt.'; Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte,* ii, p. 1106; Letter from Maximilian to Ferdinand II, late 1620s, printed in Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte,* ii, pp. 1106-7; Letter from Commissar Ruepp to Maximilian, 8 Feb., 1632, Relation aus dem königlichen schwedischen Feldlager zwischen der Donau und der Lech zu Nordheim den 4. April 1632', Stadtarchiv Ingolstadt (SI), A X 3a.
[36] Letter from Commissar Ruepp to Maximilian 'Relation aus dem königlichen schwedischen Feldlager zwischen der Donau und der Lech zu Nordheim den 4. April 1632', 8 Feb. 1632, printed in Goetz, Albrecht, Duch, Bierther et al. (eds), *Die Politik Maximilians,* II, ii, p. 17; Kaiser, 'Cuius Exercitus', pp. 345-7.
[37] D. Murdoch, *Scotland and the Thirty Years War* (Leiden, 2001), p. 140.

troops, "even if their officers should be non-Catholics".[38] All top Bavarian generals were Catholic throughout the war, and even in the Imperial army of the 1640s there were few Protestant colonels (in 1641, only three).[39] Confessional affiliation could obviously be expected to factor in more for officers serving principalities whose rulers were themselves prelates, such as those of Würzburg, Cologne, Fulda, and others.[40] On the other hand, preference for confessional confrères, which was restricted to the officer corps in any case, was not universal. It may have even been actively opposed by Wallenstein, who probably intentionally hired Protestant officers to remove any religious motive for loyalty to the Emperor rather than to himself.[41]

Whatever the confession of a ruler or commander, confessional language remained in all cases excluded from public documents such as appointment letters and proclamations,[42] which was consistent with longstanding precedent of European military culture which had never put religion into these documents in the first place.[43] Confession's importance as a variable in officers' appointments and promotions was like others, relative and contingent. A general whose cachet promised to bring recruits, prestige, and victory, for example someone like Mansfeld, Wallenstein, or Melander, could justify a greater degree of toleration of confessional differences, and the concomitant perception of rulers, such as Ferdinand II, of a higher risk of

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[38] A. Frisch, 'Abt Benedikt von Wiblingen', in S*tudien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens,* 2/1 (Wien, 1881), pp. 156f.
[39] Sörensson, 'Das Kriegswesen', pp. 434-5.
[40] Franciscus Bergius, *Verorum Christianorum Gloria… Leichbegängniß Des... Georg Ernstn Wurmbs, Obristen...* (Goslar, 1646), p. 30.
[41] Kaiser, 'Cuius Exercitus', pp. 337-8; S. Riezler, *Geschichte Baierns* (8 vols, Gotha, 1878-1932), vi, p. 164; K. Reitzenstein, *Der Feldzug des Jahres 1621 mit der Besitzergreigung der Oberpfalz* (Munich, 1891), p. 140; S. Riezler, *Die Meuterei Johann's v. Werth, 1647* (Munich, 1899), pp. 43, 122f.
[42] O. Elster, *Die Piccolomini-regimenter während des 30jährigen krieges besonders das Kürassier-regiment Alt-Piccolomini...* (Vienna, 1903), pp. 17-18; 'Geyso's Bestallung in Hessen' (1 Aug 1629), printed in F. von Geyso, *Beiträge zur Politik und Kriegführung Hessens im Zeitalter des 30jährigen Krieges* (2 vols, Schönhoven, 1923), ii, p. 32.
[43] 'Jnstruction was unnser Haubtmann Regenten unnd Rete unnser Nideroesterreichischen Lannde zu Wien mitsambt unserm Diener Weickharten Herrn zu Polhaim handeln süllen', 1498, printed in Frauenholz, *Entwicklungsgeschichte,* ii, 2, pp. 170-2; Bavarian Bestallung-Ordnung, 1611, printed in Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte,* ii, pp. 1100-2.

disloyalty of such army members. The professionalized norms of military culture went some way toward mitigating these risks, most of all regarding top commanders of an opposite confession, who had more to lose in reputation from defeat or public disgrace than they had to gain from any confessional double-dealing. As ever, but especially in the Thirty Years War, rulers had to attempt to reconcile long term strategic aims with practical limitations; accordingly, "army organization was largely the same among all leaders",[44] with the importance of confession appearing not as an absolute but as a tendency in dynamic balance with other factors.

Regimental standards

Another source type which has received some recent attention is regimental standards, or banners.[45] These were both the symbolic and the physical focal point of the regiment, "of tactical and strategic importance…. The banner itself was imbued with sacral worth."[46] Catholic armies' banners were consecrated by priests and chaplains, and soldiers in all armies swore their oaths not only to the articles of war, but also to the banner itself.[47]

The visual representation of a unit's honour, banners were commonly designed with an overtly religious and confessional motif, an intentional signal to troops, officers, commanders, and noncombatants of the confessional associations of

[44] Sörensson, 'Das Kriegswesen', p. 436.
[45] J. Kraus, *Bayerische Fahnen. Die Fahnen und Standarten des bayerischen Heeres vom 16. Jahrhundert bis 1918* (Vienna, 2017); A. Lucht and J. Lucht, *Fahnen & Standarten aus der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges 1618-1648* (4 vols, Freiberg, 2015-16); R. Sennewald, *Die kursächsischen Feldzeichen im Dreißigjährgen Krieges 1618-1648* (Berlin, 2013); Funke, 'Religion'; M. Junkelmann (ed), *'Der Du Gelehrt Hast Meine Hände Den Krieg' Tilly – Heiliger Oder Kriegsverbrecher?* (Altötting, 2007).
[46] Funke, 'Religion', p. 66, quoting Möller, *Regiment,* pp. 63ff.
[47] Gaspard Wiltheim, *Itinerarium Patris Joannis Gaspari Wiltheim*, ed. A. Steffen (Luxembourg, 1959), p. 211; Chaline, *ataille,* p. 229; M. Junkelmann, "In diesem Zeichen wirst du siegen': Feldzeichen im Dreißigjährigen Krieg', in Junkelmann, *'Der Du Gelehrt'*, pp. 81-2.

both the army in general and the regiment in particular. If nothing else, this meant that a confessional element of the army's group identity was visible in a place of prominence on a daily basis and at cohesive moments in the life of an army and of its individual units, including battle, but also muster, camp, and courts martial.

Antje and Jürgen Lucht's recent exhaustive multi-volume study of the standards of major armies of the war shows that roughly half featured a religious motif. Whereas Bavarian, Protestant Union, Swedes, and Saxon banners varied between 50-70% religious motifs, interestingly Imperial banners in the study were markedly less religious at only 20-25% (which does correlate to Imperial *generalissimo* Wallenstein's reputation of laxity toward religion in his army). Though all banners were not confessional, at roughly 30-40%, if taken as a single category, confession was the most represented type of motif. Most banners with a religious motif were identifiable as either Protestant or Catholic. Protestant armies' standards, consistent with the minimal use of images among Protestants in general, were mostly text. By contrast, images predominated on Catholic banners. The use of text or image provides a rough litmus test of whether a banner was of a Protestant or Catholic army, sometimes assisted by a discernibly confessional bent to the religious motif itself.

Recognizably Catholic were those of the first company of every Imperial regiment at the battle of White Mountain, adorned with the Madonna and Christ child,[48] or those with Mary and Jesus (distinct from the preceding in being depicted separately on the same banners, and with Christ as an adult),[49] the Lamb of God, or

[48] R. Bernhard-Koppenberger, 'Rekonstruktion von Fahnen und Standarten des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', in Junkelmann, *'Der Du Gelehrt'*, p. 83.
[49] Bussmann and Schilling, *1648,* ii, p. 112. See also Henry Fitzsimon, *Diary of the Bohemian War of 1620*, ed. and trans. E. Hogan (Dublin, 1881), p. 101 (Bucquoy); Junkelmann, *'Der Du Gelehrt',* pp. 158-60 (Tilly); C. von Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen* (10 vols, Marburg, 1820-58), viii, pp. 148-9 (Abbott of Fulda's life guard); Chaline, *bataille,* p. 229 (Imperial banner at White Mountain); Lucht and Lucht, *Fahnen,* i, pp. 108-15, 133.

of other saints.[50] Examples of religious motifs on Protestant banners include *PRO CONSCIENTIA ET PATRIAE LIBERATE; ICH LIEBE GOTT UND DIE GERECHTIGEN; DEUS FORTITUDO MEA; JUSTUM DEI INDICIUM* (Bohemian Confederation);[51] *TOVT POUR DIEV ET POVR ELLE; GOTTES FREUND PFAFFEN FEIND* (Christian von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel);[52] *A DEO VICTORIA, PRO REGE LEGE ET GREGE; GOTT DIE EHR* (Lower Palatinate);[53] *SI DEUS PRO NOBIS QUIS CONTRA NOS*; *GOTT ALLEIN; JEHOVA; SOPUS VITAE MEAE CHRISTUS* (Electoral Saxony);[54] *AVF GOTT TRAV ICH, AVF GOTT TRAV ICH* (Braunschweig-Lüneburg); *DEUS IN BONA CAVSA VINDEX; DEVS VICTORIA NOSTRA; PRO RELIGIONE LEGE ET GREGE* (Sweden);[55] *IN NOMINE DOMINI* (Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel); and *DEO ET PATRIS* (Bernhardines).[56]

It is notable that of the hundreds of examples of Electoral Saxon banners unearthed by Roland Sennewald's exhaustive study, none display images of saints, the Virgin Mary, or Christ. Not even a cross was used; all religious content was textual.[57] In this Electoral Saxony is unique, as typically there were exceptions to the "litmus test": a minority of Catholic banners used text, such as the Imperial *EXSURGE DOMINE ET JUDICA CAUSAM TUAM!* (the first two words also being the title of Leo X's eponymous 1520 bull condemning Luther's ninety-five theses),[58] or one of Tilly's regimental banners, *IN DEO SPERANTES NON CONFUDENTUR*, or Maximilian's,

[50] Bernhard-Koppenberger, 'Rekonstruktion', p. 83.
[51] L. Spring, *The Battle of the White Mountain 1620 and the Bohemian Revolt, 1618-1622* (Dorchester, 2018), Appendix II, unpaginated.
[52] A. Westkamp, *Das Heer der Liga in Westfalen zur Abwehr des Grafen von Mansfeld und des Herzog Christians von Braunschweig* (Münster, 1891), p. 304.
[53] Lucht and Lucht, *Fahnen*, i, pp. 21-2, 36-7.
[54] Sennewald, *Feldzeichen*, pp. 110, 118, 174.
[55] Lucht and Lucht, *Fahnen*, i, pp. 52-5.
[56] ibid., i, pp. 21-2, 55, 120, 130.
[57] Sennewald, *Feldzeichen*.
[58] Chaline, *Bataille,* p. 227; Fitzsimon, *Diary,* p. 101.

which quoted from the Song of Songs.[59] Catholic banners' use of text often accompanied images, such as the Bavarian *IN HOC SIGNO VINCES* with a cross;[60] *Terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinate* with an image of the Virgin Mary and a monogram of her and Jesus; *Maria mater gratiae* with an image of the Virgin;[61] and the either Bavarian or Imperial banners reading *ECCE AGNUS DEI* with the image of the Lamb of God, and the lengthy *DOMINA SANCTA MARIA SALVVM FAC IMP OMNINO NOSTRVM ET EXAVDI NOS IN DIE QVA INVOCAVERIMVS TE* with an image of St. John the Baptist kneeling at the feet of the Virgin.[62] Likewise a minority of Protestant standards displayed images, especially the cross. Those with more vivid images were Ernst von Mansfeld's standard depicting a golden crown of thorns on a black background, Wolf Heinrich von Issenburg-Büdingen's displaying a soldier chasing after a priest, and the Swedish cavalry banner of a cardinal carrying a devil in his arms.[63]

Unusually highly representated in the army, as opposed to the general population, was first a riotous, anti-religious attitude, as further discussed in Chapter V. Some banners depicted this, reading, "BOOTY" (*BEUTE*), and "REVENGE" (*RACHE*), and were emblazoned with skulls, and wolves gnashing their teeth. [64] Even darker were those of a billhook grabbing a woman, a soldier killing a farmer,[65] soldiers chasing a (probably Jesuit) priest with a club,[66] and Croat regiments' banners with a wolf gnashing its teeth.[67] The second prevalent minor theme of banners was devoted

[59] Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen,* viii, p. 149; Chaline, *bataille,* p. 229; G. Gilardone, *Tilly – Der Heilige im Harnisch* (München, 1932), p. 136.
[60] Lucht and Lucht, *Fahnen*, i, p. 113.
[61] Junkelmann, "In diesem Zeichen wirst du siegen", pp. 81-2.
[62] Bernhard-Koppenberger, 'Rekonstruktion', p. 83.
[63] Lucht and Lucht, *Fahnen,* i, pp. 35, 75-6, 147, 167.
[64] Lucht and Lucht, *Fahnen*, i, pp. 121, 38-9; Langer, *Kulturgeschichte*, p. 92.
[65] ibid., p. 97.
[66] ibid., pp. 75, 76.
[67] Langer, *Kulturgeschichte*, p. 92.

to Fortuna, the goddess of luck and unofficial patroness of war, and other quasi-pagan motifs, at roughly 10% of overall, in number second only to confessional themes. Perhaps the single banner most illustrative of the spectrum of military devotions on standards was that of a unit of Nuremberg troops which read *IN DEO ET FORTUNA*.[68]

The customary battle cry (*Feldruf*) exclaimed by armies as they entered battle was the auditory counterpart to the banner. Unlike banners, they were always religious – of the more than twenty battle-cries of armies entering battle known to this study, all were centred on religion.[69] Those of Protestant armies included *GOTT MIT UNS* (White Mountain, 1618; Lützen, 1632; Wittenweier, 1638; Riebelsdorfer Berg 1640),[70] *IM NAMEN JESU* (Lützen, 1632; Wevelinghoven/Grevenbroich, 1648),[71] *GOTT MIT UNS, GOTT UNSER HÜLFE, IN GOTTES NAMEN* (Liegnitz, 1634),[72] *DURCH HÜLFFE GOTTES* (Hessisch-Oldendorf, 1633),[73] *JESUS* (Hildesheim, 1634),[74] and *HILF JESU DEM HERR* (Second Breitenfeld, 1642).[75] Catholic battle

[68] L. Spring, *The Bavarian Army During the Thirty Years War: the Backbone of the Catholic League* (Solihull, 2017), p. 77.
[69] Anon., 'Kurzer Bericht meines Behalts vor und nach dem General-Treffen vor Prag auf dem Weißen Berg', printed in A. Gindely (ed), *Die Berichte über die Schlacht auf dem Weissen Berge bei Prag* (Vienna, 1877), pp. 175-9.
[70] Chaline, *Bataille,* pp. 261-2; H. Oraeus et al., *Theatri Europæ Vierdter Theil… seithero Anno 1638. bis Anno 1643…* (Frankfurt, 1692), p. 201; Jöns Månsson Teitt, 'Jöns Månsson Teitt, Kriegszüge mit Gustav II Adolph, 1621-1632', ed. H. Droste and A. Losman https://amg.hypotheses.org/quellen/kriegszuege-1621-32 (19 Jun. 2020), p. 28; Anon., *Relation oder gründliche Erzehlung, Wie die Ernstliche Feldt-Schlacht, so den 30 Julii Alten Calenders, dieses 1638 Jahrs nahend dem Dorff Wittenweyher in dem Preißgaw am Rheinstrom vorgegangen…* ([s.l.], 1638), unpaginated.
[71] H.H. Weber, *Der Hessenkrieg* (Gießen, 1935), p. 739.
[72] Johann Ostermann, *Gratiarum actio, das ist, Hertzliche Dancksagung, wegen der in Schlesien…* (Leipzig, 1634), pp. 6-7; Khevenhüller, *Annales*, xii, p. 1259.
[73] Pamphlet 8 July 1633, 'Aus einem andern Schreiben', printed on 'Quelle 3: Schlacht bei Hessisch-Oldendorf (28.6/8.7. 1633)' http://www.30jaehrigerkrieg.de/quelle-3-schlacht-bei-hessisch-oldendorf-28-6-8-7-1633/ (28 Oct. 2020).
[74] 'Königsmark... Hans Christoffer... Graf von...' http://www.30jaehrigerkrieg.de/konigsmarck-konigsmark-konigsmarx-khiningsmarckh-koningsmarkt-konnigesmark-koningsmarck-coningsmarck-conigsmarckius-conigmarc-hans-christoffer-christoph-graf-von-i-1600-bis-1639-2 (21 Oct. 2020); O. Jürgens, *Hannoversche Chronik* (Hannover, 1907), pp. 517-19.
[75] Anon., *A True and perfect relation of a great and bloudy battell fought the 23 of October old stile being the same day, upon which was fought … before Leipzik….* (London, 1642), p. 8.

cries included: *JESU, MARIA* (White Mountain, 1618),[76] *MARIA* (Lutter am Barenberge, 1626),[77] *JESUS MARIA* (Lützen, 1632; Hildesheim, 1634; Meppen, 1638),[78] *EMANUEL* (Wittenweier, 1638),[79] *SANCTA MARIA* (Riebelsdorfer Berg, 1640; Second Breitenfeld, 1642),[80] and *JESUS MARIA UND KEIN QUARTIER*.[81]

Law

This section considers the role played by religion and confession in the three major fora of military law, each of which served the cohesive function of mediating the somewhat uneasy balance of power between army commanders and soldiers: legal codes issued in the name of the army commanders known as articles of war, the oaths which soldiers and officers swore to them, and courts martial. Numerous legal-historical studies of military law make clear its particular prominence within European military culture, in particular emphasizing the autonomy of the military legal realm, with its jurisdiction delineated and codified by the articles of war.[82] All armies adopted their own versions of articles of war, oaths, and customs surrounding court martial protocols, but drew on a common lineage and borrowed extensively from one another. Accordingly, during the Thirty Years War, similarities among armies in

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[76] Chaline, *bataille*, pp. 261-2.
[77] Anon., '*Außführliche Relation welcher gestalt den 27. Aug. 1626... von dem Herrn Grafen Tilly... der König in Dennemark und desselben Armada bey dem Schloß und Dorf Luther... gänzlich zertrennt... worden'* ([s.l.], 1626), unpaginated.
[78] Jürgens, *Hannoversche Chronik*, pp. 517-19; Teitt, 'Kriegszüge', p. 28; H. Oraeus and M. Merian, *Theatri Europæ Continuatio III... von Anno 1633... bis 1638...* (Frankfurt, 1670), p. 943.
[79] Anon., *Relation... nahend dem Dorff Wittenweyher*, unpaginated.
[80] Anon., *A True and perfect relation*, p. 8; Oraeus et al., *Theatri Europæ Vierdter Theil*, p. 201.
[81] B. Reuschenberg, "Jesus Maria und kein Quartier!' Johannes Ernst Freiherr von Reuschenberg zu Setterich in den Reichsfreiherrenstand erhoben', *Jahrbuch des Geschichtsverein Baesweiler*, 2 (2011-12).
[82] B. von Bonin, *Grundzüge der Rechtsverfassung in den Deutschen Heeren zu Beginn der Neuzeit* (Weimar, 1904); W. Beck, *Die ältesten Artikelsbriefe für das deutsche Fußvolk: ihre Vorläufer und Quellen und die Entwicklung bis zum Jahre 1519* (Munich, 1908); Möller, *Regiment*; R. Baumann, *Landsknecht: von Helden und Schwartenhälsen* (Mindelheim, 1991), pp. 103ff; Burschel, *Söldner,* pp. 129ff; O. Prinz, *Der Einfluss von Heeresverfassung und Soldatenbild auf die Entwicklung des Militärstrafrechts* (Göttingen, 2005).

matters of law were more prevalent than differences. These commonalities included an increase in the occurrence of generic religious references as well as an emerging trend of confessionally-particular religious references.

Articles of war

Legal codes governing armies had developed gradually from late antiquity. As early as the thirteenth century, articles of war existed in a form not dissimilar to those at the commencement of the Thirty Years War and set the precedent of mentioning religion only occasionally and briefly.[83] Articles of war and oaths underwent a period of development and standardization as small feudal armies transitioned to campaigning armies of "mercenaries" (*Landsknechte*) from approximately the later fifteenth century to the mid-sixteenth century,[84] which coincided with the widespread increase of codification of military law and other norms of military culture.[85] By the latter half of the sixteenth century, religious language in articles of war began to surge, in step with increases in the length and detail of the articles in general.[86]

During this period the institutionalizing army began increasingly to attempt to align martial norms and values with those of religion as a means of advancing its own interests. At the same time, avoiding overt confessional content in this most formal and weighty of "spaces" within the institutional army minimized risk of division within

[83] Frauenholz, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, i; Bonin, *Grundzüge der Rechtsverfassung*; Beck, *Die ältesten Artikelsbriefe*; 'Derer sämmlichen Schweizer-Cantons alte Kriegs-Ordonnanz', 1393, printed in Lünig, *Corpus,* pp. 1389-91.
[84] J. Nowosadtko, 'Militärjustiz in der Frühen Neuzeit: Anmerkungen zu einem vernachlässigten Feld der historischen Kriminalitätsforschung', in H. Borck (ed), *Unrecht und Recht: Kriminalität und Gesellschaft im Wandel von 1500-2000.* (Koblenz, 2002), p. 641.
[85] See Lünig, *Corpus*; Frauenholz, *Entwicklungsgeschichte,* ii, 2.
[86] Funke, 'Religion', p. 41; Johnson, ''Victoria a Deo missa?'', p. 319. For compendia of articles of war issued by most major political entities, as well as those of many minor states, see Lünig, *Corpus*; Frauenholz, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, iii (in two parts).

the ranks as well as confessional-political problems for the ruler. General references to God, providence, Scripture, and the like, presented religion broadly conceived and provided plenty of room for the old military virtues of the *Landsknecht* such as loyalty, honour, and solidarity to accommodate those of religion such as sacrality, piety, authority, and identity. For example, one military manual recommended a lieutenant mention in passing, prefatory to reciting the articles of war, that the regiment was "assembled by God".[87]

Soldiers and officers swore oaths to uphold the articles of war upon joining their regiments, usually in "the ring" of the assembled regiment, gathered around the new recruits.[88] The swearing of an oath was the first act which a soldier performed, and represented not only his induction into a particular company and regiment, but also the legal authority of the army over him. Swearing the oath confirmed the army member's transition from one jurisdiction to another, subjecting him to martial rather than civil law. Despite how often articles of war were flouted by military men in practice,[89] Huntebrinker points out the "central importance of swearing the oath to the articles of war for the process of constituting the regiment and the integration of soldiers into the military society". He argues that the oath on the articles of war, which were read out quarterly to mustered regiments and at the swearings-in of new

[87] Hans Willem Kirchhof, *Militaris Disciplina* (Stuttgart, 1976), p. 222.
[88] R. Sennewald, *Das Kursächsische Heer im Dreissigjährigen Krieg 1618-1648* (Berlin, 2013), p. 587; Robert Monro, *Monro, His Expedition with the Worthy Scots Regiment Called Mac-Keys*, ed. W. Brockington (Westport, CT, 1999), pp. 14-15.
[89] 'Ausschreiben des Königl. Schwedischen Stadthalters Fürst Ludwigs von Anhalt an Herr Graf Christoff und Herr Graf Heinrich Vollrathen zu Stolberg und Wernigeroda und Hohnstein', 1631, printed in J.A. Zeitfuchs (ed), *Stolbergische Kirchen- und Stadt-Historie...* (Frankfurt, 1717), p. 318.

soldiers and officers,[90] was so important as to be the primary signifier of regimental membership and cohesion.[91]

Drawing from a common tradition, Protestant and Catholic articles of war shared a great deal, including large swathes of text from common templates forming the core of their content. The most recent versions of the common template at the outset of the Thirty Years War were Maurice of Nassau's 1590 articles for the armies of the United Provinces, and the 1593 *Kriegs Discurs* of Lazarus von Schwendi, each of which originated from the 1570 Imperial articles of war of Emperor Maximilian II.[92] Alterations to these templates during the Thirty Years War were marked, but not universal; perhaps half of the rulers of armies of the Thirty Years War continued the precedent of refraining entirely from religious language in their articles of war.[93]

What differentiated the articles of war of Protestant armies from those of Catholic armies, and where they principally deviated from the norm of earlier templates – all the more suggesting intentionality – was the inclusion of confessionally specific language. The Danish *Articulsbrieff* of 1625 begins with the section, "On obedience to God's Word": "So all of our field marshals, generals, and high- and low-

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[90] 'Königlicher Mayestät zu Schweden Kriegs Articuls Brieff', 1632, printed in Frauenholz, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, iii, 2, p. 410; E. Geijer, *The History of the Swedes*, trans.J.H. Turner (London, 1832), p. 244.
[91] J.W. Huntebrinker, *'Fromme Knechte' und 'Garteteufel': Söldner als soziale Gruppe im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Konstanz, 2010), p. 204.
[92] Funke, 'Religion', p. 47; Lazarus von Schwendi, *Kriegsdiscurs, Von Bestellung deß gantzen Kriegswesens, vnnd von den Kriegsämptern* (Frankfurt, 1593).
[93] Christian IV of Denmark, 'Articulsbrief, darauf die Knecht dem Hochlöblichen Bayrischen Craiß schwören sollen', 12 June 1601, printed in Heilmann, *Kriegesgeschichte*, ii, pp. 1130-7; 'Braunschweigischer Artikelsbrief', 1600-2, printed in H. Wertheim, *Der tolle Halberstadter: Herzog Christian von Braunschweig im prälzischen Kriege, 1621-1622: ein Abschnitt aus dem dreissigjährigen Kriege* (2 vols, Berlin, 1929), i, p. 121; Maximilian of Bavaria, 'Bestallung-Ordnung', 1611, printed in Heilmann, *Kriegesgeschichte*, ii, pp. 1094-1104; 'Badischen Kriegsartikeln', 1621, printed in Wertheim, *Christian von Braunschweig,* i; 'Kriegsartikel für den Nürnberger Auschuß', 28 May 1624, printed in Heilmann, *Kriegesgeschichte*, ii, pp. 1092-4; Anon., *Keyserliche Kriegßverfassung oder ArticulsBrieff... bey Auffrichtung eines jedes Regiments gelobt und geschwiren...* ([s.l.], 1626); 'Ariculsbrief und Kriegs-Ordnung, wornach der Stadt Franckfurt am Mayn geworbene Kriegs-Volck...', 1644, printed in Lünig, *Corpus*, p. 1234.

ranking officers and soldiers… should willingly listen to God's holy Word, and miss no sermons…."[94] Other Protestant articles – namely those of Sweden, Electoral Saxony, Hesse-Marburg, Hesse-Darmstadt, and the city of Danzig, similarly speak of "God's Word", or "God's Holy Word".[95] Some even began to include prayers, which were also confessionally tinged.[96] Articles for Hesse-Marburg were of a piece with the others, notably including nothing particularly Calvinist, the confessional affiliation of its ruling house of Hesse-Kassel.[97] This was due not to confession having been unimportant, but to the fact that the population of Hesse-Kassel, and especially its possession of Marburg, remained strongly Lutheran.[98]

Deviating most of all from the template was Sweden which issued articles of war in 1621 written personally by Gustavus. Gustavus' 1621 articles were essentially lifted from the minimally religious and non-confessional 1570 imperial articles, the one exception (Gustavus's chief contribution) being a handful of mentions of religion and particularly confession. Again, Sweden's deviations were restricted principally to articles relating to religion and confession; elsewhere the text of Swedish articles closely followed, even verbatim, the 1570 template of Maximilian II Even these were not original compositions, being partially drawn from Ferdinand of Hungary's 1536 articles. For instance, where the 1536 articles named "God and his Saints" as the objects of blasphemy, these were replaced by Gustavus with "God's holy name".[99]

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[94] Christian IV of Denmark, *Articulsbrieff* (Copenhagen, 1625), p. 3.
[95] Hessisches Staatsarchiv Darmstadt (HSD) E 8 B, 5/14, 'Fürstlich Hessen-Darmbstattische Kriegs-Articul für die Artillerie...', 1636, ff. 4-6; HSD, E 8 B, 179/11, 'Universal Articulbrief auf die Soldaten... der Stadt Danzig', [s.l.]; HSM 4 h, 3551, Ahlefeld Regiment zu Fuß 1646, ff. 358-61; Sennewald, *Kursächsische Heer*, p. 587.
[96] Hessisches Staatsarchiv Darmstadt (HSD), E 8 B, 179/11, 'Universal Articulbrief'; Gustavus Adolphus, *Schwedisches Kriegs-Recht, Oder Articuls-Brieff...* (Nuremberg, 1632), p. 6.
[97] HSD E 8 B, 179/11.
[98] See above pp. 20-1.
[99] A. Gierow, *Bidrag Till det Svenska Militäryrkoväsendets* (Uppsala, 1918), p. 51; Gustavus, *Schwedisches Kriegs-Recht*, p. 6.

It was the Swedish articles of 1632 that were "among the most important pieces of military legislation of the seventeenth century… copied by princes throughout Protestant Europe."[100] The significance of the confessional intensification in Gustavus' 1632 articles has been little acknowledged,[101] which is surprising in light of Sweden's leading European influence over the course of the next 150 years.[102] With the first nineteen articles pertaining directly to religion, this edition marked the greatest intensification of both confessional content and tone from earlier precedent, and make the religious mentions in the 1621 articles seem tepid by comparison.[103] A shift toward a more confessional tone is obvious from the titles of the first three sections: "On the Fear of God and the Holy Word of God", "On Church Service and Sermons", and "On the Calling and Office of Field Preachers".[104] Sweden's articles called for the spiritual development of soldiers: "In order to institute the fear of God within soldiers' hearts, they are expected to daily participate in the service of singing and praying morning and evening in camp." Swedish soldiers who regularly shirked this duty were to be "fitted with an iron collar".[105] Similarly, the Danish version ordered them to be "placed in irons".[106]

The greater propensity of Protestant than Catholic rulers to add confessional content to their articles of war was likely a result of two main factors: firstly the Imperial army being nominally a force representing the Empire as a whole and not

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[100] H. Berg 'Administering Justice and Bending the Legal Code. The Contested Implementation of the Swedish Articles of War, 1621–1650', in J. Nowosadtko, D. Klippel, and K. Lohsträter (eds), *Militär und Recht vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2016), p. 227; B. Donagan, 'Halcyon Days and the Literature of War: England's Military Education before 1642', *Past and Present,* 147/1 (1995), pp. 84–86.
[101] Berg, 'Administering Justice', p. 235.
[102] W.R. Hagan, 'The yet-unpaid debt of King Gustavus Adolphus: the development of military law in Europe during the cinquecento', *Armi del sovrano* (2001); Gierow, *Bidrag,* pp. 72, 125; Lünig, *Corpus,* p. 1191; 'Sjöartiklar', printed in Gierow, *Bidrag*, pp. 130-2; Alexander Leslie, *Articles and Ordinance of Warre* (Edinburgh, 1640); Funke, 'Religion', p. 47.
[103] Gierow, *Bidrag*, p. 76; Funke, 'Religion', p. 49; Gustavus, *Schwedisches Kriegs-Recht,* pp. 5-11.
[104] ibid.
[105] ibid., p. 7.
[106] Christian IV of Denmark, *Articulsbrieff*, p. 3.

just the pro-Habsburg Catholic half of it, which necessitated the norm of keeping explicitly confessional content excluded from of official and legal military documents (a norm which also rubbed off on the Bavarians), and secondly Protestant rulers' greater utilization of the print medium especially pertaining to religion, as seen in propaganda, printed sermons, and religious literature. The Danes and especially the Swedes, being invading forces, needed in the 1620s and 30s, when their articles of war were published, to rally German Lutheran princes and their subjects behind their cause. As such it could be argued that the addition of confessional content into their articles of war at this time was an act of virtue-signalling to manipulate popular opinion among their co-religionists. Though Gustavus unquestionably held lofty religious ideals for his army, he was keenly aware of early modern military culture's resistance to rapid changes, as well as the public relations benefit which could be gained by playing to Northern German Protestants desperate to be saved from Catholic-Habsburg rule.

Courts martial

Court martial records from the Thirty Years War, and from early modern central European armies in general, are extremely rare.[107] Aside from a single case in Lünig's *Corpus Iuris Militaris* they were unknown to the literature on the war until Jan Huntebrinker's discovery last decade of approximately thirty trial transcripts in the Saxon state archive in Dresden.[108] This thesis has discovered a further thirteen in the

[107] Berg, 'Administering Justice', p. 230.
[108] Huntebrinker, *'Fromme Knechte'*. See also a recent colorful synopsis of one of these trials in L. Staiano-Daniels, 'The War People: The Daily Life of Common Soldiers, 1618-1654' (Ph.D. thesis, University of California – Los Angeles, 2018), pp. 40-5; 'Verfahren, Urteil, und Execution wider das Käyserl. Madloische Regiment zu Pferde, so Anno 1642 in der Schlacht bey Breitenfeld...', printed in Lünig, *Corpus*, pp. 211-17.

Hessian state archives at Marburg and Wiesbaden, plus two additional trial records, each between 150-200 pages and including investigations, testimonies, evidence, examinations, procedures, and judgements (one in Dresden not known to Huntebrinker and one in the Schlick archive at Zámrsk).[109] A further sixteen records of investigations are located in the Hatzfeldt-Wildenburg archive, along with one judgment and two hearings – one possibly conducted under torture (*Peinliches Verhör*).[110] Given the revolution in social history since the 1970s following discoveries and analysis of trial records,[111] these documents hold great promise for similar research to deepen especially the social history of early modern warfare.

It is perhaps to be expected that avoidance of confession in court martial records would correspond with minimal mention of religion, as was indeed generally true. In this most public area of military administration where the army exercised absolute authority over the lives of its members, commanders, who also served as the final judge of appeal atop the military courts of law, could not afford to create a perception of confessional favouritism. A plethora of source types indicate that confession was kept out of military courts when possible, for instance trial transcripts, instructions for

[109] HSM 4 h 1428, 4557-64; HSM 17 d Schenck zu Sb 163; HSM 17 d von Haxthausen 26; HSM 17 I 5224; HSM 17 I 5226; Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden (HHStAW) 3036; Státní Oblastní Archiv – Zámrsk, RA Šliků (RAS) KP 13. One of the Marburg cases is over 150 pages as well: HSM 17 d von Haxthausen 26. Three additional court martial documents were located, but unable to be reviewed: 'Ordnung des Kriegsrates der Staatischen Garnison', 1645, Stadtarchiv Emden I Nr. 328; 'Gerichtsverfahren vor dem Kriegsrat gegen den Soldaten Johan Evers wegen versuchter Vergewaltigung der Dienstmagd des Emder Ratsherrn Dr. Clüver (Urteil: Pranger, Rutenschläge, Verbannung aus der Staatischen Garnison)' (1648), Stadtarchiv Emden I Nr. 328; 'Kriegsgerichtliches Urteil des Korporals in Sachsen R. Ascheberg' (1646), Niedersächsische Landesarchiv Aurich Rep. 4B 10a Nr. 166.

[110] Investigations: Fürstlich Hatzfeldt-Wildenburg'sches Archiv Schönstein (FHAS) 290 (1643); 558 (1648); 559; 560.

[111] Seminal examples include C. Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*, trans.J. Tedeschi and A. Tedeschi (London, 1980); N.Z. Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, MA, 1983); N.Z. Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, CA, 1987).

bailiffs, swearing-in oaths, arrest records, and witness statements, as well as the fact that chaplains were the only commissioned officers who did not sit on juries.[112]

However, it was not possible for the arena of justice to sequester God entirely. Judges – usually regimental colonels – took oaths on the Bible, and bailiffs opened court "in the name of God", invoking "the Trinitarian God and Jesus Christ"[113] and "the salutary birth and order (*Machtordnung*) of our one saviour and deliverer Jesus Christ".[114] Especially matters of judgment, punishment, and life and death demanded a link to a higher authority. Thus did the 1627 court martial of "Don Diho Alvauer Guillelmus", a cavalryman serving Electoral Saxony convicted of murdering a comrade, declare, "he violated God's commandment, human affection, and Christian love".[115] The document also makes repeated mentions that Guillelmus was to be given absolution and the Sacrament prior to his execution. A similar invocation of the divine was used to signal the gravest breach of military code, employed by a judge in the Imperial court martial on the aftermath of the second battle of Breitenfeld (1642), sentencing the entire cavalry regiment of Hans Georg Madlo for flight in the face of the enemy at a pivotal moment in the fighting. Speaking to the assembled company, whose standards would be ceremoniously broken in view of the entire army and whose ranks would be decimated twice over, the judge informed the cornet, "Your flight… has been seen by God and the regiment."[116]

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[112] Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte,* ii, p. 1031; Instructions for bailiffs: Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte,* ii, pp. 1137-43; Arrest records: KuBayÄA 2638, 2645; Witness statements: KuBayÄA 2638; HSM 4 h 1206.
[113] HSM 4 h 583; HSM 7 d von Haxthausen, 26.
[114] HSM 7 d von Haxthausen, 26, "…der Heilsamen geburt und Machtordnung unsers einigen Erlösers und Seligmachers Jesu Christi".
[115] SHD 11237 Geheimes Kriegsratcollegium Loc 10796/12, "wieder Gottes geboth, menschliche Affection, und Christliche Liebe gefündigt."
[116] 'Verfahren, Urteil, und Execution', printed in Lünig, *Corpus,* p. 212.

A type of court document discovered by this study, in this case a source type previously unknown to the literature on the war, also involves religious themes.[117] Correspondence between a Hessian (Hesse-Kassel) *Schultheiß* (the regimental legal officer) and the war chancellery consists of a list of queries from the *Schultheiß* and the responses from the war chancellery, each totalling seven pages. The *Schultheiß*'s questions are unsystematic, ranging from legal-procedural questions, to what to do in case of bad weather or his illness. He is also concerned with religion: whether courts martial may be held on the Sabbath (the answer is yes, following the conclusion of worship), whether he may serve a summons in Church (yes, after the sermon), and whether he has the power to rouse men from their quarters to force them to attend the sermon (yes).[118]

Another emergence of confessional content in military law was the Swedish army's *Consistorium Ecclesiasticum*, created by Gustavus to provide an outlet for the exercise of religious discipline within the military-clerical rather than the territorial ecclesiastical sphere, and kept entirely separate from the ordinary military legal courts. Presided over by clergy of the field consistory under a "mandate to discharge God's law and Christian evangelical order", capital punishment could be meted out for blasphemy and sacrilege,[119] while "drunken swearing" required a public repentance of the offender, kneeling, surrounded by his regiment.[120] Unfortunately for research (though not so for any potentially offending soldiers), this study came across no evidence of these punishments being carried out, or even that these courts ever convened, and knows of no surviving records of the Swedish army's *Consistorium*

[117] Burschel, *Söldner*, p. 143.
[118] HSM 4 h 583, 'Die Form der durch den Generalaudienzierer zu haltenden Kriegsgerichte', 1625, ff. 4-10, 13.
[119] Gustavus, *Schwedisches Kriegs-Recht*, pp. 5-11.
[120] ibid.

Ecclesiasticum. An innovation a couple of decades before its time, created during the high point of military campaigns with great administrative demands in vast newly conquered territories, there is no indication that it continued, if it ever did convene, in years following the death of Gustavus in November 1632.

Oaths

Officers' oath-swearing occurred most often at their commissionings, and for soldiers, whose oaths were sworn to the articles of war, at special swearing-in ceremonies. By the time of the Thirty Years War they had long been part of central European military culture, and always involved a certain appeal to the divine. Imperial officer Adam Junghans von der Olnitz's description of swearing the oath highlights the oath's sacral, even explicitly Christian aspects:

> When swearing, he should raise two fingers and the thumb of the right hand, but the smallest and other finger keep in the hand. And by this is understood: the thumb represents God the Father, the index finger God the son, the third finger God the Holy Spirit, the fourth finger the soul, and the smallest and fifth finger the body.[121]

Anecdotes such as one recorded by Droysen in which local militia defending an unnamed city pledged their loyalty by their souls would have been almost inconceivable in regular units, possible only within the more confessionally absorbed religious culture that prevailed in many larger towns and cities.[122] From approximately seventeen surviving oaths known to this study, both Catholic and Protestant armies employed measured confessional language in keeping with the tone

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[121] G. Droysen (ed), *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Militärwesens in Deutschland während der Epoche des dreßigjährigen Krieges* (Hannover, 1875), pp. 24-5. For the greater religious propensity of militia units raised among an urban population, see S. Carroll 'Rights of Violence', *Past & Present,* 214/7 (2012), p. 140.
[122] S.E. Ozment, *Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland* (New Haven, 1975); Droysen, *Beiträge,* pp. 24-5.

of their respective articles of war. All but one Protestant oath contain one or two recognizably confessional phrases such as "God's Holy Word", or "the Holy Gospel".[123] The lone exception is an undated "Oath for the Officers" in the Swedish army, all the more anomalous in that the three other oaths used by Gustavus did include confessional language.[124] Of the seven Catholic oaths – all Bavarian but one – only two used confessional language. The other four included intentionally generically religious language in their prohibition of blasphemy and exhortations to attend church (e.g., using the aconfessional term *Gottesdienst* rather than the Catholic-specific term *Messe*).[125] Although two Bavarian army oaths employed mild confessional language invoking "God and all his saints", even this was paired with a version for Bavarian field marshals which left these words out.[126] Similarly, the 1647 Bavarian oath for generals and officers, composed as a part of a response to the mutiny of commanding general Johann Werth, replaced the confessional language in the previous version with confessionally ambiguous terms.[127]

Variations in the usage of confessional language between allied armies, or within individual armies, were unlikely to have been coincidences or administrative oversights, least of all in the two armies (the Swedish and Liga/Bavarian) vigilantly

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[123] Electoral Saxony: GK Loc. 10796/28, Loc. 10796/35; Droysen, *Beiträge,* pp. 24-5; K.A. Müller, *Das Söldnerwesen in den ersten Zeiten des 30-jährigen Krieges* (Dresden, 1838), pp. 13-15; Hesse-Kassel: HSM 4 h 3551, Ahlefeld Regiment zu Fuß 1646, ff. 358-61; Sweden: Swedish cavalry oath, infantry oath, 1632, printed in von Frauenholz, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, iii, 2, p. 409; 'Schwedisches Kriegs-Recht', 1632, printed in Frauenholz, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, iii, 2, p. 412; Denmark: Christian IV of Denmark, *Articulsbrieff*, p. 34; Brandenburg: HSD E 8 B, 179/11, Generalia, 'Offizier eid des Rates der Stadt Danzig'.

[124] J. Mankell (ed), *Arkiv Till Upplysning on svenska krigens och krigsinrättningarnes historia* (3 vols, Stockholm, 1854-61), iii, pp. 275-6; Swedish cavalry oath, infantry oath, 1632, printed in Frauenholz, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, iii, 2, p. 409; 'Schwedisches Kriegs-Recht', 1632, printed in Frauenholz, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, iii, 2, p. 412.

[125] Confessionally ambiguous language: Johann Tserclaes von Tilly, 'Eyd', printed in Lünig, *Corpus*, p. 777; RACG 351 I, 'Juramentum aines Khriegs Canzleÿ, 1636. *Gottesdienst*: 'Ferdinandi III Articuls-Brief, de anno 1642...', printed in Lünig, *Corpus*, p. 81; 'Herrn Graven zu Hohenlohe Obristenbestallung über 1000 gerüste Pfärdt 1598', printed in Frauenholz, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, iii, 2, pp. 119-41; 'Juramentum aines Khriegs Canzleÿ', RACG 351 I.

[126] Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte,* ii, pp. 1029-30.

[127] 'Generalseid', 1647, printed in Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte,* ii, p. 1030.

overseen by their respective political rulers, Gustavus and Maximilian. Confessional language in the legal realm could be inserted or removed according to situational demands, varying in accordance with commanders' confession-political aims, current political winds, and disposition of the armies in matters of confession.

Why did Protestant oaths and articles of war employ more confessional language than their Catholic counterparts? It is possible that they reflected a greater Protestant determination to emphasize religious identity – particularly on the part of Gustavus. However, introducing confessional particularity into the legal area of military culture was simpler for the confessionally consolidated states of Sweden or Denmark outside of the Empire than it was for polities within it, whether Protestant such as Electoral Saxony and Bernhard of Weimar (Duke of Franconia for a time) or Catholic such as Bavaria and the Habsburg territories, all of whose positions relied upon maintaining some level of concord with the confessional "other", including within their own territories.

The more likely answer is that it was easier for Catholic armies to simply hold their position, which meant staying close to Imperial precedent. This tended to maintain the older norm of using only generic religious language in their articles of war and oaths, whereas all major Protestant armies included confessional language at some point in their articles of war and oaths, with the single exception of the Emperor's and Bavaria's Protestant ally, Electoral Saxony. The outlier status of Electoral Saxony as the only Protestant force omitting confessional content in the articles was consistent with its general conciliatory posture toward their Imperial allies at least for most of the war and suggests that motives for doing so had at least as much to do with political as religious motivation. Like the Emperor and his (Catholic)

Bavarian allies, they closely modelled and borrowed most of their own articles from the 1570 articles of Emperor Maximilian II which allowed them to forego the trend of Protestant armies adding confessional language into articles of war.[128] Electoral Saxony's interest, shared by their ally the Emperor, in maintaining more or less the *status quo* in the multi-confessional Empire eliminated the possibility of their explicitly pushing a hard Lutheran confessional agenda – a stance which made all the more sense in light of the (Electoral Saxon) Albertine dynasty's long-term reliance upon the Emperor for support of their claims to legitimacy over the rival Ernestine branch of the House of Wettin.

Conclusion

The relatively dry and formulaic area of army administration was the last in which religion was likely to make its presence felt, yet during the Thirty Years War it became noticeable. In broad strokes, this chapter has affirmed previous assessments of religion's minor role in army administration, while also illuminating the gradually increasing presence of confession in army administrations. This is sufficient on its own to challenge the conclusion that "confessionalization was generally not pursued and had no measurable impact on the military".[129] Chapters III and IV will examine other

[128] 'Kaysers Maximiliani II. und des Heil. Röm. Reichs... erneuret Reuter-Recht, und der Teutschen Knechte Articul...', 1570, printed in Lünig, *Corpus*, pp. 59-76; 'Wallensteinisches Reiterrecht', 1617, printed in J. von Heilmann, *Das Kriegswesen der Kaiserlichen und Schweden zur Zeit des dreißigjährigen Krieges, mit besonderer Rücksichtnahme auf Aufbringung, Ergänzung, Unterhalt und Kriegszucht der Truppen, nebst den Schlachten bei Breitenfeld und Lützen* (Leipzig, 1850), pp. 200-16; 'Articuls-Brief Churfürst Johann Georgens des I. zu Sachsen…', 1631, printed in Lünig, *Corpus*, pp. 802-6; 'Articulirte Instruction vor die bey der Bayerischen unter des General Tilly Commando gestandenen Armee...' [s.l.], printed in Lünig, *Corpus,* i, pp. 771-7; 'Articuls-Brief, Worauf Herzogs Maximilian in Bayern Hoch-Teutsche Knechte zu Fuß geschworen' [s.l.], printed in Lünig, *Corpus*, pp. 778-83; 'Ferdinandi III Articuls-Brief, de anno 1642...', printed in Lünig, *Corpus,* pp. 81-7.
[129] Funke, 'Religion', p. 184.

sides of this growing religious and confessional impulse in the institutional army, which soon warranted the creation of a new branch in the form of field chaplaincies.

Chapter III. Catholic Military Ministry

Introduction

The most famous single account of a cleric's influence on an army in the Thirty Years War was in every way superlative: it occurred during the first major campaign, involved one of the most celebrated priests in Europe, and was probably the most tactically influential of any throughout the war. The scene is a striking one: a monk on horseback trailing the white Carmelite mantle, brandishing a crucifix on a staff and an image of the Blessed Virgin defaced by iconoclastic Protestants, rallying Catholic soldiers to attack a Protestant army.

These actions of Spanish Carmelite Dominicus a Jesu-Maria within the battle lines at the battle of White Mountain in 1620 have been well-noted by historians of the Thirty Years War. For many, the episode supports the view that White Mountain, at the beginning of the war, was the high-water mark of religion's influence, inevitably to be eclipsed by cold *realpolitik* as the war progressed.[1] Beyond acknowledging Gustavus's limited efforts at fostering some degree of piety within his army in the early 1630s, the prevailing narrative has said little about religion in the armies after White Mountain, leaving the impression that there is little to be said.

With the religious lens Olivier Chaline applies in *La bataille de la Montagne Blanche*, one learns that Dominicus's rallying of troops with the image of the Blessed Virgin at White Mountain was not a spontaneous act, but the culmination of a months-long spiritual mission: by the time of the battle on 8 November, Dominicus had already been wearing the image about his neck for six weeks. By calling soldiers'

[1] For discussion of this see Wilson, *Tragedy*, p. 347.

attention to it at a key moment in the battle, he made calculated use of their association with if not also devotion to the image, which he had been carefully cultivating since September.[2] Nor was Dominicus acting purely on his own initiative – he had been sent by Pope Paul V, in the pope's words, "to give courage to the Catholic army to defend the cause of the Lord against the heretical rebels".[3] His mission also included the distribution of scapulars to "a large number" of Bavarians, from soldiers to commanding officers and including Duke Maximilian, teaching, doctrinal dispute, and an additional, lesser-known intervention in which he interrupted a council of war debating whether or not the army would give battle that day. Again using the image of the Virgin, according to three eyewitness accounts, his influence was powerful enough to have "tipped the decision in favour of the fight."[4]

The commemoration of Dominicus at the battle of White Mountain in Rome with the founding of the Church of Santa Maria della Vittoria, and in Munich with Maximilian's founding of a Carmelite monastery are one indication of the extraordinary nature of his role.[5] Amidst an early fever pitch of religious zeal during the Bohemian campaign, that the drama and immediacy of Dominicus's singular actions went unmatched for the remainder of the war does not mean that religion in the armies declined, and it is difficult to believe that an army capable of "an extreme Catholic fervour" effectively lost interest in the Catholic faith after 1620.[6] While flamboyant expressions of religious significance in the war never returned to this height,[7] other expressions, such as personal religiosity of officers and soldiers,

[2] Johnson, 'Living Saints'; Chaline, *Bataille,* p. 198.
[3] ibid., p. 171.
[4] ibid., p. 198; Fitzsimon, *Diary*, p. 97.
[5] Riezler, *Geschichte Baierns*, vi, p. 260.
[6] Chaline, *bataille,* p. 198.
[7] On the uniquely heightened religious atmosphere of the early years of the war, see Chaline, *Montagne Blanche*, and especially M. Schilling, 'Vergangene Zukünfte: Prophezeiungen aus den Anfangsjahren des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', *Daphnis* 47 (2019).

remained consistent or even increased over time, such as religion and confession in institutional armies. What initially appears as another contradiction of religion's role in the Thirty Years War is rather an impetus for greater attention to subtlety in religion.

A large part of perceiving religion at work lies in recognizing the distinction between different aspects of religion manifesting themselves due to particular and contingent factors. In this case, a) the persona of Dominicus, enabled by b) army leaders (the ruler Maximilian, as well as Bucquoy and Tilly), all of whom were pious and at this moment of the war, "militant",[8] c) the kairotic moment of the fresh outset of war, and d) the wider contemporary cultural environment, in which religion and its controversies stood at the fore of public consciousness especially due to widespread Protestant celebration of the Reformation *Jubiläumsjahr* ("year of jubilation") of 1617.[9] Among other interacting factors were the steady presence of authentically-held religious belief and culture on the part of most individuals such as army members; the role of religion in military and political decision-making; and religion's structural presence in institutions such as the army. Circumstantial particulars at a given moment could significantly leverage one of these, without notably affecting the others in the near term.

This chapter focuses on the latter factor, covering the corpus of Catholic field chaplains and the burgeoning institution of the field vicariate, which shows another side to the conventional narrative of decline of religion's importance over the course of the war: while the fervour in the first flush of war inevitably faded over time, the

[8] Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy,* pp. 9-10, 46-7.
[9] I. Scheitler, 'Lutherus redivivus. Das Reformationsjubiläum 1617: Mit einem Ausblick auf das Jubiläum 1717', *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie,* 55 (2016).

field vicariate grew into a stable and consistent Catholic presence within the institutional army.

Table 1: Catholic and Protestant chaplain types

		Catholic	**Protestant**	
			Lutheran	***Calvinist***
Field vicariate/ Field consistory	*Regimental chaplains*	93	106	26
	High-ranking Prelates	23	40	2
Private chaplains/confessors		16	24	4
Unclear whether chaplain was private or regimental chaplain		16	10	0
Local clergy		36	7	0
TOTAL		184	187	32

NB: Protestant parish pastors who gave funeral sermons are not included in this list, though some of them doubtless would have worked for some time as field chaplains.

Developing organization and the 1643 imperial reforms

The chaplaincies of the Liga/Bavarian and Imperial armies were properly known as the field vicariate (*Feldvikariat*), as opposed to "field consistory" (*Feldkonsistorei*), the term favoured by Protestant armies, or the more generic "field chaplaincy", or "chaplaincy" (*Feldkaplanei, Kaplanei*), a general term applicable to either confession. The earliest designation of the Catholic army chaplaincy as the "field vicariate", or

indeed the use of any formal name for the chaplains ministering to different regiments or variously accompanying the army, was not until five years into the war in 1623 when the Imperial army appointed a vicar general, Heinrich Paströyer.[10]

On the Bohemian campaign at the beginning of the war the Catholic chaplaincy was little more than a collection of priests accompanying the army. Imperial vicar general Marenzi wrote in 1641 of this time, "Back then, there were not clear regulations regarding what had to be done, for we had not enough knowledge…."[11] The office of Imperial vicar general itself reflected the relatively low level of material commitment early in the war to centralizing and formalizing the military chaplaincy, given that Paströyer's 1623 appointment lasted less than two years, and his post remained unfilled until 1634. However, even this was a development from the non-existent centralized organization of army chaplaincies in the first five years of the war (not that there was dearth of pastoral activity in Catholic armies during that time; chaplains' daily work remained fairly constant), and foreshadowed the reforms of the latter half of the war.

By the early 1620s, Ferdinand II, Ferdinand III, and Maximilian of Bavaria were issuing regulations for chaplains, seeing to the provision of field hospitals, which were overseen and staffed by chaplains, corresponding with chaplains, and establishing the office of vicar general to oversee pastoral care. The field vicariate was conceived of as a counterpart to the territorial diocese, as indicated firstly by the fact that at least four of the seven known vicars general (*Generalvikar*, *Feldvikar*) were consecrated bishops (for

[10] E. Bielik (ed), *Geschichte der K.u.K. Militär-Seelsorge und des Apostolischen Feld-Vicariates* (Vienna, 1901), p. 18.
[11] Wilson, *Tragedy,* p. 302; Antonio Marenzi, 'Observanda a Dominis Colonellis', 1641, printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, pp. 344-6.

the Imperialists Bishops Georg Hammer in 1634,[12] Antonio Marenzi in 1641,[13] and Karl Sangro in 1645;[14] for the Bavarians Friederich Pirchinger in 1632[15] and Abbott Benedikt Rauh in 1643).[16] Prior to his appointment as vicar general Paströyer had been a bishop (in his case of Rab in Dalmatia), as were later appointees to the post in both Imperial and Bavarian armies. Vicars general were even known as "field bishop" (*Feldbischof*), and "army bishop" (*Armeebischof*). Like diocesan bishops, they received their episcopal faculties from the pope, and all ministry to soldiers fell under their authority. Any priest ministering to soldiers could only licitly do so under the aegis of the vicar general. Imperial vicar general Antoni Marenzi's 1641 regulations stipulate:

> According to the virtue of obedience, we instruct each and every single chaplain that no one outside of the jurisdiction granted by us or by our predecessor (or, even within the jurisdiction, without authorization), whatever the pretext, even if it was allowed by others from the legion, should dare to administer Sacraments to the soldiers, or to stay in the Imperial army without our permission.[17]

Ecclesiastical approval of a priest's ministry in the field vicariate was important enough that some priests refused to take up a role in the army without it. Jesuits were required to obtain permission to accompany an army not only from the vicar general, but also from the Jesuit provincial superior in whose province they were to be serving with the army. Such was the case when Fr. Gaspard Wiltheim initially rejected Wolf von Mansfeld's request to be his confessor on campaign, as Wiltheim was assigned to the province of the Lower Rhine – not the province of Upper Germany, where Mansfeld's upcoming campaigning was to take place. Wiltheim only agreed after Mansfeld wrote the Jesuit superior of the three German Provinces on his behalf to

[12] Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, p. 19.
[13] A. Strnad, 'Marenzi, Anton Freiherr von', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (*NDB*) (27 vols, 1953-2020), xvi, p. 149.
[14] B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Länder deutscher Zunge* (4 vols, Freiburg, 1913-28), ii, 2, p. 318.
[15] Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, p. 1052.
[16] Naegele, *Benedikt*.
[17] ibid., pp. 339-40.

obtain permission.[18] Bavarian vicar general Benedikt Rauh fielded similar solicitations: a Belgian Franciscan provincial requested faculties in 1644 for two of his priests to the army to teach and hear confessions in the Bavarian-Imperial winter quarters in the Palatinate, and a parish priest of St. Peter in Bruchsal, who had heard "bad rumours" about a Magister Peter Gross serving as chaplain of a Major Kolb's regiment, questioned whether he indeed had obtained the requisite sacred faculties for his ministry.[19]

Though the Imperial and Liga/Bavarian field vicariates were separate entities, what was true of one was typically true of the other, especially in light of their merged command from 1618-20 and 1630-2. Close cooperation remained following the split and was still so close in 1645 that the Imperial vicar general Karl Sangro recruited chaplains on behalf of the Bavarian field vicariate.[20] They remained under the same ecclesiastical authority of the Catholic Church, and like – or even more than – any diocese, province, order, or ecclesiastical entity, were enmeshed in European networks of Catholic clergy and political rulers. The political leaders of the respective armies – Maximilian I of Bavaria and Ferdinand II and later Ferdinand III – were under the similar religious influence of Jesuit Counter-Reformation Catholicism, and in constant contact.[21]

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[18] Wiltheim, *Itinerarium,* p. 249. Also Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 311.
[19] Letter from Egidius a Bruxellis to Benedikt Rauh, 4 Jan. 1644, printed in Naegele, *Benedikt,* pp. 132-3; letter from Adam Reichard to Benedikt Rauh, [also] 4 Jan. 1644, printed in Naegele, *Benedikt*, pp. 133-4.
[20] Letter from Sangro to Upper German provincial superior Windmann, 1645, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 319.
[21] R. Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counterreformation: Emperor Ferdinand II, William Lamormaini, S.J., and the Formation of Imperial Policy* (Chapel Hill, 1981); R. Bireley, *Maximilian von Bayern, Adam Contzen S.J. und die Gegenreformation in Deutschland 1624-1635* (Göttingen, 1975); R. Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, Courts and Confessors* (New York, 2008).

Heads of both armies and both field vicariates publicly acknowledged the dual spiritual and political-legal authority of the field vicariate. Ferdinand III issued numerous proclamations after the reforms of 1643 referencing an apostolic letter of Pope Urban VIII which granted and enumerated the powers of Jesuit Peter Puschmann as field superior (*Feldsuperior*) in the Imperial field vicariate.[22] For good measure Urban also issued his own separate appointment of Puschmann accompanied by regulations for him as head of the newly founded and Jesuit-run "field mission" within the field vicariate. The Emperor's letter of appointment declares that Puschmann "should in all of his actions return to the 1643 apostolic letter", and further attempts to clarify, without much success, how authority is granted to the field superior by both the pope and himself, and thence to the priests serving the army.[23] A similar papal letter was issued at least once to the Bavarian field vicariate, referenced in a 1632 letter from Maximilian to a field commissar.[24]

As detailed below, the development of the field vicariates was stop-start, and to some degree dependent upon military success. A 1641 letter from vicar general Marenzi to Leopold Wilhelm, as well as another eighteen months later from his successor Paströyer, returning to the post he held two decades previously, complains of disorder in the Imperial field vicariate. Their concern about the state of pastoral care in the armies suggests that there may have been something of a regression in previous years from developments earlier in the war.[25] Ferdinand III responded with major reforms to the field vicariate to remedy "the decline of God-fearing" in the army, to which he

[22] Ferdinand III, 'Patent in Betreff der Feldmission und Ernennung des Pater Puschmann S.J. zum Feldsuperior des Feld-collegiums vom Jahre 1643', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, pp. 349-53; Naegele, *Benedikt,* pp. 212, 223-9.
[23] Ferdinand III, 'Instruction', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, pp. 353-8.
[24] KuBayÄA 2728, ff. 658-61, letter from Maximilian to field commissariat, 29 June 1642.
[25] Letter from Paströyer to Gallas, 2 May 1643, RACG 445 I, Jan Aldringen 1588-1634; Letter from Marenzi to Archduke Leopld Wilhelm, 1641, Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, p. 19; Naegele, *Benedikt*, p. 89.

attributed the failures in the campaign of 1642.[26] This involved "many consultations", resulting, in 1643, in "a series of regulations for the chaplains of our legions that we all follow, so there might exist a common effort to accomplish the intention of our most sacred Emperor, and to watch for the care of our soldiers' souls."[27]

Ferdinand III's 1643 reforms were also consistent with the wider trends in the civil sphere of centralization and bureaucratization.[28] Plans had been forming since 1640-1,[29] though the Imperial defeat at second Breitenfeld in 1642 provided a more immediate prodding toward improved discipline and organization. A structure of chaplaincy administration with the Society of Jesus at the helm was introduced which which would comprise the Imperial army's template for pastoral care until the early 19th century.[30] Though Jesuit Superior General Mutio Vitelleschi for the first time appointed a Jesuit superior for their field mission as early as 1640, this merely formalized the longstanding Jesuit practice of attachment and proximity to army command, which had been present since the beginning of the war.[31]

Ferdinand placed all priests in the field vicariate under the authority of the new role of field superior Puschmann, who was to accompany the armies, while Imperial confessor Johannes Gans, another Jesuit, took the title of *capellanus major castrensis*, despite the fact that he intended to remain at the Imperial Court in

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[26] ibid., p 22; M. Hengerer, *Kaiser Ferdinand III. (1608-1657): Eine Biographie*. (Wien, 2012).
[27] Wilson, *Tragedy,* p. 302; Marenzi, 'Observanda', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, pp. 344-6. Maximilian had a similar view that "poor discipline, will bring about the ruin of the cause of religion." D. Albrecht, *Maximilian I von Bayern 1573-1651* (Munich, 1988), p. 805.
[28] Sörensson, 'Das Kriegswesen', p. 446. See Riezler, *Geschichte Baierns*, vi, p. 251; Elster, *Piccolomini-Studien*, p. 81 for examples of centralizing efforts, such as Maximilian's 1640s programme of standardizing the text and practice of the Rosary and the Our Father in Bavaria.
[29] See Marenzi, 'Observanda', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, pp. 344-6; idem., 'Constitutiones pro capellanis castrensibus a Vicario Generali Marenzi ex anno 1641', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, pp. 339-43.
[30] See Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, esp. p. 21.
[31] Letter from Vitelleschi to P. Daniel Bastelius, 24 Nov. 1640, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 318. For the Bavarian army, see KubayÄA 2729, f. 40, letter from Maximilian to field commissariat, 5 July 1642.

Vienna.[32] A letter of announcement was sent to all chaplains, and a similar one to princes, nobility, and other officers.[33] Puschmann's first action was to found the field mission (*Feldmission*) staffed by select Jesuits, the *patres missionarios* Laurence Küntoff, Georg Maurus, and Matthias Jazkhay, under his direct supervision. In step with the society's independence from the supervision of diocesan bishops, the field mission stood outside the jurisdiction of the vicar general.

Puschmann was also to advise Gans on the appointment of a new vicar general, an office which had been vacated just prior to the time of the reforms. To minimize ecclesiastical tensions which the perception of a Jesuit power grab could stir up, a choice was made not of a Jesuit but of a member of the secular clergy. Gans named a dean from Pirawarth, Dr. Heinrich Schrader, to the position, who along with an assistant was to maintain oversight of the regimental chaplains. Under Schrader the role was substantially lessened, being subordinated to both Gans and Puschmann himself. Neither did Schrader's tenure last long, as by 1645 Schrader was gone and Jesuit Karl Sangro was installed as Imperial vicar general.

By 1647 the makeup of the *patres missionarios* of the field mission showed the extent to which the field vicariate had come under the control of the Imperial court in Vienna, and the power over it which Ferdinand III had given to the Jesuits. Of the *patres missionarios*' now almost twenty priests, all were Jesuits, with fifteen handpicked by the Emperor's confessor from within the Vienna Jesuit college.[34] Additionally, Ferdinand III's reforms suggested a shift in the balance of power between the Catholic hierarchy and the Habsburgs, as it placed an episcopal jurisdiction (the field vicariate) under the

[32] Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, pp. 23-4.
[33] Ferdinand III, 'Pastoralinstruktion für Feldsuperior und Majorfeldkaplan', 12 April 1644, printed in Naegele, *Benedikt*, pp. 226-9.
[34] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 318.

authority of the Emperor's personal confessor. That Urban VIII, occupying the papacy until his death in 1644, had permitted and participated in this change perhaps speaks to his desperation at the military situation in the Empire at the time and accordant desire to show support for the Emperor, which was picked up by his successor Innocent X.[35] Politically within the Empire, this was a confessionalizing step, part of larger efforts to consolidate Habsburg political identity with a Counter-Reformation strain of Catholicism which would be the foundation of increasing institutionalization of Catholic identity in the Empire over the next two centuries.

The field vicariates: "typology", makeup, and numbers

Table 2: Catholic chaplains by army

Catholic Chaplains by Army	
Imperial	85
Catholic League/Bavarian	99
1626 Upper Austrian Peasants	3
TOTAL	187

Chaplains were selected by political leaders, generals, and officers in some degree of cooperation with the relevant ecclesiastical superior. Caroline Galland's three-part typology of French army chaplains under Louis XIV is a good starting point for developing one for the Empire during the Thirty Years War. Galland's consists of: 1. holders of high clerical office; 2. chaplains present within the ranks; and 3. chaplains – some of whom were lay brothers – devoted to care of the sick and wounded, often

[35] See Urban VIII's 'Übertragung der geistlichen Jurisdiktion an den Beichtvater des Kaisers', 1643, printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, pp. 346-9.

working in hospitals, whether mobile or permanent.[36] This typology is, however, too simplified for the field vicariates of the Thirty Years War. Whereas the first type of chaplain – the high-ranking prelate – fits her description closely, the greatest discrepancy is that her typology does not include the many local parish clergy or monastics, private confessors, or members of religious orders unattached to a regiment who accompanied armies at various times. Though technically under the aegis of the field vicariate whenever accompanying the army or ministering to soldiers, these clergy were not employed by it, which could account for why they usually go unnoticed by histories. These unofficial chaplains often served as confessors to officers and field preachers for regiments, and were much greater in number than the clergy who were directly employed by the field vicariates.[37]

Catholic chaplains employed by the field vicariate who were present at the regimental level were of two types, with overlapping responsibilities: regimental chaplain (*Kaplan, Feldkaplan*) and private chaplain – usually a confessor (*Beichtvater*). Both sometimes also served as field preacher (*Feldprediger*) – for the commanding officer of an army, regiment, or company, and were selected by political leaders, generals, and officers in some degree of cooperation with the relevant ecclesiastical superior. Regimental chaplains were appointed and employed directly by the vicar general and paid by the field vicariate, though regimental commanders usually had say in the appointment.

Confessors were appointed, and often privately paid, by officers. They were most often Jesuits. A confessor's first priority was the pastoral care of his officer and his staff, though responsibilities also extended to the regiment or company. For the

[36] C. Galland, '« Des missions aux armées et aux hospitaux»: les aumôniers récollets sous le règne de Louis XIV', in Jalabert and Simiz, *Le Soldat Face au Clerc*, pp. 46-7.
[37] Local parish clergy serving as chaplains: Letter from Dean Jakob Golla to Maximilian, 4 Nov. 1633 to Maximilian, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 314.

Jesuits, obedience to the regimental commanding officer was demanded by religion: the 1644 Jesuit regulations state that "the officer represents for you the place of the rector."[38] Given Jesuits' strong culture of obedience and submission to superiors, this command carried real meaning: like a soldier, a confessor was not to take leave of his regiment even for a day without the commander's permission. In practice, however, relations between officers and chaplains were more peer-to-peer than hierarchical. Distinctions between the different kinds of Catholic clergy and chaplains can be confusing, and a precise picture of who amounted to a chaplain is elusive. For example not all chaplains were priests – some were lay brothers. Perhaps historians, more familiar with the more highly organized and professionalized army chaplaincies of the 18th century, have carried over an expectation for similarly unambiguous classification, rendering them blind to the majority of the clergy who were ministering to soldiers during the Thirty Years War and accordingly prone to underrate the extent or importance of religious provision in the armies.[39] The situation on the ground was complex for the new institution of the organized field chaplaincy at the time of the Thirty Years War, in stops and starts transitioning from – and back and forth between – the earlier decentralized model to a centralized model. Comprehensive records of *all* clergy, those directly employed by the field vicariate notwithstanding, with an army were simply not kept, and challenges of communication in wartime meant that the field vicariate's own numbers were often only partially known to themselves.[40]

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[38] Regulations for Jesuit field chaplains, 1644, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, pp. 319-20.
[39] J. Nowosadtko, 'Die schulbildung der Soldatenkinder im Fürstbistum Münster. Konfessionelle Unterschiede in den Heeren des 17. Und 18. Jahrhunderts', in Kaiser and Kroll, *Militär und Religiosität*, p. 293; Staiano-Daniels, 'The War People', p. 316; B. Kagarlitsky, *From empires to imperialism: the state and the rise of bourgeois* civilisation (Abingdon, 2014), pp. 162-4; Schübel, *300 Jahre*, p. 16. See also J.G. von Hoyer, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst seit der ersten Anwendung des Schießpulvers zum Kriegsgebrauch bis an das ende des achtzehndten Jahrhunderts* (2 vols, Göttingen, 1800), i, p. 304.
[40] See Naegele, *Benedikt,* p. 101.

Regimental records were often, but not always kept, or if kept, kept accurately or honestly. Fraudulent reporting of troop numbers was routine, as it allowed regimental commanders to inflate claims to pay arrears. In one case Bavarian war commissar Christoph von Lerchenfeld discovered a colonel lying about the presence of a priest on his expense reports.[41] This seems to have been a rare case, if only for the fact that of hundreds of Liga and Bavarian regimental muster rolls, apart from this falsification there is not a single example of priests listed on the regimental rolls.

Most historians of the war make little to no mention of religious provision in armies, but those who do considerably underestimate chaplains' numbers. One claims that chaplains "were never available in sufficient numbers"[42] and, following Michael Kaiser, that

> General Tilly had to send begging letters to Maximilian in June 1621, asking for at least one, ideally two Jesuits so that Masses, sermons and confessions could resume again and he and his men were no longer rendered 'helpless' in spiritual matters.[43]

Furthermore, the ranks of chaplains were no less porous than those of soldiers, and clergy sometimes only accompanied armies for a certain time, or in a certain region. Similar to the army itself, the field vicariate could double or halve its size during a single campaign, as did the Imperial field mission which expanded from four to nearly twenty Jesuit *patres* within the three years of 1643-6, or the Jesuit camp mission in Magdeburg which grew from four to eighteen *patres* from 1644-7.[44]

Despite these vagaries, and in contrast to the little historiographical commentary on the subject, throughout the war provision of chaplains was ample for

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[41] Letter from Maximilian to Tilly, 8 May 1623, KubayÄA 2333, f. 38.
[42] Funke, 'Religion', p. 153.
[43] ibid., p. 54, citing M. Kaiser, 'Zwischen Ars moriendi', in Kaiser and Kroll, *Militär und Religiosität*. For support of this point see Riezler, *Geschichte Baierns*, vi, p. 172; Staiano-Daniels, 'The War People', p. 316.
[44] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 318.

most units in Catholic armies, most of the time.[45] Every regiment of both Imperial and Bavarian armies was supposed to be provided with at least one regimental chaplain, but not more than two.[46] This did not include private confessors, Jesuits attached to the headquarters, or other clergy itinerant with the army for varying periods of time, which was common throughout the war.

As an example of the incompleteness of the historiographical picture of religious provision in the armies, one historian cites Tilly's letters above as evidence of a supposed chronic shortage of military pastoral care. Yet closer examination reveals that at least ten chaplains had perished during the harsh Bohemian campaign of the season prior, a number withdrew due to illness, two Carmelites had been only a temporary presence, and a handful of priests attached to Maximilian's court had, following Maximilian, not re-joined the army for the 1621 campaign. Accordingly, Tilly's appeal, written only as the 1621 campaign was commencing, appears as merely referring to a temporary ebb in the provision of chaplains which occurred periodically throughout the war, as did numbers of soldiers. The present study has counted over thirty priests accompanying the Catholic army only six months prior to the time of the shortage Tilly sought to remedy, clearly showing that the snapshot of Tilly "begging" for one or two chaplains was hardly representative of the provision of Catholic chaplains at that period of the war, and much less of its entirety.[47] Furthermore, it may well have been that this instance (as well as others similar) was memorialized in

[45] The same can be said for Protestant armies as well, though possibly to a lesser extent, due to the much greater numbers of Catholic clergy who accompanied the army without being employed directly by the field vicariate, such as Jesuits, monastics, and parish priests. This is also a reflection of the fact that, largely due to Protestant rejection of religious orders, there were considerably more Catholic than Protestant clergy to begin with.
[46] Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, p. 1026; Naegele, *Benedikt,* p. 101.
[47] Johann Buslidius, [diary, untitled], printed in S. Riezler (ed), *Kriegstagebücher aus dem Ligistischen Hauptquartier 1620* (München, 1906), pp. 110-21, 146-60; Duhr II, 2, p. 304; Fitzsimon, *Diary,* pp. 84-105.

writing only because of its exceptionality – for how markedly chaplains' absence was noted.[48]

Historians may have taken what was mere administrative common practice in Catholic armies at this time as evidence of absence of chaplains, given Protestant armies' tendency to more often include chaplains in muster rolls, and likewise Catholic armies following the end of the Thirty Years War. This research has come across no indication that such discrepancies were attached to deeper meanings regarding the relative importance of clergy being included on muster rolls (which were highly unstandardized for military men as it was); what most plausibly accounts for the differences is merely the variable nature of early-stage centralized bureaucratic practice at the time of the war.

Among the archival "firsts" discovered by this study are two rolls of regimental chaplains for Catholic armies of the Thirty Years War, one for each of the principal Catholic armies, the Bavarian and Imperiaists.[49] A list in the war chancellery archives of Imperial field marshal Matthias Gallas shows in 1643-4 nineteen Imperial regimental chaplains. Surprisingly none of the nineteen were Jesuits. Compared to the number of additional chaplains serving the army around this time which this study has collected from a variety of other sources, the nineteen comprise considerably less than half of the total number of chaplains with the army at that time.

When combined with sources on the Jesuits who were with the army, for the first time a decent estimate can be made of the minimum number of chaplains with an

[48] Letter from commissar general Bartholomäus Schäffer to Benedikt Rauh, 31 Dec. 1641, printed in Naegele, *Benedikt*, pp. 99-100. See below p. 214 for instances of generals requesting chaplains for their armies.
[49] RACG 370 I, 'Catalogus Capellanorum', attached to a letter from Imperial vicar general Bishop Heinrich Paströyer to Ferdinand III, 25 July 1643; KubayÄA 2729 ff. 343-441, field commissariat report to Maximilian, 23 Nov. 1642.

army at a given time. Only one year later in 1644 there were more than sixty Jesuits with the same army, consisting of private confessors and field preachers hired by officers, ten to fifteen *patres missionarios* of the field mission, anywhere between five and fifteen hospital chaplains, and lay brothers – only rarely acknowledged in sources – who acted as servants to more senior clergy and occasionally as private chaplains to officers.[50] One, a Benedictine, was described as "an able tailor".[51] Holding equal the number of nineteen regimental chaplains from 1643, and adding the sixty Jesuits and four administrators active in 1644, the total number of clergy ministering to the main Imperial field army at this time under Gallas, numbering approximately 20,000,[52] was certainly no less than eighty.

Not counted in this estimate is the considerable, but unknown, number of private chaplains to generals and officers who were not Jesuits (it was not unheard of for commanding generals, and even colonels, to employ multiple clerics),[53] local clergy who ministered to the army either *in situ* or travelled with the camp for various lengths of time, but who typically comprised between ten and thirty percent of the field vicariate, or chaplains at the company level who may never have been listed on a regimental roll. These additional chaplains would almost certainly have brought the total number with the Imperial army in 1643-4 to above 100, even possibly up to 150. A very conservative estimate of 100 would count only ten additional non-Jesuit private confessors and local priests ministering to the army, which for an army of 20,000 would make for a ratio of one chaplain for every 200 men – comparable to the ratio of clergy to laity in the parishes, if not better.[54]

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[50] Letter from Imperial vicar general Sangro to Jesuit provincial superior Turcovich, 15 July 1645, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 318.
[51] Naegele, *Benedikt*, p. 12.
[52] Wilson, *Tragedy,* p. 678.
[53] See example of Wolff von Mansfeld in Wiltheim, *Itinerarium*; Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 311.
[54] The The Imperial army at Jüterbog in 1644 had 15,000 men. E.O. Schmidt, *Deutschlands Schlachtfelder* (Leipzig, 1842), p. 62.

Numbers of chaplains in the Bavarian army seem to have remained steady throughout the 1640s. In 1642 thirteen regiments totalling nearly 20,000 men were ministered to by thirteen regimental chaplains, not including Jesuits, Capuchins, and other clergy accompanying the armies who would have easily matched if not doubled the number of regimental chaplains.[55] Senior officers, including as many as one third to one half of colonels, were accompanied on campaign by their own private chaplain or confessor. In 1646 Bavarian vicar general Benedikt Rauh appointed twelve additional regimental field chaplains.[56] That this was a benchmark number of regimental chaplains throughout the war, and not only in its latter stages, is supported a statement in a 1620 order of Maximilian's: "There will be no dedicated confessor required for the field hospital, because every regiment already finds itself with a field preacher."[57]

Though it was not uncommon for a regiment to go without a chaplain, this was usually temporary. A 1645 letter from Maximilian to General Geleen instructed him to make sure to not allow *more than* two chaplains per regiment.[58] A Dean Jakob Golla of Munich complained in a letter to Maximilian in 1633 that there were too few chaplains in the army, claiming – surely hyperbolically – that in previous years every captain had his own priest. He asserts that every regiment should have "at least three priests".[59] For regiments without priests daily liturgical and sacramental ministry was

[55] KubayÄA 2729 ff. 343-441, field commissariat report to Maximilian, 23 Nov. 1642; Wilson, *Tragedy*, p. 678.
[56] Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, ii, p. 1052
[57] 'Ordnung und Instruktion über das velt oder Khriegsspital der catholischen Liga', printed in Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, ii, pp. 1025-8.
[58] Naegele, *Benedikt,* p. 137.
[59] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 314.

not to be discontinued but met by other regiments' chaplains, or by the vicar general.[60]

Profile of chaplains

Catholic chaplains' length of service usually extended beyond one campaign. The average length of service on the 1643 list of Imperial regimental chaplains under Gallas was five and a half years, with the highest being a remarkable nineteen years.[61] The list shows that while some clerics' service in armies was *ad hoc* – especially that of local clergy – some chaplains' positions with the army were no less permanent than those of a parish priest.

Army ministry was usually viewed as temporary, and chaplains sometimes retained parochial or episcopal titles while serving in the field vicariate, even over a period of years.[62] Of the four vicars general who were bishops, all four retained their sees. Under Tilly's generalship after the Bohemian campaign, which covered the years 1621-32, the Liga field vicariate was headed by his Jesuit confessors, who along with Tilly remained in regular contact with the Emperor, pope, papal nuncio Barberini, and the Jesuit Superior General Vitelleschi.[63]

Life on campaign naturally demanded a certain amount of hardiness from chaplains, with the average age of chaplains around forty. Chaplains were mostly German speakers hailing from the Empire, but there was also an international presence in the field vicariates which included Irish, French, Spanish, Belgians,

[60] KubayÄA 2729 f. 89, letter from Maximilian to field commissariat, 31 July 1642; KubayÄA 2729, ff. 141-2, letter from Bavarian commissariat to war chancellery, 15 August 1642.
[61] RACG 370, 'Catalogus Capellanorum', 25 July 1643.
[62] For similar in Britain, see Liao, 'Religion', p. 211.
[63] Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, p. 1052. Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 2, pp. 68, 163, 310, 467. Vitelleschi in particular was in constant correspondence with commanders, including Tilly, Wallenstein, Pappenheim, and Wolff von Mansfeld. Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 2, pp. 310-20.

Luxembourgers, Greeks, and Italians, most of whom also came from within the Empire, albeit from further-flung regions.[64] Catholic chaplains' backgrounds matched those of the clergy in general, from parish priests to bishops, and from lay brothers (consecrated religious without priestly ordination) to abbots – up to ten percent of all chaplains. There was no additional training or formation for chaplains to undergo beyond the requirements of their various orders. The major orders aside from Jesuits and Capuchins appeared in comparatively small numbers, whether for brief periods of time or as private confessors, and included Servites, Benedictines, Franciscans, Carmelites, Dominicans, and Brigittines. Whereas few social or economic distinctions pertained to chaplains as a body, the Capuchins were an exception in being almost exclusively comprised of gentry and nobility.[65]

Table 3: Catholic religious orders by number

Jesuit	74
Capuchin	17
Benedictine	8
Franciscan	8
Brothers Hospitaller of St. John of God	7
Servite	5
Carmelite	2
Dominican	2
Cistercian	2
Brigittine	1

[64] Wiltheim, *Itinerarium*, p. 246; V. Lavenia, 'Foi et Discipline: Catéchismes espagnols pour les soldats au temps de la guerre de Trente Ans', in Forclaz and Martin, *Religion et pieté*; Chaline, *Montagne Blanche*, p. 192.
[65] See M. Pöckl, *Die Kapuziner in Bayern: von ihrem Entstehen an bis auf die gegenwärtige Zeit* (Sulzbach, 1826); Joachim Ganzhorn, *Würzburg unter schwedischer Herrschaft (1631-1633). Die 'Summarische Beschreibung' des Joachim Ganzhorn,* ed. C. Leo (Würzburg, 2017), pp. 320-1.

The population of the field vicariate was dominated by Jesuits, whose well-documented favour in Rome and at European Courts (especially in Vienna and Munich)[66] extended to the army. They were five times more represented than the next most-represented religious order, the Capuchins. Capuchins were more present in local monasteries, where they frequently interacted with armies.[67] Though not members of a religious order, secular diocesan clergy made up the second most-populous group, at approximately half that of the Jesuits. Jesuits rarely served as regimental chaplains, though they commonly performed similar duties from their typical roles as officers' confessors or members of the *Feldmission*, usually including at least some ministering to the troops. Vitelleschi was reluctant to allow Jesuits to be *only* private confessors to individuals, telling Jesuit chaplains in their 1644 regulations that "they should not prefer hearing the confessions of noblemen".[68] Members of the society also served as field hospital chaplains and as roving chaplains, going wherever needed in camp.

In light of their status and numerical dominance it is surprising that the Jesuits did not take charge of the field vicariates earlier in the war. They were initially careful to avoid disputes with other orders, or to be seen as grabbing for influence, passing up leadership of the field vicariate multiple times, as attested by a November 1644 letter from Jesuit Superior General Vitelleschi to Austrian provincial superior Rumer: "the leadership of the [Imperial] army chaplaincy has already been offered to us often by very powerful princes, who at our request granted it to others."[69] Rumer was also told

[66] Bireley, *Maximilian*; Bireley, *Religion and Politics*.
[67] J.B. Baur, *Die Kapuziner und die schwedische Generalität im dreißigjährigen Kriege* (Brixen, 1887).
[68] Regulations for Jesuit field chaplains, 1644, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii,1, p. 519; Vitelleschi wrote in 1639 that he was inclined to reject any general's requests to have confessors only for themselves. Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 2, p. 319.
[69] Letter from Vitelleschi to Austrian provincial superior Rumer, 5 Feb. 1639, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 2, pp. 320-1.

to assure Imperial war councillor and *Generalkommissar* Werner von Tilly that "two more *patres* will be sent into the camp, but not for them to usurp the authority and jurisdiction of a vicar general". This would have been "against the Institutes, and… the cause of much hatefulness."[70] And indeed a just concern, as the Jesuits had proven themselves to be anything but passive; Gallas had personally written to soon-to-be Imperial confessor Johannes Gans in 1636, complaining of Jesuit meddling in his command.[71]

The society had no difficulty, even without taking up leadership of the Imperial field vicariate, in securing its status as the dominant religious order in the Catholic armies in terms of both numbers and power. All priests ministering to the army were technically under the jurisdiction of the vicar general ("be they secular priests, members of religious orders, or otherwise consecrated people"),[72] but Jesuits operated more or less as an independent bloc. The group of Jesuits accompanying the army was sometimes known as the "*Feldcollegium*", though the evidence is lacking to show that it functioned as an actual collegium in the official sense, rather than merely being a Jesuit term for the group of Jesuits ministering to the army.[73]

Jesuit field chaplains were commanded by their 1600 and 1644 regulations to treat other clergy with respect and charity.[74] Even apart from that, life in camp made intra-Catholic ecclesial squabbling – characteristic of disputes over monastic property reclaimed by Catholic victories – counterproductive. Relationships could even be amicable; Mass was sometimes mutually celebrated by members of different orders, and Benedictine abbott Maurus Friesenegger repeatedly refers to Jesuits, along with

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[70] ibid., pp. 320-1.
[71] Letter from Gallas to Gans, Oct. 1636. Státní oblastní archiv v Litoměřicích, Děčín-Podmokly (Rodinný archiv Clary–Aldringenove (RACA) 351 I.
[72] Ferdinand III, 'Pastoralinstruktion', 1644, printed in Naegele, *Benedikt*, pp. 226-9.
[73] Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, p. 42.
[74] Jesuit regulations for the *Missio Castrensis*, 1600, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 1, pp. 518-19; Regulations for Jesuit field chaplains, 1644, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 2, pp. 319-20.

other Catholic clergy, as "ours" (*unsrige*).[75] Bavarian vicar general Benedikt von Wiblingen, a Benedictine, issued a celebratory proclamation in honour of St. Ignatius Loyola on his feast day in 1644.[76] Though this did not prevent him from raising the issue of the Jesuits' status when it suited: a 1642 commissariat report to Maximilian confirms Benedikt's delivery of 300 fl. to a merchant in Cologne on behalf of the war chancellery, and relates his asking the commissar if he may ride with the cavalry "like the Jesuits".[77]

Jesuit activity in armies generally matched their reputation in the Empire as the most numerous, most militant, most zealous for conversions, most likely to engage in confessional polemic (though this was less common in the field vicariate than outside it), and most likely of any clergy to take up arms. As has been noted elsewhere and will be expanded upon in Chapter VI, for these reasons Protestant armies were most disposed to target Jesuits of all Catholic clergy.[78]

There is little evidence of a negative stigma associated with ministry to soldiers like that which attached to the soldierly profession itself. On the contrary, Imperial vicar general Karl Sangro asked Upper German Jesuit Provincial Superior Windmann to send "the first crop of the zealous" of his priests to the field vicariate.[79] Nevertheless, this did not prevent it from serving as a fall-back option for displaced priests. One such was Pelagius Ebert, Franciscan preacher and monastery guardian in Überlingen. Due to Bavarian military setbacks late in the war he found himself without a

[75] Maurus Friesenegger, *Chronik von Erling und Heiligenberg während dem dreißigjährigen Kriege*, ed. F.M. Ferchel (Giel, 1833), pp. 34, 42, 98.
[76] Naegele, *Benedikt,* pp. 135-6.
[77] 'Underthenigste Bericht an Die Churfürl. Dhrl. in Baÿ', 5 July 1642, KuBayÄA 2728, f. 416.
[78] A. Bähr, *Der Grausame Komet* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 2017), p. 155.
[79] 1645 letter from Sangro to Windmann, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten* ii, 2, p. 319.

monastery, and Bavarian vicar general Benedikt Rauh appointed him *capellanus campestris* in 1644.[80]

Pay, provisions, and matériel

Table 4. Currency values

Valued item	**Currencies**		
	Reichsthaler (rt.)	*Thaler (th.)*	*Florins (fl.)*
Horse	30	10	45
Cow	3	1	4.5
Musket	2	0.66	3
Halberd	1	0.33	1.5
1 lb. meat	0.23	0.01	0.03
1 lb. bread	0.0066	0.0033	0.01
Mug of beer	0.23	0.01	0.03
Monthly horse ration (300 lb. hay)	1	0.33	1.5

N.B. currency values are approximate and taken after 1624, following the end of the inflationary Kipper and Wipper Zeit.[81]

Specifics about chaplains' pay are spotty, as arrangements were often unstandardized, informal, and subject to change. What can be concluded is that Catholic chaplains' pay ranged from nothing to adequate. The earliest record of chaplains being paid is 1621, where an artillery chaplain under Bavarian colonel von Grotta was paid an ample twenty-three fl. monthly.[82] The annual salary in 1620 for an Imperial field preacher was 100 rt.[83] Though chaplains ranked as commissioned officers, their pay was on par with that of non-commissioned officers such as the *Musterschreiber*, the

[80] Naegele, *Benedikt*, p. 125.
[81] For further information on currencies, see Staiano-Daniels, 'The War People', p. xiv; Sennewald, Kursächsische Heer, pp. 581-2; W. Guthrie, *The Later Thirty Years War: from the Battle of Wittstock to the Treaty of Westphalia* (Westport, 2003).
[82] 'Artilleriestaat im Lager bei Roßhaupten', 1621, printed in Heilmann, *Kriegesgeschichte*, ii, p. 940.
[83] Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, p. 20.

Proviantmeister, and *Füttermeister.* Whereas by comparison, in 1642 a commissar received 110 fl. per month, the *Zeugleutnant* 140, and commanding general Franz von Mercy 1,200.[84]

In the same year two Jesuits of the Bavarian Fugger regiment, Balthasar Michael and Ferdinand Lilius, were paid an exceptional fifty-six gulden per month, but as this was understood to be distributed by them among soldiers, their families, and to others in the baggage train in need, it is difficult to judge what, if anything, they kept for themselves.[85] It is furthermore difficult to judge the value of the respective currencies especially amidst the unstable *Kipper und Wipper Zeit*, but the wealth of their commanding officer and the usually-strong gulden make it likely that this was exceptionally high pay. Moreover, extant pay records of chaplains are not commensurate with net income, as pay was often meant to support the maintenance of one or two servants, a horse, and expenses, all of which were highly variable, also reliant on the fluctuating values of currency. It was common for high-ranking chaplains to have a servant,[86] which in the context of the norm for commissioned officers to have multiple servants, and for high-ranking officers many attendants, was on par or just below what was normal for the mounted members of the army.[87]

Further complicating pay records, many chaplains received funds in addition to their salary, for example for work assisting in the field hospital or in the courts,[88] or collecting alms to support others such as needy soldiers and their families, or local people, to whom they also sometimes gave from "their own" funds.[89] Vicars general

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[84] 'Reiths Artiglleria, Hoch und nider Officir auch gemeine Personen … Specification', Jan.-June 1642, KubayÄA 2730, f. 367.
[85] Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 2, p. 302.
[86] Naegele, *Benedikt*, pp. 57, 113.
[87] Sörensson, 'Das Kriegswesen', p. 431.
[88] Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, pp. 1143-4; Buslidius, diary, p. 88.
[89] Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge,* p. 357; Johannes Cervinus, *Wetterfelder Chronik: Aufzeichnungen eines luth. Pfarrers der Wetterau, welcher den dreissigjährigen Krieg von Anfang bis Ende miterlebt hat*, ed. Friedrich zu Solms-Laubach and Wilhelm Matthaei (Gießen, 1882), p. 110.

and higher ranking clergy were paid considerably more, though their pay was also meant to go some way toward the support of those in their charge, and a likely considerable amount of almsgiving. For example, the head of the Imperial field hospital priests was to support other priests on the sixty-six gulden and twenty kreuzer he earned per month in 1635.[90] Imperial vicar general Heinrich Paströyer's pay at two junctures separated by twenty years was seven to ten times that of a regimental chaplain – 200 fl. per month in 1623[91] and in 1642 200 gulden per month.[92] Around the same time Bavarian vicar general Benedikt Rauh in 1641 was paid 100 th. per month, and in 1642 150 fl. per month.[93]

Chaplains were no less subject than soldiers to the inconsistent ability of armies to meet their pay rolls. When Bavarian regimental chaplains went unpaid for some months in 1642, they were reported by the commissariat as being on something of a strike, as many reduced their presence in camp or even temporarily departed the army.[94] Perhaps in response to this, Bavarian colonel Gil de Has instituted the singular practice of paying his chaplains by the day, with an allowance of forty kr.[95] In the winter of 1632-3 after defeat at Breitenfeld regimental chaplains' monthly stipend had been halved to twenty fl., and chaplains at the company level were given nine fl. which they had to share with the company secretary.[96] When things improved later in 1634 following the victory at Nördlingen, regimental chaplains' pay rose back up to thirty fl. per month.[97] After the regimental chaplains and vicar general Benedikt Rauh

[90] 'Instruction für den Feld-Hospital-Priester Jodocus Sünnecken, vom Jahre 1635', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, pp. 336-8.
[91] Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge,* p. 18.
[92] Naegele, *Benedikt*, p. 211.
[93] KubayÄA 2728, f. 440, letter from war chancellery to war commissariat, 20 April 1642.
[94] KubayÄA 2729 ff. 141-42, letter from Bavarian commissariat to war chancellery, 15 August 1642.
[95] 'Prima Plana der Compagnie', 22 Nov. 1644, printed in Heilmann, *Kriegesgeschichte*, ii, p. 884.
[96] 'Ordonanz für die Artillerie bis auf weiteres, Ingolstadt November 27, 1632', and 'Verpflegungsordnung', 1632, printed in Heilmann, *Kriegesgeschichte*, ii, pp. 942, 1002.
[97] 'Ordnung, wie es mit Verpflegung der Offiziere und Soldaten zu Fuß…', 12 Nov. 1634, printed in Heilmann, *Kriegesgeschichte*, ii, p. 1004.

wrote letters of complaint to Maximilian, expense reports of the war commissariat show that they soon began receiving their pay – by November the chaplains were again being paid their allotted thirty-six fl. monthly stipend, plus another two for their horses.[98] (Obviously this, as well as many other similar records, indicates that regimental chaplains were typically mounted.)[99]

Per their 1600 regulations Jesuits were not to be paid, but were to survive off of alms.[100] Positive evidence of the extent to which this was put in to practice is minimal, but the fact of this study having found only a single record of a Jesuit chaplain being paid (Fr. Sebastian Wentorp was paid three installments of 300 fl. each from the estate of Matthias Gallas for expenses and services rendered to Gallas in the years 1641, 1642, and 1644) does point to a norm of Jesuit chaplains requiring minimal compensation, doubtless incentivizing officers to appoint them.[101] Though Jesuits' work did not go entirely unrewarded; the Society richly benefitted from the favour and largesse of rulers and commanders who granted them lands, founded colleges, and bequeathed them parts of their own estates – benefits which could be part of unwritten understandings between chaplains and officers. And Jesuits' 1644 regulations suggest that their chaplains were not always so willing to renounce material goods: it was considered necessary to include a provision prohibiting chaplains from requesting more horses or waggons for "unnecessary baggage".[102]

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[98] Bay HStA, KuBayÄA 2729, ff. 343-441.
[99] See also 'Patent für den Stab des Infanterie-Regiments', 1623, printed in Droysen, *Beiträge*, pp. 106-7; 'Ordnung, wie es mit der Verpflegung der Soldaten, zu Ross und zu Fuss, im Hailigen Röm. Reich, in Quartieren, Garnisonen, zu Feld und an allen Orten...', printed in Frauenholz, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, iii, 1, pp. 156-8.
[100] Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 1, p. 519.
[101] Letters from P. Wentorp to administrator of Gallas' estate in Bohemia, lieutenant colonel Stephan von und zu Rathmüller, 25 Oct. 1646 - 22 Oct. 1648, RACG 397 I.
[102] Regulations for Jesuit field chaplains, 1644, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 320.

Provisions, or "support", as referred to in pay records, also varied. At a minimum, field vicariates were offered victuals from the army when they were available. Though, like muster rolls, chaplains were not always specifically mentioned in provisions records, it was usually the norm for them to have been catered for.[103] However, priests were expected to supply their own expensive sacred materials, including the unconsecrated elements of bread and wine.At a low ebb in the late 1640s, to buy communion wine for his own and another chaplain's use, Imperial Jesuit chaplain Sebastian Wentorp had to sell a chalice given him as a gift on the occasion of his first Mass.[104] In some circumstances support could be generous, at both low and high levels of the field vicariate. Bavarian regimental chaplains in January 1634 received daily provisions of seven mugs of beer, eight pounds of bread, and six pounds of meat.[105] In 1635 the head of Imperial field hospital priest Jodocus Sünnecken was given 66 gulden and 22 kr. per month for support of himself and his three to five priests, access to servants in winter quarters, and permission to access emergency provisions from the army's stock.[106] From 1644 the Imperial field superior was given 3,000 rt., and provided with 3,000 gulden on a one-time basis to acquire seven servants, fourteen horses, two waggons, books, and an unspecified number of field chapels.[107] By this point in the war most regiments had their own field chapel, which was a marquee to shelter at least their portable altar, and sometimes a larger space for a congregation as well.[108]

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[103] 'Der Winter Quartier Verpflegungs Ordnung auff das 1644. Jahr.', SI A X 77; see also FNs on pp. 83-4.
[104] Letters from P. Wentorp to Rathmüller, 25 Oct. 1646 - 22 Oct. 1648, RACG 397 I.
[105] 'Bayerisches Verpflegungs-Regulativ aus Braunau', 24 Jan. 1634, printed in Heilmann, *Kriegesgeschichte*, ii, p. 1003.
[106] Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, p. 51.
[107] 'Instruction für den Feld-Superior der Feldmission P. Peter Puschmann S.J. vom Jahre 1643', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, p. 357.
[108] The Bavarian army also had field chapels, including portable altars. See Naegele, *Benedikt*, pp. 119-22; Buslidius, diary, p. 119.

Chaplains were required to wear clerical dress. Their garments were not particular to the chaplaincy, but consisted merely of the habits, cassocks and garments of their respective clerical office or religious order.[109] All the same it marked them as clergy, members of a group distinct from soldiers and civilians.[110] An anecdote about Tilly's Jesuit confessor at the time of Breitenfeld in 1631 indicates that at least some chaplains' vestments were considered as of a fine quality – perhaps as much as those of their counterparts in the territorial clergy. In the Hessian town of Kassel the priestly vestments worn by Pater Pfiffer, who had been captured by Landgrave Wilhelm in the days following the battle, "caused quite a sensation".[111]

A little-known 1626 convention between the Danish and Imperial armies reveals one aspect of chaplains' status, in that it set monetary values on the ransom of the different ranks of prisoners. A chaplain's worth was set at a mere eighteen gulden (approximately one month's salary) – two gulden less than a *Profoß,* six gulden more than a trumpeter, and eight more than a *Hurenwebel.*[112] Speaking either to variability in their perceived value, or perhaps to its increase over the course of the war, by 1643 chaplains were valued by Ferdinand III such that that he commanded general Matthias Gallas to recover six who had been captured during the second battle of Breitenfeld, even at the cost of exchanging high-ranking officers.[113]

Work of the field vicariates

[109] Marenzi, 'Constitutiones', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, p. 341.
[110] See below on the materiality of Catholic chaplaincy, pp. 88-92. See also B.A. Tlusty, *The Martial Ethic in Early Modern Germany: Civic Duty and the Right of Arms* (New York, 2011).
[111] Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen*, viii, p. 149.
[112] Heilmann, *Das Kriegswesen*, p. 270.
[113] Letter from Ferdinand III to Matthias Gallas, 9 Oct. 1643, cited in Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 318.

The army demanded a diversity of roles for those with a vocation to "*Militärseelsorge*". Though chaplains' duties included many of those already within the remit of diocesan clergy,[114] life on campaign added obligations as well as elements of unpredictability and danger.[115] For example, the care of the eucharistic materials, elements, and especially the Sacrament itself – more or less routinized in a parish and delegated at least partially into the hands of a deacon, sacristan, or other reliable layman – became for the Catholic chaplain on campaign a part-time job, demanding appropriate and secure storage, undamaged transport, and virtually round the clock supervision, lest they be stolen in camp.

The chaplain's role in Catholic armies was not just religious, but also social, medical, or possibly even military. A week on campaign could see a chaplain giving last rites to a soldier prior to a hanging, hearing confessions of soldiers' wives and camp followers, preaching a sermon to an assembled regiment of exhausted or angry soldiers, passing within firing range of a hostile enemy, administering sacraments to the dying, or intervening in a duel between disputing officers.[116] Dean of the Munich Jesuit College Jakob Golla reflected an awareness of both sides of pastoral care – the military-disciplinary and the spiritual-moral – in his complaint to Maximilian: "From the lack of Mass and sermons the soldiers become wild, brutal, tyrannical, and give themselves over to all kinds of disgusting sins."[117]

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[114] N. Reinhardt, 'Der Beichtvater in der Frühen Neuzeit als Berater, Richter, und Prophet', in B. Oberndorfer and P. Waldmann (eds), *Machtfaktor Religion: Formen religiöser Einflussnahme auf Politik und Gesellschaft* (Köln, 2012).
[115] Funke, 'Religion', p. 52.
[116] Naegele, *Benedikt*, p. 209; A. Hohenegger, *Geschichte der tirolischen kapuziner-ordensprovinz (1593-1893)* (2 vols, Innsbruck, 1913-1915), ii, pp. 205, 219; Letter from Benedikt Rauh to Maximilian, Nov. 1645, printed in Naegele, *Benedikt*, pp. 138-9; F.A.W. Schreiber, *Maximilian I. der Katholische, Kurfürst von Bayern*… (Munich, 1868), p. 584.
[117] Letter from Dean Jakob Golla to Maximilian, 4 Nov. 1633 to Maximilian, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 314.

Ferdinand III reminded the head of the Imperial field hospital chaplains in 1635: "as long as [a chaplain] remains in this function, he will hold and maintain the priority of spiritual matters above all others."[118] For Catholic clergy, this meant in the first instance celebrating Mass and administering the sacraments, duties around which their daily lives were organized. Signifying the importance of the specifically religious (i.e., cultic) functions of chaplains, of the fourteen directives for field chaplains in Imperial vicar general Marenzi's regulations of 1641, eleven concerned administration of sacraments.[119]

Chaplains were obligated to say Mass daily, though the setting could be somewhat flexible. Though portable field altars and sometimes chapel tents were available in camp,[120] nearby churches were typically preferred if available. Some chaplains went to extraordinary lengths to conduct it as fittingly as possible, such as Colonel Wolff von Mansfeld's confessor Gaspard Wiltheim who, while visiting the Duke of Württemberg's court in Stuttgart at the Duke's personal invitation for two weeks, rose from bed each day at four in the morning to ride two hours to the nearest Catholic town to say his daily Mass, Stuttgart being at the time without a Catholic church.[121] Where there were no nearby Catholic churches, both Imperial and Bavarian armies permitted chaplains to celebrate Mass in Protestant churches while on campaign.[122] Anecdotes indicate that the Lutheran altars were permitted to be used by Catholic priests, but that multiple chaplains celebrated Mass at a mobile field

[118] 'Instruction für den Feld-Hospital-Priester… 1635', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, p. 337.
[119] Marenzi, 'Observanda', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, pp. 344-6.
[120] Naegele, *Benedikt*, pp. 119-22.
[121] Wiltheim, *Itinerarium,* p. 245.
[122] 'Instruction... 1643', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge,* p. 355; Naegele, *Benedikt*, pp. 119-22.

altar placed atop the Lutheran altars naturally suggests a perception of the Catholic altar as having a superior status.[123]

The Imperial vicar general instructed his chaplains in 1641:

> All chapels are instructed to have the required elements, such as the book of papyrus in which the baptisms should be registered, as well as the name of the godfathers. Also, the sacramental box in which the water for baptism is stored. And finally, all the things required in order to administer Sacraments properly, in order to reverence the Sacrament and duly provide for the dignity and salvation of souls.[124]

The number of objects which chaplains required for the proper administration of sacraments would have been difficult to manage in a parish, not to mention on a military campaign. These included, for Mass alone: an altar (sometimes), the unconsecrated elements of bread and wine, a chalice, paten, ciborium, vestments, cincture, cloths, vessels for water, candles, at least one crucifix, censer, incense, tabernacle, liturgical books, and possibly a monstrance, all of which the chaplain kept in a special sack. Though portable field altars were used, this research has found no evidence for the use of a special waggon for transporting the tabernacle and altar, as was done, or at least trialled, contemporarily by the Army of Flanders.[125] The Bavarian vicar general kept precious items in separate sleeves, and in multiple chests.[126] Chaplains had to – often on short notice – see to their secure and efficient transportation along with personal effects, books, papers, clothing, and sacramentals such as vials of holy water and holy oil, a censer, incense, and devotional objects, such as scapulars, crucifixes, prayer books, or relics.

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[123] Marenzi, 'Constitutiones' printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, p. 341; Buslidius, diary, p. 119; Naegele, *Benedikt*, pp. 119-22.
[124] Marenzi, 'Constitutiones', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, p. 341.
[125] S. Mostaccio, 'La Mission Militaire Jésuite Auprès de l'Armée des Flandres. Conversions et sacraments', in Forclaz and Martin, *Religion et piet*é, pp. 200-2.
[126] ibid., p. 341; Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, ii, p. 1052; Letter from Benedikt Rauh to Benedictines in Reichenbach, 12 June 1643, printed in Naegele, *Benedikt*, pp. 121-2.

The objects necessary for the celebration of Mass (e.g., crucifix, censer, candles, etc.) would have remained either near to the chaplain or well-guarded by a trusted servant.[127] Chaplains showed hemselves willing to expose their own bodies to greater risk than that to which they would expose the Eucharist, which they were instructed to take special care to protect. Imperial vicar general Marenzi's 1641 regulations orders chaplains that

> No one, under penalty of suspension of the holy office, should carry around in his sack the sacred objects of the Eucharist or, during sieges, take them to public places where they could be exposed to direct artillery fire.[128]

There was no such prohibition related to relics. Bavarian general vicar Benedikt Rauh kept Wiblingen Abbey's most treasured relic, particles of the True Cross contained within the "Wiblingen cross", with him for six years on campaign.[129] As the place where the tabernacle containing the consecrated Host was kept, chapel tents and churches were a focal point in camp and had to be protected. Chaplains shared the guardianship over sacred places with their officers:

> Officers… must also take very special care to watch over the sacred places and temples, so that soldiers will not violate the church, or commit sacrilegious offenses and despoil it. In case this happens, …the colonels shall immediately inform it to the vicar general.[130]

Wolff von Mansfeld – an exceptionally pious Imperial colonel – was recorded by his chaplain as closely heeding this admonition from the following description of his chapel tent, which he also provided for the use of other regiments:

> For the divine service the general from Nuremberg provided a spacious four-cornered tent. Large supports held up the wall and ceiling décor. All devotional objects were provided by Mansfeld in the most praiseworthy way. Metal vessels and other items were of gilded silver. The tent was like the small

[127] RACG 445 I, 'Jan Aldringen 1588-1634', "Herr Paters Zeug".
[128] Marenzi, 'Constitutiones', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, p. 340.
[129] Naegele, *Benedikt*, p. 112.
[130] Marenzi, 'Observanda', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, pp. 344-6; Wiltheim, *Itinerarium*, p. 291.

> oratories in the primatial church, and set up individually for each of the regiments.[131]

In addition to being an important part of devotional life, sacramentals also represented the sacral power of the priest, whose role it was to grant the blessing of which sacramental objects were the bearers. Sacramentals included scapulars distributed to officers and soldiers on the Bohemian campaign of 1620, and sacred medallions blessed and sent by the pope to Tilly's troops in 1622 in appreciation of the army's transferral of the vast collections of the Heidelberg library to the Vatican.[132] These medallions, each picturing one of the four most recently canonized saints, were associated with indulgences which could be "won". Blessings were not limited to immediately devotional objects; it was common practice for chaplains to bless regimental standards, and chaplains used crucifixes to bless troops, carried them on campaign, and into battle.[133]

Chaplains' daily liturgical obligations included the Divine Office, a part of which was morning and evening prayer for the regiment or for officers, depending on whether offered by regimental or private chaplains. The commencement of regimental prayer was sounded by a trumpet call, unless militarily inappropriate.[134] On the Bohemian campaign this seems to have happened at Vespers,[135] though whether that was typical on other campaigns, or whether daily prayer usually coincided with parts of the daily office is unclear. Common were the Psalms, the Our

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[131] Wiltheim, *Itinerarium*, p. 291.
[132] Chaline, *Bataille,* p. 198; J.M. von Söltl, *Fürsten-Ideal der Jesuiten in einem treuen Spiegelbilde dargestellt* (Paderborn, 1870), p. 117.
[133] Wiltheim, *Itinerarium*, p. 211; Naegele, *Benedikt*, pp. 112, 152; Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen*, viii, p. 214; Conrad Burger, 'Itinerarium oder Raisbüchlin des P. Conrad Burger, Conventual des Cisterzienser-Klosters Thennenbach und Beichtiger im Frauenkloster Wonnenthal (Schluß)', ed. J. Alzog, *Freiburger Diöcesan-Archiv* 6 (1871), p. 81; Pieter Snayers, *Schlacht am weißen Berg bei Prag*, 1620, oil on canvas, 149 x 226 cm (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich).
[134] Regulations for Jesuit chaplains, 1644, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 320; Regulations for Bavarian chaplains, 1642, printed in Frisch, 'Abt Benedikt von Wiblingen'.
[135] Buslidius, diary, pp. 118, 28.

Father, and the Hail Mary, and prayer for the Emperor. Unlike with Protestant field consistories, this study has found no specifically "military" prayer books or prayers, which may indicate that morning and evening prayers were simply read from the Breviary as in an ordinary parish or diocese.

Teaching ministry

Compared to the sacraments, religious teaching was of decided secondary emphasis for Catholic chaplains. A finding in itself is that during the war about ten times fewer Catholic than Protestant sermons were printed. Regulations for Catholic chaplains also mentioned teaching far less often than Protestant ones. Nevertheless, teaching was still a primary means of strengthening Catholic confessional identity in Catholic armies and a complement to sacramental religion. This was seen in some Catholic chaplains' creative utilization of materiality in their teaching. When Landgrave Ernst von Hessen-Rheinfels, a Lutheran, was captured by the Bavarians at the battle of Alerheim in August 1645, field marshal Lamboy's confessor Fr. Schott was chosen to be his roommate in captivity. At one point while debating Scripture and theology, Ernst complained of Catholics' "superstitious reverence of holy images and crucifixes". In response, Schott removed the crucifix from his breast and threw it into the fire. Ernst's immediate reaction was to snatch it back out, thus "proving" Fr. Schott's point of view. Whether this impulse inspired further reflection is unknown, but Ernst did convert to Catholicism seven years later.[136] In another instance, while serving as a chaplain for Imperial Colonel Fernemont's regiment in the Rhineland in 1626, Gaspard Wiltheim hosted a "questions catechesis" for the Calvinists of Alzey, bringing along a statue of the Virgin Mary with a missing left arm which had been

[136] W. Kratz, *Landgraf Ernst von Hessen-Rheinfels und die deutschen Jesuiten* (Freiburg, 1914), pp. 8-9.

vandalized by local Calvinists. He also designed and placed near the altar of the parish church gilded letters spelling the names of Jesus and Mary and directed a Passion play.[137]

Explicit instructions for how chaplains were to minister to non-Catholic soldiers took care to admonish them to avoid repelling friends and allies. Imperial hospital chaplains were instructed to offer non-Catholic soldiers "utterly all possibilities" for taking up the Catholic religion, but that if for one reason or another "encouragement of the only way for the healing and prospering of their souls" did not take root, chaplains should instead offer "other spiritual teachings of comfort and exhortation to the poor souls".[138] This reflected Ferdinand III's priority of maintaining, rather than extending, the Catholic identity of the army. The same sentiment appeared in his 1643 regulations on teaching as it pertained to conversion, enjoining vigilance and sensitivity upon chaplains:

> Keep diligent watch, that no one of [Habsburg] hereditary subjects runs to [the Saxons] and visits their religious services.… The soldiers given to them… should be politely urged to listen to the Catholic sermon, the same also should be done by the Catholic chaplains with the dying soldiers, in order that they may be brought to the Catholic religion, which if its help is not wanted, one should compel no one, but instead the preachers be allowed by their side for a brief time.[139]

"A great crowd of officers and common soldiers" under Guebriant was said by Benedictine abbott Maurus Friesenegger to have "usually" attended their preaching in Andechs in 1641.[140] Chaplains were at least to encourage soldiers to partake in the

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[137] Wiltheim, *Itinerarium,* pp. 207-8.
[138] 'Instruction für den Feld-Hospital-Priester Jodocus Sünnecken, vom Jahre 1635', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge,* pp. 336-8. See also Ferdinand III's 'Instruction... 1643', printed in ibid., pp. 355-7.
[139] ibid., pp. 355-6.
[140] Friesenegger, *Chronik*, p. 98.

"recommended annual confession" during Eastertide – "with politeness, without violent compulsion".[141] Some priests succeeded in striking the right balance: Markgrave Christian von Brandenburg-Bayreuth attributed the beginnings of his conversion to Catholicism to a series of conversations with a Jesuit Pater Sallhausen. Of Sallhausen he wrote, "[he] judiciously discussed various topics with us, and consoled us… and with his discourse contented us that we could recreate ourselves very well in conversation with him."[142]

This was perhaps the most common medium of Catholic chaplains' "teaching" – private conversations with an officer or soldier – during meals, which chaplains often shared with officers, on a ride, after prayer, or by a hospital bed. On a relational level chaplains' approach was essentially similar toward Catholics and non-Catholics: in one way or another prod toward the Faith, avoid forceful harangue, and offer spiritual consolation and material support. Such interactions built rapport and provided a context in which chaplains could challenge their interlocutors and express views in a manner unlikely to cause great offence. Humour was always useful, as illustrated during Queen Eleonora of Sweden's (heavily guarded) 1632 tour of Swedish-occupied Hesse on the way south to reunite with her husband Gustavus. While at lunch with the Benedictine fathers of Fulda Abbey she volunteered her belief that it was not given for men to be celibate. The response of one of the fathers was to ask her how long it had been since she was last at the king's side, when, as was generally known, it had been over two years.[143]

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[141] ibid., p. 357.
[142] Christian von Brandenburg-Bayreuth, *Speculum veritatis Brandenburgicum* (Cologne, 1638), p. 459.
[143] G.I. Komp, *Fürstabt Johann Bernhard Schenk zu Schweinsberg, der zweite Restaurator des Katholicismus im Hochstifte Fulda* (Fulda, 1878), pp. 124-5.

Sermons, the most obvious occasion for teaching, were normally preached by regimental chaplains at Sunday Mass and on holidays, and by the vicar general to the general staff.[144] When time allowed, chaplains would preach before battle.[145] Some regiments heard more sermons than the norm, such as the Fugger Regiment in the Liga army which heard two sermons a day during the 1619 campaign.[146]

The type of sermon which most commonly survived in both Catholic and Protestant armies was the funeral sermon (*Leichenpredigt*), due to the custom of families among the elite funding the publication of their relation's funeral sermon. Reflecting the more prominent role of print in Protestant culture, publishing funeral sermons was much more common for Protestants than Catholics. The three Catholic military funeral sermons this study has found (as opposed to over 150 Protestant military funeral sermons) differ markedly from their Protestant counterparts. Most notably, the rate at which they cite Scripture is easily under one fifth that of Protestant sermons. Instead, they are more prone to cite classical authorities, Church fathers and saints. In length, they are about 30% shorter than Protestant sermons. Their bold Catholic tone and content also distinguishes them.

In Imperial colonel Guillelmo Verdugo's funeral sermon, the importance of devotion to the saints is a central theme, and one of the prominent Scriptural citations is from the Book of Wisdom in the Apocrypha, considered by Protestants non-canonical texts. The verse, quoted from the Vulgate, is of a piece with Counter-Reformation articulation of the doctrine of justification: "*Bonorum laborum gloriosus est fructus*".[147] Imperial war commissar Alessandro Massoni's funeral sermon included a series of Catholic prayers read aloud, followed by a detailed list of all the indulgences

[144] Regulations for Bavarian chaplains, 1642, printed in Frisch, 'Abt Benedikt', pp. 156-7.
[145] ibid.
[146] Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 2, p. 302.
[147] Wisdom 3:15.

he obtained before his death, some of them in the hour of his dying. Massoni's confessor, a Capuchin Fr. Honoratus, adjudged him to have been freed of all worldly and eternal punishment at the time of his death.[148]

Exceeding even these in catholicity was Bavarian field marshal von Anholt's funeral sermon, notable for its twenty-two-page explication of the doctrine of purgatory – half of its total length.[149] His chaplain Friederich Servatii, a Dominican, includes brief refreshers of Catholic teachings on the canon of Scripture, good works, and baptism, and tacks on nearly three pages of criticism of Luther and Calvin's "pedantic speculating" about Holy Writ.[150] Servatii's stated intention was for the sermon to be published so that it could be read by "sects, mobs, heretics, and critics of the Catholic Church and doctrine".[151]

Though polemic is not unjustly the stereotype of the confessional sermon, agitating was avoided. On the contrary, preaching could even promote reconciliation. After being banished from the town of Neumarkt by the Swedes in 1633, the commandant granted Capuchins permission to return to the town after hearing a Capuchin sermon which highlighted the similarities between Lutheranism and Catholicism. His response was, "By God, that was a beautiful sermon."[152] The 1626 Capuchin provincial annals, though not without bias, credit the sermon of Capuchin Fr. Johann Chrysostomos's as having quelled an angry mob in Wasserburg during the Peasants' Rebellion of 1626. 4,000 people were spilling out of the church square, during the course of which Chrysostomos "held forth for an hour on the words of St.

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148 Honoratus, *Catholische Leich-Predigt, Bey der Begräbniß Des Wol-Edlen... Herrn Alexandri Massonii, Weyland General-Commissarij der käyserlichen Armada…* (Hildesheim, 1646), pp. 15-19.
149 Fredericus Servatii, *Catholisch Christliche LeichPredigt, Bey der Begängnüß, Weyland Des... Herrn Johann Jacob, Graven von Brunckhorst zu Anholt… Obristen General Velt Marschallen… Jever Schloßkirchen* (Rinteln, 1631).
150 Servatii, *LeichPredigt*, p. 43.
151 ibid., pp. 7-8.
152 A. Eberl, *Geschichte der bayrischen Kapuziner-ordensprovinz (1593-1902)* (Freiburg, 1902), pp. 121-2.

Paul to the Romans (13, 1): 'there is no authority except that which comes from God….'"[153]

Though Catholic chaplains did not rely on religious literature for soldiers nearly to the degree that Protestants did, what literature they did use included some written by chaplains themselves, as will be detailed in Part II. Jesuit Thomas Sailly wrote the greater part of his 312-page *Memorial testamentaire, composé en faveur des soldats combattants*… while on campaign with Spinola in the Palatinate in 1622.[154] Others such as Johann Höfer and Henry Fitzsimon wrote doctrinal polemics, or, like Johann Buslidius or Jeremias Drexel, kept up their work as theologians and men of letters while on campaign.

While not didactic in nature, it is worth pointing out that clerics authored some of the best eyewitness accounts of the war – some of which were published contemporarily.[155] As will be seen especially in Part II, these clerical sources offer an entirely different, and usually more colourful, perspective on events during military campaigns than most military sources. Further standouts are the diaries of Conrad Burger, who, himself a former soldier in the war, as a monk in Tennebach Abbey and guardian of Cloister Wonnental recorded over 200 printed pages of observations and interactions with soldiers of all armies operating in the Upper Rhine-Black Forest region during the last eight years of the war, and Michael Gaisser, Abbott of

[153] Eberl, *Geschichte,* pp. 132-3.
[154] Lavenia, 'Missiones Castrenses', p. 554.
[155] Thomas Carve, *Reyßbüchlein, Deß Ehrwürdigen Herrn Thomae Carve Irrländers, Deß Edlen Gestrengen Walteri Deveroux, Käys. May. wohlbestelten Obristen, Feldt-Caplans: Darinnen allerley glaub- unnd denckwürdige Historien und Kriegsverlauff vom Jahr 1630. biß 1638,* trans."P.K." (2 vols, Mainz, 1640-2); Henry Fitzsimon [Candidus Eblanus], *De Praelio Pragensi Praaeaque Deditione Octava & Nona Novembris, M. DC. XX.* (Augsburg, 1621); Henry Fitzsimon [Constantius Peregrinus], *Bucquoy Quadrimestre... Bohemia subjugate*… (Vienna, 1621).

Villingen, whose diary of more than 1500 printed pages spans the years 1621-55 and records many interactions with and ministry to soldiers and officers.[156]

Care for the dying, wounded, sick, and condemned

Ministering to those *in extremis* was an important part of sacramental ministry and was all the more heightened in wartime settings. It was enjoined upon chaplains by both custom and regulations,[157] and mainly involved administering the sacraments of penance, extreme unction or anointing, and Holy Communion (Viaticum, when administered to the dying) to dying (or about-to-die) soldiers.[158] Though not required of them, during battle many Catholic chaplains ventured into the line of fire, particularly to administer medical and spiritual aid to the wounded and give last rites. As Jesuit Johann Gregorius wrote to an Imperial commander of his experience at the battle of Breitenfeld,

> In this battle one saw a host of wrecked lads, whose feet, legs, neck, jaw, breast, or back were shot off, all of whom I anointed with holy oil…. I ran up to our cavalry with outstretched arms asking them where can we get bandages, I asked by God and all the Saints….[159]

Accounts sketch out a picture of chaplains almost never accompanying soldiers into the thickest fighting with the enemy, but rather either being poised just behind (still

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[156] Conrad Burger, 'Itinerarium oder Raisbüchlin des P. Conrad Burger, Conventual des Cisterzienser-Klosters Thennenbach und Beichtiger im Frauenkloster Wonnenthal vom J. 1641 bis 1678', ed. and trans. J. Alzog, *Freiburger Diöcesan-Archiv* 5 (1870); Michael Gaisser, *Tagebuch des Abt Michael Gaisser der Benediktinerabtei St Georg zu Villingen 1595 – 1655,* ed. O. Stemmler and Stadtarchiv Villingen (2 vols, Villingen-Schwenningen, 1978-84).

[157] Jesuit regulations for the *Missio Castrensis*, 1600, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 1, p. 519.

[158] For Mass before battle, see Wiltheim, *Itinerarium*, pp. 278-90; J.L. Stevens, *History of Gustavus Adolphus* (London, 1885), pp. 412-13; Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 1, p. 519, who, citing Jesuit regulations for the *Missio Castrensis*, 1600, says that Jesuits were instructed to administer the Eucharist before battle. For preaching before battle see Naegele, *Benedikt*, p. 87. For confession, see also 'Instruktion' for Jesuits, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 1, p. 592; Fitzsimon, *Diary*, p. 92; Baur, *Kapuziner*, p. 53.

[159] Johann Gregorius, *Copia eines Schreibens So ein Jesuiter an den Herrn GeneralWachmeister Virmond in Rostock, worin er... die Schlacht bey Leipzig describirt, abgehen lassen: Ist bey einem Trompter, so aus Rostock nach Dömitz geschicket... im Sattel gefunden worden* ([s.l.], 1631), p. 8.

within range of bullet and cannon fire) to enable speedy aid once the fight had abated, or positioned much further back behind the lines. A Jesuit provincial superior, frustrated at the risks (and casualties) his *patres* were assuming, wrote to them, "It is not our role, to throw ourselves into the battle…."[160] Virtually none of the many contemporary paintings and sketches of battles from the war show chaplains, with the exception of two: Pieter Snayers' *Schlacht am weißen Berg bei Prag* depicting the famous and exceptional episode of Dominicus and a sketch by Jaques Callot exhibiting the close-behind-the-front positioning.[161] By the end of the war chaplains were being ordered to stay back from the lines in the vicinity of the field hospital.[162]

Chaplains were also expected to offer confession and absolution to soldiers before battle.[163] Mass was also celebrated before battle when possible, though the sacrament of confession took precedence. On the occasions in which there was not time for even this, chaplains were instructed:

> If it is impossible to hear confession before battle, then all the soldiers must be admonished with great zeal to the awakening of a sincere act of contrition for all their sins. You may also recite this act of contrition, then impart the absolution.…[164]

Though it is unclear whether this collective absolution would be considered precisely the same thing as a general absolution granted by Catholic chaplains to soldiers before battle, Imperial vicar general Marenzi in 1641 banned general absolution barring special permission. Though the very act of issuing a ban would seem to suggest that the practice had been in use, this study has failed to find a single definite mention of

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[160] Wiltheim, *Itinerarium*, p. 205.
[161] Jacques Callot, *Die großen Kriegsübel*, 1633, etching on laid paper, 9 x 19 cm, printed in Lucht and Lucht, *Fahnen,* i, p. 123. Shows 2 priests mounted, just behind the lines of attack, next to the trumpeter, poised as if ready to move either forward or rearwards as the action indicates. Snayers, *Schlacht am weißen Berg.*
[162] Regulations for Jesuit field chaplains, 1644, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 320.
[163] Ferdinand III, 'Instruction', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, pp. 353-8.
p. 357; Jesuit regulations for the *Missio Castrensis*, 1600, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 1, p. 519.
[164] Regulations for Jesuit field chaplains, 1644, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 320.

its occurrence during the war. Marenzi tactfully avoids directly acknowledging whether or not it was currently happening, speaking only vaguely of "penitents who have received absolution without permission".[165] Marenzi's directive that chaplains record all sacramental confessions of soldiers may have been intended as another means of limiting the practice.[166]

Chaplains' duty of care extended to all people without distinction, including enemy soldiers and non-combatants, offering what was often their only hope of aid.[167] A plethora of examples record Catholic clergy's care for sick and wounded enemy soldiers, though it is worth keeping in mind that sources written by clergy, while often careful and scrupulous, are more likely to interpret and present the actions of clergy of their own confession (and especially members of their religious order, where applicable) in a favourable light. In the campaign of 1632 Pappenheim's troops captured 300 Hessians – many of them wounded and sick – and packed them all into a tiny house in Paderborn. The Jesuits of the Paderborn College tended to them and went throughout the city begging alms on their behalf. They did similarly in 1640 and notably in 1641, when they tended to a group of over 600 plague-ridden captives in nearby Geseke. Some were so sick that even doctors refused to approach them. Others were healed, but not before six *patres* themselves fell ill. The Swedes were no less willing to avail their prisoners of the medical care religious orders could offer, such as the Benedictines of Würzburg, who administered care to hundreds of captured Bavarians.[168] In December 1632, after the failed storming of Cologne, the city's Jesuits

[165] Marenzi, 'Constitutiones', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, p. 340.
[166] ibid., pp. 339-43.
[167] For civilians, Eberl, *Geschichte,* p. 126; Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 2, p. 305.
[168] Friesenegger, *Chronik*, p. 34.

received a letter of thanks from the Swedish war chancellery for their care of wounded Swedish soldiers left behind.[169]

The monks at the field hospital near Andechs were described in Maurus Friesenegger's diary as providing "care of both body and soul".[170] Whether at the front or in the field hospital, chaplains were commonly the last people seen and spoken to by the dying, one of the more dramatic instances of which was field marshal Franz von Mercy dying in the arms of Bavarian vicar general Benedikt Rauh at the battle of Alerheim.[171] Before any formalization of the field hospital chaplaincy, two Jesuits oversaw the care and transport of 2,000 wounded soldiers in August of 1620, with only sixty-five perishing.[172] The Benedictines of Bamberg, acting similarly on their own initiative, set up a field hospital which in 1632 held 600 Imperial-Liga troops. By 1635 field hospital priests were assigned their own subdivision within the field vicariate, issued with their own regulations by Ferdinand III in 1635.[173]

Duties to the dead and dying extended beyond the battlefields and field hospitals. Chaplains were known to share their salaries with sick soldiers and their families, and when Imperial field marshal Rambaldo Collalto fell ill in the winter of 1628-9, his chaplain risked several trips by torchlight through Protestant Schweinfurt to reach the hospital and give him Viaticum.[174] Close proximity to the sick and wounded particularly exposed chaplains to deadly illness. For instance, outbreaks of the plague on the Bohemian campaign halved the Jesuit mission with the Imperial-Liga army, with eight perishing. Others could be less heroic in the face of such risk, such as six Brothers Hospitaller of St. John of God working in the Catholic field

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169 Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 2, pp. 315-17.
170 Friesenegger, *Chronik*, p. 34.
171 Frisch, 'Abt Benedikt', p. 157; Naegele, *Benedikt*, p. 136.
172 Buslidius, diary, p 87.
173 'Instruction für den Feld-Hospital-Priester Jodocus Sünnecken, vom Jahre 1635', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, pp. 336-8.
174 Wiltheim, *Itinerarium,* pp. 28-9.

hospital. According to the report of the field hospital commissar Kaspar Freisslich, in the absence of their superior they were "good for nothing" and on one occasion had even threatened his life.[175]

Priests were the last resort for condemned soldiers in the spiritual sense, but on occasion chaplains were able to provide aid of the more immediate kind. Intercessions were not always successful,[176] but annuals of the Jesuit Saxon mission report that their intercession obtained pardon for two condemned soldiers in 1626 and freed "many" from prison. They claimed to have saved ten in 1631, and "some" in 1632.[177] The Bamberg college reported having saved seventy captured Swedish soldiers from a death sentence in 1632.[178] Of course, soldiers were valuable, and officers loath to squander their personnel; perhaps there were occasions in which officers or commanders were most glad of all for the chaplain's intercession, for providing them a way of showing clemency rather than weakness, and preserving the lives of the condemned.[179]

Inevitably, chaplains' intercession most commonly took only a spiritual form – "giving [the condemned] company", as was described of the hours a chaplain spent with adventurer and at the time Bavarian colonel Georg Wolmar von Fahrensbach prior to his execution.[180] Gaspard Wiltheim's account, referring to himself in the third

[175] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 302; report from Imperial field hospital commissar Kaspar Freisslich, 20 August 1620, printed in Riezler, *Kriegstagebücher,* p. 88.
[176] Letter from Fr. Chrysostomos, 1643, RAS KP 283.
[177] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 316.
[178] ibid., p. 314; Friesenegger, *Chronik*, p. 34.
[179] See P. Wilson, 'Early modern German military justice', in D. Maffi (ed), *Tra Marte e Astrea. Giustizia e giuridizione militare nell' Europa della prima età moderna (secc. xvi-xviii)* (Milan, 2012).
[180] 'Farensbach, Graf Georg Volmar von' http://www.30jaehrigerkrieg.de/farensbach-fahrensbach-pharensberg-graf-georg-volmar-woldemar-waldemar-von-2/ (11 Jan. 2021); see also Sennewald, *Kursächsische Heer*, pp. 651-4; See also military executions with priests nearby in paintings by Jacques Callot, *Les Miseres et les Malheurs de la guerre*, 1633, etchings on laid paper, 9 x 19 cm, printed in Lucht and Lucht, *Fahnen*, i, pp. 122-35.

person, describes his second day as a field chaplain in 1626 in which he had to ride six hours out to the hamlet of Ottersberg to attend to a cavalryman condemned to hang for robbery:

> Gaspard prepared him properly before his death. Next to his cell he read holy Mass for him late into the night, gave him the last rites, and accompanied the contrite sinner to the gallows.[181]

Instruction to field hospital priests to offer non-Catholic soldiers "utterly all possibilities" of conversion was evidently also heeded by other chaplains. At an Imperial court martial in Prague, prior to the execution of the officers found guilty of retreating before the enemy at Lützen, a number of Jesuits and Capuchins could not resist interrupting a non-Catholic officer's prayers in his final moments with appeals for conversion:

> Andrew Qualenberg, coming vpon the Scaffold… began to walke too and fro; and being much called vpon by the Iesuits and Friars there, hee did neuer answere them… not respecting the continuall exhortations and interruptions of the said Friars.[182]

Chaplains were, in cooperation with the commander, also responsible for overseeing burial of the dead, and were to see that Catholic and uncatholic soldiers were buried separately.[183] A number of anecdotes indicate that chaplains were determined in fulfilling their charge to provide for proper burial. In 1638 several Jesuits exhumed the body of a hanged soldier buried by the hangman under the gallows, in order to carry him to consecrated ground. The 1638 Rhineland provincial annual report states that "That made a great impression on the Protestants, because it was known that the

[181] Wiltheim, *Itinerarium*, pp. 206-7.
[182] William Watts, [*Swedish Intelligencer* pamphlet series for Butter and Bourne] (7 parts, London, 1632-4), *The Continuation of the German history. The fifth part*, p. 4.
[183] Ferdinand III, 'Instruction', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, p. 357.

soldier had been a very poor man."[184] During the siege of Xanten in 1645 a Jesuit lay brother Eberhard Stüve was known to set out daily from the town walls with a shovel and pickaxe to bury decomposing bodies.[185]

That chaplains played a prominent role at the requiem Masses of officers and commanders would be easily enough surmised, even without the ample evidence confirming it. Less obvious, especially due to the sparseness of source material on the rank and file, is their role in the less ceremonious funerals of common soldiers. In light of the assiduousness with which chaplains attended to burial (under normal circumstances a separate event from the funeral which was usually held in a church) of common soldiers it is doubtful that they did not observe at least some level of ceremony at their funerals, as indicated by the following two anecdotes from the diary of Jesuit priest Johann Buslidius on the Bohemian campaign of 1620. He describes the funeral of a common soldier in Linz:

> Father Claudius performed the service most sagaciously and righteously, holding a crucifix in his hand. …in a short address to the gathered soldiers he encouraged everyone to bend their knee together with us, and pray the prayer of the Lord and Angelic Salutation for the souls of the deceased. Apart from this, the Father recited psalm *de profundis* along with two other prayers for the deceased and so the service came to an end.[186]

Buslidius also recounts a similar event which was not a funeral for a soldier as such, but rather for a sutler, a member of the mobile camp community even lower-ranking than the common soldier, but one whose funeral involved a no less-considerable exertion on the part of chaplains:

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[184] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 316. See also B. Heinemann, *Die Schriften des Prof. Dr. Bartholomäus Heinemann... nach den Tagebüchern des Abts Georg II Gaißer... zu Villingen*, ed. F. Trautwein (St. Georgen, 2005), p. 150.
[185] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 316.
[186] Buslidius, diary, p 88.

> The same evening, in this town, we performed catholic funeral rites for a very poor local convoy driver at a heretical cemetery. Father Rauch officiated the ceremony dressed in linen and wearing a stole. Two Capuchin friars served as torchbearers, the rest of our fathers and brothers followed the funeral procession along the waggon bearing the deceased to the tomb, where together with a military regiment we pronounced Catholic prayers and sprinkled holy water from a glass.[187]

The role of religion in the norms of funeral and burial practice in the armies conforms to the nature of the relationship between religion and the army as a whole. That religion was a focal point in funerals and burials is obvious; likely very few soldiers were buried without at least a general blessing said over their graves, or, if the army had moved on, prayed over by a chaplain in the field, as local parish pastor Paulus Stockmann did after the battle of Lützen.[188] Army members who died here and there were often buried in church cemeteries.[189] Just as commonly, or perhaps more so, military necessity and mass casualty events rendered individual funeral ceremonies and burials impracticable. Kirchof's *Militaris Disciplina* relates, "Sometimes the lads die in such quantities in a day, that command does not want to frighten their fellows. That night they make sure to have the dead brought out of the column and buried."[190] After battles, excepting commanding officers or nobility, a hasty mass burial was the most that could be hoped for.

Ministry to non-combatants

[187] ibid., p. 117.
[188] Paulus Stockmann, *Lamentatio Secunda Lüzensium, seu Epitaphium, Das ist: Clag- und Grab-Schrifft der jenigen Soldaten*… (Magdeburg, 1633), p. 48.
[189] Kirchhof, *Militaris Disciplina*, pp. 202-3.
[190] ibid., pp. 203.

As illustrated by the sutler's funeral, Catholic chaplains ministered not only to soldiers, but also to non-combatants, especially camp followers whose population often neared the numbers of the armies themselves. An incredible 700 women (the word used is "*Ehefrauen*", indicating wives, but that all were wedded wives, as opposed to a mix of wed and unwed camp women is doubtful) attached to General Haslang's regiment received communion from Jeremias Drexel in September of 1620, as their regimental chaplains had fallen ill.[191]

Accounts of ministry to non-combatants run from the earliest stages of the war to its end, when the Jesuits founded a congregation for soldiers' wives and widows.[192] Between 1619 and at least 1621, Jesuits Balthasar Michael and Ferdinand Lilius, and, separately, Bavarian vicar general Benedikt Rauh, ran a catechesis for children, soldiers and their wives, and multiple regulations instruct chaplains to conduct children's catechesis, which was typically done on Sundays and holidays.[193] Fr. Wilhelm Bons distributed food to attendees at catechesis in the camp of Pfalzgrave Wolfgang von Neuburg during the Jülich campaign in 1626, and wrote employment referrals for camp prostitutes looking to improve their situations.[194] Whether the alternative approach employed by Bavarian vicar general Benedikt Rauh of periodically publicly throwing them out of the camp is to be considered as "ministry" to non-combatants (or the combatants) is another question. Such treatment could be avoided, however, if the women in question were betrothed to a soldier or (as was more common) an officer.[195]

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[191] Jeremias Drexel, [diary, untitled], printed in Riezler, *Kriegstagebücher*, p. 157; see also Johannes Cervinus, *Wetterfelder Chronik*, p. 110. For literature on the camp community see Wilson, 'Wars, States, and Gender'; P. Wilson, 'German Women and War, 1500-1800', *War in History,* 3/2 (1996); J. Lynn, *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2008).
[192] Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 2, p. 316.
[193] Marenzi, 'Constitutiones', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, p. 342; Maximilian's regulations for Bavarian field chaplains, April 5, 1642, printed in Frisch, 'Abt Benedikt', p. 156.
[194] Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 2, pp. 307-8.
[195] Frisch, 'Abt Benedikt', p. 156.

While stationed with Colonel Fernemont's regiment in the Rhineland from 1626-7, Fr. Gaspard Wiltheim, a Jesuit who would later become chaplain to Imperial general Wolff von Mansfeld, tutored three daughters of a widowed Lutheran noblewoman. While there he also managed to teach at a local school and held "questions-catechesis for the unconverted".[196] After his departure the mother converted to Catholicism. He also performed a singular act of ministering to families of officers and soldiers, when in 1630 Catholic convert General Wolff von Mansfeld sent Wiltheim to Vienna to encourage his recently converted wife, and converse with his resolutely Lutheran eleven-year-old daughter.[197]

Chaplains regularly heard the confessions of camp followers, performed marriages, and baptized children.[198] No different than parish clergy, regimental chaplains also kept records of – albeit less reliably – baptisms, godfathers, confirmations, communions, and marriages.[199] Army administrations were, using chaplains, beginning to assert control over army members' marriages as early as the Thirty Years War, and not after 1650 as has been previously put forth in historiography.[200] Bavarian vicar general Benedikt Rauh carried not one but two copies of the marriage register with him on campaign.[201] The question of who was to authorize soldiers to marry exposed inconsistencies in regulations, and the familiar problems of negotiation between secular and sacred powers on matters of mutual concern. Imperial vicar general Marenzi's 1641 regulations state that

196 Wiltheim, *Itinerarium,* pp. 207-8.
197 ibid., pp. 251-2.
198 Jeremias Drexel's diary from 1620 Bohemian campaign, printed in Riezler, *Kriegstagebücher*, p. 157.
199 ibid., esp. pp. 161f.; Regulations for Jesuit field chaplains, 1644, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 2, pp. 319-20.
200 See Wilson, 'Wars, States, and Gender', p. 80.
201 Naegele, *Benedikt,* p. 122; Marenzi, 'Constitutiones', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, pp. 339-43.

> …there should exist the greatest liberty for the soldiers in regards of entering matrimony, and this liberty shall not be taken away by any Colonel, as it is an ecclesiastical custom and a spiritual jurisdiction.[202]

Whereas the Jesuit regulations of 1644 command the opposite – that chaplains must withhold blessing a marriage if it has not been first approved by the regimental commander.[203] As was the norm in the Thirty Years War, issues were usually settled on the ground, within the web of relationships in the army and camp community. Clergy too eager to approve of a marriage in camp ran the risk of subverting the often-strict control exercised over marriage by the territorial clergy and political rulers, according especially to wealth.[204] One difficulty was that soldiers' wages were not meant to support families, even when they were paid in full. As ever in the Thirty Years War, outcomes were worked out on an inconsistent, contingent, and relational basis.

Intermediaries

In addition to their spiritual occupations, chaplains possessed secular power and influence in mediation of matters within and without armies. Priests were obvious candidates to mediate between hostile parties, whether intra- or inter-army disputants. In the former, they were a neutral third party often known to both disputants, and accordingly able to exert considerable influence as mediators, especially over wills and duels.[205] In the exaggerated recollection of Maurus Friesenegger, abbott of the

[202] Marenzi, 'Observanda', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, pp. 344-6.
[203] Regulations for Jesuit field chaplains, 1644, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 2, p. 320.
[204] See H. Wunder, *He is the Sun, She is the Moon: Women in Early Modern Germany* (London, 1998).
[205] Letter from Benedikt Rauh to Maximilian, (probably) Nov. 1645, printed in Naegele, *Benedikt*, pp. 138-9; Ferdinand III, 'Pastoralinstruktion', 1644, printed in Naegele, *Benedikt*, pp. 226-9. For wills, see Marenzi, 'Constitutiones', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, p. 357.

Benedictine monastery at Andechs, "as mediators (*Vermittler*), we were never without success."[206]

Fr. Conrad Burger, guardian of the female religious house at Wonnenthal, relates multiple occasions of successful negotiation with troops, both from the monastery walls and in army camps.[207] He recounts concealing in his confessional for over two weeks a fugitive captain hiding from the companions of a fellow officer he had killed in a duel, audiences with commanders about matters such as obtaining a guard for the abbey, warding off potential intruders, and even reinstating abbey property stolen by soldiers.[208] Using variously French, Latin, and German, Burger successfully obtained guards from both d'Enghien and Guebriant, and from the French commandant of the fortress at Breisach he negotiated the return of all stolen Tennebach property. He then traveled to Freiburg where he boldly presented the French letter to the Bavarian commandant, whose troops had stolen the property.[209]

Though the result of this mission was left unaccounted, Burger did succeed on a similarly brave, if more trivial, occasion: he barged into the camp of a captain whose soldiers had just made off with the clock from the Tennebach clock tower, announcing himself and loudly demanding its return. Not only did the captain return the clock to him on the spot, but also sent a soldier to guard him on his return to the monastery. Having served for six years as a pikeman earlier in the war before he took vows, the uncommonly wily Burger's exploits were not necessarily representative, and he was even known to on occasion dress as and impersonate a soldier to minimize provoking hostility from passing troops.[210]

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[206] Friesenegger, *Chronik*, p. 98.
[207] Burger, 'Itinerarium', pp. 352-3, 356; Burger, 'Itinerarium... (Schluß)', pp. 104-6.
[208] ibid., pp. 82-4.
[209] ibid., pp. 80-1, 87, 104-6; Burger, 'Itinerarium', pp. 352-3.
[210] Burger, 'Itinerarium... (Schluß)', p. 87.

On rare occasion priestly mediation could be physical, even up to entering a fight to protect vulnerable noncombatants. According to chaplain Henry Fitzsimon, at the siege of Prachatitz in 1620, Catholic chaplains scaled the walls to get inside the city and protect women and children from hot-blooded soldiers.[211] Two more anecdotes relate that Bavarian vicar general Benedikt Rauh saved the (Lutheran) minister's house in Memmingen from being sacked, and that during the infamous sack of Magdeburg in 1631, women and children sheltering in the cathedral were reportedly saved from marauding soldiers by a priest bidding Tilly to post guards at the door.[212] A priest forcing his way through lines of attack to protect innocents was doubtless highly exceptional, even in the eyes of clergy retelling or recording such deeds of their confrères; exploits like these were not the norm, but rather one illustration of the extent and potential extent of chaplains' activity within army life.

Mediation also took place at the diplomatic level. When general Ambrosio Spinola confided to chaplain Gaspard Wiltheim that he saw himself as a "counter-reformer" and wanted to use his army to support the bishop of Mainz catholicizing the Palatinate, Wiltheim related this to his provincial superior, who then sent him to Mainz to inform the archbishop-elector. The archbishop told Wiltheim to explain that if Spinola wanted to take up the task then he would not stand in the way, which Wiltheim then communicated to Spinola via the general's confessor, another Jesuit, Hermann Hugo.[213] Within a year of these discussions in 1627, with Spinola's enforcement Catholicism became the only legal religion in the Palatinate; the fact that

[211] Fitzsimon, *Diary,* p. 57.
[212] Naegele, *Benedikt*, pp. 146-7; Wiltheim, *Itinerarium,* p. 363; Zacharias Bandhauer, 'Zacharias Bandhauer's deutsches Tagebuch der Zerstörung Magdeburgs 1631', ed. P.P. Klimesch, *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichts-Quellen* 16 (1856).
[213] Wiltheim, *Itinerarium,* p. 209.

enforcement was very patchy from the beginning, and with only partial ultimate success is irrelevant to the point that chaplains were intimately involved in highly ambitious plans to bring about a mass conversion in conquered territory.

There are many examples of chaplains' involvement in high political circles and military intrigue.[214] Wiltheim spent nearly half of 1628 at the Imperial court in Vienna at the invitation of Imperial confessor and fellow Luxembourger Wilhelm Lamormaini. He celebrated Mass before the emperor and empress on a number of occasions, obtaining multiple audiences with Ferdinand II. In 1634 Ferdinand granted him permission and funding to establish a Jesuit seminary in his homeland of Luxembourg.[215] A Jesuit Fr. Christoph passed intelligence (in the confessional) to a colonel Peschwitz and on to court in Vienna about a secret deal between Imperial general von Bönninghausen and the French.[216] Much less renowned than Carmelite Dominicus a Jesu-Maria's exploits in the 1620 Bohemian War was his mission to the court of Louis XIII in 1621 as an envoy of Maximilian.[217] Benedikt Rauh used his influence to relieve religious foundations such as his own (the Abbey of Wiblingen) and the Abbey of Corvey of obligation to pay war contributions, and to lobby successfully against a ban on exactions from principalities they controlled, which was enacted, to say nothing of its difficult enforcement or lack thereof, in December 1644. It was one of many requests for assistance which he met throughout his time as vicar general.[218]

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[214] Though outside the scope of this thesis, the most obvious cases of clerical influence on the war were the roles played during the first half of the war by confessors at Bavarian and Imperial court, respectively: Adam Contzen and Wilhelm Lamormaini. Bireley, *Maximilian*; Bireley, *Religion and Politics*.
[215] Wiltheim, *Itinerarium*, pp. 221-2
[216] H. Lahrkamp, *Lothar Dietrich Freiherr von Bönninghausen (1598-1657): kaiserlicher Feldmarschall-Leutnant und Maréchal de Camp des Königs von Frankreich* (Münster, 1958), pp. 340-3. See also Tilly's confessor, Mauritius, who attended the 1630 Diet of Regensburg: Bireley, *Maximilian*, pp. 114, 130.
[217] DKA A116, 'Memorial und Instruktion für P. Dominikus in dessen Sendung an der König von Frankreich', 1621.
[218] Naegele, *Benedikt,* pp. 122-7.

The role played by Anglo-Irish chaplain Patrick Taaffe in Wallenstein's death, or rather murder, was particularly dramatic. While serving as chaplain in the regiment of Colonel Walter Butler, commander of the unit which killed Wallenstein in Eger in 1634, Taaffe was one of the chief actors in the entire affair, acting as messenger between Butler in Kladruby, and Imperial field marshal Piccolomini in Pilsen. On the eve and again on the night of Wallenstein's assassination he was awoken by Butler at midnight asking him for advice on what actions he should take.[219] He delivered the very dispatch from Piccolomini giving Butler the go-ahead to kill Wallenstein and was repeatedly consulted by Butler throughout the affair. Taaffe later wrote a little-known detailed account of the episode, including the facts of his foreknowledge and support.[220]

Priests were commonly involved in negotiating the cessation of hostilities, though notably there are few records of Jesuits being entrusted with these duties. As discussed also in Chapter VI, Protestant commanders, and some Catholic ones, not only had a general distrust of the Society, finding in it the most militant strain of Counter-Reformation Catholic mentality, but openly suspected it of actively promoting and justifying the practice of deceiving heretics in negotiations.[221] Benedictine Abbott of Andechs Maurus Friesenegger's account of the Andechs Jesuits' envoy to Swedish major Georg Wilhelm von Kalchum (also known as "Lohausen") to seek a guard for their college memorably captures these sentiments. At first received in an unfriendly

[219] J.H. Möller, *Geschichte des österreichischen Kaiserstaates* (Hamburg, 1842), pp. 368-9.
[220] F. Prendergast, 'An Authentic Account of the Death of Wallenstein, with a Vindication of the Motives of Colonel Walter Butler', *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological* Society, 2/1 (1852), pp. 11-14; E. Schmidhofer, 'Das Irische, Schottische, und Englische Element im Kaiserlichen Heer' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Vienna, 1971), p. 43; C. Kampmann, *Reichsrebellion und kaiserlicher Acht: politische Strafjustiz im Dreißigjährigen Krieg und das Verfahren gegen Wallenstein 1634* (Münster, 1993).
[221] See above pp. 88-92, and below pp. 264-5.

manner, a party of six or seven Jesuits was then sent directly to Lohausen, "a Calvinist",

> …who began a long speech on the hated complaint about the deceitful ways ascribed to Jesuits, that one need not keep faith with heretics, and spoke chidingly of these things which he said were common practice among us, to speak out of both sides of our mouth. As proof of this he repeated a despicable rumour from Amberg, wherein a field chaplain of the Society praised himself for having used such speech to save a lad from having to run the gauntlet.[222]

In a paradox typical of cross-confessional relations in the Empire and of the Thirty Years War, Friesengger reports Lohausen's answer: "After speaking long and wide in telling his story, he then agreed to take the college under his protection."[223]

Clergy other than Jesuits were preferred – Friesenegger and his monks enjoyed close relationships with multiple commanders, and it was a Scottish Benedictine Fr. Ogilvie who handed over the keys of Würzburg to Gustavus in 1631 on behalf of the Bishop and Burghers[224] – but Capuchins seem to have been especially trusted. may have been more due to the tendency of their houses to be located in towns and cities, where parleying most often occurred).[225] Straubing Capuchins Petrus von Buchau and Franz von Karpenstein were forcibly used as emissaries by Swedes under command of Bernhard of Weimar and Count Thurn to negotiate with the Imperialists at the siege of Straubing in November 1633. The Swedes held von Karpenstein hostage outside the city walls, threatening to hang him if von Buchau did not promptly return from a discussion with the Imperial commandant von Limburg, as well as deliver a load of beer and wine from the stores of the Capuchin monastery under the city walls. When

[222] Friesenegger, *Chronik*, p. 42-3.
[223] ibid.
[224] Eberl, *Geschichte*, pp. 124-5; Ganzhorn, *Würzburg unter schwedischer Herrschaft,* pp. 284-5.
[225] Baur, *Kapuziner.*

the reinforced Swedes successfully took the city two weeks later, the Straubingers sent two elderly Capuchins as their advocates to the Swedish commanders.[226]

Catholic clergy also negotiated between belligerent Catholic parties, whether intra-army, such as Benedictine Carl Fabricius who was recorded in fellow Andechs Benedictine Maurus Friesenegger's diary as throwing himself between the levelled weapons of two groups of the Andechs garrison,[227] or inter-army, such as Capuchin Fr. Vinzentius, who negotiated between two warring Catholic armies (the Bavarians and French). Vinzentius learned from Capuchin confrère and French army chaplain Fr. Spiritus of General Gramont's intention to destroy much of the city of Neckarsulm in requisitioning its buildings for material to build siege works. Vinzentius successfully interceded with Gramont and was for his efforts later named "Pater Patriae" by the town.[228]

One of the most notable priestly mediatory efforts during the war was that of Fr. Roman von Ingolstadt (assisted by another Capuchin, Fr. Candidus), guardian of the Wasserburg Capuchin house during the Upper Bavarian peasant's rebellion in 1634. Fr. Roman's exertions were credited with quelling a rebellion of 15,000 angry peasants – thousands of whom congregated to hear his sermon, which he gave after hours listening to and recording their grievances. He promised to represent these, mainly to do with troop billeting, war "contributions", and plundering, to the pro-Imperial Electors present at a meeting of the war council. The war council secretary Peringer claimed that it was Fr. Roman's words – spoken first in private audience with Maximilian on January 8th, and then the following morning and again the afternoon of the 10th with Maximilian's blessing to the other members of the council who had

[226] J. Grant, *Memoirs and Adventures of Sir John Hepburn* (Edinburgh, 1851), p. 118.
[227] Friesenegger, *Chronik*, p. 30.
[228] Baur, *Kapuziner*, p. 19; Naegele, *Benedikt*, p. 209.

originally intended to suppress the revolt – which persuaded them to lenience. Fr. Roman returned to Wasserburg with a letter bearing the seals of the electors promising to reduce the burden of quartered soldiers and contributions, which was enough to allay what could have been a crisis for the Catholic war effort at a crucial time in the war.[229] Barring Peringer's claim being grossly inflated, this was a priest directly influencing military strategy.

"Military" chaplains

Chaplains held the rank of commissioned officers, and while their authority and position in military matters was somewhat vague and dependent upon the individual and circumstance, when need arose it could be significant. Exposed to, in the words of Imperial field marshall Bucquoy's chaplain, "a great deal of discussion about war matters",[230] they were confidants trusted with commanders' and officers' internal deliberations,[231] private secretaries (the same chaplain also claimed, "I know [Bucquoy's] expenses better than he does himself"),[232] and even *ad hoc* tactical advisors and commanders of small groups of soldiers.[233] Ferdinand III's 1643 regulations granted chaplains worldly-realm authority over troops in the area of discipline, instructing field superior Puschmann, "Against the disobedient soldiers [a chaplain] should first use spiritual punishments and censures, and also if necessary, may call the

[229] Eberl, *Geschichte,* pp. 132-5. In Rosenheim, a Capuchin P. Rochus convinced another group of a few thousand farmers to lay down arms after skirmishes with Liga troops under Count Kronberg.
[230] Carve, *Reyßbüchlein,* i, pp. 50-1.
[231] Prendergast, 'An Authentic Account of the Death of Wallenstein', pp. 11-14; Albrecht, *Maximilian*, p. 805.
[232] Fitzsimon, *Diary*, p. 84. Jesuit Constantin Wentorp also served as Imperial general Matthias Gallas's private secretary in the last decade of the war. RACG 445 I.
[233] Friesenegger, *Chronik*, p. 41.

secular power of arms to his aid."[234] They could obtain *salvaguardia* for themselves and others, or secure the release of prisoners from captivity.[235] Chaplains were themselves occasionally placed in charge of prisoners, as was Tilly's confessor Markus Guenin after the taking of Bamberg in 1632.[236]

The input of Frs. Dominic, Fitzsimon, and possibly other priests before and during the battle of White Mountain was exceptional, but not the only case of clergy's decisive influence over the direction of an engagement or the movements of troops.[237] An unnamed Ingolstadt Jesuit, when captured by the Swedes under Horn, made detailed notes of the Swedish positions and the surrounding countryside for the Imperial army.[238] During the siege of Freiburg in June 1644, another unnamed early-rising priest, walking to Matins through the garden at dawn, spied 400 of Turenne and Conde's men poised to launch a surprise attack on three Bavarian regiments encamped on a nearby mountain-top overlooking the Klostertal outside Freiburg. The confessional status of the French as Catholic seems to have made little difference to the (German) clergyman. He rushed into the church to wake de Werth and Mercy from their sleep (on church pews), who mustered the army rapidly enough to ward off the intended attack.[239]

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[234] Ferdinand III, 'Patent in Betreff', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, pp. 349-53. It calls for all in the army to obey field superior Puschmann; see also Ferdinand III, 'Instruction', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, pp. 353-8.
[235] FHAS 560 (1644), 'Bitte des Heinrich Wüsten, Franziskaner-Provinizal, um Gnade für einen in sein Klöster geflüchteten Soldaten aus Warendorf'; Naegele, *Benedikt,* pp. 122-7. Fr. Conrad Burger of Tennebach Abbey also was at least once placed in charge of a soldier to act as salvaguardia for the Abbey; Burger, 'Itinerarium... (Schluß)', p. 87.
[236] Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 2, p. 309.
[237] Fitzsimon, *Diary*, p. 97.
[238] William Watts, [*Swedish Intelligencer* pamphlet series], *History of the Present Warres of Germany. A Sixt Part*, p. 22.
[239] Burger, 'Itinerarium... (Schluß)', p. 100.

In rare and dire circumstances, some chaplains were called on to temporarily command, or at least to order about, troops. It was unsurprisingly Jesuits who were most eager to make themselves available for such direct military purposes. In 1627 at an unnamed engagement with the Danes, Tilly's (Jesuit) confessor Johannes Pierson was accompanying a cavalry detachment in pursuit of retreating Danish troops. When the Danes took cover in a marsh, the Bavarians were reluctant to pursue them any further. Pierson insisted they push on, leading them on through the marsh himself.[240] Fr. Gaspard Wiltheim's diary indicates a certain respect which chaplains were capable of commanding, even of hot-tempered military men. Wiltheim, fed up with the "canine lust" of soldiers and officers sacking Magdeburg, angrily confronted a group of them, apparently nearly provoking a violent response. He rebuked them: "Do you not know me, then, who just a few hours ago, right in front of you gave your captain holy communion?" The soldiers, "shocked and obedient", relented, asking that Wiltheim not go endanger himself in the affray.[241]

Chaplains' duties entailed slight to considerable risk of exposure to enemy fire. Buslidius reported having been only a step away from an officer hit by a cannon ball at Rakonitz in 1620, as was Bavarian vicar general Benedikt Rauh in 1645;[242] whereas Jesuit Jakob von Eggs suffered a direct hit by a cannon ball outside Magdeburg in 1631.[243] The Abbott of Fulda was famously killed by Swedish cavalry at the battle of Lützen. Other chaplains are recorded by Duhr as having tended to the wounded "in the midst of gunfire", and two unnamed Jesuits rescued two of

[240] ibid., p. 307.
[241] ibid., p. 311, citing Wiltheim, *Itinerarium*, pp. 165f.
[242] Naegele, *Benedikt*, p. 157.
[243] Buslidius, diary, p. 132.

Pappenheim's soldiers wounded in a skirmish by carrying them back to the town of Neuß on their backs.[244]

Clergy did not bear arms, aside from a not-insignificant number of exceptions. Foremost were the multiple instances in which clergy (especially Jesuits) operated cannon against the enemy – in Freiburg in 1632, Minden in 1634, possibly Lindau in 1647, and Prague in 1648.[245] The Eichstätt Augustinians in 1634 were arrested by the Bernhardines on suspicion of having done so, but successfully protested that their firing of cannon was only for the purpose of calling the wounded soldiers in their care to confession.[246] Further clerical bearing of arms included the "strong band of friars" (Capuchins) defending the Marienburg fortress at Würzburg during the Swedish attack in 1631 (at least two of whom were slain by the Swedes when the fortress was taken), Capuchin lay brother Christoph Giggenburger who was killed by a Swedish bullet while on watch from the castle tower in Neumarkt in 1633,[247] and the Catholic clergy of Minden reported by Chemnitz as "forming up and carrying their own banner along the city walls, and affect[ing] to be verily hostile…."[248] 300 Catholic priests volunteered to defend Prague against the Swedes in 1648, and beyond operating cannon, actually fought, including Carmelites, Paulines, Servites, and Jesuits who alone suffered thirty casualties.[249]

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[244] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, pp. 302, 315; Naegele, *Benedikt*, p. 209.
[245] Grant, *Hepburn,* p. 120; S. Häcker, "... sogar Kriegskameraden trifft man unter euch an.' Die Verteidigung von Stadt, Lehre und Glauben durch Heidelberger, Tübinger und Freiburger Universitätsthexologen im Dreißigjährigen Krieg', in Brendle and Schindling, *Geistliche im Krieg,* p. 92; N. Richard 'prêtres ou soudards? Quelques curés de Bohême pendant la guerre de Trente Ans', in Forclaz and Martin, *Religion et pieté*; Bogislav Philipp von Chemnitz, *Königlichen Schwedischen in Teutschland geführt Kriegs Ander Theil...* (Djursholm, 1653).
[246] Clara Staiger, *Eichstätt im Schwedenkriege: Tagebuch der Augustinernonne Clara Staiger, Priorin des Klosters Mariastein über die Kriegsjahre 1631 bis 1650; mit der Ansicht Eichstätts vom Jahre 1627*, ed. J. Schlecht (Eichstätt, 1889), p. 51.
[247] Hohenegger, *Geschichte*, ii, pp. 205, 219. Giggenburger's arm was later amputated, and he eventually died from the wound.
[248] Chemnitz, *in Teutschland geführt Kriegs Ander Theil*, pp. 584-5.
[249] O. Chaline, 'Prague 1648: La Vie Religeuse En Temps du Siége, in Forclaz and Martin, *Religion et Pieté*.

Of all regulations for chaplains throughout the war, only the Jesuit 1644 regulations explicitly forbade the use of weapons – perhaps indicative of a greater Jesuit penchant for martial activity.[250] Though evidence of Jesuits' personal possession of weapons is small, the "culture of weapons", at its peak in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, hearkened back to a medieval norm in many places of armed clergy, despite a strong current of ecclesiastical disapproval.[251] Considering also the caches of weapons discovered in churches and monasteries,[252] there was likely ample cause for weapons' prohibition among Catholic clergy at the time of the Thirty Years War. The question was open enough in 1630 to be discussed in the sixth volume of Martinus Becanus's (Becanus had been Ferdinand II's confessor until 1624) *Opera Omnia*. Becanus argued that under certain particular and serious circumstances a clergyman could take up arms.[253] This view was shared by a number of the leading prelates in Prague, who, with the city's defenders outnumbered by a factor of three to one in 1648, lent their name to a published appeal for clerics to take up arms.[254]

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated Catholic chaplains' participation in political and military events of the war, even to the point of bearing arms on occasion, and that their functions were integral in the life of the army. The Catholic chaplaincies of the Thirty Years War also reflected wider trends of the period: movement toward bureaucratization and centralization, collaboration and conflict between authorities,

[250] Regulations for Jesuit field chaplains, 1644, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 2, p. 320.
[251] ibid., pp. 8, 186-8.
[252] Tlusty, *Martial Ethic*, p. 187.
[253] Martinus Becanus, *Opera Omnia* (Mainz, 1649), pp. 506-19, esp. pp. 518-19.
[254] O. Chaline, 'La Vie Religieuse'.

moderation of genuine spiritual concern by pragmatism, and most of all, blending of the spiritual and secular in a single shared reality.

The findings of this chapter challenge the standard narrative of the war on several points. First, it emerges that religion did not gradually decrease in importance in Catholic armies, including after 1635 and the Peace of Prague, however much 1635 may have been a turning point in other respects. Secondly, Catholic field vicariates were more developed than historians of the war have typically recognized. Rather than decreasing, their organization markedly increased throughout the war. During the Thirty Years War they came, for the first time in central Europe, to be recognized as a counterpart to the territorial diocese and reached their height of development in the war's latter years, when the numbers of clergy serving armies were also at their peak.

This outline of the Catholic chaplaincy gives insight into rulers as well. The close attention given by Maximilian and the Habsburgs, who promoted every practical measure they could which would encourage the Catholic faith in their armies short of coercion or the appearance of it, shows a high level of interest in the religion of their troops, though tthey also recognized the futility of attempting to forcibly "confessionalize" their multi-confessional armies. Mirroring society generally at this time, any confessionalizing impetus in the army was concentrated on the officer class, whereas the adherence of the lower ranks to the chosen confession remained a longer-term aspiration – though in closer reach in Bavaria than the Empire at large.

Chaplains' promotion of spiritual discipline dovetailed neatly with military discipline, though it was nothing new that encouragement toward obedience, elimination of soldierly vices, and positive moral and behavioural habits were advantageous to armies, whether in battle, on campaign, or in camp. This was

acknowledged by Lazarus von Schwendi's *Kriegsdiscurs* of the previous century which enjoined colonels to "see to it that their units have preachers and that they exhort them to good behaviour in their sermons…."[255] A part of what wider early modern historiography classifies as "social discipline", this was, in the words of Imperial vicar general Marenzi, "a common effort" between the political and sacred powers to co-operate toward mutually beneficial ends. In the words of the 1643 regulations, chaplains aimed to both "accomplish the intention of our most sacred Emperor, and to watch for the care of our soldiers' souls".[256] According to a Bavarian commissar's report in October 1631, field chaplains' work was "very much required and needed" to restrain excesses and promote a certain level of discipline and morality within the ranks.[257]

Chaplains, who shared daily camp life, were under no illusions of being able to purify their armies of immorality or heterodoxy. Their intentions, along with those of rulers and army commanders, were to build what could be built – spiritually in the way of religious ministry, and materially in terms of improved discipline. To these ends they achieved, at great effort, limited success. But more significant than gauging efficacy by tallies of chaplains or counts of conversions, is the recognition that chaplains – in camp, interacting with all ranks – were a symbol and reminder of the primacy of the Catholic religion within the Imperial and Liga/Bavarian armies.

[255] Schwendi, *Kriegsdiscurs*, p. 21.
[256] Wilson, *Tragedy,* p. 302; Marenzi, 'Observanda', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, pp. 344-6.
[257] KuBayÄA 2728, f. 634.

Chapter IV. Protestant Military Ministry

Introduction

Similar to the previous chapter on Catholic field chaplaincies, this chapter traces the burgeoning organization and centralization of Protestant military religious ministry, its interaction with political forces, and its role in armies' confessional identity, and is the first study on both the institution of the Protestant field chaplaincy of the Thirty Years War at large and any single field consistory therein.[1]

Research into the biographical background of individual Protestant chaplains is also at an undeveloped stage, with the secondary literature offering only a few sketches of chaplains' lives.[2] This chapter, in taking the Protestant chaplaincy, known in Protestant armies as the field consistory (*Feldkonsistorei*), as its focus, outlines religious provision in Protestant armies using a broader scope of primary material than has been hitherto surveyed in historiography: for example, printed sermons, field chaplaincy regulations, eyewitness accounts, correspondence, and other types of official documents which surface in war chancelleries such as balance sheets, orders, and proclamations.

Much of this material is essential for a clear picture of the field consistories. Sermons for example, which are examined thoroughly in this chapter and in Chapter

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[1] Reller, *Anfänge*. Also Gudmundsson, 'Kring krigsbönböcker', pp. 41-8; D. Gudmundsson, *Konfessionell krigsmakt: Predikan och bön i den svenska armén 1611-1721* (Malmö, 2014).

[2] B. Autenrieth, *Samuel Gerlach: Feldprediger, Hofprediger, Prälat (1609-1683)* (Stüttgart, 2000); F. Wagnitz, 'Jacob Fabricius (1593-1654). Herzoglicher und königlicher Hofprediger im Dreißigjährigen Kriege', in Historischer Arbeitskreis Stettin (ed), *Persönlichkeiten aus der pommerschen Herzogszeit* (Kiel, 2003); R. Stöwesand, 'Magister Paulus Stockmann, Feld- und Schiffsprediger Gustav Adolfs und Senior in Lützen: ein Zeit- und Kulturbild aus dem Dreißigjährigen Kriege' (PhD thesis, University of Leipzig, 1926); H. Holmquist, *D. Johannes Matthiae Gothus och hans plats i Sveriges kirkliga utveckling* (Uppsala, 1903); A. Bitzel, *Anfechtung und Trost bei Sigismund Scherertz. Ein lutherischer Theologe im Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (Göttingen, 2002). Even these give only limited attention to their subject's time in the armies.

V, contain a surprising variety of data constructive to a broader understanding of army life and the war in general. In addition to the text of the sermon itself, they usually include the name of the preacher, his title, the unit he served in along with its commander, the persons of social or military rank and the army units to which the sermon was addressed, its location and date, and the location and date of printing. Funeral sermons also typically included up to a few pages of biography of the deceased which are rich in anecdote, especially about the time leading up to death. Limitations of surviving documentation make some aspects of the field consistories difficult to discern, but extant material found by this study is more than adequate to outline the functions and character of the field consistories.

As a point of clarification, this chapter does not selectively focus on the Swedish army; rather the Swedish army was itself the focus of the other Protestant armies, particularly in terms of provision of pastoral care. The two regulations, separated by a decade, written by superintendents of the Swedish field consistory which are frequently cited throughout the chapter were ostensibly only for one army, but because they were Sweden's at their height of prominence, they set a normative standard for other Protestant armies, including the Bernhardines, the Danes, the Covenanters and the Parliamentarians of the British Civil Wars.[3]

The field consistories: typology, numbers, and makeup

Like their Catholic counterparts, Protestant rulers (Christian IV, Gustavus) were giving increased attention to the organization and staffing of their chaplaincies as

[3] Johannes Botvidi, *Agenda Ecclesiastica in Castris Sveticis* (Stettin, 1631); Matthias Decenius, *Ernewerte Gebets-und Kirchen-Ordnung…* ([s.l.], 1640); Reller, *Die Anfänge,* p. 141.

early as the 1620s.[4] Atop the field consistory hierarchy was the political and military leader's court preacher (*Hofprediger*), or head court preacher where there was more than one, referred to interchangeably as either "[the commander's] court preacher", "superintendent" (*Superintendent*), or less commonly, "field bishop" (*Feldbischof*). The Swedish articles of war stipulated that the King's personal chaplain be field consistory superintendent.[5] Those known to this study who occupied the role in Protestant armies during the war are Johann Jacob Heilmann (Mansfelders); "M. Johan" (Denmark); Jakob Fabricius, Johannes Botvidi, Matthias Decenius, Michael Ludwig, Nicephorous Keßell (Sweden); and Daniel Rücker, Balthasar Fuhrmann, Martin Casselius, and possibly Martin Gumprecht (Electoral Saxony). Daniel Rücker (Bernhardines and Electoral Saxony) and Nicephorus Keßell (Sweden and Electoral Saxony) are the only two known to have occupied the post in multiple armies. In states with smaller armies such as Hesse-Kassel, Hesse-Darmstadt, and in larger armies with a less organized field consistory, such as the Danes, the chief prelate of the territorial church also doubled as head of the field consistory.

Nomenclature of chaplains at the regimental level and below was unstandardized, though there were prevailing usages. Muster rolls typically record a regiment's ranking chaplain with the prefix of "regimental" (*Regiments-*), which most often precedes "preacher" (*Regimentsprediger, Regimentsprädikant*). Swedish- and German-language rolls differ in that though the Swedes also use the word "preacher" (*Predicant*), they often also use the term "regimental priest" (*Regementsprest*), using a word for clergy long disused by their religious confrères in the confessionally mixed Empire.

[4] Christian IV of Denmark, 'Miss. till Kommissarierne i Skaane', 23 Dec. 1628, *Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-1629* (Copenhagen, 1932), p. 600; Gustavus Adolphus, orders 16 Jan. 1631, 'Öppet bref för Krigspresterna', 9 Oct. 1630, printed in Mankell, *Arkiv*, iii, pp. 267-9, 338-9.
[5] Gustavus, *Schwedisches Kriegs-Recht*, p. 9.

Confusingly, and demonstrating the lack of terminological standardization at this early stage of the development of field consistories, muster rolls sometimes refer to the lowest-ranking chaplains and the ranking chaplain with the same term. Where they are distinguished, German-language rolls refer to the lower-ranking chaplains as "preacher" (*Prediger*) or "chaplain" (*Kaplan*), while Swedish-language rolls again usually use "priest" (*Prest, Prester*), occasionally "pastor" (*Pastor*), reflecting the more pastoral role fulfilled by lower-ranking chaplains, and most commonly, "preacher" (*Predicant*). Some Swedish sources refer to the lower-ranking chaplains specifically as "company" chaplains.

Regimental chaplains, the ranking (and sometimes only) chaplain in the regiment, held the consistorial rank of assessor. These oversaw the pastoral care of their regiments, which included preaching sermons to their regiment(s) on important occasions (including most Sundays), supervised the regiment's other chaplains (typically between one and three), and liaised with the regiment's commanding officer and staff. In addition to clerical duties, they functioned in limited capacities as commissioned officers in the army, shared meals and common areas with the other commissioned officers, and provided miscellaneous support to officers, much of which is detailed below.

The destruction of the Protestant forces in the early part of the war – the armies of the Bohemian Confederation, Christian von Braunschweig, and Ernst von Mansfeld – left little in the way of source material on their field chaplaincies beyond anecdotes and a few sermons.[6] The few records which do survive from the first decade of the war – such as those of the Danes – portray field consistories as loosely organized collections

[6] See Wilson, *Tragedy*, pp. 325-46.

of preachers that reflected the limited, somewhat *ad hoc*, organization of the armies themselves.

By the end of the 1620s, the fledgling organizations of these same consistories had matured into the religious "department" of the army, again reflecting the armies' (increasing) level of administrative capacity. Electoral Saxony and Sweden, by far the most structured and powerful Protestant armies of the war, marked this increase in the level of organization of their field consistories, which, like Catholic armies' field vicariates, were modelled after and treated like a diocese. In the words of William Watts' translation of Gustavus's 1632 *Articles of War*, "What shalbe by them decreed, shalbe of great force and strength…." Their rulings were to be regarded "as if determined in any other Consistory whatsoeuer".[7] The name "consistory" itself was the same term used by territorial churches for their regional subdivisions – a Protestant counterpart to the Catholic diocese, including in the German Protestant states where the political ruler performed the administrative functions of a bishop as head of the state church. In Electoral Saxony for example, the field consistory was one of only six (or seven, depending on the date) consistories.[8]

Territorial consistorial structures and norms were the template for field consistories in both organizational and religious respects.[9] Field consistories were headed by a superintendent who fulfilled more or less the role of a bishop. He was appointed directly by the ruler, who was without any religious superior, as head of the state church. Though of significance that a spiritual jurisdiction was headed by a

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[7] William Watts, *The Svvedish discipline, religious, civile, and military*… (London, 1632), Part two: The Second Part of the Swedish Discipline, §14 [Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership E-book viewer]. Retrieved from https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=eebo;idno=A13221.0001.001.

[8] J. Kunze, 'Der neu erschlossene Bestand Konsistorium Leipzig im Sächsischen Staatsarchiv Leipzig', *Mitteilungen des Leipziger Gerschichtvereins, e.V.* (2009).

[9] Kirchhof, *Militaris Disciplina*, pp. 146-8. His repeated use of the phrase "as is otherwise typical" when describing Protestant field consistorial ceremonial observances, practices, and procedures particularly indicates their correspondence to territorial counterparts.

secular master, the effects in the military were probably fewer than in territorial churches, as the nature of military law and precedent was such that rulers, Catholic included, had long wielded more direct control over appointments of all kinds. A field superintendent's duties were much the same as those of the Catholic vicar general, but the additional title of "court preacher" signaled one key difference which was also true of regular Protestant chaplains, as well as diocesan ministers: a greater dependence upon the political ruler for his position. Absent the support of the ruler, not only was a clergyman's post with the military vulnerable, but also his livelihood and professional status.[10] While it was in the power of a Catholic ruler to remove a priest from an appointment, it was not in his power to threaten the priest's vocational status itself.

Table 5. Protesant chaplains by army

Protestant Chaplains by Army		
Electoral Saxony		33
Bohemian Confederation		8
Denmark		6*
Hesse-Darmstadt		5
(Ernst von) Mansfelders		4
Hesse-Kassel		3
Under Swedish Command	Swedish Regiments	107
	Bernhardines	8
	Scottish Contingent	27
	English Contingent	5
	Braunschweig-Lüneberg	8
	Württemberg	3
	Mecklenburg	2
TOTAL		219

[10] E. Cameron, *European Reformation*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 2012), p. 390; C.S. Dixon and L. Schorn-Schütte, 'The Protestant Clergy of Early Modern Europe', in C.S. Dixon and L. Schorn-Schütte (eds), *The Protestant Clergy of Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 36-8.

The incomplete and scattered archival situation notwithstanding, the considerable numbers of private chaplains, local clergy serving as unofficial chaplains, and incomplete or non-existent records of the army and field consistories make counting the number of Protestant chaplains ministering to any army at any one time a difficult task. Historians have generally avoid hazarding even rough estimates, whether of chaplains with an army at a given time or total numbers over the course of the war. Though Kurd Schneider's description of the "ample presence" of Protestant chaplains at the beginning of the seventeenth century accurately characterizes the general picture, the description of the historiographical picture of chaplains' numbers as "variegated and contradictory" is indicative of historians' lack of sure footing on this ground.[11] The closest any have come to an actual estimate of numbers of chaplains is Bernd Autenrieth, who ventured only to estimate that every Swedish regiment had one chaplain.[12]

The present study has collected, as seen above in Table 5, from the widest range of sources a list of 219 names of Protestant chaplains, 161 of whom were chaplains under Swedish command.[13] Even more clarifying is that some of the sources enable – for the first time in the historical literature – an estimate of the number of chaplains in particular Protestant armies at a given time. Swedish muster rolls of 1620 record thirty-one chaplains serving some thirty-eight regiments.[14] With more than half of regiments neglecting to separately record regimental staff officers (which included chaplains) in their rolls, this thirty-one represents only a fraction of the field consistory active at the time; this research has counted from a host of other sources nineteen

[11] Reller, *Die Anfänge,* pp. 132, 147.
[12] Autenrieth, *Samuel Gerlach*, p. 30.
[13] Major sources include Rullor 1620-1723; 'The Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern European Biographical Database (SSNE)' https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne/ (5 May, 2021); F. Blanckmeister, *Die sächsischen Feldprediger: zur Geschichte der Militärseelsorge in Krieg und Frieden* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 7, 41.
[14] Rullor, SE/KrA/0022/1630/; Mankell, *Arkiv,* iii, pp. 281f.

additional chaplains serving in the Swedish army in 1630 who do not appear on the rolls.

For those regiments which did record their regimental officers, all but one had at least one chaplain, and usually more than one. While there were regiments which went without chaplains at certain periods of the war, other units had plenty of chaplains, such as Joachim Brahe's regiment with at least seven, or Donald Mackay's regiment, which in 1630 had at least six.[15] The tiny County of Stolberg-Stolberg distinguished itself for, if nothing else, having the highest ratio of chaplains to men of any unit of the war: three chaplains to seventeen men.[16] Further complicating estimates, a lack of a chaplain in record cannot be taken as lack of a chaplain in fact, as there was no accepted norm regarding whether or not to record clergy on the muster rolls, and local clergy serving as temporary chaplains would not have been recorded in any case.

Of the seven Swedish infantry regiments recording their regimental staff officers, one recorded seven chaplains (including those at the company level), one recorded one, and the remaining five recorded four chaplains each. The resulting average of 3.8 chaplains per regiment is consistent with Gustavus's orders upon the Swedish landing at Peenemünde on the island of Usedom on 4 July 1630 for regiments to employ four chaplains per regiment (which he promised to subsidize), and which he also repeated before the campaign of 1631.[17] Of the approximately thirty-eight regiments of the Swedish army in the Empire in 1630, twenty-nine (eighteen infantry, eleven cavalry) either do not appear in the 1630 rolls, or do, but do

[15] Rullor 1620-1723, SE/KrA/0022/1630/18, SE/KrA/0022/1630/26, SE/KrA/0022/1630/28, SE/KrA/0022/1630/37, SE/KrA/0022/1630/38.
[16] Ledebur, *Allgemeines Archiv,* xi, p. 291.
[17] Orders of Gustavus Adolphus, written in camp near Berenwald in Mark Brandenburg 16 Jan. 1631, printed in Mankell, *Arkiv,* iii, pp. 267-9, 289-91. Gustavus Adolphus's decree on pay, issued in Berenwald in Mark Brandenburg, 1631, printed in Mankell, *Arkiv,* iii, pp. 267-9.

not list their regimental staff, of which chaplains were a part. The three cavalry regiments which did record their regimental officers all reported one chaplain.

Taking a very low estimate of an average of two chaplains per infantry regiment, and 0.66 chaplains per cavalry regiment (very low indeed; in 1630 the Scots, under Sweden, had at least eighteen chaplains serving their five regiments, and the thirty-one chaplains on the 1630 Swedish rolls were working for only nine of the thirty-eight regiments) would result in an estimate of a minimum of ninety-three chaplains serving the thirty-eight-odd regiments of the Swedish army active in the Empire in 1630.[18] Private chaplains and local clergy which certainly also accompanied the army could easily have increased this number by half.[19] One such group of whom there was unknown number was the private chaplains of non-Scottish Calvinist officers, whom Gustavus allowed to accompany the army. Even without these, the ratio breaks down to roughly one chaplain for every 250 men. This calculation makes clear that there were more chaplains at work than has been previously realized, and that it was not the case that, in the words of one historian, "the Swedish system could not provide nearly enough field preachers."[20]

Profile of chaplains

Protestant chaplains' backgrounds prior to taking up military ministry was varied, somewhat moreso than those of Catholic chaplains. Many chaplains were employed elsewhere, even outside of ministry, before taking up the opportunities brought by

[18] Scottish chaplains, see Steve Murdoch's database at St. Andrews: 'The Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern European Biographical Database (SSNE)' https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne/ (5 May, 2021). Regarding Scots, findings almost double Robert Manning's estimate of two chaplains per regiment: R. Manning, *An Apprenticeship in Arms: The Origins of the British Army 1585-1702* (Oxford, 2006), p. 72.
[19] Kirchhof, *Militaris Disciplina*, p. 146.
[20] Funke, 'Religion', p. 58.

war. Fabian Schaffart, for example, had been a publican before becoming a Swedish chaplain.[21] Most frequently chaplains served in parish ministry before the military chaplaincy, and it was common for them to retain their parish posts while serving in the army for a time.[22] Some ministers were impelled to join the army after being driven from their parish by Catholic armies.[23] Johan Obenhin, pastor of the village of Hoffheim, was rescued from the brink of destitution by an Electoral Saxon major who hired him as a field preacher, and Leipzig canon Thomas Wagner joined the Swedish field consistory after losing his post at a parish in Leipzig.[24] Samuel Gerlach, later regimental preacher for Swedish general Gustav Horn, entered the military chaplaincy when the family employing him as tutor was no longer able to pay him.[25] Others entered the chaplaincy directly from university, such as Johannes Kayser, who was ordained with an immediate view to taking up a post in the Bernhardine field consistory.[26]

Swedish field preacher Samuel Gerlach's diary records a meeting with fellow field preacher Fabian Schaffart in 1635, dryly summing up his impression of Schaffart: "Fabian Schaffart. In Oberhöchstädt 1627-1628 as publican; arrested for mistreatment of his wife. Later field preacher."[27] Also irregular were the circumstances preceding Johann Cörber's entry into the Swedish field consistory. A festive day in his parish of Ipsheim, spent by Cörber "in the society of good friends,

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[21] Gerlach Stammbuch, printed in Autenrieth, *Samuel Gerlach*, p. 74.
[22] Johan Heinrich Obenhin, *Memento Mori Oder Christliche Erinnerung unsers nüchtigen und flüchtigen Lebens* (Frankfurt, 1635), [title page]; Nicolaos Henel von Hennenfeld, *Musæ, Vratislavienses, Eiwsdem Beatissimi Viri Dn. Ulrici Kutschenreuteri, Famam posthumam…* (Breslau, 1638), p. 6; Blanckmeister, *Die sächsischen Feldprediger*, pp. 7, 41.
[23] D. Lipach, *Christliche Leichpredigt, Bey des weiland Edlen, Vhesten und Manhafften, Herrn Christoff Behmers von Gellern…* (Jena, 1629); J.M. Groß, *Historisches Lexicon Evangelischer Jubel-Priester* (3 vols, Nuremberg, 1727-48), iii, p. 24.
[24] F. von Soden, *Gustav Adolph und sein Heer in Süddeutschland* (3 vols, Bläsing, 1865-9), i, pp. 84-5
[25] Autenrieth, *Samuel Gerlach,* p. 30.
[26] Groß, *Historisches Lexicon*, i, p. 206
[27] Samuel Gerlach's book of names (*Stammbuch*), printed in Autenrieth, *Samuel Gerlach,* p. 74.

drinking more than usual" resulted in a child being born the following September to the family maid, Walburgis Hummel. Cörber, who at first denied paternity, was declared the father by the court on the testimony of Hummel and two cavalryman who claimed to have witnessed the pair making off together. Cörber, having little choice but to resign his position as Ipsheim parish minister, was soon hired by Swedish general Johann Banér. Within three years he was a court preacher of Bernhard von Weimar, exemplifying the exceptional opportunities for personal advancement which the army offered to chaplains no less than soldiers.[28]

The most exceptional background of a Protestant chaplain may have been that of later Catholic convert and layman Jörg Jenatsch, who served as a chaplain in Ernst von Mansfeld's army in 1622 after fleeing the conflict in his home of the Valtelline, where he played an "unusually active" role as "spiritual overseer and influencer… judge and shepherd" at the "notorious" 1618 trials of Thusis. He was accused of murder, duelling, and beating a Catholic sexton.[29]

Chaplains' background and qualifications, as well as the formalities of their installation were like those of ordinary parish clergy. Regulations written in 1643 by Bernhardine field superintendent Daniel Rücker include the full text of the liturgy of ordination of a chaplain.[30] Though they provided for the possibility (not the necessity; in fact it was recommended instead that a chaplain be ordained prior to joining the field consistory "to avoid any rancour") for a chaplain to be ordained to a specific post in a specific regiment, military-specific language is otherwise absent, suggesting a high

[28] G. Fikenscher, *Gelehrtes Fürstentum Baireut oder Biographische und Literarische Nachrichten* (Erlangen, 1801-05), pp. 202-6.
[29] Head, *Jenatsch's Axe*, pp. 51, 64.
[30] Daniel Rücker, 'Christliche Kirchen-Ordnung vor die Feld- und Quarnisons-Prediger der Hochlöblichen Königlichen genannten Weymarischen Armee &c.... Breisach 1643', printed in J.L. Hocker, *Pastorale Castrense. Oder Nützlich- und treuer Unterricht... Nebst denen vornehmsten hierzu gehörigen...* (Onolzbach, 1710), pp. 139-47.

degree of interchangeability with territorial counterparts,[31] as well as the fact that ministers could be "called" to military ministry by the territorial consistory.[32] Ordination was expected of all chaplains, and Rücker explicitly forbade the installation of non-ordained chaplains.[33] Furthermore, thirty-eight published sermons given by Protestant field preachers found by this study indicate that at least half of chaplains obtained the academic title of *magister*. Most consistorial superintendents and chaplains to high-ranking generals were also doctors of theology.

The possibility of rapid advancement offered by the army chaplaincy was for many enough to outweigh the strain, unpredictability, and risk of the work. This made it most attractive to young men and those looking for advancement. With competition strong for parish appointments, the field chaplaincy was a way for a young cleric to set himself apart. Chaplains who spent a handful of years in the army – at least a victorious one with parish appointments to give – could earn a parish appointment, so that by the end of the war a considerable minority – perhaps 20% or more – of parish clergy in Sweden had served as chaplains. Handing out parish appointments to tenured chaplains was common practice as early as the 1620s in the Danish army, throughout the war continued by the Swedes and other Protestant armies, albeit inconsistently.[34]

Many of these appointments were in territories conquered from Catholics, which tied chaplains' fortunes directly to the territorial gains of the army.[35] Whereas regimental preachers usually were able to procure a parish post, consistorial officials could become bishops and superintendents, such as Swedish field consistory

[31] ibid., pp. 138-9.
[32] ibid., p. 138.
[33] ibid., p. 137.
[34] Groß, *Historisches Lexicon*, i, p. 206.
[35] For example, Swedish field preachers Heinrich Dithmar in Petersburg and Osnabrück, Daniel Lüdemann, superintendent in Bremen, and Daniel Rücker, superintendent of Saxe-Weimar under Bernhard.

superintendent Johannes Botvidi, appointed by Gustavus as bishop of Linköping, or for the Hesse-Kassel life guard regiment's field preacher Matthaeus Krägelius, earning a high-ranking appointment in the archbishopric of Bremen, or Christian Koch, field preacher to Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg, appointed superintendent of Eger after the Swedes took it in 1631.[36]

There were official requirements regarding the appointment of chaplains, but unofficial procedure was most common. Though officers were, according to article fifteen of the Swedish articles of war, technically bound to hire ministers with the approval of the consistory, this was difficult to implement in the field and inconsistently applied.[37] The fact that by 1643 five officials were required to sign off on the installation of a field preacher highlighted the rise in bureaucratic administration which field consistories underwent, and the impracticability of adherence to such measures by a campaigning army of the Thirty Years War. (There is but one example known to this study of such rigorous procedure being followed – in a garrison, Breisach.)[38]

In practice army officers functioned as the lords of a mobile manor, commonly flouting the formality of first seeking the field superintendent's appointment for their chaplains and instead appointing them themselves, thus making the regimental colonel the most important relationship for a field preacher.[39] Protestant chaplains, many of whom had (sometimes large) families to support, relied more or less completely on the favour of their commanding officers for their positions within the

[36] Wagnitz, *Fabricius,* p. 34; HSM, 4 f Staaten B, Bremen, Stadt 24; Groß, *Historisches Lexicon*, ii, pp. 92-3.
[37] For cooperation see Johann Brendel, *Trewer Evangelischer Feldt-Prediger Ehren Kron und Gnaden-Lohn…* (Gera, 1646), pp. 32-3.
[38] Rücker, 'Kirchen-Ordnung', p. 138.
[39] Autenrieth, *Samuel Gerlach*, p. 35.

consistory, their livelihoods, and their future prospects, as they also relied on their commanders to provide positive recommendations for subsequent appointments. In sum, it was for Protestant chaplains, similar to Protestant local clergy, a more costly relationship to breach.[40]

A statement of Electoral Saxon chaplain Johann Heinrich Obenhin illustrates the different power dynamic between the relationships of Protestant and Catholic field chaplains to their respective commanding officers. Obenhin, who had been reduced to begging after the Catholic occupation of his parish of Hoffheim, owed not merely his post in the field consistory, but possibly his survival, to the good graces of the major who hired him. In a funeral sermon of another officer in the regiment, he addresses the major directly in a way which makes explicit this relationship of dependency:

> Your grace, General Major, you are not merely owed to be thanked in due humility, but rather are also, along with my father, and all thus inclined, to be recognized as being owed all my possessions, along with my due service, which I am humbly eager to provide.[41]

Though chaplains' relationship to their commanding officers was fundamental, a chaplain's relationship to his troops was no less important, potentially also in the process of his appointment. As it was in the officer's interest as well that his chaplain be respected by his troops, many chaplains, after being selected but before being confirmed in their post, were tasked with giving a "trial sermon" (*Probpredigt*) to their new regiment.[42] Swedish field preacher Johann Gesell's trial sermon and particularly his popularity with the troops was enough to void the need for the exam in the minds

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[40] R. von Thadden, *Die brandenburgisch-preussischen Hofprediger im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der absolutistischen Staatsgesellschaft in Brandenburg-Preussen* (Berlin, 1959), p. 77.
[41] Obenhin, *Memento Mori*, pp. 9-10.
[42] Guendelius Henricus Heubel, *Aller in Christi Creutzschul Gesetzter Geistlicher Soldaten und Creutzschuler, aus der heiligen Schrifft bewehrte köstliche Fechter Streiche…* (1636), [title page]; Brendel, *Trewer Evangelischer Feldt-Prediger*, pp. 32-3; Soden, *Gustav Adolph*, i, pp 84-5.

of the three unnamed field preachers appointed as his examiners and colonel Caspar Mortaigne, who hired him on the spot.[43] According to another field preacher, "he was so soon loved, that the exam was dispensed with….",[44] though for good measure Gesell was nonetheless officially confirmed and examined at church the following Sunday.

It was not only distant respect which characterized chaplains' relationship to the troops; instances of chaplains joining in with soldiers' merry making were not uncommon. The tone of Swedish court preacher and field consistory superintendent Johannes Botvidi in his 1631 regulations for chaplains sounds as if it was written from experience: "be affable and mild, but not drinking friends nor companions of the dice or of the brawl, giving ground to false accusers."[45] One Protestant chaplain known to this study, an unnamed Finnish chaplain, suffered the reproaches of a fellow minister, who called him "a very godless man".[46] The Swedish Articles of War state similarly (from Watts' contemporary translation):

> If any Minister shalbe found drunken at such time as he should preach or rede Prayers; he shall for the second offence be grauely advised by Consistory or Commission to forsake his sinne; but if he be found drunken the third time, he shalbe put out of the Leaguer.[47]

Reflecting the much greater proportion of Lutheranism than Calvinism among the Protestant population, and the fact that field consistories were extensions of the (Lutheran) respective territorial churches in Denmark, Sweden, and Saxony, there were no Calvinist chaplains *employed* by the consistories of Protestant armies (including Hesse-Kassel, which employed up to one *Lutheran* chaplain per regiment, despite its

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[43] ibid.
[44] Brendel, *Trewer Evangelischer Feldt-Prediger*, pp. 32-3.
[45] Johannes Botvidi, *Agenda Ecclesiastica*, §41.
[46] B. von Krusenstjern, 'Seliges Sterben und böser Tod. Tod und Sterben in der Zeit des Greißigjährigen Krieges', in B. von Krusenstjern, H. Medick (eds), *Zwischen Alltag und Katastrophe. Der Dreißigjährige Krieg aus der Nähe* (Göttingen, 1999), p. 485.
[47] William Watts, *The Svvedish discipline…*, Part two: The Second Part of the Swedish Discipline, §8.

Calvinist rulers),[48] though Gustavus's two-chaplain-per-regiment subsidy did extend to Scottish regiments.[49] Individual Calvinist officers were permitted to bring private chaplains on campaign with them. Statutorily, Calvinist chaplains would also have come under the jurisdiction of the field consistory, but this thesis has found no indication of their teaching or other ministerial activity to have been impeded by Lutheran Swedes, and it is likely that this technicality had little practical bearing.

Pay, provisions, and matériel

Chaplains received three kinds of official remuneration: (chiefly) money, provisions, and – for the roughly one-third of chaplains native to Sweden and Denmark serving in those armies – rent from small farms, a practice which seems to have been phased out over the course of the war.[50] In the Swedish army, regimental preachers for the six provincial Swedish regiments of Uppland, Södermanland, Östergötland, West Gotland, Småland, and Norland annually benefitted from thirty barrels of wheat flour and rents from homesteads paying twenty dr. (whereas a typical regimental preacher received for annual support twenty penningar), ten barrels of wheat flour, and "guaranteed" rent from a homestead in Sweden in the amount of eight penningar.[51] Lower-ranking chaplains received toward provisions sixteen penningar and rent of a homestead at eight penningar.

For provisions, regimental chaplains typically received a small sum to cover costs of fodder for their horse (it seems that they were usually mounted; for company

[48] Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen*, viii, pp. 143-6. See above pp. 20-1 for discussion of the Hesse-Kassel army's unique confessional situation.
[49] Gustavus Adolphus, decree issued in camp at Berenwald in Mark Brandenburg, 1631, printed in Mankell, *Arkiv*, iii, p. 268
[50] *Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-1629*, pp. 210, 409, 506, 560, 725-6, 828.
[51] 'Anno 1630 den 8 Juni vid Elfsnabben är förordnadt och dosponeradt med krigsprester uppå medföljande sätt', printed in Mankell, *Arkiv,* iii, pp. 339-40.

chaplains it is not as clear), as well as cloth for clothes – for regimental chaplains eight lengths of "fine English" wool cloth, and for lower-ranking chaplains seven lengths of regular cloth.[52] This means that it likely would have been possible to distinguish a regimental field preacher from his lower-ranking colleagues by the quality of his clothing.

Chaplains were paid approximately the same amount in salary across all armies. Regimental chaplains were paid a salary comparable to low-ranking commissioned officers, and "company chaplains" were usually paid a little over half of that, which was about that of a top non-commissioned officer, such as a sergeant. As Table 6 illustrates, levels of pay – normally disbursed monthly – varied considerably over time, though they were consistent across armies. A chaplain's pay could be docked in cases of misconduct, for instance "neglect[ing] his time of prayer",[53] but more typically, the range of pay varied because of the army's fluctuating ability to meet its costs. Despite the wide range of monthly pay which chaplains are recorded to have been paid, payment usually remained close to the average, with extreme highs and lows relatively seldom.

Table 6: Monthly pay in *Reichsthaler* (5 *Thaler*: 3 *Reichsdolars*) for chaplains, by rank and troop

Troops	Chaplain Rank	Pay range	Average pay
Infantry	Regimental	6-60	26.9
	Company	3-12	6.9
Cavalry	Regimental	7.2-39	18.4
	Company	10-18	15
Artillery	Regimental	12	12
	Company	8	8

[52] 'Knektarnes kläde och kommiss'; 'Ordning för Svenske landsknektar'; 'Svenska fotfolkets ordningar approberade år 1635'; printed in Mankell, *Arkiv,* iii, pp. 288, 289-90, 296-7.
[53] Gustavus, *Schwedisches Kriegs-Recht*, pp. 6-7.

Data taken from records covering seventy-three chaplains (mostly Swedish, but also Danish, Saxon, Scots, and Bernhardine) from 1625-35 [54]

In addition to sources of official remuneration, if Conrad Dieterich's contemporary *Discurs Vom Kriegs-Raub und Beutten* is to be believed, it was not uncommon for chaplains to acquire remuneration of the unofficial kind in the form of plunder (whether first- or second-hand is unclear). The 100-page tract which went through at least three editions between 1633-5 devotes three pages to strongly condemning this practice.[55] Additionally, the evidence of chaplains' regulations banning them from gambling,[56] as well as the discovery made by a few "Croatian" cavalrymen during their raid of the Swedish camp outside Ingolstadt in April of 1632, suggest that all chaplains were not above supplementing their income in this way:

> In one tent the Croats discovered two young men at gambling. They seemed to have been so deep in their cards, that they had not heard the signal to march. Both were of the entourage of the Winter King, one of whom was a field preacher….[57]

There are considerably fewer mentions of ministerial materials in Protestant than Catholic sources (including in regulations), but what mention is made shows that many Lutheran chaplains had almost as much kit as Catholic chaplains: Bibles, hymn books, psalters, prayer books, theological books, writing materials, vestments, and liturgical objects.[58] Prussian field preacher Bernhart von Arnimb willed to his

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[54] See esp: Mankell, *Arkiv*, iii. Also J.A. Fallon, 'Scottish Mercenaries in the Service of Denmark and Sweden 1626-1632' (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1972), pp. 366, 373; William Watts, *The Svvedish Discipline*, pp. 76-8; Droysen, *Beiträge*, pp. 108-9.
[55] Conrad Dieterich, *Discurs Vom Kriegs-Raub und Beutten,: Darinnen nachfolgende Puncten abgehandelt werden: I. Was eigentlich rechtmässiger Kriegsraub seye? II. Warumb derselbige zugelassen seye? III. Was unrechtmässiger Kriegsraub seye? IV. Warumb solcher nicht zugelassen seye? V. Wem solch Rauben und Beutten zugelassen seye? VI. Was mit dem erplünderten Raub und Beutten vorzunehmen seye? VII. Ob und von wem derselbige ab- und einzukauffen seye? VIII. Was denen Beraubten und Außgeplünderten hierbey zu thun sey?, Gestellet, und zu männiglichs trewhertzigem Unterricht, auff sonderbahres Begehren jetzt zum andern mal in den Druck gegeben...* (Heilbronn, 1633), pp. 67-9.
[56] Botvidi, *Agenda Ecclesiastica,* §40.
[57] 'Relation aus dem königlichen schwedischen Feldlager zwischen der Donau und der Lech zu Nordheim den 4. April 1632', SI A X 3a, f. 41.
[58] Groß, *Historisches Lexicon*, i, p. 206.

colleagues "two golden-threaded red towels for use in Holy Communion", and Botvidi's regulations call for "a table covered with carpets or with silk for communal use" in communion.[59] Weimar field preacher Johannes Kayser was reported to have been robbed of his "equipment, mantle, and chalice".[60] The following items are mentioned in Swedish field superintendent Johannes Botvidi's 1631 regulations, though oddly there is mention only of a chalice – for consecrated wine – and not of a paten for consecrated bread:

> 20. A chalice should be made either of silver or of tin, it makes no difference; it should then be enclosed within a chest crafted especially for that purpose, in order to hang conveniently from one's side or from the saddlecloth; for one ought always to carry it around along with a book of the psalms….[61]

Chaplains walking about camp with a box containing a chalice dangling along at their side is not mentioned elsewhere, and it is unlikely this regulation was strictly observed. Bernd Autenrieth states that Swedish field preacher Samuel Gerlach "wore no uniform", but this does not mean he was entirely without clerical dress, as chaplains as a rule possessed at least a minimum for liturgical purposes.[62] Whether on ordinary days they were as religiously clad as Catholic clergy, who did wear clerical dress daily, is an open question. For assistance in transporting all of their various religious accessories, regimental chaplains (Protestant and Catholic alike) often had the help of one or two servants and the use of a waggon.[63]

Work of the field consistories

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[59] Michael Schramm, *Threnodia, Trawr und Klagpredigt Darin das kurtze hinflüchtige Jammerleben Menschliches Geschlechts…* (Wittenberg, 1622), p. 57. See also Stadtarchiv Hildesheim, Best. 100, 45 Nr. 98, 'Quittungen des Beichtvaster und des Kaplans Pappenheims über empfangenes Tuch un Leinwand', 1632.
[60] Groß, *Historisches Lexicon,* i, p. 206.
[61] Botvidi, *Agenda Ecclesiastica,* §20.
[62] Leonhart Fronsperger, *Kriegsbuch* (Frankfurt, 1596), p. 88.
[63] Autenrieth, *Samuel Gerlach,* p. 30. See above, pp. 84-5.

Chaplains were present with armies at all times, and their central role was visible: chaplains shared quarters with regimental staff, which (in Swedish camp at least) was positioned adjacent to the command tent in the middle of the camp.[64] Chaplains spoke longer and more frequently to assembled troops than anyone in the army, and were called upon to speak to the armies not only during times of worship, but also at critical moments before battle, funerals, including those of senior generals and officers, celebrations of victory, and mournings of defeat.

Protestant chaplains' work was of both sacred and "practical" kinds, though sources make fewer mentions of Protestant chaplains engaging in the more active tasks of taking up arms or providing medical care. Such corporeal ministrations were less in keeping with the Protestant priority of teaching, instruction, and "the Word". Teaching was easily the most important of chaplains' duties, foremost in the sermon. By the early seventeenth century the sermon had become a signal devotional act for Protestants and was given two to four times each week in the armies.[65] Swedish field superintendent Johannes Botvidi's 1631 regulations for field chaplains reflects this, devoting twenty-seven out of fifty articles to advocating for, explaining, and expounding upon different aspects of teaching. Sermons displayed a highly developed and learned homiletic tradition, requiring a strong command of Biblical knowledge on the part of chaplains. With so many Biblical references (it is routine to find up to seven and as many as thirteen on a single page),[66] it must not have been uncommon in camp to catch sightings of chaplains leafing through their Bibles in preparing their sermons.

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[64] William Watts, *The Svvedish Discipline*, p. 84.
[65] Gustavus, *Schwedisches Kriegs-Recht*, p. 6.
[66] Brendel, *Trewer Evangelischer Feldt-Prediger,* p. 20.

The sermon

"The preaching office" (*Predig-Amt*), a term for the clerical office used in Bernhardine field superintendent Daniel Rücker's 1643 regulations for chaplains, aptly conveys the sermon's unchallenged position as the first of chaplains' responsibilities.[67] This lengthy subsection outlines its central role in the week-to-week life of the Protestant armies of the Thirty Years War and its identifiably confessional character – confessional, both in articulation and representation of Protestant ideas, and in its often-polemical stance toward Catholicism. Quelling any doubt that such charged rhetoric as is related below was in fact preached to confessionally mixed troops, and not added in later by propagandandistic editors, is the fact that most funeral sermons were published independently on the initiative of families of the deceased, and are entirely congruent with typical army sermons in terms of their confessional rhetoric, if not stronger.

"On Sermons" is the longest section (numbering seventeen articles) of Swedish field superintendent Johannes Botvidi's regulations for chaplains. An additional section, "On Ministers" is also entirely dedicated only to preaching, exhorting chaplains to "repeat [the Gospel] often".[68] Swedish general Johan Banér's field preacher Matthias Decenius similarly devotes the first twelve pages of his 1640 guidelines for chaplains to the importance of the sermon. Decenius tells chaplains lacking the requisite skill to preach well, that they are to speak humbly, avoiding "introducing… testaments to their stupidity".[69] Regarding homiletical methods, he writes that "the preacher can preach off the text or off the occasion", but Botvidi advocates for preachers to "favour

[67] Rücker, 'Kirchen-Ordnung', p. 139.
[68] Botvidi, *Agenda Ecclesiastica,* §31-44.
[69] Decenius, *Erneuerte Gebets-und Kirchen-Ordnung*, unpaginated preface, [pp. iif].

popular references".[70] This study has come across no evidence of chaplains submitting sermons for approval, whether by the field consistory or otherwise, as was commonly the case in territorial churches.

Just as in local ministry, distinct forms of sermons were given by chaplains across all armies throughout the war. These served as primary means of marking the significance of events in their given context: the regular sermon, given multiple times weekly and on Sundays; the thanksgiving sermon (*Danksagungspredigt*) given after a victory or occasionally on an anniversary of a victory; the funeral sermon (*Leichenpredigt*); the baptismal sermon (*Taufpredigt*); and the marriage sermon (*Ehepredigt, Trawpredigt*). The range of sermon types is an indication of the sermon's cohesive social role, as well as that of the field preacher himself. Whereas the latter two types of sermon would usually be given to smaller gatherings of families and friends, a thanksgiving sermon was typically given to an unusually large audience of army members, senior officers, and local people.[71] This study reviewed eight regular sermons, eleven thanksgiving sermons, and over seventy funeral sermons from Protestant armies of the Thirty Years War (identifying a further sixty-five funeral sermons). All but one are Lutheran, despite the considerable number of Calvinist chaplains which accompanied the Swedish and Danish armies – mainly within the Scottish contingents – whose sermons were unfortunately not printed in a foreign atmosphere dominated by Lutheranism.[72]

Hans Willem Kirchof, a *Landsknecht* two decades before the Thirty Years War, recorded that army members were summoned to the sermon as follows: "Come

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[70] Botvidi, *Agenda Ecclesiastica,* §37.
[71] Johann Jacob Heilmann, *Gründliche Relation Wie es bey Eroberung der Statt Pilsen in Böhmen (so von dem Hoch vnd Wolgebornen Herrn Graff Ernesten von Mansfeld... den 11. oder 21. Novemb. 1618. mit stürmender hand eingenommen worden) vmbständlich zugangen...* (Amberg, 1619), p. 17.
[72] Floredus, *Christlichen Leichpredigt.*

brothers all, those who would hear God's Word this hour… where there will be preaching."[73] As recounted in Chapter II, Hesse-Kassel authorized its regimental *Schultheiß* to summon some soldiers for the sermon more roughly, namely ones still dozing in their tents.[74] Per Botvidi's 1631 regulations, sermons were to be given "on days of the Lord, on festivals, on Wednesday (if it happens) and on Friday…".[75] Decenius's 1640 regulations call for sermons on Sundays and Thursdays. Sermons were not brief – they lasted "sometimes for three quarters of an hour and other times for an entire hour, according to the attention of the listeners", and were to be given "in a tent, or in the camp or in another respectable place".[76] Kirchof references sermons being given in front of "our gracious Prince and Lord's lodgings".[77]

Though there was some variation, sermon style and structure followed accepted templates which would have been recognized by any parish minister. A typical weekday or Sunday sermon included at least the following components: Introduction (*Eingang*), usually a few pages in length, Text (*Textus*), in which the Scripture was read, Exhortation (*Exordium*), an extended section explicating the lesson of the text, and Proposition (*Propositio*), another long section which applied the sermon's lesson to contemporary life, but in practice differed little from the Exhortation. Many sermons featured a "second part" (*Der Ander Teil*), in which another aspect of the reading or a related lesson was expounded.

Religious services in the Swedish army including sermons were usually held in the morning from 8-9:00. Decenius instructs that one of the penitential Psalms or a "Christian hymn out of the Luther Hymnbook" open the service. This could be

[73] Kirchhof, *Militaris Disciplina*, p. 146.
[74] HSM 4 h, 583, 'Die Form der durch den Generalaudienzierer zu haltenden Kriegsgerichte', 1625, ff. 4-10, 13.
[75] Botvidi, *Agenda Ecclesiastica*, §16.
[76] Decenius, *Ernewerte Gebets-und Kirchen-Ordnung*.
[77] Kirchhof, *Militaris Disciplina*, p. 146.

followed by the creed on either side of the sermon, but usually before, and then the sermon. It was concluded with a prayer, which could be short or long – a traditional prayer, such as the *Te Deum Laudamus*, or a select prayer for the time such as Jakob Stöcker's "Prayer for the urgent relief of the suffering city of Freyburg",[78] and an Our Father, a "short hymn", and a blessing.[79] On Sundays either communion or an extra prayer was added before the creed. Many sermons refer to "usual" prayers or "customary army prayers" said before and after sermons, indicating a regularity with which the rubric was generally followed.[80] All of the other features of the service combined probably took less time than the sermon.

As a rule, chaplains were obliged to conduct a funeral and give a sermon upon the death of officers in their regiment or company.[81] When large numbers died at one time, naturally it was impossible for chaplains to give individual sermons for each of the deceased, though evidence in the Swedish archives suggests an active role of chaplains in the death of common soldiers, where some death rolls list some of the dead of a given unit under the heading of various chaplains' names.[82] In these cases funeral sermons were given for the group as a whole, though dead high-ranking commanders and nobility would still have had separate funerals and funeral sermons, variously presided over by a regimental chaplain, their private chaplain, the local parish minister, or in some cases by their home parish minister.

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[78] Jacob Stöcker, *Christliche Heers-Predigt Uber die Wort des Herren Christi...* (Dresden, 1643), pp. 59-66.
[79] Decenius, *Ernewerte Gebets-und Kirchen-Ordnung*, unpaginated preface, [pp. iif]; Rudolf von Bellinckhausen, *'—der osnabrugischenn handlung und geschicht': die Chronik des Rudolf von Bellinckhausen, 1628-1637*, ed. M. Tegeder and A. Kreienbrink (Osnabrück, 2002), p. 281.
[80] Zacharias Theobald, *Heerpredigt. Auß dem schönen Gebet des theuren Feld Obristen Judae Maccaboei* (Friedberg, 1618), p. 21.
[81] Ledebur, *Allgemeines Archiv*, xv, p. 267.
[82] Rullor 1620-1723, SE/KrA/0022/1630/18, ff. 205-41, esp. ff. 219-20. Listing the dead under chaplains' names does not seem to have been common practice, as only a handful of rolls do so, though it does not mean that chaplains of other units were not possibly as involved in the deaths of their troops as those few whose names were listed.

The military funeral sermons which survive do so because someone – usually the families of the deceased – funded their publication. They are almost without exception those of officers and noblemen, as undertaking the cost of publishing a funeral sermon was above the means of common soldiers and their families, and perhaps just as significantly, for their families was simply not customary. While it was not uncommon for lower-ranking captains and aides to have full-length funeral sermons, most which survive were of nobility who held these ranks, which makes it difficult to tell the frequency of funeral sermons for junior officers not of the nobility, as it was much less likely for these to have been printed.

Of all the printed military funeral sermons known to this study, Swedish trumpeter Hans Christoph Winckeler's is the only one of a non-commissioned officer not of the nobility. Rather than being cursory, the sermon at his funeral doubled the normal length at eighty pages, which suggests that it was not unusual for non-noble junior officers to have a sermon at their funeral.[83] Swedish colonel Caspar Hermes' funeral sermon was of average length at forty-five pages, but unusual in that it included another fifty pages of additional material: not only *epicedia*, which were common enough, but an extended biographical sketch, a poem recounting his last conversation with his chaplain, and the text and three-part musical score of a song composed for the occasion of his funeral by Weimar ducal music director Adam Dresen.[84]

The low number of funeral sermons for common soldiers found by this study (only a handful) is likely more a reflection of these sermons not having been printed, rather than not being given. Saxon field chaplain Jacob Stöcker's 1646 publication,

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[83] Wolfgangus Laterman, *Christliches, Nothwendiges vnd Erbawliches KriegsMemorial oder Tägliches Vade Mecum vnd ErinnerungsPredigt Eines Gottliebenden Soldatens* (Quedlinburg, 1641).
[84] Caspar Hillebrandt, *Auxilium Nostrum a Domino… Begräbniß Deß… Herrn Caspar Ermes: Ihrer Königlichen Majestät zu Schweden, bestalten Obristen, über ein Regiment HochTeutscher FueßVölcker…* (Erfurt, 1648).

Monumenta Militaria, included four separate funeral sermons for soldiers, supporting this view that it was the printing, rather than the giving, of funeral sermons for soldiers which was uncommon.[85] Aside from mass casualty events of battles, there is little reason to suppose that some homiletical remarks, even if less prepared than those for commanding and regimental officers' funerals, were not made on the occasion of a soldier's funeral, it being the duty of chaplains to conduct the funerals of all those within their care, including soldiers, much the same as parish clergy. One account of a cavalryman's burial, from Erzgebirge chronicler Christian Lehmann, would seem to indicate that remarks could be very brief indeed:

> In Scheibenberg it was terrible to see, that from among the four regiments, a strong and esteemed cavalryman who drank himself to death in liquor was dragged out like dead livestock and unceremoniously buried in the graveyard, with the words of his field preacher: 'What you sowed, you will reap; bless your soul.'[86]

Funeral sermons, lasting between fifty and seventy minutes, were roughly a quarter longer than regular sermons, and usually held in a church. While difficult to assess the exact nature of the audience, when funerals happened on campaign it is often clear that the bulk of a regiment was in attendance. If the body of the deceased was transported back to their home, sermons were given in the presence of more family and friends than comrades of the deceased, including widows to whom sermons might be dedicated at the beginning (*dedicatio*).[87] It was customary to address the family members present by name and title, sometimes also acknowledging those absent.[88] Depending on the deceased, the time, and the location, dignitaries, including commanders and high-ranking officers, often attended. The preacher typically

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[85] Jacob Stöcker, *Monumenta Militaria, Soldaten Grabe-Steine: Das ist: Vier Leich-Predigten…* (Dresden, 1646).
[86] C. Lehmann, *Das sächsische Erzgebirge im Kriegesleid: Erzgebirgische Kriegschronik nach dem originale der "Deutschen Kriegschronik"* (Annaburg, 1911), p. 160.
[87] Hilmarus Hastaeus, *Corona Heroica. Oder Christliche Leichpredigt, von der unverwelcklichen Heldencron* (Rinteln, 1645), p. 3.
[88] Schramm, *Threnodia,* p. 1.

acknowledged these by name in order of precedence following the family of the deceased. Sometimes they or the family were also referenced, or even directly addressed, during the sermon.[89]

Funeral sermons tended to follow the same rubric as normal sermons with other sections variously added: for instance, the dedication (*dedicatio*), preface (*proemium*), and at the end a biographical sketch of the deceased (*personalia*), or various odes, poems, and tributes to the deceased submitted by friends, colleagues, and admirers (*epicedia*). Though the biographical sketches were read aloud, it is unclear whether the same was true of *epicedia*.

Biographical sketches of the deceased were the most colourful part of funeral sermons and are excellent sources on officers and soldiers (as also explored in Chapter V).[90] Usually to be found in the biographical sketches was the important subsection, "Regarding his Christianity" (*sein Christenthum betreffend*), wherein chaplains were obliged to try to say a good word regarding the faith of the deceased with (hopefully positive) implications for his eternal fate. It was of course easier to speak of the devout than of those with minimal or doubtful faith. This required careful balance between sensitivity to the bereaved, and honest depiction of the deceased. Balance must have been a decidedly more difficult task for the Protestant chaplain than his Catholic counterpart, for whom the middle ground of purgatory could serve as the assumed initial destination for souls which had manifestly not yet attained sanctification.

[89] HSD E 8 B Nr 61/4, Anonymous, *Predigt auf den verstorbenen Hauptmann Stuppen* (1644); Matthias Decenius, *Statua Baneriana* (Stockholm, 1641), p. 3.
[90] See A. Kästner, 'Unzweifelhaft ein seliger Tod! Überlegungen zur Darstellung des Sterbens von Duellanten in protestantischen Leichenpredigten, in U. Ludwig et al. (eds), *Das Duell – Ehrenkämpfe vom Mittelalter bis zur Moderne* (Constance, 2012).

As a means of striking the right tone, chaplains employed a euphemistic vocabulary to characterize the deceased's chances of salvation. Where specific examples of Christian virtue in the life of the deceased were few, one could expect to hear statements such as, "Indeed, he had been no angel…", or, "He was no saint",[91] "He had not been more than a man…",[92] and, "He did not live in complete godlessness".[93] Much was made of whatever (perhaps rare) confessions of sins, prayers, kind acts, or other religious actions the deceased may have happened to make: "It is obvious that the colonel had not been without sin or infirmity; he had human weakness. But he also had a true realization of his sins that were God's to forgive…";[94] "He truly loved God's word… and tried to live by it where possible."[95] The next-most promising signs of spiritual fruit were the religious moments of the deceased's life such as baptism, confirmation, or a spiritual experience. Any prayers or confessions the deceased may have uttered preceding his death were to be assiduously noted and recounted.[96]

Chaplains provided generic affirmations of the Christianity of the deceased, such as, "He may be called a right and true Christian…", or "Despite the fact that he overlooked attending church among all of his responsibilities, it can be stated without any hypocrisy that he was a true Christian."[97] Even merely agreeing that he needed to

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[91] David Lange and Johannes Preibisius, *Exeqviæ Kitlizianæ. Zwo Christliche Predigten oder Leichvermahnungen... Deß... Herren von Kittlitz auf Malnitz... Donawischen Regiments Fendrichs...* (Görlitz, 1630), p. 92.
[92] Hillebrandt, *Auxilium Nostrum a Domnino,* unpaginated, [p. 54]; Hilmarus Hastaeus, *Thesaurus Thesaurorum Oder Christliche LeichPredigt... Bey LeichBegängniß, Deß Herrn Heinrich Brüggemann...* (Rinteln, 1646), p. 33; Hastaeus, *Corona Heroica*, p. 72; Heinrich Eysentraud, *Threnologia Christiana: das ist: Christliche Klag-und Trauer-Predigt bey... Sepultur des... Hans Christophel Truchsessen von Wetzhausen uff Bundorff...* (Coburg, 1648), p. 27; Heinrich Friedekind, *Einfältige Christliche Betrachtung, und LeichSermon...* (Hildesheim, 1640), p. 43.
[93] Johann Jacob Angermüller, *Christliche Leichpredigt vnd Bußpredigt... Johann Dietterichen von Haugwitz…* (Leipzig, 1624), p. 53.
[94] Friedekind, *Einfältige Christliche Betrachtung*; see also Eysentraud, *Threnologia Christiana,* p. 27; Hillebrandt, *Auxilium,* "Christenthumb" section, unpaginated.
[95] Hastaeus, *Thesaurus Thesaurorum*, p. 33.
[96] See Hastaeus, *Corona Heroica*, p. 72.
[97] Hastaeus, *Thesaurus Thesaurorum*; see also Hastaeus, *Corona Heroica*, p. 72.

repent for his sins could be used in his favour. Failing these signs, as comfort to the bereaved, the chaplain could cite ostensibly orthodox doctrines the deceased assented to, his attendance at church, or where there was nothing else to be said, a list of some of the sins the deceased did *not* commit.[98] Field preacher Hilmarus Hastaeus was uninspired enough to recycle not merely a phrase, but an entire paragraph between two funerals eighteen months apart, where the best thing that could be said of the deceased was that though he had been no angel, he had repented from his sins.[99] The least hope of all was held out for a Captain Zacharias, whose singularly bleak funeral sermon following his death in a drinking-house brawl was memorably recounted by a chronicler:

> The commandant's field preacher, Herr Casparus, had to give the funeral sermon; which, as is known across the city, he then did, throughout the whole sermon giving the executed captain over to the devil and openly damning him, which is known across the city.[100]

All sermon types tended to be confessionally marked such that a reader even somewhat familiar with either Protestant or Catholic Christianity should have little difficulty distinguishing between the two in sermons. Not only were Protestant sermons confessionally specific about particular readings of Scripture, history, or contemporary events which emphasized or aligned with Lutheranism, but also confessional in the sense of being polemical – upholding their own religious teachings against those of Catholics, often including derision and scorn of Catholicism and Catholics.

Funeral sermons were probably more confessionally marked than regular sermons. An entire section of the funeral sermon of field preacher Johannes Gesell,

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[98] Schramm, *Threnodia,* p, 59; Joachim Gössel, *Einfältige Christliche Betrachtung, und LeichSermon… Des… Hansen Heinrichen von Hanstein…* (Hildesheim, 1640), p. 43.
[99] Hastaeus, *Thesaurus Thesaurorum*, p. 33; Hastaeus, *Corona Heroica*, p. 72.
[100] Ledebur, *Allgemeines Archiv,* xv, p. 291.

entitled "The refutation of the Papists", took aim at Catholic theology of justification, asserting that "the papists think they can earn their way to heaven",[101] and was three times longer than the section on the life of the deceased.[102] The content of sermons was packed with references and interpretations of Scripture that bore such an obvious confessional bent that it is difficult to know what to make of one historian's statement that "the military funeral tradition for individuals was… devoid of religious elements…."[103] Perhaps the absence of religion in military manuals which never included religion within their remit to begin with has been taken as proof of a negative, compounded by overlooking or undervaluing religious sources.

There is a great variety of confessionally-particular markers in Protestant chaplains' sermons which could not be mistaken as anything other than Lutheran, such as the commonplace of referring to the doctrine articulated by the Augsburg Confession as "the sole blessed religion and confession of faith".[104] The central role of the conscience in all aspects of the Christian life, especially as it applies to ethical questions in wartime,[105] was prominent both in sermons and in Protestant literature written for soldiers, sometimes cited in sermons.[106] Popular homiletic themes were of an obvious confessional tone, such as the multiple cases of Protestant chaplains comparing man – including themselves – to worms: "I, poor man, am nothing at all, God's son alone is my prize, and I, a poor little worm…."[107]

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[101] Brendel, *Trewer Evangelischer Feldt-Prediger,* p. 22.
[102] ibid., pp. 22-5.
[103] Funke, 'Religion', p. 176.
[104] Theobald, *Heerpredigt*, p. 7.
[105] Stöcker, *Christliche Heers-Predigt*, p. 32.
[106] ibid., pp. 35, 40-1.
[107] Decenius, *Statua Baneriana*, p. 67. See also Schramm, *Threnodia*, p. 58; Gottfried Reinicke, *Kurtze, Nichtige, jedoch voller Angst-Unruhe und müheseelige Lebens-Beschreibung aller Menschen…* (Rinteln, 1641), p. 23; Angermüller, *Christliche Leichpredigt*, p. 58; Jeremias Hickmann, *Lutheranorum Animosa Militia & Gloriosa Victoria. Das ist: Lutherische Kriegs- und SiegsPredigt, wegen herrlicher Victori, so Königliche Majestät in Schweden, und Churfürstliche Durchlauchtigkeit zu Sachsen, in dem harten treffen bey Bodelwitz… bey öffentlicher Kriegs Versammlung im Feldläger vor Leipzig am 11. Septembris gewesen und gepreiset...* (Gera, 1631), unpaginated, [p. 23].

The confessionally-particular often brought with it the confessionally polemic, but they were separate dynamics, with the former implying religious teaching and practice which was specific and situated within a certain tradition, and the latter conveying hostility toward the confessional "other". Despite the distinction in principle, field preachers often made little effort to separate the two in their sermons. The Old Testament was a focus of most Protestant sermons and presented in all but name as an oracle for present times. Playing the part of Israel, "Gideon's army", the heir of Judas Maccabeus, or "God's people" were variously the Swedish, Mansfeld, Bohemian, or Saxon army. And the Catholic armies "the Philistines", "the Midianites", "the Sodomites", or more generally, the "enemies of God".[108]

Catholic teaching was presented in the strongest negative terms. Protestant field preachers routinely sermonized in great detail against aspects of Catholicism, condemning canon law, Marian devotion, the cult of the saints, and Catholic teaching on mortal sin ("There are only seven deadly sins? Seven times seventy is still too few.")[109] Though Catholicism was the main target, on at least a couple of occasions field preachers did more gently address errors of Utraquism and Anabaptism,[110] whereas despite persistent Lutheran-Calvinist mistrust (which in the case of Electoral Saxony was at least as heightened as feeling toward Catholics), in contrast to the

[108] Johann Koch, *Danck: Klag: und Trost-Predigt Als durch Gottes sonderbahre Schickung…* (Berlin, 1632); Theobald, *Heerpredigt*, p. 21; Stöcker, *Christliche Heers-Predigt*, p. 5. Judas Maccabeus: Decenius, *Statua Baneriana*, Botvidi, *Agenda Ecclesiastica*, §11; 'God's people': Stöcker, *Christliche Heers-Predigt*, p. 57. Gideon and the Midianites: Jacob Brandt, *Vier Kriegspredigten* (Erfurt, 1624), p. ii; Brandt, Sermon III, 'Von Wahr und Waffen in Wiederwärtigkeit eins KriegsMannes', printed in Brandt, *Vier Kriegspredigten,* p. 37; Fabian Schaffart, *Christliche DancksagungsPredigt wegen erhaltener Victorien Im treffen…* (Strasbourg, 1633), p. 12. Sodomites: Brandt, Sermon II, 'Von Widerwertigkeit und Creutz eines Kriegsmannes in seinem Beruff und Stande', printed in Brandt, *Vier KriegsPredigten*, p. 21.
[109] Stöcker, *Christliche Heers-Predig*t, pp. 34, 37; Theobald, *Heerpredigt,* p. 12.
[110] Heilmann, *Gründliche Relation,* pp. 24-5; Jakob Fabricius, *Christliche Dancksagungs-Predigt nach dem vom Gott verliehenen herzlichen Sieg zu Würtzburg vnd eroberten Bischofflichen sehr vesten Schloß die Marien Burg genandt…* ([s.l.], 1631), p. 19.

civilian context Lutherans kept targeting of Calvinism in the military to a minimum.[111]

Bohemian Confederation field preacher Zacharias Theobald warned the victorious Bohemian soldiers after the sack of Pilsen in 1618 that "God has damned to the sword whoever defects from true faith to wrong faith",[112] but it is noteworthy that such intense confessional rhetoric was not limited to the Bohemian conflict of the first few years of the war: later Protestant chaplains were telling their troops that "'God will defeat the enemy through you", and that they were "strengthened in the Lord"' in doing deeds as great as Gideon's slaughtering of the Midianites.[113] If they died, they did so "in the service of the true Christian Church".[114]

Four high-ranking army churchmen – Ernst von Mansfeld's chaplain Johann Jacob Heilmann, Swedish consistory superintendent and Gustavus's personal chaplain Jakob Fabricius, electoral Saxon court preacher Johann Ostermann, and Saxe-Weimar court preacher Daniel Rücker – delivered anti-Catholic broadsides upon the most prominent of occasions – thanksgiving sermons after victories, in the presence of their high commands and much of the army, and in the case of the latter three, also the Swedish, Saxe-Weimar, and electoral Saxon courts.[115]

Fabricius took the occasion of his thanksgiving sermon in Würzburg in the magnificent setting of the great hall of the prince-bishop's palace, celebrating the Swedes' recent taking of the Marienberg fortress, to derogate Catholic devotion to the cult of the saints:

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[111] Jakob Fabricius, G*ründliche Wiederlegung Des Falschen Vorgebens, Damit Den K. Zu Schweden Gustavus Adolph Wegen Der Calvinisterey Verdächtig Zu Machen* (Stettin and Augsburg, 1633); On Saxony see below p. 267.
[112] Theobald, *Heerpredigt,* p. 15.
[113] ibid., p. 20; Brandt, *Vier KriegsPredigten,* p. ii.
[114] Brandt, *Vier Kriegspredigten*, Vorrede, p. ii; Brandt, 'Vom Göttlichen Beruf Eines Kriegsmannes', printed in *Vier Kriegspredigten,* p. 11; Stockmann, *Lamentatio*, p. 35; Heilmann, *Gründliche Relation,* pp. 17f.
[115] ibid., p. 36.

> When our enemy looked to have victory before them in this place, they praised their supposed patron of the city, St. Kilian, as if he had given them protection and assistance. But we do not direct our thanksgiving to a dead saint, but rather to the true living God.[116]

Over the course of the sermon he criticized other "traditions of men" such as purgatory, the seven sacraments, the papacy ("the pope… is taking thousands of souls into hell."[117]), fasting, indulgences, and Catholic doctrine of justification,[118] culminating in the connection of two themes developed throughout the sermon: Catholic errors, and the struggle of David against his enemies – whom the Catholics resemble "in their false works not a little." The Catholics, whose "arrogance is swollen as large as a tall mountain", promoted false teachings just like David's enemies,[119] whose resemblance to the Swedes' enemies was "very great". On the following page the message is made explicit: "Papists are God's enemies." To be sure, the congregation was still to "regard them as rightful members of the true Church, though avoid them as wicked, anti-christian rot".[120]

Ostermann's sermon, subtitled "Thanksgiving to God for the Victory against the enemies of the Christian Church", was hardly more conciliatory toward Catholics, equating electoral Saxony with biblical Israel and Catholics with various tribal enemies of the Israelites.[121] Rücker similarly alternates between comparisons of Protestants to Israel and the Church of Christ, and Catholics to the enemies of Israel and of God, repeatedly referring to Catholics as "the godless". He assures Bernhard von Weimar's army, "we have the righteous God on our side…."[122]

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[116] Fabricius, *Christliche Dancksagungs-Predigt,* p. 19.
[117] Stöcker, *Christliche Heers-Predigt*, p. 34.
[118] ibid., pp. 35-40.
[119] Fabricius, *Christliche Dancksagungs-Predigt*, pp. 30, 35.
[120] ibid., pp. 40-1.
[121] Ostermann, *Gratiarum actio*.
[122] Daniel Rücker, *Christliche Danck- Und Erste Evangelische Predigt, In der vornehmen und weitberühmbten Vestung Breysach…* (Halle an der Saale, 1639), pp. 14-16, 24.

Chaplains participated – whether consciously or not – in a process of social disciplining simply by exhorting soldiers to observe basic moral rules: to avoid blasphemy, fighting, whoring, stealing, and drunkenness, and to follow the Golden Rule.[123] This also involved the difficult task of balancing Lutheran emphasis on individual conscience with the obligation to obey worldly authority. Soldiers were to obey regulations, because all authority – or at least that which "does not oppose God or the Holy Scriptures" – comes from God.[124] One of Electoral Saxon field preacher Jacob Stöcker's sermons attempted to elucidate this distinction in detail, in order that "[the army] might more deeply understand the extent to which subjects are bound to obedience."[125] He advocated rendering to "Caesar": "1. Benevolence…, 2. Reverence…, 3. Obedience…", whereas to God is to be rendered: "1. the searching out of God's word…, 2. humble preaching…, 3. the seeking out of the true church…, 4. administration of justice…, 5. preparation for the final judgment…."[126] Stöcker asserted that whoever opposes worldly authority is opposed to God, though worldly authority "does not have absolute power".[127]

Obedience to rulers was presented as a part of piety,[128] and it was taken for granted that the army's political and military leaders were on the side of God. Bernhard von Weimar's field preacher expounded on a similar theme, "very learnedly displaying the mutual duties of Princes and their subjects" to Bernhard's entire high command and much of his army on no less of an occasion than his enfeoffment as

[123] Schaffart, *Christliche DancksagungsPredigt,* pp. 13, 14; Dieterich, *Discurs Vom Kriegs-Raub*; Brandt, 'Von Wiederwärtigkeit eines Kriegs-Mannes', pp. 25-7; Brandt, 'Vom Gantzen Kurtz eines KriegsMannes', pp. 60-7.
[124] Fabricius, *Christliche Dancksagungs-Predigt,* p. 22.
[125] Stöcker, *Christliche Heers-Predigt*, p. 31.
[126] ibid., pp. 12-13, 26-9.
[127] ibid., p. 31.
[128] HSD E 8 B, 61/4, 'Predigt auf den verstorbenen Hauptmann Stuppen', August 1644.

Duke of Franconia.[129] Chaplains were not above staking out their own place within the penumbra of God's authority, teaching that "The army's preachers are chosen by God".[130] Johannes Botvidi addresses the theme in articles 45 and 46 of his 1631 regulations, in the latter pressing the privileged status of religion to a fanciful degree: "46. It is not permitted to anyone in the camp to feel or express negative sentiments about religion…."[131]

Prayer

At 8 AM on a typical morning in a typical regiment of a Protestant army of the Thirty Years War, a chaplain – or perhaps more likely, chaplains – would convey themselves to the head of the regimental officers' tent where they awaited the regimental drummer or trumpeter to sound the call for morning prayer. If a trumpet or drum was not to hand, cymbals could be used. In the Electoral Saxon army there was a dedicated trumpet call to announce morning prayer, "*zum Gebet*".[132] Officers and soldiers congregated, fetching small prayer books out from their pockets – some of which, at least among the Swedish army, may have been given to them from the hand of the King – and, led by the chaplain, began to intone the morning psalm.[133] They might also have been handed a copy of a prayer book such as *The Necessities of the Pious*, said by Botvidi to be "found everywhere", which was read from after the psalm while kneeling.[134] Prayers were to be "recited with uniformity, lest devotion and proper order be disturbed by variety."[135] Morning and evening prayer also included hymns

[129] Watts, …*The fifth part*, p. 110.
[130] Brandt, 'Vom Göttlichen Beruf Eines Kriegsmannes', printed in *Vier KriegsPredigten*, p. 6.
[131] Botvidi, *Agenda Ecclesiastica,* §45, 46.
[132] Sennewald, *Kursächsische Heer*, p. 644.
[133] Stöwesand, 'Magister', p. 52.
[134] Botvidi, *Agenda Ecclesiastica,* §7.
[135] ibid., §1, 7.

(covered in more detail in Chapter VI), as well as *ex tempore* prayers, concluding with an Our Father, sometimes with an additional psalm and a Benediction before muster.[136] Plenty of anecdotal evidence indicates that daily prayers were reliably conducted in armies.[137] Attendance at prayer was required of soldiers in at least the Swedish, Bernhardine, Scottish, Saxon, and Danish armies, and at preaching in the Swedish, and Danish armies, and Imperial army of the 1640s,[138] though enforcement of this norm varied widely according to the army, regiment, year, season, unit commander, and availability of chaplains.

Chaplains of the Swedish army published multiple editions of at least seven prayer books consisting of psalms, traditional prayers, collects, and other prayers specific to a military context, intended both for public and private use of the soldiery. Prayer books were often pocket-sized to facilitate regular use, and were written for soldiers and officers alike.[139] Some prayers, for example, "Luther's prayer for soldiers", or the "Prayer for Christians, which professe the Orthodox and true faith" were confessionally distinct, and some were not.[140] As prayer books were issued by the same field consistories whose pastors wrote sermons of considerable confessional polemic, it is not a surprise to find its presence in some prayers.

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[136] ibid., §2-8; Decenius, *Ernewerte Gebets-und Kirchen-Ordnung*, pp. 12-15.
[137] R. Hanncke, 'Cosmus von Simmerns Bericht über die von ihm miterlebten Geschichtssereignisse zur Zeit des Wallensteinschen und Schwedischen Kriegsvolkes in Pommern', *Baltische Studien,* 40 (1890), p. 61; Autenrieth, *Samuel Gerlach*, p. 30.
[138] 'Instruction… 1643', printed in Bielik, *Militär-Seelsorge*, p. 355; Christian IV of Denmark, *Articulsbrieff*.
[139] Johannes Botvidi, *Nagra Böner allom christnom hödnödige…* (Elbing and Uppsala, 1629); Johannes Botvidi, *Etliche Gebete, Welche Im Schwedischen Feldlager gebrauchlich...* (Stettin, 1630). N.B. *Etliche Gebete* is a translation of his *Nagra Böner*; Johannes Botvidi, *Pommer Lands Trawer- und Trost-Liedt... Item Etliche Schöne Gebete, Welche im Schwedischen Feldlager genbreuchlich*, ed. and trans.Christian Patricius (Stettin, 1631). A second edition of *Etliche Gebete* was published in 1631. Botvidi's; Johannes Botvidi, *Christliche KriegsGebett, Welche In dem Schwedischen Feldtläger...* (Halle, 1632); Jakob Fabricius, *Etliche Gebet, so Königl. Majest. Zu Schweden Kriegsheer neben den Psalmen Davids vnnd der Christlichen Litaney, von den Feld Predigern gebrauchet…* (Augsburg, 1632); Nicephor Kessel, *Wolbewärte und Unbetrügliche Hart- und Vestmachung… Gewisse und herrliche Remedia, wordurch sich ein jedweder Christlicher Soldat für aller Gefahr... verwahren kan...* (Nuremberg, 1632); Decenius, *Ernewerte Gebets-und Kirchen-Ordnung*.
[140] Botvidi, *Etliche Gebete*, unpaginated; Botvidi, *Christliche Kriegsgebet*, pp. 17-19.

Fabricius's *Etliche Gebet* includes a section, "three prayers against the enemy", which condemns "papal cruelties", idolatry, and asks God to "destroy their enemies as He destroyed Pharaoh's army in the Red Sea and Sennacherib", and to "allow [Catholics'] misery to fall upon their own heads."[141] Botvidi's prayers are no less hostile; one of many excerpts reads, "O Lord arise…. with your sword rescue our souls from the Godless… Arise O Lord, and overthrow the Antichrist Papacy…."[142] Another Botvidi prayer book includes multiple instances of similar rhetoric. The flourishes of William Watts's artful translation illustrate that at least a portion of Botvidi's contemporary readership (however foreign) was interpreting his words in a strongly confessional-polemical light:

> Preserue we beseech thee pure and uncorrupt, thine owne holy Word & Sacraments, in these dangerous times, against all Hereticks and false Teachers. Especially against the Papists: who at this present with many bloudy slaughters, and inhumane tyranny, doe like ravening Wolues & roaring Lyons, undeservedly scatter and devoure thy poore Christian flocke.[143]

Psalms and traditional liturgical prayers such as the Our Father, *Te Deum Laudamus*, and the Creed were shared with Catholics. Long form prayers, whether composed or *ex tempore*, were much more common in a Protestant context, and practiced by chaplains and military men alike.[144] (One Swedish cavalry officer even composed a daily prayer which he read aloud to his company at the morning drill.)[145]

Sacraments and non-sacramental rites

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[141] Fabricius, *Etliche Gebet,* pp. 47, 51-2.
[142] Botvidi, *Christliche Kriegsgebet*, p. 22, unpaginated.
[143] William Watts, *The devotions and forms of prayer, daily vsed in the King of Svvedens army*… (London, 1632), pp. 7-11.
[144] See Jakob Stöcker, 'Gewöhnlich Gebeth nach geschehener Predigt', 'Gebeth, als beyde Armeen im September abgewichenes Jahrs, bey Friedland gegen einander stunden, und es das ansehen zu einer Feldschlacht hatte', and 'Gebeth bey dem nothwendigen Entsatz der hochbeträngten Stadt Freyberg', printed in Stöcker, *Christliche Heers-Predigt,* unpaginated, [pp. 47-66].
[145] Hastaeus, Thesaurus Thesaurorum, p. 33; Monro, Expedition, pp. 319-24; Abraham Lehmann, *Andächtige Biblische Krieges-seufftzer* (Wittenberg, 1637).

Sacraments were to Protestant armies what religious teaching was to Catholic armies: a secondary, but still important focus of religious life. Lutherans' reduced emphasis on sacraments (recognizing only two – communion and baptism – rather than the Catholic seven) and sacramental traditions, including liturgy, may have been partly to blame for chaplains' "confused and disorderly" conduction of ceremonies described by field preacher Conrad Dieterich, recalling a 1632 visit to Augsburg.[146] However, marriage, confession of sins, and affirmation of faith before death – all Lutheran counterparts to what were still sacraments in the Catholic Church – continued to be treated as valuable in their own right.[147]

While Protestant and Catholic sacramental theology differed on significant points, their practice in the armies of the Thirty Years War was not greatly different, even to the point of often appearing indistinguishable.[148] Lutherans held a more qualified understanding of the "real presence" of Christ in the body and blood, but this did not prevent them from treating communion with gravity (though they used different terminology than Catholics to describe it: "the Lord's Supper" or "Holy Communion"; not "the Eucharist"). Funeral sermons routinely cited the deceased's periodic partaking of communion as evidence of their faith.[149] Swedish superintendent Matthias Decenius's 1640 regulations stipulated that "Preachers should exhort both officers and soldiers to regular confession and partaking of holy communion…."[150]

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[146] H. Dieterich, *D. Konrad Dieterich Superintendent und Scholarch in Ulm (1614-1639) und sein Briefswechsel* (Ulm, 1938).
[147] Tegeder and Kreienbrink, *die Chronik*, p. 279.
[148] Rücker, 'Kirchen-Ordnung', pp. 86-90.
[149] Schramm, *Threnodia*, p. 56; Thomas Edler, *Refugium viventium & morientium Oder Christliche Leichpredigt... Herrn Friedrich von Zabeltitz...* (Rinteln, 1644), p. 58; Hastaeus, *Thesaurus Thesaurorum*, p. 33.
[150] Decenius, *Ernewerte Gebets-und Kirchen-Ordnung*, p. 16

Decenius further exhorted chaplains to prepare their flock to partake of the sacraments properly, and to instruct them on basic doctrines surrounding communion:

> Particularly during times of war many boys and inexperienced people, who have often fled their studies at school and know less than not of their catechism, also do not understand what the Lord's Supper is, and why they need it, therefore should the preachers, all the more in light of the short time, familiarize the penitent with the basics of the catechism, and explain the sins and their punishment, and God's mercy, and Christ's merit, so they can understand why they are coming to the Sacrament, what is being effected, and to what end all of this occurs.[151]

Like Catholics, Protestant soldiers were to conduct an examination of conscience and confess their sins in private confession with a chaplain before presenting themselves, and were not to wait until falling ill or being wounded to do so.[152] Botvidi includes prayers of preparation for communion in his prayer books, and Decenius's 1640 regulations devote five pages to communion.[153] In confession chaplains were to test whether soldiers were truly repentant, that "they should not present themselves at the table of mercy with unwashed hands and impure hearts, as holiness is not for the dogs, and the precious pearls will not be cast before the swine."[154]

Baptism and marriage, only the former recognized by Lutherans as a sacrament, were more straightforwardly similar across confessions than communion. Baptism was to be done always in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and administered to all children in camp, and all the more rapidly to a sick child.[155] A printed baptismal sermon survives which was given by a field preacher of Swedish

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[151] ibid., p. 16.
[152] Schaffart, *Christliche DancksagungsPredigt,* p. 12; Decenius, *Ernewerte Gebets-und Kirchen-Ordnung,* pp. 16-20.
[153] Botvidi, *Christliche KriegsGebet,* p. 19; Botvidi, *Någhra böner,* pp. 29-30.
[154] Decenius, *Ernewerte Gebets-und Kirchen-Ordnung,* p. 19.
[155] ibid., pp. 22-3.

colonel Georg Christoph von Taupadel's daughter Margaretha-Magdalena. At fifteen pages it is comparatively short for a sermon, though no less doctrinally heavy, being a treatise on the Lutheran theology of baptism.[156] The three marriage sermons found by this study, similarly abbreviated,[157] also devote attention to explicating the doctrine of the rite of matrimony to the officers and soldiers in attendance.[158] Decenius reserved four pages of his manual for advising chaplains about dealing with marriage, cautioning, "With betrothal and marriage the preacher should proceed cautiously."[159] Questions of matrimony had the potential not only to set the chaplain on the wrong footing with the soldier in question, but also with the unit commander (probably the chaplain's employer). Decenius relates,

> It sometimes occurs that a common soldier or cavalryman wishes to marry a longtime concubine, and yet is forbidden by his Rittmeister or captain. Then shall a Preacher delicately and firmly remind the officer that he does not have cause to protect or to move his soldiers in such matters, and that all the same it would be better that the situation was brought into holy matrimony than remaining in unholy, blasphemous whoring.[160]

He provides a list of nine questions which chaplains were to "particularly understand" before they agreed to marry a couple (performing a function which in the civilian sphere would have been undertaken by local authorities):

> Who these people actually are?
> Where is their home?
> To which regiment do they belong?
> Whether they have been betrothed to one another, and who was witness?
> Whether they had already attached themselves to another?
> Whether they are prepared to be married?
> Whether the previous spouse is dead?

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156 Jacob Kälber, *Tauff-Sermon, Gehalten Bey der Kindstauff, Des... Herrn Georg Christoph von Taupadeln...* (Erfurt, 1632).
157 Kirchhof, *Militaris Disciplina,* p. 146.
158 Joachim Koch, *In Nomine Jesu Christi, Aurea Catena Ein Güldene Kette Mit dreyen Gliedern, Das ist, Eine Christliche GlückwündschungsPredigt…* (Rostock, 1633); Christoph Scultetus, *Spiritualis Annulus Nuptialis. Oder Ein Geistlicher Trawring: zubetrachten vorgestellet in einer kurtzen Trawpredigt…* (Stettin, 1637); Christoph Scultetus, *Permutatio Felix Oder Der glückseelige unnd angeneme wechsel, damit Gott das Leid derer, die ihm dienen, in ihm dienen, in Frewd verkehret…* (Stettin, 1643).
159 Decenius, *Ernewerte Gebets-und Kirchen-Ordnung,* pp. 26-7.
160 ibid., pp. 26-7.

When and in which place?
Whether they could be spies?[161]

One may of course doubt that these questions were asked by all or even very many chaplains, but it is nonetheless significant that in 1640, a time during which interest in religion in the armies has been thought to have been in decline from what it was years before, the superintendent of the Swedish field consistory issued such detailed pastoral regulations for field preachers.

Chaplains maintained additional pastoral responsibilities to those in camp, described in Decenius' 1640 regulations as including the baptism of children, and instruction of first communicants in catechism.[162] Many sermons – especially funeral sermons, thanksgiving sermons, and Sunday sermons – would have been delivered before an audience that consisted of at least a minority of women. One source does specifically mention a pastor singing psalms and praying with officers' wives, though the source material reviewed by this thesis included relatively little about camp followers of any descriptions.[163] (N.B. This study found no mention of a chaplain's family joining him on campaign as did those of many officers and soldiers.)[164] Nonetheless with camp followers participating in the same community as soldiers, there is little reason to expect their relationship to religion to have differed greatly from that of soldiers. As the field consistory was their primary religious outlet (which was also open to local people) it is plausible that one regimental chaplain did, as reported, give communion to the high number of "9,327 souls" in the first four weeks of Eastertide.[165] Fabricius'

[161] ibid., p. 25.
[162] ibid., pp. 22-5.
[163] Lehmann, *Kriegschronik*, pp. 129-31.
[164] See also M.E. Ailes, *Courage and Grief: Women and Sweden's Thirty Years' War* (Lincoln, 2018).
[165] Brendel, *Trewer Evangelischer Feldt-Prediger*, pp. 33-4.

relation of a private conference he held with a handful of other Swedish field preachers about which pastoral approach to take toward Catholics in the recently-conquered bishopric of Würzburg shows considerable effort to minister to local people, as did Swedish field preacher Johann Gesell, who was said to have "minister[ed] to a great number of local people".[166]

Care for the dying, wounded, sick, and condemned

Descriptions of the last days of soldiers' lives in funeral sermons indicate that a sick or dying soldier in a Protestant army could expect to be visited by a chaplain.[167] Though Protestant chaplains were no less present at the bedsides of the wounded and dying than their Catholic counterparts, this study has come across only one instance of a Protestant chaplain providing medical care (or two, if tending to a drunken cavalryman is counted),[168] as was often done by Catholic chaplains. Notably, Protestants had no counterpart to the religious orders who filled over half the ranks of Catholic field vicariates and were most active in these roles.

Given the much greater time required of Protestant chaplains in preparing sermons, it may have been that providing medical care was simply not seen as the duty of a minister of the Word; even regulations for Swedish chaplains only instruct them to "make many efforts" on behalf of the sick.[169] Rather than directing his chaplains to provide medical care, Bernhardine superintendent Daniel Rücker commanded (in bold font, though that this was added by the publisher is equally

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166 Fabricius, G*ründliche Wiederlegung*, p. 15; Brendel, *Trewer Evangelischer Feldt-Prediger*, p. 33.
167 Stöwesand, 'Magister', p. 139; Autenrieth, *Samuel Gerlach*, p. 30; Rücker, 'Kirchen-Ordnung', pp. 89-91.
168 Weber, *Hessenkrieg*, p. 179.
169 Botvidi, *Agenda Ecclesiastica*, §41. See also S. Murdoch, ''Medic!' An insight into Scottish field surgeons, physicians, and medical provision during the Thirty Years' War, 16-1648', *Northern Studies,* 48 (2016).

possible) that his chaplains "must preach to [the sick and wounded]".[170] (Though they were also to "comfort" them.)[171]

The approach of death was somewhat confessionally ambiguous for Swedish general Johann Banér, who repeatedly reminded his chaplain of his contrition and faith over the course of his last days, as if the affirmation were a proxy of the sacrament of holy anointing, each time preparing him to face death anew. According to the account of his chaplain, at some point after these affirmations Banér used the same word, "Viaticum", used by Catholics to describe this sacrament, in describing his feeling of readiness for death:

> I am now provided with the best Viaticum and travel money [(*Zehrpfennig*)], with which I can migrate through the darkest valley of death to the Hall of Joy.[172]

It is worth noting in passing that the phrase "Hall of Joy" for Heaven and "travel[ing]" seem to hearken back to the pagan conceptions of Valhalla and the voyage of the deceased to the realm of the dead – holdovers which would be worthy of a closer look than this study can offer.[173]

Surprisingly this research has found few anecdotes relating Protestant chaplains ministering to soldiers condemned to death, though it is doubtful that this is indication of any less ministering on their part, especially in light of the expectations conveyed in Bernhardine superintendent Daniel Rücker's 1643 regulations. They declare that "the field preacher's office begins the moment the guilty receives the verdict and sentence of their execution."[174] Kirchof's *Militaris Disciplina* mentioned that a sermon might be given to the condemned after he received judgment, in the

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[170] Rücker, 'Christliche Kirchen-Ordnung', p. 86.
[171] ibid., pp. 89-91; Kirchhof, *Militaris Disciplina,* p. 146.
[172] Decenius, *Statua Baneriana,* pp. 65-7.
[173] Lavenia, 'Conscience and Catholic Discipline', p. 460-1.
[174] Rücker, 'Kirchen-Ordnung', pp. 120-7, p. 121.

presence of his regiment and his court martial.[175] However, this study came across no example of such a sermon. Apparent in Rücker's prescribed five steps for chaplains encountering the condemned is the extremely close – in this case perhaps indistinguishable – relationship between the interests of religion and those of the institutional army. For instance, the field chaplain is instructed to take as a starting point the rightness of the court's judgment and sentence. Rücker instructs chaplains to ask how the condemned ended in his position, and "not to dispute with him if he lies but to inform him that he stood in need of repentance anyway and to convey the relevant applications of the articles of war which was not hidden from him"; and finally:

> If… [the condemned] is rather insolent, defiant, and unrepentant, then the minister must rightly stir his conscience, and make the hell hot. He will be not the giver, but the foreteller, of the impending punishment, and the court before which he must soon stand, and of the eternal death, and that hellfire will soon follow, if he does not allow himself to truly repent of his sins, and ask for the forgiveness of God. But if he does this, through true repentance, his temporal death will bring about eternal life.[176]

Rücker tells chaplains "not to give much hope for pardon",[177] and concludes, offering somewhat more hopefully, "If finally his heart becomes despondent and fearful… come to him with redoubled consolation…. the Holy Angels will be waiting on his soul…."[178]

"Military" chaplains

[175] ibid., p. 225.
[176] ibid., p. 124.
[177] ibid., p. 121.
[178] ibid., pp. 124, 6.

Though both Protestant and Catholic chaplains were ordered to stay back from the fighting, this thesis found only one mention of a Protestant chaplain apparently testing this command by wilfully exposing himself to enemy fire, not counting Banér's field preacher, who had a cannonball fly through the pulpit beneath him while preaching a Sunday sermon during the siege of Prague in 1634.[179] Protestant chaplains may have had less reason to go against these commands than Catholic chaplains who bore a greater responsibility to provide sacraments to dying men.[180] Scottish major and chronicler Robert Monro's diary seems to indicate that his chaplain entering a combat area with the troops was an exceptional circumstance: "at this time he not onely prayed for us, but went on with us, to remarke, as I think, mens carriage…."[181]

Regimental chaplains were still commissioned officers and on rare occasion required to temporarily shoulder certain military responsibilities, though there is little evidence to support Roger Manning's claim – made perhaps more with Scottish chaplains' experiences of the English Civil Wars in view than those of the Thirty Years War – that chaplains "were prepared to lead the men into battle".[182] It at least may have been common practice for Scottish chaplains to carry a pistol and knife, as was the norm in the English Civil Wars,[183] Scottish chaplain Robert Douglas was said to have had "military skill" which was "highly appreciated" by Gustavus,[184] but the Protestant chaplain with the strongest claim to have commanded troops in the Thirty Years War was Swedish court preacher Johann Matthiae, who, the day before the storming of Mainz in December 1631 was commissioned by Gustavus to confiscate all books held throughout the city. For this task he was given power to command a

[179] Weber, *Hessenkrieg,* p. 117. For Banér, see Khevenhüller, *Annales*, xii, p. 1273.
[180] Dieterich, *Discurs Vom Kriegs-Raub*, p. 68; Stöcker, *Christliche Heers-Predigt*, p 40.
[181] Monro, *Expedition*, p. 51.
[182] Manning, *An Apprenticeship in Arms*, p. 72.
[183] ibid., p. 72.
[184] A.C. Bickley, 'Douglas, Robert (1574?-1639)', *Dictionary of National Biography. From Earliest Times to 1900* (22 vols, London, 1888), xv, pp. 346-7.

requisite number of officers and men to guard and protect the books during and after the sack.[185] Jost Warburg, pastor of Marsberg in Westphalia, played a key communications role in the defence of the town walls in 1643 against bands of cavalry, but did not partake in fighting.[186] Neither of these chaplains, however, can be said to have been the most "military" of chaplains. Such a distinction must surely belong to either the Englishman Donald Lupton or Meppen Calvinist preacher Melchior Balthasar who in 1624 hatched a plan to open the gates of the Meppen fortress, held by the Imperialists, to a detachment under a colonel Limbach lying in wait. Balthasar was found out soon after his reappearance in the town and executed on 28 September.[187] Lupton is mistaken by some historians for having been a soldier himself,[188] and acquired the greatest part of his exposure to military affairs as chaplain to the regiment of Charles Morgan from 1627-8 in Stade, from which he authored a well-known work on the finer points (particularly the shortcomings) of technical and tactical use of the pike.[189]

As also discussed in Part II, chaplains played an important role before battles, on the eve of a battle often giving a sermon, brief exhortation, or prayer before the fight.[190] Swedish field superintendent Matthias Decenius said he prayed "often" with Bernhard von Weimar before battle.[191] The most dramatic instance of a Protestant chaplain's involvement in battle during the Thirty Years War involved Swedish royal

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[185] Letter from Gustavus to Johann Matthiae, 13 Dec. 1631, printed in Holmquist, *D. Johann Matthiae Gothus*, pp. 163-4.
[186] C. Horst et al. (eds), *Sterbzeiten: der Dreißigjährige Krieg im Herzogtum Westfalen: eine Dokumentation* (Münster, 2000), pp. 220-2.
[187] Diepenbrock, *Geschichte... Meppen oder des jetzigen hannoverschen herzogthums Arenberg-Meppen...* (Münster, 1838), pp. 417f.
[188] C. Carlton, *Going to the Wars: The Experience of the British Civil Wars 1638-1651* (London, 2016), pp. 84-5.
[189] Donald Lupton, *A warre-like treatise of the pike, or, Some experimental resolves, for lessening the number, and disabling the use of the pike in warre* (London, 1642).
[190] Anon., 'Kurzer Bericht', printed in Gindely (ed), *Weissen Berge*, pp. 175-9; Weber, *Hessenkrieg*, p. 90.
[191] Decenius, *Statua Baneriana,* p. 19.

chaplain and field superintendent Jakob Fabricius.[192] According to his own account recorded eighteen years after the battle of Lützen in 1632, Fabricius "followed" the cavalry attack led by Gustavus Adolphus, accompanying the unit up to the point of contact, holding back during the attack, before being caught up in a stream of hundreds of retreating soldiers.[193] Bernhardine field preacher Johannes Kayser, in headlong flight after defeat at Mergentheim in 1645, had his horse shot from under him and was taken prisoner,[194] and this research found only one case of a Protestant chaplain wounded or killed in battle, Scot William Forbes, chaplain to Robert Monro's company. Upon being caught up in close proximity to the fighting, Monro reports that Imperial soldiers at "Bredenburg" "massacred our Preacher, being on his hands and knees begging mercy, and could find none."[195]

Diplomacy, mediation, and propaganda

Protestant chaplains, like their Catholic counterparts, fulfilled a unique role in the area of political-military affairs, though their respective roles differed considerably. Surprisingly this study found many fewer (only two) cases of Protestant chaplains exerting influence on war policy, either directly or as advisors to political leaders.[196] Furthermore, a Protestant chaplain – without membership in a powerful transnational institution and with no final superior aside from the political ruler, was simply not able to be perceived as a sufficiently disinterested party to play the role of mediator. Consequently, whereas there are a number of instances in which Catholic priests were

[192] See below pp. 293-5.
[193] Jakob Fabricius' account, recorded in Stettin 20 Dec. 1650, printed in Wittrock, 'Frya Relationer'.
[194] Groß, *Historisches Lexicon*, i, p. 206.
[195] Monro, *Expedition*, p. 51.
[196] Gierow, *Bidrag*, p. 123; Westin, *John Durie*; S. Murdoch, *Network North* (Boston, 2006), pp. 280-312. J. Finucane, 'To remain unaltered in the courage you have inherited from your ancestors: Magdeburg under Siege, 1547-1631' (PhD Thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2008).

used as mediators between hostile forces, this study has found no mentions of Protestant ministers being used in a similar way. As suggested by the words of Swedish general Herman Wrangel to a Capuchin Fr. Ämilian upon a visit to the cloister at Rosenheim ("you do not involve yourselves in worldly – much less military – affairs, and are not concerned with this world…"),[197] when Protestant and Catholic forces were in need of mediation, priests were trusted for being ostensibly more aloof from the worldly affairs to which Protestant clergy's dependence upon their employers – who commanded armies – more directly tied them.

Protestant chaplains played a role in other areas. In 1628, Swedish theologian and court preacher Johann Matthiae (also known as Johannes Matthiae Gothus), personal tutor to the future Queen Christina, was one of three clergymen chosen to author regulations to govern the church agenda in conquered territories. The regulations, entitled *Annales regni Sueciae subjectarumque Provinciarum*, said by Swedish historian Arvid Gierow to have been lost, were enforced in at least the Hochstift Halberstadt and the Erzstift Magdeburg in 1632.[198] Where the Bavarian army had a chaplain as part of a detachment called the "Justice Company" (*Justitia Compagnie*) which was charged with maintaining basic order in camp and carrying out simple punishments "if they required no investigation" (likely beatings),[199] the Swedish articles of war assigned entirely to chaplains the responsibility of maintaining discipline during prayer, including the reporting of soldiers who drank during prayer, and the supervision of their public repentance, though this study has found no

[197] Eberl, *Geschichte*, p. 157.
[198] Gierow, *Bidrag*, p. 123.
[199] Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, ii, p. 1031. For one instance of a priest beating soldiers – "sacrilegious scoundrels" – see Fitzsimon, *Diary*, p. 91.

mention of a chaplain brave enough to have chanced the exertion of such a degree of scrupulousness upon their troops.[200]

Perhaps the greatest influence of a Swedish army chaplain in the political arena was unintentional. Swedish field preacher Johann Seifert translated into German Friedrich von Spee's Latin work *Cautio Criminalis*, famously one of the first and most influential criticisms of the practice of witch trials. Seifert was stationed in Bremen, and his 1647 translation was dedicated to the officers of the Swedish army. Legal historian Heinz Holzhauer points out that this work had a direct influence on Sweden's decision to ban the practice in Swedish-occupied Bremen in 1649, and that this ban was one of the first of the many to come in the Empire in subsequent decades.[201]

While a work on witchcraft was exceptional, many chaplains pursued parallel literary occupations while in the field outside of their official duties and published in a variety of genres: poetry, theology, religious polemic, catechesis, devotional literature, mysticism, history, pedagogy, political propaganda, and heraldry. Samuel Zenker, regimental preacher of the Electoral Saxon life guard cavalry, held the title of Electoral Saxony's poet laureate.[202] Chaplains were also sometimes preferred co-signers of war chancellery documents such as muster rolls or death certificates.[203]

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[200] Gustavus, *Schwedisches Kriegs-Recht*, pp. 6-8.
[201] H. Holzhauer, *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte* (Berlin, 2000), p. 127; Friedrich von Spee, *Gewissens-Buch: von Processen gegen die Hexen an alle hohe Obrigkeiten in Teudtschland…* trans. Johann Seifert (Bremen, 1647).
[202] Groß, *Historisches Lexicon*, i, p. 463.
[203] Rullor 1620-1723, 022/1630/14, ff. 4-65; 'Vormundschaftssachen über den abwesenden Martin Henning und dessen infolge einer Verwundung bei Pfaffenhofen als "Einspänner" im gräflich Hohenlohen'schen Grünen Regiment zu Pferde gestorbenen Bruders Hans Henning, mit einem Sterbeattest des Feldpredigers Fabian Schaffert', 1633-4, Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg (LBW), Kanzlei, Regierung und Kammer Fv, 10-Rep. 50a Nr. 914.

Swedish propaganda efforts lasted the duration of the war, though its peak was from the first years of Sweden's involvement until the mid-1630s.[204]. Its most prominent narrative was the legend surrounding Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus, "the Lion of the North", or "the Midnight Lion", which called chiefly upon a prophecy from the Book of Daniel (as well as other purported contemporary prophecies) about a righteous king of "the North" who would defeat the whore of Babylon.[205] Pro-Swedish broadsheets, woodcuts, and sermons presented Gustavus as the prophecy's fulfilment. If the frequency of the narrative's appearance in source material is any indication, it strongly resonated with German Protestants. Its uptake in the military, who were never its target audience anyway, was considerably less, though still present, as indicated by Scottish major Robert Monro's and Swedish trumpeter Jöns Månsson Teitt's diaries,[206] or a hand-written (or hand-copied) poem "about the rescue of German Protestants by Sweden together with Saxony" discovered in the possession of an Electoral Saxon cavalryman in 1631, which extols Gustavus "the midnight wound-bandage" (*Mitternächtige Wundpflaster*), and Protestantism as the rightful continuation of Christendom.[207]

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[204] Jakob Fabricius, *Historischer Bericht oder Erzehlung der christlichen Sprüche und schriftmeßigen Worte, welche Benigna Königs, ein gottseliges Mägdlein, im fürstlichen alten Stettinischen Frawenzimmer bey ihren gehabten 9 unterschiedlichen Entzückungen, in Gegenwart vieler Personen, mit ganz lauter Stimme geredet hat…* (Nuremberg, 1629).

[205] See K.E. Laimer, "Der Löwe von Mitternacht' Gustav II. Adolf von Schweden und seine Darstellung in der proschwedischen Bildpublizistik des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', *Historia Scribere*, 4 (2012); H. Zschoch, 'Größe und Grenzen des 'Löwen von Mitternacht': Das Bild Gustav Adolfs in der populären protestantischen Publizistik als Beispiel religiöser Situationswahrnehmung im Dreißigjährigen Krieg', *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 91/1 (1994); T. Hämmerle, *Flugblatt-Propaganda zu Gustav Adolf von Schweden* (Marburg, 2019); B. Kroener, 'Ein protestantisch-arischer 'Held aus Mitternacht'. Stationen des Gustav-Adolf-Mythos 1632 bis 1945', *Militärgeschichtliche Zeitschrift*, 59/1 (2000); Monro, *Expedition*, pp. 271, 285, 289, 298; J. Strom, 'Jacob Fabricius, Friedrich Breckling und die Debatte um Visionen und neue Offenbarungen', in W. Breul et al. (eds), *Der radikale Pietismus: Perspektiven der Forschung* (Göttingen, 2011), p. 253. On the contemporary press in Germany see H. Böning, 'Dreißigjähriger Krieg und Öffentlichkeit: Zeitungsberichterstattung als Erste Rohfassung der Geschichtschreibung', *Daphnis* 47 (2019); N. Detering, 'Ereignishaftigkeit und Narrativität in der deutschen Publizistik des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', *Scientia Poetica* 22/1 (2018).

[206] Teitt, 'Kriegszüge'; Monro, *Expedition*.

[207] 'Gedicht auf die Errettung der deutschen Protestanten durch die Schweden im Bund mit Sachsen, 1631', HSM 340 von Geyso 1976.

The fact that chaplains played a major role in the production of this narrative has been little noted – indeed, two of Gustavus's top chaplains, Johannes Cörber (the man who received his call to the field chaplaincy after impregnating a parishioner on a night out) and Jakob Fabricius, were centrally involved for years. Their efforts began as early as 1629 (a possible indication of Swedish intention, or possible intention, to invade the Empire from around that time).

The prolific Cörber was the most prominent field preacher-propagandist for the Swedes. In addition to publishing at least five propaganda works of multiple editions, he also coordinated at least four efforts of other chaplains from 1630-3, working at different stages under Banér, directly under Gustavus, and under Bernhard von Weimar.[208] His surviving propaganda output includes a panegyric poem taunting the Catholic forces ("…your idols were of no help, neither Mass, nor clericalism…"), a celebration of the Swedish victory at Breitenfeld, and an ode to Gustav Horn, and two pieces which include reports of army engagements.[209]

Making clear how religious and political propaganda of the period often overlapped to the point of becoming indistinguishable, prophecies, visions, and tales – however obscure or bizarre – implied, suggested, or claimed connection to ongoing political and military affairs.[210] Cörber facilitated the publication of a propaganda

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[208] Johannes Cörber, 'Auff die glückliche und geschwinde Eroberung deß Schloß zu Wurtzburg' (1631), printed in H. Pörnbacher (ed), *Die Literatur des Barock* (Munich, 1986); Johannes Cörber, S*alve Regium: Darmit Die Fränckische Christliche Kirch Gratulirt Dem Durchleuchtigsten…* ([s.l.], 1631); Johannes Cörber, *Threnologia Sueco-Regia. Kœnigliche Schwedische Leicht-Predigt…* (Tübingen, 1633). Cörber involvement in other publications: Johann David Sigwart, *Zwo warhaffte und wunderbarliche Geschicht*; *Warhafftige Relation Von einem Stummen und Tauben Knecht, unter der Königlichen Schwedischen Armee…* (Mainz, 1632); Johann David Sigwart, *Vale Papa Ti Salve Luthere, Das ist: Päpstisch Valet und Evangelischer Antritt zu Mergentheimb…* (Augsburg, 1634); Dieterich, *Discurs Vom Kriegs-Raub,* p. 10.

[209] Cörber, 'Auff die glückliche und geschwinde Eroberung deß Schloß zu Wurtzburg'; Johannes Cörber, *Göttliche Sieg- vnd Ehren-Fahnen: Zu Nutz und schutz der werthen Christenheit vffgerichtet. Vnd als... Herr Gustav Horn[n], Herr zu Hering... Die... Reichsstadt Schletsstadt… eingenommen… In dem Münster daselbsten vorgezeiget…* (Straßburg, 1632).

[210] Jakob Fabricius, *Göttliches Wunder-Buch, darinnen auffgezeichnet und geschrieben stehen…* (Stettin, 1630); Jakob Fabricius, *Probatio Visionum, Das ist: Chrictliches, in Gottes Wort unnd bewährten Schrifften reiner Theologen wolgegründetes Bedencken Von Gesichtern, Deren etliche können Göttliche Offenbarungen, etliche aber Teufflische*

piece authored by fellow field chaplain Johann David Sigwart notable for its overt confessional angle. It relates a blind Bohemian predicting that Gustavus Adolphus, as "the Lion of Midnight" and enemy of the antichrist, would sack Prague for its epicureanism, rule Bohemia, and restore the pure Augsburg Confession.[211]

Gustavus's chaplain Jakob Fabricius pushed the publication of various supernatural occurrences and prophecies, some written by himself such as *Göttliches Wunder-Buch* (1630) and *Probatio Visionum* (1642).[212] He was so taken with one prophet, a peasant named Johann Warner, that he brought him on campaign with Banér's army "for quite a while" in 1635, and hosted Warner at his home in Stettin, where he "appalled" his colleagues by seeking out Warner's interpretations of various Biblical passages, and even attempted unsuccessfully to have Warner ordained a minister.[213]

Whereas the political role of high-ranking Catholic chaplains manifested itself more in direct political input, for Protestants, propaganda most reflected the aspect of (particularly high-ranking) ministry which was essentially political. Fabricius published a 1633 pamphlet ostensibly as a doctrinal refutation of Calvinism (referred to by Fabricius as "Calvinisterey"), but with a direct political purpose: to protect the reputation of Gustavus's Lutheran orthodoxy – upon which rested the credibility of Sweden's leadership of German Lutherans – in the face of a Calvinist preacher's published insinuations that Gustavus was becoming more inclined to Calvinism.

It goes without saying that the political implications of a religious suggestion such as this were serious and immediate, as implied by Fabricius in his linking of his

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Verführungen seyn: Müssen derwegen nothwendig geprüfet, und nach Anleitung gewisser Kennzeichen recht unterscheiden werden... (Nuremberg, 1642).

[211] Johann David Sigwart, *Zwo warhaffte und wunderbarliche Geschicht, So sich in Böhmen mit einem stumb, taub- und blindtgebornen Menschen begeben…* ([s.l.], 1632), pp. 3-6.

[212] Strom, 'Jacob Fabricius', p. 253.

[213] Strom, 'Jacob Fabricius', p. 253; C.H. Starck, *Lubeca Lutherano-Evangelica… Lübeck Kirchen-Historie…* (Lübeck, 1724), p. 1015.

interlocutor's "theological falsity" with "political falsity",[214] or recognized by Swedish court and field preacher Johann Matthiae in another context when he refused to accept without Gustavus's consent an honourary doctorate in theology from the University of Marburg, which had recently turned to Calvinism under the influence of the Landgravine of Hesse-Kassel Amalie Elizabeth.[215] Electoral Saxony's swapping from alliance with the Emperor to the Swedes, and back again to the Emperor gave their chaplains the especially difficult task of creating successive narratives in which Electoral Saxony remained in the position of righteousness and divine favour. This fascinating topic, worthy of more attention than this study can give it, is neatly encapsulated in three long form prayers of Saxon chaplain Jakob Stöcker – the first on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Imperial-Electoral Saxon defeat at second Breitenfeld in 1642, the second from the immediate aftermath of the battle the year prior, and the third a prayer from the siege of Freiberg. They were printed as appendices to one of his sermons (and are themselves of a similar tone to sermons) and defend the Lutheran integrity of Electoral Saxony (including its army) in light of its re-alliance with the Catholic Emperor against the Saxons' co-religionists.[216]

Propaganda literature typically took the form of pamphlets – often known as "relations" (*Relationen*) recounting particular events in five to fifteen pages – but also included histories, poetry, and other tracts which defy genre. Some of the devotional books written for soldiers as well as many sermons could be classified as pro-Swedish publications (if not "propaganda" as such), but as they were less obviously political and reveal more about soldiers than the field chaplaincy, they are covered in Part II of

[214] Fabricius, G*ründliche Wiederlegung*, p. 3.
[215] Holmquist, *D. Johannes Matthiae Gothus,* pp. 162-3.
[216] Stöcker, 'Gewöhnlich Gebeth nach geschehener Predigt', 'Gebeth, als beyde Armeen im September abgewichenes Jahrs', printed in Stöcker, *Christliche Heers-Predigt,* unpaginated, [pp. 47-66]. See also Ostermann, *Gratiarum Actio*; Hickmann, *Lutheranorum Animosa*, unpaginated, [pp. 26-8] (see excerpt on p. 296 below).

the thesis. Chaplains' propaganda could take other forms, such as Johannes Botvidi's long-form ode for Pomerania,[217] or published sermons,[218] or Georg Engelsüß's partisan histories. Engelsüß wrote five campaign histories of the armies he accompanied (Swedish and Bernhardine), which recount their movements, actions, and conduct while casting them in the most positive of lights.[219] As these detailed and lengthy works – each between 100 and 360 pages – were all published within a roughly two-year period between 1646-8, it is very possible that they had been planned and at least partially drafted while Engelsüß was active in the field chaplaincy.

Though authoring propaganda was never listed as an official duty of Protestant chaplains in regulations, propaganda could be interpreted as an extension of the Protestant emphasis upon the minister's vocation to instruct, and could partly account for this research's findings of more than twice the amount of propaganda published by Protestant than by Catholic chaplains. Though only a minority of Protestant chaplains participated, it may still be seen to some degree as a function of the field consistory, especially given the greater participation by high-ranking chaplains. Catholic propaganda, by contrast, was almost exclusively the work of

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[217] Johannes Botvidi, *Pommer Lands Trawer- und Trost-Liedt…* (Stettin, 1631).
[218] Jeremiah Hickmann, *Die Wunderschöne Triumph: und Danckkrone. Eines Paulinischen Triumphs vund Danckspruchleins Welche die Königliche Maiestat zu Schweden undt ChurFürstl: Durchl: zu Sachsen, etc. mit dero Armaden… vor die den 7. Septemb: 1631 vor Leipzig… getragenen… Sieg und Victori mit andacht geleget, und in einer Triumphs: und danckPredigt, am 14. Sontag Trinitatis… in offenen freyem felde vor Leipzig…* (Prague, 1632).
[219] Johann Seifert, *Der Teutsche Brutus, das ist: ein abgeworffenes Schreiben...* ([s.l.], 1637); Georg Engelsüß, *Von Zug und Verrichtung der Königlichen Schwedischen Haupt-Armada Under Beeden, hochermeldter Cron wohlverordneten Feldmarschallen, Herrn Johann Bannern…* (Frankfurt, 1646); idem., *Kurtze Warhafftige Beschreibung, beyder Cronen Franckreich vnd Schweden…* (Frankfurt, 1647); idem., *Historia exercituum oder von Kriegs-Rüstung der Evangelsichen Könige, Chur- und Fürsten…* (Frankfurt, 1648); idem., *Weymarischer Feld-Zug, Oder Von Zug und Verrichtung der Fürstl. Weymarischen Armee…* (Frankfurt, 1648); idem., *Wie nemblich, beedes die Königliche Schwedische, etc. dann auch deren zu Leiptzig, verbundne Protestirenden…* (Frankfurt, 1648). See also the output of parish pastor Liborius Vulturnus: idem., *Kurtze Erzehlung... So zwischen der Pfaltz-Bäyer Tyllischen Und Käyser Friedländischen gegen der Königlichen Dennemärckischen Armada...* ([s.l.], 1631); idem., *Primitiae Belli Pomerano-Suecici... Aller fürnembsten Händel, So sich zwischen der Röm. Käyserl. Mayt...* ([s.l.], 1631); idem., *Schwedischer und Teutscher Krieg... zwischen der Röm. Käyserl. Mayest...* ([s.l.], 1632).

Jesuits working under their religious superiors within the society, having nothing directly to do with their position as employees of the field consistory.

Conclusion to Chapter IV and Part I

As organizations Protestant and Catholic chaplaincies were more similar than different, evincing the common religious *milieu* and military culture in which both participated.[220] However, this did not mean they were not confessionally distinct; in fact, that they were so, is the most significant trait they shared in common. Religion was unabashedly confessional in institutional "spaces" such as religious services, published literature, or in the persons of chaplains themselves – far off one historian's description of the chaplain of the sixteenth century as "a pale figure, mostly reduced to secretarial and financial duties").[221] In other areas such as military law, or personnel and promotion, confession's presence was more mingled; and in still other areas such as recruitment and core military or army business functions, it was intentionally left out.

There was a stronger emphasis on confessional polemic in the Protestant field consistories than in Catholic field chaplaincies, due less to greater animus than to the comparatively higher value placed on teaching in general by Protestants – who would all the more have felt a need to explain the errors of false doctrines. Protestant chaplains throughout the war (including those of Electoral Saxony, when fighting the Imperial army, with whom they were otherwise typically aligned) consistently treat the opposing army as a Catholic force, to the extent that they repeatedly directly connect

[220] A. Holzem, 'Geistliche im Krieg und die Normen des Kriegsverstehens: Ein religionsgeschichtliches Modell zu Ritual, Ethik und Trost zwischen militärischer Kult-tradition und christlicher Friedenspflicht', in Brendle and Schindling, *Geistliche im Krieg*, p. 79.
[221] Möller, *Regiment*, p. 112.

it to, or even view it as an extension of, both the pope and the teachings of Catholicism itself. How these messages were received by the officers and soldiers is a question which Part II of the thesis will address. For this chapter it is enough that high-ranking chaplains, directly appointed by leaders of the most important Protestant armies of the war, took care to expound doctrinal and theological points of conflict between confessions during sermons, and repeatedly characterized the opposing armies as "Catholic" and "papist". The intense confessionality especially of sermons points to the conclusion that religious matters were nearer concerns to those leading the armies than has often been portrayed, as well as to the need which this thesis sets out to address: namely, delineation of different aspects of religion with respect to early modern armies.

Catholic and Protestant chaplains' spiritual message was often accompanied by a political one, but this concurrence is not an indication that the "real" purpose of religion was political expedience any more than the reverse. Rather, their teaching followed longstanding Christian tradition which made claims on both the internal and external forums of human life. Given the collage of constitutional, political, dynastic, and religious conflicts at play in the Thirty Years War, and chaplains' familiarity with the pragmatic realities of war-making (e.g., the multi-confessional makeup of the soldiery), the high degree to which they employed confessional polemic in sermons is surprising. However, on another level, confessional and polemical rhetoric reflected the conviction – from a certain Christian perspective (Ephesians 6:12)[222] – that religion, or the spiritual world, remained the primary element of any conflict even where it was not first in the immediate sense. Such a view could reconcile for the

[222] Eph. 6:12, "For we do not wrestle against flesh and blood, but against the rulers, against the authorities, against the cosmic powers over this present darkness, against the spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly places."

pious two opposite poles of understanding – worldly realities and limitations, with the spiritual and moral high ground of which their religious beliefs convicted them – necessary to achieve the powerful "morale" force that spirited, confident religion was capable of affording armies and individuals.

Part I has shown that religion was closely integrated with the life of the army on the institutional level, and that, in step with growing trends of institutionalization throughout Europe, this increased over the course of the war.[223] Religious and political interests operated within a relational paradigm of mutually supportive roles, as did the overlapping recruiting and command networks which comprised armies. Thus, the command hierarchy not only allowed, but sometimes actively supported forceful exposition of confessional teaching and messaging to troops. In return, chaplains reinforced discipline in myriad ways, from religious teaching or worship to daily routine – a purpose served by their very presence in camp.

In such a complex socio-political setting as the Holy Roman Empire at the time of the Thirty Years War, religious, political, and military interests overlapped such that it was advantageous for each party to support the others. Political leaders and generals took genuine interest in their field chaplaincies just as chaplains took interest in the policies and proper functioning of the armies. The ends pursued by field chaplaincies were spiritual-political ones which shared a "both-and" rather than an "either-or" relationship. There was nothing that prevented rulers in a cultural atmosphere of belief, who used religion to promote discipline in their armies, from also believing (at least some of) what they were putting out. For example, it is reasonable to imagine that Duke August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, who declared,

[223] Wilson, 'Defining Military Culture', p. 15; Goldgar and Frost, *Institutional Culture*.

"God himself is against [duelling]", refused duellists burial in consecrated ground, and threateneded them with the prospects of "eternal pain and suffering with the devil", also privately believed that God was opposed to duelling.[224]

The process of increasing organization and confessionalization of institutional religion in the military occurred over the course of the later seventeenth century, but that this process commenced during the Thirty Years War has hitherto gone largely unnoticed.[225] As ever, new processes and norms contended with older ones, and in the Thirty Years War the growing institutional and confessional character of army administrations was considerably limited by the norms and expectations of central European military culture. Nonetheless, with the proviso that religion's relationships with the military and with politics were mutual rather than one-directional (religion dominating politics or vice versa), it is to be concluded that the beginnings of confessionalization were effected in the armies of the Thirty Years War.

As an illustration by way of contrast, the organization of field chaplaincies in the British Civil Wars, whose armies are typically viewed as more religiously influenced than those of the Thirty Years War, lagged behind those in the Empire by a generation, with the first "chaplain general" not even being appointed in Britain until 1643, and early days of centrally-organized chaplaincy in late-1630s Britain resembling those of the Empire of the Bohemian War of 1620.[226] The military culture in central Europe at the time of the Thirty Years War was more modern than the other "Wars of Religion" in that the long experience of unpredictable shifts in mandated legal confession and political winds of the time – including, uniquely in

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[224] Duke August zu Braunschweig-Lüneburg-Wolfenbüttel, 'Edict in der das Ausfordern. Rauffen, Balgen und Kugelwechseln, de A. 1646', printed in Lünig, *Corpus,* p. 1139.
[225] "Pastoral work was far more developed, than is typically recognized." Riezler, *Geschichte Baierns*, vi, p. 172. See also P.G. Wallace, *Absolutely Pietist: Patronage, Factionalism, and State-Building in the Early Eighteenth-Century Prussian Army Chaplaincy*. (Tübingen, 2005); Reller, p. 142.
[226] Liao, 'Religion', pp. 167-74.

comparison to the rest of Europe, three quarters of a century of a bi-confessional legal-constitutional paradigm in the Holy Roman Empire following the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. Officers and especially soldiers knew or learned to separate (at least in practice) actual belief from religious establishments and religious policies. This compartmentalization, largely cordoning an individual's actual belief into private life or limited acceptable public arenas, already had precedent in military culture via the *Landsknecht* tradition.

There is no question that field chaplaincies were part of the institutional armies, functioning in cooperation with and at the behest of political rulers and their commanders, and they were obviously confessional. Such close cooperation – *within* the institutional army – of the field chaplaincies with political and military leadership is alone sufficient to justify describing respective armies of the Thirty Years War (as institutions) as "Protestant" or "Catholic". This is not to suggest that the same can be said of the warring parties (i.e., the shifting blocs of political alliances) which struggled for control within the highly specific constitutional framework of the Empire, nor does this terminology challenge the most common usage of describing armies according to the principality, authority, or figure at whose behest it was raised and fought (e.g., "the Swedish army", "the Catholic League army", "the Mansfelders"). That it is the institutional army in question, and not the army as a social group, excludes for the moment considerations such as the alignment of war aims and policies with a given confession's perceived interests, individuals' motives and private religious affiliations, attitudes, and beliefs, which will be addressed in Part II of the thesis.

Part II. Agency: Religion and the Army as a Social Group

Introduction to Part II

At the outset of the Thirty Years War the religious landscape in the Empire was dominated by established forms of religion, namely the confessions of Lutheran Protestantism and Catholicism, and to a lesser degree Calvinism, which has resulted in a tendency to fit contemporaries' experience of religion/belief into one of these slots. Peter Wilson similarly observes of the historiography of the Thirty Years War that, "the concept of 'confessional war' focuses attention on structures to the detriment of actual belief".[1] Whereas Part I focused primarily on religion in its institutional capacities, Part II sets both established religion and unestablished systems of belief, as well as individuals' ostensible "actual" beliefs, on the same plane of "belief" or "religion" in the broadest sense.

Attempting to give shape to this understudied area in the armies of the Thirty Years War, Chapters V and VI ask, "what did soldiers and officers seem to believe, and what were their attitudes and actions respecting these beliefs?" The two chapters reflect the distinction and potential for contradiction between the individual (personal, inward, private), and collective (social, outward, public) dynamics of belief, each of which involves different sets of motives, incentives, and norms. Accordingly, Chapter V is a study *in* armies, focusing on religion/belief as a personal reality for the individual, asking "how individuals ascribed to shared beliefs",[2] and Chapter VI is a study *of* armies, taking the group as the unit of analysis and considering how the

[1] Wilson, 'Dynasty, Constitution, and Confession', p. 479.
[2] Berg, 'Administering Justice', p. 18; see also Berg, *Military Occupation*.

spectra of beliefs, their interpretations, and attitudes toward them influenced the actions of armies as collectives.

As Chapter V will also show, the militant-moderate spectrum provides an excellent way of categorizing particularly the political side of religion: with what degree of immediacy did the devout interpret their religion's cause, and how prepared were they to use arms to advance it?[3] The militant-moderate spectrum, however, is no proxy for characterizing devoutness itself, in which the devout may be implicitly lumped in as "militants" and the inconsistently- or anti-religious as "moderates". The political aspects of one's religious beliefs or one's readiness to take up arms for them are something other than religious belief itself, and as the Thirty Years War shows, the decline of the former – which certainly happened over the course of the war – did not mean the decline of the latter, which certainly did not.

For all the differences between individuals – and especially between officers and soldiers – what appears clearly in the sources on the Thirty Years War is that "belief", and by consequence, confessional belief (its commonest form), was an unquestionably central component of army life, the influence of which extended even to military actions. The important contribution of both chapters together is their highlighting of belief as a human reality: both in its breadth (contingency, taking many forms), and depth (importance in discrete aspects). Part II demonstrates the opportunity for advancing understanding of individuals and the groups they form via approaches from the perspective of religion/belief itself, "wondrous in its peculiarity and contingency".[4]

A case study: Wallenstein

[3] Wilson, 'Dynasty, Constitution, and Confession', pp. 482-3; Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy,* pp. 9-10, 46-7.
[4] A. Strathern, *Unearthly Powers: Religious and Political Change in World History* (New York, 2019), p. 18.

There is no more famous, enigmatic, or indeed more representative figure of the Thirty Years War than Imperial *generalissimo* Albrecht Eusebius von Wallenstein. To understand Wallenstein is to understand the Thirty Years War – and yet (appropriately), four centuries hence Wallenstein remains as shrouded and elusive a figure as ever. His complex relationship to religion, belief, and the Church is no less a microcosm of the officer class of which he was a member, than of armies themselves – perhaps also even of the Empire. True to his persona, his biographers have been left much at odds over the question, which all the more suits it to the purpose of illustrating Part II's shift in focus from institutional to contingent religion.

The mixed nature of Wallenstein's religious formation was present from the beginning: he was schooled alternately by the Bohemian Bretheren, Lutherans, and Jesuits; at university level he enrolled at the Lutheran University of Altdorff, before studying at the Catholic Universities of Padua, Bologna, and Olomouc.[5] Ranke attributes Wallenstein as having said of one of the Olomouc Jesuits, influential in his conversion to Catholicism, that he "owed him everything".[6] Within a few years of Wallenstein's conversion, and after his marriage to the wealthy Lukretia von Witschkow, he was enforcing adoption of the Catholic faith in his new territories under the provisions of *cuius regio, eius religio,* particularly in Rimničz, Wsetin, and Lucknow. Protestant sermons were banned, and subjects were given the choice to leave or convert.[7] Such actions as a wealthy aristocrat as well as similar ones later as a military commander greatly furthered the interests of the Catholic Church, especially

[5] B. Duhr, 'Wallenstein in seinem Verhältnis zu dem Jesuiten', *Historiches Jahrbuch,* 13 (1892), pp. 80-2.
[6] L. von Ranke, *Wallenstein und seine Zeit* (Berlin, 1943), p. 7.
[7] Duhr, 'Wallenstein... Jesuiten', p. 82.

the Society of Jesus. He commissioned multiple religious foundations, monasteries, and churches – often with his own money – mostly for the Jesuits, for whom he set up multiple foundations, colleges, and churches, but also for Augustinian Hermits (two), Carmelites (two), and Capuchins (one).[8]

Nonetheless Wallenstein, who was already wealthy before the war and greatly enriched himself during it, has come to be known as the quintessential greedy and self-interested actor who cared little for the cause he was fighting for, for morality, or for religion.[9] Whatever truth there may be to this picture of Wallenstein's character, the sincerity of his religious convictions is another matter; his biographers sharply disagree, and it remains an open question. Among Wallenstein's latest biographers, Golo Mann (in agreement with Ranke) holds that Wallenstein's piety consisted of nothing more than an outward show, while Geoff Mortimer's and Robert Rebitsch's biographies barely mention Wallenstein's relationship to religion at all, whether political or personal.[10] Angelika Geiger's work on Wallenstein's astrological obsession convincingly shows a man who was seriously engaged with matters of belief, but Bernhard Duhr's statement still stands over a century after it was written, that "despite its great meaning in the development of Wallenstein, [his religiosity] has not been given sufficient attention."[11]

There is no evidence that positively shows Wallenstein's religiosity to have been disingenuous, and support for this view has been mainly associative. On the

[8] ibid., pp. 84-5; Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 163.
[9] J. Bahlcke, C. Kampmann (eds), *Wallensteinbilder Im Widerstreit: Eine Historische Symbolfigur in Geschichtsschreibung Und Literatur Vom 17. Bis Zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 2011); S. Davies, *The Wallenstein Figure in German Literature and Historiography 1790-1920* (London, 2009).
[10] G. Mann, *Wallenstein, His Life Narrated* (London, 1976), p. 383; Ranke, *Wallenstein,* p. 7; G. Mortimer, *Wallenstein* (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 246-7; R. Rebitsch, *Wallenstein. Biografie eines Machtmenschen* (Wien, 2010). For support of Wallenstein's religiosity see K. Patsch, *Albrecht von Waldsteins erste Heirath* (Prague, 1889); Duch, 'Franz Albrecht', *NDB*, v, pp. 366-8.
[11] Duhr, 'Wallenstein… Jesuiten', p. 82. A. Geiger, *Wallenstein's Astrologie: Eine kritische Überprüfung der Überliefereung nach dem gegenwärtigen Quellenbestand* (Graz, 1983).

other hand, his private discussions in 1612 with a Pater Dingenauer lasted for three weeks, and in the following year he sent a special coach from central Bohemia all the way to Regensburg to fetch the priest.[12] From the beginning of the Thirty Years War in 1618 until his death in 1634 he maintained a private confessor, some of whom he chose personally.[13] Though Wallenstein opposed the imposition of the Edict of Restitution in the Empire, Duhr reports Wallenstein as being particularly concerned with recatholicization efforts in his own lands where he founded a poor house to which he donated a hundred loaves of bread each day, initiated discussions about founding a college in Friedland, and donated to and maintained a regular correspondence with the rector of the Jesuit college in Gitschin which he periodically visited.[14] Wallenstein also advocated on the Jesuits' behalf in the controversies over reclaimed Church property, praising them for their "Christian and holy works", and efforts against "the heretics".[15] Other anecdotes recount his daily attendance at Mass, his ordering of Mass to be celebrated in the field before battles,[16] his participation in Ignatian Spiritual Exercises while on campaign, and priests relating his "pious countenance" at a church procession.[17]

The nature of the influence of religion on Wallenstein's decision-making as a commander is no less difficult to trace, but with the nature of astrology and superstition (an obsession to which he devoted hours daily)[18] being particularly focused on variously seeing or predicting or divining the future, it gives in his case as clear a picture of a direct relationship between matters of belief and military decision-making as one can hope to find: his personal astrologer Senni instructed that the dice

[12] Duhr, 'Wallenstein… Jesuiten', pp. 82-3.
[13] ibid., p. 84.
[14] ibid., p. 85.
[15] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 163; Duhr, 'Wallenstein… Jesuiten', pp. 85-95.
[16] Stevens, *Gustavus,* pp. 412-13.
[17] Duhr, 'Wallenstein... Jesuiten', p. 85
[18] Geiger, *Wallenstein's Astrologie*, pp. 190-1.

games he devised for Wallenstein were to be "employ[ed] in matters of highest importance"; he issued multiple missives sending out for opposing generals' birthdays in order to determine their horoscope; and multiple officers over the span of years attested that Wallenstein used astrology in military considerations.[19]

The aim in this introduction to Part II is the same as in the chapters that follow: not to attempt to recast Wallenstein's character or that of armies into the godly Christian mould, but rather to present relationship to religion and belief as an example of fundamental, multi-faceted, and not entirely knowable aspects of individuals which challenge quick conclusions and demand closer attention. In Wallenstein's case, like those of the armies, the evidence points to a commander first for whom religious matters could never have been far from the mind, and who, whether for authentic or self-serving motives (what Erik Ringmar distinguishes as "identity" versus "interest")[20] professed to be and was in reality an instrument for the furthering of religious – in Wallenstein's case Catholic – faith. As far as the extent to which religion was part of his inner life, it was at least more complex than narratives of material self-interest or of secular tolerance account for. This is human subjectivity, where identity and interest meet, meriting greater attention as under-explored avenues for understanding the character of historical actors and the groups they comprised.

[19] ibid., pp. 137-8, 161, 165, 190-4.
[20] Ringmar, *Identity*.

Chapter V. Religion and the Individual

Introduction

Rather than treating religion as tantamount to organized religion or religious structures, this thesis, and particularly this chapter, sets established religion within a broader frame of "belief", exploring soldiers' and officers' extensive engagement in this frame. In keeping with the emphasis of Part II, this chapter approaches belief entirely from the perspective of the agency of soldiers and officers. When it discusses groups, it does so for the purpose of shedding light back on to the individual. The first section of the chapter reviews the voluminous evidence for this "belief" of individual soldiers and officers and describes its various manifestations. This was belief not necessarily connected to political or dynastic loyalties, nor necessarily consistent or constant; nonetheless it was genuinely held, professed, and practiced.

The second section discusses the most common religious disposition of military men, a rough piety which often kept devout expression at arm's length with exceptional specific times when it could appear with fervour – especially upon the approach of death or possible death. In the words of Scottish colonel Robert Monro who served under Gustavus:

> Here our enemies were our pedagogues teaching us virtue, every moment minding us of our duety to God and man: yea minding us both of Death, and of Iudgement: here we needed no dead mans pawe before us, to minde us of Death, when Death itselfe never went night or day without his horror from our eyes, sparing none….[1]

[1] Monro, *Expedition*, p. 79.

Insofar as it was expressed, it was not in vague ecumenical forms, but almost always in clearly identifiable – often stark – confessional forms. These expressions were confessional not necessarily in the sense of being polemical or antagonistic to other confessions (especially among soldiers, they usually were not), but in being clearly aligned to a confessional tradition.

The third section covers the considerable minority of army members who displayed a higher level of religious refinement and/or devotion than most of their peers. Refined aspects of belief and religious culture were naturally more prevalent among officers, though a high degree of devotion as well as (Christian) religious literacy was not uncommon among soldiers, who regularly attended sermons, interacted with clergy, and engaged with prayer books and religious literature, in addition to absorbing wider early modern European religious culture.

Both rough and refined forms of Christian religiosity mingled liberally with other forms of belief, and especially with superstition and occult belief. This chapter also discusses postures toward belief and religion, such as religious apathy, immorality, or positive hostility toward established religion, as semi-counterparts which contested the human space also occupied by the Christian confessions. What was non-Christian was not necessarily un-Christian or anti-Christian, or entirely separable from belief in general, whether Christian or otherwise.

Scottish officer James Turner made in his *Memoirs* the oft-quoted statement,

> I had swallowed, without chewing, in Germanie, a very dangerous maxime, which militarie men there too much follow; which was, that soe we serve our master honnestlie, it is no matter what master we serve.[2]

[2] J. Turner, *Memoirs of His Own Life and Times: 1632-1670* (Edinburgh, 1829), p. 14. See W.S. Brockington, 'Robert Monro: Professional Soldier, Military Historian and Scotsman', in S. Murdoch (ed), *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648* (Leiden, 2001), p. 217.

Turner's words have been used by historians to support the view that "military experience itself rendered confessional categories widely meaningless",[3] and especially the supposedly irreligious "strictly mercenary" character of military men,[4] "remarkable for the lack of any religious sensibility at all",[5] which despite the increasing number of historians who reject or criticize this longstanding stereotype, still overshadows.[6] It is Turner's quote which has been given such weight in historiography, despite a statement of his (better-known) fellow Scotsman Robert Monro (a Presbyterian) in his memoirs to the opposite effect about the prospect of serving under Catholic commanders, who "would also force us – if it lay in their powers – to make shipwracke of our consciences, by leading us into Idolatry".[7]

Confessional heterogeneity in the armies of the Thirty Years War and armies' inability to impose established confession throughout the ranks, as well as widespread contemporary accounts of soldierly immorality have buttressed the conception of the military man who "does not possess… ideological impulses… his financial motives are unmitigated by any sense of higher cause"; he is driven by "blind lust for booty", and that "such ilk place no value in the fear of God or true teaching.[8] Individuals'

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[3] N. Funke, 'Containing Confessional Conflict in the Military: the Holy Roman Empire before c. 1650', in S. Cummins and L. Kounine (eds), *Cultures of Conflict Resolution in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham, 2017), p. 132.
[4] E. Furgol, 'Review of William S. Brockington, Monro His Expedition with the Worthy Scots Regiment called Mac-Keys' *Albion* 32/2 (2000); P. Scannel, *Conflict and Soldiers' Literature in Early Modern Europe: the Reality of War* (London, 2016), p. 80; J. Miller, *Swords for Hire: the Scottish Mercenary* (Edinburgh, 2012), pp. 12-13; S. Fiedler, *Kriegswesen und Kriegführung um Zeitalter der Landsknechte* (Koblenz, 1985), p. 90; B. Kroener, 'Soldat oder Soldateska? Programmatischer Aufriß einer Sozialgeschichte militärischer Unterschichten in den ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts', in R. Pröve, B. Thoß (eds), *Kriegerische Gewalt und militärische Präsenz in die Neuzeit* (Boston, 2008), pp. 125-51; K. Roberts, *Cromwell's War Machine: the New Model Army 1645-1660* (Barnsley, 2005), p. 58.
[5] Tallett, *War and Society*, pp. 127-8.
[6] Funke, 'Religion', esp. pp. 28-37; Wilson, *Tragedy,* pp. 828-8; Kaiser, 'Cuius Exercitus'; S. Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart* (East Linton, 2003), pp. 208-15; Roth, *Oberfranken*, p. 303; F. Wolff, 'Feldpostbriefe aus dem Dreißigjährigen Kriege: Selbstzeugnisse der kleinen Leute', in W. Heinemeyer (ed), *Hundert Jahre Historische Kommission für Hessen 1897-1997: Festgabe…* (2 parts, Marburg, 1997), i, p. 503.
[7] Monro, *Expedition*, p. 202.
[8] Roth, *Oberfranken*, p. 303; E. Percy, *Mercenaries: The History of a Norm in International Relations* (Oxford, 2007), p. 56; Sörensson, 'Das Kriegswesen', pp. 434-5.

behaviour (or wrongdoing) has been weighed against the normative teachings of religion and, where there is evidence of inconsistency between the two, the individual declared irreligious. Similar to this thinking is a misleading syllogism which confuses religious unfaithfulness with irreligion or anti-religion, observable in the following example:

> Religion was an important aspect of life in the early seventeenth century and military authorities accordingly made arrangements for religious ministrations to the troops. The effect of these of whatever sect, was probably minimal, because swearing, blasphemy, drunkenness and licentious behaviour appear to have been common.[9]

In other words: mercenaries are amoral. The amoral care little for religion. Therefore mercenaries cared little for religion.

This chapter can agree with Turner, and with Frauenholz, that, "The… mercenary generally inquired little into the religion of those whom he served",[10] but it cannot say that he did not enquire into *his own* religion. Soldiers' bottom-line motives of wealth and gain were not doubted by even the most religious figures of the war, such as the arch-Catholic general Tilly who said that "most" soldiers were more interested in money than anything.[11] But contemporaries also knew that whether soldiers had religious belief, what they believed, and what influence it had on their life in the army – in short, their "actual belief" – was a separate matter.

Even James Turner proved also to hold sincere religious belief together with his military pragmatism. Just three pages prior to the oft-quoted statement in his

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[9] Fallon, 'Scottish Mercenaries', p. 359. See also F. Tallett, *War and Society in Early-Modern Europe,1495-1715* (London, 2001), pp. 127-8.

[10] Frauenholz, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, iii, 2, p. 10. It should be noted that the use of the term "mercenary" is not without difficulties and debate. See M. Riemann, 'Mercenaries in/and history: The problem of ahistoricism and contextualism in mercenary scholarship', *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, 33/1-2 (2022); M. Riemann, "As Old as War Itself'? Historicizing the Universal Mercenary.' *Journal of Global Security Studies* 6/1 (2021).

[11] Junkelmann, *'Der Du Gelehrt'*, p. 106; M. Junkelmann, 'Tilly, Eine Karriere In Zeitalter der Religionskriege und der 'Militärischen Revolution'', in P.C. Hartmann et al. (eds), *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg: Facetten einer folgenreichen Epoche* (Regensburg, 2010), p. 16.

Memoir (and on its opening page no less), he recounts the time just before his departure from Scotland for the war in Germany, expressing a much more developed religious acuity and sensitivity than the first quote would seem to indicate:

> I did reade also the controversies of religion between us and the Roman Catholickes… wherby I might be enabled to discern the truth of the Protestant persuasion and the fallacies of the Popish one or any other, that so I might not, in traversing the world, be carried away with every wind of doctrine.[12]

The religiosity of most

A baseline of belief

Early modern society imparted a baseline of religious literacy and some level of belief to most. It is against this backdrop that soldiers' and officers' "mercenary" reputation in the Thirty Years War must be understood: not *as opposed* to religion, but rather *in relationship* to it. Religion was a daily presence, for one in its suffusion of the sensory environment – the beating of the drum and sounding of the trumpet announcing prayer, the regular singing of Psalms, or biweekly preaching of regimental sermons, the smell of incense (in Catholic armies), the sight of standards and banners with religious imagery, the numerous clergy who lived in camp among the army, or the churches and shrines dotting the landscape.[13] The atmosphere imbued a passing level of religiosity easier to absorb than not, even in the army. Soldier and diarist Peter Hagendorf was not particularly interested in religion as a subject, but his diary reveals both his familiarity with Scripture, as well as his use of it as a medium to convey his personal experience such as the following, summarized (and translated) by a historian:

[12] Turner, *Memoirs,* p. 3.
[13] Teitt, 'Kriegszüge'.

> When his wife fell ill and he had to transport her on horseback, he wrote…, 'I came here like Joseph travelled in Egypt'; when he picked up his only surviving son Melchert Christoff from a schoolmaster in Altheim after the war, he expressed his happiness in another biblical image: 'Thus I fetched my son out of Egypt.'[14]

Most men in the armies of the Thirty Years War were sincerely religious to a point, holding some level of religious belief, and belonging to one of the confessional traditions, however inconsistently they practiced. When prayers or services were held – frequent occurrences in the Bavarian, Swedish, Danish, Bohemian, Electoral Saxon, Bernhardine, and Imperial armies – they often attended. This was an especially good idea in the Swedish army, where soldiers who regularly skipped prayer were "to be fitted with an iron collar".[15] Though this study found no mention of such strict rules being enforced (the closest example, from an Imperial regiment, is a single case of a soldier being demoted and fettered for fourteen days for allegedly making a pact with the devil),[16] the members of each assembled regiment at least had to contemplate the threat two or three times a year when the articles of war were read out.[17] In any case they also prayed on their own and confessed their sins, whether in the sacrament of confession or through introspective prayer,[18] and, as indicated by Electoral Saxon chaplain Jakob Stöcker's rhetorical question in a sermon, "Why do soldiers have doubt about their calling?", grappled with genuine questions of conscience pertaining to the military life.[19]

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[14] Funke, 'Religion', p. 80.
[15] Gustavus, *Schwedisches Kriegs-Recht,* p. 7.
[16] Staiano-Daniels, 'The War People', p. 320.
[17] 'Königlicher Mayestät zu Schweden Kriegs Articuls Brieff', 1632, printed in Frauenholz, *Entwicklungsgeschichte,* iii, p. 410.
[18] The fourth chapter of Sigismund Scherertz's *Manuale Militantium* covers questions of conscience, as does Fabricius's *Ein und Dreissig Kriegsfragen,* Arnold *Mengering's Kriegs Belial oder Soldaten-Teuffel,* Abraham Lehmann's *Krieges-seufftzer,* and Adam Tanner's *Amuletum Castrense*, as did many others. For private prayer see Decenius, *Ernewerte Gebets-und Kirchen-Ordnung*, p. 9.
[19] Stöcker, *Christliche Heers-Predigt*, p. 5.

The typical military man's "spirituality" or attitude toward belief was a rough piety with plenty of room to accommodate bedfellows such as superstition, moral dissolution, or confessional ambiguity. Describing the experience of one chaplain, historian Albert Steffen sums it up well: "Among the troops Wiltheim found plenty of stale Catholics…. But even amidst the unhappy life of the *Landsknecht*, most of them had preserved something from their Catholic background."[20] Piety was generally valued in military culture, so long as it did not stray from its place, as shown in the early modern military profession's traditional self-describing term, "the pious and honourable soldier" – *der Fromme Knecht* – perhaps blending a genuine admiration of the ideal with a degree of irony.[21]

Fervent expression was usually recognizable as Catholic or Protestant, but one strikingly modern aspect is how it was "allowed in" to certain areas while being assiduously excluded from others. Religion appeared in its old strength in the accepted compartments: official religious worship, observance, and representation, private conviction, and moments of contemplation of death like funerals, death bed encounters, or battles. A Catholic chaplain's account of the execution of a cavalryman convicted of robbery describes just one context in which a highly developed religious and confessional episode could be played out in front of all in the army:

> [He] was converted from Calvinism to Catholicism.… On the gallows the condemned man addressed the Calvinist assemblage [mostly local townspeople]. He saw himself as fortunate to die as a Catholic. He asked his judge for forgiveness and thanked him for his death sentence. The deep religious aspect which he manifested moved the onlookers: Calvinists, Catholics, and hardened soldiers, such that no one could hold back the tears. The military auditor himself, an unsympathetic and hard man, could not go through with his duties and withdrew himself. Reverent and moved by the scene of the last moments of their comrade, Fernemont's cuirassiers carried the dead man to his grave.[22]

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[20] Albert Steffen on the diary of chaplain Gaspard Wiltheim: Wiltheim, *Itinerarium*, p. 207.
[21] Wieden, 'Söldner', pp. 98-9; Burschel *Söldner,* pp. 36-8; Baumann, *Landsknechte*, p. 116-19.
[22] Wiltheim, *Itinerarium*, pp. 206-7. Wiltheim calls the assemblage "Calvinist", because the execution occurred in a predominately Calvinist village in the vicinity of Alzey in the Rhenish Palatinate.

Similarly, a Jesuit chaplain describes the Catholic polish displayed by another condemned military man, in this case a common soldier:

> Among the culprits, there was one who studied together with our people [Jesuits] in La Flèche (Flexia). His command of Latin was excellent, one can hardly believe that he departed so well prepared for death, and how well he commended himself to God alone and all the saints, and especially to St. Ignatius, in turn in Latin, in turn with French words.[23]

Soldiers married, were baptized, baptized their children, and were buried – all in camp.[24] These events were also social events, involving comrades who would serve as godfathers or pallbearers, and wives or camp women in attendance. Pipes and drums were played where possible, and after weddings and baptisms there was dancing, and "having a proper drink".[25] At burial the common soldier's body was placed on a makeshift bier of his comrades' pikes in the clothes he was wearing and carried in a procession to the grave where all would help to bury him. Afterward it was customary to recite an Our Father; Wilhelm Kirchof records that "some do better and sing some spiritual Psalms also." Kirchof makes no mention of confession, but states that "The greater the deceased's reputation among his regiment, or his office therein, the more is the ceremony before his body."[26] Lutheran and Catholic Imperial soldiers under Wallenstein occupying the bishopric of Magdeburg displayed a practical disregard of confessional particularity in their shared use of the same Lutheran parish churches for their baptisms, weddings, and burials over the course of a handful of years.[27] That the preaching, or liturgy at these ceremonies was confessionally particular was simply

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[23] Buslidius, diary, p. 88.
[24] Decenius, *Ernewerte Gebets-und Kirchen-Ordnung*, p. 22; Montecuccoli, *Trattora della Guerra*, p. 306; F. Winter, 'Die Dörfer Hohendorf, Gatersleben und Löbnitz im dreißigjährigen Kriege', *Geschichts-Blätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg*; Kirchhof, *Militaris Disciplina*, p. 147.
[25] Kirchhof, *Militaris Disciplina*, p. 147.
[26] ibid., pp. 202-3.
[27] Winter, 'Die Dörfer Hohendorf', pp. 275-9.

accepted. And of course there were, especially among soldiers, minimal cultural differences between the confessions to begin with.

A different attitude of pragmatic cooperation and toleration occupied much of the remaining public "space" of army life, treating an individual's belief as a private, if not even trifling, matter, particularly among soldiers. Instances of confessional dispute within an army at a man-to-man level were almost unheard of. The handful of exceptions which are known to this study all involve officers, illustrating their somewhat more confessionally tinged subculture.[28] Even of these, half were in jest[29] and of the two angry intra-army disputes between officers involving confession, a closer look reveals that confession's role was not the real grounds for dispute, and served as little more than a vector for insulting the other party. (Such as in 1638 when a Colonel von Zähmen, commandant of Magdeburg in Electoral Saxon service, angry at being passed over for a promotion in favour of another colonel, Christoph Vitzthum von Eckstädt, called him "a papist dog".)[30]

From this, however, is not to be concluded, as historiography seems to have done, that army members were aloof to confession, any more than that they were models of the triumph of modern ideals of coexistence and tolerance.[31] Armies may have been, in the words of one historian, "confessional free-states", but they were not confession-free.[32] Guiding interactions concerning confession were two main factors: 1) the longstanding tradition and norms in central Europe of a semi-independent military culture (among soldiers no less than officers); and 2) the fact that differences

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[28] Similar was true in Britain. See Liao, 'Religion', pp. 137-8; B. Capp, *Cromwell's Navy: the English Fleet and the Revolution 1648-1660* (Oxford, 1989).
[29] Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen,* viii, p. 214; Monro, *Expedition,* pp. 174-5.
[30] Staiano-Daniels, 'The War People', p. 317; Grant, *Hepburn*, pp. 190-2.
[31] S. Cummins and L. Kounine, 'Introduction: Confronting Conflict in Early Modern Europe', in Cummins and Kounine, *Cultures of Conflict Resolution*, p. 5.
[32] A. Schindling, 'Konfessionalisierung und Grenzen der Konfessionalisierbarkeit', in A. Schindling and W. Ziegler (eds), *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung. Land und Konfession 1500-1650* (7 vols, Münster, 1997), vii.

between confessions at the "ground level" were often – at least at the time in the Empire, from where most soldiers were drawn – minimal to begin with. Compared to what would come in the decades following the war, confessional culture at this level had only barely begun to develop.

Bad religion

"What is more common than a common soldier's unfaithfulness?", asks Hessian chaplain and later Ulm superintendent Conrad Dieterich in his 1633 *Discurs Vom Kriegs-Raub und Beuten,*[33] showing chaplains' keen awareness of the "many grosse and heinous Abuses dayly committed by soldiers…";[34] of "unzealous" and "epicurean" officers, capable of "every kind of shame".[35] Sigismund Scherertz complains in his *Manuale Militantium* (written for soldiers) that "most soldiers think of prayer seldom, almost never",[36] and another chaplain that, "officers exceed all other men in being kings of card-playing" (*Karten Könige*).[37] Swedish field superintendent Matthias Decenius was no less disappointed by soldiers:

> It is unfortunately true, as the daily sights sufficiently attest, that the morning and evening prayers, as well as the sermons which in earlier times were attended by very many unzealous (men), that most believe that, if they only stay at home, letting a cold Our Father fall into a warm hut, so has he fulfilled his duty well indeed, yet about such people God warns and warns: 'These people honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.'[38]

[33] Dieterich, *Discurs Vom Kriegs-Raub*, p. 52.
[34] Lupton, *A Warre-like Treatise,* pp. 2-3.
[35] Decenius, *Ernewerte Gebets- und Kirchen-Ordnung,* p. 9; Schaffart, *Christliche DancksagungsPredigt,* pp. 9-11; G. Staffel (ed), *Notabilia. Naumburger Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem 17. Jahrhundert 1608-1623, 1680-1683, 1695-1702* (Naumburg, 2005), p. 118; Gregorius, *Copia eines Schreibens*.
[36] Scherertz, *Kriegsbüchlein,* p. 299.
[37] Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial,* p. 231.
[38] Decenius*, Ernewerte Gebets- und Kirchen-Ordnung*, p. 9.

One Bernhardine colonel went further, lamenting, "All my soldiers are the devil's own."[39] Chaplains preached on the subject of soldierly wickedness, and two wrote books about it: Conrad Dieterich, *Discurs Vom Kriegs-Raub und Beutten* (published in at least seven printings), and Arnold Mengering, the 990-page *Kriegsbelial oder Soldaten-Teuffel*, which includes a satirical Articles of War, Decalogue, Credo, and Catechism "written by" Belial for the "soldier-devil". The latter was also published separately.[40] Imperial chaplain Samuel Zencker composed the following rhyme:

> Christians? Yes, without any doubt, preserve the baptized Devils!
> Yes, unheard-of Cruelty and Misdeeds,
> So have Mars and the soldiers brought glory upon themselves
> For to them no sin or outrage is too much,
> And which they won't do with all force and intent.[41]

Chaplains were under no illusion that the baseline of religiosity infused in early modern military structures was sufficient to foster moral behaviour or diminish temptation. But, following the maxim *abusus non tollit usur*, here it is important to note that constancy or inconstancy of belief is by no means the same thing as "actual belief" itself. Being privy to soldiers' and officers' confessions, chaplains possessed a uniquely clear appreciation of abuses committed by those in their pastoral charge. Details are sparse due to the religious obligation of confidentiality on the part of the priest and the taboo of breaching that (even relating details anonymously in general terms is a grey area), as well as to a major lack of incentive for the penitent to bring

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[39] Stockmann, Lamentatio, pp. 46-7.
[40] H. Dieterich, 'Ein Münsterpfarrer aus der Zeit des dreißigjährigen Kriegs', *Münster-Blätter* 3-4 (1883); Articles printed in Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial*, pp. 434-54; catechism, Decalogue, Credo, pp. 659-65; Arnold Mengering, *Belials Artickels-Brieff, Das ist: Entworffene KriegsBestallungder jetzigen Allmodischen Soldaten zu Roß und Fuß* ([s.l.], 1634).
[41] Samuel Zencker, *Meißnische Land Straafen* (Hof, 1648), p. 12.
"Christen? Ja ohn allem Zweiffel / Wahren sie getauffte Teufel!
Ja, was mann nie gehört vor Greuel und Untahten,
Damit hat sich berühme Mars selbst und die Soldaten
Weil ihnen keine Sünd noch Freveltaht zu viel,
Die sie verübet nicht ohn alle maß und ziel..."

dishonour or shame upon themselves, but what details do appear illustrate that to transgress morality did not entail its rejection. Chaplains saw "wounds of conscience", to use the phrase of Friesenegger describing soldiers he encountered during the "usual" two-three hours which a handful of Andechs Benedictines would spend in the confessional with officers and soldiers following sermons.[42] "Wounds" related variously to whoring,[43] to lack of forgiveness,[44] or to failing to fulfil their military duties in a moral way. Of the latter, Electoral Saxon chaplain Arnold Mengering records:

> Colonels and high commanders ask it of themselves: If they have carried out their roles rightly and completely, or merely played blind roles, and whether they have been unfaithful and dishonest with their commanders?[45]

Mengering also recalls one officer exhibiting a sobered awareness of gross abuses the army (presumably including himself) had committed, as well as a feeling that, in so disfavouring themselves in the eyes of God, they had ruined their chances of victory:

> I myself once, after the accursed defeat at Wittstock spoke with a prominent officer, who, though I was not his confessor, told me, 'We brought suffering like Turks and Tartars to our fellow believers in the Mark and other places. We flogged not only priests, but plundered churches, and even shamed the women in the churches, and burned the houses of God to ashes. If we had gained victory at Wittstock, God would be a dishonest man. We could not have had success.'[46]

And chaplains did not hesitate to upbraid, as shown by another Electoral Saxon chaplain, Abraham Lehmann, who produced a particularly memorable string of epithets describing his flock:

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[42] Friesenegger, *Chronik*, p. 98.
[43] Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial*, pp. 603-4.
[44] Eckstädt, 'Aus dem Tagebuche', p. 283.
[45] Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial*, p. 591.
[46] ibid., p. 171. See also Abraham Lehmann, *Krieges-seufftzer*, p. 168, 'For going to war with an anxious or heavy conscience'.

> We have… cursers, desecrators, blasphemers, land-devastators, people-destroyers, provision-wasps, profiteers, sham-ers, scrapers… whorers, honour-breakers, thieves, murderers, blood-pressers, tear-drinkers, the faithless, the arrogant, church-robbers, priest-attackers and -hunters, useless newspaper-readers, murder-burners, street-robbers, and suchlike earth ulcers, flowers of the devil's pleasure garden….[47]

The subject of religion was no less prominent for being profaned, and soldiers' and officers' deviant behaviour could belie, by modern standards, highly-developed religious sensibility and culture. Saxon court preacher Arnold Mengering, more accustomed to army life than the Jesuit Munich court preacher Jeremias Drexel, revealed less shock at such behaviour: "coarse obscenity is soldiers' commonest speech…. Blasphemy and execration is the '*proprium modo*' for soldiers; they do it almost constantly."[48] Munich courtier Drexel, who accompanied the Catholic army on the Bohemian campaign – easily the most religiously suffused campaign environment of any in the entire war – was greatly disturbed by it: "Horribly, [soldiers] regularly swear, 'by the hundred thousand Sacraments'".[49] One officer greeted a monk with the epithet, "you thousand-sacraments monk!"; of "God's hundred thousand sacraments", one Mansfeld soldier said, "I shit on them."[50]

The arch-orthodox Catholic priest and theologian Drexel took special exception to the "hundred thousand sacraments" profanity, likely for its apparently anti-Catholic connotations, all the more indicated by his tone of surprise at hearing the practice in a Catholic army. Such a jibe would be more fitting in the mouth of a Protestant who would recognize only the two sacraments of baptism and communion, rather than the Catholic seven, as if to say, paraphrasing, "If there supposedly be seven sacraments (not to mention countless sacramentals), there may as well be a

[47] Lehmann, *Krieges-seufftzer*, unpaginated, [preface].
[48] Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial*, p. 204.
[49] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 306.
[50] Staiano-Daniels, 'The War People', p. 320.

hundred thousand." Yet the fact that Drexel observed this widespread practice occurring not in a Protestant army, but a Catholic one – and during the most overtly pro-Catholic confessional camp environment of the war, that of the campaign of 1620 – suggests that a confessional interpretation is insufficient to fully account for it. More plausible is that the jibe grew from a generally anti-establishment root which was common among military men and especially soldiers regardless of confession, and not from contempt for Catholic or religious belief as such.[51] In this case, the confessional target was merely the immediate means of giving air to a more general contempt on the part of (Catholic no less than Protestant) common folk at the upheaval (and resultant suffering) for which such esoteric theological questions as the number of sacraments – and the hypocritical few who made much of such particulars – were in large part to blame.

Despite being outlawed in most articles of war, obscenity and blasphemy were, in the words of Bernhardine field superintendent Daniel Rücker, "ubiquitous",[52] and up and down the ranks virtually never punished.[53] One soldiers' song, sung publicly, even loudly celebrates dissolute behaviour. (Far from being religiously illiterate, it includes the theme of sanctity and draws a parallel with Job.)[54] Officers were little different. Wallenstein, when informed of a setback during the battle of Alte Veste, responded, "It's a lie! God himself could not take that position from me!"[55] An unnamed colonel on his deathbed, after summoning multiple doctors and being told that further medical intervention would be useless, at length commanded his servant, "Go then, in the name of a hundred thousand devils, and fetch me the priest."[56]

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[51] See subsection "Anti-religion" below, pp. 225-29.
[52] Rücker, 'Kirchen-Ordnung', p. 122.
[53] Schaffart, *Christliche DancksagungsPredigt*, p. 11; Gregorius, *Copia eines Schreibens...*, unpaginated; Letter of Heinrich Paströyer to Gallas, 2 May 1643, RACG 368 I.
[54] Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, pp. 1059-63.
[55] Stevens, *Gustavus*, p. 397.
[56] Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial*, p. 144.

Even plundering was no less an opportunity for soldiers to express their religious acuity. Stumpertenrod Lutheran pastor Valentin Eckhardt related a story of two Braunschweig-Lüneburg soldiers who broke into his home in June 1622. When one of the soldiers noticed that it was a minister's home, he, being himself the son of a minister, put a halt to the plunder, telling Eckhardt, "I am also of the line of Levi", and promised to protect Eckhardt's house against further pillage.[57] Less congenial were the French soldiers who, in view of a Calvinist preacher's wife looking on helplessly from the window, made sport of cutting off cabbage heads and shaking apples from their trees in her garden "to inflict double harm".[58]

Lützen Lutheran pastor and former field chaplain Paulus Stockmann "could not let go unmentioned" the cavalrymen who committed the fairly routine acts of using his church as a stall for their horses and destroying sacred objects. However, the desecration was in this instance more studied: they distributed the communion wafers as straw for their horses, arguing, "If it is only bread, isn't this not much of a sin?"[59] (It is uncertain whether or not the wafers were consecrated, but Stockmann's description of them as "*Oblaten oder Hostien*" would make it seem as if they had been consecrated.) In Einsisheim in 1637 Swedish troops were similarly reported as stomping on the Sacrament.[60] One bold Spanish soldier barged into a Calvinist Easter service in a village outside Tübingen, in full view of the congregation grabbing and eating what Catholic chaplain Thomas Carve refers to as "the cake", before washing it down with the communion wine. Carve, perhaps humoured by the soldier's antics, concludes the

[57] Valentin Eckhardt, 'Bericht des Pfarrers Valentin Eckhardt über die braunschweigische Einquartierung in Stumpertenrod am 1. Juni 1622', printed in F. Hermann (ed), 'Aus tiefer Not. Hessische Briefe und Berichte aus der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', *Hessische Volksbücher* 26-27 (Friedberg, 1916).
[58] Buslidius, diary, p. 117.
[59] Stockmann, *Lamentatio*, p.13.
[60] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* i, p. 442.

vignette: "And he was the only one to partake."[61] Such anecdotes, in tandem with the widespread instances of targeting clergy discussed below, clearly indicate that soldiers and officers were known to target religious property (and figures) for confessional reasons. However, in light of the confessional non-discrimination all armies showed in plundering, confessional difference was hardly a necessary condition. Just as commonly did the anti-establishment impulse emerge, and most commonly the simple desire for gain – often entirely justifiable in the minds of many as partaking in the rightful spoils of war.

Frauenholz's assessment that "dissolution among the soldiery was generally established"[62] is not inconsistent with a conception of the religious attitude of the soldiery as ambivalent rather than apathetic. "The military custom of corruption",[63] to use a Spanish officer's phrase, had in principle and practice no problem coexisting with a considerable level of religious acuity, as well as with (imperfect) religious devotion. Similarly, in the excerpt from Dieterich at the beginning of this subsection, soldiers' and officers' "unfaithfulness" implied not no religion, but bad religion. Moral laxity was evidence of *deficient* religiosity ("unfaithfulness") – not of *absence* of religiosity; if it was hardly indicative of enthusiasm for orthodoxy, it was not irreligion.

Devoutness and death

Soldiers and officers naturally displayed a heightened sensitivity to matters of belief when facing death. When this prospect was immediate, they could demonstrate

[61] Carve, *Reyßbüchlein*, i, p. 134.
[62] Frauenholz, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, ii, 2, p. 40.
[63] Hoyer, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*, i, p. 187.

considerable fervency, as seen *en masse* in the almost invariably religious content of the battle cries with which armies entered battle, as well as in religious services and singing prior to battle (both of which are discussed in the following chapter). On the individual level, Catholic Chaplain Henry Fitzsimon describes "many" soldiers before the battle of White Mountain saying confessions, and just prior to the fight "saying their beads, and kissing their crucifixes."[64] Of Imperial soldiers whom Lutheran parish pastor Paulus Stockmann witnessed lying dead on the battlefield at Lützen, he observed,

> Quite a few laid there dead, and had pipes or cards in their hands, and unreliable prayer books, trusting in these, and an unchristian *Pater Noster;* such it was they held on to after being shot, on their way to death.[65]

Last moments often revealed more than a shallow desire for personal salvation, and accordingly a complexity of character rarely permitted to the early modern "mercenary". The experience of a death or sick bed offered opportunity for reflection and preparation for impending or possible death, usually including a combination of sermons, prayer, Mass, confessions, last rites, and theological discussion. Chaplain Hilmar Hastaeus paraphrased Swedish colonel Friederich Reiß von Eysenberg's deathbed confession: "[Eysenberg] had not always kept his head, and done much evil, and allowed himself to, even after receiving absolution, sin again, and offended God. He said this heartily, and wept."'[66]

A slow death from illness or wounding brought extended opportunity for spiritual reflection and reconciliation, and even conversion. Seventy wounded Bavarian soldiers in the care of the Benedictines at Würzburg were claimed by abbott

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[64] Fitzsimon, *Diary*, p. 97; Chaline, *bataille,* p. 227. For routine of confession before battle see also Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 320.
[65] Stockmann, *Lamentatio*, p. 48.
[66] Hastaeus, *Corona Heroica*, p. 35.

Maurus Friesenegger to have converted from "false beliefs" (*Irrglauben*). Of them he wrote that "some fought for their lives, others sought learning in faith and wisdom, and spent time at the Holy Sacrament."[67] Swedish colonel Caspar Ermes' passing was so protracted that he had time to compose, along with his chaplain, a (heavily stylized) three-page poetic rendering of their "final conversation".[68] Scottish colonel Robert Monro describes another instance:

> My Cosen Fowles being shot in the foot, retired to Vime to be cured…. But though his bodily wound was incurable, yet his soule was cured by the punishment of his body. For all the time, he like to a good Christian, made himself night and day familiar by prayers unto God, till he found reconciliation through Christ. So that his end was glorious, having long smarted under correction, though his life was pain full.[69]

The field preacher of Catholic and Imperial officer Alexander Masonii in 1645 reports him as having prayed almost incessantly on the day of his death after having been stabbed in his sleep. Those gathered by his bedside were brought to tears by his devotion as they prayed the Litany of the Name of Jesus.[70] Also showing the emphatically Catholic character of Masonii's death, the preacher assured listeners that Masonii obtained multiple indulgences, including those of St. Francis and Pope Honorius VIII, and declared him to have been freed from all worldly and eternal punishment.[71]

It was sometimes only at the brink of death that the military man would draw out and draw upon latent belief and devotion. As also seen with condemned soldiers,[72] encounter with death drew out signs of considerable religious learning, conscience, and, apparently, belief – all this from men whose daily lives in war usually did not

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[67] Friesenegger, *Chronik*, p. 34.
[68] Hillebrandt, *Auxilium Nostrum A Domino*, unpaginated, [epilogue].
[69] Monro, *Expedition*, p. 312.
[70] Honoratus, *Catholische Leich-Predigt*, p. 18.
[71] ibid., pp. 17-18. See also Carve, *Reyßbüchlein*.
[72] See condemned soldiers above, pp. 194-5.

reflect such qualities.[73] The higher degree of honesty which can be ascribed to the admissions and expressions in such contexts places the question of most having had some level of religious belief beyond doubt. The norm was not one of callous irreligion any more than of pious devotion. Rather, it was one of sincere, if limited, devotion. The average military man was a decently catechized Christian in the "tangle of the soldier's life" (*Gewirr des Soldatenlebens*) between a "Christian world" and a "military world" – sometimes favouring the one side, sometimes the other, and most of the time somewhere in the middle.[74]

The religiosity of some

In his funeral sermon of 1624 for Mansfelder cavalry corporal Johann Dieterich von Haugwitz, Mansfelder field preacher Johann Jakob Angermüller spoke of Haugwitz's faith: "Regarding his Christianity, I can well say in truth, that he was one of the 7000, who did not bend the knee to Baal."[75] Haugwitz was one among a substantial minority in the military, including soldiers and officers alike, about whom similar statements could be made for their religious belief and practice which exceeded the norm.

An aim of this thesis, and of Chapter V specifically, is to reconcile two diverging army stereotypes in the Thirty Years War: the predatory warlord served by hard, criminal mercenaries, and pious kings and generals leading psalm-singing or Mass-going armies of faithful soldiers. The following section confirms the existence of the substantial minority of individuals who demonstrated – at least by military

[73] Rücker, 'Kirchen-Ordnung', p. 87.
[74] Naegele, *Benedikt,* p. 98.
[75] Angermüller, *Christliche Leichpredigt und Bußpredigt*, p. 53.

standards – exceptional devotion, accounting for the latter stereotype. Such individuals stand out for the level of commitment displayed toward their religion/beliefs, beyond the ambivalent religiosity which was most common among their military peers. They had high levels of religious literacy and devotion, and social and intellectual engagement in matters of faith (the latter especially among officers, pertaining to whom is the most plentiful source material).

An accurate picture of indications of individuals' religious commitment in the context of early modern central Europe depends in part on recognizing the divergence between elite and popular religious backgrounds. Differences along these lines – often transparent to contemporaries – were no less present in armies than they were in the civilian realm, and were particularly marked at time of the Thirty Years War as confessional institutions and culture had been consolidating (first among elite and cosmopolitan society, from which most officers came) since the second half of the sixteenth century.[76]

On the side of the soldiery, the general population from which it was drawn had experienced the effects of both inter-confessional struggles and intra-confessional consolidations. It had often resisted these at the grassroots level, being invested in local norms, culture, and interests.[77] Accordingly, the soldiery was at the particular time of the Thirty Years War less acculturated to explicitly confessional forms of religious culture than were elites (including most officers), and most of their European counterparts from more confessionally homogenous lands.

[76] A. Schindling et al. (eds), *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation* (7 vols, Münster, 1992-97), vii, p. 206.
[77] M. Forster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560-1720* (Ithaca, 1992), p. 135.

The resulting degree of distance in matters of religious culture between officers and soldiers which was characteristic in armies of the Thirty Years War dovetailed with the customary paradigm of the contractual employer-employee relationship (*Vertragsverhältnis*) that still prevailed in the professionalized military culture of the Thirty Years War. (This predated the service relationship (*Dienstverhältnis*) of the later standing army which carried a stronger sense of personal duty and obligation.)[78] All, including the churches and chaplains, accepted the customary *Vertragsverhältnis* of military culture – that, "a soldier is someone who fights for *Sold* [pay]".[79]

Officers

Because of their greater exposure to confessional establishments, officers had greater means, motive, and opportunity to hold or to cultivate a more markedly confessional personal religiosity than common soldiers. They had much more interaction with members of the clergy; rulers and army commanders took leave of their armies to go on pilgrimage – sometimes during military campaigns ("for divine guidance");[80] and generals and officers had greater access to religious study, confession, and religious services (sometimes daily).[81]

A number of officers actually held ecclesiastical office. Even if the primary purpose of holding these offices was to collect benefices, with their duties performed by suffragans, it nonetheless demonstrated the entwining of confessional and political interests which extended more into the officer corps than the soldiery. Leopold

[78] Huntebrinker, '*Fromme Knechte'*, p. 276; also see Parrott, *The Business of War*.
[79] Latermann, *Christliches, Nothwendiges vnd Erbawliches KriegsMemorial*, p. 88.
[80] Ferdinand II: Wilson, *Tragedy*, p. 351. Tilly: Gilardone, *Tilly – Der Heilige im Harnisch*, p. 140; J.B. Mehler, *Tilly, der Siegreiche* (Munich, 1903), p. 83; M. Junkelmann, 'Tilly-Anthologie', in Junkelmann, *'Der Du Gelehrt'*, p. 86.
[81] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 317; O. Klopp, *Tilly im dreissigjährigen Kriege* (2 vols, Stuttgart, 1861), i, p. 13.

Wilhelm of Austria, one of the most prominent Imperial generals of the war, held at least eight bishoprics or prince-bishoprics; d'Enghien was an Abbot (granting him benefices of multiple Benedictine abbeys in France); the Bishop of Würzburg commanded a regiment, and the Abbott of Fulda a life guard company which was present at the battle of Breitenfeld – the latter being killed at the battle of Lützen; and many officers were cathedral canons and members of cathedral chapters, or held similar positions.[82]

Contemporary accounts show two characteristics of the religiosity of officers which stand out: their religiosity was considerably more confessionalized than that of soldiers, and a sizable minority of them were explicitly devout. Specific statements about the piety of many officers, commonly found in the biographical subsections of funeral sermons, possess unique credibility in that they were spoken publicly in the presence of those who best knew the deceased – fellow soldiers, officers, and sometimes even family members. The pious "loved God's word",[83] "deeply repented of unrighteousness and sin",[84] "visited the confessional often",[85] "prayed often",[86] and prayed "often" during battle,[87] "never missed" a Sunday or weekday sermon,[88] often

[82] d'Enghien: Burger, 'Itinerarium... (Schluß)', p. 105; Abbott of Fulda: Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen* viii, p. 148; Imperial Generalwachtmeister von Honolstein was a Trierer Domherr: Naegele, *Bendikt*, p. 110; Christoph von Bismarck was a canon of Havelberg: Christoph von Bismarck, 'Das Tagebuch des Christoph von Bismarck aus den Jahren 1625-1640', ed. G. Schmidt, *Thüringisch-Sächsische Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst,* 5 (1915).
[83] Angermüller, *Christliche Leichpredigt,* p. 53.
[84] Decenius, *Statua Banéria,* p. 18.
[85] ibid., p. 18.
[86] Constantin Fiedler, *Miles Christianus, Ein Christlicher Kriegsmann, Das ist, Leich und EhrenPredigt von rechtschaffenen Gott wolgefälligen Qualiteten beyde eines Tapffern Weltlichen Kriegsmanns, im Kampff vieler leiblicher Feinde, und dann auch eines rechtschaffenen Geistlichen Kriegsmanns, und guten Streiters Christi... Herrn Wilhelm von Calheims, genandt Lohausen,GeneralMajoren, auch Fürstl. Mechlenb. geheimen und KriegsRath, bestalten Obristen und Commendanten der Stadt Rostock...* (Rostock, 1640), unpaginated.
[87] Daniel Rücker, *Christliche Trawr-predigt, uber den hochbetrawrlichen tödlichen Fall Deß... Herren Bernharden, Hertzogs zu Sachsen, Gülich, Cleve und Berg... Der vereinigten Cronen, und Evangelischen Ständen Generalissimi...* (Basel, 1639), pp. 19, 34.
[88] ibid., p. 35.

refused communion, feeling unworthy,[89] attached rosaries to their swords,[90] and attributed success in battle to divine intervention, or the avoiding of sin.[91] They were described as "a good Catholic colonel",[92] "a most devout client of our Lady", and as having "piety beyond that of a soldier".[93] They prayed "both in public and especially in private",[94] "morning and evening",[95] with the Bible, or a "worn prayer book",[96] had the Bible read to them while dressing,[97] and "thought of God often on regular walks".[98]

Numerous anecdotes record officers and commanders showing enough curiosity to tour a church of the confessional "other", as did Gustavus on multiple occasions, and even a synagogue, as did Gallas, Carve, Butler, and Deveraux in 1638.[99] Gustavus asked the rector of the Neuburg Jesuit college if Tilly was in heaven or in purgatory – the same question he would a few weeks later ask of the rector's counterpart in Munich, and in Magdeburg debated the rector of the Jesuit college on Eucharistic theology (in Latin).[100] The extent to which such encounters reflect on the matter of belief itself is debatable, as they also involved (especially for a King) a performative element.

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[89] ibid.
[90] A. Poellinger, *Johann Tserklaes Graf von Tilly: Leben und Sterben eines deutschen Helden und heiligmäßigen Mannes* (Regensburg, 1932), p. 47.
[91] Johnson, 'Living Saints', esp. pp. 319-20; Fitzsimon, *Diary*, p. 86.
[92] Burger, 'Itinerarium', p. 322.
[93] Fitzsimon, *Diary,* p. 93.
[94] Lehmann, *Krieges-seufftzer* p. xv; Angermüller, *Christliche Leichpredigt*, p. 53; Rücker, *Christliche Trawr-predigt... Deß... Bernharden,* p. 30.
[95] Angermüller, *Christliche Leichpredigt*, pp. 30, 53.
[96] Wilhelm Staden, *Christliche Catholische Leichpredigt, So bey der Deposition deß Hochwolgebornen Herrn... Verdugo, deß H. Römischen Reiches Grauen...* (Mainz, 1629), p. 26.
[97] Fiedler, *Miles Christianus*, unpaginated.
[98] Staden, *Christliche Catholische Leichpredigt*, p. 26.
[99] Deveraux, Carve, Butler, and Gallas "inspect[ed] a synagogue" in 1638: Thomas Carve, *Itinerarium Thomae Carve Tipperariensis sacellani majoris Anglorum, Scotorum et Hibernorum sub exercitu Caesareae Majestatismilitantium, cum historiafacti Butleri, Gordon, Lesly et aliorum,* ed. M. Kearney (London, 1859), p. v; See also 'N.C.', [*Swedish Intelligencer* pamphlet series], *The German history continued. The seventh part*…, p. 55 (Bernhard von Weimar); Eberl, *Geschichte*, p. 157 (Herman Wrangel).
[100] SI A X 77, ff. 38-57; F.C. Khevenhüller, *Annales Ferdinandei*, (12 vols, Leipzig, 1721-26), xii, p. 143.

Lutheran pastor Valentin Eckhardt recounted a colonel under Christian von Braunschweig in 1622 sending for Eckhardt at four in the morning, requesting to spend the day with him. (Incidentally, this was the commanding officer of the soldier "of the line of Levi" mentioned in the previous chapter who, the day before, had stopped mid-plunder to offer the house his protection.[101] It seems the soldier kept his promise.) The major had two books he wanted to discuss with Eckhardt:

> [He] asked multiple times what I thought of [Erasmus's *Miles Christianus*]…. After this he had a Calvinist book, the preface of which he read, and asked what I thought of it myself, and that my answer should be free of any danger of being repeated, a promise of which he gave me his hand to shake with great feeling…. [I answered], I am just a humble village pastor… but Christ could give that book no praise.[102]

The unnamed colonel furthermore evinces the inextricable nature of political and religious perspectives for contemporaries, expressing with emotion the suspicion that Landgrave Ludwig of Hesse-Darmstadt was secretly Catholic, and his hope that he would be able to, with the army, compel "the Catholic clergy" to return his family's lands held by the Abbey of Fulda.[103]

It was common for pious commanders and officers to distinguish themselves in their level of intellectual engagement with religion. Gustavus studied the Bible daily; Franz Albrecht of Saxe-Lauenburg read it through in 1641, one of three times he claimed to have done so.[104] Catholic chaplain Gaspard Wiltheim recorded (at that time Imperial) colonel Wolff von Mansfeld offering a theological critique of Calvinist readings of St. Paul's letter to the Romans.[105] When general Bernhard von Weimar's waggon spilled,

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[101] Eckhardt, 'Bericht', pp. 34-62.
[102] ibid., p. 39. See also Lutheran field chaplain Samuel Gerlach, who resigned from a post in the Altgrün Regiment because of a 'strongly Calvinizing major': Autenrieth, *Samuel Gerlach*, p. 14.
[103] Eckhardt, 'Bericht', p. 40.
[104] Duch, 'Franz Albrecht', pp. 366-8.
[105] Wiltheim, *Itinerarium*, pp. 28-31.

along with himself, into the Rhein during a crossing in July 1639, it resulted in his reading material being lost (which "out of all the things destroyed he alone bemoaned"): the Bible, a prayer book, a concordance of the Psalms, and a work of Lutheran theologian Johann Arndt.[106] (Incidentally, though Bernhard had been in frail health already, the waggon accident likely precipitated his death, as according to his field preacher Daniel Rücker he took ill the following day and within four days was dead.)

Maximilian of Bavaria, who as a head of state only campaigned in 1620 and 1632 but remained intimately involved with military decision-making from Munich throughout the war, read deeply in religious works. The books most used in his personal reading room were a Latin Bible, Rader's *Bavaria Sancta*, Petrus Canisius's *De Maria Virgine Incomparabili*, Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, and a number of other theological, patristic, and military works.[107] At the deathbed of the young Zachariae von Arnim, his father, Saxon general Hans Georg von Arnim, to whom Catholic troops gave the moniker, "the Protestant Capuchin",[108] gathered about him a variety of "theological books", from which he and others would conduct readings.[109] There were even two military religious publications written during the war which listed the names of officers on their title page as patrons or guarantors of the work. One is the story of a miracle, and the other an extended spiritual manual for soldiers.[110]

More often than sponsoring, officers authored religious writings, many of which were published. Not including diaries, this study has discovered the following types of officers' published religious works: spiritual autobiography, poetry transposing

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[106] Rücker, *Christliche Trawr-predigt,* p. 34.
[107] H. Glaser, *Um Glauben und Reich: Kurfurst Maximilian I* (München, 1980), p. 358.
[108] C. Reichl-Ham, 'Die Militärseelsorge in Geschichte und Gegenwart', *Militär und Seelsorge,* 4 (2005), p. 10.
[109] Schramm, *Threnodia*, p. 58.
[110] Sigwart, *Zwo warhaffte und wunderbarliche Geschicht*; Lehmann, *Krieges-seufftzer.*

Old Testament narratives on to contemporary events, polemic, prose explication of the Psalms, translation of a meditation on the life of David, a prayer book, and a hymn.[111] Robert Monro's *Expedition*, a detailed account of his campaign experience with the Scottish contingent serving the Swedish army in the early-mid-1630s, is rife with spiritual meditation on these same events which appear at least every few pages. A historian describes one of these authors, Mecklenburg colonel and later Swedish major Wilhelm von Kalchum (also known as Lohausen) as "a deeply religious, yet tolerant Protestant… an extraordinarily virtuous officer…."[112]

Duke Ernst of Saxony, a commander early in the war as ruler of Saxe-Gotha, was known as "Ernst the Pious". During the war he initiated "the most extensive work on the Bible that Lutheran Protestantism has ever produced, the so-called *Kurfürstenbibel* (Elector's Bible) of 1641",[113] as well as a detailed decree on proper celebration of Holy Days.[114] Württemberg's head of state Johann Friedrich, who also commanded troops at times during the war, was just as concerned about theology, banning a number of Catholic theological works in his territory.[115] His staff are described by one historian as "learned and well-educated men, who discoursed… impressively about matters of faith."[116] Religious discussion was apparently common

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[111] Christian Wilhelm von Brandenburg, *Speculum veritatis Brandenburgicum*; 'THE CHRISTIAN SOVLDIER GOING ON SERVICE HIS MEDITATIONS', printed in Monro, *Expedition*, pp. 217-24; Poetry: Dietrich von Werder, *Krieg und Sieg Christi gesungen in 100. Sonnetten...* (Halle an der Saale, 1633). Psalms: Dietrich von Werder, *Die Buss Psalmen in Poesie gesetzt.* (Leipzig, 1632); Translation: Virgilio Malvezzi, *Der Verfolgte David*, trans.Wilhelm von Kalchum (Rostock, 1638). Hymn: Gustavus Adolphus, 'Verzage nicht, du Häuflein klein', in Evangelische Landskirche in Württemberg (ed), *Gesangbuch für die Evangelische Kirche in Württemberg* (Stuttgart, 1843), pp. 159, 521.
[112] T. Lorentzen, *Die schwedische Armee im Dreissigjährigen Kriege und ihre Abdankung* (Leipzig, 1894), p. 52.
[113] J.A. Steiger and F. May, 'Herzog Ernst der Fromme und die sog. Kurfürstenbibel (1641). Höfische Repräsentation und Kommunikation des Wortes Gottes', *Daphnis,* 42 (2013), p. 331.
[114] Ernst von Saxe-Gotha, *Fürstliches Sächsisches Außschreiben, Wie einer und der andern Entheiligung der Feyer-Tage zu stewren, und mit denen Buß-Predigten und Bet-Stunden es hinfüro im Fürstenthumb Gotha gehalten werden sol* ([s.l.], 1645).
[115] Häcker, 'Kriegskameraden', p. 95.
[116] Wiltheim, *Itinerarium,* pp. 26-8.

enough at the Württemberg court; Johann Friedrich had hosted a conference of theologians in 1620.[117]

It was common for officers to show a high degree of interest in the provision and quality of their chaplains. Known to this study are commanders Pappenheim, Spinola, Wallenstein, Wolff von Mansfeld, Banér, Guebriant, Franz Albrecht of Saxe-Lauenburg, Fernemont, and multiple unnamed commanders on the lower Rhine in the 1620s writing to request chaplains for themselves or their troops, often naming the priests they wanted.[118] Guebriant even made special request for French-speaking clergy to preach to his French troops.[119] Only eight days before his passing, Bernhard von Weimar was bitterly complaining of bad field preachers to Elector Johann Georg, "Their lukewarm teaching and bad example of life… have brought about many hot tears".[120] As evidenced by Banér's letter to a local consistory (Magdeburg), motives for finding a good chaplain were both moral ("He will be in life and teaching a Christian example to all the field preachers…"), and practical (the field preacher in question, "L. Rudolph", was to promote "good Christian discipline" within the army.[121]

Some officers asked a great deal of their chaplains. This was common enough that Imperial vicar general Heinrich Paströyer wrote to officers to ask them not to treat field priests like their private chaplains: "…they are for the entire regiment."[122]

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[117] Häcker, 'Kriegskameraden', p. 91.
[118] Pappenheim: Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, pp. 310-11; Spinola: ibid., pp. 307-8; Wallenstein: Duhr, 'Wallenstein... Jesuiten', p. 84; Wolff von Mansfeld: Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 2, p. 311; Banér: Banér letter to Magdeburg consistory April 1634, Landesarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt (LSA) A 2, Nr. 262; Guebriant: Burger, 'Itinerarium... (Schluß)', p. 84; Sachsen-Lauenburg: J. Böhm, 'Vorwort'; Fernemont: Wiltheim, *Itinerarium*, p. 205; Lower Rhine: Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 2, p. 322.
[119] Friesenegger, *Chronik*, p. 98.
[120] Rücker, *Christliche Trawr-predigt,* pp. 10-11.
[121] Banér letter to Magdeburg consistory April 1634, LSA A 2, Nr. 262, "er dem sämptlichen Feldpredigern in Lehr und Leben Christliche Vorgeben"; "guten Christlichen disciplin".
[122] Naegele, *Benedikt,* p. 210. For more friendships see also Wiltheim, *Itinerarium* (Wiltheim and Wolf von Mansfeld); Fitzsimon, *Diary* (Fitzsimon and Bucquoy); Carve, *Reyßbüchlein* (Carve and Walter Butler); Naegele, *Benedikt* (Benedikt von Wiblingen and Mercy); or Burger, 'Itinerarium... (Schluß)', pp. 81-4 (Burger and a fugitive French officer he shelters for weeks in his confessional).

In some cases these relationships were pivotal in conversions, such as the regular meetings of colonel Wolff von Mansfeld, and Christian Wilhelm, Margrave of Brandenburg-Bayreuth and a founder of the Protestant Union, with a Jesuit priest and the Bishop of Neustadt, organized by Catholic officer Werner von Tilly.[123]

Conversions were recognized within officers' subculture as significant occasions. Catholic converts Rudolph von Teuffenbach and Margrave Christian Wilhelm of Brandenburg both received congratulatory letters from Ferdinand II, who declared to the former that hearing the news of his conversion "made me want to kiss you on the head."[124] A captain in the Saxon army was credited with sparking the conversion of one of his soldiers to Lutheranism, by "faithfully encouraging him to go to Church".[125] During the campaign of 1629, when an aide of Wolff von Mansfeld named von Reichenbach called on Fr. Wiltheim in his private quarters, declaring he "can no longer resist God's call to Catholicism", Wiltheim immediately heard his confession and received him into the Church. In attendance as he received his first communion was General Tilly and most of his general staff. Wiltheim recorded in his diary that "Count Tilly, who… often mingles with the priests, rejoiced very much at von Reichenbach's conversion."[126]

Devotional and doctrinal tracts

Research for this thesis explored the almost unstudied genre of Christian spiritual and religious literature written specifically for military men of all ranks, described variously

[123] Duhr, *Jesuiten* ii, 2, p. 69.
[124] K. Sommeregger, 'Teuffenbach, Rudolf Freiherr von', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (55 vols, Munich, 1875-1910), liv; Duhr, *Jesuiten* ii, 2, p. 68.
[125] Johann Fiedler, *Müglische Ehren- und Gedachtnis-Seule: Von Inwohnern, Alter, Glück und Unglück, wie auch von allerley Zustand, Fällen und Veränderungen des Städleins Mügeln; Darbey auch allerley denckwürdige Historien, so sich im dem Städtlein... erzehlet werden* (Freyberg, 1653), p. 163.
[126] Wiltheim, *Itinerarium,* p. 256.

as "handbooks", "manuals", or "books of consolation" (*Trostschriftbücher*).[127] (A genre distinct from official prayer books commissioned by and distributed within armies, which are covered in Chapter IV.)[128] Not counting printed sermons, or works which were lost,[129] at least twenty such publications – over half of them book-length – were printed during the war alone, to say nothing of the further ten or more published in the couple of decades prior. One surprising finding of this research was the discovery of more works aimed at soldiers of the Thirty Years War than those discovered by recent similar research on the armies of the English Civil Wars.[130] The sheer number of military religious publications, and the fact that one third of them went through multiple editions or printings strongly suggests that a considerable portion of the "target market" of soldiers and officers (those discussed in this section) were actually reading them. There are also multiple accounts of officers reading religious works which were published prior to the war.[131]

Though Protestant output of sermons and literature more than doubled that of Catholics, it was a Catholic publication, *Krieg/Oberster.... Von dem Häuptman zu Capernaum... auff alle KriegeßObersten, Capitäin vnd Leutenant…* which went through the most printings, at four.[132] Roughly half of the literature was printed in small pocket-

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[127] The genre has been much-studied from the later seventeenth century onward, but the only works covering the period prior are Steiger, 'Bellum iustum'; J.A. Steiger, 'Gerechter Krieg und Ewiger Friede: Zu Theologie und Ethik lutherischer Konsolationsliteratur für Soldaten zur Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', in M. Föcking, C. Schindler (eds), *Der Krieg hat kein Loch: Friedensehnsucht und Kriegsapologie in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Heidelberg, 2014) [an updated version of the 1998 article]; and Gudmundsson, *Konfessionell krigsmakt*.

[128] Sometimes this distinction is not made: Funke, pp. 62-5.

[129] C.G. Jöcher, *Fortsetzung und Ergänzungen zu Christian Gottlieb Jöchers Allgemeinen Gelehrten-Lexico, worinn die Schriftseteller aller Stände nach ihrer vornehmsten Lebensumständen und Schriften beschrieben werden*, ed. J.C. Adelung (2 vols, Leipzig, 1784), i, p. 2,234. Referencing Johan Brendel's lost 1642 work, *Geistliches Rüstkämmerlein, oder Gebete für Soldaten*.

[130] Liao, 'Religion', p. 35.

[131] Unnamed colonel reading Erasmus's *Miles Christianus*: Eckhardt, 'Bericht', p. 39; Bernhard von Weimar reading works of Johann Arndt, Rücker, *Christliche Trawr-predigt,* p. 34; Petrus Canisius's *Kriegsleutspiegel*: *das ist Beschreibung des Heil. Moritz* (Freiburg, 1596) was a well-known work at the time of the Thirty Years War.

[132] Anon., *Krieg/Oberster. Das ist: Eine Predigt, Von dem Häuptman zu Capernaum, auß dem 8. Cap. Matth.: Also auff alle KriegeßObersten, Capitäin vnd Leutenant, etc. gerichtet, daß sie billich alle tage von ihnen soll gelesen, vnd wohl in acht genommen werden...* ([s.l.], 1621); Anon., *Kriegs-Obersten, das ist: Eine Predigt von dem Hauptmann zu*

sized handbooks, designed to be carried around on campaign, though this did not prevent them from exceeding 300 and even 400 pages. Some focused more on officers, and others on soldiers, whereas some had separate sections for both.[133] Besides those in German, others were published for Spanish, French, Italian, and English soldiers, in the vernacular.[134] Unlike propaganda, much of this literature seems to have been authored on chaplains' own initiative; only a minority was published at the behest of political authorities, though most were done with their blessing.[135]

One historian writes that "the vast majority of titles were written by… authors who usually had strong opinions on how the soldiery should behave but had no military background themselves".[136] On the contrary, of those written during the Thirty Years War, at least fourteen were written by clergy who had served or were currently serving as field chaplains, and a further two by officers themselves. Authors demonstrate an extraordinarily high estimation of the religious literacy of their intended readers, delving deeply into an array of theological, doctrinal, and philosophical questions. They are packed with references to figures, events, and ideas many of which would today be considered advanced, obscure, or irrelevant, with topics ranging from minor Old Testament figures, to the practice of the early Church, to the boundaries of worldly versus spiritual authority, and to refuting pacifism (with

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Capernaum... ([s.l.], 1623); Anon., *KriegßOberster, Das ist: Eine Predigt, Von dem Häuptman zu Capernaum...* ([s.l.], 1634); *Kriegs-Obrister, Das ist: Eine Predigt von dem Häuptman zu Capernaum...* ([s.l.], 1635). NB: though a "sermon", it is exhortation addressed specifically to soldiers and officers and materially of a piece with the literature discussed in this section.

[133] Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial*, pp. 31f, a separate section for common soldiers.

[134] Lavenia, 'Foi et Discipline'.

[135] Jakob Fabricius, *Ein Und Dreyssig Kriegsfragen Von Dem Jetzigen Erbärmlichen Kriege in Teutschland...* (Stettin, 1631); Jakob Fabricius, *Fünff Und Dreissig Kriegsfragen...* (Stettin, 1631); Lehmann, *Krieges-seufftzer,* preface unpaginated, [preface].

[136] Funke, 'Religion', p. 62.

the key for every answer being found in Holy Scripture).[137] Gustavus's field preacher Jakob Fabricius's *Ein und Dreißig Kriegsfragen* and *Fünf und Dreißig Kriegsfragen* focuses entirely on questions of conscience, from justification of fighting in war, to fighting for the Swedes, to quelling various moral concerns of a Christian soldier.[138]

Authors tailored works to the concrete spiritual needs of military men, devoting particular attention to reassuring consciences about serving in the army, justifying particular causes, or war in general. They mainly focused on morals and morale, with a bit of religious teaching sprinkled in. (Speaking to the perceived appeal of such topics to the early modern military man across cultural and geographic boundaries, a recent study of seventeenth century British military religious literature found similar themes.)[139] Their plain language indicates an intended use as a practical resource for the ordinary military man, whether soldier or officer. Interest in field preacher Abraham Lehmann's work, at least according to Lehmann, seems to have been indeed strong. He wrote his book because "It was demanded… by evangelical soldiers and officers…."[140] In a section of the second edition, entitled, "how it went with the first edition of this book", he reports that "many God-fearing officers often encouraged me to [write the work], as well as many field preachers….",[141] adding,

> It has found among soldiers many apparently conscientious hearts and minds who took the little book very well. A prominent Electoral Saxon colonel S. eagerly commended it to his staff, and commanded his field preachers read it, in order to build up the soldiers….[142]

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[137] Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial*, pp. 587-617; Johann Spindler, *Kriegs-Schul Der H. Göttlichen Schrifft. Das ist: Einfältiger, Trewhertziger Bericht wie sich die jenigen so zum Kriegswesen gebürlich gebraucht und unterhalten werden, Gottseliglich als Christen darein schicken sollen: Auch mit was feinen Gedancken und Gebetlein gegen dem Herrn Zebaoth, dem Obristen Feld-Herrn unbd Kriegs-Fürsten, sie sich uben mögen; Zu ihrer Lehr, Trost, Vermahnung, Straff und Warnung gerichtet…* (Tübingen, 1624); Anon., *Auffrichtiger Teutscher Soldaten Regul. Oder Kurze Erinnerung an den Teutschen evangelischen Kriegßmann* ([s.l.], 1620); Scherertz, *Manuale Militantium*; Johannes Matthiae Röchmann, *Miles triumphans.... En segersam krijgzmans handbook…* (Arnstadt, 1648).
[138] Fabricius, *Ein und Dreißig Kriegsfragen*; Fabricius, *Fünf und Dreißig Kriegsfragen*.
[139] Liao, 'Religion', pp. 213-50.
[140] Lehmann, *Krieges-seufftzer,* unpaginated, [preface, pp. 697-700].
[141] ibid.
[142] ibid.

Spiritual manuals written by chaplains – like official prayer books which rulers commissioned and distributed to soldiers – were also early efforts of confessionalizing the military. Historiographical evaluation of this literature as mostly ecumenical overlooks the clearly identifiable confessional content – not only in the occasional polemical sideswipe of the confessional "other", but the way which ordinary subjects such as prayer, interpretations and justifications of the war, or sin were approached.[143] These are to be detected on practically every other page. Titles such as *Andächtige Biblische Krieges-seufftzer* ("Pious Biblical Groan of War"), or *Kriegs-Schul, Der H. Göttlichen Schrifft* ("War-School, of God's Holy Word") reflected that these works, like sermons, presented Christian religion, and usually an interpretation of the war, from a perspective which was confessionally specific.[144] If the morality conveyed by Protestant and Catholic works was similar, it was because the confessions barely differed on moral questions to begin with, and not because of positive ecumenical or irenic efforts on the part of the authors.

Soldiers

Strong confessional sensibility, even among ranks which were usually of mixed confession, was not limited to officers. In confessionally homogenous populations such as the Scots, English, Irish, or Spanish, overtly sectarian attitudes were more normalized than in the military culture of the Empire, aside from the possible exceptions early in the Thirty Years War of the armies of the Bohemian campaign and of Christian von Braunschweig. Foreign soldiers' and officers' attitudes toward

[143] See Funke, 'Religion', pp. 62-5, 74-5.
[144] Lehmann, *Krieges-seufftzer*; Spindler, *Kriegs-Schul*.

confession were described markedly more intensely than were those of their counterparts recruited in the Empire during the Thirty Years War and suggest that a greater degree of ambivalence in relationship to confession was all the more particular to the military culture of the Holy Roman Empire. For example, Imperial army chaplain Henry Fitzsimon writes of the Irish contingent: "[they] all hate heresy from their hearts with a kind of inborn hatred",[145] it was almost unheard of for troops of the confessional "other" to be found in the armies of the Dutch-Spanish wars,[146] and the Spanish introduced a religious evaluation for conscripts in the late 1580s.[147]

Material discussing soldiers' religiosity rather than that of officers is scarce, as they left little written down,[148] but anecdotal material evinces a presence of unusually strong confessional sensibility also within the soldiery. Aside from the Peter Hagendorf diary (the only known intact diary of a common soldier of the Thirty Years War), and contrarily to common statements of historians, what little this thesis found in the way of eyewitness accounts written by common soldiers suggests a more heightened religious sensibility than is typically attributed to the "mercenary" of the Thirty Years War. One can almost hear the harrumphs of a pious Mansfelder private at those participating in *Passauer Kunst* in his complaint that, "Their spells against wounding, their devilish magic bread, is expressly against the first and second commandments of God…."[149] The recently-published partial diary of Swedish trumpeter Jöns Månsson Teitt who accompanied Gustavus gives a strongly confessional interpretation of the causes of the war, especially for a soldier.[150] One soldier who unsurprisingly evinced a

[145] Fitzsimon, *Diary*, p. 90.
[146] Frauenholz, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, iii, 2, p. 10.
[147] Lavenia, 'Conscience and Catholic Discipline of War', p. 466.
[148] Decenius, *Ernewerte Gebets-und Kirchen-Ordnung*, p. 16.
[149] Anon., *Pilsen*, p. 18.
[150] Teitt, 'Kriegszüge', pp. 6, 14.

high degree of religious proclivity was Conrad Burger, a soldier of the "Alt Schmidisch" Regiment under Tilly in the Danish phase of the war, who left the army to become a priest. Burger's extensive diary (written in the years following his military service) recorded an encounter with a soldier who insistently claimed to be "a good Catholic".[151]

These findings are reinforced by the unexpected plethora of eyewitness accounts of soldiers written by others.[152] Indeed the richest source material describing heightened religious devotion in the ranks was generated not by soldiers themselves, but chaplains. Whereas most sources mention soldierly religiosity only in passing, if at all, accounts of chaplains and clergy are the only body of eyewitnesses accounts of the war which provide direct commentary religious devotion of soldiers in their writings. According to the poem of Lutheran pastor and Württemberg court poet Johannes Trescher,

> *Nicht all Soldaten gottloß singd,*
> *Wie man solchs in der Bibel find.*
> ...
> *B'sth den Hauptmann Cornelium,*
> *Gottesfurcht halb war brümbt umb und umb,*
> *Ein solcher auch Johann Bauer war*
> *Wie diß Herr Weinlin Predigt klar.*[153]

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[151] Burger, 'Itinerarium', p. 317.

[152] On eyewitness accounts, see J. Peters (ed), *Peter Hagendorf*; M. Hewitson, 'I Witnesses': Selfhood and Testimony in Modern Wars', *German History* 28/3 (2010); B. von Krusenstjern, *Selbstzeugnisse der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges: beschreibendes Verzeichnis* (Berlin, 1997); Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts*; K. von Greyerz, 'Ego-Documents: The Last Word?', *German History* 28/3 (2010); M. Fulbrook and U. Rublack, 'In Relation: 'The 'Social Self' and Ego-Documents', *German History* 28/3 (2010); H. Medick, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg: Zuegnisse vom Leben mit Gewalt* (Göttingen, 2018); M. Meumann, D. Niefanger (eds), *Ein Schauplatz Herber Angst: Wahrnehmung und Darstellungvon Gewalt im 17. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1997).

[153] "Not all soldiers are godless,
As one will find in the Bible.
…
Take Captain Cornelius,
His Godfearing known far and wide,
One such was also Johann Bauer
As Mr. Weinlin's sermon makes clear."
Johannes Trescher, [poem, untitled], printed in Michael Weinlin, *Christliche Leichpredigt, Bey der Begräbniß deß... Johann Bauern, gewesenen Capitain Leutenands von Herrn General Majorn Rußwurms Leib Compagnia zu Pferd...* (Coburg, 1648), unpaginated, [epicedia].

Despite a 400-page diatribe against soldierly excesses, Electoral Saxon court preacher Arnold Mengering still claimed that the Saxon army was composed of "a core which are good Lutherans",[154] suggesting that the soldiery was no different from the officer corps in consisting of a solid minority of the pious. The only known surviving funeral sermon of a common soldier, Heinrich Winckeler, indicates that he certainly would have counted among this group, his chaplains describing him as "a God-loving soldier, a right Theophilus".[155] Similarly, Swedish field preacher Georg Engelsüß's 1648 propagandistic history, *Historia Exercituum*, asserted, surely not entirely falsely, that "The common foot soldiers [of the Swedish Army] have been pious and courageous".[156] Similarly, the 1633 edition of the *Theatrum Europaeum* claimed that in Godfearing, the Swedes "make the others... red with shame".[157]

Both hyperbole and an element of truth are likely present in such statements. Aside from the deaths of rulers, who in any case were not personally known by most army members, any temptation of preachers to exagerratedly eulogize the deceased to his own comrades was minimized by the risk of making themselves a butt of ridicule among their troops. In a similar fashion Swedish field chaplain Fabian Schaffart was unlikely to have greatly embellished when in a thanksgiving sermon for victory in a small engagement outside Hanau in 1633, he credited in passing "the prayers of many pious soldiers".[158] Hessian chaplain Conrad Dieterich bemoaned the excesses and barbaric acts committed by "pious, godly, honourable, respected officers and common

[154] Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial*, p. 145.
[155] Laterman, *Erbawliches KriegsMemorial*, p. 88.
[156] Engelsüß, *Historia Exercituum*, p. 19.
[157] Oraeus and Merian, *Theatri Europæ Continuatio III*..., pp. 108-9.
[158] Schaffart, *Christliche DancksagungsPredigt*, p. 9.

soldiers of the [Swedish] army, of which there are not a few…" (also showing awareness that devoutness did not preclude wrongdoing).[159]

An additional and no less telling way in which chaplains' writings for soldiers shed light upon soldierly religiosity is what they chose to write about. The fact that chaplains lived among soldiers and were privy to their confidences in confessions gives particular weight to their view of what would interest or be relevant to them. Writings cite, and sometimes discourse upon, Church fathers, ecumenical councils, ancient and medieval scholastic philosophy, and prominent thinkers, indications that such topics were of at least some relevance to some soldiers, who doubtless considered and discussed some of these subjects.[160] They deal in especially great detail with the soldier's conscience, discussing whether war or serving as a soldier could be justified,[161] how far a soldier owes his obedience to a commander, what qualifies as a just war,[162] the enemies of God, defending true religion,[163] and "the godly vocation of the soldier".[164] One example of soldierly contrition was the soldier in the regiment of Wolff von Mansfeld who, after stealing a chalice from a church, returned it, doing so at the admonition of his comrades no less.[165] Gustavus's field preacher Jakob Fabricius's *Ein und Dreißig Kriegsfragen* and *Fünf und Dreißig Kriegsfragen* focus almost exclusively on questions of conscience, providing exhaustive (and polemical)

[159] Dieterich, 'Ein Münsterpfarrer', p. 28.
[160] Adam Tanner, *Amuletum Castrense* (Ingolstadt, 1621), pp. 292-4; Conrad Dietrich, *Discurs vom Kriegs-Raub*.
[161] Matthäus Krägelius, *Duellum & Bellum von Kampff und Krieg* (Bremen, 1644), One of the three sections is entitled, "Whether a Christian can in good conscience serve in the military?"; Fabricius, *Ein und Dreißig Kriegsfragen,* p. 155.
[162] Tanner, *Amuletum Castrense,* p. 395; Stöcker, *Christliche Heers-Predigt*, pp. 131, 55.
[163] ibid., p. 395.
[164] Jacob Brandt, *Vier Kriegspredigten,* Sermon I, 'Vom Göttlichen Beruf Eines Kriegsmannes', p. 1; Stöcker, *Christliche Heers-Predigt*, pp. 40-2.
[165] Staiano-Daniels, 'The War People', p. 318.

answers.[166] He presents a confessional interpretation of "the pope's war"[167] in the starkest of polemical terms, as a continuation of the struggle of Biblical Israel and that of Luther against the pope, "the whore of Babylon" whom the Swedes were resisting,[168] and devotes almost thirty pages of invective to convincing soldiers why they should not serve in Catholic armies, rejecting all conceivable justifications: hunger, poverty, seeing that the Catholic army has the upper hand in the war, or even being captured and pressed into service by a Catholic army.[169]

Of note on impressment was Monro's mention of "a thousand" Bavarian soldiers captured at Donauwörth who "were forced to take service under the regiments". However, they soon made an escape, which at least Monro attributed to their "being Papists of Bavaria… in less than ten dayes they were all gone."[170] According to Gustavus's field chaplain Jakob Fabricius, Protestant soldiers pressed into Catholic service had "an evil conscience" and "[were]… evil."[171] Of course such statements had little to no influence on the behaviour of many soldiers, especially for instance in the event of entire troop detatchments (technically not intact units, in that it was highly unconventional for officers to switch sides) being captured and pressed into enemy service, but it is just as unlikely that it had no effect on some, as indicated by a rare instance mentioned in Scottish colonel Robert Monro's diary in which a portion of the surrendering Swedish garrison of Weissenburg in 1632 "would not willingly serve [Wallenstein's army], and were cut downe".[172] According to the Capuchin annals of Neumarkt, similarly remarkable was the Bavarian regiment

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[166] Fabricius, *Ein und Dreissig Kriegsfragen;* Fabricius, *Fünf und Dreißig Kriegsfragen.*
[167] Fabricius, *Ein und Dreissig Kriegsfragen*, p. 241.
[168] ibid., p. 249.
[169] Fabricius, *Ein und Dreissig Kriegsfragen*, pp. 249-74; for the latter two see Fabricius, *Fünf und Dreissig Kriegsfragen*, Questions 25, 29.
[170] Monro, *Expedition,* p. 244.
[171] Fabricius, *Ein und Dreissig Kriegsfragen*, pp. 241-43.
[172] Monro, *Expedition,* p. 252.

garrisoning Neumarkt in 1633, of which all but 150 of its troops refused to enter Swedish service upon the city's surrender, and were killed.[173] Each of these incidents would be worthy of further research.

Anti-religion

A different variation from the typical religious posture among military men of rough ambivalence was a positive spirit of anti-religion, especially against established religion, which, according to Electoral Saxon chaplain Arnold Mengering, "[ran] against the good part of soldiering."[174] The "contempt of all religion" Mengering declared "the religion-confession (*Religion-Bekenntnis*) of [such] soldiers".[175] The type seems also to have been attested by Saxon Elector Johann Georg in his complaint of the "great evil" of "not particularly religiously inclined" Protestant officers serving in the Imperial army who "take a great anger in their evil handling of their co-religionists, driving them from house and home, disturbing their graves, and so on."[176] It is worth noting that soldiers displaying a hostile disposition to religion were still very much engaging with religion. That their engagement amounted to antipathy rather than devotion did not threaten private belief, or the fervour which often met or exceeded their most devout comrades (albeit in the opposite direction).

This thesis rejects the "godless soldier" stereotype as a representation of the soldiery as a whole. Implying (whether intended or not) a virtually atheistic worldview on the part of military men, it leaves the real phenomenon of soldierly deviance largely unpursued. Pathos aside, this study has found not a single piece of evidence

[173] Hohenegger, *Geschichte,* i, p. 219.
[174] Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial,* p. 71.
[175] ibid., p. 109, "der Religion-bekenntnis der Soldaten".
[176] Sennewald, *Kursächsische Heer*, p. 480.

whatsoever for an active disbelief in God or the divine among military men of the Thirty Years War.

Soldierly deviance cannot be dismissed as merely a concern of "moralists" – in which the notion of the godless soldier "stemmed from fears surrounding social stability and the pious ideals of a moral minority".[177] Rather, there was plenty of room in the army for the figure of the "soldier-devil" (*Soldaten-Teuffel*),[178] who consciously maintained a counter-culture in a time when state, church and military authorities were increasingly striving to impose discipline. The *Soldaten-Teuffel* was prominent enough during the war to inspire two books authored by chaplains: Conrad Dieterich's *Discvrs vom Kriegs-Raub und Beutten*, and Arnold Mengering's *Kriegs Belial oder Soldaten-Teuffel,* as well as being a major figure throughout Grimmelshausen's celebrated work of semi-historical fiction based largely on his own experiences in the war, *Der abenteuerliche Simplicissimus*, sometimes entitled *Simplicius Simplicissimus.*[179] The soldier-devils "lived in complete godlessness",[180] were "scorners of God's Holy Word",[181] and "proceed[ed] freely like wild animals and uncontrollable beasts… satisfied by no amount of man's flesh and blood."[182] As discussed above in Chapter II, their banners read, "BOOTY" (*BEUTE*), and "REVENGE" (*RACHE*), and multiple depictions celebrated the attacking of non-combatants such as clergy and women. So far as these soldiers had devotion, it was to "Fortuna… the goddess of the freebooting soldier",[183] or to the devil.

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[177] Funke, 'Religion', pp. 15, 20, 36.
[178] Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial*.
[179] A recent printing of the work: Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen, *Der abenteuerliche Simplicissimus* (Cologne, 2017).
[180] Angermüller, *Christliche Leichpredigt,* p. 53.
[181] Lehmann, *Krieges-seufftzer*, unpaginated [preface].
[182] Mengering, *Kriegs Belial*, pp. 73-4.
[183] Lucht and Lucht, *Fahnen*, i, p. 92. See also Sennewald, *Feldzeichen,* pp. 54, 100.

If Fortuna was their deity, the devil might be said to have been their patron saint or "hero". Soldiers greeted one another in the name of the devil,[184] were known by various devil-inspired nicknames such as "*Reißteufel*",[185] and Imperial chaplain Thomas Carve recounted among soldiers the "widespread little prayer, 'Devil take me'" (*Hole mich der Teufel*).[186] When a Spanish soldier begged for quarter, it occurred to him to hurriedly affirm to his German enemies (or counterparts) that he believed in as many devils as they did.[187] A group of cavalrymen forced a Lutheran pastor to dance naked,[188] and a "godless devil's-pack" of soldiers set up a makeshift brothel in the house of a Lutheran minister.[189] Others when sacking churches dressed themselves in priestly vestments and ecclesial ornaments[190] and sang songs which made light of their dastardly deeds.[191]

The devil was especially popular among Electoral Saxon artillerymen, who seem to have adopted him as their mascot, naming two of their cannons after him (*Der Rohr von Luciver,* "the devil's pipe", and the *Kartaune Scherenteufel*, "the devil's shearing cannon"), and upon at least five others engraving devil-inspired epigrams, including:

> *FLACIANER UND ZELOTEN, SEYND DER TEUFFELS VORBOTTEN*
> (FLACIANS AND ZEALOTS, ARE ALIKE THE DEVIL'S HARBINGERS);
>
> *ICH HEIS DER TRACHE HUTE DICH WENN ICH LACHE DER DRACH IST TEUVELS BURGSESEL BRINGT MANCHEN BLUT FUR DIE HELL*
> (MY NAME IS THE DRAGON; TAKE COVER WHEN I LAUGH. THE DRAGON IS THE DEVIL'S HIGH SEAT, AND BLOODIES MANY FOR HELL);

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184 Thomas Carve, *Reyßbüchlein,* ii, p. 145.
185 Gaisser, *Tagebuch*, ii, p. 1138.
186 Carve, *Reyßbüchlein,* ii.
187 ibid., p. 110.
188 Anon., 'Kurzer und Warhaftiger Bericht, was die Grafschaft Erbach und Herrschaft Breuburg von dem kaiserlichen Kriegsvolk Anno 1621 und 1622 für Drangsal und Schaden erlitten', printed in R. Kunz und W. Lizalek (eds), *Südhessische Chroniken aus der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* (Heppenheim, 1993), pp. 170-1.
189 Staffel, *Naumburger Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 118.
190 Stockmann, *Lamentatio*, pp. 31-32.
191 Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, ii, pp. 1059-63.

LUCIVER DU HELLISCHER GEIST AN UNSERN FEINT DEIN MACHT BEWEIS
(LUCIFER YOU HELLISH FORCE SHOW YOUR POWER TO OUR ENEMY);

WEN LUCIFER AUS DEM NESTE FEHRT DURCH BRICHT ER ALLES BIS IN DIE ERDT
(WHEN LUCIFER SALLIES OUT OF THE NEST HE SMASHES EVERYTHING INTO THE EARTH).[192]

Another norm, or at least common practice, of armies in the Thirty Years War, the violent treatment of noncombatants and especially peasants, has puzzled commentators on the war since its own day, particularly in the question of how it could possibly reconcile with apparently Christian characteristics of the armies. The tone of Electoral Saxon court preacher Arnold Mengering's darkly satirical *Letter from Hell to all godless Soldiers…* conveys a level of bewilderment at soldierly excesses which sounds like a reaction to a perception of deep social breakdown: "How does it happen, that the soldiers, who are baptized Christians, these days have absolutely no shame or fear of Hell?"[193] Whether or not there was a "general crisis" of the seventeenth century,[194] an endless number of eyewitness accounts from all over the Empire throughout the war recount shocking levels of crime, cruelty, and brutality in violation of any basic morality which attended the presence of an army in a district. Such accounts have naturally contributed to the impression of armies as devoid of religiosity and furthered the caricature of the blood-lusting mercenary,[195] yet the reality was that the *Soldaten-Teuffel* represented merely one of the common types of military men, who

[192] Sennewald, *Kursächsische Heer,* pp. 611f.
[193] Arnold Mengering, *Post auß der Höllen, an alle gottlose Soldaten, welche wider ihr liebes Vatterland Teutscher Nation und Religionsverwandten dienen genommen auß dem Kriegs-Belial der Soldaten-Teuffel* ([s.l.], 1640).
[194] J.A. Mears, 'The Thirty Years War, the "General Crisis," and the Origins of a Standing Professional Army in the Habsburg Monarchy', *Central European History,* 21/2 (1988).
[195] See above pp. 190-3.

coexisted, and perhaps at different times interchanged, with the somewhat religious majority, or even the devout minority.

Occult belief and practice

"Many heathenish superstitions live in these people",[196] Jesuit chaplain Gaspard Wiltheim wrote of military men in his diary. The relationship between religion and enchantment, notably discussed by Max Weber in his *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, has been revisited by historians in recent decades, opening up an area largely overlooked by a century of materialist historiography.[197] In the words of Kaspar von Greyerz, "Religion and magic, as two categories referring to the world of people's lives, can hardly be distinguished with satisfactory precision in the pre-Enlightenment era".[198] Recent work also has reinforced that at some point, they ought not to be, and pointed to the need for broadening the conception of the category of "religion" to include aspects that share a common part in the human effort to perceive, comprehend, and relate to unseen reality – morality, theology and cosmology, magic and superstition, and especially in the seventeenth century the sciences of alchemy, astrology, astronomy, medicine, and natural history.

Science and magic were particularly intertwined in the seventeeth century.[199] Despite increasing doubt and suspicion in the century's first decades, writings of magical

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196 Wiltheim, *Itinerarium*, p. 207.
197 Strathern, *Unearthly Powers*; A. Walsham, 'The Reformation and the 'Disenchantment of the World' Reassesd', *The Historical Journal* 51/2 (2008); T. Johnson, *Magistrates, Madonnas, and Miracles: the Counter Reformation in the Upper Palatinate* (Farnham, 2009); Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany*.
198 Greyerz, *Religion and Culture*, p. 14.
199 Michael Bapst, *Pimelotheca, Oder Artzeny Buch Darinnen von der Wunderbarlichen heilsamen krafft und nutzbarkeit des Schmers, Marck, Vnzlit, Speck… gehandelt wird, etc. Allen Hausvätern, Wundartzten, Barbieren vnd*

practitioners make clear that they recognized very little principled difference between manipulating invisible powers by way of magical formulae and the "science" of manipulation of physical materials. For instance, Johannes Staricius's *Heldenschatz*, a lengthy treatise on magic written specifically for soldiers, throughout presents magical formulae alongside detailed scientific instructions for things like moulding different types of bullets, constructing firebombs, or building a vessel to distil water from the air.[200] The *Heldenschatz* went through at least eleven printings and editions from 1615 throughout the seventeenth century. Concocting poisons was another area where scientific knowledge (in this case biology) was closely associated with magic. In the funeral sermon for Bernhardine captain Count Carl Schlick, pastor Caspar Neoritius asserts that the fatality followed a wound from two bullets which were believed to have been poisoned at the storming of Höchstatt in 1633.[201]

The great debate about astrology – whether it was superstition and blasphemous heresy or a genuine scientific discipline – was still hotly contested in 1619 when Gustavus initiated an investigation into the astrological teachings of a few prominent Swedish prelates. His enquiry ultimately rejected astrological forecasts "for being contradictory, not only to the Scriptures and the opinions of the Church fathers, but also to a 'sensible philosophy' and the foundation of 'society and laws.'"[202] Yet astrology, despite controversy, remained integrated in the academy during the Thirty Years War, "practiced by scholars who were irreproachable, even by orthodox standards."[203]

Badern, Auß vielen vornemen Artzneybüchern, und eigenerfahrung zusammen gebracht (Eisleben, 1599). See also H. Parish and W.G. Naphy (eds), *Religion and Superstition in Reformation Europe* (Manchester, 2002).
[200] Johann Staricius, *Neu informierter Heldenschatz, das ist Naturkundliches Gedancken, über und bey vulcanischer Fabricastion der Waffen des Helden Achilles* ([s.l.], 1647); Funke, 'Religion', p. 16.
[201] Casparus Neoritius, *Christliche Leich- und Ehren-Predigt, Uber den allzufrüezeitigen, aber doch seligen Tod und Abschied Des… Herrn Christoph Carl Schlickens, Grafen zu Passau…* (Schleusingen, 1633).
[202] M. Kjellgren, *Taming the prophets: astrology, orthodoxy, and the word of God in early modern Sweden* (Lund, 2011), p. 16.
[203] ibid., pp. 16-17; Greyerz, *Religion and Culture*, p. 13.

This section examines the considerable presence of not only magic, but all superstitious and occult belief and practice within armies of the Thirty Years War. Whereas this thesis focuses mainly on Christian confessions – the dominant religious traditions in early modern Europe – it is the non-institutional manifestations of belief, forming the focus of this section, which particularly highlight the reality of religious experience for army members, whether institutionally affiliated (as was most common) or not. Alternatives to orthodox Christian belief or practice were common in the armies of the Thirty Years War and reveal a perception and experience of the supernatural and spiritual which was obviously of a more personal and subjective nature than that of institutionalized forms of belief and practice.

Ironically, it may have been chaplains who felt as much as anyone the closeness of religious belief, science, and superstitious belief and practice within the contemporary psyche, as illustrated by an anonymous Catholic chaplain who related a tale of his capture by troops in service of Sweden to a lawyer named Pflummer. A lieutenant (Catholic, as were many of the troops), "boasted' that the fog in which the chaplain had become disoriented, and subsequently captured, had been "conjured up" by one of his soldiers. According to Pflummer, the chaplain's story went on:

> To please the priest the [conjuring soldier] agreed, whereupon he positioned himself on a particular spot. First he uttered a number of incomprehensible magic words and then he stretched out his hands and shook them. It was as though an ash fell from them, which spread out bit by bit, and like a fog covered first the magician and then the entire *compagnia*, so that they became quite invisible.[204]

An "enchanted world"

[204] G. Mortimer (ed), *Eyewitness Accounts of the Thirty Years War, 1618-48* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 76.

In addition to Christianity, the prevalence of occult belief and practice especially highlights that the world of the Thirty Years War was very much a sacralized one which took as granted the presence of the supernatural or divine within the temporal world. In a time in which "sorcery was practiced on a massive scale",[205] military men were perhaps the most likely to be engaged in the occult of any social group. The soldier of the Thirty Years War commonly heard of portents and omens, of "endless prophecies of victory", signs and wonders before battle foretelling its outcome, messiah claimants and prophets (Northern Germany in the 1630s is described by one historian as having been "full of prophets"),[206] sacrilege, tales of demon possession, headless soldiers, ghosts, and divine intervention.[207] Some had premonitions in dreams of impending death, such as Imperial colonel Vitzthum von Eckstädt a few days prior to a duel in which he killed a fellow officer,[208] or the unnamed soldier in Robert Monro's regiment who, while dozing on watch, dreamed of an imminent attack, and named those among the regimental officers who would perish in it.[209] The devil was said to make appearances – even in the form of a fortress commandant.[210] Electoral Saxon regimental chaplain Jeremiah Hickmann gave an entire sermon on

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[205] W. Behringer, *Hexenverfolgung in Bayern: Volksmagie, Glaubenseifer und Staatsräson in der Frühen Neuzeit* (München, 1997), p. 173.
[206] Strom, 'Jacob Fabricius', p. 252.
[207] Prophecies: Letter from Graz Jesuit Fr. Hermann Horst 21 March 1632, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 472; omens, portents, headless soldiers: Fitzsimon, *Diary*, p. 92; Jacob Steinfelder, *Warhafftige gründliche Beschreibung, Von dem grossen Wunderwerck… vber der Statt Hirschfeld In Hessen hat sehen lassen* (Gießen, 1623); messiah claimant: Martin Maibauer and 700 followers killed by soldiers in 1635-6 in Hausruckviertel of Upper Austria, H. Langer, *Kulturgeschichte des 30jährigen Krieges* (Stuttgart, 1978), pp. 110-12; prophets: E. Burgstaller, 'The Laimbauer', *NDB,* xiii, pp. 418-19; Khevenhüller, *Annales*, xii, pp. 1955-6; demon: B. bei der Wieden, 'Niederdeutsche Söldner vor dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Geistige und mentale Grenzen eines sozialen Raums', in R. Pröve (ed), *Krieg und Frieden: Militär und Gesellschaft un der Frühen Neuzeit* (Paderborn, 1996), pp. 105-6; ghosts: Buslidius, diary, p. 88; divine intervention: Wilson, *Eruope's Tragedy*, p. 838.
[208] Christian Vitzthum von Eckstädt, 'Aus dem Tagebuche des Obersten Vitzthum von Eickstädt', ed. F. Budczies, *Geschichts-Blätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg. Mittheilungen des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde des Herzogthums und Erzstifts Magdeburg* (Magdeburg, 1875), p. 273.
[209] Monro, *Expedition*, p. 89.
[210] Carve, *Reyßbüchlein*, ii, p 51-4.

the history and meaning of blood apparitions (entitled *Blutpredigt*, "blood sermon") and their different causes, including a report that the Magdeburg city water supply had turned to blood the day of its infamous sack and destruction two years prior, as well as a similar occurrence in Halle around the same time, with which he was more familiar.[211] Unlike those of anti-Christian outlook discussed in the previous section, those engaged in occult belief or practice often did not see it as opposing Christianity.

The great comet of 1618 (the year of the war's outbreak) would continue throughout the war to be interpreted as a sign of celestial forces at work.[212] Numerous other portents and miracles were recorded by chaplains, for example, an apparition in the sky during the Electoral Saxon army's daily prayer,[213] multiple prophecies by young maidens,[214] and the sighting of a large white cross in the air at night "seen by everyone" (including soldiers) in the town of Bleichenrode.[215]

Victory or survival in battle were commonly attributed to a miracle or supernatural aid. The most famous case of divine assistance in battle was Maria de Victoria aiding the Catholic army at White Mountain in 1620,[216] though numerous other military miracles were reported, some in battle, such as the Swedish attack on Stralsund in 1630 led by Scotsman Alexander Leslie's regiment. After regimental

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[211] Jeremias Hickmann, *Prodigium Martisburgense. Das ist: Merseburgische BlutPredigt,… am 3. Augusti, zu Merseburg, in der new auffgeworffenen Wassergrufft geschehen, und etliche Tage mit Verwunderung gesehen worden: Männiglich zu Unterweisung und ernster Warnung, in der Thumb Kirchen daselbsten gehalten, Mit beygefügten Extract eines warhafftigen Berichts und Schreibens, auß Halla in Sachsen, wie auch daselbst das Wasser an 5. unterschiedenen Orthen, sich von 2. Augusti an, biß dato in Blut verwandelt habe...* (Gera, 1632), pp. 13-14, 20-1.
[212] Bähr, *Komet*.
[213] Extract from a 3 August 1634 letter of Banér, printed in 'N.C.', [*Swedish Intelligencer* pamphlet series], *The German history continued. The seventh part…*, p. 23; Jakob Fabricius, *Göttliches Wunder-Buch: Darinnen aufgezeichnet und geschrieben stehen, I. Himlische Offenbahrungen und Geschichte, einer gottfürchtigen Jungfrawen auß Böhmen... II. Propheceyungen, Klagreden, und ernstliche Bußvermahnungen, eines frommen Christlichen Mägdleins zu Cottbus... III. Christliche Sprüche... einer gottsehligen Jungfrawen, im Fürstlichen Frawenzimmer zu Stettin...* ([s.l.], 1629).
[214] Fabricius, *Göttliches Wunder-Buch.*
[215] Thomas Carve, *Reyßbüchlein,* i, p. 188.
[216] Johnson, 'Living Saints', pp. 319-20.

prayer Swedish forces were assisted by a sudden storm in which the wind blew hail into the faces of the defenders and apparently allowed the Swedish attack to succeed. Just weeks previously in July, after Gustavus's prayers a contrary wind abated which would otherwise have prevented the Swedish landing at Usedom.[217]

One report of a miracle is less noteworthy for the miracle than for the willingness of six commissioned officers of the Swedish "*Alt Blau*" regiment to allow their names to feature on the title page of regimental chaplain Johann Sigwart's published pamphlet as sworn witnesses to an event in which a sutler's servant who had been long believed to be deaf and mute was heard by some of them to have recited the Our Father, Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, and an excerpt from a Lutheran catechism.[218] A pamphlet published in 1631, purporting to be an extract of Swedish general Gustav Horn's diary, includes a list of "Noteworthy omens or presages which appeared prior to the battle of Leipzig, which Tilly's army saw."[219] The purported omens included Tilly foreseeing the imminent death of his confessor, one of his cavalry commanders suddenly dying in camp, Tilly holding his pre-battle council of war unkowingly in the house of an undertaker, the discovery of a death's head engraved on Tilly's pistol holster, and a white dove landing on the banner of a Swedish regiment. Though, especially with both the publisher and place of publication unlisted, the reliability of the source could be questioned, its mere circulation indicates what could be plausibly rumoured and believed.

Tales of soldiers receiving immediate mortal comeuppance (often involving beer) were especially relished. During the siege of Pilsen in 1618 a soldier attempting

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[217] Anon., *Victori-Schlüssel*, pp. 22-3.
[218] Sigwart, *Zwo warhaffte und wunderbarliche Geschicht*.
[219] Gustav Horn, 'Relation', printed in Anon. (ed), *Umbstendliche Relationes Und Historischer Bericht Von deme zwischender Käys. und Catholischen Bunds, Sodann Königlichen Schwedischen und Churf. Sächsischen Armeen... bey Leipzig Feldschlacht... Deren eine von dem Herrn Feldmarschalck Gustavo Horn selbst uffgesetzt.... Item: ein Diarium, was sich vom 2. Bis 22. Septembris täglich zugetragen* (Halle, 1631), unpaginated.

to tap a barrel of beer while uttering blasphemies was immediately struck down dead,[220] as was a soldier who blasphemously cursed a keg and its owner after it proved to be empty.[221] A soldier who "robbed a priest of his frock" was fatally stabbed in the back later the same day – immediately proving the "common saying" that he who steals a priest's frock will die in the same year.[222] An entire group of Swedish soldiers were heard by Benedictine abbott Maurus Friesenegger to have been struck down soon after vandalizing an image of the Virgin Mary – also with the purported result that the single witness, a soldier, was converted to Catholicism.[223] Imperial chaplain Thomas Carve related two similar stories in his *Itinerarium* – one of a soldier in Forst in Lower Lusatia who robbed a butcher returning from market of 100 th. The soldier, who also blasphemed, was found dead the following day in front of the butchery, with the 100 th. having fallen out of his pocket.[224] And another in the Catholic church of Eppstein in Hesse:

> God's judgement and immediate punishment of a Swedish soldier was really seen in this: while plundering a church he came across a holy chalice, and the same with blasphemous words did his business…. As he left the church and made to descend the stairs, he unexpectedly made a misstep and fell down, and his knife… badly wounded him. His wounds accepted no bandages, and were seen to have worms. He stank very badly and died.[225]

Rumours of witchcraft abounded in the armies throughout the war, though for most of the war the evidence is that they were of less concern to authorities than either the ubiquitous *Passauer Kunst* or, the constantly reported transgressions committed by their

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[220] Anon., *Warhaffter Bericht, Von der Belägerung und mit gestürmter hand Eroberung der Stadt Pilsen inn Behem* (Nuremberg, 1619).
[221] Lehmann, *Kriegschronik*, p. 160.
[222] Arnold Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial, der Soldaten Teufel, nach Gottese Wort und gemeinen Lauf der letzten Zeit beschrieben* (Altenburg, 1638), p. 174.
[223] Friesenegger, *Chronik*, p. 84.
[224] Carve, Reyßbüchlein, ii, pp. 51-4.
[225] ibid., pp. 347-9.

armies.[226] A single exception of witchcraft coming to the fore involved both Protestant and Catholic armies operating in the Rhineland in the late 1630s and early 1640s – a regional hotbed which was at the time in one of the "high points" of witch persecution in early modern German history.[227] Four of these cases involved the army, and included high-ranking generals such as Königsmarck and Sporck, who was himself suspected of witchcraft. They put women accused of witchcraft through various forms of torture including the "water test" (*Wasserprobe*) and stretching on the rack.[228] Of the four cases, only one of the alleged witches was spared, avoiding the beheading and burning suffered by the others.[229] Chaplain Thomas Carve recounts the details of one case:

> On the first day of January there were eight women attached to the Colonel Carroschi's regiment, which were accused of being witches or sorceresses. One of these was interrogated, indeed stretched naked on the rack, not wanting to admit to anything until she was better extended and tested, whereupon she eventually let out that she had bonded herself to the devil, and often gone about with him in the form of a man. She also told of many sacrileges, murders and other evil deeds, together with her accomplices, who all were punished according to their due.[230]

That all witch cases found by this study that armies either conducted or cooperated with occurred in the Rhineland in the late 1630s to early 1640s, whereas witch trials were unheard of in armies outside of this region, is a clear indication of the "mobile community" of the army's capability to be influenced by the locale in which it

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[226] F.C. Stelzner, *Zauber- und Hexenwesen der Stadt Lohr* (Lohr, 1892), pp. 28ff; A. Bechtold, 'Hexen im bayrischen Lager bei Durlach 1643', *Alemannia,* 44 (1917).
[227] T. Gawlich, 'Der Hexenkommissar Heinrich von Schultheiß und die Hexenverfolgungen im Herzogtum Westfalen', in H. Klueting (ed), *Das kurkölnische Herzogtum Westfalen von den Anfängen der kölnischen Herrschaft im südlichen Westfalen bis zur Säkularisation 1803.* (Münster, 2009); R. Decker, 'Die Hexenverfolgungen im Hochstift Paderborn', *Westfälische Zeitschrift,* 128 (1978); R. Decker, 'Die Hexenverfolgungen im Herzogtum Westfalen', *Westfälische Zeitschrift,* 131/132 (1981-2); G. Schormann, *Der Krieg gegen die Hexen. Das Ausrottungsprogramm der Kurfürsten von Köln* (Göttingen, 1991).
[228] G. Bader, 'Die Hexenprozesse in der Schweiz' (J.D. dissertation, University of Zürich, 1945); H.C.E. Midelfort, *Witch Hunting in Southwestern Germany, 1562-1684* (Stanford, CA, 1972), pp. 76f.
[229] J. Diefenbach, *Der Hexenwahn vor und nach der Glaubensspaltung in Deutschland* (Mainz, 1886), p. 64; Bechtold, 'Hexen'.
[230] Carve, *Reyßbüchlein*, ii, p. 228; Bechtold, 'Hexen im bayrischen Lager bei Durlach 1643'.

operated.[231] On the other hand, and despite their brutality, only six known cases among mobile communities numbering in the tens of thousands is remarkably few in comparison to the hundreds which were going on in the Rhineland at the time, and shows a remarkable degree of independence of the army legal realm and overall military culture from that which was immediately surrounding it.[232] Whatever the reasons behind its independence – military necessity, a need for daily cooperation between all members of the community on a practical level merely in order to survive, or just the prevalence of a different mindset to religious/spiritual subjectivity – this mentality may have been a herald of the more pragmatic religio-political and religio-social developments which would characterize post-Westphalian culture in the Empire.

Passauer Kunst

Magic, in a military context usually known as "*Passauer Kunst*" (literally, "Passauer art"), was by far the most common form of non-Christian spiritual belief and practice in the armies of the Thirty Years War. Modern historiography of magic and the occult has focused largely on black magic (i.e., *maleficium*) and especially witchcraft, which was often simply equated with *maleficium*.[233] *Passauer Kunst*, however, was part of a different category of magic, known as white magic or natural magic, "*Naturali legitima que Magica*", which was mostly absent of criminal or maleficent associations, and much

[231] D. Pleiss, *Bodenständige Bevölkerung und fremdes Kriegsvolk: Finnen in deutschen Quartieren 1630-1650* (Åbo, 2017), p. 73; Bader, *Hexenprozesse*, p. 343; F. Riegler, *Reichsstadt Schwäbisch Hall im Dreissigjährigen Kriege...* (Stuttgart, 1911), p. 71.
[232] On particularly the resilience of military culture, see D. Parrott, *The Business of War: Military Enterprise and Military Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2012); Staiano-Daniels, 'The War People', p. 13.
[233] Behringer, *Hexenverfolgung*, p. 173.

less obviously at odds with Christian (especially moral) teachings.[234] The name probably had nothing to do with the Bavarian city of Passau, being instead a corruption of the archaic term, "*Pessulant*" (one who engages in magical practices),[235] and included a variety of magical formulae mostly for protecting soldiers which went by different names "*Festmachen*", "*Hartmachen*", "*Wundsegen*", or "*Gefroren*" – terms for usually temporary protection against different types of bodily harm such as bullets, stabbing wounds, illness, or injuries. Though one could also effect other magical outcomes such as driving away thunderstorms, or binding swords with which one would always be victorious.[236]

The distinction between natural magic and black magic was more or less clear to contemporaries, and there is no indication that natural magic, unlike *maleficium* which often involved engaging with or summoning demonic powers and obvious deviation from Christian teaching, was conceived of by military men as incompatible with Christian belief. Though opinions, especially of chaplains, varied as to whether it threatened or compromised Christian belief, soldiers typically saw it as an addition to, or perhaps even a component of, Christian belief. An Erfurt magical practitioner who was frequently patronized by soldiers (referred to by a diarist as a "*Schwerdtseger*, "sword-blesser") even defended his practice as being in accordance with God's commands, when it was found that he had blessed a sword which was was (according to him, without his foreknowledge) subsequently used to murder the garrison commandant.[237]

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[234] N. Funke, ''Naturali legitimâque Magica' oder 'Teufflische Zauberey'? Das 'Festmachen' im Militär des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts', *Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit,* 13 (2009), p. 18.
[235] The origin of the name might have nothing to do with the city of Passau. Gustav Freytag believed it was a corruption of the term 'Pessulant', which described one engaged with magical practices. Funke, 'Magica', p. 18.
[236] ibid., pp. 32, 73.
[237] Carve, *Reyßbüchlein*, ii, pp. 72, 75.

Historians have given only limited attention to the area of superstitious belief and practice among early modern soldiers in central Europe, but what research there is does suggest that it was widespread. Gustav Freytag claimed that "There was hardly anyone who did not participate in such practices" (which he attributed to "heathenish conceptions of the German soul").[238] Other sources reviewed by this study support Freytag's (first) claim, including primary sources stating that superstitious belief and practice was "very common",[239] and that "many" soldiers participated.[240]

Passauer Kunst was prominent enough to be outlawed by some armies' articles of war as well as by most clerics, though the orthodox line on magic and superstition was for other clergy still an open question.[241] Denunciation was the most common clerical response,[242] and some went so far as to imply to soldiers that such practices would lead to their damnation, as did Electoral Saxon commander Arnim's field preacher Abraham Lehmann, or Braunschweig-Lüneburg superintendent Sigismund Scherertz. Lehmann provided his soldierly audience with two pages of examples from Old Testament and German history, in which warriors prayed, "instead of" engaging in superstition. Encouragingly, all were victorious.[243] Scherertz's message to soldiers about those who engage in superstition was, "They are all in a dangerous place, because they are not trusting in God, and if they die, they must be lost."[244]

Perhaps even stronger evidence of widespread superstition in the armies was some clerics' attempting to "claim" or christianize it by appropriating terminology

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[238] L.A. Rhoades (ed), *Aus dem Jahrhundert des großen Kriege: von Gustav Freytag* (Boston, 1899), pp. 42-5. See also G. Freytag, *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit* (8 vols, Wien, 1926-7), vi, pp. 249-59.
[239] Anon., *Warhaffter Bericht*, p. 17.
[240] Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, ii, p. 1057; Sigismund Scherertz, *Manuale Militantium. Kriegsbüchlein, Für Christliche Soldaten: und für die, so mit Kriegsnoth von Gott heimgesucht sind* (Lüneburg, 1626), pp. xii, 72; Lehmann, *Krieges-seufftzer*, p. xii.
[241] Wieden, 'Söldner', p. 90.
[242] Zacharias, *Heerpredigt*.
[243] Lehmann, *Krieges-seufftzer,* pp. xiii-xiv.
[244] *Kriegsbüchlein Sigismundum Scherertzium 1628*, pp. xii, 72. See also Lehmann, *Krieges-seufftzer,* p. xii.

and symbols associated with *Passauer Kunst* and magic to describe Christian prayers and devotions. It comes as no surprise that the earliest known adopter of the tactic of appropriating magical and superstitious terminology for a military audience had been a Jesuit, Georg Scherer, who in 1595 published the book, *Ein bewerte Kunst vnd Wundsegen*,[245] though others were soon to follow in his stead. Thurn and Bernhardine field preacher Nicephor Kessel published a tract entitled "Authentic Protection (*Hart-*) and Security (*Vestmachung*)… sure and wonderful remedies, through which any christian soldier may be protected from all danger…."[246] An anonymous cleric exhorted the Swedish army: "Instead of practicing the hard and firm arts, be led to know and practice another and the only true arts… the right, true faith…."[247] Arnold Mengering related to soldiers the desires of the popular saintly patrons of amulets: "St. George and St. Christopher bid them to pray, rather than do this."[248]

Passauer Kunst could be performed by a recognized practitioner (there is one case of a soldier being a magical practitioner, a Georg Rüger of Kloster Neustadt in Franz-Albrecht of Saxe-Lauenburg's regiment, and two of soldiers' wives),[249] or by any individual willing to assume the risks. The formulae by which the magic was enacted often centred around physical objects. These were either swallowed (especially small pieces of paper, "*Zettelchen*", with an inscription)[250] or carried about one's person as an amulet or charm. Soldiers purchased from dealers in camp or themselves procured objects of all kinds, such as particular kinds of moss,[251] the first menstruation blood of

[245] Georg Scherer, *Ein bewerte Kunst vnd Wundsegen* (Ingolstadt, 1595).
[246] Kessel, *Hart- und Vestmachung*.
[247] Anon., *Kön: Schwed: Victori Schlüssel. Mit welchem Der Durchleuchtigste, Grosmächtigste und aller Sieghafftigste KriegesFürst und Herr, Herr Gustaphus Adolphus... zu desselbigen gefallenen Iustici Werckes, und Religions Freyheiten...* (Halle an der Saale, 1632), p. 6.
[248] Lehmann, *Krieges-seufftzer,* p. xii.
[249] Stelzner, *Zauber- und Hexenwesen*, pp. 28ff; Diefenbach, *Hexenwahn*, p. 64; Bader, *Hexenprozesse*, p. 343.
[250] Staricius, *Heldenschatz*, p. 92.
[251] ibid., p. 92.

a virgin on a linen cloth (to be carried under the right arm),[252] or pieces of iron – especially pieces of shot.[253] Other means of *Passauer Kunst* were more ready to hand: comestibles like butter, apples, pears, or cheese, which promised protection from cutting wounds, or "characteristic bread" which was said to offer general twenty-four hour protection.[254]

A surprising aspect of superstitious belief was that most of the objects used to acquire protection offered by *Passauer Kunst* (excluding the edible ones) were explicitly Christian, indicating the perception that spiritual power was to be derived from these objects in particular. Amulets of St. George or St. Christopher were common means of protection[255] (Wallenstein wore an astrological amulet),[256] as were crosses, commonly engraved onto weapons and other personal items.[257] If one lost one's way, reciting the twenty-third Psalm could provide navigational aid.[258] Soldiers attending Mass or Holy Communion could obtain a Host, and later embed it beneath the skin somewhere on their body.[259] Just as bizarre, pieces of flesh from young people who had recently died "before their time" could accord power and life to those who carried them.[260]

The Gospel of St. John was held to be particularly powerful and offered protection if it was carried on one's person.[261] Most common was the first verse, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God"

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[252] ibid., pp. 72-8.
[253] Scherertz, *Kriegsbüchlein*, p. 72.
[254] Funke, 'Magica', pp. 17,19.
[255] E.M. Kronfeld, *Der Krieg im Aberglauben und Volksglauben* (München, 1915), pp. 97-8; Lehmann, *Krieges-seufftzer,* p. xii*;* William Watts, [*Swedish Intelligencer* pamphlet series], *The Swedish Intelligencer. The first part…*, p. 127.
[256] Geiger, *Wallenstein's Astrologie*, pp. 116-17.
[257] Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, ii, p. 1056. Many weapons – usually muskets and swords – survive in museums across Europe which bear engraved crosses. See also H. Bächtold-Stäubli et al., *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (10 vols, Berlin, 1931), iii, pp. 657-9.
[258] Staricius, *Heldenschatz,* p. 102.
[259] G. Freytag, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg 1618-1648*. (Bad Langensalza, 2005), p. 150.
[260] Funke, 'Magica', p. 27.
[261] Scherertz, *Kriegsbüchlein*, p. 72; Staricius, *Heldenschatz,* p. 91.

written onto a scrap of paper which was then variously swallowed by soldiers or sealed inside a hollowed quill or hazelnut and hung about their necks. Some soldiers were recorded as having concealed the paper scrap under a Catholic altar for a few Masses before doing so.[262] St. John's magical protection extended also to his eponymous herb, St. John's Wort, which, especially if picked between eleven and twelve o'clock on the feast of St. John, could be carried about one's person either in the form of dried leaves, or blended into a yarn woven by a maiden seven years old or younger.[263]

One indicator of whether or not magic "took" was the sound made by a dagger crossing crusts of bread while one's intentions were contemplated.[264] And there was the surer test of live fire from the enemy, which could provide definitive proof of efficacy. A private in Ernst von Mansfeld's army in 1618 recorded two cases of soldiers bold enough to intentionally expose themselves to prolonged enemy fire for these purposes.[265] One of them, a Mansfelder private Hans Fabel, strolled with a tankard of beer across the main street, proceeding out of the city where he came under fire from the walls. Confident of his protection (*Festmachung*), Fabel paused in the street to empty his mug before ambling back to the fortifications, whereupon he was reported to have removed five bullets from his breast. (Whether or not the bullets were meant to have penetrated flesh is unclear.) Unfortunately, his protection was not so efficacious against the infection to which he succumbed a few weeks later.[266] Bernhardine major Augustin Fritsch reported more immediate results when his unit stormed a ravelin during the taking of Breisach in 1638, where they were opposed by

[262] Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, ii, p. 1055.
[263] Funke, 'Magica', pp. 21-5.
[264] Heilmann, *Kriegsgeschichte*, ii, p. 1056.
[265] Funke, 'Magica', p. 21.
[266] Anon., *Pilsen*, p. 17.

1000 defenders purportedly "*fest*" via *Passauer Kunst*. Fritsch noted dryly that all were killed.[267]

Credulity was not required to practice or benefit from magic. Certain protections could even be applied to others without their knowledge, though the efficacy would be reduced if they did not know about it.[268] In the view of Catholic chaplain Thomas Carve, "much harm" was done to soldiers by a magician, though whether his meaning referred to bodily or only spiritual harm is unclear.[269] In any case officers and soldiers clearly believed in, or at least wagered attempts at harnessing, the spiritual power of objects and especially Christian objects. The dominant view among military men was that magic was not an alternative to Christian belief, but another means by which to access spiritual or supernatural reality (however much this was met with the disapprobation of some clergy).

Officers and the occult

While cruder practices were most common among soldiers, multiple sources attest that *Passauer Kunst* and occult belief in general was by no means restricted to the rank and file. Officers faced the same dangers of illness, injury, wounding, and death as soldiers, including leading officers who also engaged in superstitious belief and practice.[270] Tilly, Gustavus, Wallenstein, Terzka, Holk, Pappenheim, and the Duke of Savoy were among the many rumoured to have been made *fest*,[271] Archduke Leopold

[267] Augustin von Fritsch, 'Tagbuch des Augustin von Fritsch: samt einer Ubersicht der schönen Literatur', in L. Westenrieder (ed), *Beyträge zur vaterländischen Historie, Geographie, Statistik und Landwirthschaft* (8 vols, Munich, 1792), iv, p. 168.
[268] Anon., *Pilsen*, pp. 17-18. See also Bächtold-Stäubli et al., *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens,* ii, pp. 1354-5.
[269] Carve, *Reyßbüchlein*, ii, p. 157.
[270] *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, ii, pp. 1353-68; William Watts, [*Swedish Intelligencer* pamphlet series], *The Swedish Intelligencer. The first part…*, p. 127; Anon., *Victori-Schlüssel*, pp. 3, 18-19.
[271] *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens,* ii, p. 1355.

Wilhelm, general of the Imperial army from 1639, brought a well-known astrologer and *prognosticon* author Hermann de Werwe (a Protestant) with him on campaign,[272] and Franconian astrologer and calendarist Markus Freund claimed to have been consulted by (including being sent for on horseback) prominent commanders, including Melchior von Hatzfeld, Hohenlohe, Rußwurm, Banér, and unnamed members of the Imperial court.[273] Officers' oeuvre extended far beyond *Passauer Kunst* to include refined magical and esoteric practices of alchemy, necromancy, astrology, horoscopes, and kabbalistic numbering,[274] indicating that officers were if anything even more given to occult belief and practice than the soldiers. Many practices were highly sophisticated, demanding considerable knowledge and facility even to be able to interpret, much less to practice.

The most famously associated with occult matters was Wallenstein. From at least as early as 1608 at the age of twenty-five until his death nearly three decades later he was much taken with it, which some historians have referred to as his "obsession".[275] He arranged for Johannes Kepler, with whom he maintained an occasional correspondence for decades, to read his horoscope, and employed a personal astrologer who travelled with him on campaign, Giovanni Baptista Seni, who helped him interpret events (for which he created at least two dice games that gave a unique prediction for each combination of rolls of three dice),[276] constellations, and his horoscope, which was central to his interpretation of events.[277] Wallenstein's

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[272] H. Jessen, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg in Augenzeugenberichten* (Munich, 1972), p. 388.
[273] Sieglin, 'Zur Geschichte Frankens im dreißigjährigen Krieg', *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte* 3 (1880).
[274] Necromancy: Wiltheim, *Itinerarium*, p. 207; kabbalistic texts: Georg Daniel Koschwitz, *Gloriosa Iustorum Requies... Über das frühzeitige... absterben Frewlin... deß... Ernst Georg von Sparr...* (Stettin, 1639), p. 84 and unpaginated epicedia; Johann-Peter Titzen, 'Sonnet oder Trost-Rede Des seelig-abgestorbenen Wollgebornen Fräwleins', printed in Koschwitz, *Gloriosa Iustorum Requies,* unpaginated, [epicedia]; Wilson, *Tragedy,* p. 249.
[275] G. Mortimer, *Wallenstein,* p. 4.
[276] Geiger, *Wallenstein's Astrologie*, pp. 137-47.
[277] Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 2, p. 473.

"astrological foolishness" was a matter of constant controversy and one of the factors in his fall from favour at the Imperial Court.[278]

Like Wallenstein, Franz Albrecht of Saxe-Lauenburg used astrology to interpret daily events of his life according to astrological signs. His "*Schreibkalendar*" survives in the Lower Saxon Archive in Wolfenbüttel, in which propitious events of his life are recorded and dated.[279] He noted such occurrences as engagement with the enemy, travel, his birthday, and trysts with an anonymous lover represented by "♑♌". Each event was represented by a symbol which would be interpreted according to the year's astrological *prognosticon*, which Franz Albrecht attached in the diary for the given year.[280] The astrological *prognosticon* of 1642 particularly shows the fluidity that existed between superstitious belief, science, and Christian belief, being written by Georg Kresslin, self-described "astronomer and pastor".[281]

Christian von Anhalt had been "deep in cabalistic texts" and Rosicrucianism,[282] and general Raimondo Montecuccoli was at least as preoccupied with the occult as Wallenstein. He studied and wrote about astrology, alchemy, natural magic, and superstition, including the philosophy and history behind them.[283] His military *Treatise* is his best-known work, but he also authored and edited a forty-volume *Zibaldone,* "a compendium of the great authorities of the occult and magical natural philosophy, covering Paracelsian alchemy and medicine, and Hermetic, cabbalistic, and Rosicrucian wisdom and visions…. According to a contemporary,

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[278] ibid.
[279] NLW 1 Alt 5 Nr. 681 (1625-30); NLW 1 Alt 5 Nr. 683 (1638-42).
[280] NLW 1 Alt 5 Nr. 682 (1631-33). See also D. Herlitz, *Prognosticon Astrologicum, oder Grosse Practica, auff das Jahr 1633* (Stettin, 1632).
[281] Georg Kresslin Onold, *Prognotsticon Astrologicum, Auff das Jahr nach der Seligen und gnadenreichen Geburt und Menschwerdung unsers lieben Herrn und Heyland des Jesu Christ, M. DC. XXXXII* (Bayreuth, 1642).
[282] Wilson, *Tragedy*, p. 249.
[283] A. Gat, *Origins of Military Thought* (Oxford, 2013), p. 13.

Montecuccoli could recite (some works) "word for word".[284] Another, if obscure, indication that occult knowledge was characteristically not seen by its practitioners as running against religious orthodoxy is that Montecuccoli took the effort to obtain special dispensation from the Roman Inquisition to possess banned books on the occult.[285]

While there is every indication that soldiers and officers, notorious for their superstition, more often harboured views sympathetic to at least some magical practices, there are indications that some did not. Surrounding the funeral of Captain Walter Devereaux (well-known as one of the key players in the murder of Wallenstein) several cavalrymen were accused by chaplain Thomas Carve as having started rumours of bad omens such as black cats collecting about Deveraux's grave, "along with other hoaxes and shameful lies". A local figure was summoned to confirm whether the rumours were true; according to Carve "he held these to be pure loose insults and vilification".[286] If Carve was right, then this was a clear case of occult associations being used to diminish and discredit the reputation of an officer, and presumably others with whom he was associated.

Indeed, attachment to occult belief and practice did little to hinder a "strong churchly sense" among many soldiers and officers, even while the close attention paid by some officers to astrology indicates that its influence upon their interpretations of events and accordingly their decision-making could be as strong as Christian influences, if not more so.[287] One historian describes Montecuccoli's occult work *Zibaldone*, as "a clear example of the many-sidedness of his spirit…",[288] recognizing the

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[284] Raimondo Montecuccoli, *Trattato della guerra*, 1641, ed. and trans.A. Veltze, printed in A. Veltze, *Ausgewählte Schriften, des Raimund Fürsten Montecuccoli General-Leutnant und Feldmarschall* (4 vols, Vienna, 1899), i, pp. 3-381*;* Gat, *Origins*, p. 17.
[285] Veltze, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, i, p. cxxvii.
[286] Carve, Reyßbüchlein, ii, p. 113.
[287] Veltze, *Ausgewählte Schriften,* i, p. cxxvii.
[288] ibid., p. cxiii.

multiple strands of spirituality or "belief" which blended without contradiction in the seventeenth century in which contemporaries often expected less than moderns in the way of codification and systematization from religion and belief. Historian Kaspar von Greyerz's unconventional use of the term syncretism to describe the overlapping nature of the relationship between magic and the occult and established systems of belief aptly describes what was a grey area for most contemporaries:[289] after all "natural magic" and superstition were neither certainly sins, nor, despite many preachers' opinions, obviously incompatible with Christian belief.[290] Superstitious and occult belief and practice exemplified the "many-sidedness" of belief in the armies of the Thirty Years War, and brings into view the larger spectrum of belief within which the confessions were situated, as well as the broader sense of the term "religion" – a simply human reality with which most, including military men, at least interacted, and more often in which they directly participated.

Conclusion

Amidst the religion-infused institutions and society of early modern central Europe, a devoted minority in the army is what should be expected. Aside from a few exceptions, especially on the Bohemian campaign of 1620, these were not archetypal "holy warriors", but merely what one might call "men of faith" – of varying degrees of intensity, and of confessionally particular character. The holy warrior and the "military man of faith" differed not in level of devoutness, but in the degree of immediate militance (or not) they associated with the duties of faith. Drastic changes in circumstance and fortune over the course of three decades of war relegated the

[289] K. von Greyerz, *Religion and Culture*, p. 14.
[290] Funke, 'Magica', p. 20.

"holy warrior" to a place of irrelevance and anachronism; not because religiosity had declined, but because religion's cause was decreasingly clear. Together with this pious minority was a minority on the opposite pole, attracted to the army for the opportunities of capitalizing not merely on the rightful spoils of war, but on the greater possibilities for crime and destruction that accompanied it.[291] It was Luther's view that leaving the social order to join the military made it more likely that one was "not on good terms with God".[292]

The actual beliefs of soldiers and officers were a separate matter from how devout they were; unlike the ranks of the more religiously militant at the war's outset, most of whom still fell short of the "holy warrior", which rapidly declined, religiosity in the armies did not fade over the course of the war.[293] If anything, the increasing organization of military pastoral care helped to foster its modest growth. Armies were populated by a professionalized soldiery; not a secularized one. As one might expect to find in modern armies, personal religious agency varied on an individual basis. Some soldiers and officers were very devout, and others were not, with the majority somewhere in the middle. In the words of Saxon chaplain Abraham Lehmann, "We have had… as many zealous pray-ers as… evil-doers."[294] Even religiously apathetic soldiers and officers reflected the greater presence of religion in early modern society in the very high degree of religious literacy by modern standards which they typically retained – often with a subterranean level of "actual belief" as well. As has been discussed at length, the extent to which their religiosity was "confessional" also varied; but to hold that religiosity was typically not manifested in confessionally specific ways would be an error. Extensive practice of *Passauer Kunst* and other occult belief

[291] See also Funke, 'Religion', p. 27 for a similar point.
[292] ibid., p. 29.
[293] Wilson, 'Dynasty, Constitution, and Confession', p. 513.
[294] Lehmann, *Krieges-seufftzer,* unpaginated [preface].

transcended (rather than superannuated) the boundaries of official confession, exemplifying the military's distinctiveness as a social group with its own accepted attitudes and relationship to rituals, practices, and beliefs.

Chapter VI. Religion and the Group

Introduction

The previous chapter noted the heightened religious sensitivity in individual army members as they faced potential death. In this chapter, a parallel effect is observed in the group, in which collective religious observance and solidarity increased at times of massed, all-army action – battle – moments in which consciousness bent toward assimilation of collective group identity, of which religion was one of the most prominent elements. Group behaviour studies in the social sciences have deeply analyzed this dichotomy and are useful for the purpose of providing a conceptual structure for the relationship between individuals comprising a group and the group itself.[1]

Two insights about the relationship between the group and its individual members emerge from group behaviour theory which particularly apply to this chapter:

> 1) "The leader is likely to form the nucleus [of the group]": *a group's leader occupies a unique position of formative influence upon group identity and actions.*[2]
>
> 2) "Groups have an identity… on the group level. It serves as a source of unity and stability and forms an important part, in turn, of the members' social identity": *groups have a collective identity of their own.*[3]

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[1] M. von Cranach, 'Leadership as a Function of Group Action', in C.F. Graumann and S. Moscovici (eds), *Changing Conceptions of Leadership* (New York, 1986); H. Tajfel, *Gruppenkonflikt und Vorurteil: Entstehung und Funktion sozialer Sterotypen* (Bern, 1982); E.A. Shils and M. Janowitz 'Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World War II' *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 12 (1948); A. King (ed), *Frontline: Combat and Cohesion in the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford, 2015). See also Berg, *Military Occupation*, pp. 17-19.
[2] Cranach, 'Leadership as a Function of Group Action', p. 128. See also Tajfel, *Gruppenkonflikt und Vorurteil*.
[3] Cranach, 'Leadership as a Function of Group Action', p. 128.

Regarding group leadership, especially considering "the personal nature" of early seventeenth-century monarchy (no less than generalship), the influence of religion and confession over war policy and military strategy could be felt strongly.[4] Leaders of armies (both political rulers and commanding generals) exerted guiding influence over corporate actions and personality – not in the way of the "great man", but merely as a function of their position in an organizational hierarchy. They chose the banners, the chaplains, and even the troops themselves. They wielded juridical authority over troops and were the source of countless decisions about the movements, actions, and institutional norms of collectivities of tens of thousands of men and camp followers.

As for the group, armies in their corporate capacities had an identity of their own which "originate[d] from the members' cognitions and emotions",[5] but was distinct from those of any single individual. Group behaviour theory conceives of this as a dichotomy, typically intuited by individuals in the group, between the personal and the social self – the private individual realm versus that of the group.[6]

All armies' constituent individuals interacted with and to some degree participated in the group's identity regardless of their private religious beliefs. This did not require the melding of individuals' personal religious agency with that of the group, as illustrated by the divergence of many soldiers' and officers' personal religion from that of their respective armies, but was incentivized in certain contexts – for instance for an officer in the improvement of chances of promotion, especially in the Liga/Bavarian army, or, very differently, for a member of the rank and file feeling either the emotive pull toward, or recognizing the practical utility of, group solidarity

[4] P. Wilson, 'Strategy and the Conduct of War', in O. Asbach and P. Schröder (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Thirty Years War* (Farnham, 2014), p. 276.
[5] ibid., p. 128.
[6] W.B. Swann et al., 'When Group Membership Gets Personal: A Theory of Identity Fusion; Festinger and Cognitive Dissonance', *Psychological Review,* 119/3 (2012), p. 441. See also Fulbrook and Rublack, 'The 'Social Self' and Ego-Documents'.

and unity of a unit or army entering a pitched battle, toward which religion was the single greatest contributor in the Thirty Years War. As seen below, this was most heightened in massed group action like battles.

Though the institutional armies of the Thirty Years War trod especially lightly around the boundaries of the personal self with regard to religion, the same individuals were as assembled collectives often addressed by chaplains and generals in a much more heavy-handed tone, because in these contexts it was the group's social self which came to the fore. Remarkably, this study has encountered evidence of not a single instance in which members of the rank and file objected to or protested religious content in such a context, however strong it sometimes could be. For soldiers hailing from most parts of the Empire, differences between Christian confessions were not yet experienced as so ossified as they would soon be in coming decades. All the more so then was it, especially in the face of potential impending death, straightforward for a soldier of a confession different from that of his institutional army and perhaps, or perhaps not, of the majority of his comrades to elect to join in with the expression of group identity according to a strand of Christian faith which after all was broadly similar to his own. This is what the vast majority of army members did.

Group behaviour theorists refer to the phenomenon resulting from this effect as identity fusion, which "encourage[s] people to channel their personal agency into group behavior."[7] Along with the two principles of group dynamics discussed above, the concept of identity fusion gives a framework for better understanding the relationship between religion/confession and the collective actions of armies,

[7] ibid. For a predecessor see "deindividuation theory", D. Forsyth, *Group Dynamics,* 3rd edn (London, 1999), p. 443.

articulating and delimiting the senses in which individuals do and do not participate in the distinct collective identity of the group of which they are a part.

Here careful distinctions between different senses of the term "religion" are necessary: between religion as individuals' inward belief, religion as outward affiliation, and religion as attitude toward religion whether inward or outward, or toward one's own religion or others'. In the collective setting of an army of the Thirty Years War the latter category was most important – not "what do they believe?", but, "what do they believe about what they believe, and how firmly?" With the group acting as a group, it is about what the collective has internalized – "practical ethics", per Max Weber, and not dissimilar to the sociological idea of "habitus" popularized by Norbert Elias's work.[8]

Thus, for example, regarding the "thousand" Bavarians captured by the Swedes at Donauwörth, whose religion Monro implied influenced their absconding "within days",[9] or the Scottish soldiers (including himself) who "would make shipwracke of [their] consciences"[10] if they accepted service in the Imperial army: was it that these Bavarians and Scots happened all to possess unusually large measures of personal devotion, or rather that the unusually high degree of confessional homogeneity within these respective forces had fostered an unusually high degree of internalized confessional character in the group's collective identity, which coloured individual soldiers' reactions to impressment into an army of the confessional "other" differently than it would have done for the typical soldier of the war? Given the limited effects of confessionalization in the military which was in its infancy during the

[8] R. van Krieken, 'Social discipline and state formation: Weber and Oestreich on the historical sociology of subjectivity', *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift*, 17/1 (1990); N. Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization* (Oxford, 1994).
[9] Monro, *Expedition*, p. 224.
[10] ibid., p. 202.

war (see Part I), not to mention the force of contemporary military culture at large, the possibility of external coercion as an explanation of these group dispositions can be ruled out. Thus, in such a case the direction of inquiry about religion itself may move from dissecting and debating weightings of different causal forces "behind" ostensibly religiously motivated actions, to examining the specific nature(s) of the religion of the groups concerned (having been established as an important factor), and of the individuals which comprised them.

Murder, mockery, and mercy: treatment of clergy as evidence of adoption of group identity

It is difficult to assess soldiers' view of the relationship between confession and confessional policies enacted by their armies. While the previous chapter's finding of a considerable level of "actual belief" among soldiers and officers offers indications of soldiers' feelings toward the religious and confessional aspects of their army's group identity, treatment of captured clergy of the confessional "other" – though a metric no less crude than its subject matter – sheds further light. There was demonstrable divergence between armies of differing confessions in behaviours toward clergy of the "opposite" confession, who were often systematically hunted down, severely abused and/or murdered, whereas clergy of the army's own confession were hardly ever harmed.[11]

The diverse confessional background of army members' personal confessional affiliations obviously cannot account for the more or less homogenous behaviour of respective armies. What can is the idea that army members internalized elements of

[11] For an exceptionally detailed account of an anti- (Catholic) clerical pogrom see Ganzhorn, *Würzburg unter schwedischer Herrschaft*, pp. 320-400.

the public confessional aspect of their armies' collective identity (the "social self"). The widespread flight of not all, but many clergy – especially Jesuits, and most especially clergy known to be serving in an enemy army of the confessional "other" – in advance of enemy occupation suggests that they saw the matter similarly. Sometimes clergy even fled in disguise – as a student, as did the Abbott of Allerheiligen; a trader, as did Catholic field chaplain Thomas Carve; or a Venetian merchant, as did Jesuit Fr. Peter Sallaci.[12] Rough handling, including whipping, robbing, kidnapping for ransom (according to one Hessian historian, the Croats conducted a concerted ransom campaign in Hesse in 1636-7, capturing and selling for ransom nearly a hundred Lutheran parish pastors),[13] robbery, and parading of captive clergy in chains was the least that could be expected if caught.[14] According to parish records in Stein, its Lutheran pastor Johann Christoph Keller was hung three times by Croats in 1622, but somehow managed to survive each attempt.[15]

Due to the clergy's high rates of literacy and their prominence in local and ecclesial networks, seemingly endless record exists of abuse of clergy. An uncommon trait of this source material is that it reflects considerably more on the rank and file than on army leadership. In some areas the army's persecution of clergy of the confessional "other" was more or less official policy, such as for Catholic armies in Bohemia, the Palatinate, Bavaria, and Upper Austria,[16] or for Protestant armies almost anywhere Jesuits could be found. Typically it was unofficial, conducted with the knowledge of commanders, but neither centrally organized nor participated in by all. A rare claim,

[12] Burger, 'Itinerarium', p. 311; Carve, *Reyßbüchlein*, i, pp. 44-45; Söltl, *Fürsten-Ideal der Jesuiten,* p. 119; Monro, *Expedition*, pp. 244, 6.
[13] Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen,* viii, p. 424. See also Duhr, *Jesuiten*, i, pp. 398, 404, 431.
[14] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 1, pp. 401-10; Eberl, *Geschichte,* pp. 106, 115; Eckhardt, 'Bericht', pp. 51-2.
[15] L. Feigenbutz, *Der Kraichgau und seine Orte: eine Geschichtliche Abhandlung...* (Bretten, 1878), p. 31.
[16] H. Louthan, *Converting Bohemia* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 179-83.

made by local clergy in the vicinity of Troppau in 1622, was that Danish colonel Mitzlafff had personally commanded the "torture" of the parish priest of the village of Leitersdorf.[17]

Encounters between enemy troops and clergy, which could be expected to be violent, typically occurred in the aftermath of a battle or siege, and sometimes during a sack – situations in which soldiers were dispersed and isolated as individuals or small groups with greatest freedom to act independently. Secondly, and most tellingly, this study has found no evidence of commanders officially or unofficially encouraging their troops to deal roughly with the clergy of the confessional "other"; in other words, it did not need commanding to be carried out. It was more or less an accepted norm that "other" clergy would be targets of abuse and violence, even if most articles of war expressly forbade it.[18]

Abuse was often accompanied by mockery, which could be of a confessional bent. On multiple occasions soldiers in Protestant armies dressed themselves in clerical vestments and rambled about a captured town pretending to be priests.[19] In 1632 while accompanying the Swedish army in Donauwörth, Gustavus Adolphus's wife Queen Eleonora had one of the donkeys in her train dressed in the Capuchin habit and hitched in front of her quarters in the Fuggerpalast, which happened to be immediately across the street from the Capuchin house.[20] On another occasion Gustavus himself jestingly accused his captive the Abbott of Fulda of providing nuns

[17] J. Zukal, 'Die Liechtensteinische Inquisition in dern Herzogtümern Troppau und Jägerndorf aus Anlaß der Mansfeldschen Rebellion 1626-1627', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte Osterreichisch-Schlesiens* 7/1 (1912), p. 19.
[18] On victims of early modern violence, see A. Beise, 'Verbrecherische und heilige Gewalt im deutschsprachigen Trauerspiel des 17. Jahrhunderts', in Meumann, Niefanger, *Ein Schauplatz Herber Angst*; O. Ulbricht, 'The Experience of Violence during the Thirty Years War: A Look at the Civilian Victims', in J. Canning et al. (eds), *Power, Violence, and Mass Death in Pre-Modern and Modern Times* (London, 2016).
[19] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 1, pp. 401-10.
[20] Eberl, *Geschichte*, p. 107, see also pp. 113-14; Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 1, pp. 405-6.

as concubines for Wallenstein's general staff.[21] Swedish troops billeted in Dillingen in 1634 forced the chancellor of the Jesuit college there, a Steborius, to dress as a soldier and stand watch from noon until sunrise the following morning. In this case humour went both ways: "Though [Steborius] was mocked, he took this opportunity to do some memorable preaching."[22]

Whether Protestant or Catholic, this study has come across at least twenty-five instances of clergy being murdered by troops serving in an army aligned with the "other" confession, and none of clergy murdered by soldiers serving in an army aligned with their own confession.[23] On occasion the killings involved gruesome torture involving variously beating, skinning, and the famous *Schwedische Trunk* ("Swedish drink") in which large quantities of filth were forced down victims' throats.[24] A Hessian eyewitness account of the Imperial army's occupation of 1621-2 records seven cavalrymen belonging to Anholt's regiment forcing Johann Paul Klettenmayer, the chaplain of the Lutheran parish pastor Heinrich Lambinus von Wertheim of Bayerfelden, and his wife to undress and dance to Klettenmayer's singing of *Herr erhalt uns bei deinem Wort*. Showing how quickly mockery could descend into violence, they afterward murdered and castrated him.[25]

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[21] Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen,* viii, p. 214.
[22] Duhr, *Jesuiten*, i, p. 414.
[23] ibid., pp. 170, 179, 180, 184; R. Kunz and W. Lizalek (eds), 'Mansfeldischer Greueltaten beim Einmarsch in die Landgrafschaft Hessen-Darmstadt', in R. Kunz and W. Lizalek (eds), *Südhessische Chroniken aus der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* (Heppenheim, 1993); Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, pp. 307, 394-5, 396; Rommel *Geschichte von Hessen,* viii, pp. 340-1; Naegele, *Benedikt*, p. 208; Stockmann, *Lamentatio*, p. 44; Hohenegger, *Geschichte*, pp. 205, 317-18; Eckhardt, 'Bericht', pp. 53-6; Asmus Teufel, 'The Siege and Capture of Münden, 1626', printed in H. Medick and B. Marschke (eds), *Experiencing the Thirty Years War: a Brief History With Documents* (Boston, 2013), pp. 127-30.
[24] Burger, 'Itinerarium', pp. 310-12; Ganzhorn, *Würzburg unter schwedischer Herrschaft,* pp. 350-400; Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 1, pp. 406, 10; Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen*, viii, pp. 340-1; Eckhardt, 'Bericht', pp. 53-6; O. Klopp, Der dreißigjährige krieg bis zum tode Gustav Adolfs (3 vols, Paderborn, 1891-1896), iii, 1, pp. 416-17.
[25] Anon., 'Kurzer und Warhaftiger Bericht', printed in R. Kunz and W. Lizalek (eds), *Südhessische Chroniken*, pp. 170, 184.

Soldiers forcing the Lutheran pastor and his wife to dance naked to *Herr erhalt uns*…, or calling a pastor they were robbing a "Lutheran rascal",[26] or the "half drunk" officer of the watch in Augsburg who summoned three Jesuits on a Friday morning (for Catholics traditionally a day of fasting) and threatened to kill them if they did not eat meat,[27] or the Swedish soldiers in Upper Alsatia in 1632 who, jeering at six priests from the balcony as they celebrated Mass, waited until the elevation of the Host to strike them down with the butts of their guns before killing them,[28] again highlight the intentionally confessional character of mockery or profanation which were regularly carried out upon religious objects, spaces, and clergy themselves. As acts of violence were usually carried out by small groups or individuals, it is futile to attempt to fully account for motivations of these actions, which must necessarily have varied. But neither is it going too far to conclude that religion and confession obviously played a major part.[29]

In numerous instances soldiers and officers (often to the great surprise of the clergy involved) did clerics of the "other" confession a good turn, even sparing, saving, and protecting their lives specifically on account of their holy office.[30] Examples of beneficent treatment included a Swedish soldier who stopped on the road to give a

[26] 'Kurzer und Warhaftiger Bericht. was die Grafschaft Erbach...', printed in Kunz and Lizalek, *Südhessische Chroniken*, pp. 170, 184.
[27] Duhr, *Jesuiten*, i, p. 419.
[28] ibid., p. 413.
[29] For more on approaches to early modern violence, see E. Charters, M. Houllemare, and P. Wilson, 'Introduction: violence and the early modern world', in E. Charters, M. Houllemare, and P. Wilson (eds), *A Global History of Early Modern Violence* (Manchester, 2020); D. Crouzet, *Les guerriers de Dieu, la violence au temps des guerres de Religion* (Seyssel, 1990); *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence* (Oxford, 2013).
[30] Naegele, *Benedikt*, pp. 158, 160; Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 1, p. 409; Valentin Eckhardt, 'Bericht des Pfarrers Valentin Eckhardt über die braunschweigische Einquartierung in Stumpertenrod am 1. Juni 1622.', printed in W. Diehl (ed), *Bilder aus der hessischen Vergangenheit: 1. Reihe: Der verdure Odenwald in der Zeit vor und in den dreißigjährigen Kriege* (Darmstadt, 1909), p. 38; Eckhardt, 'Bericht des Pfarrers Valentin Eckhardt', printed in Hermann, 'Aus tiefer Not', pp. 51-2; Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen*, viii, p. 340; Carve, *Reyßbüchlein*, i, p. 46.

probably stolen horse to an elderly priest on foot,[31] Swedish soldiers helping Jesuits with their farm work,[32] one group going so far as to assist priests in escaping the rest of their army,[33] a Bernhardine cavalry colonel making a gift of fine doubtless stolen priestly vestments to a Capuchin house,[34] and innumerable cases of stationing guards to protect clergy and ecclesiastical property.[35] Perhaps most remarkable was a Lutheran Imperial soldier in 1636 in Amtenhausen who halted his Catholic comrades from stealing livestock and horses from a Benedictine monastery.[36]

These instances were exceptions which proved the rule yet illustrated how dependent outcomes could be on contingent circumstances of individuals. Any army member was theoretically capable of exercising significant agency when dispersed outside of massed group activity, whether independently or in small groups. A case in point showing the potential of individual agency to counteract group norms is seen in the example of the Swedish soldier in 1632 who dressed the wound of a priest in Burghausen (who would survive the ordeal), while at the same time his comrades were murdering ten of the wounded priest's confrères throughout the town.[37]

High-ranking clergy could expect gentler treatment when captured, at least from officers.[38] The Protestant commandant of Rain was described as "showing great friendliness" in inviting two Capuchin priests to minister to the townspeople and troops.[39] But as others learned, hospitality could have its drawbacks: after being invited to dine with a Swedish colonel and his staff for a month, the Abbott of

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[31] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 1, p. 409.
[32] ibid., p. 408.
[33] ibid., p. 410, Duhr, *Jesuiten,* i, p. 437.
[34] Baur, *Kapuziner*, p. 17.
[35] Maria Anna Junius, 'Bamberg im Schweden Kriege', printed in P. Wilson (ed), *The Thirty Years War: a Sourcebook* (London, 2010), pp. 257-8; Staiger, *Eichstätt im Schwedenkriege*, pp. 51f.
[36] Heinemann, *Die Schriften*, p. 146
[37] Duhr, *Jesuiten*, i, p. 429.
[38] Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen*, viii, p. 214.
[39] Hohenegger, *Geschichte,* p. 209.

Allerheiligen was "charged" the enormous sum of a thousand gulden for the privilege. Former soldier and Cistercian chronicler Conrad Burger reported that the Abbott managed to escape with his skin, despite paying only four hundred toward the bill.[40] The Jesuits of Dillingen may have regretted dining with Sweden-appointed commandant David van Osten, who used the occasion to quiz them about their stores of treasure. A few days later, the commandant discovered and confiscated in their grounds a famous carbuncle reported to be worth 30,000 ducats; Paracelsus had seen it, and was said to have remarked that even the Emperor could not afford it.[41] With the potential for such life-changing wealth to be gotten from the hands of especially Catholic clergy, it is all the more clear how violence could come to be enacted on them, especially those suspected of deception and withholding, and that there was often more at play in such violence than religion and confession alone.

Humane gestures toward clergy across confessional lines were exceptions to the usual startling brutality with which armies usually handled them. Further reinforcing that the cross-confessional persecution of clergy was the norm, and magnanimity the exception, was that a similar confessionally preferential treatment of church property as opposed to human beings was not characteristic; soldiers and officers rarely discriminated between confessions when it came to robbing a church. A Lutheran church was usually as vulnerable to a Protestant army as a Catholic one, and vice versa.

This confessional boundary in treatment of clergy, combined with the confessionally mixed makeup of the soldiery, indicates that abuse of clergy of the confessional "other" was one way in which individual and small group behaviour of

[40] Burger, 'Itinerarium', pp. 310-12.
[41] Duhr, *Jesuiten*, i, p. 414.

the rank and file reflected the confessional aspect of their army's collective identity. It is impossible to know what proportions of individual soldiers participated or abstained from clerical abuse, leaving open the possibility that it was comparatively few army members who engaged. It was relatively easy for a minority – even a small group of soldiers – to cause a great deal of damage in a given location. However, this is beside the point of the main conclusion which is beyond question: when an army moved into new territory, the clergy of the confessional "other" could be expected to suffer harassment, abuse, torture, and death, whereas the confessionally "same" clergy were generally safe.

Centrally-directed action (confessional war policy)

It being the nature of hierarchical groups, and especially armies, to be led by their leaders, this section on central decision-making focuses on the actions of army commanders, not so much for their importance as individuals *per se*, but as individuals occupying the role of leadership in a hierarchical group – a unique position *vis a vis* all other group members which accorded their beliefs and attitudes greater influence on their army's collective actions.[42] Accordingly, armies' actions in a collective capacity (i.e., the social self), whether in relation to confession or anything else, were largely shaped by their respective leaders.

Despite the minimal extent to which rulers' confessional policies reflected the private confessional affiliations of their armies' members, who again, depending on the army, were of anywhere from a somewhat- to highly-mixed confessional background, they are no less significant as data points in the opposite direction:

[42] See Wilson, 'Strategy and the Conduct of War', p. 276.

namely, enforcing confessional policies was among the actual actions which soldiers and officers of the Thirty Years War proved themselves to be prepared to undertake, potentially despite private confessional affiliations or reservations. This included all the major policy moves of the war dealing with conquered territories such as the recatholicization (and often re-distribution of property) of Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the Palatine lands, the Edict of Restitution, and the development of Swedish policy in conquered territories.[43]

The implications of this upon the social and subjective aspects of military life could merit a thesis in itself: what sort of dissociation from religious questions, or loyalties, resulted among army members who found themselves enforcing policies they may have disagreed with, against their own co-religionists? How did they view the interaction between the religious policies they were enforcing, the political rulers who were instituting them, or the respective confessions involved, and their religious (especially moral) teachings? Satisfactory answers to these questions exceed the scope of this thesis, but they could not have been without profound effect on the mentality and attitude of common military men and military culture.

For the purposes of this section and for much of the discussion of the practical effects of religion in war, it is irrelevant to attempt to parse "authentic" from "self-interested" religious motives. In armies especially, as well as in politics generally, the material "outward" and spiritual "inward" strands of motive for authorities both political and religious to promote religion interwove tightly in a complementary relationship which contemporaries took for granted. This is particularly well illustrated in Lutheran minister Johann Spindler's spiritual manual for soldiers, *Holy*

[43] See below pp. 267-72; also H. Günter, *Das Restitutionsedikt von 1629 und die katholische Restauration Altwirtembergs* (Stuttgart, 1901); W. Dersch, *Das Restitutionsedikt in Hessen* (Kassel, 1907); M. Forster, 'The Edict of Restitution and the Failure of Catholic Restoration', in O. Asbach and P. Shröder (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Thirty Years War* (Surrey, 2014).

Scripture's School of War, the subtitle of which addresses first the spiritual: …*the considered Thanks and Petitions to the Lord… which the Principal Generals and Commanders want you to practice for your Instruction*, before seamlessly turning to the material: …*and are ordered for your Consolation, Discipline, and Warning.*[44] Similarly, Electoral Saxon chaplain Abraham Lehmann praises his general (Arnim) for maintaining not only zeal, but also, "good prayer order" in his army,[45] and Jesuit Adam Tanner's spiritual manual for soldiers warns that theft and murder harm not only the physical but also "the spiritual regiment".[46] Such blending of inward and outward aspects of religion directed religious feeling, loyalties, and obligations to particular political ends – the formula for the social disciplining of the confessions and the thorough confessionalization of central European society, including the military, which would be instituted by the end of the seventeenth century.

Religion was potentially as important and contested as any other matter, in treaties as well as in negotiations between opposing commanders in the field.[47] Wallenstein and Arnim corresponded about their respective understandings of the Edict of Restitution, and how it was to be applied.[48] The Treaty of Bärwalde, the Peace of Prague, and the Peace of Westphalia are perhaps the most prominent instances in which questions of religious rights and religious property played a major part in the many bi- and multilateral treaties, agreements, and local disputes negotiated under the Empire's constitutional framework at the time of the Thirty Years War, but there were many others, including at the inter-army level.[49] Basic confessional provisions such as the

[44] Spindler, *Kriegs-Schul*.
[45] Lehmann, *Krieges-seufftzer*, p. xv.
[46] Tanner, *Amuletum Castrense*, p. 240.
[47] Maximilian's discussions in the aftermath of Breitenfeld centre around "saving the Catholic religion". Albrecht, *Maximilian*, p. 805.
[48] RAS KP 14.
[49] Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 2, p. 689.

preservation of the religious rights of local people were often part of agreements for the surrender of fortified towns and cities, for instance at the concluding of a siege, such as that of Stade in 1628, Cologne in 1631 (only attempted by the Swedes in parley, as they never took the city), Colmar, Zwickau and Leipzig in 1632, Heidelberg and Augsburg in 1633, or Rheinfelden and Philippsburg in 1634.[50]

Record of the specifics of negotiations between commanders preceding an agreement for truce, surrender, or otherwise is rare, though one case showing religion's potential importance in such contexts was recorded in the fifth part of a British serial pamphlet of front-line reports slanted to an English, pro-Protestant audience, but full of anecdotal detail,[51] entitled *History of the present Warres of Germany*…. It relates in detail negotiations in February 1633 between Wallenstein on behalf of the Imperial army and colonel Conrad Burgstorff on behalf of Saxony during a fourteen-day truce in the aftermath of the battle of Lützen. Responding to Wallenstein's appeal for "a general and stable peace", Burgstorff complained that Catholics held themselves free of any moral obligation to fulfill a promise made to a Protestant, his words paraphrased as follows:

> Such a Peace must be established by words and promises; and that all the world knew that the Papists kept neither, and held themselues not obliged to hold what they did promise to any Protestant; therefore there was no appearance to expect any honest dealing.[52]

This issue was, for a Protestant commander responsible for parleying with a Catholic counterpart, no trifling matter, and Burgstorff was not the only Protestant officer to raise the issue: Scottish lieutenant colonel Robert Monro claimed an Imperialist

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[50] William Watts, [*Swedish Intelligencer* pamphlet series], *The Swedish Intelligencer. The third part*…, p. 78; *Extract aus einem Schreiben wie… Tilly die feste Stadt Staden plocquirt…* ([s.l.], 1628), p. 9; Carve, *Reyßbüchlein*, i, p. 133; Chemnitz, *in Teutschland geführt Kriegs Ander Theil*, p. 526; Khevenhüller, *Annales*, xii, pp. 62, 81, 242, 689, 1294.
[51] J. Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 153-8.
[52] Watts, …*The fifth part*, pp. 12-15.

colonel Grame had broken his word given in a surrender accord, pressing the soldiers of Monro's cousin's regiment into service, and imprisoning Monro's cousin and his officers.[53] Such instances were likely what motivated James Ramsay, colonel and later commandant of the important fortress at Breisach, to have kept among his personal papers handwritten notes summarizing recent works on the debate, including Becanus's work dedicated to the topic, *De fide haereticis servanda.*[54]

After Wallenstein's protest and rebuttal, Burgstorff qualified his claim, as related by William Watts:

> Hee did not speake of all indeed, for he knew that the Protestants heretofore had liued quietly among the ancient Papists, But now the time was altered with them, when the Iesuites were masters, and taught generally, *That faith was not to be kept with the Hereticks.* Wallenstein then answered againe; Tott, and all men that doe know me, doe know that I hate the Iesuites as much as you doe; and hauing already giuen them to the Devill, for my part, I will doe my uttermost to haue them banished out of the Empire; And God is my witnesse (said he further) I doe speake as I doe thinke in my heart; the Duke of Bauaria being the chiefest firebrand of these troubles, doeth deserue to loose all his Lands, and I doe wish the Swedes did utterly undoe him; He shall neuer haue any helpe from me, if hee doth dislike the Peace I intend to conclude…; Thus the Swedish and Saxon Ministers were in some manner perswaded, that they were dealt with honestly withal.[55]

How honest or dishonest Wallenstein's words may have been in this case is beside the point, which is simply the significance of the religious variable in the externally facing actions of the army as a group – from negotiations of terms of a ceasefire to enforcement of policies which were influenced by and influenced in turn the confessional variable.

Protestant armies

[53] Monro, *Expedition*, p. 239.
[54] HHStAW Abt. 171 M 839; Martinus Becanus, *Dispvtatio theologica, de fides haereticis servanda* (Mainz, 1607).
[55] Watts, …*The fifth part*, pp. 12-15.

Though Protestant and Catholic armies were more similar than different in how they carried out religious politics, the energies they applied to positively promoting confession or negatively suppressing it differed, and reflected differences in respective rulers' favoured interpretations of the Imperial constitution, positions of relative strength or weakness, and relevant religious beliefs.

The two pillars of confessional policy carried out by Protestant armies were present from the beginning of the war with various members of the Protestant Union (itself never officially a belligerent) and the Bohemian Confederation, and continued for the duration. The most important of the two was to restore Lutheranism in its rightful territories (mostly in Northern Germany where Lutheranism had been suppressed in the wake of the Catholic victories of the 1620s), following their respective interpretations of the Imperial constitution and the Peace of Augsburg. Secondarily, where and when it served their interests, Protestant armies cast themselves as defenders of Protestant faith even outside these territories, and especially as the scourgers of Catholic reformers. Electoral Saxony did the same whether aligned with the Swedes or with its Catholic Imperial enemies, but only within its own territory.[56]

The Swedes, who called upon three churchmen to draft their policy document for dealing with religion in conquered territories,[57] were the only Protestant army with sufficient combination of inclination and capacity to somewhat consistently enact and enforce such policies. The partial exception of the Bernhardine army itself originated as a branch of the Swedish army and also advanced Lutheran interests where it could

[56] F. Müller, *Kursachsen und der böhmische Aufstand 1618-1622* (Münster, 1997); GR Loc. 8672/02.
[57] Gierow, *Bidrag*, p. 123.

in territory it controlled.[58] Electoral Saxony, over the course of the war the next-most powerful Protestant army, was in a delicate political position because of the Albertine ruling dynasty's close reliance upon the favour of the Catholic Emperor in their longstanding legitimacy dispute with the competing Ernestine branch of the House of Wettin. Electoral Saxony was reluctant to veer from a middle course between appeasing the Emperor on the one hand and maintaining their status as the Lutheran hegemon and chief advocate within the Empire, and could not afford to too forcefully intervene in confessional issues outside their own territory. The Mansfelders banned Catholic worship in the Upper Palatinate in at least as early as 1623, prefiguring the better-known Catholic suppression of Calvinism in the territory which would come half a decade later in the wake of Tilly's victories,[59] whereas other Protestant forces of the Bohemian Confederation, Christian von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, and the Danes all were defeated before they could assert control over confessionally "other" territories.

This thesis has found from Protestants nothing akin to the calculated long-term plans and intentions for mass conversion which the Catholic powers envisioned in the first half of the war and partially carried out. This is not to suggest that there was a lack of desire to do so, or that Protestant armies did not aim to cause or succeed in causing problems for Catholics in some occupied territories. Protestant attention was directed toward re-opening closed Lutheran churches, re-installing pastors in previously Lutheran territories, providing for and protecting them where possible, and supporting Lutheran institutions and initiatives such as the prolific confessional-

[58] Chemnitz, *in Teutschland geführt Kriegs Ander Theil* p. 119.
[59] Anon., *Acta Mansfeldica: Gründtlicher Bericht von deß Manßfelders Ritter-Thaten...* (Halle an der Saale, 1623), p. 119.

political propaganda effort from the late 1620s. The city of Kitzingen in Bavaria which had only been recently re-Catholicized prior to the Swedish invasion represented typical practice for Sweden especially in the 1630s.[60] When Kitzingen reverted to Lutheranism under Swedish occupation, it received a great deal of their support, including a mandate of Gustavus which instituted Lutheran ministers.[61] Kitzingen's unusually strong Lutheran core gave Sweden something to support rather than build from almost nothing as the Habsburgs and Maximilian had done in Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the Palatinate.

Generally, the Swedes' humbler long-term plans and ambitions with regard to conversions signified greater limitations rather than a modern concept of tolerance as their propaganda indicated and as some scholars have believed.[62] All parties were aware of the norm of the Imperial constitution in which secular and spiritual prerogatives, possessions, and interests were impossible to fully separate, and thus of the inevitable religious implications in conquered lands allocated to army officers (many of a different confession than the inhabitants), a policy routinely enacted by Protestant and Catholic armies alike.

The difference between them was that any Lutheranizing that occurred in conquered territories was much more contingent upon local and personal factors and unlike what was carried out by Catholic powers in Bohemia and Austria, and to some degree in the Palatinate. It was not part of a centrally coordinated program and saw much spottier success. Lacking anything comparable to the Jesuits and other Catholic orders' massive administrative, financial, and educational capabilities, not to mention

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[60] Monro, *Expedition*, p. 247; Berg, *Military Occupation*, pp. 143, 199-200; Ganzhorn, *Würzburg unter schwedischer Herrschaft*, pp. 332-5.
[61] ibid., pp. 332-5.
[62] C. Deinert, 'Die Schwedische Epoche in Franken von 1631-1635' (PhD thesis, University of Würzburg, 1966), p. 209. Anon., *Victori Schlüssel*; see also subsection above, 'Propaganda'; Jakob Fabricius, *Christliche Danck- und Trost-Predigt, Nach glücklicher Eroberung der Statt Augspurg: Bey Volckreicher Versamblung, von Hohen und Nidrigen Standes Personen...* (Augsburg, 1632), esp. p. 33.

Protestant disunity and decentralization and the absence of consensus on similarly ambitious plans as Catholic powers had in their sights at the zenith of their success (e.g., the wholesale re-Catholicization of the Empire), it was in Sweden's interests to portray what was a lack of capability for mass conversion as greater virtue on their part.

On the other hand Gustavus declared, "Faith and religion are things which cannot be enforced by violence",[63] evoking Protestant doctrines emphasizing the fundamental role of the individual believer's conscience and its incompatibility with coercion or compulsion. This may have also resonated with his personal religious leanings,[64] and would in any case be consistent with some of the thinking behind his personal chaplain and superintendent Jakob Fabricius's words in a 1632 thanksgiving sermon in Augsburg (in a section entitled, "Jesuit blood-thirst"):

> It is indeed neither right nor Christian, to persecute, kill, or eradicate false-believing people, only on account of their false belief and doctrine. Just as the Jesuit murder-wasps and blood-hedgehogs write. For as one of their most prominent spinners, of the name Becanus, openly teaches,… one should desire to replace heretical kings, emperors, and other princes and worldly lords (which should first be proven) their kingdoms, empires, and rule, which they have hitherto possessed legally, and furthermore that one must punish all heretics in body and in their living….[65]

As was often the case in the war generally, religious interests and perceived political self-interest were not mutually exclusive, but co-operated.

The aggressive clearing of Catholic clergy, mainly Jesuits and to a lesser extent Capuchins, was an exception to what otherwise was a moderately less aggressive confessional war policy carried out by Protestant armies than Catholic armies. This is

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[63] M. Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus: A History of Sweden* (2 vols, London, 1953-8), i, p. 375.
[64] Junkelmann, *Gustav Adolf,* pp. 391, 5; Stevens, *Gustavus,* p. 358.
[65] Fabricius, *Christliche Danck- und Trost-Predigt*, p. 34.

not to suggest that their attitude toward Catholicism in conquered territories was any less triumphalist than was that of Catholic armies in conquered Protestant territories, as memorably illustrated by an instance involving Queen Eleonora of Sweden. While accompanying her husband's army on campaign in 1632, guarded by twelve halberdiers and a long train of attendants, she set out to visit the Catholic churches and religious foundations in the portion of Hesse which was occupied by her husband's army. The queen is recorded as having met with various Catholic clergy, to whom she challenged the legitimacy of the clerical vow of celibacy and proposed a toast "to the health of the King", before touring the Catholic churches, where she "tested the acoustics" by singing solo renditions of multiple Lutheran hymns: *Wenn Gott der Herr nicht bei uns weilt*, *Am dritten Tag ein Hochzeit war*, and *Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort*.[66]

Queen Eleonora's audacity aside, lighter Protestant confessional treatment of conquered territories was due more to familiar problems of lack of sufficient organization and common cause among Protestant polities to see such long-term projects through successfully, rather than from lack of desire, or even lack of attempts, however limited. For example, the Swedes banned Mass in Donauwörth, and clerical dress in Franconia, and, in the few days after capturing Dinkelsbühl in 1632, posted soldiers outside the Catholic church to "question" those who went in for confession.[67] Regulations for the religious administration of conquered territories were drafted from 1628-9 by leading Swedish ecclesiastics bishop of Västerås Johannes Rudbeckius, royal field preacher Johann Matthiae, as well as a "W. Simonius". They were never

[66] Komp, *Fürstabt*, pp. 124-5.
[67] Eberl, *Geschichte*, pp. 106, 109-11; 'Schwedische Maßnahmen zur Unterdrückung der katholischen Religion nach Schenkung des Deutschordensgebiets in Franken an Generalfeldmarschall Horn, v.a. die verlangte Abschaffung des Ordenshabits und des Kreuzes bei Deutschordenspriestern, 1631-34', LBW B 290 Bü 161.

printed and are no longer extant, but according to Holmquist were applied at least in the (already largely Lutheran) Bishopric of Halberstadt and the Archbishopric of Magdeburg, and the Swedish field consistory instructed that chaplains ought to refer to them.[68]

That Swedish enforcement of regulations was restricted to already-Lutheran territories at the time of their conquest in 1630 could suggest variously a lack of political will to enforce them, a lack of the ability to do so, or a minimal interest on the part of their mostly German soldiery and officer corps in enforcing foreign churchmen's regulations upon their own homelands. In any case lightness of policies, or the enforcement thereof, did nothing to reduce the capacity of all armies for brutal treatment of non-combatants.[69] Furthermore, such territories gave the Swedes enough trouble as it was: the Swedish royal legate to strongly Lutheran Pomerania, Schleswig, and Holstein failed, in the face of stiff local clerical opposition, to foist upon the consistories alterations to the text of regular prayers, including the removal of the Emperor and the Elector of Brandenburg from the prayer list. He argued that the Catholic Emperor and the Calvinist Duke of Brandenburg (but of course not the Lutheran Gustavus) were attempting to "control God".[70]

The most well-known of Swedish coercive efforts was the oath of allegiance imposed upon Catholic clergy in conquered territories in the wake of their victories in the early 1630s. This was likely in part a reaction to Catholic policy and the Edict of Restitution, from which the Swedish army imagined itself liberating the Protestants of northern Germany, though there was no shortage of political or financial motive for the Swedish crown to attempt to extend its territory and influence as far into

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[68] Gierow, *Bidrag,* p. 123. The regulations were titled *Annales regni Sueciae subjectarumque Provinciarum* (1628-29); Holmquist, *D. Johannes Matthiae*, i, p. 21; Botvidi, *Agenda Ecclesiastica*, §31.
[69] See above pp. 255-62.
[70] Chemnitz, *in Teutschland geführt Kriegs Ander Theil*, pp. 1005-6.

Germany as it could. At certain times and places, enforcing the oath was taken seriously. Capuchin historian Angelikus Eberl records of Augsburg under Swedish occupation in 1631-2 Swedish commissioners' extensive and repeated efforts to persuade Catholic clergy to swear the oath, with the result that the great majority of Catholic clergy left the city rather than swear:

> We, the deacons, the prelates, the priors, and superiors, canons and others belonging to the clerical estate, hereby swear, vow, and promise that we collectively and individually will at all times be true and devoted to His Majesty the King of Sweden, our ever gracious King and Lord, and desire to render humblest submission to him – that we desire to think, speak, advise, and organize no dangerous practices, suspicious treachery or other ill-advised plans against His Royal Person, his territory, or his subjects; but rather to promote his sublime Majesty and his subjects, not least his worthy armies and his other deputed goods or conveniences, and without exception or second thought to oppose and hinder any harm and every suspicion with best and highest effort. So help me God![71]

From the first to the last phases of the war, Protestant armies were considerably more energetic and consistent in harrying Catholic clergy than in their promotion of Protestant religious institutions. Jesuits were the prime targets. "*Jesuwider*", so named by Arnold Mengering, playing the German word for a Jesuit, *Jesuiter*, off with the similar-sounding *Jesuwider*, a portmanteau meaning "enemy of Christ" or literally, "one who is against Jesus".[72] Jesuits were by both Protestants and Catholics commonly distinguished from other Catholic clergy, particularly in their reputation for militancy which attracted the ire and suspicion of Protestant rulers and commanders. They were by far the group most commonly banished from territories controlled by Protestant armies, of which the long list included: Hesse-Kassel,[73]

[71] Eberl, *Geschichte*, p. 107; Duhr, *Jesuiten*, i, p. 417. For a similar course of events in Mainz see Duhr, *Jesuiten*, i, p. 412; Khevenhüller, *Annales*, xii, pp. 666-7.
[72] Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial,* pp. 692-3 and throughout.
[73] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 689

Electoral Saxony, Brandenburg,[74] Bohemia,[75] Trannsylvania, Moravia,[76] Osnabrück,[77] Freiburg,[78] Erfurt, Koesfeld, Hildesheim, Mainz, Worms, Trier, Heiligenstadt, Siegen, Paderborn, Baden, Mainz, Würzburg, Bamberg,[79] Meppen,[80] and Augsburg.[81] The Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg even proposed to banish Jesuits from the entire Holy Roman Empire.[82]

News reports and correspondence frequently circulated accounts or rumours of Jesuit "poysoners and conjurers", or in the words of Gustavus's letter to Johann Georg of Saxony, their "blasphemy and calumny".[83] These included arson in Heilbronn, for which Pfalzgräfin Sophie von Bayreuth expelled them from her territory,[84] espionage in Freiburg where four were arrested,[85] "conspiracy" in Erfurt,[86] murder in Koesfeld (where they also allegedly plotted to kill King Charles I of England),[87] plotting to stab general Ernst von Mansfeld in his camp,[88] poisoning Christian von Braunschweig and the Elector of Brandenburg (others suspected Capuchins in Christian's case),[89] and multiple plots to poison or otherwise murder Gustavus, one of which was said to have relied on a "poisoned book" to somehow

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[74] Watts, …*The fifth part*, pp. 14-15.
[75] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 689.
[76] Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 1, p. 11.
[77] H. Iber, *Geschichte des Gymnasium Karolinum zu Osnabrück* (Osnabrück, 1889), p. 14.
[78] Häcker, 'Kriegskameraden', p. 93.
[79] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 1, pp. 402-8, 12.
[80] Diepenbrock, *Geschichte... Meppen*, pp. 417f.
[81] Eberl, *Geschichte*, p. 107.
[82] Watts, …*The fifth part*, pp. 14-15.
[83] William Watts, [*Swedish Intelligencer* pamphlet series], *The Swedish Intelligencer, Compleat: all 4 parts*…, unpaginated [index]; Gustavus Adolphus to Johann Georg, 1 May 1629, printed in Droysen, *Schriftstücke von Gustaf Adolf zumeist an eveangelische Fürsten Deutschlands* (Halle, 1877), p. 5.
[84] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 689.
[85] Häcker, 'Kriegskameraden', p. 93.
[86] B. Opfermann, *Die Geschichte des Heiligenstädter Jesuitenkollegs* (Duderstadt, 1992), pp. 159, 188.
[87] Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 1, pp. 402-3.
[88] Anon., *Gespräch Kuntz Knollens Calvinischen und Friedrichs Böβwirths Catholischen. Von einer newen Jesuitischen Mordthat, so sie im Lager bey Roβhaupt an dem Manβfelder zu begehen willens gewest sein sollen*. (Amberg, 1621).
[89] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 670; J.M. von Söltl, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus den Religionskrieges in Deutschland* (Hamburg, 1842), pp. 93, 225-375, esp. pp. 232-3.

assassinate the king, and another on massive quantities of gunpowder.[90] The Countess Palatine Dorothea Maria von Sulzbach was so worried about Jesuit poison that she had her chemist concoct an antidote which she also dispatched to Duke August von Braunschweig-Lüneburg.[91]

Though many accounts were likely little more than tall tales, at least one report of poisoning, an infamous incident, has considerable credibility, though the identity of the alleged culprit, "a French monk" is less clear. Hildesheim physician and councilman Conrad Jordan recorded in his chronicle his suspicion of the said "French monk" preparing a poisoned batch of wine to be served at a 1640 banquet for most of the major Protestant commanders of the latter half of the war from Swedish, Hesse-Kassel, and Bernhardine armies. Whatever or whomever the cause, the banquet did result in the immediate sickening and death of Rittmeister the Landgrave Christian von Hesse-Kassel, Count Otto von Schaumburg-Lippe, "who had drank deeply from [the poisoned wine]", and the subsequent illnesses and deaths of general Johann Banér and Duke Georg of Braunschweig-Calenberg. It could have been much worse with other major figures in attendance, including Pfuhl, Königsmark, Bernhard von Zerotin, Wrangel, Mortaigne, Gustav Gustavsson, Bellinghausen, Friedrich Margrave of Baden-Durlach, Duke August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Guebriant, and Otto Wilhelm Duke of Nassau.[92]

Driving out the Jesuits brought opportunities for replacing empty colleges, schools, and churches with Lutheran ministers, though finding sufficient numbers of

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[90] B. Duhr, *Hundert Jesuitenfabeln* (Freiburg, 1902), pp. 202-5; Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 670; Eberl, *Geschichte*, p. 108; Hohenegger, *Geschichte*, pp. 209-10.
[91] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 670.
[92] H. Schlotter et al. (eds), *Acta bellorum Hildesiensium. Tagebuch des Dr. Conrad Jordan von 1614 bis* 1659 (Hildesheim, 1985), p. 328; see also M. Blazek, 'Das Banérsche Trinkgelage vom 28. Oktober 1640 und seine Folgen', in B. Gerstenberg et al. (eds), *Hildesheimer Kalender 2013 – Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Kultur*, pp. 149–51.

clergy or otherwise to replace them, many of whom in addition to pastoral care performed local services, especially teaching, could be difficult.[93] Installation of ministers in confessionally mixed locales was sometimes accompanied by troop detachments.[94] Because Protestants widely perceived Jesuits to be the most aggressive Catholic threat, and because Jesuit foundations – many founded as late as the 1620s – appeared disproportionately in previously-Lutheranized territories which Protestants regarded as their own, it was much more common for Jesuit churches and foundations to be replaced with Lutheran ministers than it was for those belonging to Catholic dioceses or other religious orders.[95]

Catholic armies

The most significant point of difference between Protestant and Catholic armies in relation to war policy was that Protestant armies' suppression of Catholicism and especially their promotion of Protestantism was less systematic and consistent than Catholic armies' suppression of Protestantism and promotion of Catholicism. Where Protestant armies enforced banishment of Jesuits in conquered territories more consistently and reliably than they promoted Lutheranism, Catholic armies tended to promote or facilitate the advancement of Catholicism hand in hand with suppressing Protestantism and were more effective. Though Protestant armies regained many previously Protestant territories in the north lost during the 1620s, Bohemia, Upper Austria, and much of Silesia and the Palatinate (the Lower in the early part of the war,

[93] Johnson, *Magistrates, Madonnas, and Miracles;* Louthan, *Converting Bohemia.*
[94] Autenrieth, *Samuel Gerlach*, p. 36.
[95] Komp, *Fürstabt*, pp. 124-5; Häcker, 'Kriegskameraden', p. 93; Deinert, 'Die Schwedische Epoche', pp. 150-1.

the Upper throughout the war) were largely Protestant areas that were permanently re-catholicized.[96]

A moderately more offensive Catholic confessional policy was not a product of a stronger religious impulse as much as of a particular interpretation of the Imperial constitution by which Catholic rulers understood themselves to be *restoring* lawful religion in a given territory according to (again, their interpretation of) the Peace of Augsburg, rather than forcibly *converting* a territory as such, combined with better capacities to successfully enforce such a policy. Success had much to do with leveraging the greater organization and solidarity of Catholic institutions, with which the Imperial and Bavarian armies closely cooperated.

In Catholic armies in the first half of the war there was a no less disproportionately high presence of a confessionally "militant" attitude within army leadership than there was at the courts of the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria, where clergy's and theologians' "evident impact on war policy" has long been recognized.[97] Though the same could be said of the Protestant armies in the first half of the war and some Protestant rulers' policies,[98] there were two factors which separated the Catholics from Protestants in this regard, both of which contributed to their greater effectiveness: firstly the greater institutional unity among Catholics, and secondly the Catholic

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[96] J.F. Patrouch, *A Negotiated Settlement: the Counter-Reformation in Upper Austria under the Habsburgs* (Boston, 2000); A. Herzig, *Der Zwang*; Johnson, *Magistrates, Madonnas, and Miracles;* Louthan, *Converting Bohemia*; R.P. Hsia 'Reformation on the Continent: Approaches Old and New', *JRH*, 28/2 (2004), p. 165; R. Birely, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700: a Reassessment of the Counter-Reformation* (Washington, 2009); R.P. Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 10-59, R.P. Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe, 1550-1750* (New York, 1992), pp. 39-52; J.M. Thiriet, 'Militaires et Contre-Reforme: Les Cas de L'Europe Centrale', *Dix-Septieme Siecle,* 50/2 (1998).

[97] Bireley, *Kings, Courts, and Confessors*, p. 267. See also R. Bireley, 'The Thirty Years War as Germany's Religious War', in K. Repgen (ed), *Krieg und Politik, 1618-1648: Europäische Probleme und Perspektiven* (Munich, 1988); Bireley, *Maximilian von Bayern;* and Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counterreformation*.

[98] Wilson, *Tragedy,* pp. 261-2; C. Zwierlein, 'The Thirty Years War – A Religious War? Religion and Machiavellism at the Turning Point of 1635', in Asbach and Schröder, *Companion to the Thirty Years* War, p. 233.

interpretation of the Imperial constitution which afforded more room, especially in the first half of the war until the Peace of Prague in 1635, for an aggressive stance on the propagation of Catholicism.

The majority of Catholic commanders of the first half of the war – Spinola, Heberstorff, Dohna, to a limited extent Wallenstein, Bucquoy, Piccolomini, Hatzfeldt, Pappenheim, and others, and most of all Tilly – functioned in conquered territories more or less as Counter-Reformation agents. They not only enforced confessional banishments and the Edict of Restitution, but also actively sought to restore Catholic Church property they considered to have been illegally confiscated, to install priests, and to plant new religious schools and foundations.

Of course there was more at play than religion motivating these actions. The policy of re-Catholicization pursued from 1620 was inextricable from the economics of war-making and ran parallel with the expropriation of those princes and nobles who had backed the "rebellion" against the Habsburgs. Securing the cooperation or ostensible loyalty of key commanders (Wallenstein most prominently) was made possible by the sequestration of secular lordships from outlawed secular opponents, and their redistribution to officers in lieu of pay arrears. Under the logic of restitution – namely, *restoring* institutions, offices, and norms to their original Catholic alignment – Catholic parties' confessionalizing efforts were part and parcel of the (in their view) rightful disposal of the spoils of war, which in any case the Swedes were no less apt to do with their own conquered territories.

Regardless of personal gain obtained in conquered territory, commanders personally oversaw Catholic restitution efforts, including at times the conversion of local populations. Spinola scrupulously enforced the 1627 banning of all confessions but Catholicism in the Palatinate, and wrote to the Bishop-Elector of Mainz to inform

him that he intended to use his army to re-catholicize the Palatinate.[99] Herberstorff conducted the brutal suppression of the Protestant Upper Austrian Peasants' Rebellion of 1626 – itself born out of confessional tension in the region and sparked by the installation of a Catholic priest in a local village – and was reported by Colonel Pechmann, a spy for the Saxons within the Catholic League's council of war, as foremost in advancing a plan to re-catholicize all of Saxony (both circles) in a similar way as had been done in the Palatinate and Bohemia.[100] Dohna was sending progress reports to Vienna on catholicization efforts in Silesia from Glogau in 1628, and Schlick on those in Württemberg in 1634.[101] Even before taking Magdeburg in 1631, Imperial colonel Wolff von Mansfeld was already discussing potential building sites for a new Jesuit college in the town with the Saxon provincial.[102] Even if commanders had been unwilling participants in Catholic reform and restitution efforts (which this study has found no evidence for), they were ordered by their rulers Ferdinand II and Maximilian to do it nonetheless.[103]

Whether these policies was effective is another question, as the measure of the genuineness of a population's "conversion" to Catholicism could prove to be no longer lasting than the occupation of Imperial troops, such as the Austrian occupation of the Engadine Valley from 1620-4, and many Protestant-majority areas in which (especially Jesuit) missionaries were introduced.[104] One obscure result of occupations was the martyrdom of a saint – St. Fidelis of Sigmaringen, the first Capuchin to be canonized – who after giving a sermon in Seewis im Prättigau was killed by local

[99] Wiltheim, *Itinerarium,* p. 209.
[100] H. Sturmberger, '*Herberstorff, Adam Graf von*', *NDB*, viii, pp. 163-5.
[101] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 350; RAS KP 14.
[102] Wiltheim, *Itinerarium*, p. 292.
[103] Maximilian to Tilly 23 Sept. 1630, printed in Goetz, Albrecht, Duch, Bierther et al., *Die Politik Maximilians,* II, v, p. 598; Ferdinand II to Wallenstein and Tilly, 9 May 1629, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 163.
[104] Head, *Jenatsch's Axe*, p. 65; Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 1, p. 126.

Calvinist militia when separated from his guard of Austrian troops.[105] In 1628 a report was passed on to the Kaiser, in which a Jesuit P. Nerlich in the Glogau area requested troops be removed from the Glogau area because their "sins which cry out to heaven" were creating "*Windkatholiken*".[106]

The closeness of Catholic commanders' cooperation with the far-reaching efforts of the Society of Jesus goes a long way toward explaining why Jesuits were treated by Protestant rulers and armies more like enemy combatants than clergy. Catholic commanders not only played key roles in executing aggressive Jesuit-led reform efforts throughout the 1620s, but were privy to, and in some cases party to, the forming of ambitious plans from early in the war. These included the founding of four new Jesuit provinces in Protestant territories – Westphalia, Lower Saxony, Upper Saxony and Brandenburg – including approximately eighty colleges, and a plethora of new schools, seminaries, and universities, all to be financed by the income of restituted Church property. Tilly, who personified the Catholic approach to reforms, is a useful case-in-point. He had been consulted on plans of the Emperor's Jesuit confessor and advisor Wilhelm Lamormaini since at least 1625 and was considerably more informed than even influential cardinals in the Roman Curia, including Cardinal Caraffa who was himself close to the Jesuits.[107] In conquered territories Tilly had already been pursuing a more or less similar policy – what would later be formally promulgated by the Edict of Restitution – since the beginning of the war.

The involvement of Tilly with Counter-Reformation efforts and the Society of Jesus was so close that it is no exaggeration to call him – and by extension the army

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[105] B. von Mehr, 'Fidelis von Sigmaringen', *NDB*, v, pp. 137-8; see also Autenrieth, *Samuel Gerlach*, p. 36.
[106] Report of a P. Nerlich, 1628, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 350.
[107] T. Brockmann, *Dynastie, Kaiseramt Und Konfession: Politik Und Ordnungsvorstellungen Ferdinands II. Im Dreissigjährigen Krieg* (Paderborn, 2011); Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counterreformation*; Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War*; 'Baving, Hermann' http://www.30jaehrigerkrieg.de/baving-hermann-sj/ (10 Nov. 2020).

under his command – the tip of the spear of the Catholic Counter-Reformation in the Empire during the war. Illustrating again the importance of human agency, beyond his practical importance to this cause as a military commander, Tilly freely acknowledged his personal dedication to it.[108] His enthusiasm shows through much of his correspondence, for instance in his desire "to report in his own hand to the pope the news of his victory" (at Stadtlohn, 1623), and its "great importance for all of Christianity",[109] or to petition the Emperor and pope to send more clergy to conquered territories, who were "necessary for conversion",[110] and "for the extermination of heresy".[111] A more intense personal commitment to particular confessionally-oriented war aims is difficult to imagine, and his position as a commander enabled that personal commitment to effect a major difference.

Both directly and through his personal chaplains, Tilly was in constant strategic communication with leading Catholic clergy and rulers both in and outside of the Empire, among them the pope (both Gregory XV and Urban VIII), nuncios and influential Cardinals in the Roman Curia, Duke and later Elector Maximilian of Bavaria, Emperor Ferdinand II, the Imperial confessor Fr. Wilhelm Lamormaini, and Jesuit Provincials and Superior General Vitelleschi. In addition to the clerical appointments which Tilly was constantly arranging,[112] Tilly himself proposed the construction of the Jesuit colleges in Lüneburg, Werden, and Stade, where he also proposed a cloister.[113] Stade's conversion became for him a point of particular exertion; the founding of the Jesuit college was a cause he supported at his own

[108] Gilardone, *Tilly,* p. 85.
[109] Tilly to Pope Urban VIII, after Stadtlohn, 8 Aug. 1623, printed in D. Albrecht, 'Tillybriefe in Der Vatikanischen Bibliothek', *Oberbayerisches Archiv für vaterländische Geschichte,* 79 (1954), p. 142.
[110] Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 1, p. 128.
[111] Tilly to Barberini, 26 May 1631, printed in Albrecht, 'Tillybriefe', p. 144.
[112] ibid.
[113] Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, pp. 79, 163.

personal expense,[114] and for which he made multiple appeals to the pope and Emperor including a memorable letter to Urban VIII showing his devotion to the Jesuits and his partiality for them over the other orders.

> T. has been working to bring the subjects of the Diocese of Bremen into obedience to the Emperor and Church. This work must be led forward by priests and by the founding of a college in Stade so that boys can be brought up in the beliefs and teachings of the Catholic Church. …surely he will support the college in giving it a portion of the Church property taken by Protestants (and now taken back). From my experience the Benedictines, Cistercians, and Premonstratensians are not those that one needs now, because of their low numbers, and the goal of their orders. One should much more want to promote the Jesuits, who – as their works show – with zeal, love, and with common sense are in practice better than the others.[115]

Ferdinand II's 1629 directive to Tilly and Wallenstein to take care to quell disputes between the Jesuits and older orders by not giving too preferential a treatment to the Jesuits seems to have been mostly ignored by Tilly, but perhaps somewhat less so by Wallenstein.[116] Correspondence from the Jesuit side attests to the closeness of his relationship with the society, with the Jesuit Provincial in Stade writing,

> Stade, a city which has been polluted by much Lutheran false teaching, has after the defeat of the Danes been set right by Tilly himself. He goes through much trouble, that our society would be put in the places of good opportunity….[117]

Tilly's efforts in Stade were successful until the territory was lost later in the war, with the new Jesuit college in Stade obtaining support from the Emperor and the Holy See.[118] In Tilly's own words, "misled souls (were) brought back to the one true

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[114] Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 1, p. 128.
[115] Tilly to Urban VIII, 20 Oct. 1628, printed in Goetz, Albrecht, Duch, Bierther et al., *Die Politik Maximilians,* II, iv; Albrecht, 'Tillybriefe'.
[116] Letter from Ferdinand II to Wallenstein and Tilly, 1628, printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 2, p. 163.
[117] Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 1, p. 128
[118] *ibid*; Crivelli to Gigli, 13 Jan. 1629, printed in Goetz, Albrecht, Duch, Bierther et al., *Die Politik Maximilians,* II, iv, p. 225.

Catholic church."[119] Though he embodied the high-water mark of catholicizing activities of armies during the war, Tilly was also the most visible representative of a clear pattern when Catholic armies moved into Protestant territory especially in the first half of the war, administering if not forced conversion, then at least conversion encouraged by force. Tilly's closeness to the Jesuits is significant especially in light of their deserved reputation as the most active and militant of clergy in Counter-Reformation efforts, and of his army's indispensability to the order's reforming and evangelization efforts. As an Imperial commissioner reported to the Emperor of the Lower Saxon Circle in 1630, "Without [the Imperial-Catholic League army] none [of the Jesuit priests] could have been introduced or maintained."[120]

Inevitably, it was for soldiers serving in Catholic armies to provide the muscle for enforcing these policies, regardless of their private confessional leanings. Only with their involvement was it possible to variously force Protestants in Habsburg hereditary lands refusing to convert to Catholicism into exile, or to bar them from trade; to disarm the local populace and enforce their attendance at Mass; to protect newly installed Catholic priests and members of the Reformation commission (an appointed Catholic body overseeing the conversion efforts); to capture and punish public dissenters and resistors; and even to remove meat from peoples' ovens during Lent, and force parishioners to kneel at church on Easter.[121]

The marked decrease in pro-Catholic exertions of Catholic armies in the second half of the war was due only in part to military setbacks. Catholics had already obtained most of what was realistically achievable and maintainable – the

[119] Tilly to Ferdinand II, 31 Aug. 1628, printed in Goetz, Albrecht, Duch, Bierther et al., *Die Politik Maximilians,* II, iv, p. 138.
[120] Duhr, *Jesuiten*, ii, 1, p. 126.
[121] Herzig, *Zwang zum Wahren Glauben*, pp. 73-7, 160-4.

recatholicization of Wittelsbach and Habsburg lands. Further inroads into solidly Protestant territories which had excited the hopes of militants at the height of the Catholic advantage in the late 1620s would have required significantly more manpower and resources, which after two decades of fighting were in significantly lower supply. Finally, with the succession of Ferdinand III and the third decade of war there was a decreasing appeal to militancy even for Maximilian as policies shifted away from ideal aims and toward practically achievable resolutions.[122] However, it would be a category error to mistake a shift in external religious policy, which did occur, as evidence of decline in the importance of internal religious culture, which did not – in the armies no less than in the general population.

Massed group action (battle)

War in general, and battle in particular, in the words of military theorist Anthony King, "illustrates the general dynamics of group formation with rare lucidity."[123] In this "unique space" during the Thirty Years War, fates of individuals, families, regiments, armies, towns, regions, and states were decided within a period of days, hours, and minutes, and seconds.[124] As opposed to the latter half of the seventeenth century which saw the rise of the more organized standing army, in the Thirty Years War large-scale combat, including periods of lead-up to and draw-down from battles and sieges, was virtually the only occasion which drove individuals and decentralized regimental groups toward this highest level of group consciousness.

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[122] Maximilian of Bavaria, 'Reflections', printed in Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: a Sourcebook*, pp. 219-22; D. Albrecht, *Die auswärtige Politik Maximilians von Bayern 1618-1635* (Göttingen, 1962); Hengerer, *Kaiser Ferdinand III*.
[123] King, *Frontline*, p. 6.
[124] ibid.

An anecdote about Imperial Colonel Rudolf von Teuffenbach perfectly illustrates the potential effects which the collective consciousness of their army could exert upon the individual, and shows the potential of the relationship between the personal and the social self for paradox: Teuffenbach, a Lutheran (years later he would become a Catholic), fighting for the strongly Catholic 1620 Imperial-Bavarian army, was heard by a chaplain to have referred to some of the enemy as "damned Lutherans" during skirmishing near Pilsen.[125] Similarly confounding were a group of Lutheran soldiers in the service of (Catholic) Bavaria who plundered the Hessian town of Roßdorf (a possession of Landgrave Georg of Hesse-Darmstadt, who was loyal to the Emperor) on the pretext of it being "Lutheran".[126] As seen in these comical anecdotes, soldiers and officers did not dispense with, but rather suspended or modulated aspects of their individual identities in light of those of their larger group – the phenomenon described by group behaviour theory as "identity fusion", in which thousands of "personal selves" embrace "the social self" of the group: "the crowd being sensitized to its own collective identity…."[127]

Pushing people together, even literally, increases solidarity and draws out conceptions close to the core of a group's identity that otherwise usually remain under the surface of at least many individuals' consciousness or behaviour. In the words of Anthony King, "crucially, that solidarity – or heart – is not just an aggregate of their individual dispositions. Rather, it is generated by the specific disposition of military units…."[128] Similarly in Zemon Davis's 'The Rites of Violence', "the practice of

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[125] Fitzsimon, *Diary,* p. 89.
[126] Eckhardt, 'Bericht des Pfarrers Valentin Eckhardt', printed in Hermann, 'Aus tiefer Not', p. 14.
[127] King, *Frontline*, p. 16. See N.Z. Davis, 'The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France', *Past and Present,* 59 (1973).
[128] King, *Frontline*, p. 17, citing Maurice du Saxe, *Reveries on the Art of War*, trans.Thomas Phillips (New York, 2007), p. 18.

violence was informed by the collective understandings…."[129] Recognizing this dynamic of collective consciousness provides a way of reconciling the seeming contradiction of overtly confessional group behaviour, as seen below, with the diverse spectrum of individual attitudes toward religious and confessional identity seen in the previous chapter.

It is commonly pointed out that motives *ad bellum* (to take up arms), are a different type of motive than those *in bello* (while waging war).[130] As discussed in previous chapters regarding the former, aside from an influential minority of the militant, the religious cause was not a primary motive for military men to take up arms. But as has also been seen, this clearly did not preclude a major presence of religion and confession within the armies *in bello* in both institutional and individual capacities. The present section takes this further. Especially in light of how much religion emerged around and during combat, the need to draw a further distinction between types of motive emerges: namely between day-in, day-out motive to continue one's tasks as a soldier in the field – most properly religion *in bello* ("in" or "during" war) – and immediate motive to risk severe injury or death in combat. Motivation in the latter scenario – and for an army to be cohesive at such moments – is more aptly described as motive *in extremis*.

This section highlights the pivotal role of religion in the morale, cohesion, and group identity of armies *in extremis*: immediately before, during, and after battle.

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[129] King, *Frontline*, p. 16.

[130] A. Blin, *War and Religion: Europe and the Medirterranean from the First through the Twenty-First Centuries* (Oakland, 2019); R. Buchanan and N. Tsagourias, *Regulating the Use of Force in International Law*: *Stability and Change* (Cheltenham, 2021); N. Reinhardt, 'Introduction: War, Conscience, and Counsel in Early Modern Catholic Europe', *Journal of Early Modern History* 18 (2014); D.T. Balcytis, 'Middle Ages to the Modern World: Grotius and the Modern Laws of War', in *Encyclopedia of Military Ethics* (Aberdeen, March 2014), https://www.militaryethics.org/Middle-Ages-to-the-Modern-World-Grotius-and-the-m/19/ (4 Mar. 2022).

Despite the highly complex religio-political context of the war, the confessionally-mixed soldiery with opportunistic officers willing to swap sides, and the strong lingering presence of the professionalized paradigm in central European military culture, throughout the war religion was for armies *in extremis* still the most consistent and potent aspect of their group identity. Revealed very clearly before, during, and after battle were signal aspects of a confessional character, especially Protestant emphasis of the Word through hymns, sermons, prayers, and standards, and Catholic emphasis on the sacramental aspects of religion.

Before the fight: getting right with God

Few battles of the Thirty Years War were ambushes. Opposing armies usually foresaw an engagement or potential engagement by at least a few hours, if not a day or two, allowing for a lead-up in which soldiers and officers could set their affairs aright, including eternal ones. The few extant records of these moments indicate that there was a flurry of religious activity including worship (Mass, or sermons and prayer), reconciliation (confession and repentance), and increased acts of devotion. Chaplains and other clergy were more in demand than ever, rushing between saying Mass or conducting religious services of prayer and preaching, sharing private prayer and exhortations with individual soldiers and officers, receiving last-minute instructions from them, hearing confessions, and on rare occasions for clergy attached to high-ranking officers, even giving tactical input.

Similarly, in the final moments of calm just prior to engagement, it was toward religion and the sacred which armies gravitated. According to the demands of pre-battle deployments, it was common practice of both Catholic and Protestant armies to

hold religious services before battle where possible,[131] as described of the Imperial army under Piccolomini's command at Diedenhofen in 1639:

> All regiments assembled in the field… where a priest in front of the entire army said Holy Mass, and summoned God Almighty's help… this despite the fact that Piccolomini was attempting to conceal their presence from the French, and banned trumpets, drums, and battle cry.[132]

The circumstances of battle were such that observances occurred at the regimental or company level, or even smaller.[133] Where observance did involve multiple regiments immediately before battle, it might consist only of brief prayer, a blessing, or singing.[134] Protestant armies turned to the highly developed tradition of hymn singing, which varied from army to army, but always included Psalms,[135] *Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort*,[136] and *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.*[137] What was stated by Swedish field consistory superintendent Johannes Botvidi in his *Agenda Ecclesiastica,* "the typical hymns are sufficiently known",[138] was attested by Osnabrück eyewitness and diarist Rudolf Bellinckhausen, who listed nine hymns, excluding Psalms, which he observed the Swedish army sing during daily prayers, which they had done "since the first day" of their occupation of the city.[139]

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[131] Stockmann, *Lamentatio*, p. 53; Carve, *Reyßbüchlein,* i, p. 171; Stevens, *Gustavus,* pp. 412-13; W. Guthrie, *Battles of the Thirty Years War: From White Mountain to Nordlingen, 1618-1635* (Westport, 2002), p. 205; Decenius, *Statua Baneriana,* p. 19; Khevenhüller, *Annales*, xii, pp. 109, 227, 2014; Diepenbrock, *Geschichte... Meppen*, p. 439.
[132] Carve, *Reyßbüchlein,* ii, p. 79.
[133] B. Steckzén, *Der schwedische Löwe Johann Banér* (Leipzig, 1942), pp. 185-8; Christian II von Anhalt, *Tagebuch Christians des jüngeren, Christian II Anhalt* ed. G. Krause (Leipzig, 1858), esp. p. v; Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, pp. 309, 11; Ostermann, *Gratiarum Actio*, pp. 6-7; Jessen, *Augenzeugenberichten*, p. 388.
[134] Königsmark... Hans Christoffer... Graf von...' http://www.30jaehrigerkrieg.de/konigsmarck-konigsmark-konigsmarx-khiningsmarckh-koningsmarkt-konnigesmark-koningsmarck-coningsmarck-conigsmarckius-conigmarc-hans-christoffer-christoph-graf-von-i-1600-bis-1639-2 (21 Oct. 2020); H. Jessen, *Augenzeugenberichten* (München, 1976)*,* p. 388; Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen,* viii, p. 214; Ostermann, *Gratiarum Actio,* pp. 7-8; Kirchhof, *Militaris Disciplina,* p. 160.
[135] Langer, *Kulturgeschichte*, p. 110.
[136] Rücker, *Christliche Trawr-predigt*, p. 17; Theobald, *Heerpredigt*, p. 21.
[137] Geijer, *The History of the Swedes*, p. 281.
[138] Botvidi, *Agenda Ecclesiastica*, §9.
[139] Bellinckhausen, *Chronik*, p. 286.

The common hymns were not the only ones that most in the army knew by heart: this study counted, excluding Psalms, thirty-five different hymns sung by the Swedish army, and eleven by the Electoral Saxons. With the exception of the above two hymns, their hymn selections differed almost completely, likely due to their different respective lineages of Lutheranism. According to Sennewald, fifes and shawms were more common than trumpets in the Saxon army, and it is likely these played alongside hymn singing a least some of the time, though accompanying instrumentation is not usually indicated.[140] A routine part of Protestant armies' worship, they were the most characteristic aspect of Protestant armies entering battle. Contemporary annalist Franz Christoph Khevenhüller gives the following striking account of the Electoral Saxon army before the battle of Liegnitz in 1634:

> In the second hour of the morning, before Goldberg, it was all about to commence. As the main body collected at the rendezvous, there were two shots from field pieces and one from a large cannon, whereupon all trumpeters sounded, the cavalry dismounted from their horses, everyone assembled into their regiments and held the prayer, after which the whole army fell down on their knees, singing *Herr Gott dich loben wir,… Nun hilf uns, Herr, den Dienern dein, die mit dein theuren Blut erlöset seyn*, completely to the end. ... Then... [all] marched away and met the Imperialists at Liegnitz in battle.[141]

A reflection of hymnody's more prominent role in Protestant religious culture was that they were much more common of Protestant than Catholic armies, though there is at least one known instance of Catholic armies singing before battle (the Imperial-Bavarian army before White Mountain singing the *Salve Regina*).[142] For Catholic armies the commonest expressions of religiosity were characteristically more sacramental: confession and communion, and sacramentals such as making the sign of the cross, the giving and receiving of priestly blessings, and the use of devotional

[140] Sennewald, *Kursächsische Heer*, p. 641.
[141] Khevenhüller, *Annales*, xii, p. 1258.
[142] Fitzsimon, *Diary*, pp. 98-9.

objects such as rosaries, crucifixes, prayer cards, and sundry charms and images.[143] Fr. Henry Fitzsimon describes a pre-battle scene:

> The chaplains were hearing confessions most zealously. Many of the bravest soldiers were saying their beads, and kissing their crucifixes. They eat something, and are called out to be led to battle.[144]

The convention was for many soldiers to confess before battle, but a 1644 regulation for the Imperial field chaplaincy provided for occasions when there was insufficient time for this. It permitted chaplains to conduct *en masse* confession-and-absolution with soldiers: "Where it is not possible to hear confessions before the battle, you (chaplains) must with great zeal stir the soldiers to a genuine gesture of penitence regarding all their sins."[145] This study found one occasion in which this probably happened, involving Capuchins and 3,000 Tirolean soldiers in Bregenz, who also received communion.[146] On the Protestant side there was one chaplain who claimed to have organized "days of repentance" prior to battles.[147]

At the fight: a point of cohesion

Once fighting began, there was naturally time for little but military necessity. Aside from a commander's or chaplain's brief remarks on the cusp of engagement with the enemy in which God was likely to be invoked, the time for speaking had aside from

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[143] Chaline, *bataille*, p. 227; Stöwesand, 'Magister', p. 139; Wilson, *Tragedy*, p. 96; C. Roder (ed), 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Villingen im dreißigjährigen Kriege. Mit einer lithographischen Beilage', *Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte und Naturgeschichte der Baar und der angrenzenden Landestheile in Donaueschingen* 3 (1880), p. 228.
[144] Fitzsimon, *Diary*, p. 97; see also Stöwesand, 'Magister', p. 139.
[145] 'Instruktion', printed in Duhr, *Jesuiten,* ii, 2, p. 320.
[146] Baur, *Kapuziner*, p. 53.
[147] Stöwesand, 'Magister', p. 53.

that of immediate military import.[148] A scattered handful of anecdotes throughout the war do shed light on the prominent role of religious and confessional symbols to armies even amidst the thickest of fighting. Together with chaplains ministering to the wounded and giving last rites to the dying, and on occasion being caught up in an attack, these provide a glimpse of the central role of religion within armies during battle.

Already mentioned in Chapters III and IV were a few exceptional occasions in which chaplains temporarily commanded detachments of troops, or the slightly less exceptional circumstances of Catholic priests firing cannons. Anecdotes which can be added to these include a Lutheran chaplain "on his knees raising his hands to heaven and yelling very loudly for victory" at a key location in the middle of the battlefield at Lützen,[149] of dying soldiers on the battlefield clutching devotional objects and literature, and Swedish soldiers praying for the ability to hold on to their positions.[150]

Religion was a means of communicating identification no less than identity, which is well illustrated by its use in battle to insult the enemy, for which it naturally provided ample fodder. Fr. Henry Fitzsimon reported of the fighting at Rakonitz in 1620, "Our men called the enemies heretics, etc., and were called papists and sweeps, as they were black from the smoke of burning wood."[151] Defenders of the besieged town of Salzkotten in 1633 lured some of Knyphausen's troops to the town's main gate under the auspices of offering them a drink, before calling them "heretics" and blasting them with musket fire.[152] As a colonel informed a Catholic chaplain, even "Lutheran" was an epithet: "'Lutheran' in common parlance means 'wretch.'"[153]

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[148] William Watts, [*Swedish Intelligencer* pamphlet series], *The Swedish Intelligencer. The third part…*, p. 105; Stevens, *Gustavus*, pp. 327-8.
[149] Stockmann, *Lamentatio*, p. 41.
[150] ibid., p. 42.
[151] Fitzsimon, *Diary*, p. 93.
[152] Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen*, viii, p. 277; see also Stevens, *Gustavus,* pp. 327-8.
[153] Fitzsimon, *Diary*, p. 89.

Swedes attacking the city of Villingen in 1632 taunted its Catholic defenders, calling them "riders of nuns" (*Nonnenreiter*).[154]

Another defender from the walls, this time of Magdeburg (the defence of which was heavily religiously tinged and included a singular instance of Protestant devotion to a local patroness known as the *Magdeburger Jungfrau*, whose ostensibly protective effigy was set atop one of the main city gates), was recorded as having taunted the besieging Imperial-Liga army, "What will your Maria do? Where is the goddess? Does she not ask you to come into the city?".[155] This episode, with the blasphemous counterpart to the Virgin Mary in the novel *Magdeburger Jungfrau*, formed a crucial context for some attackers' unusally strong religious interpretations of the still debated events of the sack, in which most of the city burned and tens of thousands of civilians perished.

Most famous are Pappenheim's words in his post-action report, which have been used in historiography as well as in journalism as an example of the ostensible religious fanaticism of the war's combatants ("Magdeburg… called down the justified wrath and punishment of God. Surely there a more dreadful act of God has not been seen since the fall of Jerusalem. All of our soldiers have become rich. God be with us."),[156] quoted without acknowledgement of their atypicality in the immediacy with which an officer or soldier in the Thirty Years War imputed God's direct action and will to those of his army, or the strangeness of the contemporary context from which they sprang. The latter may have been a factor in the unusually criticical moral-religious stance toward co-religionists reflected in the words of a Lutheran captain

[154] Heinemann, *Die Schriften*, p. 170.
[155] Junkelmann, 'Tilly-Anthologie', p. 87; Finucane, 'To remain unaltered'.
[156] Junkelmann, 'Tilly-Anthologie', p. 88. See R. Usinger, 'Die Zerstörung Magdeburgs', *Historische Zeitschrift,* 13/1 (1865); 'Weltenbrand', *Der Spiegel* [Hamburg] (4 May 2018).

serving under Pappenheim who witnessed the sack of Magdeburg and commented in his diary, "I recognize God's omnipotence and punishment".[157]

The heightened sensory experience of battle also and especially brought to the fore the visual role of standards (as discussed in Chapter II), and the auditory roles of the sermon, the often religiously infused officer's exhortation, and the battle cry. Whatever one's personal attitudes toward belief, one could not avoid religion (or confession) in battle cries uttered *en masse* by both armies, or religiously themed standards providing essential information as to the location and direction of a given unit.

Chapters III and IV discussed a handful of instances in which clergy (mainly Catholic) played an active role in and around battles – most notably the well-documented case of Dominicus a Jesu-Maria during the Bohemian campaign of 1620, and during the battle of White Mountain, whose evocative motivational use of the image of the Virgin Mary is rightly treated as an exceptional occurrence during the most confessionally fervent period of the war. However, there is a lesser known, though no less dramatic, episode from the battle of Lützen in 1632 in which Jakob Fabricius, Gustavus Adolphus's personal chaplain, used Protestant religious motifs to influence the movements of a large number of troops and possibly affect the outcome of one of the war's major battles.

Fabricius's own account of the event is a source by far the best of its kind known to this study, already being a rare type: namely, a non-combatant's eyewitness account – even that of a clergyman – from *within the lines* in a battle. As has been shown throughout this thesis, clergy's accounts give a unique access to the campaigns

[157] Junkelmann, 'Tilly-Anthologie', p. 95.

and battles of the war, being not only much more likely to record non-kinetic (e.g., religious) events than those of officers and soldiers (the latter being almost non-existent anyway), but clergy were the only literate non-combatants consistently in eyewitness proximity to campaigns and battles themselves. The level of detail related by Fabricius's account, recording a dramatic dialogue between himself, officers, and men at a crucial and uncertain moment in the battle, places it in a position of unique importance.

Fabricius encounters a detachment of retreating Swedish troops, whereupon he commands the ranking officers to make a stand. Then, addressing the whole body, he tells what he knows to be an outright lie: that Gustavus has not been killed in the battle, but only wounded, and has commanded him to order them to continue fighting. His account related eighteen years after the battle is as follows:

> [Colonels Winckler and Rölinger told me], 'we must retreat.' I responded: 'You must stand.' I then hurried to find my gracious king, whereupon I encountered many fleeing musketeers and cavalry, when I, along with a Lapp nobleman named N. Diesenhausen, began to call loudly that they should make a stand. But the more we called, the faster they ran away, as they believed it was the enemy behind them, for by reason of the thick fog that had descended one could not see far in front of oneself. Then God put into my heart to ask those around me, as long as the quiet prevailed, to sing a spiritual Psalm, which would help those retreating to be able to recognize whose side we were on. So I began then to sing with them: *Erhalt uns Herr beij deinem Wort*. When this psalm was sung to the end, I found a few hundred men around me – I will not say thousands – who I sincerely exhorted to do their duty and nobly fight for God's honour and teaching. Because the cause was God's, he would powerfully stand by them, and grant them a great victory. But if they shamefully fled, they would either die shamefully, or the just wrath of God would follow in their footsteps and give them a very unsettled conscience, etc. As I urged these and others on to their duty, one called out from the crowd (who I afterward learned had been Colonel Georg Flietwoot [George Fleetwood]…) with these words: "Dear brothers, the field preacher exhorts us as an honest man, and if we do not listen to him we are unworthy of honour." I answered back to him: "My friend, God speaks through you. To you other dear men, consider this well, and do what your duty requires." Then another called out from the crowd: "What should we do? The King is dead." I answered,

> God is gracious, as His Royal Majesty *should be* dead, but has only received an unfortunate shot in the arm. But he lives, God be praised, and commanded me to tell you to remember well your oath and duty; (I was compelled by the great emergency to resort to saying these things) and if indeed it was that His Majesty should be dead, which God in his great mercy has prevented, you are obligated in such case to avenge the King's death, and to fight all the more courageously against the enemy, until God has granted you the victory.
>
> Yet another called again from the crowd, saying that however far I would go back with them, so they would go, and in God's name fight. I answered back:
>
> > Then it won't fail: it would be my honour to be your leader; so come, in the name of the Almighty, I will happily ride forward, and otherwise do all that my office requires. And you must return to your regiment and banner; so will the Lord God be with you to bless you.
>
> And we rode together back to the fighting.[158]

Even if one suspects in the preacher Fabricius a penchant for rhetorical flourish and exaggeration, short of his story being an utter fabrication (highly unlikely given his mention of specific names and details well within living memory of the event, not to mention the unlikelihood of his fabricating a story in which he tells a barefaced lie) the potency of religion in the particular circumstances of extreme need in battle as a motivating force and point of cohesion for both officers and common soldiers could hardly be shown more convincingly. Though nothing comes close to the drama of Fabricius's account, he was not the only chaplain attached to commanding officers to weigh in with tactical input. Fr. Henry Fitzsimon recorded of the battle of White Mountain:

> I cannot forbear condemning the rashness of myself and others…. In our blind zeal, we urged Tilly to attack before half the army could arrive to help him. He, though generally deaf to bad advice, listened to our request, and moved so as to expose us to annihilation.[159]

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[158] Fabricius' 'Relation' taken in Stettin 20 Dec. 1650, printed in Wittrock, 'Frya Relationer', pp. 305-7.
[159] Fitzsimon, *Diary*, p. 97.

After the fight: jubilation and consolation

The immediate aftermath of battle may have been the time in which religion was most indispensable in the army's collective consciousness, as religious services provided the context and focal point for all armies to process the trauma of a battle and the new turn of fate which it brought. Though the historical commonplace of invoking the divine to celebrate a victory or mark a defeat spans wide stretches of time and space, accounts of the fulsome worship of armies in the Thirty Years War in the aftermath of victory, with armies "singing spiritual songs with great joy of heart", are no less to be discounted for that.[160] Victories – large or small – were customarily celebrated with a thanksgiving (*Danksagung*), also known as a victory celebration (*Siegesfeier*). These could last for days, be celebrated in multiple locales, and were centred around worship. Preachers typically gave a particular kind of sermon – a "sermon of thanksgiving" (*Danksagungspredigt*).

Aside from more jubilant tones, the content of thanksgiving sermons did not greatly differ from that of regular sermons. Their distinctiveness, as well as the importance of these times of celebration, is much more clearly related in the anecdotal accounts which often either were embedded in or printed alongside thanksgiving sermons. They also provide a more complete picture of the occasions which seem to have been a blend of spontaneity and formality, as opposed to the more formal, officious, and longer-lasting thanksgiving celebrations of the Peace of Westphalia.[161] Aside from the fixed central point of religious worship – usually including a sermon and music – there was little else that was fixed, with a wide variety of gestures, observances, and other symbolic actions used to mark the significance of the occasion,

[160] Bellinckhausen, *Chronik*, p. 281.
[161] See C. Gantet, *La paix de Westphalie (1648): une histore sociale, XVIIe-XVIIIe siécles* (Paris, 2001).

including: processions,[162] the ringing of church bells,[163] triumphal music of trumpets, organs, and choirs, attendance of the entire general staff,[164] and often the entire army, or the townspeople.[165] Salvos of muskets[166] or of cannon,[167] the presentation of captured standards,[168] commanding generals giving readings of Scripture[169] – it would seem that no two thanksgivings were alike – after small victories as well as large;[170] in a church or in a field;[171] in the presence of civilians or no; commingled with funeral sermons;[172] before the whole army[173] or only individual regiments;[174] processions or no; salvos or no. Though all included the fixture of the worship service playing the largest role of meaning-giving in victory celebrations. Like regular sermons and funeral sermons, thanksgiving sermons could also be confessional. Electoral Saxon field preacher Jeremias Hickmann revelled in the Protestant victory at Breitenfeld, informing the assembled Electoral Saxon army the day after the battle, which despite the overall victory, had themselves been routed by the Imperial-Liga cavalry:

> Tilly and his followers have caused great and unprecedented harm to the true Evangelical Church, and continue to scheme. ...God must eventually protect his honour; he must have his honour over the papists (Psalm 46). …we see and know that our God alone is the righteous man of war and victory, who can give his Church peace. The papists and Jesuits try to bring against you large armoured hordes, with long pikes, muskets, shot, and cannon to bring peace by their own efforts, believing in their doctrine; but these are man's commands….[175]

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[162] Sebastian Bürster, *Sebastian Bürster's Beschreibung des schwedischen Krieges, 1630-1647...*, ed. F. von Weech (Leipzig, 1875), p. 80; Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen,* viii, p. 149.
p. 80; Fitzsimon, *Diary,* p. 101.
[163] Heilmann, *Gründliche Relation,* p. 18; Roder, 'Beiträge', p. 93.
[164] Anon., *Relation... nahend dem Dorff* Wittenweyher, unpaginated; Wiltheim, *Itinerarium*, p. 136.
[165] Ostermann, *Gratiarum actio;* Heilmann, *Gründliche Relation*.
[166] Anon., *Relation... nahend dem Dorff Wittenweyher*, unpaginated; Heilmann, *Gründliche Relation,* p. 18.
[167] G. Droysen, *Bernhard von Weimar* (2 vols, Leipzig, 1885), ii, pp. 345-6; Khevenhüller, *Annales*, xii, pp. 109, 1300.
[168] Anon., *Relation... nahend dem Dorff Wittenweyher*, unpaginated.
[169] Heilmann, *Gründliche Relation*, pp. 43-4.
[170] Halle an der Saale, 1631: Horn, 'Relation', p. 15; Hildesheim, 1634: Jürgens, *Hannoversche Chronik*, pp. 517-20; Oldendorf, 1633: Schaffart, *Christliche DancksagungsPredigt.*
[171] Grant, *Memoirs and Adventures of Sir John Hepburn*, p. 110.
[172] Rücker, *Christliche Trawr-predigt,* p. title; Droysen, *Bernhard von Weimar*, ii, pp. 345-6.
[173] Ostermann, *Gratiarum Actio*; Botvidi, *Christliche Kriegsgebet,* pp. 17-19.
[174] Droysen, *Bernhard von Weimar*, ii, pp. 345-6.
[175] Hickmann, *Lutheranorum Animosa*, unpaginated, [pp. 26-8].

The most detailed description of a thanksgiving celebration is related by an anonymous news report of the battle of Wittenweier which records the Bernhardines singing the traditional celebratory hymn, the *Te Deum Laudamus* – a hymn which, other than the *Our Father*, was the only one which both Catholic and Protestant armies sang.[176]

> Wednesday the 1 (11) August, a Feast of Thanksgiving to Almighty God, who had granted such a rich victory, was held by the whole army. Prayer and proclamation of the good deeds of the Almighty rang out around the whole field from each regiment. Around His Princely Grace was to be found all high-ranking officers. First the 124th Psalm, *Wer Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit*, was sung from the heart, after which upon the hearing of the preaching of God's Word the congregation knelt down under the open skies and in peculiar prayer, sincerely thanked God. After which they intoned the *Te Deum Laudamus* with joy.[177]

Defeat, where able to be marked at all aside from at funerals and burials, discussed above in Chapters III and V, might be followed by a service of lamentation (*Lamentatio*). As there was naturally much less interest in publicizing and preserving the memory of a defeat, they were hardly ever recorded in print. Distinct from the much more common military funeral sermon, this study found only two printed records of a service or sermon of lamentation after a defeat, compared to eleven thanksgiving sermons. As with the thanksgiving sermons, the lamentation sermon differs little in content from a typical army sermon, though it does make a point to declare that dead soldiers of "our Christian army" (the Swedish army) – "martyrs" – are all in heaven.[178] What is clear from both types of post-battle religious observance is that whether as a means of let-down and thanksgiving, or of recovery and healing, the act

[176] See also Ostermann, *Gratiarum actio.*
[177] Anon., *Relation... nahend dem Dorff Wittenweyher,* unpaginated.
[178] Stockmann, *Lamentatio*, pp. 66-67; Stöcker, *Christliche Heers-Predigt.*

of formal religious worship served as the denouement for armies to collectively process and conclude the climactic event of a battle.

Conclusion to Chapter VI and Part II

The first two sections of this chapter examined the relationship of the armies to religion and confession in their two very different major spheres of collective action: as enforcement instruments of the policies of rulers, and as massed collectivities before, during, and after large-scale combat. In both settings the dominance of the army's declared confession was clearly displayed, involving even those army members who held private belief contrary to that with which their army was aligned.

A constant over the course of the war was that relationships between the religion of individual military members and that of the armies in which they served existed in a dynamic balance – what group behaviour theory and identity fusion in particular understands as the interplay between individuals' private and social selves. The organization of institutional and collective aspects of religion gradually increased, forming the early stages of confessionalization of the military which would appear more visibly in the decades following the war.

Where confessionalization has, whether intentionally or not, often been treated by historiography as a *special* process within early modern central European society, it may more simply have been a typical trait of large, centralized groups: the more power is centralized, the more influence the central authority will tend to exert over smaller entities and individuals. In terms of results – namely, which confessional policies were enforced by a given army, or which confessionally tinged actions were associated with a given army – individual officers' and soldiers' private predilections or motivations usually did not matter.

Confessionally "other" clergy ended up dead when an army of the opposite confession passed through a territory much more often than did those of an army's own official confession, and the expressions of religious culture in collective contexts were virtually always and only in accordance with an army's official confession. The active involvement of all or even most army members was not required to drive most of these outcomes, which, as one historian suggests, may have been possible with only that of a small minority,[179] but this question is of secondary importance to the consistent confessional results of armies' presence in an area.

There is no indication that individual army members' expressions of religious or anti-religious sentiments hindered public expressions of group sentiment or vice versa. The dynamics of religion "in public" and religion "in private" existed in parallel, usually more or less contained within their respective settings. Similarly, though individual army members commonly attested to being brought to a greater sense of trust in God or Providence after the trials of combat or other close brushes with death, there is no evidence that such events had sway upon their particular private confessional leanings. War might reinforce belief, and even identity, but not necessarily orthodoxy. As Chapter V indicates, the agency of individuals was not eliminated, or arguably, even significantly diminished. Rather, as shown by the dynamic in the armies of the Thirty Years War which combined restricted expression of individual agency in certain public contexts with strong expression of individual agency in less restricted and more private contexts, the private self and the social self were semi-discrete arenas. Per Chapter II, this was a longstanding norm of early modern military culture; only in the Thirty Years War did army leadership begin to make concerted effort to roll back the agency of the warlord and the *Landsknecht*.

[179] Funke, 'Religion', p. 4.

However much reform efforts such as those of Gustavus or Ferdinand III and their field chaplaincies aimed at consolidating the confessional character of their respective armies, the prevailing norms of central European military culture would not be changed overnight. The influence exerted upon the public contexts of military life and the "social self" of the group over which the central authority had control was much stronger than it was over non-public contexts and the individual selves of army members. This distinction is essential to understanding the reality of religion in the armies of the Thirty Years War as a coexistence of opposite, but only superficially contradictory, forces: top-down confessionalizing pressure, interacting with authentically-held belief of army members. More institutionalized forms of religiosity took hold in the massed public settings in and around battle, though, as touched on in Chapter V, smaller groups (especially among the more independent cavalry) such as regiments, companies, or small detachments and individuals within the armies could be equally animated by un- or anti-established attitudes toward religion or confession.

The discovery of prevalent religious deviance in the forms of obscenity, profanity, blasphemy and abuse in word and deed can no longer be used to downplay religion's importance in armies, or anywhere else; a full view of religion is able to account for such contradictions as the dying colonel requesting a priest in the name of a hundred thousand devils; the "cruel blasphemer and whorer" who fasted weekly and maintained a small shrine to the Blessed Virgin in his quarters;[180] the cavalrymen who, while hunting down (with murderous intent) a fugitive who killed their comrade in a duel, paused to ask a priest to hear their confessions,[181] or the soldiers who offered

[180] Wiltheim, *Itinerarium*, p. 207.
[181] Burger, 'Itinerarium... (Schluß)', p. 83-4.

clergy stolen communion chalices for their *Beichtpfennig* (a customary small donation at confession).[182]

Characterizing the day-in, day-out role of religion is of course more complex than a neat parallel. Religious identity revealed or reinforced *in extremis* did not always correspond to what might have been desired by ecclesiastical and civil authorities. For the rank and file, matters of religion as they pertained to cohesion were supra-confessional more than cross-confessional; defined by solidarity more than by ambiguity, or toleration (and much less the modern concept of "tolerance"), or apathy.[183] Both army commanders and chaplains were constantly managing the contingent and relational variable of attitude which was the key to gauging how much centrally-directed religion an army would embrace, or tolerate – whether internally *vis a vis* confessional religious ministry or externally in the army's carrying out of confessionalizing policies. By the same token, individual army members were expected to tolerate impositions upon their own preferred expressions of belief as a matter of course.

Most, including chaplains, understood the mutually *non*-exclusive relationship between temporal and spiritual interests, especially in a military context,[184] and that individual and corporate failures to live up to religious ideals did not diminish the role of religious consciousness for the individual or in military culture; on the contrary it could provide a reminder of its importance.[185] Confessional policy and attitudes

[182] Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial*, p. 526.
[183] B. Forclaz, 'Solidarités supraconfessionnelles: le refuge dans l'arc jurassien pendant la Guerre de Trente ans', *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 373 (2012).
[184] See Anon., *Relation von der Königlichen Schwedischen Armee, worinn die Regimenter, zu Roß und Fuß die Kriegsdisciplin und Schlachtordnung... Von e. vornehmen keyserlichen reformirten Cavallier* ([s.l.], 1631), pp. 7-8. In the same sentence the author talks about the importance of piety in the army and the incentive of riches for Imperial officers.
[185] See Ringmar, *Identity*, p. 37.

toward it – and not the level of belief of military men, or the role of religion in group identity – was what changed over the course of the war, from traces of a holy war mentality in 1620 to – by the 1640s – pragmatic compromise on confessional-political questions.

Social and religious historians have rightly made a distinction between the modern concept of "tolerance" and that of mere "toleration"; and the latter can be recognized as a characteristic of early modern central European armies.[186] This quality was neither accidental nor an achievement of army leaders. Rather the very fact that the armies of the Thirty Years War on all sides, Protestant and Catholic, could navigate with so little internal conflict so fraught an issue, where contemporary civil society throughout Europe had failed, suggests the presence of a unique, firm, and stable cultural force which encouraged greater accord. In this light what appears stronger than ever is the semi-independent central European military culture, which was able to foster an attitude of judiciousness, tact, and cooperation regarding expression of religious belief in the army, from leaders to the rank and file.

[186] Funke, 'Religion', p. 73. See also B. Kaplan, *Divided By Faith. Religious Conflict and Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (London, 2007).

Conclusion

Any popular discussion of the Thirty Years War seems inevitably to come around to the perennial question of whether the conflict was or was not a "religious war". This much may be said in light of Part II: that historical actors, including individuals and groups at both the top and bottom of chains of command, are possessed of a great depth of agency and contingency, especially in the way of religion, and that any attempt to address this question without close attention to these factors, and not just those on the external level (political, economic, or otherwise), cannot be comprehensive. As acknowledged in the Introduction, the typical narrative of religion in the war identifies a peak of influence at the beginning with the 1620 Bohemian campaign, which by the Peace of Prague in 1635 had faded to a point of almost no significance. However, what is often taken as "religion" is only a rather narrow aspect of it: namely, direct influence of religion and/or clergy *ad bellum* – whether on political rulers, or military men enlisting to fight.[1]

Additional to this are other aspects of religion which did not follow the same declining trajectory as religion's immediate influence *ad bellum*, for instance the considerable level of "actual belief" (much of which was explicitly confessionally aligned) among those fighting the war, which remained constant throughout the war (Chapter V); the strong confessional character of army institutions of field chaplaincies, which increased over the course of the war (Chapters III, IV); the slow, but substantial, growth of confessional character in army administration (Chapter II); or the role of confession in armies' collective identity and morale, which was a strong unitive force throughout the war (esp. Chapter VI). The varying trajectories of these

[1] For a detailed overview of interpretations see Wilson, 'Dynasty, Constitution, and Confession', esp. pp. 475-82.

elements, previously untraced by historiography of the war or its armies, illustrate some of the complexity of the topic of "religion" and highlight the primary advocacy of this thesis: that religion merits greater attention in social, political, and warfare-conflict history as its own analytical category.

Just one example in which an expanded view of religion has far-reaching implications is the interpretation of the second half of the war and the Peace of Westphalia. The standard narrative of these – much challenged of late[2] – is that the importance of religion declined as the "meaninglessness" of the conflict increased, only to be solved by the "secular" Peace of Westphalia. In reality, though religious viewpoints changed, rulers, and accordingly their armies, never ceased pursuing religious and confessional war aims. Some aims, such as the efforts to confessionalize their armies, even intensified as the war progressed.

Countless historians have joined the "religious war" debate, offering up different senses in which the Thirty Years War should or should not be identified as such.[3] Perhaps Hans Medick's recent analysis of the war as stemming not "from religion", but from "perceptions which were shaped by religion" is as neat an encapsulation as can be given.[4] This subtle distinction is signal for calling attention to the *substance* of religious influences which may have been at work, which points to a way of getting underneath – rather than perpetuating or glossing over – the long-running mostly unspoken standoff between confessional-polemical-leaning (mostly nineteenth century) and materialist-leaning (mostly twentieth century) historiographies on the question of religion's importance in the war. Both historiographies neglect to

[2] Wilson, *Tragedy*; D. Croxton, *Westphalia: The Last Christian Peace* (Basingstoke, 2013).
[3] Brendle and Schindling, 'Religious War and Religious Peace'; Wilson, 'Wilson, 'Dynasty, Constitution, and Confession', esp. pp. 482, 513; Holzem, 'Geistliche im Krieg', p. 78; Zwierlein, *Ashgate Research Companion*, p. 231.
[4] Medick, *Zuegnisse vom Leben mit Gewalt*, pp. 60-2.

probe the stuff of religion, instead emphasizing certain aspects of it to the detriment of others (i.e., doctrine and religious culture in the former, and religious institutions and politics in the latter).

Only in taking religion on its own terms can the question of whether the Thirty Years War was a religious war be truly understood. An anthropologized approach to religion, as outlined in this thesis, can accomplish this, both accounting for the manifold complexities of religion on their own, and ordering them within a coherent whole – that of human experience. Where religion in the Thirty Years War has often been studied piecemeal, this thesis intentionally chose the broad task of covering multiple armies of different confessions over the course of a three-decades-long war in order to illuminate the topic of religion in the armies as a rounded whole. Where historiography has often presented "either-or" relationships – between structures (e.g., institutions of the army, chaplaincy, or church, or social and cultural norms) and agency (e.g., subjectivity and relative independence of individuals and/or groups); between political religion and religion-influenced politik; between private devotion to a particular confession, and public affiliation with an army of the confessional other; between authentically-held Christian belief, and actions which violate its moral teachings – this research covered an especially wide variety of material to show how these can be recast as "both-and" relationships.

In the conventional sense of the question, the Thirty Years War was clearly not what is popularly considered a "religious war". It is unfortunate that this not particularly substantive insight has been the origin of a number of misconceptions and pseudo-paradoxes which confuse discourse on religion and the war. Given the uniquely central role in modern European history of the Thirty Years War and the

Westphalian settlement, these continue to detract from contemporary discourse surrounding religion and politics more generally. For instance, the piety of key actors in the war is purportedly called into question by, variously, the existence of a mercenary soldiery willing to fight for the best paymaster, or which was violent, or uninterested in religion, or preoccupied with superstition. Seemingly authentic religious motives of key actors are again annulled by proof of said actors' pursuit of political, economic, and personal self-interest. Yet contemporaries (combatants and non-combatants alike) throughout the war continued to view religion, in one or other of its aspects, as a relevant consideration in interpreting others' actions.

Taking a step back, the question of whether or not the Thirty Years War was a "religious war" implicitly presents "religion" as a topic which can be neatly extracted from human affairs. To make an analogy to the body, it treats religion like a single organ, whereas it is more akin to a system (e.g., the vascular or nervous system), which, though discrete, defies being extricated, being so connected to everything else. Hazy or partial conceptions of religion obscure the fact that religion, no less than economics or politics or social culture, was naturally a factor in the Thirty Years War. Even the most "religious" of wars, for instance the Crusades, were not without strong pursuit of political, economic, and personal self-interest of individuals and groups. What varies across time and place is how these multivalent factors manifest in particular periods and moments, and how they relate to one another. To set these core categories against one another in a zero-sum paradigm leads to a false picture.

Accordingly, it is seems as strange to label a series of wars "Wars of Religion" as it would be to label others, "Wars of Politics" or "Wars of Economics", as if these things were not at work in every human conflict. As might also be asked of politics or economics, a better question is, in what ways did religion influence a given conflict? In

this light it appears that the most significant single development in the role of religion during the Thirty Years War – in contrast to the usual narrative of decline in its influence over political and military grand strategy – was the wearing down of key actors' willingness to accept that especially militant viewpoints like those of influential clerics, or previously-accepted policies and norms, corresponded to the ultimate best interests and good of given individuals, communities, political entities, or confessional blocs. This was a prerequisite for the gradual process of rollback of, if not necessarily religion as such, then ecclesial influence at ruling courts across Europe, which commenced with the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia itself, with the papal nuncio Chigi on the sidelines, his (and Innocent X's) strong disapprobation unheeded.[5]

The most visible illustrations of this process are individuals and groups who managed to survive this punishing and protracted war long enough for their views to develop, or perhaps to be forced to do so, in ways which they likely would have never foreseen at the war's outset, for which the uniquely long duration of the Thirty Years War offers especial scope for observation of change over time. Jörg Jenatsch is one such example, who at the start of the war was executing priests, and by its end had converted to Catholicism, yet was living in a cross-confessional marriage and advocating for liberty of conscience. In the words of Randolph Head's apt characterization, "From 1619 to the 1630s, Jenatsch's engagement with politics and religion changed profoundly.... This represented a profound shift in the kind of boundary that confession was for him."[6] Head goes on to make the point explicitly:

[5] K. Repgen, 'Die Proteste Chigis und der päpstliche Protest gegen den Westfälischen Frieden (1648/50) Vier Kapitel über das Breve 'Zelo domus Dei'', in D. Schwab (ed), *Staat, Kirche, Wissenschaft in einer pluralistischen Gesellschaft: Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Paul Mikat* (Berlin, 1989); M. Heckel, "Zelo domus Dei'? Fragen zum Protest des Heiligen Stuhls gegen den Westfälischen Frieden', in B.R. Kern et al. (eds), *HUMANIORA Medizin – Recht – Geschichte: Festschrift für Adolf Laufs zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 2006).
[6] Head, *Jenatsch's Axe*, pp. 63-9.

"His shift away from the fervor of his youth foreshadowed a similar transformation all over Germany toward the end of the Thirty Years' War."[7] Similarly, the pious Maximilian of Bavaria, who led his army in the most holy war-esque Bohemian campaign of 1620, by war's end agreed, despite the most strenuous objections of the Holy See, to major and permanent concessions of Catholic claims in the Empire as a major party to the Peace of Westphalia.[8]

It is a major finding of this thesis that religion's role in the armies, which necessarily touched nearly all aspects of the conflict, and accordingly in the war as a whole, did not decline. Rather its importance remained steady and even increased in some ways, where what changed most was that religion's political cause from whichever confession's perspective became increasingly ambiguous in a highly particular constitutional struggle. Essential to arriving at this conclusion is a perspective of religion as an independent historical factor. Such study of religion-broadly-conceived in the lives of historical actors and in society is "a bridge between micro- and macro-history"[9] which opens horizons of historiographical insight not only onto human subjectivity, but also onto specific events and processes in which the particulars of individuals' and groups' religious belief, affiliation, and culture – and attitudes toward the same – were of central importance.

[7] ibid., p. 69.
[8] Repgen, 'Die Proteste Chigis'; Heckel, "Zelo domus Dei'?'.
[9] Schmidt, *Sozialdisziplinierung?*, p. 45.

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Anon., *Kriegs-Obersten, das ist: Eine Predigt von dem Hauptmann zu Capernaum aus dem 8. Cap. Matth., welche auf die Kriegs-Obersten... gerichtet ist...* ([s.l.], 1623)

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