Armies in the Sexual Imaginary of France and the Holy Roman Empire, 1500-1650

by

Aidyn Osgood

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(History and Women's and Gender Studies)
in the University of Michigan
2022

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Helmut Puff, Chair
Professor Emerita Dena Goodman
Professor Achim Timmermann
Professor Valerie Traub

Perry M. Osgood

osgooda@umich.edu

ORCID iD: 0000-0001-5840-7549

© Perry M. Osgood 2022

Acknowledgements

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the many debts I have incurred in embarking on this piece of scholarship and to thank the people who helped shape this project, in ways both large and small. This project began as an interest in the lives of the women who followed armies in Europe between 1500 and 1650 when I was a junior in college. Through the insights of my interlocutors, it has since evolved into this study I now submit. Its generic breadth, its depth of analysis, and the various historiographies it engages would not have been possible without their support.

My family, both immediate and extended provided much encouragement to complete the dissertation in the midst of a stressful pandemic and a yet more stressful job application cycle.

The History Department, Horace H. Rackham Graduate School, the International Institute, the Women's and Gender Studies Departments, all at the University of Michigan provided funding as I researched this topic. Generous funding from the Herzog August Bibliothek's Rolf und Ursula Schneider-Stiftung and the American Friends of the Herzog August Bibliothek allowed me to immerse myself in the HAB's holdings and develop my thinking about the project in dialogue with the many eminent and emergent scholars doing research there. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Amy Nelson Burnett, Stephen Burnett, Pia Cuneo, Barbara Dietlinger, Carina Johnson, Zoe Langer, Tucker Million, Raphaële Mouren, Michael Pickering, John Romey, Alison Stewart, and Max Wiringa, who helped Wolfenbüttel feel like home. Thanks as well to Peter Burschel, Elizabeth Harding, Gerlinde Strauss, and especially Gundula Boveland and Christoph Boveland for helping me gather my bearings as a young scholar in the archives.

It has been a privilege to work with so many excellent thinkers, friends, and mentors at the University of Michigan. Thanks to Laurel Billings, Haley Bowen, Hayley Bowman, Harley Dutcher,

Kayla Fike, Joey Gamble, Matt Hershey, Forrest Holden, Ben Hollenbach, Emily Lamond, Brenna Larson, Sage Paris, Cheyenne Pettit, Hannah Roussel, Sangita Saha, Tay Sims, and Evan Vowell for providing a critical eye, free thoughts, and words of encouragement when I needed it most. Maura Seale and the staff at the UM Libraries fielded many requests and questions, and were especially helpful in tracking down some obscure German and French collections of primary sources published during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many faculty were instrumental in my training as a historian. Josh Cole, Kit French, Valerie Kivelson, Ava Purkiss, Matthew Spooner, and Paolo Squatriti in particular did much to help me evolve as a teacher and a scholar. Thanks most of all to my dissertation committee. Achim Timmermann provided keen insights into the woodcuts explored in Chapter Two and helped me to rethink many of the arguments I developed in my other chapters. Dena Goodman offered insights into the French context and unfailingly identified clearer ways of organizing my thoughts. Valerie Traub's insights in the history of sexuality helped me think more expansively about my arguments' relationship to the field and called for increasingly attentive engagement to the nuances of my sources. Finally, thanks to Helmut Puff whose direction, friendship, and mentorship has helped to transform this project and this mind.

Of course, any syntactical infelicities, historical inaccuracies, or stylistic quirks are the responsibility of the author alone.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements ii

List of Figures vi

Abstract viii

Introduction: How to do the Early Modern Military History of Sexuality? 1

1: How to do the *military history* of sexuality? 3

2: How to do the military *history of sexuality*? 8

3: The Reformation Context 19

4: Overview 24

Chapter 1: A Military Reformation? Prostitution and Marriage in Sixteenth-Century Armies 30

1.1: Prostitution in the Sixteenth-Century 35

1.2: The Rhetoric of Sexual Disorder in Religious and Military Discourses 58

1.3: May Marriages as a Mode of Resistance? 77

1.4: Conclusions 87

Chapter 2: Depicting Little Ursula: Woodcuts and Sexual Meaning-Making in the Sixteenth Century 89

2.1: Contesting Marriage Visually and Verbally 99

2.2: Soldiers and the Pox 112

2.3: Social Disorder and Death 126

2.4: Conclusions 146

Chapter 3: Chastity and Discipline in Early Modern Disciplinary Discourse 149

3.1: Household Literature 155

3.2: Military Treatises 166

3.3: Political Philosophy 189

3.4: Conclusions 202

Chapter 4: "We Didn't Worry about That So Much as Something Else": Gender and Power in Treatments of Rape in the Thirty Years' War 204

4.1: Rape in Military Regulations and Legal Compendia 213

4.2: Women's and Men's Descriptions of Rape, 1618-48 225

4.3: Rape and Tyranny 237

4.4: Conclusions 260

Conclusions 262

Appendix 271

Bibliography 284

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Jost Amman, Hurenweibel, c. 1564, Woodcut in Leonhart Fronsperger, Von Keyserlichem Kriegßrechten Malefitz und Schuldhändlen, folio 138. Colored copy in HAB A: 18.3 Bell 2º. 66

Figure 2.1: Brunswick Monogrammist, 1535-40, Die lockere Gesellschaft (Bordellszene), Painting, 30.1 x 46.5 cm, Gemäldegalerie Berlin, Id. Nr. 558. Creative Commons License. 89

Figure 2.2: Detail of Figure 2.1. 90

Figure 2.3: Detail of Figure 2.1. 91

Figure 2.4: Erhard Schoen, c. 1526-42, Der Koch als Landsknecht und seine Frau, Woodcut, 29.3 x 23.2 cm, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig, Nr. ESchön AB 3.18. 94

Figure 2.5: Wolfgang Strauch (after Erhard Schoen), 1568, Der Sudler vnd sein Sudlerin, Woodcut in Max Geisberg, The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1500-1550, ed. Walter Strauss (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1974), 3: no.1212. 96

Figure 2.6: Erhard Schoen, first half of sixteenth century, *Landsknecht und seine Frau*, Woodcut, 35.6 x 25.6 cm, Kupferstickkabinett Dresden, Inv. Nr. A 129800. 100

Figure 2.7: Wolfgang Strauch (after Erhard Schoen), 1568, Vrschelein und Schüchknecht, Woodcut in Max Geisberg, The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1500-1550, ed. Walter Strauss (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1974), 3: 1213. 101

Figure 2.8: Niklas Stör, c. 1553, Ein Reuterßman bin ich geborn, Woodcut, 35.4 x 27.5 cm, Schlossmuseum Gotha, Inv. Nr. 38,94. 104

Figure 2.9: Wolfgang Strauch, c. 1555-61, Landsknecht, sein Weib und Heerfrau, Woodcut, 40.5 x 30 cm, Schlossmuseum Gotha, Inv. Nr. 49,26. 107

Figure 2.10: Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen, c.1500, Laughing Fool, Oil on Panel, 35.2 x 23.2 cm, The Davis Museum at Wellesley College, Wellesley, MA, Obj. No. 1958.3. Creative Commons License. 110

Figure 2.11: Albrecht Dürer, 1496, Flugblatt auf die Syphilis (Der Syphilitiker), Woodcut, 41.0 x 28.4 cm, Albertina, Vienna, Inv. Nr. DG1930/210. Creative Commons License. 114

Figure 2.12: Albrecht Dürer, 1495/96, Five Soldiers and a Turk on Horseback, Engraving, 13.3 x 14.6 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, Acc. No. 1943.3.3455. Creative Commons License. 117

Figure 2.13: Quentin Matsys, c. 1518, Rem-Altar: Der hl. Rochus mit dem Engel, painting on oak wood panel, 89.9 x 28.7 cm, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen – Alte Pinakothek München, Inv. No. 719. Creative Commons License. 118

Figure 2.14: Andrea Mantegna, 1495-1500, Kristus som den lidende frelser, tempera on wood, 78 x 48 cm, Statens Museum for Kunst, Danmark, Inv. Nr. KMSsp69. Creative Commons License. 118

Figure 2.15: Caspar Hochfeder[?], 1496, Woodcut for the frontispiece of Joseph Grünpeck, Tractatus de pestilentiali scorra sive mala de Franzos, (Nuremberg: Caspar Hochfeder, late 1496), colored copy in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München 4 Inc.s.a. 929. Creative Commons License. 120

Figure 2.16: Martin Weygel [?], c. 1526-50. Die Landtsknechts hür, Woodcut, 18.9 x 15.9 cm, Graphische Sammlung, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, Inv. Nr. HB 13008. 122

Figure 2.17: Urs Graf, 1524, Ein Landsknecht, ein Reisläufer und eine Prostituierte mit dem lauernden Tod im Baum, Woodcut, 20.3 x 11.8 cm, Kunstmuseum Basel, Inv. X.2255. Creative Commons License. 129

Figure 2.18: Erhard Schoen, c. 1532, Baggage Train and Death, Woodcut, 30.2 x 77.0 3 cm, British Museum, London, Museum No. E,8.141. Creative Commons License. 130

Figure 2.19: Erhard Schoen, c. 1532, Baggage Train and Death, Woodcut, 30.2 x 77.0 cm, British Museum, London, Museum No. E,8.140. Creative Commons License. 132

Figure 2.20: Hans Weigel after Jost Amman, 1573, Das newe Fendlein Teutscher Landsknecht, Woodcut, 54.8 x 178.6 cm., Ashmolean Museum WA 1863.3070.1-6. 134

Figure 2.21: Hans Weigel after Jost Amman, 1573, Das newe Fendlein Teutscher Landsknecht, Woodcut, 36.8 x 38.0 cm., Ashmolean Museum WA 1863.3070.6. 135

Figure 2.22: Hans Glaser, 1555, Trossbube, Spanier, Schweizer und Landsknecht, Woodcut, 27.4 x 37.1 cm, Schlossmuseum Gotha, Inv. Nr. 49,33. 141

Figure 2.23: Hans Glaser, 1555, Marketenderin, zwei Landsknechte und der Tod, Woodcut, 30.4 x 40.5 cm, Schlossmuseum Gotha, Inv. Nr. 49,34. 142

Figure 2.24: Hans Weynel, c. 1550-55, Der Landsknecht und der Tod, Woodcut, 40.6 x 28.6 cm, Schlossmuseum Gotha, Inv. Nr. 49,50. 144

Figure 4.1: Niklas Stör, 1530, Zwei türkisch Lanzenreiter mit zwei gefangenen Mädchen, Woodcut, 29.3 x 40.5 cm, Schlossmuseum Gotha, Inv. Nr. 49,13. 241

Abstract

Armies in the Sexual Imaginary of France and the Holy Roman Empire explores how early moderns assessed the impact of sexuality on the social order through depictions of military life in an age of social upheaval and religious warfare, 1500-1650. It interweaves three historiographies on early modern Europe: military history, the history of sexuality, and histories of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations, focusing on the ways that writers, commentators, military theorists, and reformers both inside and outside of military institutions consistently cast armies as socio-sexual laboratories for the development of notions of social order and sexual restraint. Surveying military treatises, visual imagery, military regulations, chronicles, ego-documents, religious writings, household manuals, and political literature, this dissertation demonstrates that armies were central to the early modern sexual imaginary: the nexus of attitudes, convictions, and ideas early modern people had about sexuality. Because armies were at once part of and apart from the societies that formed and financed them, armies invited individuals to debate forms of sexuality such as prostitution and sexual violence considered anathema to Christian polities. As rigorously hierarchal institutions, militaries thus encouraged observers and writers to think through the intersection of gender, sexuality, and social status. In prescriptive and philosophical discourses, armies were sites where young men learned to discipline themselves and accept the disciplining of their superiors. At the same time, writers recognized that soldiers engaged in unbridled sexual acts and sexual violence. Since armies represented the antithesis of the social order and sexual probity that Protestants and Catholics alike extolled, they galvanized visions of a well-ordered society. Moreover, armies were at once a vehicle of the imagination subject to the license of writers and artists *and* tangible institutions

that affected people's material lives profoundly. The project of religious reform would remain incomplete, it was thought, unless it also transformed the conduct of armies. The early modern tropes about army life – that soldiers and women camp followers eschewed marriage for fleeting sexual liaisons and that nobles refrained from disciplining those who violated regulations prohibiting sexual activity outside of marriage – therefore came to justify increasingly invasive means of policing soldiers' and camp followers' intimate lives. This development must be understood as a "military reformation" insofar as similar practices of discipline characterized the efforts at religious reform in cities and towns across Europe. In sum, this dissertation argues that armies were a forum for people to discern how gender and sexuality shaped the social order. They served as a model of or as a foil for gender and sexual propriety in a context in which in which warfare was endemic and the sexual order underwent marked change.

Introduction: How to do the Early Modern Military History of Sexuality?[1]

In 1670, Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen pseudonymously published the second part of his picaresque trilogy following three people who participated in the Thirty Years' War. In *Die Ertzbetrügerin und Landstörtzerin Courage* (*The Arch-Liar and Country-Disturber Courage*), Grimmelshausen tells the story of a woman camp follower named Courage. In many ways, Courage stands in for the archetype of the woman camp follower. This imagined figure spends most of her time as a camp prostitute, protected by officers who enjoy her company and appreciate her skill at pillaging the countryside. She marries several times, sometimes returning to "whoring" after her husbands die in battle, other times after they are captured by the enemy, and yet other times when they fail to satisfy her erotic appetites. These marriages are unlike civic marriages. Absent an official ceremony, they are fragile and last only as long as Courage and her partner can be of service to each other. Moreover, Courage brings death and discord wherever she goes. She proves accustomed to dictating the terms of her relationships (both economic and erotic). At one point, she engages in a literal battle for the pants with one of her husbands, who abandons her and the army in shame after losing. As a camp follower who takes up arms to defend her goods in battle, Courage later captures her husband in combat. Infected by "the French disease," she passes this ailment onto Simplicissimus, the naïve protagonist of the first volume of the trilogy. In *Courage*, Grimmelshausen invents a woman who

[1] This title, and the methodological reflections that comprise it, reference David Halperin's work. David M. Halperin, *How to do the History of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002). Halperin does not use a question mark, however he indicates that he understands his piece as an open question rather than a definitive methodological thesis.

threatens the male body, the social order, and the estate of marriage by exercising power within the armies she follows.[2]

Throughout, Grimmelshausen urges his readers to connect Courage's depravities with the excesses of war and the enduring need for personal and communal spiritual renewal. Indeed, war appears to have caused her wantonness. About halfway through the volume, Courage learns that she is in fact of noble birth – her father died in the early stages of the Bohemian revolt around 1618 and she subsequently grew up in the rough environs of the imperial army. Removed from her ancestral estate and upbringing as a noblewoman, she reverts to the behavior she witnessed while growing up among the commoners in the army: thievery, gambling, drinking, and prostituting herself. By her own admission, she excels in these areas, becoming a fixture of the army and instructing others in how best to flourish in the baggage train by following her example. From victim to agent of licentiousness, Courage serves as a prominent vehicle through which warfare incites wantonness, social chaos, and moral depravity.

As we shall see, Grimmelshausen was not alone in using armies as an arena to develop arguments about the necessity of religious renewal and the dangers of sexual infractions. This dissertation investigates the many and manifold connection between sexual knowledge production and early modern armies in the period between 1500 and 1650. It explores how armies adopted and adapted moral reforms associated with the Protestant and Catholic Reformations and also came alive in the ways that religious thinkers justified the project of civic reform. I leverage the concept of the sexual imaginary, defined as the nexus of attitudes, beliefs, and convictions early modern people possessed regarding the erotic world, to place armies alongside the other, more well-studied fora of the church, the courtroom, the stage, and the literary text as sites of sexual meaning-making. By so

[2] Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen], *Die Ertzbetrügerin und Landstörtzerin Courage* ([Nuremberg: Felsecker, 1671]).

doing, I explore both how people deployed armies as a representational vehicle in which they could think through the personal and social ramifications of a variety of sexual activities. I argue that these depictions of military life galvanized people to achieve both communal and personal moral reform while at the same time influencing military policy.

1: How to do the ***military history*** of sexuality?

In the past few decades, military historians have worked to analyze how armies in the past both shaped and were in turn shaped by their social and cultural milieux. One of the most effective and influential attempts to link militaries to society has appeared in research into the early modern period. Under the rubric of the "military revolution," military historians have argued that developments in technology and tactics increased army size and therefore fiscal burdens on princes and states. These states responded by developing bureaucracies to extract greater resources from their subjects and to enforce more stringent discipline on their soldiers. Originally formulated with reference to Swedish forces during the Thirty Years' War, the concept of the military revolution has been imported to contexts as wide-ranging as gunpowder in the Hundred Years' War (called the "gunpowder revolution"), the increased efficacy of infantry in the fifteenth century (called the "infantry revolution"), and the adoption of Italian-style fortifications across Europe.[3] In British scholarship during the 1980s and 1990s, historians critiqued the military revolution thesis for not attending enough to partnerships between state actors and the contractors that ran and supplied

[3] Kelly DeVries, "Gunpowder Weaponry and the Rise of the Early Modern State," *War in History* 5, no.2 (1998): 127-45 and Clifford J. Rogers, "The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years' War," *The Journal of Military History* 57, no.2 (1993): 241-78 both import the concept of the military revolution to argue that seminal developments in metallurgical, gunpowder, and archery technology exerted profound influence on medieval European patterns of warfare and on European states. On the *trace italienne*, an expensive fortification style featuring short, stout walls which better withstood cannon fire and shifted the balance of power decisively towards defensive forces, see Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

early modern armies. Through the concept of the "fiscal-military state," historians of Britain in particular have shifted the emphasis from the battlefield to the inner workings of state bureaucracy to highlight the role of logistics in military success and to underscore the importance of military establishments to state formation.[4] Still, the military revolution looms large in historiography on premodern European militaries. These approaches all privilege technology, tactics, and bureaucracy as determinative of political and social transformation on a large scale.

Early modern military history has been a victim of its own success. Partially because of the prevalence of the military revolution thesis in its various iterations and chronological contexts, historians of the early modern period have only recently begun to investigate how armies became fora of a variety of cultural practices. Partially in an attempt to make military history relevant to scholars of the "new cultural history," military historians urged scholars to attend to the ways that militaries were shaped by systems of meaning-making around them and in turn helped to engender, reinforce, and challenge early modern assumptions about the world.[5] John Lynn's 2003 *Battle: A History of Combat and Culture* merits particular discussion because of its influence among practitioners of the "military and culture" approach. In it, Lynn argues that battle is inextricably linked to transformations in culture.[6] Following Lynn's lead, historians have more recently queried the connection between militaries and late humanism, the role of armies in Enlightenment discourse, and the impact of gunpowder on understandings of gendered propriety.[7]

---

[4] See especially John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688-1783* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).
[5] See the influential if controversial Victor Davis Hanson, *Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise to Western Power* (New York: Anchor Books, 2001), in which he argues that a "western style of warfare" was the determinative factor of western military hegemony.
[6] John A. Lynn, *Battle: A History of Combat and Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 2004). In contrast to Hanson, Lynn locates rupture in Western fighting styles between the ancient Greeks and modern armies.
[7] Therese Schwager, *Militärtheorie im Späthumanismus: Kulturtransfer Taktischer und Strageischer Theorien in den Niederlanden und Frankreich (1590-1660)* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2012). Christy Pichichero, *The Military Enlightenment: War and Culture in the French Empire from Louis XIV to Napoleon* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017). Patrick Brugh, *Gunpowder, Masculinity, and Warfare in German Texts, 1400-1700* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2019).

Proponents of a cultural approach among early modern military historians have especially focused on women who routinely accompanied armies on campaign. To be sure, earlier historians had made note of such women, but mostly in passing on a page or two in monographs or a smattering of footnotes. The appearance of Barton C. Hacker's 1981 "Women and Military Institutions in Early Modern Europe: A Reconnaissance" drew attention to women camp followers in early modern Europe in sustained fashion for the first time. Reflecting the dominance of bureaucratic determinism in military historiography at the time of his writing, Hacker emphasized that women's participation in military institutions decreased only as armies assumed control over support services for which they had previously contracted.[8] Peter Wilson's 1996 "German Women and War" nuanced Hacker's argument. Laying women's declining participation in army life at the feet of the advent of standing armies, Reformation-era social disciplining, and the identification of women as agents of disorder, Wilson challenged military historians to place gendered attitudes as a cause of shifts in military organization.[9] His argument, however, has been challenged in the only book-length study of women camp followers in early modern warfare. Like Hacker's article, John Lynn's *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe* once again attributes women's removal from military life chiefly to shifts in army composition. He argues that when military organization shifted away from contracting mercenaries and army suppliers, and when these elements came more fully under the control of state bureaucracies, women's work in army life became superfluous. Commanders were then able to do what they had always desired: they transformed armies into all-male spaces with the few exceptions of laundresses and nurses who enrolled in the army to care for soldiers.[10]

[8] Barton C. Hacker, "Women and Military Institutions in Early Modern Europe: A Reconnaissance," *Signs* 6, no.4 (1981), 655.
[9] Peter H. Wilson, "German Women and War, 1500-1800," *War in History* 3, no.2 (1996): 127-60.
[10] John Lynn, *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

More recently, scholars have re-evaluated the place of women camp followers in the growth of the state-controlled and state-sponsored army – the central teleology in early modern military historiography. An appreciation for the importance of women camp followers in this development can be traced back to the work of Hacker, Wilson, and Lynn. Lynn especially expresses his wish to "explore [women's] lives on campaign in as much detail and with as much humanity as possible." He admonishes scholars to treat women camp followers "not simply as victims of reforms but as causes of them as well."[11] And yet, ultimately, he contends that "definitive military and governmental reforms fundamental to state formation increased state support of armies and allowed a decline in the numbers of women traveling with the troops…. Only when armies could make do with fewer women, did their numbers decrease."[12] Even at the level of sentence composition, women camp followers appear as objects, rather than subjects, of military change. In spite of his desire to depict women camp followers in their full humanity, Lynn ends up reproducing their status as mere victims of advances in technology and battle tactics.

A different line of argumentation has been pursued by Mary Elizabeth Ailes, whose work on women and Sweden's Thirty Years' War has demonstrated how women's choices helped to propel the formation of the early modern Swedish state. Like Lynn, she emphasizes the central role women played in supplying and supporting soldiers while at war before 1650. Yet unlike Lynn, she contends that women – especially peasant women who confronted army conscription and officers' wives at home – made demands of the Swedish state that led directly to the expansion of governmental bureaucracies characteristic of political modernity.[13] What remains an open question, then, is the

---

[11] Lynn, *Women, Armies, and Warfare*, 65.
[12] Lynn, *Women, Armies, and Warfare*, 1.
[13] Mary Elizabeth Ailes, *Courage and Grief: Women and Sweden's Thirty Years' War* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2018), especially 99-134. Military historians agree that military modernity is bound up in state-controlled armies, even as they have emphasized different paths different states have taken to centralize state control over militaries. See, e.g., John A. Lynn, *Giant of the Grand Siècle: The French Army, 1610-1715* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), esp. 595-609; David Parrott, *The Business of War: Military Enterprise and Military Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), esp. 286-306; David Parrott, *Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in*

extent to which women who left their homes to follow armies on campaign contributed to the formation of military and state bureaucracies. Even if sources are not forthcoming on how actual women camp followers influenced military policy, sources do shed light on how the figure of the woman camp follower helped to engender greater disciplining in army life.

This dissertation builds on the moral issues that animate Lynn's and Ailes's work by focusing on discourse surrounding prostitution and marriage in army life between 1500 and 1650. It traces the expansion of state control over army life to the project of moral reform engendered by the Reformations. Challenging the assumption that commanders wished to expel women from army life, I trace how fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century captains in fact welcomed some women on campaign. Believing that prostitutes in particular helped to keep soldiers entertained and prevented rivalries between soldiers, before the mid sixteenth century commanders begrudgingly encouraged prostitutes to join the campaign community. Only as marriage and prostitution became lightning rods for religious disputation during the institutionalization of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations across Europe did commanders prohibit prostitutes and welcome soldiers' wives on campaign.

Absent robust disciplinary systems to enforce these regulations and to track soldiers' marriages, soldiers and unwed camp followers responded by sampling calling their existing relationships "marriages." Military treatises derisively referred to these unions as "May Marriages" because of their perceived ephemerality. Commanders interpreted May Marriages as a threat to army cohesion and to the institution of marriage because they blurred the lines between marriage and "whoring," upending what reformers increasingly considered the institutional cornerstone of society. Commanders responded by empowering officers – chiefly the so-called *hurenweibel* (literally: whore-

---

France, 1624-1642 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), esp. 287; Frank Tallett, *War and Society in Early Modern Europe, 1495-1715* (New York: Routledge, 1992), esp. 79-80. J. R. Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450-1620* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985), esp. 251.

commander) – and developing systems of record keeping to track who was married to whom and where soldiers' spouses were located. Rather than simply victims of expanding state power, then, I argue that women camp followers helped to engender transformations in military organization. Women's agency was central to the process by which states assumed greater control over the armies that served them. Concerns about the purity of the marital state and the perceived challenges unwed (or were they?) women posed to the social order made such disciplinary infrastructures desirable in the first place. Because commanders needed to distinguish between the honorable wife who was permitted to accompany her husband on campaign and the figure of the "whore" whose lechery posed serious dangers to unit cohesion, I argue that we cannot tell the story of early modern armies without reference to women's navigation of debates surrounding marriage and prostitution in the broader society of which it was a part. If armies were vehicles of meaning-making in early modern civic contexts, this meaning making spilled over into military discourse and shaped the growth of the state-controlled army.

2: How to do the military *history of sexuality*?

If unfolding debates about erotic behavior have occupied something of a blind spot for early modern military historians, militaries similarly occupy a blind spot for early modern historians of sexuality. Whereas military historians of the early modern period have until recently been captivated mostly by histories that lead inexorably to the formation of the state-controlled army, historians of sexuality have in the past few decades nuanced another kind of genealogical project. Inspired by an engagement with Michel Foucault's 1976 *History of Sexuality* and other works, historians of sexuality posed the formation of the homosexual subject as their central historical question.[14] In the past two

[14] One of the central issues in many of these early debates was the existence of homosexual subjectivity in the past. Among the essentialist, who argue that gay people existed in the premodern world, see John Boswell, *Christianity, Social*

decades or so, historians of sexuality have asked what lines of inquiry the focus on genealogy has foreclosed.[15] The field has profited greatly from this transformation, as scholars have engaged questions that touch on nearly every facet of early modern European historiography.[16] A complete reckoning of the history of sexuality's recent directions is beyond the scope of this introduction. (Indeed, it could be a dissertation unto itself). Many historians of sexuality have continued to concentrate on same-sex eroticism, investigating the changing meanings of sodomy, its sites of enunciation, and its polemical valences.[17] Others have explored how gender norms and sexual behaviors became a primary vehicle through which Europeans developed understandings of racial difference.[18] Still others have linked societies' erotic behavior or the depictions of eroticism that proliferated in them to the social formations they sanctioned.[19] Mostly in literature departments,

---

Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); John Boswell, *Same-Sex Unions in Premodern Europe* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994); Rictor Norton, *Mother Clap's Molly House: The Gay Subculture in England 1700-1830* (London: Nonesuch Publishing, 2007); Rictor Norton, *The Myth of the Modern Homosexual: Queer History and the Search for Cultural Unity* (Washington, DC: Cassell, 1997), esp. 3-33. The most influential constructionists have argued that eroticism in the past does not map on neatly to modern sexual identities and that sexuality as a category of human experience was also foreign to various societies in the past. See especially Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (London: Gay Men's Press, 1982); David Halperin, "How to do the History of Male Homosexuality" in *How to do the History of Sexuality* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2002): 104-137; David Halperin, "Is there a History of Sexuality?," *History and Theory* 28, no.3 (1989): 257-74; Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality in the Arab-Islamic World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Jeffrey Weeks, *Sexuality*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2003), esp. 11-40.

[15] In spite of disagreements about the value of genealogy as a historical project, both Laura Doan and Valerie Traub ask what historians can glean when the formation of sexual subjectivity is not the principal question posed. See Laura Doan, *Disturbing Practices: History, Sexuality, and Women's Experience of Modern War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013); Valerie Traub, *Thinking Sex with the Early Moderns* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

[16] This engagement has been especially rich in the context of sixteenth century Germany, as Helmut Puff, Merry Wiesner-Hanks, and Ulinka Rublack all demonstrate. See their essays in Scott Spector, Helmut Puff, and Dagmar Herzog, eds., *After* The History of Sexuality: *German Genealogies with and Beyond Foucault* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), esp. 17-62.

[17] See, e.g., Mark D. Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Cameron McFarlane, *The Sodomite in Fiction and Satire, 1660- 1750* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Helmut Puff, *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland, 1400-1600* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Carla Freccero, *Queer / Early / Modern* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); Zeb Tortorici, *Sins Against Nature: Sex & Archives in Colonial New Spain* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018).

[18] Carmen Nocentelli, *Empires of Love: Europe, Asia, and the Making of Early Modern Identity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Jennifer Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery: Gender, Kinship, and Capitalism in the Early Black Atlantic* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2021).

[19] Michael Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Isabel V. Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700-1815* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996); Valerie Traub, *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Susan Lanser, *The Sexuality of History: Modernity and the Sapphic, 1565-1830* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014); Faramerz Dabhoiwala, *The Origins of Sex: A History of the First Sexual Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press,

scholars have even challenged the value of the historical project itself, offering a sort of "queer time" that affords emotional and intellectual identification across time and place.[20]

To integrate the history of sexuality so thoroughly into nearly every subfield of early modern historiography, historians have turned chiefly to literature, the stage, art, and the courtroom. The exploration of these archives makes sense. In early modern courtrooms, for example, judges sought to pin down and identify precise acts, rendering sexual activity in the past at least somewhat legible to historians. Conversely, scholars have turned towards art, plays, and literature – sources that were in some form imagined or staged – to glean insights into how early modern people understood, practiced, and represented sexual activity. The challenge has been to connect the "real" life supposedly reflected by court records to the more "imagined" worlds of literature, the stage, and art. Although I am skeptical of the binary construction of the "real" as opposed to the "imaginary," and would join historians of sexuality in contending instead that the "real" and "imaginary" are categories which construct each other, it has been difficult to identify an early modern institution that consistently mediates between this real/imaginary dialectic.

Armies were a privileged site of sexual meaning-making in early modern Europe. The majority of soldiers were young men, some from cities and some from villages, who were recruited to fight either for local potentates or foreign rulers. In the early sixteenth century, soldiers signed up for one campaign season (usually one summer) at a time. As the size of armies ballooned over the course of the sixteenth century, soldiers' pay regularly fell into arrears and commanders promised only to pay soldiers' back wages if they signed on for another season. By the seventeenth-century,

---

2012); Ruth Mazo Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Ruth Mazo Karras, *Unmarriages: Women, Men, and Sexual Unions in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); H. G. Cocks, *Visions of Sodom: Religion, Homoerotic Desire, and the End of the World in England c. 1550-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

[20] See especially Carla Freccero, *Queer / Early / Modern* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006) and José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: NYU Press, 2009).

soldiers typically signed on for the duration of the war if they had any hope of being paid what they were promised. Commanders, conversely, mostly came from the nobility. The very highest level, the *Oberst* of German armies or the *capitaine* of French armies, typically came from high-ranking noble families. Although it was possible for commoners to rise through the ranks through military service to lead an army and later become ennobled, such occasions were incredibly rare.[21] Based on courtroom records in early modern cities, it appears that armies offered something of a refuge for people who frequently faced disciplinary action in civic contexts.

I want to suggest that militaries occupied a special place in the early modern sexual imaginary because militaries persistently shuttled between the imaginary and the real. Armies tangibly affected the lives of early modern Europeans. On campaign, soldiers pillaged farms, attacked villagers and burghers, and otherwise palpably altered people's lives. And yet armies also became a topos of representation across early modern art, literature, and the stage. In these fora, armies became a mirror on which artists and writers could project scenes of prostitution, sexual disease, and social disorder. Because armies were meaningfully removed from civic society, this projection helped people to contain these behaviors, to moralize about them at a safe distance, and to use them to advance their projects of moral reform. Insofar as armies possessed an immediacy to people's lives in ways similar to the courtroom and yet could serve as a vessel for sexual meaning making through artistic and literary representation, I argue that armies were an important means by which early modern people made sense of prostitution, marriage, rape, sexual restraint, and their variegated impacts on the social order. In short, armies' liminality – both materially impactful and a widespread

---

[21] André Corvisier, *Armies and Societies in Europe, 1494-1789*, trans. Abigail T. Siddall (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 41-46. James B. Wood, *The King's Army: Warfare, Soldiers, and Society during the Wars of Religion in France, 1562-1576* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 91-92. Redlich, *The German Military Enterpriser*, 1: 169-204 on the commanding officer, 1: 411-34 on the social station of officers, and 1: 454-514 on various social aspects of soldiers' lives up to 1618. After 1618, see Redlich, *The German Military Enterpriser*, 2: 112-41 on officers and 2: 170-90 on recruiting and social origin of soldiers.

topic in early modern literary and artistic production – made them compelling, if not necessary, sites of sexual meaning-making in the early modern period.

Why did armies attract such attention, if not fascination? The answer likely lies in armies' place in early modern society. In an age of religious warfare, in which nobles of various statures vied for position and advocated competing religious beliefs, armies acted as decisive instruments that could – and did – further, if not resolve religious, political, and territorial disputes.[22] Their size – regularly reaching into the tens of thousands when we account for the retinue of men and women camp followers who accompanied armies on campaign – made them comparable to medium-sized cities in terms of population.[23] Yet armies were also institutions with their own mores and disciplinary structures. Chiefly populated by young men, some of whom joined armies in order to flee disciplinary action in their hometowns, armies became sites associated with drunkenness, gambling, and wantonness.[24] The itinerancy of armies also made them a source of fascination and concern in an age when the immobile household was held up as the basic, if idealized, unit of all social life. Armies were therefore foils for early modern civic society's cultural norms. Finally, because early modern armies were chiefly mercenary institutions, soldiers regularly repopulated civic societies at the end of their tours of duty, which could last a single season or several decades.[25] The

---

[22] Peter Blickle, *The Revolution of 1525: The German Peasants' War from a New Perspective*, trans. Thomas Brady and H. C. Erik Midelfort (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981).

[23] On the eve of the French Wars of Religion, the French army reached around 50,000 combatants. James B. Wood, *The King's Army: Warfare, Soldiers, and Society During the French Wars of Religion in France, 1562-1576* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 40. In 1600, the Spanish army numbered nearly 100,000 soldiers, 60,000 of whom served in the Army of Flanders. These figures do not include the camp followers. Peter Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press for Harvard University Press, 2009), 121. Around 1630, the Swedish forces numbered around 73,000 men. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War*, 459. After a slow ramp up in the size of its forces, French armies numbered around 90,000 by 1635. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War*, 557.

[24] On the ages of soldiers and officers, see Fritz Redlich, *The German Military Enterpriser and his Work Force: A Study in European Economic and Social History* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1964), 1:165-80. The difference between military and civic mores has led one historian to argue that soldiers constituted an early modern subculture. See Lucia Staino-Daniels, "The War People: The Daily Life of Common Soldiers, 1618-1654," (PhD diss., UCLA, 2018). I disagree because I want to resist the collapsing of prescriptive genres and artistic genres into the actual experiences of camp followers and soldiers.

[25] John Lynn, "The Evolution of Army Style in the Modern West, 800-2000," *International History Review* 18, no.3 (1996): 505-45; Parrott, *The Business of War.*

porosity of early modern armies meant that people regularly had contact with veterans or actual soldiers in contexts beyond the campaign trail. In some cases, like that of Urs Graf, the aftereffects of war made readjustment to civic life difficult.[26] In short, armies were at once central to both state building and political-cum-military confrontations between nobles, embedded in if somewhat culturally distinct from the societies that produced them, and porous enough that military policies had tangible and immediate effects on people in early modern cities, towns, and villages. This unique position of early modern armies made them a critical forum in which people developed arguments that linked sexual behavior to the social order.

Our understanding of the production of early modern sexual knowledge will remain incomplete without a reckoning with armies. When scholars refrain from seeing armies as implicated in the ways early modern people made arguments extolling marriage and moral discipline, we lack not only an appreciation of women's evolving participation in army life, but also a richer understanding of the ways that early modern people developed ideas about the consequences of sexual activity outside of the marital bed. Armies thus provide an opportunity to advance research into early modern sexuality.

Moreover, texts produced by, for, and about early modern armies provide opportunities to engage ongoing discussions within the early modern history of sexuality. Recently, Valerie Traub has urged scholars to attend more seriously to gender in studies on early modern sexuality.[27] Because writers and artists cast armies as spaces in which "whoring" replaced marriage, rape displaced sexual restraint, and disorder predominated over order, armies became an important means by which men were encouraged to exert increasing control over women who might upend the idealized gender hierarchy. Because the people who populated armies might rejoin civic life, the culture of armies

[26] Christiane Andersson, *Dirnen, Krieger, Narren: Ausgewählte Zeichnungen von Urs Graf* (Basel: GS-Verlag, 1978), 28.
[27] Valerie Traub, *Thinking Sex with the Early Moderns* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), esp. 229-64.

would need to be reformed if the Reformations' projects of spiritual renewal were to succeed. Because mastery of carnal desire was thought to be the attribute of ideal male aristocrats, only they could generate the social order for which writers and artists yearned. At the same time, armies acted as a moral foil that encouraged communities to enact internal social discipline. Armies, then, were part and parcel of the justification and re-entrenchment of gendered hierarchies of power – not only between men and women, but also between social stations.[28]

The sources explored in this dissertation, furthermore, call for methods which place pressure on some of the history of sexuality's most vexed methodological quandaries. Unlike trial records, which attempted to pin down and sometimes name precise bodily acts, and unlike plays and other works of literature in which writers compounded innuendos and jokes, most military literature relied overwhelmingly on the practice of labeling. But to what do these labels refer, and how do they function? In *Thinking Sex with the Early Moderns,* Traub writes that "sex may be good to think with, not because it permits us access, but because it doesn't."[29] Evidence of soldiers' and camp followers sexual relationships outside of highly stylized genres like woodcuts and prescriptive genres like military treatises are practically non-existent in the sixteenth century; not coincidentally, only in the case of the nineteenth- and twentieth century armies, for which records are much more robust, have scholars investigated the connection between sexuality and military activity in a sustained fashion.[30]

---

[28] Fritz Redlich has demonstrated that most high-ranking German military commanders, called Obristen, came from the ranks of the high aristocracy. Redlich, *The German Military Enterpriser*, 1: 105-9.

[29] Traub, *Thinking Sex with the Early Moderns*, 4.

[30] Only in the case of nineteenth- and twentieth-century armies have scholars thought sexuality and military activity together in a sustained fashion, and that only in the past decade. See Mary Louise Roberts, *What Soldiers Do: Sex and the American GI in World War II France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013) as well as the relevant forum on her book: Jean H. Quataert and Leigh Ann Wheeler, eds. "Gender, War, and Sexuality: Convergences of Past and Present," special issue, *Journal of Women's History* 26, no.3 (2014): 7-194. In addition to Roberts, see Brian Joseph Martin, *Napoleonic Friendship: Military Fraternity, Intimacy, and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century France* (Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 2011); Jason Crouthamel, *An Intimate History of the Front: Masculinity, Sexuality, and German Soldiers in the First World War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Emma Vickers, *Queen and Country: Same-Sex Desire in the British Armed Forces, 1939-45* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2013); Annette F. Timm, ed., special issue, *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 26, no.3 (2017): 351-520; Judith Giesberg, *Sex and the Civil War: Sex and the Civil War: Soldiers, Pornography, and the Making of American Morality* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017); Andrew Byers, *The Sexual Economy of War: Discipline and Desire in the US Army* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019); Maren Roger

Rather than simply lament this lack of evidence, I want to ask what this omission might convey about sexuality in the early modern European past. It is possible that early modern people did not record the information a historian might desire because they did not much care about the intimate lives of soldiers and women camp followers. As chapters one and two will illustrate, however, this was not the case. Significant discourse accusing soldiers and women camp followers of "whoring" that cheapened the institution of marriage, proliferated disease, threatened the purity of the soul, and undermined the social order indicates that sex in army life was in fact of great interest to contemporaries.

More likely given the prevalence of these utterances and depictions is that armies' role in the sexual imaginary proved more motivating than the messy reality of military life. With an equivocal relationship to soldiers' and camp followers' actual lives, writers and artists could exercise agency to remake the world as they wished to see it – with clear hierarchies and systems of discipline that gave them increased power. When, for example, the artists, writers, and publishers of woodcuts depicted women camp followers from the ranks of the common folk as a threat to marriage, they implicitly encouraged household fathers to keep a closer eye on their daughters, lest they too fall into sin. At the same time, they depicted women as morally responsible for extramarital sexual activity, further justifying the control of men over women's lives. Culturally, the ability of armies to confirm commonplaces about gendered social order was more important than recording the actual conduct of soldiers and women camp followers on campaign.

A wide variety of genres employed military personae to perform this cultural work. Arguably the richest genre was the military treatise. Marketed towards young men considering purchasing a commission in the army, military treatises were compendia of military knowledge that provided

---

and Rachel Ward, *Wartime Relations: Intimacy, Violence, and Prostitution in Occupied Poland, 1939-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).

counsel about how to lead an army in the field. Among other topics, they instructed their readers in how to be a good leader more generally, furnishing moral instructions on how to interact with superiors and subordinates, how to inculcate personal and collective piety, and how to engender social order. The chief goal was to present to the reader everything he would need to know in order to run a company. As instructional sources, military treatises prescribed how ideal armies should function, often with anecdotes ostensibly from the writer's experience to confirm the lessons he provided. Because their readership included both captains and those at a farther remove from actual military life, they shed light on both how captains approached military life and how people unconnected with army life interpreted military culture.

Articles of war, military regulations which soldiers had to swear to obey before enrolling, laid out prohibitions, admonitions, and punishments for actions as diverse as gambling, mutiny, insubordination, and sleeping during the watch. The content of the regulations indexes what commanders felt most important for order in the military, and by extension military effectiveness. Yet, at least judging by descriptions of soldiers' activities in military treatises, there was uneven enforcement of the regulations laid out in articles of war. For example, as we shall see, although articles of war in both France and Germany banned unmarried women (whom they assumed to be sexually promiscuous) from accompanying armies on campaign, military treatises insisted that "whores" remained an important feature of the campaign community.

Visual representations of military life also pervaded early modern society, especially in the Holy Roman Empire.[31] Single-leaf woodcuts in particular represented military subjects to a broad early modern public. Produced in printshops like books and sold alongside them at book fairs, woodcuts presented both didactic and satirical information about military figures in images and

---

[31] Matthias Rogg, *Landsknechte und Reisläufer: Bilder vom Solaten: Ein Stand in der Kunst des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2002); Jan Willem Huntebrinker, *"Fromme Knechte" und "Garteteufel": Söldner als soziale Gruppe im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Konstanz: UVK Verlag, 2010).

rhymed couplets. They suggested that women associated with soldiers fit into the early modern archetype of the "whore" and that for soldiers who gave in to them, sexual urges proved more important than military service.[32] Yet these woodcuts mostly operated by means of implication and suggestion. Rather than furnish precise arguments about the characters they depict, they invited viewers to speculate about the woodcut's characters, using the woodcut as a basis for storytelling, moralization, and humor. Mostly produced by people who never served as soldiers, woodcuts developed a reputation as wanton figures that came to adhere to soldiers and women camp followers alike. (Two exceptions were Urs Graf and Niklaus Manuel Deutsch, who were both early sixteenth-century Swiss artists who served when soldiers joined for only single seasons at a time. Their art collaborated in the depiction of soldiers and women camp followers as licentious characters.) Furthermore, by erecting armies as a foil for moral and social order, these woodcuts invigorated attempts at communal and personal disciplining both in armies and in society more broadly.[33]

Memoirs, journals, and other recollections about military life also commented on the sexual practices of soldiers. The category into which historians sort most of these documents – so-called ego-documents because they include self-reflection on the individual who crafted the account to greater or lesser extent – tends to efface their differences. Some of them, like the recollections of Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme, on the great captains and ladies he met during his military career, builds on hearsay, integrating moral advice into what Brantôme witnessed or heard. Other recollections, especially those of non-nobles, reflected at length on the misfortunes people faced in wartime in order to contemplate God. When listing the damage done to surrounding areas and even the theft of personal goods, writers averred that it was only by God's mercy that they were

32 Rogg, *Landsknechte und Reisläufer*, 33-66.
33 David S. Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 12.

spared greater violence. The violence they experienced led to introspection about the behaviors that brought divine punishment to them. In both cases, ego-documents reflect the ways that people associated sexual activity in wartime with widely held beliefs about the spiritual and social dangers of lust.

Chronicles, which registered the events of a particular year for perpetuity evinced many of the same tropes about soldiers' lives as other genres. They tended to emphasize the misdeeds of political and religious rivals, enacting a polemical role to denigrate the polities against whom the writers' allies were at war. Yet these distinctions broke down during the latter stages of the Thirty Years' War, coalescing around an otherizing ethos that presented soldiers generally as deleterious to social harmony. Their reliance on rhetorical formulae, borrowed partially from other chronicles, index their self-referentiality as a genre. Indeed, it is the prevalence of specific rhetorical formulations regarding sexuality that sheds light on armies as a means of sexual knowledge production. By proliferating stories about the conduct of soldiers on campaign, chronicles encouraged people to shun their sins and protect themselves from the evil forces that ruled campaign life.

The impact of these sources is hard to pin down because we lack reflections on people's experiences of them. Some sources, such as military treatises, chronicles, and articles of war were likely taken earnestly, as they warned people what to expect in army life before they joined or, worse, before armies occupied their lands. Other sources, especially woodcuts produced by people unconnected to military life, seem calibrated to motivate people to avoid contact with soldiers and refrain from activities that typified soldierly life. As such, they would have played an important role in galvanizing communities to intensify their reforming zeal by showing just how quickly sin might take hold in their midst. At the same time, the presence of prostitution and other forms of disorderly erotic behavior urged readers and viewers to keep their guard up. Because armies were at times only

a short distance away, and because members of the community could join armies, people needed to work diligently to make civic standards of pious, Christian living inhere in both military and civic life. Descriptions of well-ordered armies, with dutiful wives, pious soldiers, and chaste leaders, demonstrated how *even armies* could become Godly spaces under the right circumstances and with proper male governance. If the most lascivious spaces could become chaste, any other social space could as well.

3: The Reformation Context

Such an imbrication between militaries and sexual meaning-making only happened when the social, religious, and cultural upheavals associated with the Reformations opened gender norms and sexual behavior up to re-evaluation. Representations of armies worked to uphold systems of domination rooted in notions of gender and sexuality at a point in which sexuality became a charged field of human behavior. As has been well rehearsed by historians of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations, religious thinkers of the sixteenth century lauded marriage as the primary institutional site for the spiritual salvation of the laity.[34] At the same time, authorities castigated prostitutes for leading ostensibly chaste young men away from the path towards marriage and for resisting communities' attempts to reform themselves. To borrow a term from the reformation historian Berndt Hamm, marriage underwent a kind of *normative centering* during the sixteenth century: "the alignment of both religion and society towards a standardizing, authoritative, regulating and legitimizing focal point."[35] As Catholics and Protestants debated the status of marriage and issued polemics about fornication and other sexual sins that they brandished against each other, they

[34] The turn of phrase is Ulrike Strasser's. See Ulrike Strasser, *State of Virginity: Gender, Religion, and Politics in an Early Modern Catholic State* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 29.
[35] Berndt Hamm, "Normative Centering in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Observations on Religiosity, Theology, and Iconology," trans. John M. Frymire, *Journal of Early Modern History* 3, no.4 (1999), 311.

freighted sexuality with layers of meaning. In this moment of contestation, in which competing authorities sought to define religious propriety, armies became a representational mainstay in which people could negotiate scenes of social disorder and sexual depravity to confirm arguments about the dangers of extramarital sex. In this sense, armies were important social spaces artists and writers used to justify men's control over women's intimate lives and of other men at precisely the moment in which the place of marriage and prostitution in society was subject to intense debate. Whereas many historians of sexuality and gender have associated the early modern period with rupture or transformation, my research draws attention to the importance of visual and discursive work that confirmed and upheld established systems of power rooted in gender and sexuality.

Woodcuts featuring soldiers and women camp followers, which exploded in popularity during the early sixteenth century, illustrate the overlap of the Reformations, military institutions, and sexual comportment. Initially depicting soldiers as heroes who helped to protect German lands from invading Ottoman mercenary forces, by the second decade in the sixteenth century, artists concentrated on their gambling, drinking, and lechery. Some art historians have emphasized what woodcuts can reveal about of soldiers' lives absent robust written records.[36] Others have explored why these depictions proliferated when they did, around the time of the Reformations. For Keith Moxey, woodcuts of soldiers produced in Nuremberg helped the city to assert its loyalty to the Emperor while also enacting reforms associated with the institutionalization of the Protestant Reformation.[37] Christiane Anderssen has argued that images of women camp followers alongside soldiers worked to justify gender roles by highlighting the destructive qualities of female-directed

---

[36] Matthias Rogg, *Landsknechte und Reisläufer*. See also Rainer Wohlfeil and Trudl Wohlfeil, "Das Landsknechts-Bild als geschichtliche Quelle: Überlegungen zur Historischen Bildkunde," in *Militärgeschichte: Probleme – Thesen – Wege*, ed. Manfred Messerschmidt (Stuttgart, 1982), 81-99.
[37] Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 67-100.

sexual relationships.[38] More recently, Andrew Morrall has asserted that woodcuts of soldiers were fundamentally ambivalent. On the one hand, he argues, they bolstered a civic morality that linked sexual discipline to the unity of the family and the ordering of society. On the other, he emphasizes that people outside of positions of authority in the household could draw inspiration from soldiers' refusal to follow mores of civic life. Perhaps these sources also helped to inspire the kinds of relationships that they ostensibly denigrated.[39] The scholarly consensus is that woodcuts of soldiers were part and parcel of the project of religious reform – in its political, moral, and gendered dimensions. In combining woodcuts with military treatises, I show how the discourses worked out in woodcuts proliferated to other genres, engendering a more comprehensive and less ambivalent attitude towards sexual disciplining.

Armies shed significant light on the similarity between the moral project of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations. In recent years, historians of the sixteenth century have moved beyond studies of particular regions or cities to emphasize the commonalities between the projects of reformers and their opponents.[40] In the process, they have reframed the importance of confessionalization by emphasizing the piecemeal and contested nature of the institutionalization of religious reforms.[41] Military commanders made no attempt to mandate confessional uniformity in their armies. Indeed, doing so would have been counter-productive because it would have limited

---

[38] Christiane Andersson, "Von 'Metzen' und 'Dirnen': Frauenbilder in Kriegsdarstellungen der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Landsknechte, Soldatenfrauen und Nationalkrieger: Militär, Krieg und Geschlechterordnung im historischen Wandel*, eds. Karen Hagemann and Ralf Pröve (New York: Campus Verlag, 1998), 171-98.
[39] Andrew Morrall, "Soldiers and Gypsies: Outsides and Their Families in Early Sixteenth-Century German Art," in *Artful Armies, Beautiful Battles: Art and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Pia F. Cuneo (Boston: Brill, 2002), 159-80.
[40] In this vein, see especially Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Reformation: Towards a New History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), and Helmut Puff's recent remarks in Helmut Puff, "Belief in the Reformation Era: Reflections on the State of Confessionalization," *Central European History* 51 (2018): 46-52.
[41] Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, *From Priest's Whore to Pastor's Wife: Clerical Marriage and the Process of Reform in the Early German Reformation* (New York: Routledge, 2016). For similarly granular approaches, see Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Simone LaQua-O'Donnell, *Women and the Counter-Reformation in Early Modern Münster* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), especially 76-133; Marc R. Forster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1514-1630* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992).

the market for hiring mercenaries at a time when German and Swiss mercenaries reached the zenith of their power on the battlefield. And yet, as chapter one demonstrates, reformers' excoriations of "whoring" and celebrations of marriage encouraged commanders to prohibit women they considered to be "whores" on campaign and explicitly allow only wives to accompany their soldier husbands. Insofar as this inducement towards marriage fitted into the Reformations' discourses surrounding gender propriety, armies shed light on the institutionalization of religious reform in explicitly cross-confessional contexts.[42] Furthermore, because armies transcended and helped shape territorial boundaries, they necessitate a transnational perspective that Reformation historians have recently sought to explore by synthesizing studies of various cities and territories.

This dissertation concentrates on France and the Holy Roman Empire between roughly 1500 and 1650 in order to shed light on the transregional and cross-confessional dimensions of early modern military institutions. I employ a comparative framework (France and the German-speaking lands) for three reasons. First, the two contexts produced different, and complementary materials. Whereas a rich collection of early modern military ordinances exists for France, few military regulations have survived in German archives. The French experience during the Italian Wars and French Wars of Religion generated a host of recollections by captains that did not exist in sixteenth-century Germany. Conversely, the explosion of printing in sixteenth-century Germany meant that woodcuts, etchings, and engravings were far more common in Germany than they were in any other context. German treatises on how to organize and run an army are also more numerous than their French counterparts. Moreover, the destruction wrought by the Thirty Years' War led publishers like

---

[42] So far, research into the impact on the Reformations in armies have to my knowledge appeared only in the German context, and that without citation. See, e.g., Reinhard Baumann, *Landsknechte: Ihre Geschichte und Kultur vom späten Mittelalter bis zum Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1994), 146-65; Hans-Michael Möller, *Das Regiment der Landsknechte: Untersuchungen zu Verfassung, Recht und Selbstverständnis in Deutschen Söldnerheeren des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976), 177-83; Peter Burschel, *Söldner im Nordwestdeutschland des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 226-58.

Matthäus Merian, studied in chapter four, to publish lengthy tracts publicizing the political and military developments for which there are no French equivalents. These differences of genre and the various modes of communication they structure make comparisons between the two contexts instructive.

Despite these differences, Protestant and Catholic armies approached the project of moral reform in remarkably similar fashions at approximately the same time. Protestant and Catholic writers agreed that "whores" were a vexing problem on the march and recommended forms of disciplining nearly identical to each other. In the terms they employed and the moral positions they espoused, Protestant and Catholic commenters on military affairs understood armies as a foil for the moral reforms they wished to instill in early modern cities. Moreover, they recommended the same disciplinary reforms to bring armies into closer conformity to their understanding of moral propriety.

Second, both France and the Holy Roman Empire experienced significant and tumultuous periods of religious warfare during the period in question. As marriage and prostitution became charged fields of debate between religious reformers and their opponents, Protestants and Catholics alike classed their religious enemies as demonic agents, purveyors of wantonness and social disorder. The heightened stakes of religious warfare – in which not only political control but the very salvation of the soul was at stake – facilitated the use of armies as foils of social-cum-sexual order. Third, the dual focus on France and the Holy Roman Empire raises questions of generalizability and calls for research into sources in other languages. Did the Eighty Years' War in the Low Countries display similar characteristics? How did Spanish and Portuguese writers, some of whom engaged in battle not only with European powers but also with North African, Amerindian, Sub-Saharan African, South Asian, and East Asian polities, view sexuality in the context of their religiously-inflected goals? And how did sexuality and militaries become thought together in Italy, the Ottoman

Empire, England, Russia, and Poland-Lithuania? Although the linguistic knowledge and archival work necessary to answer these questions is beyond the scope of this dissertation, it calls for more work into how unique the German and French contexts were in the sexualization of army life and the use of armies as sites in which to make sexual meaning.

The years 1500 and 1650, rounded to the nearest round number for convenience, bookend this study. Most studies of the Reformations in France and Germany in civic contexts survey the sixteenth century, the period in which the majority of the religious reforms were institutionalized in the cities of those realms. Yet armies' relationship to religious reform was much slower, and much less complete than in civic contexts which possessed more robust disciplinary apparatuses. Moreover, religion continued to constitute a primary justification for warfare up through the end of the Thirty Years' War. Because my interest is militaries' relationship to the project of religious reform in its sexual and gendered idioms, I survey the entire period between 1500 and 1650, which historians agree constitute the age of the wars of religion in Europe.[43]

4: Overview

The following chapters speak to both the ways that militaries adopted and adapted emergent beliefs about marriage and prostitution and the impact of armies on the perpetuation of gendered differentials of power. Chapter One considers how military authorities fitted into religious reformers' attempts to channel all sexual energy into the institution of marriage. I examine military regulations, instructional treatises for future captains, and religious pamphlet literature concerning

[43] Perhaps the strongest indication of this shift in European societies is that a series of studies intended to call into question the common wisdom that the Peace of Westphalia ushered in an era in which religion no longer served as a primary justification for the commencement of hostilities in fact demonstrated that rationales for warfare between states after Westphalia differed substantially from those before Westphalia. See David Onnekink, ed., *War and Religion after Westphalia* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

marriage and prostitution in order to explore shifting ideas about extramarital sex and marriage in French and German armies. This chapter recasts dominant narratives in early modern military historiography. Scholarship on women who accompanied armies in the early modern period has overwhelmingly argued that army commanders wished to ban women from army life and that expanding bureaucracies explain when and how they ultimately succeeded in doing so. I contest these arguments by showing how army commanders in the early sixteenth century in fact welcomed women into campaign communities for the feminized labor they performed. I argue that shifts in attitudes that interpreted all women on campaign as "whores" laid the foundation for skepticism about women's effectiveness in military milieux. As "whoring" became increasingly demonized in religious discourse, commanders allowed only soldiers' wives to join the campaign. Whereas early sixteenth-century military authors considered "whores" a necessity to army life because soldiers' easy access to them prevented infighting, authors of mid-century military law codes and military treatises began to see them not as safeguards against military disorder, but as agents of this disorder. Soldiers and women camp followers responded to this development by calling their impermanent relationships marriages, which invited skepticism from writers about the validity of soldierly marriages. In the context of floundering attempts to channel all sexual energy on campaign into the marital bed, commanders augmented the authority of officers who policed soldiers' and camp followers' sexual relationships. They began writing down who was married to whom and punishing those found to be "whoring" while on campaign. More than bolster disciplinary systems in army life, these developments also the traction of religious ideas in military discourse. Moreover, they demonstrate how Protestant and Catholic armies, in spite of their confessional differences, developed nearly identical visions in their (ostensibly competing and opposed) projects of reform.

In Chapter Two, I trace how sixteenth-century visual art in Germany worked to justify and uphold gender and social differentials of power. Focusing on woodcuts that feature both image and

text, I demonstrate how armies acted as foils that encouraged viewers to intensify attempts to reform both armies and their own communities by identifying poorer women as agents of social and sexual disorder. Contrasting woodcuts featuring common soldiers with images of higher-ranking soldiers and officers, I show how the "May Marriage" was a distinctly classed phenomenon, supposedly engaged in by poorer women. In panoramic scenes of military life, artists combined signifiers of sexual activity with depictions of soldiers intermingling with camp followers and haunted by death, again linking wantonness and social chaos. Conversely, representations of well-ordered armies separated soldiers from camp followers and lamented war more generally without referring to sexualized attributes. In the context of religious discourse decrying prostitution and celebrating marriage, these woodcuts engendered skepticism about the validity of common soldiers' marriages to women camp followers. They connected fornication to social disorder and death through the prism of army life, encouraging the reform of army life and of civic morality. In this way, woodcuts of soldiers stabilized and confirmed emergent attitudes towards marriage and prostitution in the sixteenth century by calling for greater social disciplining both inside and outside of army life.

Chapter Three reads household manuals, military treatises, and philosophical treatises for conceptions of ideal masculinity. Partly as a reaction to excoriations of women camp followers and their lecherous behavior, writers of household manuals, military treatises, and philosophical tracts asserted that sexual continence and sexual restraint were cornerstones of ideal masculine governance. The ideal male ruler – whether of the household, army, or realm – exuded sexual restraint and practiced discipline. Three facets comprised his discipline: (1) his willingness to bridle his own sexual urges, (2) his ability to inspire others to follow his example in controlling their own lusts, and (3) his punishment of fornication wherever he found it. In context of a discourse identifying "whores" as agents of evil, these discourses justified and demanded men's control over

women. Moreover, because these discourses were definitively classed, with nobles supposedly being better able to exercise self-discipline than commoners, they upheld nobles' political power over other subjects. By drawing attention to the juxtaposition between nobles' sexual restraint and commoners' wantonness, I show how militaries became a cultural resource that justified gendered social hierarchies.

Chapter Four explores discourse surrounding rape and other forms of sexual violence in the Thirty Years' War. Whereas women hesitated to name rape as a crime of war, male writers stressed it alongside war's other horrors, furnishing lurid descriptions to cast their political, religious, and military enemies as usurping tyrants in contrast to the beneficent and restrained rulership of the household father. Soldiers' tyranny was twofold: they violently if temporarily usurped the authority of the household fathers of the locations they attacked and acted as instruments of political usurpation on the larger scale. Initially, writers suggested that only their enemies' soldiers acted so rapaciously, but as the war dragged on and the realities of the conflict became harder to ignore, the connection between rape and "tyranny" lost its confessional characteristics. Rape became a facet of tyranny and usurpation more generally in the men's writing, deflecting responsibility away from the system by which armies were provisioned by making it an individual moral failing. Because soldiers were external to the relationships that characterized civic and communal life in peacetime, male writers' association between soldiers, rape, and tyranny worked to naturalize the power of the household father over his charges.

Armies, in short, were important fora in which people connected sexual activity to the social order. In the context of the Reformations' re-evaluations of the status of marriage, celibacy, and extramarital sex, armies became a canvas onto which writers and artists projected both sexual depravity and sexual restraint to encourage personal and communal attempts at moral reform. Casting unwed women from non-noble families as agents of lechery, they justified and encouraged

men's control over women's private lives. In armies, the same arguments that shuttered the municipal brothel and sought to channel all sexual energy into the marital bed led to shifts in military policy, military discipline, and military police. In sum, armies were partners in the project of religious reform that helped people to naturalize gendered hierarchies by projecting scenes of wantonness onto army life, scenes that were so influential that they contributed to the gendered politics of the Reformations and laid the groundwork for reinvigorated disciplining both inside and outside of military institutions.

I have attempted to hew as closely as possible to the early modern texts as written. In service of this mission, I have included in footnotes information beyond what appears in direct quotes in the text when necessary to confirm the contemporary nouns and verbs. When possible, I have strived to include complete clauses from the period documents in the footnotes – no mean feat as writers made sentences more and more ornate over the course of the seventeenth centuries. I have not transposed modern norms of lettering, spelling, or punctuation in the footnotes. For example, if the text includes "jhm" rather than "ihm," "vnndt" rather than "und," or "faict" rather than "fait," I have left the terms as appear in the early modern text. I have not replaced slashes in German texts with commas in the footnote transcriptions of the text, but I have everywhere attempted to modernize spelling and syntax in my translations of quotes. Where modern translations of documents are available, I have consulted them and opted for their renderings unless they miss some critical interpretive detail of consequence to the argument of my work. When only early modern translations exist, or when I cite early modern English texts, I have not attempted to modernize quotes in the body of the dissertation. For French and German words, such as *landsknecht, hur, fille de joie*, and so forth that I employ as categories of analysis in the main body, I have rendered the terms in italics and lowercase even if the term is capitalized today in those languages; capitalization and spelling rules were not yet established in the sixteenth century. The

exception is when such terms appear as the title of documents. Transcriptions and translations of the woodcuts can be found in the appendix.

Chapter 1: A Military Reformation? Prostitution and Marriage in Sixteenth-Century Armies

In one of the conversations purportedly held around Martin Luther's dinner table [*Tischreden*], the chief figure of the Protestant Reformation waxed vituperative about prostitution. In his diatribe "Against the whores and Speckstudenten" who frequented them, Luther neatly, if violently, summarized and hyperbolized what would become a common target of Reformation-era ire:

> Out of special hatred for our faith, the devil has sent some whores here to taint our poor young men. Against this, dear children, I give you my fatherly request, as an old and faithful preacher, that you will certainly believe that the evil spirit has sent such whores here, who are scabby, scratchy, stinking, nasty, and have the French [disease], as one can unfortunately discover every day. If only a good young man would warn his mates! For such a French [diseased] whore can poison ten, twenty, thirty or more of the children of good people, and thus is to be considered as a murderer, and worse than a poisoner. Everyone should help those who are in such a poisonous dung-heap with true advice and warnings, as you wish would be done for you!
>
> If, however, you despise my fatherly warning, we have (God be praised) such a praiseworthy ruler, who is honorable and moral, an enemy to all *vnzucht* and vice. With a heavy hand, armed with the sword, he will clean out the Speck and Fischerei and [where students meet prostitutes], and also the whole city, to honor the word of God, which his Electoral Grace has taken on in all seriousness and to which he has stayed loyal at great cost despite great danger. For his Electoral Grace would not tolerate this in the army camp near Wolfenbüttel, and how much less would he tolerate it in his forests, towns, and land. Be off, I advise you, and the earlier, the better! He who cannot live without whores can move home or go wherever he wants. Here is a Christian church and school so that one should learn God's word, *zucht* and honor. He who wants to become a pimp can do it elsewhere. Our lord Elector has not endowed this university for pimps or brothels, you can count on that![1]

---

[1] Martin Luther, *Martin Luthers Werke: Tischreden* (WA TR) IV, no. 4857, pp. 552–54: "Wider die hurn vnd speckstudenten. Es hat der Teuffel durch vnsers glaubens sonderliche feinde etliche hurn hieher gefüret, die arme jugent zu vorderben. Dem zu wider ist noch als eines alten, treuen predigers an euch, lieben kinder, mein vetterlich bitt, das ir wolt gar gewislich gleuben, das der böse Geist solche hurn hieher sendet, die das gretzig, schebig, stickend, garstig vnd frantzösisch sein, wie sich teglich leider in der erfahrung findet. Das doch ein gut gesell den andern warne! Denn ein solch frantzösische hur 10, 20, 30 etc. fromer leut kinder vorgifften kan, ist derhalben zurechnen als ein mörderin vnd erger als ein vorgiffterinne. Helffe soch in solchem gifftigen geschmeis einer dem andern mit truen radten vnd warnen, wie du wollest dir gethan haben! Werdet ir aber solche veterliche vormanung verachten, so haben wir Gott lob ein solchen loblichen lands fursten, der zuchtig vnd erlich, aller vnzucht vnd vntugent feind ist, dazu eine schwere hand mit dem schwert gewapnet, der deine speck vnd fischerei, dazu die gantze stadt wol wirt wissen zu reinigen, zu ehre dem

There is much to consider in Luther's polemic. Prostitutes act as corrupting agents of Satan, luring chaste young men into sins of the flesh. Equating them to murderers and poisoners, Luther decries "whores" as morally vicious and disorderly. The term Luther employs to describe the students is "speckstudenten" – a term which registers the students' good-living when they should be concerned with studying. Luther here suggests that students err in enjoying life's pleasures when they should be dedicating their lives to learning. When Luther calls students *speckstudenten*, he links their appetite for good food to their preoccupation with sexual desire. Rather than focus on their studies, Luther's "speckstudenten" indulge their desires and subordinate their scholarly training to their fleeting pleasures. Finally, "speck" (also spelled "specke," "speckt," and "speckte") refers to the name of a small wood near the village of Labetz just outside of Wittenberg. In glossing the students at Wittenberg as "speckstudenten," Luther both seems to name the location of the students' liaisons and highlights what he takes to be their immorality and their weak wills.[2] His invocation of the so-called French disease (syphilis), which spread across Germany in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, further represents prostitutes as demonic agents, corrupting the moral and physical health of German men.

The terms of Luther's panegyric for his ruler, Frederick the Wise, package his concern for the physical health of Wittenberg's students into his moral consternation over the students' frequentation of "whores." A good leader like Frederick would surely punish both the "whores" and the men who slept with them. Frederick's army acts as proof of this commitment. Frederick's

wort Gottes, das sein Churfurstliche Gnaden habens nicht leiden wollen im lager vor Wolffenbüttel; wie viel weniger wirt ers leiden in seinem holtz, stadt vnd land. Drolt euch, das radt ich, jhe ehr, jhe besser! Wer nicht on hurn leben will, der mag heimzihen vnd wohin er will. Hie ist ein christliche kirch vnd schule das man soll Gottes wort lernen, zucht vnd tugent. Wer ein hurntreiber will sein, der kan es wol anderswo bekomen. Vnser herr churfurst hat diese vniuersitet nicht gestifft vor hurntreiber oder hurnheuser, das wist euch nach zurichten!" Translated in Susan C. Karant-Nunn and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Luther on Women: A Sourcebook* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 157-58. I offer a translation different from theirs in order to retain the word play associated with Luther's *tischrede*.

[2] *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, s.v. "Speckstudent," by Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, accessed June 14, 2020, http://woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB/call_wbgui_py_from_form?sigle=DWB&mode=Volltextsuche&hitlist=&patternlist=&lemid=GS33390.

unwillingness to tolerate prostitution *in his armies* signified his moral probity and his upright leadership. The response to prostitution in armies becomes a litmus test for Frederick's Christian leadership, moral authority, and pragmatic ordering of society.

This chapter explores how army officers and the princes they served contributed to sixteenth-century discourses about anxieties regarding extramarital sex, prostitution, and marriage. It also considers how prostitutes responded to this changing discursive terrain. Discourse about army life reflected and shaped contemporary concerns about prostitution and marriage in society writ large and contributed to the demonization of women as "whores" and "lecherous women." Early sixteenth-century writers contested the status of marriage and prostitution inside and outside of military spaces. Some early sixteenth-century authorities understood prostitution as a sin that provided a necessary outlet for male sexual energy. They argued that the availability of prostitutes to any man helped keep men from attacking women who had not yet 'fallen into sin.' By the mid sixteenth century, it became more common for writers to interpret prostitutes not as safeguards against disorder, but as agents of it. Writers argued that prostitutes ensnared men into living sinful lives and urged officials to prohibit prostitution. As municipal brothels began to close across Europe, commanders prohibited prostitution in armies. Discourse about army life lambasted the presence of "whores" and "lecherous women" on campaign and encouraged readers to nominate officers to police the sexual liaisons between soldiers and women on campaign. These developments reflect the concerns that theologians (both Catholic and Protestant), jurists, city officials, counts, dukes, and kings possessed about extramarital sex in early modern society writ large. I call this development of a regime of sexual disciplining a "military reformation" to encapsulate how military discourse incorporated, advanced, and contributed to Reformation conceptions of sexual propriety. By "military reformation," I mean to gesture towards the ways that discourses initially worked out in

contexts of religious reform fitted into military discourse and shaped military policy in the sixteenth century.

Most of the scholarship about women who followed armies on campaign neglects the cultural, religious, and social ramifications of the Reformations on army life and has instead focused on state growth as an explanation for the prohibition of prostitution on campaign and eventual exclusion of women from campaign life. This established focus obscures the role of women as agentive actors. The field-defining research of Barton C. Hacker and John Lynn into early modern women camp followers argues that expanding bureaucracy and the transition away from mercenary troops after around 1650 proved most decisive in the limitation of women's numbers in campaign communities. Hacker maintains that when "armies began to assume control over support services for which they had once contracted," the labor of women camp followers came under the purview of officers, newly defined as agents of the state.[3] The result was an official apparatus that limited the number of women camp followers. John Lynn concludes his study by stating that "shifting away from primary reliance on mercenary troops, improving provision of supply and pay, and asserting state authority over troops and officers were major advances in military institutions" that allowed authorities to limit women's participation in warfare in the second half of the seventeenth century.[4] Ultimately, Lynn asserts that women's military roles were a casualty of the greater penetration of the state into the daily lives of ordinary people. The role of technologies of state proves central for Lynn and Hacker in what they call the "modernization" of the army.[5] As a result of this focus on

[3] Barton C. Hacker, "Women and Military Institutions in Early Modern Europe: A Reconnaissance," *Signs* 6, no.4 (1981), 655.
[4] Lynn, *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe,* 216.
[5] Lynn, *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*, 225. Whereas Lynn argues without evidence that army commanders always wished to ban women from campaign because they viewed women camp followers as a nuisance and challenge to order in army life, Peter Wilson sees the gender and sexual ideology of sixteenth century Europe as a major factor in women's exclusion from campaign life. In his conclusion, Wilson writes that "the development of standing armies, the growth of social disciplining, and the accompanying shift in attitudes displaced women from their traditional role within military affairs." Exactly what this "social disciplining" looked like and what Wilson's "accompanying shift in attitudes" were precisely remain unknown, for Wilson does not compare the corpus of texts on

bureaucratic growth, we lack an understanding of how developments in religious thought shaped military life.

For Hacker and Lynn, the historical development that merits explanation is the process by which women were excluded from campaign communities rather than the evolving assumptions about gender and sexuality that made women's exclusion desirable in the first place. Hacker and Lynn take for granted that elites wanted to curtail women's participation in armies. But, as we shall see, this was not always the case. Their paradigm of bureaucratic determinism obscures the interplay of religion, morality, sexuality, and gender in discourse and regulations about women camp followers. The earliest military regulation banning prostitution, composed for the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II, states that "in any baggage train or among the camp followers there should be no common disreputable women [*gemeine unerbare Weiber*], except the true wives [*rechte Ehe-Weiber*] by the order of the colonel and captain, from the time of the first mustering and thereafter."[6] This code's moral bifurcation of women into honorable wives and dishonorable "whores" calls for an investigation into the links between sixteenth-century marital discourse on the one hand and military discourse and regulations on the other.

This chapter examines how military commanders took up Reformation-era calls for sexual disciplining in both military law codes and military theory. It also considers how camp followers responded to these shifts. Section one explores theological and juridical arguments revolving around extramarital sex in French and German non-military texts. Section two charts how French and German military treatises treated "whoring" and marriage in army life. By bifurcating women into

---

social disciplining or shifting gender and sexual attitudes with discourse on army life. This chapter does the work of comparing these different genres to shed light on the hypotheses that Wilson lays out. Peter Wilson, "German Women and War, 1500-1800," *War in History* 3, no.2 (1996), 159.

[6] Johann Christian Lünig, *Corpus Juris Militaris Des Heil. Röm. Reichs* (Leipzig, 1723), 1: 74. "Item, es soll ein jeder seinen Troß, oder Anhang, was gemeine unerbare Weiber seynd, ausgenommen die rechten Ehe-Weiber, auf des Obersten und seines Hauptmanns Befehl, zur Zeit der ersten Musterung, oder hernach…."

two groups – honorable wives and unwelcome "whores" – army discourse contributed to contemporary cultural preoccupations with marriage and prostitution. The distinction between the honorable wives and dishonorable "whores" on campaign led commanders to issue regulations permitting the former to join the campaign while they explicitly prohibited the latter. Section three reads late sixteenth-century military treatises for clues to how camp women and soldiers contested the categorization of their relationships. Treatments of "May Marriages," decried by military writers as impermanent unions masquerading as marriage that allowed prostitutes and soldiers to continue their illicit relationships in spite of new regulations prohibiting prostitution, suggest that camp women and soldiers succeeded in blurring the lines between licit and illicit sexual relationships. Section three also explores how writers responded to this resistance by growing more skeptical of the validity of soldierly marriages. I then suggest how actual armies took up these forms of military reformation. In both military laws and prescriptive military texts, army discourse contributed to reformers' ideas about the dangers of extramarital sex and reflected sixteenth-century endeavors to channel all sexual activity into the marital bed. The paltry success of these attempts at reform led commanders to exert greater control over soldiers' intimate lives by developing systems of record keeping and policing that placed soldiers and camp followers under the supervision of the early modern state.

1.1: Prostitution in the Sixteenth-Century

Until the final third of the sixteenth century, prostitutes were considered an integral part of armies. In his survey of regulations on army prostitution, historian Wilhelm Haberling finds rising concern with prostitution beginning in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Haberling notes one 1359 Bernese regulation that prohibited women from following armies when the army

had to move quickly. The rationale was chiefly logistical and there is no evidence that this particular law was enforced.[7] With growing consideration of various sexual crimes in the fifteenth century, authors of military law codes began to register moral concern about the presence of women who were billed as prostitutes on campaign.[8] A law code by Wenceslaus of Bohemia from 1413 conveyed moral outrage at prostitutes on campaign and ordered judges to expel prostitutes from the camp. The Hussite general Jan Žižka issued a law in 1417 that read in part "We want in our midst no disobedient or false persons .... venal prostitutes and concubines and other flagrant sinners, male and female, will not be tolerated." The 1427 Frankfurt Reichstag wished "neither women, gamblers, nor other rogues" to accompany the army. Still, Haberling finds, actual generals appear largely to have ignored such laws.[9]

Although the articles of war Haberling references demonstrate anxiety about sexual activity on campaign, the examples he explores do not reflect a general outrage about the presence of prostitutes on the march. Although some law codes prohibited prostitutes from following armies, most merely regulated their conduct. A 1417 ordinance promulgated by Henry V of England for one of his campaigns in France commanded that whenever the army encamped, "these open and comon stompettes" be removed at least a league from the army whenever it approached any settled place, presumably to contain any social disorder associated with their trade.[10] Another military law code from between 1424 and 1426 by the earl of Salisbury expressly forbade soldiers from forming exclusive sexual relationships with unmarried women. If a woman was found in a soldier's lodging

---

[7] Wilhelm Haberling, "Army Prostitution and Its Control: An Historical Study," in *Morals in Wartime*, ed. Victor Robinson (New York: Publishers Foundation, 1943), 25-26.
[8] See Helmut Puff, *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland, 1400-1600* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 17-31 on mounting discourse treating erotic behavior before the Reformation.
[9] Quoted, although uncited, in Haberling, "Army Prostitution and Its Control," 26-27.
[10] Anne Curry, "Sex and the Soldier in Lancastrian Normandy, 1415-1450," *Reading Medieval Studies* 14 (1988), 40. Latin original in Curry, "Sex and the Soldier in Lancastrian Normandy," 20: "Precipimus insuper ut meretrices publice et communes, infra exercitum nostrum nullo modo permanere permittanur: Et specialiter in obsidionibus villarum, castrorum, vel fortaliciorum quorumcumque; set longe ab exercitu, ad minus per unam leucam, insimul collocentur." Thanks to Kit French for bringing Curry's piece to my attention.

rather than serving her client in a brothel, the soldier lost "a monthes wages" whereas the woman was to be kicked out of the army, her arm broken, and "alle the money that may be founde uppon her" confiscated.[11] The corporeal punishment doled out presumably reflected the corporeal nature of the woman's crime and also likely presented obstacles for her to retain the patronage of her clients should the break not heal properly. The purpose of such violent and visible punishment was to mark the woman as a flagrant sinner and criminal.[12] At issue for Henry V and Salisbury was not the presence of prostitutes on campaign. Rather, these laws compelled prostitutes to sate the sexual appetites of more than one soldier: these laws prohibited sexual exclusivity, not extramarital sex. The same concern appears in laws about medieval civic brothels. Prostitutes who worked in civic brothels could not legally refuse a client as civic authorities considered them "common women," accessible to the entire town's male population.[13]

Most medieval military regulations did not mention prostitution in army life at all. Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III's 1486 articles of war for a campaign against the Ottomans listed no regulations about prostitution, but did stipulate that should a soldier desert, he and his wife/woman [*Weibe*] and children were to be permanently expelled from the army and have all of their goods confiscated.[14] We can surmise that women followed armies, but that the kind of sexual relationships women camp followers had while on campaign little concerned Frederick. A military regulation prepared for Maximilian I in 1506 contained no language referencing prostitution.[15] An undated set

[11] Curry, "Sex and the Soldier," 21.
[12] For the potential meanings of corporeal punishment for prostitutes in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Germany writ large, see Merry Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986), 109.
[13] Similarly, in civic contexts, prostitutes in Augsburg were prohibited from forming exclusive sexual relationships with one man. Lyndal Roper, "Discipline and Respectability: Prostitution and the Reformation in Augsburg," *History Workshop Journal* 19 (1985), 6. German lawcodes would use the term "gemeine" to refer to the publicly accessible nature of unmarried camp women.
[14] Lünig, *Corpus Juris Militaris* (Leipzig, 1723), 1:2.
[15] Justinius Göbler, *Chronica der Kriegßhändel des Allergroßmechtigen / vnüberwindtlichsten / Hochlöblichsten Rhömischen Teutschen Keysers vnd Fürsten / weyland Herrn Maximiliani / des Namens der Erst* (Frankfurt am Main: Christian Egenolff, 1566). Available at HAB A: 128 Quod. 2º (1).

of regulations applicable to the artillery of Charles V's early reign included no regulations about prostitution.[16] It appears that the mere presence of prostitutes on campaign did not spark consistent anxiety in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in England or in the Holy Roman Empire.

In France, military regulations also declined to prohibit prostitution on campaign. Instead, they regulated prostitutes' conduct. In 1514, Louis XII issued a law code that prohibited "that any man of war keep either girls or women for himself," and declared that "if [these women] want to follow the company, they will on foot. And in the case that they are found on horseback, the King will give their horses as confiscated property to those who will throw such women off their mounts."[17] There are two important features of Louis XII's law. First, prostitutes must serve more than one soldier. A soldier cannot keep "girls or women *for himself*." Prostitutes must instead remain accessible to all the soldiers in the army. Second, this law does not aim to expel prostitutes from army trains. Instead, it regulates their performance of social status by reserving horses only for the army itself. Perhaps it also reflected fears that soldiers would spend lavishly on prostitutes, wasting their pay and introducing animosity among soldiers of the same company because of soldiers' desire for a woman's attention.[18] A regulation for François I, passed at the Estates General at Saint-Germain-en-Laye on July 24, 1535 included essentially the same command, albeit in a different formulation. This code prohibited "all the said colonels, captains, lieutenants, and other officers of the said bands: & the same for all the same foot soldiers of the said legions to have any of their own girls on the pain of being cashiered & grievously punished & for the said girls to be whipped."[19] As

---

[16] Lünig, *Corpus Juris Militaris*, 1: 4-6.

[17] *Collection des ordonnances militaires, Services Historiques de la Défense [SHD coll. des ord.]*, Vincennes, 8: 95: 35. "Le Roy defend qu'aucuns gens de guerre ne tiennent filles ne femmes propres, & qu'elles n'ayent aucuns cheuaux: & si ells veulent suyure la compagnie, ells iront à pied. Et au cas qu'elles soyent trouuees à cheual, le Roy donne leurs cheuaux à ceux qui les demonteront comme confisquez à luy."

[18] James Turner, a Scottish mercenary for the Swedish side in the Thirty Years War wrote that the order and type of transportation women camp followers used reflected their social status. James Turner, *Pallas Armata: Military Essayes of the Ancient, Grecian, Roman and Modern Art of War* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1683), 276.

[19] Sainct Chaman, *Ordonnances militaires tovchant l'ordre, reglement, discipline, police & deuoir de l'Infanterie Françoise, auec leurs priuileges* (Lyon: Bathelemy Ancelin, 1616), 31-32. "LI. Item defend ledict seigneur à tous lesdicts colonnels, capitaines,

was the case for Louis XII, the issue worthy of attention was the practice by which prostitutes on campaign exercised agency over the people with whom they had sexual intercourse. As long as women remained at the service of all the soldiers, captains, and officers, they did not run afoul of these regulations. Most often, however, military regulations in France, like in Germany, simply failed to mention prostitution.[20] If prostitution appeared in military regulations at all, in both France and Germany, the issue was not the fact of prostitution, but rather the necessity that prostitutes be available to all male members of the army.

What might it have been like to be a woman following the army in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries? The lives of women in civic brothels may furnish some answers. During the fifteenth century, municipal licebsed brothels proliferated across the Holy Roman Empire and France. Frankfurt opened its *frauenhaus*, as the brothels were called, in 1396. Nuremberg instituted its *frauenhaus* in 1400, followed by Munich in 1433, Memmingen in 1454, and Strasbourg in 1469. Town councils across late medieval France similarly instituted public brothels in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[21] Most city councils in medieval Europe considered extramarital sex a necessary evil and understood that municipal brothels were important institutions of medieval towns, providing an outlet for male sexual release and financial support for unmarried women.[22] A hydraulic view of male sexuality justified the expansion of municipal brothels across Europe. In this

---

lieutenans & autres chefs desdictes bandes: & pareillement à tous lesdicts compagnons desdictes legions de n'auoir aucunes filles propres, sur peine d'estre cassez & griefuement punis, & ausdictes filles d'auoir le foüet." Available at HAB A: 31.1 Bell.

[20] For example, see laws composed for Henri II in Henri II [of France], *Les Ordonnances faictes par le Roy sur le reglement de la gendarmerie, tant à pié qu'à cheval, l'artillerie, munitions, auitaillemens, charrois, & des Receueurs, Payeurs Contrerolleurs & autres officiers d'icelle gendarmerie* (Paris: Sertenas, 1557). Available at HAB A: 32.2 Bell.

[21] Leah Lydia Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society: The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 25-39.

[22] Although ecclesiastical lords, temporal landholders, and city council members expressed significant anxiety about sexually active single women in the medieval period generally and in the fifteenth century particularly, clerical and secular elites never made a concerted effort to close brothels for moral purposes. To be sure, brothels did occasionally close for issues related to public health. Normally, however, they were up and running again within a few months or years. Ruth Mazo Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 6. Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household*, 89-131.

view, men's sex drives required some outlet or would result in rape and other damage to the town's 'honorable women' – the wives and daughters of town leaders.[23] Brothels provided an escape valve for men's pent-up sexual energy. Brothels channeled men's sexual energies towards already sinful women who could act as an outlet to protect the souls of those who had not yet fallen into sin. As Ruth Mazo Karras has argued, the general attitude of medieval town councilors "seems to be one of day-to-day pragmatic acceptance of individual prostitutes coupled with a generalized resentment of prostitutes as a group for the disorder they caused."[24]

The lives of prostitutes in civic brothels gives clues into the lives of prostitutes in the military. Historian Jamie Page has drawn on court records in imperial free cities to demonstrate how prostitutes drew on their status to assert their place in the fabric of medieval towns. Buttressed by laws laying out privileges for prostitutes employed in the *frauenhaus*, prostitutes successfully persuaded city officials to support them in legal claims in spite of their precarious social positions.[25] Most civic brothels possessed strict rules for the conduct of the prostitutes. Only women who had previously been prostitutes could live in the *frauenhaus*, and no daughter of a citizen could live there. Virgins and married women were prohibited from taking money in exchange for sexual acts.[26] In return for their housing and food, prostitutes forfeited some of their money to the brothel overseer. If the brothel overseer felt cheated, he (the overseer was almost always male) could confiscate the woman's clothes until the case could be tried. Many prostitutes remained perpetually in debt because of unscrupulous overseers. Although overseers could not legally prevent women from leaving the brothel, prostitutes' precarious social positions made it difficult for them to leave in most cases,

---

[23] Karras, *Common Women*, 32.
[24] Karras, *Common Women*, 95.
[25] See especially the work of Jamie Page on prostitution and subjectivity in the late Middle Ages. Page turns mostly to legal texts to understand how prostitutes confronted and negotiated the legal system in civic contexts. Jamie Page, *Prostitution and Subjectivity in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).
[26] Beate Schuster, *Die freien Frauen: Dirnen und Frauenhäuser im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (New York: Campus Verlag, 1995), 65-71.

although some women did succeed in petitioning city councils against unscrupulous overseers under exceptional circumstances.[27]

Prominent members of the community operated the *frauenhaus*: in Frankfurt, the *frauenhaus* was owned by a local religious house whereas the archbishop of Mainz owned the civic brothel in that city.[28] Furthermore, city councils passed a variety of regulations carving out appropriate behavior of prostitutes in their cities. Prostitutes in many cities were given specific instructions on how and when they could attend church. In some towns, they were directed to sit separately from the other parishioners; in others, city code instructed them to specific churches at specific times.[29] Regulations also stipulated how much the manager of the brothel would be paid, how many meals prostitutes would have, who could enter employment there, and how one could leave.[30] In most cities, prostitutes were compelled to wear a band of yellow clothing to distinguish themselves from the other women of the town.[31] In Nuremberg, prostitutes were permitted to come to dances at the city hall from 1471 to 1496. In Frankfurt, in contrast to the previous custom of inhabitants of the *frauenhaus* bringing food and flowers to dine with city councilors, in 1529 the city council decided to bring food to the *frauenhaus* to distance the prostitutes from the city councilors. In the early sixteenth century, city councils continued to incentivize prostitutes to get married. In many cities, a man who married a member of the *frauenhaus* was given free citizenship as long as the couple maintained "an honorable way of life."[32] Prostitutes were not celebrated, but they were understood to be an integral part of the medieval city and were at times protected by city councils. At the same time, the label of "whore" was a slippery one that men hurled at women during legal disputes in an attempt to focus

---

[27] Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, 97-99. Schuster, *Die freien Frauen*, 102-20. For successful, if mediated, appeal to city councilors, see Page, *Prostitution and Subjectivity*, 112-38.
[28] Wiesner, *Working Women* 97. Schuster, *Die freien Frauen*, 71-87.
[29] Lyndal Roper, "Discipline and Respectability," 9.
[30] Wiesner, *Working Women*, 98-99.
[31] Peter Schuster, *Das Frauenhaus: Städtische Bordelle in Deutschland (1350-1600)* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1992), 145-54.
[32] Wiesner, *Working Women*, 100-101.

investigative attention on women rather than men. Perhaps women on campaign experienced similar liminal existences: caught between laws that regulated their conduct, depicted them as a special kind of sinful woman, but that afforded them some room to maneuver as well.

The status of brothels in cities changed as prostitution and marriage became points of contention in debates between advocates of religious reform and their opponents. Most importantly, marriage became a central topic of discussion in both lay and religious contexts. Laypeople, especially prominent members of local communities who were important members in guilds, lauded a model of the family that stressed the importance of marriage. As clerical concubinage became one prominent focus of debate during the sixteenth century, reform-minded theologians encouraged pastors to marry as a means of differentiating reformers from their opponents. In Germany, debates about clerical marriage eventually became one of the major fault lines between reformers and their allies (who would later become Lutherans and Calvinists) and their opponents and theirs (who instigated reforms from within the Catholic Church), although this process was anything but univocal or uncontested. By and large, reformers in the early sixteenth century argued that chastity was preferable to marriage, but that few were temperamentally suited for chastity and that marriage should be a legal alternative to debauchery. These arguments built upon lay piety and lay theology, which were especially important in cities with large and influential guild membership, a demographic towards whom reform-minded preachers were especially keen to cater. Households composed guilds and as guilds accrued power in cities, lay and clerical writers alike became more comfortable using a guild model of the family – a father and workshop leader at the head of a household, married to a woman, with children and servants whom they nurtured, educated, and trained – as inspiration for clerical relationships as well.[33] When clerics' sexual relationships had become more politicized,

---

[33] Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household*, 36-49 and Merry Wiesner-Hanks's summary of the historiography on this topic in Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, "Do Women Need the Renaissance?," *Gender in History* 20, no.3 (2008), 546. Both Roper and Wiesner-Hanks challenge a model of the Reformation

secular authorities resorted to indirect measures to deal with a range of clerical sexual misconduct. Church authorities expanded visitation of local parishes and punished clergy who violated laws of celibacy.[34] When a priest spoke in favor of clerical marriage or got married himself in the early sixteenth century, he was making a clear statement to his superiors and to those under his spiritual authority. For example, in late 1524, Ulrich Preu, a pastor in Worms, officiated over the marriage his pastor friend Nikolaus Karben of Obererlenbach. This act made known to his congregation his stance on clerical marriage without having to get married himself.[35] Clerical marriage was not only a personal choice, but also a political and social statement about the stance of the priest towards emergent themes of lay theology and the place of marriage in the Church. Such decisions were complex, as priests had to balance the threat of losing their benefices, the opinions of parishioners, and their own understanding of human nature and of the Bible to make their decision.

Both the Protestant and Catholic Reformations played out in contested ways in the early years of the sixteenth century. Reform-minded priests who married by and large did not attempt to make marriage the preferred state for the clergy. Early clerical marriages were rather negotiations between priests, their parishioners, their religious conscience, and their position vis-a-vis church and secular authority. As historian Beth Plummer has shown, most of these early marriages were a response to specific considerations surrounding clerical concubinage. Catholic theologians as late as the 1530s and 1540s remained open to the idea of clerical marriage. Even the 1530 Augsburg Confession, of which article twenty-three explicitly allowed for the marriage of priests, did not end debate on the precise importance of a married clergy for the Lutheran faith. For Plummer, the death of Luther in 1546 did little to settle debates. Rather, the ad-hoc decisions of priests and local secular authorities in the 1540s in particular generated the expectation that Lutheran priests should marry in

[34] Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, *From Priest's Whore to Pastor's Wife: Clerical Marriage and the Process of Reform in the Early German Reformation* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 11-49.
[35] See the discussion of Preu in Plummer, *From Priests Whore to Pastor's Wife*, 113-14.

order to serve as exemplars of sexual restraint for their church members. Even this result was somewhat ambivalent – Lutheran priests maintained that marriage was not a sacrament even as they lauded it as the norm. Even as they demoted marriage from a sacrament to a secular affair, however, Lutheran writers asserted that marriage was the best remedy to lust. In the process, they made clerical marriage the norm and expectation for Lutheran priests. Lutherans' favorability towards clerical marriage did not immediately dissuade Catholic theologians from stressing priestly celibacy. Catholic imperial leaders and papal commissioners continued to entertain the possibility of clerical marriage through the first few meetings of the Council of Trent in 1545.[36]

In Catholic areas, where marriage remained a sacrament, the reception to clerical marriage proved uneven in the first decades of the sixteenth century. The messy patchwork of lay and ecclesiastical jurisdictions in the Holy Roman Empire meant that no unified policy was developed to respond to the evolving situations of clerical marriage. Ulrike Strasser's work on Munich underscores how one Catholic city zealously adopted the Tridentine Reforms.[37] In Münster, however, where weaker central authority and strong Protestant sympathies predominated, church authorities only enforced clerical celibacy slowly and with remarkable leniency.[38] In Speyer, the implementation of Tridentine reforms was similarly contested. As late as 1724, the Bishop of Speyer complained in a treatise that the Council of Trent had barely touched Speyer.[39] By and large, for territories that would become Catholic and Protestant alike, local concerns tended to take precedence over strict conformity to doctrine.[40]

---

[36] Plummer, *From Priest's Whore to Pastor's Wife*, 245-83.

[37] Ulrike Strasser, *State of Virginity: Gender, Religion, and Politics in an Early Modern Catholic State* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 12.

[38] Simone LaQua-O'Donnell, *Women and the Counter-Reformation in Early Modern Münster* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 105-106.

[39] Marc R. Forster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1514-1630* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 244.

[40] Marc R. Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Plummer, *From Priest's Whore to Pastor's Wife*.

Over the course of the Reformations in Germany, reformers and their opponents debated the status of marriage in contemporary society and religious doctrine. In dealing with clerics who married in Saxony from 1521 to 1523, local ecclesiastical and secular leaders failed to create a unified strategy. Although the priests who did marry during this period potentially faced interrogation, arrest, the loss of benefices, and excommunication, none returned to a celibate life and only one ultimately left his wife. In the face of a scattered set of strategies to contain clerical sexual misconduct – which in the early years of the Reformation included clerical marriage – reforming clergy demonstrated a remarkably consistent resolve to turn towards marriage in order to obviate the threat of priestly debauchery.[41] More extreme voices in the reforming party responded to the news of clerical marriage and the news of the reformers' steadfastness by publicizing the marriages and polemicizing the difference between reformers' views of the Church and those of opponents of clerical marriage. In pamphlets, reformers depicted themselves as guardians of clerical purity: a married clergy, they argued, was preferable to one that engaged in sex outside of marriage. As marriage became normative in reformed theology, reformers depicted opponents of clerical marriage as tricked by Satan and beholden to corrupt Church doctrines that in concert led priests to embrace fornication. Whereas their opponents continued to assert that only clerical celibacy could assert the divide in holiness between the clergy and the laity, reformers doubled down on the clergy as exemplars for the conduct of those around them. As clerical marriage became a fault line between reformers and their opponents, reformers became more accustomed to portraying opponents of clerical marriage as in league with demonic forces that attempted to undermine marriage and chastity in favor of open debauchery. In the process, the figure of the "whore," became an increasingly maligned figure. For reformers, increasingly focused on the figure of the pastor-cum-father, she represented a threat to marriage by drawing men's attention away from their (current or future)

[41] Plummer, *From Priest's Whore to Pastor's Wife*, 51-89.

marriage. For Catholics, the "whore" represented a threat to clerical celibacy and to the moral purity of the city's inhabitants.[42] In this environment, town councils cracked down on clandestine prostitution with renewed vigor and began considering shuttering the *frauenhaus*. In Augsburg, for example, disciplinary ordinances nominated police officials who patrolled the street to discover cases of prostitution outside of the *frauenhaus*. In custody, women faced torture and harsh questioning from city officials in a process that could last for months.[43]

This development – the lauding of marriage, its charged status as a matter of religious and civic debate, and the denigration of fornication – radically altered the situation of prostitutes in early modern cities. Initially, regulations rolled back some of prostitutes' legal privileges in municipalities. In Strasbourg, an ordinance of 1493 forbade prostitutes to come to dances and mandated that prostitutes wear yellow bands of cloth to identify themselves as prostitutes.[44] Civic regulations of the early sixteenth century, like those of Nuremberg in 1508 in which prostitutes were compelled to wear a veil or coat when in public, register concern with fornication but stopped far short of outright prohibition. Later, the Nuremberg city council commanded that the *frauenhaus* be closed before noon every day, every Saturday starting at sundown, and every holiday. In 1546, after neighbors protested against the *frauenhaus's* occupants, prostitutes were forbidden to attend public dances or go to the wine market. Frankfurt began to limit prostitutes' activities earlier than did Nuremberg, prohibiting prostitutes from standing in the doorway of the *frauenhaus* to solicit customers. Guilds in Frankfurt, rather than the city council, appear to have been most vocal in pushing for many of the new regulations that limited prostitutes' freedom. In 1521, prostitutes were forbidden to dance or stand next to the town's masters and journeymen. By 1546, the Frankfurt city

---

[42] Plummer, *From Priest's Whore to Pastor's Wife*, 91-209. On Reformers' accusations of sodomy against Catholics and the relationship of these accusations to concubinage, see Puff, *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland*, 140-66. See also the thorough discussion in Schuster, *Das Frauenhaus*, 181-202; Schuster, *Die freien Frauen*, 316-42.
[43] Page, *Prostitution and Subjectivity*, 112-38.
[44] Wiesner, *Working Women*, 103-4; Schuster, *Die freien Frauen*, 358-402.

council forbade the burial of prostitutes on hallowed ground, electing to bury prostitutes near the gallows instead; their "dishonorable" burial reflected what the council saw as the prostitutes' "dishonorable" profession.

Alongside the unfolding debate about the status of marriage and municipal officials' responses to prostitution came the proliferation of discourse to describe sexual activity. In a letter to his friend Hieronymus Weller, Luther argued that once a brothel had been closed, it ought to remain closed: "It would have been better and more tolerable not to have driven the devil out, than to let him in again and acknowledge him," Luther asserted. He continued, "The authorities, if they want to be Christian, punish all severely – whoredom, the dishonoring and rape of maidens and women, and adultery – at least that which is public."[45] Proper Christians punish "whoredom" wherever they find it, according to Luther, but public displays of "whoredom" openly flouted God's dictates and modeled vice for others who saw it. For Luther, public fornication – including the paying for sex in the *frauenhaus* – was yet more dangerous than fornication that took place in private.

Other reformers – and counter-reformers – eventually agreed. The future Lutheran Andres Althamer admonished his readers in 1525 to clamp down on prostitution and fornication, for "God always punished whoring [*hürerey*] severely."[46] Another Reformer, Thomas Stör, argued that "There should be no whores or whore [*h(o)ur*] among you."[47] Heinrich Bullinger, the Swiss reformer, lamented that "that the uncleanness of the nefarious whores [*h(o)urens*] and adulterers in the world have become common and outrageous."[48] Later in his work, he dedicated a large section proclaiming

---

[45] Martin Luther, Letter to Hieronymus Weller, September 3, 1540, WA, BR IX, no. 3532, pp. 228–29: "Tolerabilius fuisset diabolum non expulisse, quam denuo intromittere et stabilire de novo.... Corripiat magistratus (si volet Christianus esse) tam scortationes et stupra, quam adulteria, saltem manifesta; si occulta abundet, ipse est excusatus."
[46] Andreas Althamer, *Ain Sermon von dem eelichen stand* (Augsburg, 1525), Bi(v): "Also hat Gott allzeyt schwerlich gestrafft die hürerey..."
[47] Thomas Stör, *Der Ehelich standt von Gott mit gebenedeyung auffgesetzt...* (Nuremberg, 1525), Aiii(v): "Es soll kain h(o)urer noch h(o)ur vndter euch sein."
[48] Heinrich Bullinger, *Der christlich Eestand* (Zurich, 1540), Aii(v): "das die vnreinigkeit des shantlichen h(o)urens vnd Eebrechens in der wält nun gantz gmein vnd vnuerschampt worden ist."

"how nefarious, rakish, and blasphemous whoring [*h(o)ury*] is."[49] Melchior Ambach wrote an entire volume demonstrating the theological grounds for the prohibition of "whoring" and adultery.[50]

By the middle third of the sixteenth century, it became more common to speak of *unzucht* rather than "whoring" (*hurerei*) in theological German texts. When authors employed the term *Zucht* or its antithesis *unzucht*, they referenced a capacious and easily sexualized conception of discipline. The etymology of *Zucht* encompasses chiefly the reproduction, mating, nourishment, and care of livestock.[51] With reference to humans by the fifteenth century, it meant chiefly *erziehung*, or education, upbringing, and training.[52] The prefix "un" represented the negation of *Zucht* as a concept. Rather than simply the absence of *zucht*, *unzucht* represented its antithesis. *unzucht* condemned the behavior it gestured towards and called for action to root out the practices associated with it.[53] *Unzucht* constituted a call for action as much as it did a conceptual category. The call for action drew its power from the term's intertwined association of indiscipline and unrestrained sexual sin.[54] A translation of the Catholic reformer Francesco Barbaro's tract on marriage, *Eyn gut buch von der Ehe* (1536) encouraged all women to cultivate three virtues: "the first, that she love and value her husband; the second, that she be *züchtig* and moral; the third, that she be a diligent householder."[55] Andreas Hoppenrod's 1565 *Wider den Huren-Teufel vnd allerley Vnzucht* [Against the Whore-Devil and All Kinds of Unzucht] began by positing that "*Unzucht* and whoring

---

49 Bullinger, *Der christlich Eestand,* Fii: "Wie schantlich wüst vnd lasterlich die h(o)ury sye."
50 Melchior Ambach,*Von Ehbruch vnd H(o)urerey* (Frankfurt, 1543).
51 *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, s. v., "Zucht," by Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, accessed June 22, 2020, http://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/wbgui_py?sigle=DWB&lemid=GZ08677. For a fuller reckoning of the meanings of *Zucht* in early modern German, see Maren Lorenz, *Menschenzucht: Frühe Ideen und Strategien* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2018), 11-15 and 67-148.
52 *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, s. v., "Zucht," by Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, accessed June 22, 2020, http://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/wbgui_py?sigle=DWB&lemid=GZ08677.
53 On the negation of terms like *Zucht* with the prefix *un*, see Puff, *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland*, 95-96.
54 Deutsches Wörterbuch, s. v., "Unzucht," by Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, accessed June 22, 2020, http://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/wbgui_py?sigle=DWB&lemid=GU13305.
55 Francesco Barbaro, *Eyn gut bich von der Ehe* (Hanau, 1536), 26: "Von dreien Tugenden des weibes. Drei stücke sind / darnach sich das weib halten soll / Das erste / Das sie dem man lieb vnnd werd habe / Das ander / Das sie züchtig vnd syttig. Das dritte / Das sie eyn fleissige haußhalterinne sei."

have horribly become habit among the Christians, and so deep that one now barely pays attention to any sin."[56] *Unzucht* was ultimately demonic, Hoppenrod averred, for "the first and chiefest cause of all sin and shame, and especially of *unzucht* and whoring, is Satan..."[57] German counter-reformer Peter Canisius, arguably Germany's leading Jesuit in the sixteenth century, agreed that prostitutes constituted a grave threat to society, and encapsulated the calls for inaction attached to enunciations of *Unzucht* when he wrote, with considerable misogyny, that "One should bury an old woman who is *unzüchtig* alive, if only one were legally permitted."[58]

By the middle third of the sixteenth century, it became commonplace for Lutheran pastors to extoll the virtues of marriage and condemn prostitution. For example, Luther cautioned his congregation in his *Sermon on the Sixth Commandment*, that "God created men and women, not so that whoring would happen because of rules of celibacy, but He gave the body its nature and form, in order to be fruitful and multiply."[59] In order to cure the "whoring" that resulted from attempts to impose celibacy, Luther encouraged men and women to marry. Reformer Johann Eberlin von Günzburg appealed to his readers, "every man should have his own wife and every woman her own husband in order to avoid whoring…."[60] Luther agreed. He thanked God for women's [*sexum muliebrem*] existence "both for procreation and also as a medicine against the sin of fornication."[61] In Protestant discourse, sometimes following the cues of important local guilds, sometimes driven by

---

[56] Andreas Hoppenrod, *Wider den Huren-Teufel vnd allerley Vnzucht* (Eisleben, 1565), B6: "Wir sehen vnd erfarens (leider Gott sey es geklaget) das Vnzucht vnd Hurerey / grewlich bey den Christen eingerissen ist / vnd also tieff / das man es nu fur keine Sünde fast mehr achtet..."
[57] Hoppenrod, *Wider den Huren-Teufel*, B7: "Die erste furnempste heubt vrsache aller Sünde vnd Schande / vnd sonderlich der vnzucht vnd Hurerey / ist der Sathanas..."
[58] Peter Canisius, *Haußzucht vnd Regiment* (1569), Av(v)-vi: "Ein alts Weib / die vnzüchtigt ist / solt man lebendig vergraben / wanns nur die Recht z(o)uliessen."
[59] Martin Luther, Sermon on the Sixth Commandment WA XXX/1: Catechism sermons, 1528 p. 75-77: "Deus creavit marem et feminam, nicht das buberey sol geschehen per coelibatum, Sed dedit corpori sein natur und art, ut fruchtbar sey und sich mehre."
[60] Johann Eberlin von Günzburg, *Wie gar Geferlich sey/ so ein Priester kein Eeweyb hat* (Strasbourg, 1522), Av: "Darumb sol yeglicher man sein eygen Eeweyb haben. Vnd yedliche fraw ein Eeman/ H(o)urerey z(o)u meyden..."
[61] Luther, WA 42: 89: "Hinc nata etiam sunt in sexum muliebrem, quae impius coelibatus auxit. Magnum autem beneficium est, quod Deus nobis quasi invitis et nolentibus servavit mulierem tum ad generationem tum etiam ad medicinam contra peccatum fornicationis."

the parishioners of a church, sometimes by the conscience of the pastor, and sometimes by secular potentates, marriage gradually and unevenly superseded virginity as the holiest sexual state over the course of the sixteenth century.[62] In Catholic discourse, if not on the ground, virginity continued to supersede marriage as the most pleasing state to God. Even so, in Catholic areas, marriage became, in the words of historian Ulrike Strasser, "the primary institutional site for the salvation of the laity."[63]

In this unfolding context in which religious figures excoriated prostitutes and prostitution, city and imperial officials worked to prohibit "whoring." Many law codes banned fornication *tout court*. The *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina* (or simply the *Carolina*), a law code intended to supplement various criminal codes across the Holy Roman Empire included several laws to punish extramarital sex.[64] Articles 116-123 bear witness to growing concern over sexual crimes that reflects the similarities between the Reformations' emergent theologies of gender. Article 116 stipulated that "a man who fornicates with a cow, a man with a man, a woman with a woman has forfeited their life."[65] Article 117 prohibited a man from "fornicating with his step-daughter, with his son's wife, or with his step-mother."[66] The following article forbade a man "against the husband's or the father's will to abduct his wife or virgin daughter by dishonorable means" and made no distinction as to "whether the wife or virgin consented" to such abduction.[67] Article 119 specified that "Whichever evil-doer

---

[62] Plummer, *From Priests Whore to Pastor's Wife*, 247-48.
[63] Strasser, *State of Virginity*, 29. For the uneven implementation of these ideologies on the ground, compare Strasser's account of Munich, where many Tridentine reforms were adopted with vigor to the more contested and evolving implementation of the reforms in Münster. Laqua-O'Donnell, *Women and the Counter-Reformation in Early Modern Münster*.
[64] Leonhart Fronsperger, *Kreigßbuch/ dritter Theil* (1575; Frankfurt: Sig. Feyrabends, 1596), XIX(v) included the *Carolina* in his Kriegsbuch, suggesting it applied to early modern soldiers in the Holy Roman Empire as well.
[65] Lünig, *Corpus Juris Militaris*, 1: 24: "So ein Mensch mit einem Viehe, Mann mit Mann, Weib mit Weib, Unkeuschheit treiben, die haben auch das Leben verwirckt und man soll sie, der gemeinen Gewohnheit nach, mit dem Feuer, vom Leben zum Tode richten."
[66] Lünig, *Corpus Juris Militaris*, 1: 24: "So einer Unkeuschheit mit seiner Stieff-Tochter, mit seines Sohns Ehe=Weib, oder mit seiner Stieff=Mutter treibet, in solchen und noch nähern Sipschafften, soll die Straffe, wir davon, in unsrer Vorfahren, und unsern Kayserl. Beschriebenen Rechten gesetzt, gebraucht, und derhalben bey den Rechts=Verständigen Raths gepflogen warden."
[67] Lünig, *Corpus Juris Militaris*, 1: 24-25. "So einer jemand sein Ehe=Weib, oder eine unverleumde Jungfrau, wider des Ehe=Manns, oder des Ehelichen Vaters Willen, auf unehliche Weise entführet, darum mag der Ehemann, oder Vater,

takes an honorable wife, widow, or virgin's virginly or womanly honor with violence against her will has forfeited his life." If, however, such a "Criminal and violent deed is committed against a dishonorable woman or virgin, and the woman or virgin resists the punishment or swears to save [i.e., marry, provided she was not already married] him, the evil-doer will be punished according to his standing."[68]

Articles 120 and 121 demanded marital fidelity and household responsibility. The former punished "a husband who engages in adultery with another" along with "the woman with whom he committed adultery." It extended the same punishment to women who commit adultery. The latter banned multiple marriages.[69] Article 122 stated that "anyone who willingly sells his wife or children of the same name for the enjoyment of another to dishonor themselves, to fornication, and to disgraceful deeds is without honor and is to be punished."[70] Article 123, the last in the *Carolina* to deal primarily with sexual crimes, punished those who assist in leading others to adultery, noting that "often the ignorant women and naïve girls who used to be honorable people had their womanly or

---

unangesehen, ob die Ehe=Frau, oder Jungfrau ihren Willen darzu giebt, peinlich klagen: Und soll der Thäter, nach Satzung unsrer Vorfahren, und unsern Kayserl., Rechten darum gestrafft, und derhalben bey den Rechts=Verständigen Raths gebraucht und darüber eingeholet."

[68] Lünig, *Corpus Juris Militaris*, 1: 25. "So jemand einer unverleumdten Ehe=Frau, Wittwe oder jungfrau, mit Gewalt und wider ihren Willen, ihre Jungfräuliche oder Fräuliche Ehre nähme, derselbige Ubel-thäter hat das Leben verwirkt, und soll auf Beklagung der Benöthigten, in Ausführung der Missethat, einem Räuber gleich, mit dem Schwerdt vom Leben zum Todte gerichtet warden. So sich aber einer solches obgemeldtes Mißhandels freventl. und gewaltiger Weise gegen eine unverleumbdte Frau oder Jungfrau unterstünde, und sich die Frau oder Jungrau sein erwehrte, oder von solcher Beschwerniß sonst errettet würde, derselbige Ubelthäter soll, auf Beklagung der Benöthigten, in Ausführung oder Mißhandlung nach Gelegenheit und Gestalt der Personen, und unterstandenen Missethat gestraft werden, und sollen darinn Richter und Urtheiler Raths gebrauchen, wir vor in andern Fällen mehr gesetzt."

[69] Lünig, *Corpus Juris Militaris*, 1: 120 reads "So ein Ehemann einen andern um des Ehebruchs willen, den er mit seinem Eheweibe verbracht hat, peinlich beklagt, und deß überwindet, derselbige Ehebrecher, samt der Ehebrecherin, sollen nach Sage unserer Vorfahren, und unsern Kays. Rechten gestraft werden. Item, daß es auch gleicher Weise in dem Fall, so ein Eheweib ihren Mann, oder die Person, damit er Ehebruch vollgebracht hat, beklagen will, gehalten werden soll." Article 121 states "So ein Ehemann ein ander Weib, oder ein Eheweib einen andern Mann, in Gestalt der H. Ehe, bey Leben des ersten Ehe=Gesellen, nimmt, welche Ubelthat dann auch ein Ehebruch, und grosser dann dasselbige Laster ist. Und wiewol die Kayserl. Rechte auf sollche Ubelthat keine Straffe am Leben setzen: So wollen wir doch, welche zu solchem Laster betrüglicher Weise mit Wissen und Willen Ursache geben und vollbringen, daß die nicht weniger, dann die Ehebrüchigen, peinlich gestrafet werden soll."

[70] Lünig, *Corpus Juris Militaris*, 1: 120: "So jemand sein Eheweib oder Kinder, um einigerley Genusses willen, wie die Namen haben, williglich zu unehrlichen, unkeuschen und schändlichen Wercken gebrauchen läst, der ist Ehr=loß, und soll nach vermöge gemeiner Rechten gestraft werden."

virginal honor taken from them by certain evil people, men and women, through evil ways to sinful deeds of the flesh." People who disobeyed this law would have their ears cut off, possibly a reflection of their unwillingness to hear divine prohibitions against adultery and fornication.[71] The attitude expounded by reformation polemicists and their opponents shared important dimensions with the *Carolina*. All three interpreted the household as a morally upright site of male governance and assumed that sexual disorder mapped onto social disorder. In both, improper sexuality – configured as improper object choice, improper means of acquiring sexual pleasure, or sexuality outside of the institution of marriage – threatened the social and moral integrity of the household. The Carolina presented marriage as the only morally righteous, and only licit, alternative to virginity in Germany for both lay men and lay women.

The shift from policing prostitutes' conduct in the *frauenhaus* to prohibiting various kinds of fornication accompanied the intensification of discourse decrying "whoring." Whereas earlier, prostitutes had been seen as a particular kind of "fallen women" – a predominantly professional category – once municipal brothels were closed and laws passed that aimed at instituting greater chastity in cities across Germany, the "whore" ceased to be a professional category and instead became a primarily moral one. The professional and quasi-guild structure of prostitution before the closure of the public brothels reflected a clear demarcation between "honorable" women and "dishonorable" prostitutes. After the closure of the municipal brothel, laws requiring chastity and marital fidelity made fornication a crime that any woman could commit.[72] In the words of historian

[71] Lünig, *Corpus Juris Militaris*, 1: 120: "Nachdem zum offtermalen die unverständigen Weibs=Bilder, und zuvor die unschuldigen Mägdlein, die sonst unverleumdte ehliche Peronen seynd, durch etliche böse Menschen, Mann und Weib, böser betrüglicher Weise, damit ihnen ihre Jungfräuliche oder Fräuliche Ehre entnommen, zu sündlichen fleischlichen Wercken gezogen werden: Die=selben boßhafftigen Suppler und Kupplerinnen, auch diejenigen, so wissentlicher, gefährlicher und boßhafftiger Weise ihre Häuser darzu leihen, oder solches in ihren Häusern zu geschehengestatten, sollen, nach Gelegenheit der Verhandlung und Rath der Rechts=Verständigen, es sey mit Verweisung des Lands, Stellung an Pranger, Abscneidung der Ohren , oder Aushauung mit Ruthen, oder anderm gstrafft werden. "

[72] Only in Lübeck were prostitutes formally organized into a guild. For *Frauenhaus* occupants and their quasi-guild structure, see Wiesner, *Working Women*, 100.

Lyndal Roper, whereas "prostitution had previously been regarded as the cure for the dangers of male lust," after the Augsburg city council abolished the municipal brothel, "prostitutes were considered either as fornicators or adulteresses like other women."[73] The "whore" as a moral category reflected evolving ideas about women's sexuality: the "whore" now stood for the lust of all women and configured women's sexuality as uniquely uncontrollable and susceptible to demonic influence.[74]

Against this discursive backdrop, cities across the Empire closed the *frauenhaus*. Augsburg, which had long had extremely strict prostitution regulations, abolished its *frauenhaus* in 1532. The city council made no reference to health concerns related to prostitution, but instead employed the language of sin to justify the brothel's closure.[75] Various cities followed erratically behind it. Basel closed its municipal brothel in 1534 and Nördlingen followed in 1536, Ulm in 1537, Regensburg in 1553, and Frankfurt in 1560.[76] Nuremberg proved more circumspect; it only began to consider permanently closing its *frauenhaus* in 1562. Jurists and theologians weighed in, drawing from the experience of other cities without a *frauenhaus* to develop Nuremberg's policy. Some jurists in Nuremberg looked to the example of Augsburg, which reported an uptick in crimes after closing its *frauenhaus*, to advance the well-rehearsed argument that without a licit avenue for men's sexual energies, they would turn to the town's honorable women and debauch them instead. Theologians argued that the city councilors were living in sin by allowing a brothel to exist in spite of God's word. Their argument essentially replicated what Luther advanced in one of his *Tischreden*: "Once a young man who associated with prostitutes has surrendered his modesty, he will, when the occasion arises, keep away neither from married women nor from virgins. Therefore lust is increased rather

---

[73] Roper, *The Holy Household*, 112.
[74] Roper, *The Holy Household*, 131.
[75] Roper, *The Holy Household*, 103-4.
[76] Georg Kriegk, *Deutsches Bürgerthum im Mittelalter* (Frankfurt: Rutten and Loning, 1871), 2: 340; Max Bauer, *Liebesleben in deutschen Vergangenheit* (Berlin: P. Langenscheidt, 1924), 159. Wiesner, *Working Women*, 104.

than cured by this means, and it becomes a warrant to sin for those who otherwise would be continent if this opportunity had been denied them."[77] Prostitution became an incitement to further vice, not a cure of it. Theologians also pointed to the spread of "the French disease" as a reason to close the town brothel.[78] Ultimately, the theologians won out and Nuremberg closed its brothel. Nuremberg continued to entertain reopening its brothel, however, after the council noticed that "adultery, prostitution, fornication, and rape have taken over forcibly here in the city and in the countryside" shortly after the *frauenhaus* had been shuttered.[79] The putative closure of the brothel definitively did not end the payment of money for sex. Instead, it engendered increasingly invasive attempts to punish sexual activity outside of the marital bed.[80]

In this context, where fornication was forbidden and the *frauenhaus* closed, prostitution went underground. The punishments for engaging in prostitution were severe and city officials prosecuted women accused of prostitution with extreme prejudice. Women found frequenting the location of the shuttered *frauenhaus* could be arrested under suspicion of continuing to practice fornication, now defined as a crime.[81] Men found to be seeing prostitutes also faced prosecution at the hands of civic authorities.[82] In prison, both faced torture. If found guilty, the woman could be branded, banished

---

[77] Martin Luther, Lectures on Genesis 19:9, 1539, WA 43: 60-61: "Exemplum de lupanaribus, quae tolerantur in magnis civitatibus, indignum est, de quo disputetur. Nam manifeste pugnat cum lege Dei, et gentiles habendi sunt, qui turpitudinem hanc publice tolerant. Frivolum enim est, quod iudicant hac ratione minui stupra et adulteria. Nam adolescens, qui cum merectricibus consuescit, is data occasione, cum pudorem semel proiecerit, non abstinebit neque a maritatis, nec a virginibus. Augetur igitur magis, quam sanatur libido hac ratione, et fit illis auctoritas peccandi, qui alias, hac occasione praecisa, continerent."
[78] Karl Sudhoff, *Die ersten Massnahmen der Stadt Nürnberg gegen die Syphilis in den Jahren 1496 und 1497* (Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1912), 109.
[79] Nuremberg Ratsbücher, 31, fol. 350 (March 18, 1562). Quoted in Wiesner, *Working Women*, 105.
[80] Wiesner, *Working* Women, 106-9. The closure of municipal brothels in England also drove prostitution underground. The shifting legal status of prostitution, it seems, did little to slow or stop the practice of prostitution. On the persistence of prostitution in spite of King Henry VIII's abolition of state-sanctioned prostitution, see Stephen Spiess, "The Measure of Sexual Memory," *Shakespeare Survey* 67 (2014): 318-26. For a more sustained examination of prostitution in literature and law in sixteenth century London, see Stephen Spiess, "Shakespeare's Whore: Language, Prostitution, and Knowledge in Early Modern England," (Phd diss., University of Michigan, 2013).
[81] Schuster, *Das Frauenhaus*, 204.
[82] Schuster, *Das Frauenhaus*, 206.

from the city, or even killed.[83] In Nuremberg, around one-fifth of the women named in the city official's register of executions were suspected of prostitution. Prostitution continued in this liminal state – any legal protection previously afforded to prostitutes in the *frauenhaus* had been revoked upon the *frauenhaus*'s closure. Although unofficial tolerance continued in some cities like Nuremberg and Frankfurt after the *frauenhaus*'s closure, in most cities, officials routinely patrolled the city to punish any prostitutes they found.[84] Deprived of legal protection, prostitutes could not appeal to the judicial system for redress. Furthermore, destitute women who lived together and could not explain their professions became targets for officials under suspicion of prostitution.[85] With their work criminalized, prostitutes became a bigger target for both civic and interpersonal violence. In civic contexts, prostitutes who had once been seen as integral parts of the city were criminalized and treated as scourges on society.

In France, the elaboration of discourse to reference sexual activity developed differently. So too did the legislative process that closed municipal brothels. As in Germany, prostitutes in fifteenth-century France had largely succeeded in asserting their place in towns in front of city officials. In Avignon, for example, inhabitants of one brothel drew on the model of Mary Magdalene and appropriated modes of living more closely associated with convents to secure titles to real estate, distribute charity, and deflect criticism from their opponents.[86] Yet as marriage and prostitution became more charged and prominent subjects of debate in the context of debates over religious reform, prostitutes came under fire for moral reasons. For example, in French texts that rejected the arguments of Jean Calvin and Theodore Beza, French Catholic Reformation texts also placed a premium on marriage and on patriarchal control. This was a main conceit of Pierre Charron's 1601

---

[83] Schuster, *Die freien Frauen*, 393 and 399-400.
[84] Schuster, *Die freien Frauen*, 396-97. The register evidently does not provide a rationale for this punishment.
[85] Schuster, *Die freien Frauen*, 399.
[86] Joelle Rollo-Koster, "From Prostitutes to Brides of Christ: The Avignonese Repenties in the Late Middle Ages," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31, no.2 (2002): 109-44.

De la Sagesse, in which he interpreted sexual lust as a corrupting force and encouraged people to bridle their sexual desires through marriage.[87] Jesuit priest Edmond Auger's 1577 text *Discours du sainct sacrament de mariage* reflected the gender theology of the Catholic Reformation in France and agreed with Charron. Styled as a rebuttal to Beza's systematizing of Calvinist marriage doctrine, Auger's text bears witness to the celebration of marriage as a sacrament in the French Catholic Reformation. Like Lutherans and Calvinists, Auger argued that marriage was divinely ordained in Genesis 1 and other places in the Bible.[88] Throughout, Auger refers to marriage as "the holy estate of marriage," an appellation that underscores the divine and sublime nature of marriage for French Catholics.[89] Like Calvinists and Lutherans, Auger argued that marriage prevented greater, extramarital lechery. He writes that marriage is especially dignified because it allows one "to train oneself to support domestic avenues, vanquish sensual passions, [and] hold and keep faith and loyalty of heart and of body for one another…."[90] Auger, in a move consonant with Lutheran and Calvinist theology on marriage refused to see sin in marriage as a reflection on marriage itself. Instead, he writes, nothing can "alter or corrupt the holy estate of marriage, because as Tertullian said very well, although marriage is resumed in lubricity, it is the excess that is immodest and not the estate; the estate is blessed and excess is damned."[91] By separating the holiness of marriage as an institution from the evil excess that it might occasionally contain, Auger retained the exceptional status of marriage while opening up space to critique any sin that people might bring to marriage. Critically, though, any sin reflected not the estate of marriage, but the husband and wife as sinful

---

[87] See especially Pierre Charron, *De la Sagesse* (Bordeaux: Simon Millanges, 1601), 173-178 on "l'amour charnel" and "Desirs, Cupiditez." Pages 230-31 constitute one of his treatments of marriage in the text.
[88] Edmond Auger, *Discours de sainct sacrament de mariage* (Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1577), 1.
[89] Auger, *Discours de sainct sacrament de mariage*, 1.
[90] Auger, *Discours de sainct sacrament de mariage,* aiiii-aiiii(v): "en recognoissant la dignité de ceste maniere de viure, s'entraimer, supporter les trauerses domestiques vaincre les paßions sensuelles, tenir & garder la foy and loyauté de cœur & de corps l'vn à l'autre..."
[91] Auger, *Discours de sainct sacrament de mariage*, 3v: "tous ces accidens ne sçauroient alterer, ou corrompre la sainte ordonnance du Createur, Car comme dit tresbien Tertullian, le Mariage, n'est à reprendre mais la lubricité, l'exces, non pas l'estat est impudique, l'estat est beneit, l'excés est mausit."

individuals. Finally, Auger maintained that lust was alien to marriage: "There is nothing so wicked as is loving one's wife as if she were a whore," he wrote early in his text.[92] Although the particular genres that developed in the German and French Reformations proved distinct, the basic contours of the emerging theological and juridical positions about extramarital sexuality that they reflected and shaped were largely consonant across confessional and political boundaries.

Charron argued that "the estate of marriage is the first and most ancient, the most important, and like the foundation and fountain of human society, from which spring families and from them, republics."[93] With the celebration of marriage came a concomitant criticism of prostitution. French treatments of prostitution, like their German counterparts, grew more vociferous in their moral contempt for prostitutes over the course of the sixteenth century. Whereas in Germany, theologians acted as the mouthpiece for the condemnation of prostitution and the lauding of marriage in the vernacular, in French, jurists lambasted prostitution and exalted marriage in vernacular languages. People who solicited prostitution became particular targets of ire for their perceived role in luring people away from the path of God.

Whereas civic brothels in Germany closed at an uneven pace over the course of the sixteenth century, in France, the monarchy prohibited prostitution in one fell swoop. At the Estates General of Blois in 1561, Charles IX's mother and regent Marie de' Medici banned prostitution across the Kingdom of France. She prohibited "all persons from lodging and receiving in their houses, more than one night, idle and unknown people [*gens sans aveu et incogneu*] and we enjoin them to denounce them to justice, under pain of prison and arbitrary fine. We also prohibit all brothels, gaming houses, quill and dice games." Notably, as historian James Farr points out, brothels and

---

[92] Auger, *Discours de sainct sacrament de mariage*, 6: "Il n'y a rien si vilain que d'aymer sa femme, comme si c'estoit vne putain."
[93] Charron, *De la Sagesse*, 230-31. "Combien que l'estat du mariage soit le premier & plus ancien, le plus important, & comme le fondement & la fontaine de la societé humaine, d'où sourdent les familles, & d'elles les republiques, *Prima societas in coniugio est, quod principium vrbis, seminarium reipublicæ*..."

gambling became signifiers of idleness, a quality anathema to reformation-era notions of dutiful obedience to divine will and renaissance notions of industriousness as a perfection of human virtue.[94]

1.2: The Rhetoric of Sexual Disorder in Religious and Military Discourses

Military discourse – chiefly in military treatises but also in military regulations – mapped onto reformers' ideas about the dangers of extramarital sex. These volumes, typically dedicated to the emperor or relevant Prince Elector and whose forewords anticipated that the primary audience was young noblemen who might purchase a commission, became a forum for the elaboration of discourse about prostitution. Writers of military treatises before 1540 said very little about sexual activity and proved unconcerned by armies' lack of sexual discipline on campaign. Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus, the late Roman author of *De Re Militari*, an influential military treatise popular in the medieval and early modern period did not mention sexual activity at all.[95] Nor did Niccolò Machiavelli, who wrote his *Art of War* (*Dell'Arte della Guerra*) between 1517 and 1519 before publishing it in 1521.[96] In German, printed military treatises before 1550 failed to mention prostitution. A German translation of Vegetius, edited into a *Kriegsbuch* around 1485 by Philipp von Seldeneck did not mention prostitution or register concern about extramarital sex at all.[97] Neither topic appears in the c. 1500 *Kriegsbuch* of Ludwig von Eyb.[98] The French military treatise of Philipp, the Duke of Cleves, which circulated in at least seventeen manuscript copies before his death in

---

[94] Charles IX, quoted in James R. Farr, *Authority and Sexuality in Early Modern Burgundy (1550-1730)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 140.
[95] Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus, *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science*, trans. N. P. Milner (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993). Vegetius went through four print editions in sixteenth-century Germany. For the medieval period, see Christopher Allmand, *The* De Re Militari *of Vegetius: The Reception, Transmission and Legacy of a Roman Text in the Middle Ages* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
[96] Niccolò Machiavelli, *Art of War*, trans. Christopher Lynch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).
[97] Philipp von Seldeneck, *Kriegsbuch*, Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe: Durlach 18.
[98] Ludwig von Eyb the Younger, *Kriegsbuch*, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg: UER MS.B 26.

1528, and well before Parisian printer Guillaume Morel printed it in 1558, also found no occasion to comment on prostitution in army life.[99] Sexual discipline does not register in prescriptive military theory until the 1540s in French.

When treatises did discuss prostitution, they recommended it to prevent infighting among the soldiers. For example, prostitution remained both licit and, according to some military regulations, necessary to keep order among the troops during siege warfare. One collection of regulations was compiled by Michael Ott von Echterdingen, an imperial general in charge of the artillery, in 1530. Ott, just two years before the Augsburg city council closed the *frauenhaus*, urged that "one should also pay two or three women to be every man's wife so that no man may yearn." Continuing the medieval tradition, Ott urged the colonel to protect these women for precisely such services and prohibit them from forming exclusive sexual relationships. The pay was two Creuzer a day.[100] In siege warfare commanders expressed a similar attitude to that of city councils before the closure of the *frauenhaus*: prostitutes were a part of the social fabric.

A passage in the manuscript *Kriegsbuch* written by Ott and his adjutant Jacob Preuß around 1530 reflects the complex stance military commanders had towards prostitutes. They write that "nobody should be granted his own woman," reasoning that if a soldier kept his own woman, "he will defend her." As a result of soldiers keeping their own women, "the servants fall on each other in droves and make disunity and noise." Ott and Preuß evidently were concerned that allowing women to select their sexual partners might cause disputes among the garrison and therefore challenge the soldiers' military effectiveness. Instead, Ott and Preuß urge their reader that "whatever women are

---

[99] Philipp Duc de Cleves, *Instruction de toutes manieres de guerroyer, tant par terre que par mer, & des choses y seruantes* (Paris: Guillaume Morel, 1558).

[100] Michael Ott, *Kriegsordnung* (Augsburg, c. 1530), Av. "Item man soll auch noch zwo oder drey frawen besolden / die ydermans weyb seind / Derhalben soll man kain eyferung haben / Es soll auch der Hauptmann / denselben armen weybern / gleichen vertrag / Schutz vnd Schirm hallten / Vnd kainer gedencken / das er sy allain haben wöllt / Es ist vnrecht wölcher ain gemain einzeinen will / darumn sollen sy ain zimlich frawengellt nemen/ Tag / zwen Creützer."

here must be held in common and paid their normal wage."[101] In invoking the term *gmein*, Ott and Preuß implied that the women in the camp were prostitutes. Another clause, specifying that each woman be paid her "normal wage [*gepurliche besolldunge*]" strongly suggests that Ott and Preuß, like many city councils of the time, interpreted prostitutes as integral to the functioning of the army because their accessibility to numerous men kept men's minds on their tasks. Women must see to the sexual urges of all the soldiers and be paid regular wages to prevent unspecified greater disorders. In this passage, Ott and Preuß argue that prostitutes help keep order in armies because they prevent infighting.

As arguments against extramarital sexuality became more widespread between 1540 and 1600, authors of military treatises slowly expressed concern about the sexual discipline of soldiers and camp followers. They did so by means of gendered protocols of conduct. Take, for example, the most widely printed and most widely translated French military treatise of the sixteenth century, Raymond de Rouer, Baron de Fourquevaux's 1548 *Instructions sur le faict de la guerre*. Reissued in 1592 with minor changes and translated into both English and German before the end of the sixteenth century, *Instructions* had more to say about sexuality in campaign life than its predecessors. Fourquevaux implied that women camp followers posed an existential threat to armies when he cautioned that a large baggage "often proceeds many disorders and the end of an army." He urged colonels to keep the baggage train small. Yet he stopped short of banning all unmarried women, writing instead that "above all, nobody should bring along trunks, coffers, wagons, or whores."[102]

---

[101] Michael Ott von Echterlingen and Jacob Preuß, *Kriegsbuch (Artillerie und Besatzung)*, c. 1530, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg Cod. Pal. germ. 123, 100v: "Item Eß soll auch keinem kein eigenem fraw vergvnndt werdenn. [D]ann ßo einer ein eigenn frawe hat, der will er verdeidigenn, so helt das Volck wie sein art ist, darüberr fallenn die knecht zuhauf vnnd macht vneinigkeit vnndt lermen, sonder was der weiber darrin werren die man haben muß das die gmein gehalten werdenn wie Inen eigent vmb Ire gepurliche besolldunge."

[102] Raymond Rouer de Fourquevaux, *Instructions sur le faict de la guerre* (Paris: 1548), 20v. After discussing the baggage: "Le Colonnel & les officiers de la Legion en tiendront le moins qu'ilz pouront: car d'vn grand Bagaige procedent aucunesfois plusieurs desordres, & la fin d'vne armee ... sur tout qu'il n'y ait personne qui traine Bahuz, Coffres, Charrettes, ne Putains."

The inclusion of "whores" alongside trunks, coffers, and wagons registers developing attitudes towards sexually active unmarried women on campaign. Distinct from Ott and Preuß, who considered prostitutes sinful women who were nonetheless necessary to keep military order, Fourquevaux considers "whores" superfluous baggage who inhibit the proper functioning of the army. For Fourquevaux, the challenges "whores" present to commanders are twofold. First, their numbers present logistical difficulties with more mouths to feed. Second, they might disrupt the march. Third, the sexual activity of "whores" engenders "many disorders and the end of an army" through the flouting of moral strictures regarding how and between whom sexual activity could be performed.

Reinhard, Graf zu Solms, a count who fought alongside the Emperor in the War of the Schmalkaldic League, melds logistical and moral concerns in his treatment of the baggage train: "It is not good to have a large baggage train, and the baggage should be limited as much as possible, for the baggage train will eat as much as the properly recruited battalion. That brings disadvantage to the camp."[103] Solms then counsels that too great a baggage train could slow the march. However, Solms's treatise also warns against soldiers flouting prohibitions against extramarital sex in army life, positing that soldiers' attachments to women and children in the baggage train would limit commanders' options in emergencies. Solms mentioned particularly what might occur if an army had to flee the enemy. Typically, Solms cautions, one should separate the soldiers from the baggage train in order to present as powerful a fighting force as possible. Yet with a large baggage train, soldiers' protective instincts over their loved ones could prevent them from following orders. In a situation where soldiers were ordered away from their loved ones to defend a key position, soldiers might refuse and choose to protect their partners instead. Soldiers' desires for more than one woman

---

[103] Reinhard Graf zu Solms, *Kriegsbuch* (Solms, 1559), 2: 11v. "Den fünfften Artickel den Troß betreffent / ist nicht g(o)ut einen grossen Troß zu haben / vnd souil müglich ist / den Troß zu geringern/ dann der Troß wil gleich so wol essen / als der recht geschaffen hauff / das brengt dem Leger ein nachteil."

compounded this difficulty: Solms wrote that "Now it is barely possible to prevent, for many reasons, soldiers [*Knecht*] from having many wives [*Weiber*]. One is his married wife [*eheweib*]. The other [soldier] will not move without his whores [*H(o)uren*]."[104] Solms configures "whores" as both a moral and a logistical challenge to military order.

In German treatises, the deployment of a specific rhetorical dyad helped drive discourse that interpreted prostitutes as a danger to the army. Solms was one of the first writers to employ the dyad *huren und buben* (whores and knaves). Over the course of the second half of the sixteenth century, the term *huren und buben* came to refer to the entire population of the baggage train and cast them in a distinctly negative light. *Huren* referred to the population of women who followed armies on campaign and *buben*, which corresponds to the English terms "boy," "knave," and "rascal" comprised men who followed armies on campaign. *Buben* were almost unfailingly depicted as young boys in woodcuts. Typically represented in woodcuts as boys, the *bub* was the male analog of the *hur* on campaign, although the *bub* figured much less prominently than did the *hur* in military treatises and not at all in military regulations. The conceit that *huren und buben* were agents of military disorder became a standard one in German military writing during the second half of the sixteenth century.

As rhetoric about *huren und buben* and the dangers they purportedly presented to military order proliferated, military writers invented a new military officer to police the conduct of the baggage train. The *hurenweibel* (literally, "whore-commander") was put in charge of moral order in the baggage train. For Solms, the *hurenweibel*'s primary task was preventing camp followers from disrupting the march. Solms writes that the *hurenweibel* should "keep the baggage, *Hurn vnd B(o)uben* in order, so that they do not run into the baggage, but remain and travel as they are ordered." In battle, he was to keep the baggage protected, so the soldiers could remain focused on fighting rather than

---

[104] Solms, *Kriegsbuch*, 2: 11v. "Nun ist es aber nicht fast zuuorkommen / auß vilen vrsachen / dann die Knecht haben vil Weiber / eins ist sein eheweib / der ander wil sunst on sein H(o)urn nit ziehen"

worrying about their sweethearts, children, and effects. Although the *hurenweibel*'s main charge was the maintenance of marching orders and protection of the baggage train, Solms argued that the *hurenweibel* should also make sure that women camp followers performed feminized labor for the army. Solms wrote that the *hurenweibel* also had to ensure that the "whores" performed the tasks necessary to keep the army moving, especially filling latrines after leaving camp. Solms made clear the *hurenweibel*'s disciplinary function by including the in the *hurenweibel*'s section of the treatise the functions of the executioner and disciplinator [*Stockmeister*], who are to "justly be aware of the disobedient and criminals."[105] What seemed of passing relevance to earlier military writers had become something meriting the oversight of specific officers for Solms.

In later military treatises, the *hurenweibel* became a mainstay of discussions of the baggage train. Like Solms, Fronsperger made the *hurenweibel* a central figure in his treatment of the baggage train. Yet Fronsperger also gave the *hurenweibel* more authority and better pay than Solms had when he charged the *hurenweibel* not only with the protection of the baggage train as Solms had done, but also with enforcing gender norms in the campaign community. In the process, he depicted campaign communities much more harshly than had Solms. In volume three of his *Kriegßbuch*, for example, Fronsperger asserts that alongside excesses of "gorging, drinking, fornicating, and other blasphemies ... one finds more lecherous women [*vnzüchtige Weiber*] than soldiers" in contemporary German armies.[106] In naming camp followers *vnzüchtige weiber*, Fronsperger drew upon the language developed by religious reformers to describe fornication and characterized the baggage train as controlled by "whores."

---

[105] Solms, *Kriegsbuch*, 1: 76. "Die Hurnweibell sollen den Troß / Hurn vnd B(o)uben in ordnung behalten / daß sie nit verlauffen / sonder bleiben vnd ziehen wie sie jeder zeit geordnet werden.... Was auch weiter des Stockmeisters vnd Nachrichters ampt im Leger ist / werden die vngehorsamen vnd mißhendler wol auch billich jnnen vnd gewar werden."
[106] All citations in Fronsperger come from the latest edition of his work, the 1596 *Kriegßbuch*. Leonhart Fronsperger, *Kreigßbuch* (1575; Frankfurt: Sig. Feyrabends, 1596), 3:CXLI: "Aber in der Christlichen Läger ist aller vberfluß / von fressen / sauffen / vnzucht vnd andern Lastern / also / daß man offt mehr Prouiandtwägen dann Rüstwägen / mehr vnzüchtige Weiber / dann Kriegßleuth findet."

Like Solms, Fronsperger assigned an official to discipline the sexual life of the campaign community. The *hurenweibel*, Fronsperger wrote, should be "a handy, honorable, and understanding soldier ... namely, one who has helped in many battles and storms."[107] So important was his charge that he was given his own lieutenant and ensign and earned a captain's pay, a three-fold wage increase over the wages recommended by Solms.[108] Other officers had to embody chastity as well both to curry God's favor and to set an appropriate example for the soldiers. Fronsperger declared that if one of the high-ranking commanders "has an honorable wife [*ehelichen Weib*] and children at home" and yet commits adultery, "he shall have lost his office or service, and shall be robbed of it."[109] Officers had to model the kind of sexual discipline they hoped to instill in their soldiers and camp followers.

Fronsperger expanded both the pay and the responsibility of the *hurenweibel* in response to his diatribes against the prevalence of "whores" on campaign. Like Solms's *hurenweibel*, Fronsperger's was to "lead and govern the baggage so that no disadvantage comes to the cannon, the infantrymen, or the horsemen." In ways consonant with Solms's treatment of the *hurenweibel*, Fronsperger writes that the *hurenweibel*'s charge included the maintenance of the campaign community "in good order so that neither cavalryman nor soldier hinders the baggage." Yet Fronsperger also expands the *hurenweibel*'s duties to encompass the maintenance of gendered labor. After soldiers had departed for the march, Fronsperger writes that the *Hurenweibel* should order the *huren und buben* accompanying

---

[107] Fronsperger, *Kreigßbuch*, 1:LXXXVIII. "Item wo ein starck Regiment oder viel Hauffen seind / da ist auch der Troß nicht klein / dazu gehört ein geschickter / ehrlicher / verstendiger Kriegßmann / wie oben auch angezeigt worden / nemlich der viel Schlacht vnd Stürm hat helffen thun / solcher Weybel sol von dem Obersten darzu bestettigt werden / Es gebürt im auch etwan sein eigen Leutenant vnd Fenderich wann der Troß also starck ist / So gebürt jme Hauptmanns Besoldung / seinen Leutenant vnd Fenderichen / wie ander zu entrichten / denn nicht wenig dem gantzen Hauffen daran gelegen / derwegen ein solcher Weybel wissens soll haben / solche Hauffen zu regieren vnd zuführen / gleich wie man ander rechte oder verlorne Hauffen / ordnen vnd führen soll."

[108] Leonhart Fronsperger, *Kreigßbuch / ander Theil* (1575; Frankfurt: Sig. Feyrabends, 1596), XVI. The Hurenweibel got three Thaler instead of the one Thaler suggested by Solms.

[109] Leonhart Fronsperger, *Kreigßbuch / ander Theil* (1575; Frankfurt: Sig. Feyrabends, 1596), CXIII(v): "Item, wo sach wer / daß ein Büchsenmeister daheim ehelich Weib vnd Kinder hette / vnd er mit einer andern sich wolte eynlassen / bey sich in vnehren zuhalten / der sol sein Ampt oder dienst verloren haben vnd beraubt sein."

the army to perform domestic tasks expected of women and adolescents, including cleaning up the camp. Fronsperger elaborates the *hurenweibel*'s authority into the realm of gender discipline when he writes that the *hurenweibel* had to ensure "that the common women [*gemeinen Weiber*] wait faithfully on their masters, that they supply basic necessities, that they cook, sweep, wash, and nurse the sick."[110] When he called camp women *gemeine weiber*, Fronsperger implied that they were analogous to prostitutes: "common woman" signified similarly as "prostitute" across Europe.[111] The term *gemeine weiber* exceeded the meaning of prostitute too, however. The list of duties that *gemeine weiber* had to perform relegated them to the unpleasant labor expected of servant women in early modern cities. The label of *gemeine weiber* functioned similarly to that the of *hur*, then, suggesting that the women had sex outside of marriage and whose sinful nature made them excellent for the dishonorable but necessary labor needed to keep the army running.[112]

The association of the baggage train with disorder operated in both a textual and a visual register. Take, for example, a woodcut of a *hurenweibel* that the publisher attached to many of the war writings of Leonhart Fronsperger. Fronsperger, an imperial military commander who fought in the armies of Charles V, Ferdinand I, and Maximilian II, became arguably the most prolific and authoritative author of military affairs in the later sixteenth century. Fronsperger's first treatise was published in 1559, then expanded into his *Von Keyserlichem Kriegßrechten Malefitz vnd Schuldhändlen* in 1564 before being included in various other writings called his *Kriegßbuch*. The three-part *Kriegßbuch*,

---

[110] Fronsperger, *Kreigßbuch*, 1: LXXXVIII(v). "Hievor bey dem Hurnweybel / ist ein wenig meldung von diser Befelch vnd Ampt geschehen / wie sich solche im ziehen vnd andern halten sollen / Aber wie dem allem / streckt sich ihr Ampt dahin / daß sie getrewlich auff ihre Herrn warten / sie nach notturfft versehen / die gemeinen Weiber mit kochen / fegen / weschen / sonderlich der Krancken damit zu warten / sich deß nicht wegern / sonst wo man zu Feld vor oder in Besatzungen ligt / mit behendigkeit / lauffen / rennen / einschenken / Fütterung/ essende vnd trinkende Speiß zu holen / neben anderer notturfft sich bescheidenlich wissen zu halten / auff der reyen oder sonst nach ordnung zu stehen / gelegener Märckt sich gebrauchen vnd halten."

[111] Karras, *Common Women*, 11.

[112] On the language of the "common" in the Reformation, see Lyndal Roper, "'The Common Man,' 'The Common Good,' 'Common Women': Gender and Meaning in the German Reformation Commune," *Social History* 12, no.1 (1987): 1-21.

first published in 1573, was very popular. By the end of the century, it had been reissued two more times. The illustration of the *hurenweibel* appeared in all but the 1559 text. Designed by Jost Amman, an artist born in Zürich who moved to Nuremberg in 1560, the *hurenweibel* leads two women over a bluff (**Figure 1.1**).

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 1.1: Jost Amman, *Hurenweibel*, c. 1564, Woodcut in Leonhart Fronsperger, *Von Keyserlichem Kriegßrechten Malefitz und Schuldhändlen*, folio 138. Colored copy in HAB A: 18.3 Bell 2º.

The *hurenweibel* marches forward, beckoning camp followers to follow him. He is caricatured as dressing exceedingly fashionably and he sports a long gray beard (the cobalt in the paint has turned the gray blue over time). The women behind him similarly represent sexual license. Like prostitutes in municipal brothels, these women wear prominent yellow clothing.[113] Because colors were added after the purchase by the buyer, we cannot invest too much meaning into these colors. All the same, some artist clearly felt it necessary to visually tie these characters to the *huren* of

[113] Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, 103-4.

Fronsperger's text. The woman on the far right carries a pack of supplies crowned with cooking utensils and trudges forward. Her hair is covered in a show of deference to men's power over her. The figure in the middle, conversely, defies her feminine role. She carries a pike and a cock perches on her shoulder in a symbolic representation of her usurpation of masculine power.[114] Her behavior mirrors that of the symbols she sports. In contrast to her companion, who dutifully and silently marches forward, the central figure turns back and talks to the people behind her. In a final slight, Amman depicts a dog defecating in front of the three figures. In other words, in spite of Fronsperger's vision of a powerful *hurenweibel* who disciplines the baggage train, the woodcut suggests that such a vision has not yet been brought into practice.

Military regulations adapted the language of military treatises when they worked to exclude unmarried women camp followers. Recall that although the *Carolina* made fornication a crime, many city officials and military commanders continued to view prostitutes as integral to the social fabric. Although Fronsperger included the *Carolina* as the only sample articles of war in his comprehensive *Kriegßbuch*, perhaps as a sample of imperially sanctioned regulations that could easily be applied to army life, it is doubtful that actual armies enforced the *Carolina*. I have found no evidence of a concerted attempt to prohibit prostitution in German armies until 1570, when a set of military codes composed by Emperor Maximilian II noted that a critical part of maintaining military order was the prohibition of "lecherous women" [*vnzüchtige weiber*] or "common disreputable women" [*gemeine unehrbare weiber*] from joining the campaign.[115] The two terms operated as synonyms and showed the

---

[114] In addition to penises, roosters represented virile masculinity. Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, "Hahn," in *Deutsches Wörterbuch* online: http://woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/wbgui_py?sigle=DWB&lemma=hahn. For the cock as a figure of lust, see Carl Nordenfalk, "The Five Senses in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art," *Journal of the Warberg and Courtauld Institutes* 48 (1985), 3-4 and Dirk Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch: His Picture Writing Deciphered* (Montclair, NJ: Abner Schram, 1979), 109-91.

[115] Lünig, *Corpus Juris Militaris*, 1: 62. While züchtig can mean modest, innocent, demure, and virtuous, it has strong sexual connotations in early modern German texts, so I have chosen to translate its opposite "unzüchtig" as lecherous rather than lewd, bawdy, or obscene in an attempt to capture the sexual implications behind the term. For attitudes towards the French disease in the 1560s and 1570s, see Arrizabalaga, Henderson, and French, *The Great Pox*, 252-77.

proliferation of language used to describe women in sixteenth-century German armies. The second phrase expanded Fronperger's *gemeinen weiber* to impugn their honor further. The terms employed reflect the belief that "whores" were not a special type of "fallen women" as had been the implication in justifications for municipal brothels before the sixteenth century. Instead, "whores" were just like other women, except more sinful and more carnal. The terms collapsed the figure of the prostitute into the larger category of the "common disreputable woman," in effect both prohibiting prostitution and making it possible to gloss many more women as "whores" for their sexual liaisons. This crackdown on prostitution in military communities fit into several contexts: the closure of the *frauenhaus* and civic prohibition of prostitution, the belief espoused by Luther that good rulers could not tolerate prostitution, and a wider development in rhetoric that, insofar as it depicted the baggage train as *huren und buben*, represented the baggage as harmful to moral and military order.

The terms employed in military treatises to describe camp women thus echoed the regulations laid out in military law codes. Emperor Maximilian II's law code codified the language that many of the regulations about the presence of women in the campaign community in the Holy Roman Empire employed until at least the 1630s. Strikingly, the language and purpose of laws prohibiting prostitution in Reformation armies transcended political and confessional boundaries. Maximilian ruled that "there should be among no train or camp followers any common disreputable women [*gemeine unerbare Weiber*], excepting the true wives [*rechten Ehe-Weiber*], on the order of the colonel and captain, from the time of the first mustering and thereafter."[116] The term *gemeine unerbare weiber*, which invoked the contemporary appellation for prostitutes, became defined as the opposite of the *rechten ehe-weiber*. In the process, it became easier rhetorically to class all unmarried women as

[116] Lünig, *Corpus Juris Militaris*, 1: 74. "Item, es soll ein jeder seinen Troß, oder Anhang, was gemeine unerbare Weiber seynd, ausgenommen die rechten Ehe-Weiber, auf des Obersten und seines Hauptmanns Befehl, zur Zeit der ersten Musterung, oder hernach…."

prostitutes. Following Maximilian's logic, if a woman was not married, she counted among the *gemeine unerbare weiber*. The rhetorical association of all camp women with the figure of the *hur* and of all camp men with the figure of the *bub* found its analog in Maximilian's assumption that all women on campaign who were not *rechte ehe-weiber* were *gemeine unerbare weiber*.

And yet, in some cases, commanders continued to tolerate *huren und buben* in military communities. Maximilian II's *Schiff-Ordnung*, issued between 1564 and 1576 notes the presence of both *huren und buben* on his ships: "Whosoever blasphemes, be he of noble or common birth, *huren oder buben*, little or much, is to be punished after the knowledge of his captain or first mate."[117] The appropriation of a term by formulaic army regulations that arose first in military treatises reflects the impact of cultural preconceptions developed in military writing. *Huren und buben* became a common refrain inside and outside of military treatises that acted rhetorically. It cast camp followers as a disorganized rabble that threatened military order even as they performed duty necessary for the upkeep of the military unit. When they called camp followers *huren und buben*, writers implied that camp followers disrupted the army's good functioning. And yet Maximilian II's *Schiff-Ordnung* made no attempt to prohibit *huren und buben* from his ships. The regulation stipulated that "The *Huren und Buben* are to keep the ships clean and tidy, so that sicknesses can be prevented. Whichever are found needing to be punished are to be punished without any mercy."[118] The differing attitudes of Maximilian II's army code with his roughly contemporaneous *Schiff-Ordnung* reflects range of attitudes towards women camp followers in military discourse. Whereas the army regulations implied that all women except soldiers' wives were to be banned from military life under suspicion of

---

[117] Johann Christian Lünig, *Corpus Juris Militaris Des Heil. Röm. Reichs, Ander Theil* (Leipzig, 1723), 691. "Welcher, er sey hohes oder niedriges Standes, huren oder buben, und Gott lästern würde, es sey wenig oder viel, der oder dieselbigen sollen, nach Erkenntniß deß Haupt= oder Meistermanns, gestraft werden."

[118] Lünig, *Corpus Juris Militaris* 2: 692. "Es sollen auch sonderlich die Huren und Buben die Schiffe rein und sauber halten, damit Kranckheiten verhütet werden mögen, welche strafbar darinnen befunden, die sollen, ohne alle Gnade, gestraft werden."

prostitution, the *Schiff-Ordnung* interpreted unmarried camp women as integral to the functioning of the navy. Yet this toleration continued to suggest that unmarried women were *huren* who presented challenges to military order.

Over the course of the sixteenth century, more law codes represented all unmarried women as prostitutes and prohibited them from accompanying the army. This was the case in both Protestant and Catholic articles of war. A 1591 law code from Lutheran Lower Saxony in the Holy Roman Empire copied the heft of Maximilian II's articles of war from 1570 when it ruled that "by the order of the colonel and captain, there should be in no train or baggage *gemeine unehrbare weiber*, excepting the *rechte ehe-weiber*, from the time of the first mustering and thereafter."[119] There are only minor differences between the Saxonian articles and those of Maximilian. The implication that all women who were not *rechte ehe-weiber* were *gemeine unehrbare weiber* still held. That differences between these rules and stipulations are minimal demonstrates the consistency of anti-prostitution across confessional, linguistic, and regional boundaries. It also testifies that little thought seems to have been put into developing a refined approach to the baggage train. The rhetoric of *huren und buben* and the moral consternation it reflected traveled freely between Protestant and Catholic armies.

The bifurcation of women into honorable wives and dishonorable "whores" structured the advice given in military treatises of the 1570s as well. The *Kriegs-Discurs* of Lazarus von Schwendi, a diplomat and general who served under the Emperors Charles V and Maximilian II urged in a section about the order of the baggage [*Troßordnung*] that the colonel should not allow any soldier to "have any whores." The subsequent statement that describes the duties of wives makes clear that "whore" served as the moral antithesis of the wife. All who were not wives became "whores" when Schwendi wrote that "the women among the regiments will serve the different platoons to cook and

[119] Lünig, *Corpus Juris Militaris*, 1: 658: "Item, es soll ein jeder seinen Troß und Anhang, was gemeine unerbare Weiber seyn, ausgenommen die rechten Ehe-Weiber, auf des Obristen und seines Hauptmanns Befehl, zu Zeit der ersten Musterung, oder hernach, wann es ihme befohlen wird, bey seinen Ehren und Eyd, von ihme zu thun schuldig seyn."

wait on the sick" [120] The detailing of the necessary labor women performed to keep the army healthy paired with the direction that "whores" could not be tolerated suggested that "whores" were superfluous at best and dangerous at worst for the proper functioning of the army. "Whores" became agents of military disorder whereas wives became essential laborers. The sample articles of war appended to the end of the volume affirmed the bifurcation of women into two groups: the disreputable "whore" and the honorable wife. Notwithstanding orthographical variance, the text corresponds precisely to the text of both Maximilian II's articles of war and the Saxonian regulations.

By the Thirty Years' War, both Catholic and Protestant combatants had a relatively strict attitude towards prostitutes on campaign. Laws regulating who could follow armies banned unmarried women, whom, like Reformers and their opponents, they called "whores" [*Huren*] and "common disreputable women" [*gemeine unerbare weiber*]. Yet both Catholic and Protestant elites now explicitly stipulated that soldiers could have their wives with them on campaign if they wished. Two examples should suffice to document this development. The first comes from the Catholic Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria, at that time also Count Palatinate, an Elector of the Holy Roman Empire. He ruled that "there should be in no train or baggage any common disreputable women [*gemeine vnerbare weiber*], excepting the true wives [*rechte eheweiber*] on the order of the colonel, from the time of the first mustering and thereafter."[121] The Lutheran King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, who fought against Duke Maximilian in the Thirty Years War, issued similar rules. We have both the original German and a period English translation of the code from a Scottish mercenary who served

---

[120] Lazarus von Schwendi, *Kriegs-Discurs* (Frankfurt: Claudi de Marne & Johan Aubri, 1593). The text was finished in 1577 but was not printed until 1593. "Item / daß vnter den Knechten keiner dürffte kein Huren haben / … vnnd daß die Weiber vnter den Regimenten in die Rotten eingetheilt warden / zum kochen / vnnd den Krancken zu warten."

[121] Ferdinand II, *Keyserliche Kriegßverfassund oder ArticulsBrieff* (NP, 1626), 40-41, article 68 reads: "Item / es sol ein jeder sein Droß vnd Anhang / was gemeine vnerbare Weiber seyn / außgenommen / die rechte Eheweiber auff deß Obristen vnd seines Hauptmanns Befelch / zur zeit der ersten Musterung oder hernacher …."

in his army on campaign in Germany. The relevant law picks up on German military terminology and reads "No Whore [*Hur*] shall be suffered in the camps: but if any will haue his owne wife [*ehrlich Weib*] with him, he may. If any vnmarried woman be found, he that keepes her may haue leaue lawfully to marry her [*soll sie ihme ehrlich trawen lassen*]; or els be forced to put her away."[122] Both codes reflect a preoccupation with channeling sexuality into the institution of marriage and censure with prostitution. They also reflect the ossification of two categories of woman – the idealized "wife" and the demonized *hur* who flouted contemporary dictates against extramarital sex and acted as an agent of moral corruption and social disorder.

In France, regulations about prostitution played out differently. In the 1530s, as before, French authorities were more concerned with the behavior of prostitutes than their mere existence. François I, King of France, on July 24, 1534 at Saint Germain-en-Laye issued a law directed at the sexual lives of his soldiers. The law "prohibits all colonels, captains, lieutenants, and others of the said bands, and similarly to all the said soldiers of the said legions, to have their own girls [*filles propres*], on the pain of being cashiered and gravely punished, and for the said girls to be whipped."[123] As in fifteenth-century municipal brothels and several military law codes, François found concerning not the presence of "girls" on campaign, but the prospect that these "girls" might develop preferences for certain soldiers over others.[124] Thus, in a turn of phrase copied from Louis XII's earlier sixteenth-century code, soldiers could not "have *their own* girls." Unmarried women were expected to be shared and soldiers were not to put their means into keeping a woman other than

[122] William Watts, *The Svvedish Discipline: Religious, Civile, Military* (London: John Dawson, 1632), 3: 55. In German, from Gustavus Adolphus, *Schwedisches Kriegs-Recht oder Articuls-Brieff* (Strasburg: Caspar Dietzels, 1644), 20. "Keine Huren sollen im Läger oder Guarnisonen geduldet werden / da aber wäre / der die seinige bey sich zu halten gemeynet / der soll sie ihme ehrlich trawen lassen / wie dann sonsten einem jedern frey stehen soll / sein ehrlich Weib bey sich zu haben."
[123] Sainct Chaman, *Ordonnances militaires tovchant l'ordre, reglement, discipline, police & deuoir de l'Infanterie Françoise, auec leurs priuileges* (Lyon: Bathelemy Ancelin, 1616), 31-32. "LI. Item defend ledict seigneur à tous lesdicts colonnels, capitaines, lieutenans & autres chefs desdictes bandes: & pareillement à tous lesdicts compagnons desdictes legions de n'auoir aucunes filles propres, sur peine d'estre cassez & griefuement punis, & ausdictes filles d'auoir le foüet."
[124] Roper, *Holy Houshold*, 93.

their wife. This logic was comparable to that of medieval military commanders when they legislated prostitution: when unmarried sexually active camp women formed exclusive sexual relationships with soldiers, they threatened to unleash sexual rivalries and deprive soldiers an outlet for their sexual energies. Following medieval precedent, princes and captains in 1530s France therefore insisted that unmarried sexually active women serve as prostitutes to meet the sexual needs of all soldiers. Like Ott and Preuß, the people who formulated these regulations understood prostitutes as sinful women who contributed to military order by providing a sexual outlet for soldiers.

After the 1560s, both German and French military writings understood "whoring" as deleterious to military order. Although the terms differed (the French termed women suspected of prostitution *filles de joie* or *femmes de joie* rather than *huren* or *geimeine unehrbare weiber*), French writers agreed with their German counterparts that only married women could be permitted on campaign. The disciplinary structures they developed were distinct, however. Whereas German military treatises placed most of the authority over the baggage train in the hands of the *hurenweibel*, French writers simply expanded the purview of existing officers to punish *filles de joie* alongside their other disciplinary duties. As in German armies, only during the 1560s did the presence of unmarried women in campaign communities become consistently problematic for the authors of French military regulations. The relevant military codes did not explicitly state rationales, but a mix of pressure from jurists and theologians, and concerns about the spread of diseases are all possible motives. The rhetoric used to describe women in armies, which consistently portrayed them as a threat to military order rather than a method of keeping military order, also played a significant role in unfolding legal developments. Regulations prohibiting prostitutes on campaign drew upon emerging attitudes towards marriage and fornication. For example, the French counter-reformer Edmond Auger's 1577 *Discours du sainct sacrement de mariage* interpreted marriage as a safeguard against

fornication, which he argued would damn the soul for eternity.[125] During the Estates General at Orleans in 1560, one year before the blanket prohibition of prostitution in France at Blois, Marie de' Medici, acting as regent for the ten-year-old Charles IX, issued a set of ordinances that Henri III would repeat in 1575 and that Louis XIII reissued in 1625. The monarchy and the Estates agreed to "prohibit all people under pain of death from following the train of the soldiers' companies, either to live there by their work, or to buy booty or any other item from them." The next law in the same publication enjoined "not only the Provost-Marshals and their lieutenants, but also our judges ordinary to hunt down *filles de ioye* if there be any of them in the train of the said companies, punish them under the pain of the whip."[126] Rather than nominate a *hurenweibel*, the French monarchy simply expanded the disciplinary purview of existing officers. On December 29, 1570, now reigning in his own right, Charles IX issued another law that prohibited "*filles de Joye* in the train" of the army. Soldiers that kept them would be cashiered and "the said girls beaten naked with a cudgel."[127] The punishments were similar for people found practicing prostitution elsewhere in the Kingdom.[128] While less severe than the ordinance issued at the 1560 Estates General, this law registered the same concern as previous articles of war and as those of French jurists who advocated for the prohibition of prostitution.

As in Germany, concern about prostitution appeared in both Catholic and Protestant articles of war. For example, consider a military law code promulgated by Henri de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, one of the Huguenot leaders of the French Wars of Religion. These articles of war,

---

[125] Auger, *Discours du sainct sacrament de mariage*, 72v.
[126] Henri III, *Les Ordonannces militaires tirees dv code dv Roy Henry III. Roy de France & de Pologne* (Paris: Louis Feugé, 1625), 308. "Defendons à toutes personnes sur peine de la vie, d'aller à la suite des compagnies de gens de guerre, soit pour y viure à leur adueu, ou achepter d'eux butin, & autre chose." The second law reads: "Enjoignons non seulement aux Preuosts des Mareschaux & leurs Lieutenans, mais aussi à nos iuges ordinaires, de chasser les filles de ioye, s'il s'en trouuve à la suitte desdites compagnies, & les chastier de peine du foüet: & pareillement les goujats, au case qu'il s'en trouue plus d'vn pour trois soldats."
[127] *SHD coll. des. ord.*, 10: 148. "Celuy qui se trouvera avoir filles de Joye à la suite des dites bandes sera cassé, et les dites filles noues seront fustigées de Verger."
[128] Farr, *Authority and Sexuality in Early Modern Burgundy*, 142-43.

published in 1576, ruled that "he who will commit adultery & fornication, & who will be found to have a whore in the army will be punished as the case merits."[129] Only sex in the marital bed could be permitted in army life. The reason for this transformation had much to do with Reformation-era understandings of extramarital sexuality. In French towns, judges prosecuted complaints about people living "lascivious lives" [*la vie lubricque*] over the course of the early modern period.[130] Courts in Geneva, Calvin's adopted home, also tried to channel all sexual energy into the institution of marriage and fretted about the sanctity of marriage in divorce and adultery proceedings.[131]

Military laws in France sometimes addressed new populations, necessitating new language. However the rationale was almost identical to the German context. The *Discours politiques et militaires* of the Huguenot captain François de la Noue implicitly encouraged women to be banned from campaign in a laudatory description of Louis, Prince de Condés army. The order of the army was maintained by soldiers declining to participate in blasphemy, gambling with dice or cards, foraging and pillaging, and their decision to pray every morning and night. Moreover, women were banned from the army because "ordinarily [they] haunt such places only to serve dissolution."[132] The assumption that women were incentives to lust and that lust was antithetical to both pious living and military order was evidently widespread. These ideas authorized regulations that limited women's participation in military life under the pretense of reforming the order of armies. For example, in 1603, Henri IV of France (a Huguenot turned Catholic) issued a regulation designed to bring the troops that protected his court into closer conformity with his idea of Christian virtue. "His majesty, wanting to obviate the inconveniences that occur every day because of the lack of order in his

---

[129] Henri de Condé, *Déclaration de Monsieur le prince de Condé* (1576), 21. "Quiconques commetra adultere & paillardera, & qui sera trouué auoir vne putain en l'armée sera puny comme le cas meritera."
[130] Farr, *Authority and Sexuality in Early Modern Burgundy*, 133-38.
[131] Robert M. Kingdon, *Adultery and Divorce in Calvin's Geneva* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).
[132] François de la Noue, *Discours politiques et militaires* (Geneva: François Forest, 1587), 572. "Tiercement, les femmes en estoyent bannies, lesquelles ordinairement ne hantent en tells lieux sinon pour seruir à la dissolution."

companies of foot soldiers ordered to guard him" mandated that everybody not enrolled officially in the regiments leave within twenty-four hours "under pain of hanging without any form or figure of a trial." Henri officially named "all vagabonds, *filles et femmes de Joye* and other people without masters or religion" as targets for removal, although their punishment was lighter than execution. The implication was that vagabonds, *filles de joie*, people who recognized no master, and atheists were fundamentally alike in that they posed dangers for the existence of the army. If *filles de Joye* or *femmes de Joye* were found, they were "to be marked and branded with the mark of justice, prohibiting all hoteliers, travelers, and other inhabitants either of this place or of the following of the court to give or administer food or drink to the said vagabonds or people without master or religion."[133]

As in the French courts generally, punishments for those accused of engaging in prostitution were arbitrary and corporeal, but rarely amounted to a death sentence. For example, an English translation of French law codes promulgated by Jean Louis de Nogaret de la Valette, the Duc d'Épernon on behalf of Louis XIII, for which the original French has been lost, ruled that "He that shall have a whore to keep him company in the Campe / shalbe discharged / and the whore whipt."[134] The punishment for extramarital sex was inconsistent and did not map onto any particular confession or discernibly change over time. Although the punishments for sexual impropriety in French armies remained variable, the deeds that provoked punishment shifted remarkably over the

[133] *SHD coll. des ord.*, 12:78: "Sa Majesté Voulant ovier aux inconveniens qui pevent survenir chacun jour pour le peu d'ordre qui est entre les Compagnies de gens de guerre à pied Ordonnées pour Sa garde a ordonné, ordonne et trés expressement enjoint et commande a tous soldats n'estans desdites Comp[ies] de gens de pied, que vingt quatre heures aprés la publication des prudentses ils ayent a vuider et sortir hors de sa Cour et Suitte sur peine d'estre pendus et estranglés sur le Champ sans forme ne figure de procés, et a tous Vagabons, filles et femmes de Joye publiques et autres gens sains Maistres ny aveu qu'ils aient aussi a vuider la dite Cour et Suitte incontinent aprés la publication, des presentes Sur les mêmes peines ausdits Vagabonds et gens sans Maitres ny aveu, et ausdits femmes et filles de Joye à peine du fouët et d'être Marquees et fletries de la Marque de Justice, deffendant tres expressement a tous hôtelleurs, Caverniers et Autres habitans tant de ce lieu que de la Suitte de la Cour herberger ne administrer, boire ny Manger ausdits Vagabonds et Sans Maitres ny aveu."

[134] Louis XIII, *Certaine Articles or Ordinances Made by the French Kinge and the Duke d'Espernon* (Amsterdam, George Veseler, 1621), 3. Sic.

course of the sixteenth century. In both France and Germany, then, military writers banned all unmarried women from the campaign community under the suspicion of being "whores."

1.3: May Marriages as a Mode of Resistance?

Although the subject positions articulated in early modern judicial records are heavily varnished, fed through the interpretation of court scribes, they have provided historians with a window peoples' reactions to new regulations of sexual conduct in towns. By contrast, there are to my knowledge no extant proceedings for sixteenth-century armies that can attest to how soldiers and women camp followers acted to contest the emergent military discourse that depicted unmarried women as "whores" who acted as agents of military disorder. The lack of court martial records means that we must look further afield for signs of women's contestation of this developing environment.[135] Still, the discourses in military treatises and other texts that described contemporary militaries provide some clues to how camp women and soldiers challenged their classification as *huren und buben*. The increasing prominence of the *hurenweibel* in German texts suggests that the cultural preoccupation with fornication in army life gained traction during the last decades of the sixteenth century. One German military treatise author, Adam Junghans, who originally published his *Kriegsordnuung zu Wasser vnd Landt* in 1590, doubled down on the need for sexual discipline in his remonstrances to his readers. An honorable captain, he wrote, should set aside "parsimony, blasphemy, whoring [*Hurerey*], and drunkenness (for from these come all other vices)."[136] Whereas earlier authors like Solms had restricted his roles to keeping the baggage safe and orderly in battle

---

[135] Notably, the majority of the studies on prostitution in this chapter, including that of Wiesner, Roper, B. Schuster, P. Schuster, and Page turn to rich collections of court testimonies.

[136] Adam Junghans, *Kriegs-Ordnung zu Wasser vnd Landt* (1589; Cologne: Wilhelm Lützenkirhen, 1594), 2. "Für Geitz / Gotteslesterung / Hurerey / vnnd der Trunckenheit (daher denn alle andere laster herfliessen) zum fleissigsten vorsehen."

and on the march, and whereas Fronsperger had urged *hurenweibel* to police also the gender hierarchies he understood to be natural, Junghans placed under the *hurenweibel*'s command "everything that has to do with *Huren und Buben*."[137]

The rhetorical resonance of the dyad *huren und buben* led writers of military treatises to expand the *hurenweibel*'s authority and to punish fornication more stringently. Whereas by the 1570s, unmarried women had been prohibited from following the camp, Junghans made a "lecherous whore or woman" subject to the death penalty.[138] What is more, the first example that sprang to Junghans's mind when modelling the necessary steps in a court martial was one that revolved around a case of "whoring." Junghans's template accuses an unnamed "awful whore who has forgotten faith and honor" with coming into the encampment and infecting "several good fellows with the French disease and annihilating their health." The explicit reference to "the French disease" makes Junghans's account stand out from the works of Fronsperger, and Solms. Although not explicit in earlier authors' accounts, Junghans's invocation of syphilis referenced both the physical and the spiritual health of soldiers in much the same terms that earlier military discourse had developed. The officer will later claim that "through her *vnzüchtigem* life, she has stolen and taken, day and night, whatever and wherever she could." For that reason, she is punished with banishment from the army and the country, forbidden under pain of death to return.[139] Attitudes towards moral order and public health mingle in Junghans's account. From a relatively peripheral concern of military authors

---

137 Junghans, *Kriegs-Ordnung zu Wasser vnd Landt*, 31. "In summa / alles was mit Huren vnd Jungen zuschaffen oder zuthun ist / soll durch ihn verricht werden."
138 Junghans, *Kriegs-Ordnung zu Wasser vnd Landt*, 68. "leichtfertige Hur oder Frawens person"
139 Junghans, *Kriegs-Ordnung zu Wasser vnd Landt*, 70. Framed as an answer the provost of the regiment must give in how to conduct an accusation for a case of whoring, the text reads: "HErr [sic] Schultheiß / Der Proffoß steht allhier vor Recht / vnd klaget von Regiments wegen/vber diese gegenwertige Weibeßperson N. von N wegen jrer Missethat / so sie bey Nacht vnd Nebel begangen / das sie als ein Heyllose / Trew vnd Ehr vergessene, hur vormals ins Läger vnter diß Regiment kommen / vnd jhres freyen Lebens mit jederman gepfleget / dardurch auch etliche gute Gesellen mit Frantzosen beleydiget / vnd vmb jhre Gesundheit bracht / beneben jrem vnzüchtigen Leben gestohlen vnd genommen / bey tag vnd nacht / was vnd wo sie gekont hat / Deßhalben ist sie begriffen / vnd mit ruten auß dem Läger gesteupt / vnd des Landes verwisen worden / bey verlust Leibes vnd Lebens / zu straffen von der Schittel biß auff die Solen."

who attempted to warn of the dangers of lechery, gluttony, and drunkenness for the logistical and moral health of the army, by the 1590s, concern about prostitution in army trains had become a cornerstone of military discourse. In it, her alleged crimes of "whoring," spreading syphilis, and theft are presented as the result of a dissolute life. In this environment, treatise writers expanded officers' authority, augmented their pay, furnished exempla of how to run courts martial against suspected prostitutes, and issued warnings about both the moral and physical perils lust visited on contemporary militaries.

Military treatises provide some hints as to how camp followers responded to this emergent military discourse. The practice of "May Marriages" in particular became a common topic in military treatises. Because laws explicitly allowed women to remain with the army if they were married, women camp followers and soldiers evidently began calling their extant relationships marriages. Military treatises termed these relationships, which they understood as impermanent affronts to the institution of marriage, "May Marriages" and lamented their purportedly widespread nature in contemporary armies. Authors of military treatises insisted that May Marriages were not licit marriages and were simply a way for camp women and soldiers to flout army regulations. Dionysius Klein, for example, scorned the conduct of soldiers in late sixteenth century German armies when he reported that among a part of the German soldiery,

> it is today a common, but completely nefarious and pernicious custom, among certain of our soldiers [Kriegsleut] that they place their bodies in service of wanton and carnal desires, even make them subservient and servile [to them], such that when a baggage train approaches, they drape themselves with all sorts of lecherous and lewd women [*leichtfertigen vnnd Vnzüchtigen Weybspersonen*], with whom they draw up May Marriages (which normally only last the summer), and then schlep and drag her here and there and back again, just as a miller with his sacks.[140]

[140] Dionysius Klein, *Kriegs Institution* (Stuttgart: Fürstern, 1598), 78: "Bey eines theils vnsern Teutschen Kriegsleuthen ist heuttes tags einvblicher aber gantz schandtlicher vnd schädlicher Gebrauch / das sie jhren Leib den vngezümpten vnzümlichen begierden / so gar Vnderwürffig vnd Dienstbar machen / in deme sie / wann ein Zug angehet / sich mit allerley leichtfertigen vnnd Vnzüchtigen Weybspersonen behencken / mit welchen sie sich in die Meyen Ehe / (welche gemeiniglich nur den Sommer auß pflegen zuweren) einlassen / vnd alsdann hin vnd herwider schleppen vnd ziehen / gleich wie die Müller mit den Secken."

In this passage, Klein weaves together the discursive threads we have examined so far. Extramarital sex appears as "nefarious and pernicious" and constitutes a loss of personal sovereignty. Rather than controlling their actions, soldiers subject themselves to "wanton and carnal desires" and become in fact servants of these desires. Women camp followers still present logistical challenges, as soldiers "schlep and drag her" as millers do their wares. The reference to millers, a dishonorable profession in sixteenth-century Germany, capitalized upon the extant tradition that classed camp followers as *huren und buben*, dishonorable and undesirable threats to military order. Furthermore, as marriage became the only permissible forum for sexual activity, soldiers and the women with whom they were involved are said to have used marriage as a cover to flout the restrictions imposed by military authorities. May Marriages, Klein suggests, were illicit and temporary unions masquerading as legal marriage that evacuated the institution of its moral purity. At the same time, May Marriages challenged the bifurcation between *gemeine unehrbare weiber* and *rechten eheweiber* that writers had used to regulate the baggage train. If Klein's diatribe reflects a military reality, a tenable assumption given his work as a hospital overseer, the "May Marriage" provided soldiers and camp followers a means to gloss their relationships as morally righteous and legal, contesting authorities' attempts to classify their relationships and their moral worth.

The proposition that people who already engaged in debauched lives would continue them even in marriage had a precedent in religious writing. The Swiss reformer Heinrich Bullinger, who succeeded Heinrich Zwingli and whose treatise on marriage was widely received in England and other regions through translations, wrote that marriage would not *ipse facto* transform people accustomed to extramarital sex into paragons of chastity. In a passage in which he claimed that "the uncleanliness of nefarious whoring and committing adultery in the world has now become completely common and unabashed," he warned that when people who previously engaged in extramarital sex married "they just live as they have learned, seen, and been accustomed to, carnally,

nefariously, desolately, crudely, unfriendly, vnzüchtig, [and] unchristianly."[141] The list of derogatory terms connected the unrefined masses to bawdy acts and unchristian living, casting doubt on the value of marriages between people expected of engaging in extramarital sexual activity. Bullinger's suggestion that unchaste behavior prior to marriage presaged unchaste behavior in marriage found its echo in military treatises. Whereas Bullinger claims that marriage is not in and of itself sufficient to make people reform their behavior, Klein implicitly suggests that May Marriages were not proper marriages at all. In fact, following Bullinger's logic, May Marriages posed a threat to "real" marriages.

When camp followers engaged in May Marriages, they asserted that they were *rechte wheweiber* rather than *gemeine unehrbare weiber*. In the process, they collapsed the distinction between these terms and challenged the power of religious and civil authorities to punish them as *gemeine unehrbare weiber*. Buttressed by the rhetorical push of the terms *huren und buben* to describe all members of the baggage train, military treatise authors responded by reacting skeptically towards marriages in the campaign community. Spurred on by attitudes that any marriage might turn out merely to be a "May Marriage," writers began to lambast even married women as "whores." Reports of campaign life in military treatises lumped more and more women into the category of the "whore," and by so doing encouraged their removal from contact with soldiers. Hans Wilhelm Kirchhoff, a *landsknecht* turned poet and translator known for his work's incorporation of humorous short stories, reported that in the baggage train "the wives and concubines of the captain, ensign, and other important men, are tenderly and better kept than others: they ride on beautiful palfreys or horses. It doesn't matter if these [women] are wives or not – they have servants." The rank and status of a woman's husband or partner apparently mattered little in the eyes of soldiers, who, Kirchhoff reported, called them all

[141] Bullinger, *Der christlich Ehestand*, Aij(v)-Aiii. "das die vnreinigkeit des schantlichen h(o)urens vnd Ehebrechens in der wält nun gantz gmein vnd vnuerschampt worden ist ... wenn sy ouch in die Ee vnd gmeine ämpter kummend / läbend sy äben wie sy es erlernet /gesähen vnd gewonet habend / fleischlich / schantlich / wüst / row / vnfründtlich / vnzüchtig / vnchristlich…"

"whores." Marital and class status apparently did little to prevent the terming even of officers' wives as "whores." Often when a woman rode near soldiers, Kirchhoff wrote, soldiers badgered her, yelling at the top of their lungs at a woman accompanying the army: "whore, whore, whore, whore [*Hur*]: they give them names: old whore, young whore, or as she is dressed: green whore, red whore, blue whore, etc." Kirchhoff concludes the passage with a reference to the inversion of authority supposedly created by the presence of "whores" on campaign: "Here the hacks are always the masters."[142] The humorous anecdote projects fornication and disorder onto armies in order to remind his young male readers of his duty to maintain social order. Anecdotes like this, descriptions of May Marriages, and the rhetoric of *huren und buben*, likely made captains yet more skeptical of the legitimacy of marriages on campaign. Precisely because it was humorous and memorable, women, concubines, and wives slide into each other conceptually and all fall under the appellation *hur* in the context of the campaign community. In the process, it is suggested that all women become "whores" who exert power over officers. These officers, who prefer to look after women camp followers rather than discipline them, receive the opprobrium of common soldiers for their failings. In armies, officers refuse to discipline their subalterns, soldiers prove insubordinate to their officers, and "whores" replace wives. On the one hand, this story suggests that marriage no longer provided a woman protection from the charge of fornication: in line with the rhetoric of *huren und buben*, all women of the campaign community became suspected of fornication and banned from the campaign trail. On the other, it demonstrates the necessity that captains put into practice military regulations – something they were evidently loath to do.

[142] Hans Wilhelm Kirchhoff, *Militaris Disciplina, Das ist: KriegsRegiments Historische vnnd außführliche Benschreibung* (Frankfurt: Joachim Brathering, 1602), 114: "Der Häuptleut / Fähnrich vnd sonsten grosser Hansen Weiber vnd Concubinen / werden zärtlich vnd besser / dann andere gehalten: vnd reyten auff schönen Zeltern / oder sonst Pferden. Es seyen nu diese oder andere Ehefrawen oder nicht / haben die Knechte / wann sie neben der Ordnung her reyten oder gehen / mehr dann eine darzu angehetzt / vnd bevor / wann es seyndt die sichs annemmen vnd zürnen / mit vollem Halß vnd gantzen Hauffen zu schreyen: Hur / Hur / Hur / Hur: Nennen sie darüber noch mit Nahmen / alte / junge: oder wie sie gekleydet ist / grün / roht / blawe Hur / rc. Hierzu seyndt allzeit die Hackenschützen Meister."

Kirchhoff projected sexual depravity onto army wives elsewhere in his work. In a section about marriages in the camp, Kirchhoff details what he describes as a typical wedding: "If it happens that one among the soldiers wants to take a new wife after his first has died, or else wants to take a whore [*Dirne*] as a wife, and a wedding is needed, they go to the church or to the preacher in the camp to be married. They hold after the feast a wedding dance with decency and customs as are common." Such vague invocations of feasting and dancing – practices and customs that are common among these people – may remind us of visual representations of peasant weddings with their visual vernacular of fascination, consternation, and disgust towards peasant social practices.[143] In contrast to many peasant weddings, however, soldierly marriages do not last. Kirchhoff concludes: "As well as today their hands are given in marriage, tomorrow they separate with their feet [by walking away]."[144] In a world in which divorce was exceedingly rare and difficult to obtain, even in Protestant contexts (divorce remained impossible for Catholics), the ease with which soldiers and women camp followers separate was seen here as an affront to the marital state. Thus the women who contracted such marriages were not seen as wives at all, but as *huren*. Invoking May Marriages in all but name, Kirchhoff implied that camp women undermined the legitimacy of legal weddings even as they appropriated their principal features. Those who contracted May Marriages blurred the lines between licit and illicit sexual activity. In concert with the skepticism Kirchhoff displays about the legality of soldierly marriage – only time would tell if it was a proper marriage or an illicit May Marriage – Kirchhoff suggests that he views all women, regardless of their marital status, as a potential threat to the sexual and military order of the campaign community. Kirchhoff's

---

[143] See Alison Stewart's work on peasant weddings in Alison G. Stewart, *Before Bruegel: Hans Sebald Beham and the Origins of Peasant Festival Imagery* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 189-219.

[144] Kirchhoff, *Militaris Disciplina*, 147. "Begibit es sich / daß vndern Knechten jemandt / eines andern nachgelassen Weib / oder sonst eine Dierne zu sich nimpt vnd ehlicht / gehen sie / wie sonst auff Hochzeiten gebräuchlich / zur Kirchen / oder im Läger zum Predicanten / sich ehelichen zusammen bestatten zu lassen. Halten auch nach dem Essen einen Hochzeitlichen Tanz mit Züchten vnnd Sitten / wie vnder diesem Volck gewohnet ist. Wie auch etliche heut mit den Händen zusammen geben werden / so lauffen sie morgen mit den Füssen wider von einander."

descriptions of sexual and marriage practices in the campaign community underscore the growing porosity of the terms used to classify women camp followers: a porosity that women camp followers evidently appropriated to their benefit but that also led writers like Kirchhoff to argue that all camp women were *huren*.

If we can assume that military treatises reflect the realities of army organization, the praxis of May Marriages evidently succeeded in blunting the force of laws aimed at controlling women's intimate lives in this milieu. It remained a common refrain that "whores" predominated in army life. As late as 1615, Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen, the military commander and the headmaster of the military school in Siegen, indicated that "When today one recruits a regiment of German soldiers, if you have three thousand men, you will also certainly find four thousand whores and boys [*Jungen*], and the crafty and most promiscuous [*leichtlosest*] servants who want to remain in no land or city, they run off to war."[145] Replacing the established refrain of *huren und buben* with a thicker description, Wallhausen posits that armies are a receptable for wanton people who wish to escape the disciplinary infrastructure of civic or rural life. "Military discipline [*disciplina militaris*] or life in war … in our times is a receptacle of nearly all vices [*untugenden*]."[146] Along with the continued prevalence of *huren* on campaign and their encouragement of vice came yet another increase in the *hurenweibel*'s pay, up to fifteen florins per month, three times higher than Fronsperger's suggested wages and ten times higher than the wages suggested by Solms.[147] The *hurenweibel*'s pay – both as a raw wage and as a fraction of total expenditure – if not his importance, was growing.

---

[145] Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen, *Kriegkunst zu Fuß* (Oppenheim: de Bry, 1615), 7. "Wann man heutiges Tages ein Regiment Teutsches Kriegsvolck würbt / hastu dreytausend Mann / so wirstu gewiß viertausend Huren vnd Jungen finden / vnd das abgefeimbte / leichtlosest Gesindlein / was nirgends in Landen und Stätten bleiben will / das laufft dem Krieg zu…"
[146] Wallhausen, *Kriegkunst zu Fuß*, 7. "*Disciplina militaris*, oder das Kriegsleben … ist es ein *Receptaculum*, sehr nechst aller Vntugenden."
[147] Wallhausen, *Kriegkunst zu Fuß*, 15.

How did the discourse of sexual disciplining described so far play out in actual armies? Sexual discipline almost always remained a peripheral concern for those at the very highest echelons of military command. It only rarely appears in extant archival holdings. Yet, although the evidence is late and fragmentary, it appears that there were some attempts to enforce evolving conceptions of sexual discipline in campaign communities. In a list of officers to be recruited to fight Ottoman forces in 1595-96, the *hurenweibel* appears in a list of high offices [*Hohenampter*] with a pay of four Reichsthaler, somewhere between the three suggested by Fronsperger twenty years earlier and the 15 florins (roughly equivalent to 10 Reichsthaler) suggested by Wallhausen in 1615.[148] The names of officers and their wages map closely onto the recommended values and titles in military treatises, suggesting that people put the prescriptions laid out in military treatises into practice. As military regulations increasingly went unheeded, and as statements that "whores" predominated in campaign life proliferated, commanders sought to institute forms of policing to track soldiers' and camp followers' intimate lives. The increasing pay of the *hurenweibel* reflects the perception that his duty was increasingly critical to military effectiveness.

A set of muster registers in the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart compiled in the early stages of the Thirty Years War (1624-25) reflect an attempt to keep track of the marital status of soldiers. Composed by regimental scribes to confirm the number of people in a given company to ensure that captains were not being paid for soldiers that were not present, they often included the number of women and children (whom they called *Kinder*) who followed the company. Partially for purposes of supply, the entries list the name and rank of each soldier, the pay they earned, and how many servants, wives, and children accompanied them. Significantly, the numbers in which women and children followed armies largely corresponds to the estimates given in the military treatises surveyed in this chapter. The company under the control of lieutenant colonel Jost Robert produced a muster

[148] GenLaArKa 1 Nr. 11, 152.

register (a list of all the soldiers in his company) on April 15, 1624 which listed 103 soldiers enrolled, several servants, 59 women, and 55 children.[149] In this case at least, the military treatises were largely correct in asserting that about as many women and children as actual soldiers followed armies on campaign.

Tracking the number of people in armies could serve both logistical and disciplinary purposes, which reinforced each other. The presence of additional information about the marital status of soldiers in some muster registers makes clear that records functioned disciplinarily. One such register noted dutifully which soldiers brought along wives and children in the margins of the document but deviated from the standard formulation next to the name of the drummer, Connradt Hagel von Asperg. Rather than simply writing "1 wife and 1 child," as this scribe did elsewhere in the document, he notes that Connradt "has taken a wife."[150] In its evocation of temporality ("has taken"), this information served to update Connradt's marital status. This could reflect his marriage to a member of the campaign community or his making legitimate an existing relationship. Such an update could prove important to keep track of the marital status of soldiers.

Another muster register noted that a soldier, Lienhart Schneider von Sab "has a wife at home, but she did not pass through the quarter."[151] Logistical concerns do not suffice to explain why Lienhart's wife is mentioned when she did not join the campaign community. Instead, these registers demonstrate the existence of a scribal infrastructure that tracked soldiers' marital status in order to curb "illegitimate" sexual activity and channel all sexual activity into the institution of marriage. The note about Lienhart and his wife in the muster roll therefore serves as evidence that the attempts at sexual disciplining explained in this chapter made their way, albeit slowly and unevenly, into official

---

[149] April 15, 1624 Muster Roll for Jost Robert's company. HStASt A 28 Bü 134, unpaginated.
[150] HStASt A 28 Bü 146, unpaginated. Connradt Hagel Vonn Asperg appears on 2(v) of the relevant muster roll.
[151] HStASt A 28 Bü 141, unpaginated. Lienhart Schneider Von Sab can be found on page 10 of the relevant register. Under his name, the scribe has written "heim hat ein Weib, [i]st aber nit im quat[ier] paßiert wird."

military policy. Commanders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries picked up on this discourse when they imposed more stringent controls over soldierly life and banned women from accompanying armies unless they were officially enrolled as laundresses or nurses.[152]

1.4: Conclusions

Over the course of the sixteenth century, attitudes towards marriage and heterosexual activity transformed in military discourse. Initially, writers interpreted prostitutes as an unfortunate but necessary presence to keep soldiers' content with their lives on campaign. This attitude corresponded to the arguments city councilors made when they instituted or justified the existence of the *frauenhaus*. As lay piety and lay theology exerted increased influence on religious reformers and as debates between religious reformers and their opponents unfolded, new terms emerged to describe sexual activity. The terms *leichtfertig*, *unzüchtig*, *unehrbare*, and *hurerei* that people developed in religious literature structured the arguments against sexual activity outside of marriage advanced in military discourse. After the 1550s, military writers deployed the dyad *huren und buben* in German and *filles de joie* in French to depict camp followers as a disorderly rabble. Military writers wrote with increasing frequency of the poor sexual discipline of soldiers and understood this indiscipline as an existential problem for the army. They urged captains to create new disciplinary infrastructures – the office of the *Hurenweibel* with his expanding disciplinary purview and better records to keep track of soldiers' marital status – to punish what they saw as the sexual excesses of soldiers and female camp followers. As the implication that most women camp followers were *huren* became more prominent, military regulations began to prohibit unattached women from following the army. To do so, they

---

152 Hacker, "Women and Military Institutions in Early Modern Europe," 643-65 and Lynn, *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*, 59.

divided women into two groups: *gemeine unehrbare weiber* and *rechte eheweiber*. Only the latter could be permitted to remain with the campaign.

It appears that women camp followers and soldiers responded by adopting the language and rituals of marriage in order to maintain their relationships. Military writers disparagingly described these unions as temporary excuses for fornication that could go undetected by commanders. These "May Marriages," sometimes labeled as such and sometimes characterized at length in vivid verbal descriptions of the baggage train, became a common topic in late sixteenth-century treatises that, taken alongside the implication that camp followers were *huren und buben*, made commanders more skeptical of soldiers' partnerships with women camp followers. Even marriages between soldiers and women camp followers might simply be an excuse for "whoring." This was the character of a military reformation – the expansive treatment of sexual activity, unfolding debates about the status of marriage, and recommendations about how to deter fornication. But this military reformation had an unintended consequence when authors blurred the lines between marriage and fornication, and between "wives" and "whores." Insofar as these conceptual categories of womanhood were unstable, it became desirable to curtail women's participation in campaign life, which commanders did with increasing success after the Thirty Years' War. In the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, laws would prohibit all women from joining the campaign unless officially enrolled as nurses or laundresses.

Chapter 2: Depicting Little Ursula: Woodcuts and Sexual Meaning-Making in the Sixteenth Century

In the second half of the 1530s, the so-called Brunswick Monogrammist completed a small painting of a brothel, identifiable by the caged bird in the doorway (**Figure 2.1**).[1] The scene is chaotic. In the

Figure 2.1: Brunswick Monogrammist, 1535-40, *Die lockere Gesellschaft (Bordellszene)*, Painting, 30.1 x 46.5 cm, Gemäldegalerie Berlin, Id. Nr. 558. Creative Commons License.

foreground, one woman beats another as a female onlooker stops a man who tries to intervene and another man douses the aggressor with water. At the table, a man and a woman peer at the brawl

[1] In late medieval and early modern Germany, the bird represented lust and sloth. See the discussion in Beate Schuster, *Die freien Frauen: Dirnen und Frauenhäuser im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (New York: Campus Verlag, 1995), 292.

while others around the table drink, embrace, and kiss. In the background, a man descends the stairs from the second floor. Perhaps he has just availed himself of the services of one of the brothel's inhabitants. An apothecary sells his wares to a couple seated in bed while he converses with a woman on the second floor. On the rear wall, someone has scribbled various symbols and words, perhaps names of patrons. Many of them resemble builders' marks.[2] One appears to be a rudimentary drawing of a thick penis in red ink, gesturing towards the character of the prostitutes' labor (**Figure 2.2**). On the wall behind the table are more words which frame a series of woodcuts

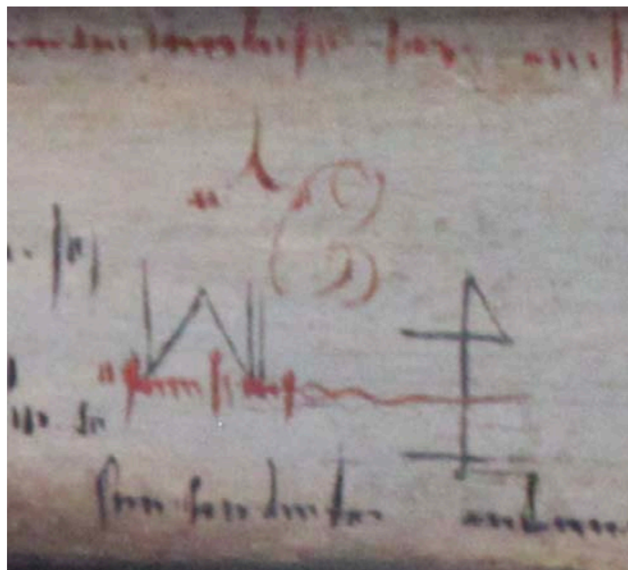

Figure 2.2: Detail of Figure 2.1.

depicting soldiers (**Figure 2.3**). Just to the left of the woodcuts, which have started to peel off the wall, someone has drawn a cock, a contemporary evocation of lust, a euphemism for a penis, and a symbol of haughty, aggressive, and sexually charged masculinity.[3] Under the set of woodcuts, the Monogrammist has scribbled "the thing that the daughters gossip about" [*dat dinck dat die dochter*

---

[2] Builders' marks were symbols etched into buildings and walls that builders worked to erect. They were a means of signaling that a specific builder was present at a location; in this case, it appears that builders have spent time at the brothel.

[3] *Deutches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm*, s.v. "Hahn," accessed April 10, 2021, http://woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/wbgui_py?sigle=DWB&lemma=hahn. For the cock as a figure of lust, see Carl Nordenfalk, "The Five Senses in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art," *Journal of the Warberg and Courtauld Institutes* 48 (1985), 3-4 and Dirk Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch: His Picture Writing Deciphered* (Montclair, NJ: Abner Schram, 1979), 109-91.

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 2.3: Detail of Figure 2.1.

dalen], with each of the six letter *d*s replaced with a doodle of a penis.[4] What is this "thing" about which these daughters gossip? Is it the rudimentary penises the Monogrammist has drawn? Is it the soldiers? The direction of the penis doodles and the rooster certainly draws the readers' gaze towards the woodcuts of soldiers. Perhaps, the daughters referred to in the text gossip about the penises of soldiers.

Although none of the men in the brothel are dressed in the manner characteristic of soldiers in the period – clothing with slashed fabrics and with prominent swords – the woodcuts clearly depict soldiers.[5] The Monogrammist evidently believed that woodcuts of soldiers would be at home in a place such as a brothel, where drink, sex, and money mixed. The placement of soldierly woodcuts in the Brunswick Monogrammist's *Brothel Scene* poses questions about how sexuality in military life was depicted during the sixteenth century. What were the idioms, tactics, and conceits that printmakers employed to create reputations for soldiers and camp followers? How did prints work to stimulate discourse about military life? And how did these representations relate to broader discourses about sexuality in the sixteenth century?

---

[4] Matthias Ubl, *Der Braunschweiger Monogrammist: Wegbereiter der niederländischen Genremalerei vor Bruegel* (Fulda: Imhof Verlag, 2014), 321-27.
[5] Matthias Rogg, *Landsknechte und Reisläufer: Bilder vom Soldaten: Ein Stand in der Kunst des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2002), 18-22.

The prints we shall explore functioned not by foreclosing competing interpretations of their contents. Instead, they became an incitement to discourse, a provocation that demanded readers engage yet more deeply with the complex interplay between image and text that constituted so many soldierly woodcuts.[6] Woodcuts were not merely visual representations, but complex imagetexts, to borrow W. J. T. Mitchell's term.[7] The interplay between image and text reflected the experimental nature of prints in the early sixteenth century but also elicited and channeled fears about the spread of information.[8] This experimentation operated at the level of technique, subject matter, and incorporation of text.[9] Because many civic communities included people with some form of schooling, because basic literacy extended far beyond people with formal schooling, and because poets designed their verses, including those in woodcuts, to be read aloud, the text that framed and (re)-shaped the image's meaning could prove influential for viewers' interpretive acts.[10]

The woodcut farthest to the right of the pictorial frame in **Figure 2.3**: Detail of Figure 2.1. can serve as an example of the layering of image and text in sixteenth-century woodcuts. It appears from the similar body posture of the figures in the Brunswick Monogrammist's painting that he

---

[6] The term "incitement to discourse" comes from Michel Foucault's landmark study on sexuality's history. See Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1990).

[7] W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 83-88. On the portability of the term to the early modern period, see Helmut Puff, "Textualität und Visualität um 1500," in *Handbuch Literatur & Visuelle Kultur*, eds. Claudia Benthien and Brigitte Weingart (Göttingen: De Gruyter, 2014), 321-40.

[8] On the fears prompted by the spread of knowledge about the pox in particular, see Christopher Hutchinson, "Going Viral: Printing Disease in Early Modern Germany," (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2019), 89-136.

[9] Experimentation took place both with Blockbücher (pages cut from a single wood block) and for moveable type. Mark P. McDonald, *Ferdinand Columbus: Renaissance Collector* (London: British Museum Press, 2004), 16-22. By the year 1500, over 2,700 unique woodcuts and engravings had been published in Germany. See Richard S. Field, "The Early Woodcut: The Known and the Unknown" in *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public*, eds. Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 20. The most comprehensive catalogue remains Wilhelm Ludwig Schreiber, *Handbuch der Holz- und Metaalschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts*, 8 vols. (Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1926-30). For a discussion of aesthetic changes in printing during the sixteenth century, see Andrew Pettegree, *Brand Luther: How an Unheralded Monk Turned His Small Town into a Center of Publishing, Made Himself the Most Famous Man in Europe – and Started the Protestant Reformation* (New York: Penguin, 2015). The use of image-texts was already common by the fifteenth century, although the topics printed were mostly didactic and devotional images. See Sabine Griese, *Text-Bilder und ihre Kontexte: Medialität und Materialität von Einblatt-Holz- und Metallschnitten des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2011). See also the studies in Alfred Messerli and Michael Schilling, eds. *Die Intermedialitiät des Flugblatts in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel Verlag, 2015).

[10] For an excellent discussion of literacy and orality in the context of early modern cities, see Filippo de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), esp. 121-27.

based some of these woodcuts on actual woodcuts that now reside in archival depositories around Europe. One of these woodcuts, designed and produced by Erhard Schoen in the first half of the sixteenth century, included no text, although the Brunswick Monogrammist includes text in his painting as many other woodcuts at the time did (**Figure 2.4**). The visual suggestions of sexual impropriety in this image are muted. Unlike many representations of women camp followers, she does not don a lavish hat or carry small animals typically associated with depictions of prostitutes. Moreover, the woman's hair is covered, a sign that she recognizes male authority over her and often a sign of marriage in sixteenth-century art.[11] The title given by later art historians – *Der Koch als Landsknecht mit seiner Frau* (A cook as a *landsknecht* with his wife) reflects the lack of overt sexual symbolism. Because Schoen suggests that the pair is married through the woman's covered hair, no visual cues suggest licentiousness. Even the soldiers' shortsword – called a *katzbalger* – points to her womb only equivocally suggests sexual activity. First, their sex is contained by the marital state and so not transgressive. Second, the *katzbalger* was carried as the cook-cum-*landsknecht* carries it here, pointing up for easier access to the weapon. The woman does her wifely duty, accompanying her husband on the march and carries supplies for cooking his food, labor that women were expected to perform in armies as in society more broadly.

Schoen's woodcut was evidently popular: woodcuts typically had print runs of a few hundred and were displayed prominently and publicly, as the Monogrammist's painting demonstrates. Wood blocks of popular woodcuts could be purchased by other print shops or the image could be reverse engineered into a new block for further printing. This woodcut in particular was printed four times before the end of the sixteenth century, suggesting that at least several hundreds illustrations were

[11] Sherrin Marshall, ed., *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe: Public and Private Worlds* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 12. Contrast the covered hair of many of the women depicted with images of witches, in which witches are depicted with uncovered heads and wild hair that reflects their unruliness, diabolicalness, and licentiousness. Charles Zika, *The Appearance of Witchcraft: Print and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 21.

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 2.4: Erhard Schoen, c. 1526-42, *Der Koch als Landsknecht und seine Frau*, Woodcut, 29.3 x 23.2 cm, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig, Nr. ESchön AB 3.18.

produced. For a 1568 edition, the printmaker Wolfgang Strauch added a border and verses by Hans Sachs to Schoen's image. The text urges the viewer to speculate about the nature of the figures' relationship. The man and woman, no longer a *landsknecht* and his wife, turn into a sutler and his sutler wife – *der sudler vnd sein sudlerin* – people who distributed and sold victuals in early modern

armies **(Figure 2.5)**. The verses imply that the male sutler speaks and that his companion does the cooking. The couple has left Friesland to accompany an army near Brunswick "because we wish to sutle in the army." The man indicates that they cook such items "So that I and my *Sudel Koch* / We would still like to remain with the soldiers." The term *sudel koch* can be read in multiple ways. It might refer only to her profession – she is not merely a cook, but a sutler-cook. But this poem also plays on the verb *sudeln*: to botch, soil, or sully. She is not just his sutler-cook, then, but also his sullied cook. The speculation about the cleanliness of the woman, provoked by the terms *sudel koch*, extend to the soldier as well. The title of the woodcut, *Der Sudler vnd sein Sudlerin* leverages the same linguistic ambiguity to implicate both the soldier and the woman in the satire: *der sudler vnd sein sudlerin* can read as either *the sutler and his sutler* or as *the sullier and his sullier*. In spite of visual cues that the couple are married, the verses' ambiguity opens the possibility of a reading that the couple's marriage is a sham and cover for illicit activities that sully the reputations of both figures. This was one way that these woodcuts incited discourse: by generating a mismatch between image and the text that framed it, viewers were encouraged to delve more deeply into the medium and speculate more about sexuality in army life, soldiers' behavior, and the effects of marriage and prostitution on civil society.[12]

Neither Schoen nor Strauch was a soldier, as far as we know. They cannot testify to what made *actual* soldiers and camp followers join armies in the sixteenth century. Nor can they reliably report about the relationships of people who accompanied armies. Indeed, very few sixteenth-century artists ever served in armies (Urs Graf, discussed below, was one exception; he served as a Swiss mercenary *reisläufer*). Although woodcuts were collaborations between several artisans, including an inventor who drew the initial design and a specialist who carved the image as a relief

[12] To be sure, this was also a successful marketing tool because it helped to encourage sustained and repeated engagement with the work, as David Areford notes. David S. Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 12.

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 2.5: Wolfgang Strauch (after Erhard Schoen), 1568, *Der Sudler vnd sein Sudlerin*, Woodcut in Max Geisberg, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1500-1550*, ed. Walter Strauss (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1974), 3: no.1212.

into the wood block, and thew print shop workers who reproduced it, it is doubtful that many soldiers significantly or regularly contributed to images that depicted soldierly life.[13] Furthermore, few of these images were marketed towards soldiers.[14] The relatively modest cost of woodcuts and one of the main locations in which they were sold – bookfairs – makes it yet more unlikely that soldiers purchased such art that cast soldiers and women camp followers in a morally negative light, as many woodcuts did.[15] Once purchased, these woodcuts could be colored and passed down, circulated and repurposed for people's viewing pleasure.

Sixteenth-century woodcuts, then, cannot reveal the motives of soldiers and camp followers or the particular relationships they developed on campaign. Instead, these are cultural representations of aspects of soldierly life for civic society.[16] That many of the woodcuts surveyed in

---

[13] The process of making a non-commissioned woodcut, which all of the woodcuts in this chapter appear to be, began with an artist or "inventor" who sketched an image. This image was then refined to a drawing that depicted the eventual woodcut, engraving, or etching. Another artisan who specialized in cutting wood or metal would then make the woodblock or plate from which the images would be printed. Woodblocks were reliefs whereas engravings and etchings were intaglio. A publisher would then use the plate or woodblock to produce a number of images in his print shop to sell as a set or individually. The plate or woodblock would be inked and then printed using a press. If an artist was expert enough in multiple areas – something typical only of masters like Albrecht Dürer, Albrecht Altdorfer, Hans Burgkmair, Hans Sebald Beham, and others – it would have been possible for only a few people to produce a print. By and large, however, the print production process required a variety of expertises that make it unlikely that soldiers regularly helped produce woodcuts, engravings, or etchings about military life. For more information on the production of prints in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques* (London: British Museum Publications, 1980), 10-35. See also David S. Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe*, 28. Susan Dackerman, *Painted Prints: The Revelation of Color in Northern Renaissance & Baroque Engravings, Etchings & Woodcuts* (Baltimore Museum of Art: Penn State University Press, 2002), 15. Evelyn Lincoln, *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 8.

[14] It appears that most woodcuts were sold at book fairs, places that we have little evidence soldiers frequented. The record of Ferdinand Columbus, a Sevillian collector of popular art and the second son of Christopher Columbus, indicates that he acquired a number of images in his personal collection at book fairs, which few common soldiers likely attended. Mark P. McDonald, *Ferdinand Columbus: Renaissance Collector*, 24

[15] Woodcuts were relatively inexpensive – in the 1520s, single leaf woodcuts cost between four and eight pfennig. A master mason earned around twenty-eight pfennig a day around the same time. The costs associated with purchasing a woodcut that negatively depicted soldiers or conveyed information that soldiers already knew casts doubt upon the prospect that soldiers were a significant market for these images. See Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 23. Bruno Weber, *Wunderzeichen und Winkeldrucker 1543-1586: Einblattdrucke aus der Sammlung Wikiana in der Zentralbibliothek Zürich* (Urs Graf Verlag, 1972), ff. 71. Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), viii-ix. The chief cost for printers was paper, which became cheaper as the sixteenth century progressed, but remained relatively expensive. Guilia Bartrum, *German Renaissance Prints, 1490-1550* (London: British Museum Publications, 1995), 8.

[16] Art historian Tom Nichols writes that woodcuts served multiple purposes, including moral edification, social instruction, and personal enjoyment by containing, defining, and stabilizing different characters. See Tom Nichols, "Introduction" in Tom Nichols, ed., *Others and Outcasts in Early Modern Europe* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 4.

this chapter were hand-colored – a fairly expensive activity done at the direction of the buyer after the date of purchase, and possibly offered as an option if one purchased a woodcut directly from the print shop – strongly suggests that contemporary woodcuts of soldiers were a means of making knowledge about soldiers for financially successful non-soldiers.[17] These woodcuts, then, presented soldiers' lives, often in a satirical fashion, to people who likely had little first-hand experience of soldiering.

This chapter explores how woodcuts merged moral and sexual themes in ways that represented women camp followers as challenges to social and military order. Section One explores how woodcuts encouraged viewers to speculate about the variety of relationships between soldiers, women camp followers, and male camp followers. Representations of common *landsknechte* merged visual cues suggesting marriage with text that urged readers to read prostitution into their relationship, like Strauch's version of *Der Sudler vnd sein Sudlerin*. Whereas men of high-ranking military status appear seldom to have availed themselves of prostitutes' services infrequently in woodcuts, or to see prostitutes only briefly, woodcuts of common soldiers and other male camp followers blur the line between marriage and prostitution, implying that soldiers' marriages are a cover for illicit sexual activity. Section Two examines how sixteenth-century woodcuts depicting people who suffered from syphilis (also referred to as "the pox" or "the French disease") implicated soldiers and women camp followers respectively as sufferers and spreaders of the illness.[18] Section

[17] A colored print, which might be painted by the printer for a markup fee or might be painted by an employee of the buyer, suggests that the art enjoyed some elite clientage. Bartrum, *German Renaissance Prints*, 11. Chemical analysis has determined that the vast majority of colored prints in European and American collections were colored before 1700, and art historian Susan Dackerman has demonstrated that coloring prints was especially popular during the Baroque era. Dackerman, *Painted Prints*, 50.

[18] I choose to call the disease simply "the pox" rather than syphilis in order to gesture towards the ways that early modern conceptions of the disease differed markedly from modern understandings of sexually transmitted infections. I also choose to term it "the pox" rather than "the French disease" and the myriad other names the disease went by in order to avoid its xenophobic connotations. For more on the nomenclature of the disease, see Claude Quétel, *History of Syphilis*, trans. Judith Braddock and Brian Pike (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press: 1990), 15. See also the overview of the disease's nomenclature by Irina Savinetskaya, "The Politics and Poetics of *Morbus Gallicus* in the German Lands (1495-1520)," (PhD diss., Central European University, 2016), 26-61.

Three investigates how woodcuts employed skeletal personifications of death through the lens of army life to encourage viewers to moralize about the consequences of "whoring." Woodcuts, I contend, were prominent means by which people developed arguments about armies' roles in society. Moreover, they reinforced dominant arguments that linked prostitution to the pox and suggested that prostitution posed dire threats to the social order. These discourses were distinctly classed and helped to galvanize civic attempts at religious and social reform. Throughout, I render transcriptions and translations of the relevant woodcuts in the appendix.

2.1: Contesting Marriage Visually and Verbally

Erhard Schoen's woodcut of the *sudler vnd sein sudlerin* was not the only woodcut that operated by encouraging readers to speculate about the nature of the relationship between soldiers and women camp followers. In another of his woodcuts, printed between 1526 and 1542, Schoen again depicts a soldier with his wife (**Figure 2.6**). The woman's covered hair again suggests that the pair is married. Her headdress is more lavish than Strauch's *sudlerin*, but similar to the depictions of "whores" who followed the army. The soldier's *katzbalger* sword also appears to point towards the woman's genitals rather than her womb, as was the case with Schoen's *sudler*. As he did for the *sudler* woodcut, Wolfgang Strauch added a border and verses by Hans Sachs in 1568.[19] These images were likely produced at the same time and sold as a set. Schoen's *landsknecht* and his wife become the stock character Little Ursula (*Urschelein*) and a Cobbler's Apprentice (*schuhknecht*) named Hans (**Figure 2.7**). Little Ursula begins by stating her desire to accompany the cobbler's apprentice on campaign. Her desire to join Hans apparently has little to do with him as a person, however. Her main goal is to acquire wealth, which she indicates when she says "Maybe I can earn so much more/

[19] Hans Blosen and Harald Pors, eds., *Landsknechte bei Hans Sachs: Alte und neue Landsknechtstexte auf Einblattdrucken mit Holzschnitten* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2016), 176-77.

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 2.6: Erhard Schoen, first half of sixteenth century, *Landsknecht und seine Frau*, Woodcut, 35.6 x 25.6 cm, Kupferstickkabinett Dresden, Inv. Nr. A 129800.

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 2.7: Wolfgang Strauch (after Erhard Schoen), 1568, *Vrschelein und Schüchknecht*, Woodcut in Max Geisberg, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1500-1550*, ed. Walter Strauss (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1974), 3: 1213.

Than I ever could spinning/ With the sewing yarn and twine/ I'll likely become a cobbler's whore/maid [*dyren*]." Armies offer Little Ursula an opportunity to avoid drudgery – spinning – and become wealthier by exchanging money for sex. The text never firmly delineates how she will do this. Perhaps the booty she or Hans acquires will enrich her. Or perhaps selling sex to soldiers offers her opportunities to accumulate wealth. Even the term she uses for her future profession, *dyren* refuses unequivocally to point towards prostitution. The ambiguous term *dirne,* here rendered *dyren* to keep rhyme, signified both a virginal maiden and a prostitute.[20] Notably, she will not be Hans's *dyren*, but will consider herself the *dyren* of his master. She will be a *Schusters dyren*, whereas Hans is merely a *Schuchknecht*, a cobbler's apprentice. What, then, will Little Ursula's profession be after she leaves spinning? Perhaps she will serve Hans's master as a maid in spite of the visual cues that she and the apprentice are married. Or perhaps she will accompany Hans on the march to escape her marriage. Maybe her partnership with Hans will lead him to rise through the ranks, to leave his apprenticeship and become a fully-fledged cobbler. Yet the combination of her headdress and her self-identification as a *dirne* invite the reader to interpret her as a prostitute: they suggest that Little Ursula will become an army prostitute to get rich rather than do her duty by spinning for her husband.

Hans's words suggest that both he and Little Ursula will come to regret joining the army. Like Little Ursula, Hans wishes to enlist because doing so presents opportunities for rapid accumulation of wealth, and therefore, a change in personal status – "I want to leave behind making shoes," he states, "For in many wars I aim to / Win honor and great wealth." Hans's final words, "Who knows who will be lucky?" engenders further skepticism about the chances of their dream succeeding. Perhaps, the woodcut suggests, neither Little Ursula nor Hans will enjoy the success that

[20] *Deutches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm*, s.v. "Dirne," accessed April 10, 2021, https://woerterbuchnetz.de/?sigle=DWB&lemid=D02672.

they desire. Joining the army promises material gains, but Hans and Little Ursula's words indicate that these are empty dreams. Going off to war will earn Hans nothing and will lead Little Ursula to forsake her feminine duty of spinning to act as a prostitute for soldiers and other people of low social status.

Woodcuts featuring higher-ranking soldiers such as cavalrymen with women camp followers refrained from suggesting the pair was married. For these soldiers, prostitution is implied to be a temporary means to let out sexual energy that did not directly threaten the coherence of marriage as an institution. Take, for example, Niklas Stör's representation of a cavalier and his female companion, produced around 1553 in Nuremberg (**Figure 2.8**). The cavalier's outfit is lavish, reflecting his high social station. He wears expensive fabric, and his variety of weapons suggests he is wealthy. He reaches around to touch his companion's shoulder. The woman's hair is uncovered underneath her hat, a sign that she is unmarried.[21] That she is dressed fashionably similarly suggests that she cares deeply about her appearance – perhaps to attract clients. She carries a lapdog, a symbol of female sexuality because of its proximity to the genitals.[22]

The verses correspond to the image precisely, suggesting that the text and image were produced alongside each other. The woman indicates that she is a prostitute and will sleep with the cavalier as long as he lavishes her with delicacies. The cavalier begins by asking "my Little Meg" to join him on campaign to Italy, where they might "win honor and goods in war." He promises her a comfortable life if she agrees to accompany him: "You needn't carry plunder for me / I will order you a horse or a wagon / And clothe you in silken velvet / With me you will suffer no hunger / You will have boiled and fried capon / I have many Thalers and Ducats." The final two lines "Here they

---

[21] Marshall, *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe*, 12. Contrast the covered hair of many of the women depicted with images of witches, in which witches are depicted with uncovered heads and wild hair that reflects their unruliness, diabolicalness, and licentiousness. Zika, *The Appearance of Witchcraft*, 21.
[22] Alexa Sand, "And Your Little Dog, Too: Michal's Lapdog and the Romance of the Old Testament," in *Our Dogs, Our Selves: Dogs in Medieval and Early Modern Art, Literature, and Society*, ed. Laura D. Gelfand (Boston: Brill, 2016), 176-77.

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 2.8: Niklas Stör, c. 1553, *Ein Reuterßman bin ich geborn*, Woodcut, 35.4 x 27.5 cm, Schlossmuseum Gotha, Inv. Nr. 38,94.

should all become yours / If you only consider yourself mine" signal that the cavalier believes that his ability to acquire life's pleasures for Little Meg will induce her to join him on campaign. Little Meg accepts his offer. "Because you promise me so much / I now want to risk it with you," she responds. In words that clarify the impermanence of their relationship, Little Meg acknowledges that "I am neither the first nor the last" – she does not expect to be the only person with whom the cavalier will have sex. Perhaps this is even true during the duration of their relationship. She then clarifies that the comfortable lifestyle the cavalier promises convinces her to acquiesce to his request: "I am delighted by you/ *Because* [emphasis mine] I may not walk on foot / And wish to clothe myself so beautifully / I should also have the best to eat / If you gift me money / Stand out before other army women." Her statement regarding her desire to stand out suggests that sleeping with the cavalier provides a means of attaining superior social status among her fellow women camp followers. Her ability to travel by wagon, clothe herself beautifully, dine lavishly, and flaunt her wealth will afford her added prestige on the campaign.[23] But this line might also suggest that she is in economic competition with other army women – her ability to "stand out before other army women" might refer to her clientele preferring her over other prostitutes on campaign. She might stand out before other army women *to soldiers other than the cavalier*. Her lifestyle might make her a more desirable prostitute than the other army women and allow her to climb the social ladder yet higher. Importantly, Little Meg does not promise monogamy. Although she says that the cavalier "should believe and trust me," she only promises that he "shall be my worthiest guest." In the process, she inverts who possesses whom in this scene. Initially, she is the cavalier's Little Meg, but by the end of the verses, the cavalier has become Little Meg's – he will be "*my* worthiest guest." What began as the cavalier's invitation – "O come with me my Little Meg" has become her

[23] The English mercenary James Turner noted that only the wives and favorites of high-ranking officers rode on horseback or were transported by wagon. The rest had to walk. See James Turner, *Pallas Armata: Military Essayes of the Ancient Grecian, Roman, and Modern Art of War* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1683), 276.

prerogative to invite the soldier to be her "worthiest guest." In the process, Little Meg asserts her sexual agency to continue sleeping with multiple men. Indeed, her stipulation that the cavalier is only a guest (perhaps among many) suggests that what he is really receiving is precedence over her other clients. She does this *because*, she mentions three times, the cavalier's riches hold the keys for her performance of status. She will allow him to be her "worthiest guest / *Because* [emphasis mine] you have a penny in your sack." Ultimately, Little Meg's desire for wealth brings her to engage in a romantic partnership with the cavalier. Yet both acknowledge that this relationship will be impermanent. Although they clearly engage in sexual activity outside of marriage, and therefore some form of sin, their relationship appears much different from the relationship between the sullied sutlers and that of Little Ursula and the cobbler's apprentice. The relationship between the cavalier and Little Meg is immediately legible as prostitution in verse and in image, unlike the messiness of the cobbler's and sutler's respective relationships.

And the illegibility of relationships between common *landsknechte* and women camp followers could lead to violence. In one woodcut, Wolfgang Strauch depicts a dispute between two women over a soldier (**Figure 2.9**). The figure on the left, called the *landsknecht's weib*, opens the verses. She directs her invective at the figure in the center when she exclaims "You whore, you shall not escape me." The soldier's desire for the figure in the center has evidently caused the scene: "If you want to move away with my man / You must leave the plunder behind you." Because the term she uses, *Mann*, could mean either "man" or "husband," her title *Des Lantzknecht[s] weib*, does not disclose their relationship either. It is therefore possible that early modern viewers interpreted the figures on either side of the image as married to each other. But perhaps they are not. In either case, the *landsknecht's weib* clearly understood that she and the *landsknecht* were sexually or romantically exclusive, a rule that he appears to have flouted. Indeed, the linguistic uncertainty of the poem – are the couple husband and wife or is their relationship of a different kind that is less permanent? –

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 2.9: Wolfgang Strauch, c. 1555-61, *Landsknecht, sein Weib und Heerfrau*, Woodcut, 40.5 x 30 cm, Schlossmuseum Gotha, Inv. Nr. 49,26.

becomes a context for the violent interaction in this woodcut. Even if the *landsknecht* accepts the love of other woman, the one on the left refuses to allow it to harm her financial situation. She then states her desire to cut off the nose of the woman in the middle – an act that the image depicts. The disfigurement of her nose is a deliberate and over-determined act. In late medieval Germany, a sliced nose indicated a person who had been convicted of a sexual crime such as rape. A destroyed nose was also a symptom of the pox, if it advanced sufficiently far. The defacement of the woman in the center literally inscribes a sign of sexual transgression onto her face that she will bear for the rest of her life.[24]

After her words to the central figure, the *landsknecht's weib* directs her ire to the *landsknecht*, demanding "And what kind of wanton man are you/ To accept another dissolute woman [*schlepsack*]."[25] Her words thus confirm that the soldier's infidelity to his *weib* has sparked this fight. Yet it remains unclear what the precise relationship between the two figures is. The *landsknecht's weib* certainly feels ownership over him – he is "*my* man," but she accuses him of "accepting another dissolute woman." This might suggest that this is not his first adulterous infraction. His *weib* would then exasperatedly demand to know why he would "accept [yet] *another* dissolute woman." Or perhaps she means that she and the central figure occupy a similar social position – they are both *Schleppsäcke* – leading her to ask why she is not enough and thus why he has chosen "To accept another dissolute woman [like me]." Either reading is plausible given the pervasiveness of woodcuts that depicted women camp followers in sexually ambivalent relationships. As was typical for sixteenth-century woodcuts featuring soldiers and women, the viewer is left to consider the ambiguous nature of the relationship between the figures depicted. The image calls for more

[24] See Valentin Groebner, *Defaced: The Visual Culture of Violence in the Late Middle Ages*, trans. Pamela Selwyn (New York: Zone Books, 2008), 67-86.
[25] *Deutches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm*, s.v. "Schleppsack," accessed April 10, 2021, https://woerterbuchnetz.de/?sigle=DWB&lemid=S11451.

discourse about sexuality in army life, albeit within the confines of a moralizing discourse that uses sexuality in army life as a pedagogical tool to describe the potentially violent consequences of extramarital sex. One thing the *landsknecht's weib*'s verses convey clearly is that the soldier's infidelity to his *weib* has sparked the fight which the image depicts.

The army woman [*heerfraw*] speaks next. She speaks to the *landsknecht's weib* first: "Leave me in peace you old sick hag / Let me go, do not taunt me so meanly." She accuses the *landsknecht*'s *weib* of failing adequately to satisfy the *landsknecht*'s desires: "Had you done good by your man / He would not have taken up with me." Her words confirm that the *landsknecht's* inability to remain sexually exclusive with his *weib* has led to the altercation. She then pleads with the *landsknecht*, "Oh help me my dear Clas / Make your woman let go of me / And thus not ruin me." In short, she expects him to assert his authority as a man to compel her to cease her attack. Her words convey deep familiarity. Clas is not just any soldier, but rather he is "my dear Clas." The army woman is clearly cognizant of the social ostracization she will face if the *landsknecht's weib* succeeds in amputating her nose. If Clas intervenes, his *weib* will not succeed in an act that will "ruin" her. If Clas does intervene, the army woman promises that she will replace the *landsknecht*'s *weib*: "Then I will go with you into Italy."

Clas fails to intervene. He says that "What distresses you both I let happen/ I observe you both through my fingers." The image marks his refusal to intervene in three ways. First, his sword points between the two figures, visually suggesting his inability to choose between the two. Second, unlike most of the other depictions of soldiers we have surveyed in this chapter, it is unclear whether Clas wears a codpiece. Given the significance of the codpiece in demarcating masculine identity, the image invites speculation about Clas's masculinity.[26] Third, he places his hand over his face, perhaps

---

[26] Will Fisher argues that two different forms of the codpiece reflected two different ideas about masculinity in early modern England. One, a "bagged appendage" reflected masculinity's association with reproduction insofar as it resembled the testicular sack. The second, a "permanent erection" linked masculinity to sexual conquest and phallic

to protect his own nose that might bear a mark of his sexual transgression. In the process, he replicates a gesture often associated with fools and jesters (**Figure 2.10**). In looking through one's

Figure 2.10: Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen, c.1500, *Laughing Fool*, Oil on Panel, 35.2 x 23.2 cm, The Davis Museum at Wellesley College, Wellesley, MA, Obj. No. 1958.3. Creative Commons License.

fingers, one engaged in a (seemingly willful) decision not to see what was right in front of one's nose.[27] These signifiers, taken together, suggest that his inability to remain faithful to his *weib* (reflected in his words and in his sword position) is foolish (his hand gesture) and unmasculine (his

penetration. See Will Fisher, "'Had it a codpiece, 'twere a man indeed': The Codpiece as Constitutive Accessory in Early Modern English Culture," in *Ornamentalism: The Art of Renaissance Accessories*, ed. Bella Mirabella (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 102-29. In her treatment of codpieces, Pat Simons explores the codpiece as a signifier of testicular masculinity. See Patricia Simons, *The Sex of Men in Premodern Europe: A Cultural History* (New York: Cambridge University Press), 98-105. Michel de Montaigne detested the ostentation of many contemporary codpieces. See the discussion in Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press), 9-10.

[27] On this gesture, see Benjamin Kaplan, "Fictions of Privacy: House Chapels and the Spatial Accommodation of Religious Dissent in Early Modern Europe," *American Historical Review* 107, no.4 (2002), 1061.

lack of a visible codpiece). He remains passive in the dispute: "I help neither, I swear / Whoever in this spat / Is victorious, the same will I thank / And will be favorable to her." He does not promise sexual or romantic exclusivity, only that he will treat her with favor. Of course, given the accusations of his *weib* that Clas has already "taken another dissolute woman," there is reason to doubt that Clas will meet his promise to "be favorable." His final line, "The other will stomp away" shows disregard for his actions; he does not express remorse or learn from the violent scene his actions have caused. At least one woman "will stomp away," perhaps mutilated, to go about the rest of her life on account of Clas's infidelity. Critically, the origin of this brawl appears to be the ambiguity of the relationship between Clas, Clas's *weib*, and the *heerfraw*. At no point in the depiction do the verses or image reveal the actual nature of the relationship between the figures. Unlike the cavalier, who defines his relationship and thereby contains whatever social disorder might erupt from it, the fight between Clas, the *heerfraw*, and the *landsknecht*'s *weib* appears connected to the ambiguity of the relationship between the characters depicted. Perhaps the indecipherability of the sullied sutlers' relationship or that of Little Ursula and the cobbler's apprentice will lead to similar violence as that between Clas and his loves. Importantly, only the figure of high social standing – the cavalier – proves willing to clarify his relationship. To be sure, he still entertains prostitutes, but in making his relationships on the baggage train clear, he obviates the potential dangers that messy, quasi-martial relationships might possess on campaign. In the grand scheme of things, the sexual relationships of lower-status soldiers appear as the greater affront to marriage, thought here and elsewhere to be a permanent commitment in contrast to the impermanent relationships between soldiers and women camp followers. Although the nobility might occasionally give into their desires, the clarity that their relationships with prostitutes will not masquerade as marriages contains any violence that might arise from them.

2.2: Soldiers and the Pox

Another means of representing a soldier's sexual activity was by reference to the pox. A comprehensive history of the pox is beyond the scope of this dissertation.[28] Still, there are two salient features that early modern people attributed to the pox that will bear on the discussion of soldiers, women camp followers, and their erotic relationships. The first is that although medical authors vigorously debated how the disease spread, most agreed that sexual contact played a prominent role. The most frequent argument was that the pox was a plague sent from God, transmitted through sexual contact, to punish and disclose the sexual sins that people committed.[29] The pox, then, could stand in for sexual contact. The second is that the pox was routinely associated by the sixteenth century with prostitutes, who were considered vectors of the disease. The third is that the pox was associated with military life from the outset. The earliest descriptions of the pox come from the campaigns of Charles VIII in Italy and the forces that fought against him. After the Battle of Fornovo on July 5, 1495, the Venetian doctor Marcello Cumano reported that "several

---

[28] For a detailed treatment of the disease's spread across western Europe, see Anna Foa, "The New and the Old: The Spread of Syphilis (1494-1530)," in *Sex and Gender in Historical Perspective*, ed. Guido Ruggiero and Edward Muir (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 26-45. For a study of French attitudes towards the foreignness of the pox outbreak, see Deborah Losse, *Syphilis: Medicine, Metaphor, and Religious Conflict in Early Modern France* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2015). Irina Savinetskaya's work on the German context is the most comprehensive for anti-French sentiment wrought by pox outbreaks in the Holy Roman Empire. See Savinetskaya, "The Politics and Poetics of *Morbus Gallicus* in the German Lands (1495-1520)," 118-56. For two studies on England, see Jonathan Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic: Discourses of Social Pathology in Early Modern England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), esp. chapters 2 and 3 and Roze Hentschell, "Luxury and Lechery: Hunting the French pox in Early Modern England," in *Sins of the Flesh: Responding to Sexual Desire in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Kevin Siena (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2005), 133-57. See also Claude Quétel's work on the disease in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Quétel, *History of Syphilis*, 9-49.

[29] For an excellent summary of the debates about the various causes of the pox, see Savinetskaya, "The Politics and Poetics of *Morbus Gallicus* in the German Lands," 62-117; Paul A. Russell, "Syphilis, God's Scourge or Nature's Vengeance? The German Printed Response to a Public Problem in the Early Sixteenth Century," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 80 (1989): 286-307; Louis F. Qualtiere and William W. E. Slights, "Contagion and Blame in Early Modern England: The Case of the French Pox," *Literature and Medicine* 22, no.1 (2003): 1-24; Winfried Schleiner, "Moral Attitudes towards Syphilis and Its Prevention in the Renaissance," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 68, no.3 (1994): 389-410; Jon Arrizabalaga, "Medical Responses to the 'French Disease' in Europe at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century," in *Sins of the Flesh: Responding to Sexual Disease in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Kevin Siena (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2005), 33-55; Laura McGough, *Gender, Sexuality, and Syphilis in Early Modern Venice: The Disease that Came to Stay* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); and Darrel W. Amundsen, *Medicine, Society, and Faith in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 310-72. All these authors agree, however, that after 1520, writers understood that the pox strongly associated with genital contact with an infected person.

men-at-arms or footsoldiers who, owing to the ferment of the humors, had pustules on their faces and all over their bodies. These looked rather like grains of millet, and usually appeared on the outer surface of the foreskin, or on the glans, accompanied by a mild pruritus." He went on to describe other symptoms of the disease, like rashes and pains.[30] Another Venetian doctor at Fornovo corroborated Cumano's report.[31] Both doctors understood the pox as a disease that affects the genitals.

The association of the pox with both soldiers and sexual contact made it an opportune way to depict the sinful nature of soldiers' sexual conduct. Take, for example, Albrecht Dürer's depiction of a pox-marked man designed to accompany a Latin poem by the Frisian physician Theodericus Ulsenius (**Figure 2.11**). The poem recounts a vision Ulsenius had in which Apollo reveals to him the causes and course of the illness. Ulsenius implies that an astrological alignment is the chief cause of the pox's appearance: Saturn in the astrological house of Aries has made humanity too impious and unruly, causing Jove's ire and thus the disease. Even in this etiology, Ulsenius employs several references to sexuality. In the third line of his poem, while introducing the pleas of people for someone to address the pox, Ulsenius references the Fury Megaera, who is associated with jealousy, infidelity, and theft. In Ulsenius's vision, she grooms herself while the crowd exclaims, implying that the contemporary prevalence of jealousy, infidelity, and/or theft have corresponded with the advent of the pox. The association between Megaera and infidelity, which encompassed marital infidelity, left open the possibility of reading excessive sexual activity into the pox's spread.[32]

---

[30] Observations of Marcellus Cumanus reported by C.-G. Gruner, *Aphrodisaicus sive de lue venerea*... Jena, 1789. Gruner's compilation completes that of the same title by Aloysius Luisinus (2 vols, 1728), quoted in Quétel, *History of Syphilis*, 10. Images also played a critical role in communicating knowledge about the pox. See Hutchinson, "Going Viral: Printing Disease in Early Modern Germany," 89-136.
[31] Alexandri Benedicti, *Veronensis physici historiae corporis humani* ... (1497), cited in Quétel, *History of Syphilis*, 10.
[32] *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, s.v., "μεγαίρω [megaira]," accessed April 10, 2021, https://dictionaries-brillonline-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/search#dictionary=greek&id=gr4420.

Figure 2.11: Albrecht Dürer, 1496, *Flugblatt auf die Syphilis (Der Syphilitiker)*, Woodcut, 41.0 x 28.4 cm, Albertina, Vienna, Inv. Nr. DG1930/210. Creative Commons License.

Ulsenius implies that sexual activity was connected to the disease's origin later in his poem as well. After Jove fumes with excessive blood, "evil Venus will announce with luxury [*venus improba luxu*]" that the world is being confounded. The reference to an "evil Venus," or an evil love, and the specification that her announcement comes with luxury, lust, sumptuousness, or excess via the term *luxu* further hints that the pox arises because of sexual misbehavior.[33] The terms Ulsenius uses to describe the pox's origin throughout his poem build on contemporary associations of prostitution with sex, luxury, and disease. His references to poison, pollution, luxury, evil, and uncleanness portray sexual activity as a dangerous and corrupting force.

The pox's association with immoral sexual activity becomes even clearer when Ulsenius describes the symptoms of the disease. Ulsenius writes that the pox is "the cruel seed of evil, with the corrupted genealogical tree [*Semina dira mali, corrupto stemmate*]," a pairing that implies that the corruption of semen has polluted the reproductive process. The result of this "cruel seed of evil" is that "greedy sulfur devours the tender appendages [*teneros depascitur artus*]," that is, the pox's affliction of the penis. Ulsenuis further hints that romantic or sexual activity potentially causes the disease when he calls it "the Mentagra [*Mentagram*]," an imperial Roman skin disease widely believed to be spread by kissing.[34] The pox appears yet more sexual in nature because it first "infects the unclean penis [*spurco primum contagia peni*]." Later in the poem, when Ulsenius promises a cure, he writes that he will command the disease to "flow away from these members [*sic membris*] innocuously" and purify the body. In the final stanza of his poem, Ulsenius describes his complaint to the muse Mnemosyne "about the collapse of morals." He then asks the reader to witness that Astraea, the

---

[33] In Latin during the late medieval and early modern period, one prominent way to refer to lust was by using the term *luxuria*. See the discussion of the relation of *luxuria* to lust and sodomy in Helmut Puff, *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland, 1400-1600* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 54 and 63-64.
[34] F. P. Retief and L. Cilliers, "Epidemics of the Roman Empire, 27 BC – AD 476," *South African Medical Journal* 90, no.3 (2000): 267-72.

virgin goddess of purity, justice, and innocence, flees: a loss of virginal purity brings on the disease.[35] For Ulsenius, the pox was a distinctly sexual disease. Although debate continued throughout the early modern period on the precise relationship between the disease and sexual activity, most medical writers agreed that sexual activity was a main cause of the ailment.[36]

Whereas the poem does much of the work in depicting the pox as a disease with prominent sexual elements and causes and links the disease to evil and pollution, Dürer's image depicts a man – possibly a soldier – who laments his fate. Art historian Colin Eisler argues that the man is a German *landsknecht*. He points to the fact that the earliest sufferers were soldiers and the similarity of the man's foppish clothes to that of Dürer's art depicting *landsknechte* to claim that this man is a soldier, although Dürer's syphilitic man lacks the weapons and armor typical of other woodcuts of *landsknechte* (**Figure 2.12**).[37] The third figure from the left in this engraving bears a striking resemblance to Dürer's pox-marked soldier. Both wear a large, billowing shawl around their bodies and both don caps with a single large feather. Moreover, Dürer's syphilitic man and the soldier with a shawl in his engraving both lack weapons and armor associated with soldiers. His lack of weapons makes sense given the conventions of German military service at the time: most soldiers signed on for campaigns one year at a time, making soldiering a potentially transitory profession.[38] Perhaps the transitoriness of soldiering encouraged early modern viewers to read this man as a soldier. Yet Dürer's syphilitic man also differs meaningfully from other depictions of soldiers. His uplifted shawl

---

[35] On Astrea's invocation in the early modern period, see Frederick A. de Armas, *The Return of Astraea: An Astral-Imperial Myth in Calderón* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 2014), 22-59.
[36] On the connection between the pox and sexual activity, see especially Russell, "Syphilis, God's Scourge or Nature's Vengeance?," 286-307; Qualtiere and Slights, "Contagion and Blame in Early Modern England," 1-24; Schleiner, "Moral Attitudes towards Syphilis and Its Prevention in the Renaissance," 389-410.
[37] Colin Eisler has demonstrated that the figure is a soldier. See Colin Eisler, "Who is Dürer's 'Syphilitic Man'," *Perspectives in Biology and* Medicine 52, no.1 (2009): 48-60.
[38] For investigations into the changing cultural cachet of Landsknechte in the sixteenth century, see Erik Swart, "From 'Landsknecht' to 'Soldier': The Low German Foot Soldiers of the Low Countries in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," *International Review of Social History* 51, no.1 (2006): 75-92. See also the classic study, Fritz Redlich, *The German Military Enterpriser and his Work Force: A Study in European Economic and Social History* (Wiesbaden, 1964), vol. 1.

Figure 2.12: Albrecht Dürer, 1495/96, *Five Soldiers and a Turk on Horseback*, Engraving, 13.3 x 14.6 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, Acc. No. 1943.3.3455. Creative Commons License.

echoes depictions of one of the most prominent plague saints, St. Roch who was often shown lifting up his pants to display the plague marks on his thigh (**Figure 2.13**). His outstretched arm and solemn facial expression also recall the Man of Sorrows, a prominent artistic convention that encouraged viewers to contemplate sin, pain, and God's mercy (**Figure 2.14**). The plates definitively place the scene in Nuremberg: the coats of arms on either side of the man belong to Nuremberg. The one below him likely refers to Apollo's power to heal plague and other illnesses. Dürer's syphilitic man appears as a composite figure: a contemporary St. Roch whose afflictions draw the

Figure 2.13: Quentin Matsys, c. 1518, *Rem-Altar: Der hl. Rochus mit dem Engel*, painting on oak wood panel, 89.9 x 28.7 cm, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen – Alte Pinakothek München, Inv. No. 719. Creative Commons License.

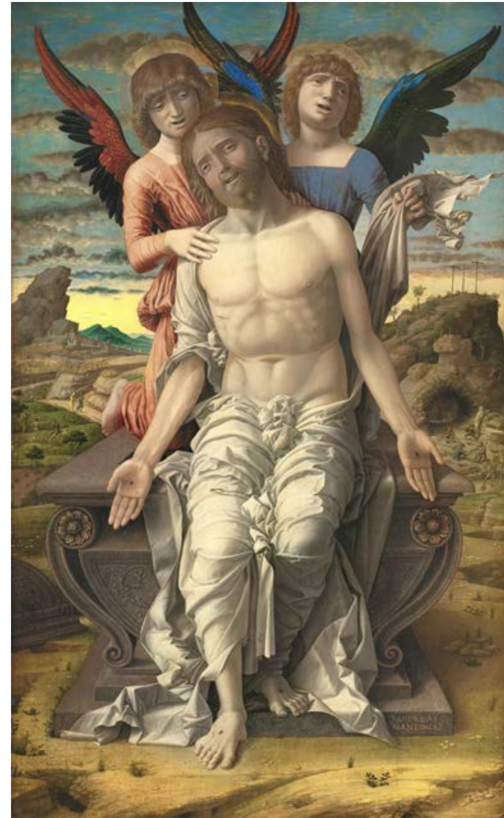

Figure 2.14: Andrea Mantegna, 1495-1500, *Kristus som den lidende frelser*, tempera on wood, 78 x 48 cm, Statens Museum for Kunst, Danmark, Inv. Nr. KMSsp69. Creative Commons License.

viewer to consider their sins in the context of Christ's sacrifice. The difficulty art historians have faced in assigning Dürer's syphilitic man a professional identity reflects the plasticity of the woodcut.

Dürer could easily have included a sword and armor to identify the man as a soldier, yet he refrained from doing so, electing instead to deprive him of weapons as he does in only a few of his other representations of soldiers. He also could have chosen to depict the man in clothes that soldiers in his œuvre categorically do not wear. Instead, Dürer's woodcut makes plausible a reading that the man is a soldier who suffers from syphilis, provoking debate as to the man's identity – as it continues to do five centuries after its publication. The possibility of an early modern audience reading the man as a soldier, in context with poetry that connects the pox to sin, pollution, and sexual contact, invites the projection of sexual sin onto military communities. Moreover, because soldiers could float in and out of civic society this soldier (or is he?) could be considered a threat to the sexual and moral health of the towns he enters. The ambiguity is the point – because the man is dressed like a soldier buy might not be a soldier, he might bring soldiers' mores into town life and pollute the city with his disease as well. Moreover, because of the peripatetic nature of the soldier's profession, any attempt at lasting reform to address the pox's spread would need also to influence armies and the people who populated them.

How artists depicted military figures with the pox depended to a great degree on the social position of the figure represented. Contrast, for example, Dürer's syphilitic man and the frontispiece of the German Humanist, physician, and astrologer Joseph Grünpeck's treatise on the pox. Perhaps designed by Caspar Hochfeder in Nuremberg, the woodcut depicts the Virgin Mary and Christ healing sufferers of the pox (**Figure 2.15**). Mary and Christ occupy the focal point of the woodcut. To their left, Mary extends the imperial crown to what is most likely a kneeling King Maximilian I (r. 1493-1519 de facto, r. 1508-19 de jure), who suffered from the disease, but who shows no visible signs of infection in this image.[39] His standard, that of the Order of St. George, a chivalric order

[39] Eisler, "Who is Dürer's 'Syphilitic Man'," 53. On Maximilian's infection with the pox, see Savinetskaya, "The Politics and Poetics of *Morbus Gallicus* in the German Lands," 45. See also Hermann Wieslecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I., das Reich, Österreich und Europa and der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 5 *Der Kaiser und seine Umwelt, Hof Staat, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft und Kultur*

Figure 2.15: Caspar Hochfeder[?], 1496, Woodcut for the frontispiece of Joseph Grünpeck, *Tractatus de pestilentiali scorra sive mala de Franzos*, (Nuremberg: Caspar Hochfeder, late 1496), colored copy in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München 4 Inc.s.a. 929. Creative Commons License.

founded by Maximilian's father Frederick III in 1469, and the seal of the Holy Roman Empire under him strongly suggest that the man is Maximilian. His adoration of Mary and the Christ Child has healed him from his plight. Indeed, no external signs point to Maximilian's affliction – he has been entirely healed, if he even suffered from the disease at all. To the right of the composition, two women, one unmarried, the other married, follow his example to uncertain effect. They worship Mary and Christ as salvific bundles of divine energy emanate from the infant Christ's hands to heal the praying figures. A nearly naked man with as prominent and prevalent pox marks as the women, has succumbed to the disease and lies at the foot of the group.[40] Whereas Dürer depicts a common

---

(Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1986), 338-39; and Karl Schnadelbauer, "Kaiser Maximilian I. und die gallische Krankheit," *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 22, no.1 (1929): 102.

[40] According to Larry Silver, the pox's association with soldierly life was a precondition for depictions of soldiers that included them alongside a personified Death. See Larry Silver, "Pox vobiscum: Early Modern German Art and Syphilis," in *Tributes in Honor of James H. Marrow: Studies in Painting and Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages and Northern Renaissance*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger (London: Harvey Miller 2006), 465-76.

mercenary afflicted by disease, and the Grünpeck frontispiece represents three people of uncertain social standing, the subject of unquestionably high social standing bears no markers of the pox or of sexual activity. The fact that a man like Maximilian is depicted in the best possible light is unsurprising, especially for a book dedicated to the *Bürgermeister* and town council of an imperial free city like Augsburg.[41] What is important, however, is the *terms* in which he is cast – as completely cleansed of his affliction or even without affliction – unlike the common folk who still bear the marks of their sexual activity. Idioms of sexual debauchery, here, are distinctly gendered and classed. Regardless of his condition or the kind of sex he has, Maximilian can be cleansed of the disease unlike the commoners opposite him in the frontispiece.

In contrast to Maximilian's lack of visible affliction, woodcuts depicted prostitutes generally, and women camp followers in particular, as agents of the pox's spread. Take, for example, a woodcut from the second quarter of the sixteenth century of a busty camp follower, who, adorned with a feathery cap, carries a pack of supplies, a rooster, and a pet squirrel on her back and shoulder from the second quarter of the sixteenth century (**Figure 2.16**). The verses accompanying the image convey that she is a "*landsknecht*'s whore," who has joined army life to enjoy the kind of behavior that would get her in trouble in many civic contexts: "If it were not for the gorging and drinking,/ I would not follow behind you indeed for long." Her desire for food and drink has convinced her to accompany the army, and she implies that as soon as she is unable to drink and eat to her appetite's content, she will leave.[42] Her staying is risky too, however: "Should I trot for free with you for long, / I will probably make you have the French [pox]." Insofar as she enjoys the many pleasures and

[41] Imperial free cities fell directly under the purview of the Emperor, and Maximilian was all but assured to be the next Emperor as King of the Romans starting in 1486.
[42] Gorging and drinking was a trope in peasant festival imagery. See Alison Stewart, "Distaffs and Spindles: Sexual Misbehavior in Sebald Beham's *Spinning Bee*," in *Saints, Sinners, and Sisters: Gender and Northern Art in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jane L. Carroll and Alison G. Stewart (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 127-54; and Alison Stewart, "Taverns in Nuremberg Prints at the Time of the German Reformation," in *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Beat Kümin and B. Ann Tlusty (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 95-115. On the role of civic authorities in

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 2.16: Martin Weygel [?], c. 1526-50. *Die Landtsknechts hür*, Woodcut, 18.9 x 15.9 cm, Graphische Sammlung, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, Inv. Nr. HB 13008.

regulating gorging, drinking, and prostitution, see especially B. Ann Tlusty, *Bacchus and the Civic Order: The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2001), 183-208.

freedoms of campaign life, she helps the pox spread among the soldiers. Soldiers would do well to avoid such women camp followers and men in cities would do well to avoid women who behave like women camp followers as well, this woodcut implies.

The second to last line introduces an element of ambiguity. The German reads: "*Wolt wol dahaymen sein belyben*," which could read as either "I would want much to have stayed home" ("[Ich] wollt[e] . . .") or "you all want much to have stayed home" ("[ihr] wollt . . ."). That the "whore" uses the singular "du" when she states "I will probably make you have the French [disease]" makes it possible to read the text as either a statement of regret on her part for her sexual activity and appetite for food and drink or as an acknowledgement that the multiple men she sleeps with will soon experience regret. The final line, "And want it never to have happened" does not resolve the question of the subject of the preceding line. It does, however, clarify the depth of the regret for the woman and/or her sexual partners, depending on the reading. In any case, the "whore" becomes an agent of the pox and therefore an agent of sexual corruption for the military community.

The belief that "whores" were agents of disease that threatened the health of young men and the social order became articulated outside of woodcuts as well. Recall that around the same time as this woodcut, Luther's *Tischrede* excoriated prostitutes as "scabby, scratchy, stinking, nasty, and hav[ing] the French [disease]" before urging young men to avoid prostitutes, "for such a French [diseased] whore can poison ten, twenty, thirty or more of the children of good people, and thus is to be considered as a murderer, or worse, as a poisoner". Luther further translated this belief into admonitions that rulers should prohibit "whores" from following armies on campaign, as we have seen in Chapter One.[43] Luther's words represent "whores" like the one in Weygel's woodcut as dire threats. Whereas Weygel suggests that soldiers would have stayed home if they had known that

[43] Martin Luther, *Martin Luthers Werke: Tischreden* (WA TR) IV, no. 4857, pp. 552–54.

women camp followers would infect them with the pox, Luther argues that women camp followers are functionally murderers insofar as they infect innocent and chaste young men with sexual disease.

Nor was Luther alone in representing army life as rife with pox infection and laying the high incidence of the disease at the feet of women camp followers. Dionysius Klein, a German hospital master, cautioned the readers of his *Kriegsinstitution* that "such women are generally arrogant, costly, lavish, and squanderers, and besides very errant and crafty," and will trap soldiers in love with them before growing tired of their company and leaving them for another. These attitudes paralleled insinuations in art that soldiers' relationships with camp followers were immoral and impermanent. They also mapped onto the fashionable clothes that prostitutes wear in woodcuts and etchings. The capacity of bodily health to stand in for matters of morality and conscience is reflected when he concludes his admonition: "In sum and shortly, such is the daily experience that the same wanton people in the baggage train, field camp, garrison, and even everywhere wreak such great wantonness, and incite disaster, such that often many brave fellows on her account are brought into great emergency and danger, killing his bodily health, yes also likely his honor, life, and goods."[44] In referencing the death of the soldiers' "bodily health," Klein links the prevalence of prostitutes on campaign to disease and social disorder in ways similar to those represented in woodcuts about soldiers' interactions with female camp followers.

As in prints, Klein argued that ribaldry in campaign life posed practical problems for social order when he complained about contemporary German soldiers' lack of honor and paucity of brave deeds. Without citing any particular writer or text, Klein asserted that "it is openly written" that although German soldiers possess "good laws and orders" and experience no lack of supplies,

---

[44] Dionysius Klein, *Kriegs Institution* (Stuttgart: Marx Fürstern, 1598), 94-95: "Summa vnd kurz / so gibt es die täglich erfahrung / was dergleichen leichtfertige Personen, im Anzug / Feldtläger / Besatzung / vnd eben allenthaben für grossen Muthwillen treiben / vnnd Vnglück anstifften / also das offt manch dapffer Gesell jhrenhalben inn grosse Noth vnd Gefahr / vmb sein Leibsgesundheit / ja auch wol gar vmg Her / Leib / vnd Guth gebracht wirt…"

they continue to display their "evil, unclean, ignominious, and depraved mores." Klein continued that German soldiers had "surrendered to lusts" in order "to live their lives in their free will with the practice of all injustice, violence, and wantonness." In his eyes, they gorge and booze and "welter with sundry lecherous women [*Vnzüchtigen Weybern*] in all destruction and blasphemy." Their lack of personal control and failure to live up to the standards of dutiful soldiers had military consequences. Such activities had ostensibly led German soldiers to "prove themselves lazy, pusillanimous, and sluggish against the enemy.[45] Klein's view of German armies as ineffective because they were too focused on worldly pleasures convinced him that military authorities ought to police the most intimate aspects of the soldiers' and camp women's lives. These were arguments authorized by the consistent depiction of soldiers alongside women and iconographic signifiers of eroticism that often accompanied them.

Explicit invocations of the pox also motivated cautions about prostitutes on campaign. Adam Junghans's *Kriegs-Ordnung zu Wasser vnd Landt* urged his readers to ban unmarried women from campaign life as a prophylactic against the pox. He made this line of thought clear in a formulaic fictional trial transcript of a camp prostitute halfway through his work. The Schultheiß, an officer in charge of discipline and police in the camp, accuses the defendant of having "her free will with every man so that even good fellows are afflicted with the French disease, killing their health, stealing and taking it through her *vnzüchtigem* life day and night however and wherever she was able to." For Junghans, the threat of the pox was the primary reason to prohibit unmarried women from

---

[45] Klein, *Kriegs Institution,* Vorrede, which is unpaginated: "… das ist leyder augenscheinlich all zuviel am tage / vnd wirdt vber vnser Teutsches Kriegsvolck allenthalben vielfältig geklaget / vnd offentlich geschrieben / das ob wol sie an guten Gesatzen / vnd Ordnungen / warnach sie sich Regulieren / vnd jr Leben / wandel / thun / vnd lassen richten / vnnd anstellen sollten / beneben guter Rüstung / Wehr vnd Waffen / keinen mangel haben / seien sie doch beneben böser vnreiner / schandlicher vnd verderbter Sitten / vnd gar auff die Wollüste ergeben / auß welchen her erfolgen / die Vnartige vnd verzagte Hertzen vnd Gemüther / sie wöllen ein freyen willen / mit vbung aller Vngerechtigkeit / alles Gewalts vnd Mutwillens / jhres gefallens hineyn zu leben / vnd zumahl allen vberfluß vond vollauff von fressen vnd sauffen haben / weltzen sich mit allerley Vnzüchtigen Weybern in allen Schanden vnd Lastern / vnd das sie sich wider den Feinde faul / verzagt / vnd träg erzeigen…"

following armies. He continues, "For this reason, [the accused] has been apprehended, beaten out of the camp with rods, and expelled from the land under pain of death, and under punishment from the head to the feet."[46] Junghans's argument about why unmarried women are dangerous on campaign – by sleeping with many soldiers, they spread the pox – resonates with the message of woodcuts that women camp followers' sexual depravity spread the pox to innocent soldiers, damaging their health and threatening military effectiveness. Again, though, these discourses are classed – the term he employs suggests that she has infected only infantrymen from common social backgrounds. In the popular imagination, armies furnished evidence that commoners frequented "whores" when not properly disciplined and that such women posed grave dangers to the surrounding male population by propagating the pox.

2.3: Social Disorder and Death

In many woodcuts, a personification of death appears alongside soldiers and women camp followers.[47] In them, armies become a forum in which prostitution is depicted as a prominent institution and then leveraged to connect prostitution to social disorder and even to death. This cultural preoccupation depicting the liaisons between soldiers and women camp followers stalked by death was evidently so pervasive that even former mercenary soldiers created them. One of the most prominent of these woodcuts was completed by Urs Graf in 1524. Born around 1485 in Solothurn to the goldsmith Hug Graf, Urs Graf initially followed in his father's professional footsteps. He took

---

[46] Adam Junghans, *Kriegs-Ordnung zu Wasser vnd Landt* (1589; Cologne: Wilhelm Lützenkirhen, 1594), 70: "jhres freyen Lebens mit jederman gepfleget dardurch auch etliche gute Gesellen mit Frantzosen beleydigen / vnd vmb jhre Gesundtheit bracht / beneben jrem vnzüchtigem Leben gestolen vnd genommen / bey tag vnd nacht / was vnd wo sie gekont hat / Deßhalben ist sie begriffen / vnd mit ruten auß dem Läger gesteupt / vnd des Landes verwiesen worden / bey verlust Leibes vnd Lebens / vnd zu straffen von der Schittel biß auff die Solen…"

[47] In most woodcuts in which soldiers confront personifications of death, the soldier combats Death alone. These depictions built on the *danse macabre* tradition of the late medieval period, which underscored the inevitability of death and represented it as the great equalizer. The images themselves are usually without prominent sexual symbolism. Instead of commenting on the soldiers' sexual adventures, they underscore his wrath, violence, and greed.

an apprenticeship in Strasbourg, an important city in the book trade. In Strasbourg, he began his career by making devotional images. By 1507 he had moved to Zurich and after 1509 he lived in Basel where he made book illustrations. In 1510, Urs Graf grew weary of artistic work and enlisted as a *reisläufer* (Swiss mercenary) with the Chiasser Zug to fight against the French coalition in the War of the League of Cambrai. When he returned to Basel in 1511, Graf developed an antagonistic relationship with city councilors; he appears regularly in archival documents that detail punishments he suffered for attacking inhabitants of the city. In 1511, he was banished for attacking someone, insulting him or her, and for other unspecified misconduct. It is possible that he signed up for another tour of duty a year later when he became a citizen of Bern. In 1515, he joined yet another campaign alongside his friend Hans Öder. He likely fought at the Battle of Marignano that year, where French and Venetian forces destroyed much of the Swiss and Milanese army, forcing the Swiss cantons into the Treaty of Freiburg in 1516. Graf then returned to Basel, where he crippled a man in a fight and fled to Solothurn to avoid punishment. While in Solothurn, he entered the employ of his father. By 1519, he was summoned back to Basel to work as a medallion and coin cutter, where he stayed until 1523, except for a brief stint in 1521 when he unsuccessfully attempted to enlist again, this time in the service of his former adversary, François I of France. In 1522, he joined yet another army, in which he was accused of adultery with a woman camp follower.[48] He quit after Basel forbade soldiers to fight in the army of the French monarch. In 1523, he wounded a soldier in a fight, after which his whereabouts become unclear.[49]

Soldiers appear frequently in Graf's œuvre. In one of his most famous images, *Ein Landsknecht, ein Reisläufer und eine Prostituierte mit dem lauernden Tod im Baum*, produced in 1524, he

[48] Christiane Andersson, *Dirnen, Krieger, Narren: Ausgewählte Zeichnungen von Urs Graf* (Basel: GS-Verlag, 1978), 28.
[49] Andersson, *Dirnen, Krieger, Narren*, 8-9. *Grove Art Online*, "Urs Graf," by Christiane Andersson, accessed June 1, 2020, https://www-oxfordartonline-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000033954?rskey=uumXxK.

depicts a woman camp follower, styled as a prostitute, as a trap of Death (**Figure 2.17**). Three people loiter under a dead tree. At the center of the image, a *landsknecht* leans against the tree and braces himself against his broadsword, which he has plunged into the ground. A *reisläufer* stands to the right of the composition, gazing beyond the pictorial frame. He appears to be in conversation with the *landsknecht*. To the left of the composition, a woman dressed in the style of a camp prostitute sits as she pets a small dog. Death perches in the tree and gestures towards a raven, a symbol of misfortune and inevitable death, and holds an hourglass.[50] The *landsknecht*'s smaller *katzbalger* sword, pointing toward the prostitute's breast, communicates his desire for her and visually draws attention to her clothing. She pets a dog in a possible distortion of her motherly duties, and potentially also conveying her lasciviousness.[51] Her dress augments her feminine curves, a sign of her sexual appeal.[52] The bulging purse on the ground points to her profession as a prostitute and the dagger suggests she accompanies armies on campaign, or at least feels the need to defend herself against people with whom she interacts. The woodcut represents an allegory of soldiers' sexual liaisons with "whores" on the march. Despite the cultural particularities of *reisläufer* and *landsknechte*, insofar as both frequent women camp followers for sexual pleasure, both court death. Moreover, insofar as the woman sleeps with soldiers, she dooms herself to death as well. Death's presence in the woodcut serves to critique the sexual behavior of soldiers and women camp followers: in Graf's woodcut, liaisons between them become lethal. Insofar as Graf's woodcut yokes a depiction of death to existing preoccupations about the dangers of sexual liaisons with women camp followers, it urges viewers to allegorize the soldier's life as one dominated by dangerous

---

[50] Christian Müller, *Urs Graf: Die Zeichnungen im Zupferstichkabinett Basel* (Basel: Schwabe & Co. AG, 2001), 291.

[51] In his reading of Graf's Woodcut, Müller argues that the dog represents sexual intercourse, a perversion of motherhood, and a paramour of the skeletal death in the tree as a symbol of the French disease. Müller, *Urs Graf*, 291. Because of lapdogs' proximity to female genitals, lap dogs were commonly associated with female sexual activity. See Sand, "And Your Little Dog, Too," 176-77.

[52] See the discussion of women's bodies in art during the early modern period in Germany in Lyndal Roper, *Witch Craze: Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 145-49.

Figure 2.17: Urs Graf, 1524, *Ein Landsknecht, ein Reisläufer und eine Prostituierte mit dem lauernden Tod im Baum*, Woodcut, 20.3 x 11.8 cm, Kunstmuseum Basel, Inv. X.2255. Creative Commons License.

licentiousness. In the process, soldierly life becomes an example of the deadly consequences of courting the services of "whores."

This line of thought was echoed in a depiction of the baggage train, where women camp followers typically resided. In his c. 1532 *Baggage Train and Death*, Erhard Schoen depicts a disorganized baggage train. In this panoramic view, which gives the viewer much to marvel and laugh at, Schoen includes a wide variety of characters of army life. Soldiers do not march in unison, with similar weapons near each other as in depictions of well-ordered marches, but instead, walk along with camp followers, with food, animals, baggage, Ottoman prisoners, and camels.[53] The figures wear a dizzying array of clothes of different styles, although broad brimmed hats appear to be the most fashionable. Furthermore, Schoen peppers his woodcuts with sexual iconography. In the first panel, a senior officer rides on horseback and looks back at his troops (**Figure 2.18**). He

Figure 2.18: Erhard Schoen, c. 1532, *Baggage Train and Death*, Woodcut, 30.2 x 77.0 3 cm, British Museum, London, Museum No. E,8.141. Creative Commons License.

grasps a baton and surveys the baggage train. On horseback behind him, a woman holds onto a man while riding sidesaddle. Their mode of transport and extravagant clothing suggest that they are of

[53] See especially Keith Moxey's contrast of two images of the baggage train in Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors and Wives*, 67-82. Moxey argues that whereas the woodcut series this chapter considers depicts a disorganized baggage train, which brings death in its wake, more orderly baggage trains conveyed to viewers the power of male governance to bring order to the campaign community.

high status. Men and women march next to them as a drummer and piper play behind them to liven the mood and in vain to help the soldier keep step. A young man holds a rooster and goose in the foreground. As in English, a cock [*Hahn*] was a euphemism for the penis.[54] So was a gooseneck [*Gänsekragen*], which someone else grabs just under a flying company banner of uncertain origin.[55] In the center of the image, the ensign holding the banner appears distracted, exchanging a glance with the woman on his arm. Behind them, a woman carries a pack of supplies which includes a pan for cooking. In the foreground and a bit behind her, another woman carries a flask for her injured husband, whose hand she holds. Another woman is doubled over as she carries supplies, including a pan and spoon, on her back. Just in the background, a man and women peer back at the rest of the baggage train. On the cart, Schoen has placed two roosters: one near the entrance to the cart, the other on top of it and seated above a basket, a euphemism for a vagina in early modern German Carnival plays.[56] In the foreground, a woman seated on horseback converses with a man who walks on foot beside her horse.

In the third panel (its right side meant to be contiguous with the left side of the previous two) we see the back of the cart, a camel, another major officer, at least four prisoners, and a third rooster perched on a woman's hat (**Figure 2.19**). The scene continues the jumble of figures. Each prisoner has his hands tied with string and a German man raises a switch to strike two Ottoman soldiers just behind the camel. In the final panel, Schoen depicts five more men. One carries a boar while another grabs the ankle of another animal's hoofed foot. Behind them, a *landsknecht* carries metal manacles while a dog snarls at the dead boar. Two more prisoners, dressed as *landsknechte*,

---

[54] Henry Kratz, "Über den Wortschatz der Erotik im Spätmittelhochdeutschen und Frühneuhochdeutschen" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1949), 463. Nordenfalk, "The Five Senses in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art," 3-4. Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 109-91

[55] Kratz, "Über den Wortschatz der Erotik," 307.

[56] Kratz, "Über den Wortschatz der Erotik," 586. The association of the basket with the vagina also appeared in sixteenth-century Dutch painting. See especially the work of Joachim Beuckelaer, especially *Girl with a Basket of Eggs* at the National Museum in Warsaw.

Figure 2.19: Erhard Schoen, c. 1532, *Baggage Train and Death*, Woodcut, 30.2 x 77.0 cm, British Museum, London, Museum No. E,8.140. Creative Commons License.

converse in in the foreground. In the background, above the cart, is a fourth cock, perched inside a laurel wreath typically given to women on their wedding day. The rooster in the wreath represents a loss of virginity by a haughty and aggressive man.[57] The coat of arms on the cart, as with the one in the second panel, does not seem to correspond to any actual principality or city.[58]

Schoen's image is distinct in its panoramic view. Whereas other artists depicted stock characters from the baggage train as pairs, Schoen's image combines the various figures and items that might find their way into a baggage train: women, animals, prisoners, horses, cooking utensils, shovels, and foodstuffs. On the most basic level, Schoen's woodcut introduces viewers to what a baggage train looks like. On another level, his woodcut suggests the lack of order in the baggage train, as soldiers appear distracted by the women with whom they converse and officers neglect to

---

[57] Kratz, "Über den Wortschatz der Erotik," 595.

[58] The sinister bendy of nine on the first coat of arms is perhaps connected to the flag, which is a dexter bendy of nine. The small flag at the back of the cart also has a dexter bendy. My research has indicated no sinister bendys of nine in common use in any German city, principality, or military during the sixteenth century. The coat of arms on the second cart (in panel four) appears most similar to that of the Duchy of Lothringen, which included an escutcheon of or with a gules bend featuring three argent eagles. Yet the coat of arms on the cart clearly depicts circles rather than eagles. This inconsistency makes it unlikely that Schoen intended this coat of arms to be read as belonging to the Duke of Lothringen. Perhaps the uncertain origin of these coats of arms is part of Schoen's marketing technique: by inventing two coats of arms, people in any city, county, or duchy could purchase the large and expensive woodcut without worrying that it might impugn the military order of their own baggage trains.

intervene to improve the order of the march. This disorder appears in spite of the covered hair of the women. Soldiers' marriages, Schoen seems to imply, do little to obviate the dangers that women pose on the march. Then again, given the prominence of images of female camp followers who discuss their extramarital sexual activity even as they wear clothing suggesting that they are married, perhaps these women have merely contracted May Marriages that military treatises so despised. Schoen's inclusion of prominent bawdy symbolism (the roosters in baskets and in maiden wreaths, on top of women's heads, and goose necks, which would all be instantly recognizable to readers familiar with popular carnival plays) insinuates that a representation of the baggage train would be incomplete without reference to conspicuous sexual activity and implies that in spite of the covered hair of the women depicted, the army is a hotbed of immoral sexual activity. In this case, Schoen clearly connects this lechery to social disorder. This disorder possesses lethal consequences: three skeletal figures of death haunt the baggage train. Bearing headdresses reminiscent of a *landsknecht*, a king, and an Ottoman soldier, death stalks a disordered army. On the one hand, that Schoen would choose to depict personifications of death stalking an army is hardly surprising given armies regularly encountered and inflicted death. On the other, that he saturates the image with signifiers of sexual activity cements the connection between lust and death that was also being articulated with respect to the pox. The viewer is left to use Schoen's proposed connection between lechery, armies, disorder, and death in their own stories, arguments, and conversations.

To appreciate how Schoen encourages viewers to moralize about soldiers' liaisons with female camp followers, contrast Schoen's woodcut of the baggage train to a similarly sized representation of a baggage train produced in 1573 by Hans Weigel. This woodcut includes a similar set of figures: a captain who leads his regiment, an ensign who proudly flies his banner, halberdiers, pikemen, military musicians, and the men, women, and children of the baggage train (**Figure 2.20**). Unlike Schoen's baggage train, Weigel's shows the figures in order, alongside labels and verses by

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 2.20: Hans Weigel after Jost Amman, 1573, *Das newe Fendlein Teutscher Landsknecht*, Woodcut, 54.8 x 178.6 cm., Ashmolean Museum WA 1863.3070.1-6.

the former *landsknecht* Hans Sachs. The captain underscores his role in teaching military discipline and military justice to his subordinates. One of his two bodyguards explains that they have recruited soldiers from every corner of the Holy Roman Empire. The harquebusiers who follow the captain and bodyguards note that famine has drawn them away from their workshops and into army life, underscoring the meager social positions of people who wield harquebuses. All the same, they walk into "a dangerous wretched life" partially because of famine and partially to "Help protect Christendom/ Against the Turk and other tyrants/ Who raise their godless flags/ Against all justice and fairness." A drummer and piper who similarly espouse patriotic sentiments follow the harquebusiers. In the middle of the woodcut, the ensign waves the company banner while exclaiming that "In our war we have complete justification/ To protect the common man." Behind him come veterans, who because of their expertise earn double pay and were called *Doppelsöldner*. They discuss how they "Chivalrously stand against the enemies." Near the rear of the formation, common soldiers carry pikes. They prove the most bellicose, stating that they wish "to attack / the Enemy" and not give up "Until we slay his haughtiness" while asking God to give Christians a quiet life. The *hurenweibel* speaks last, raising both his hands in the air (**Figure 2.21**). Unlike the other soldiers, who portray themselves as defenders of innocent Christians, the *hurenweibel* acknowledges

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 2.21: Hans Weigel after Jost Amman, 1573, *Das newe Fendlein Teutscher Landsknecht*, Woodcut, 36.8 x 38.0 cm., Ashmolean Museum WA 1863.3070.6.

that Christian soldiers also inflict harm on the people they purport to defend, robbing them "Of hens, geese, cows, and steeds/ With which the army's baggage train is fed." A boy, a woman camp follower, a *landsknecht*, a wounded soldier on horseback, and a donkey carrying two small babies bring up the rear.

Although they treat the same topic, the sexual innuendos are much more muted in Weigel's image than in Schoen's. There are no roosters or maiden wreaths in Weigel's woodcut, and the woman appears unattached to any particular man in the baggage train. Instead of a man next to her, she appears concerned first and foremost with the two babies the donkey carries. As in Schoen's

image, it appears that the woman's head is covered. A yellow stripe on her dress suggests that she is a prostitute, as had been the case for Stör's woodcut of the cavalier and Little Meg, although this color was likely added later and so would not have been consistent across exempla of this woodcut. Without color, this woman would appear simply as a dutiful mother. Yet Death does not stalk this baggage train. The tightly regimented nature of Weigel's scene, which manifests itself also in the relative sexual restraint of the woman depicted helps account for Death's absence. So too does the lack of prominent sexual symbolism in Weigel's woodcut. When placed alongside other images of soldiers on the march, Schoen's image leads viewers to entertain the idea that social disorder, extramarital sex, and death are intimately connected.

Writers of military treatises made the connection between lusty behavior in the baggage train, military disorder, and death even more explicitly. In the process, the baggage train became a forum of thought in which people developed arguments about the social effects of "whoring." As was the case for invocations of the pox, writers laid moral responsibility for "whoring" at the feet of women camp followers. Take, for example, a military treatise of Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen, who served as a soldier in the Netherlands during the Eighty Years' War before he became the headmaster of an early military academy in Europe at Siegen in 1617. He wrote numerous military treatises that discussed warfare on foot, on horseback, Roman military discipline, artillery, and a more general treatise on the defense of one's country. In this last volume, he recapitulates the common refrain among authors of German military treatises that soldiers preferred "whores" to wives. He writes that the German practice of war is of "such a depraved character, that it can hardly be helped that most do not have wives; instead they keep whores."[59] In addition to critiquing soldiers for keeping "whores," he castigated "whores" for not getting married, and officers for

---

[59] Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen, *Defensio Patriæ, oder Landtrettung* (Frankfurt: Daniel & David Aubrij, 1621), 8. "das heutige Kriegswesen so ein verderbtes Weßen/ daß jhm kaum zu helffen/ dan das meistertheil haben sie nicht Eheweiber/ so halten sie Huren/..."

letting the precedence and predominance of "whores" over wives on campaign go unpunished. Wallhausen attempted to impress upon them the necessity of reforming the sexual culture of army life. This could begin by punishing soldiers for keeping "whores" and for allowing "whores" to accompany the army in the first place. Wallhausen argued that the presence of "whores" in such great numbers posed logistical, moral, and disciplinary problems. He laments that "presently no regiment is quickly recruited, and regiments are found that have 3,000 men, so one will certainly find at least 4,000 women [*Weiber*], children, whores, boys, and all kinds of petty servants [*Gesindtlein*]..."[60] The term he uses to describe the petty servant, the diminutive *gesindtlein*, referred both to soldiers and to a disorganized rabble.[61] Thus the image Wallhausen conjures of women and boys outnumbering soldiers echoes Schoen's images of the baggage train. Dominated by wantonness, the army upends the social order.

Wallhausen summons the specter of Schoen's baggage train in a later passage as well when he connects lechery, social disorder, and death to each other. In a long section devoted to women camp followers and other members of the baggage train, Wallhausen relates a moralizing comedy [*comœdiam*] that takes place in the train. Laden with goods they recently plundered, "women, whores, with children and boys fall on the wagons like a pack of ravens on a rotting carcass." Their booty proves so voluminous that "hardly a horse can carry them" and before long, all the horses and donkeys are occupied.[62] Enter a soldier's wife. Because all the horses and wagons are occupied, she has no place to sit and calls out to one of the women on the wagons:

---

[60] Wallhausen, *Defensio Patriæ*, 160. "Dann kein Regiment baldt heutiges Tags geworben wirdt / vnnd Regimenter gefunden warden / so mann 3000. Mann hatt / so wirdt man gewiß 4000. Zumwenigsten / Weiber / Kinder / Huren / Jungen / vnd allerhandt Gesindtlein finden…"

[61] *Deutches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm*, s.v. "Gesindlein," accessed April 10, 2021, https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB?lemid=G11482.

[62] Wallhausen, *Defensio Patriæ*, 172: "Wann nun die Wagen / vnd Anspand vorhanden ist / da soll man ein *comœdiam* sehen: da fallen die Weiber / Huren / mit Kinder vnd Jungen auff die Wagen / gleich wie ein Hauffen Raaben auff ein Aaß / welche Hure am ersten auff den Wagen kompt / die setzt sim nider vnd nimbt Platz / da stehet dann der Junge vnnd bringt seinen Bünttel vnd Pack / welches von gestollenen gutt so voll / daß kaum ein Pferd tragen köndte…"

"'Hey, you whore! Hey you shameful whore! You're supposed to be driven and I am an honorable wife and should walk on foot? I've been a soldier's wife for so many years, helped so many baggage trains, and you young whore, you want to supersede me?' Then the whores and wives fall upon each other, beat each other with cudgels, and hurl shit and rocks at each other. When the whore had insulted the wife for a while, the soldier's wife walked to her husband, her hair disheveled around her head, screaming and saying, 'Look Hans! That is so-and-so's whore sitting on the wagon and getting driven, and I have to walk, and I am your honorable wife!' Then the soldier whips around and falls upon the whore, trying to throw her off the wagon and put his wife on top. Then comes the whore's soldier and says 'Leave my whore in peace! She is as good to me as your wife is to you.' Then the soldiers smack each other hither and thither with their swords out, hacking, stabbing each other often to death, to bare states, or to crippling and lame effect. And that is not strange or only a singular occurrence, but hardly a day goes by under the sky when one is in the baggage train, often 3, 4, 5, 6, 10 soldiers die in such games over the whore's will."[63]

This passage underscores the anxiety about unmarried women in campaign we explored in chapter one. That Wallhausen stresses "the whore's will" reflects his fear that women camp followers use sexuality to exert power over men, upending the social order yet further. But it also draws out the lethal potential of sexual disorder in army life in remarkably quotidian terms. It does so by employing motifs and messages initially developed by visual art. At the same time, it adapts the visual idioms by dramatizing their themes. The origin of the fight references the supposed desire of women camp followers for luxurious living – an idea captured by woodcut artists after around 1550. The brawl especially recalls Strauch's woodcut featuring the Clas the *landsknecht*, his *weib*, and the army woman. Wallhausen's final line detailing the number of soldiers who "die in such games over the whore's will" mirrors visual art insofar as it encourages its readers to contemplate the connection

[63] Wallhausen, *Defensio Patriæ*, 172-73. "… Ey du Hur / ey du schandt Hur / solstu dich führen lassen / vnnd ich bin ein Ehefrawe / vnnd soll zu Fuß gehen / bin so viell Jahr ein Soldaten Fraw gewesen / so manchen Zug helffen thun / vnnd du junge hur wilst mich vertäuffelen? da [fielen?] die huren vnnd weiber vber einander heer / einander mit Brügeln / Kott vnd Stein ein ander werffendt / wann die huren dannein ander also ein weill zerbuurstet / da laufft deß Soldaten Frawe zu ihrem Mann / die Haar umb den Kopff hangendt / schreiendt / vnd ruffent / guck Hans / da ist die vnd dessen hur / sitzt auff dem Wagen vnd soll fahren / vnd ich soll zu Fuß gehen / vnd bin dein Eheweib / da wischt dann der Soldat auch darzu ahn die hur / will sie herunder vnd sein Frawe herauff haben / da kompt dann der huren ihr Soldatt auch darzu / der sagt / laß mir mein hur mit Frieden / sie ist mir so gutt als dir dein Ehefrawe / da wüschen die Soldaten hinder einander her / mit den Dägen herauß/ hawen / stechen einander offt zu Todt / auff barer statt / oder sonsten fast kein Tag vnder dem Himmel / wann mann im Zug ist/ offt 3. 4. 5. 6. 10. Soldaten in solchen Spielem vmb huren willen / vmb ihr Leben vnd gerade Glieder kommen / wann dieser *actus* vorbey / vnd die huren / vnd daß Gesindtlein / auffgesessen / so seind die Wagen offtmahls also schwer beladen / daß die Pferdt / oder Ochsen / so vorgespant / sie manches mahl nicht auß der Stelle bringen können."

between death, lechery, and social chaos. Indeed, it does not strain the imagination to picture Wallhausen relating this story in response to seeing Schoen's woodcut.

After laying out the deadly consequences of lust in campaign communities, Wallhausen offers advice to soldiers, whose dangerous professions make chaste and pious living especially necessary. Wallhausen notes that soldierly life presents acute dangers. Soldiers face death on a regular basis as an occupational hazard. These dangers are compounded by social disorder, which the lust of soldiers for prostitutes and soldiers' deadly and transient profession renders inevitable. Wallhausen reports that "many brave soldiers (as my eyes have seen not once, but a hundred times) have been hanged, judged with the sword [*mit Schwert gericht*], or shot [*geharquebusiret*], or punished with a strappado over the will of such wanton whores."[64] For Wallhausen, these punishments are a manifestation of God's judgment. Furthermore, as Wallhausen notes, the prominence of "whoring" in the baggage train and the violence soldiers face are connected. They communicate to everyone that God punishes those who do not restrict their sexual activity to the marital bed.[65] And yet God's punishment for soldiers' failures to live pious and chaste lives will no doubt continue after their deaths. If anything, Wallhausen argues, soldiers must live in a "much holier, more spiritual [*Geistlicher*], and in a much more God-fearing fashion than any monastic or other person in the world for they must be prepared for death at all moments and all hours because of accidents and illnesses."[66] The daily dangers of soldiers' lives, including illnesses like the pox, necessitate that soldiers must always prepare themselves for God's judgment. This argument was consonant with

---

[64] Wallhausen, *Defensio Patriæ*, 163. "vnnd ist mancher dafpfferer Soldat (*quod oculis vidi, non semel, sed centies,*) entweder gehenckt / mit Schwert gericht / oder geharquebursiret/ oder mit einer *strapa de corde*, vmb solche losen Huren willen gestrafft worden."

[65] Wallhausen, *Defensio Patriæ*, 167. "Vnd köndten dieser Beweistumbe vnd Exempeln vil / so wohlgeistlich / als weltlich angezogen warden / wie Gott so schwerlich solche Sünde straffe..."

[66] Wallhausen, *Defensio Patriæ*, 167. "… behörte einem jedern Soldaten / was Standts er im Kriegswesen ist / viel Heyliger / Geistlicher / vnnd Gottsförchtig zu leben / als kein Ordens Persohn / oder einig Mensch in der Welt / alles standts Persohnen thun solten / dann neben jhren *accidentalium*, Kranckheitten müssen sie alle Augenblick vnnd Stundt / deß Todts gewertig sein…"

visual art in which personified deaths referenced God's judgment for soldiers' sexual conduct, including text or imagery reflecting God's punishment of soldiers for their sexual sins, among other moral failings. The same tropes regarding the prevalence and consequences of lechery on campaign that woodcut artists had developed over the sixteenth century came to predominate in written descriptions of military life in nearly every prescriptive military treatise published after Fronsperger that discussed the baggage train.

Sometimes, artists went so far as to depict death as a soldier, typically in the genre of the *danse macabre*: depictions of death with people from various social stations underscoring that death comes for all. A 1555 two-part woodcut by Hans Glaser, for example, depicted various military characters followed by Death dressed as a *landsknecht*. A small baggage boy (*troßpub*) carrying a pack, dagger, oversized helmet, two roosters, and a walking stick appears on the far left of the illuminated woodcut (**Figure 2.22**). The next two figures are a Spanish soldier and a Swiss mercenary, respectively. To the far left of the second woodcut, a female camp follower named Ursulein (Little Ursula) holds two flowers (symbols of fertility) carries a small dog, and possesses a bulging purse evocative of her material desires (**Figure 2.23**). She also wears a cap with a large feather in it. On her pack sits a cock. These are the accoutrements of luxury and sexual excess typically associated with prostitutes, including clothing with yellow stripes that prostitutes in municipal brothels were compelled to wear.[67] Yet, like other woodcuts featuring female camp followers, she covers her hair. A soldier and an ensign stand between her and Death, who peers back at the figures arrayed before him. His sword position mirrors that of the German soldiers, suggesting that their particular, erotically charged conduct in war associates them with death.

The verses that accompany these two images stress the disorder of German soldiers and camp followers and urge the viewer not to seek out the service of "whores." The image of military

[67] Merry Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986), 103-4.

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 2.22: Hans Glaser, 1555, *Trossbube, Spanier, Schweizer und Landsknecht*, Woodcut, 27.4 x 37.1 cm, Schlossmuseum Gotha, Inv. Nr. 49,33.

life represented is one of disease, hardship, and regret. The Baggage Boy mentions his ability to steal but maintains that "I would rather be at home" because war has led him to experience "lice, dysentery or fever / Ingesting bad food, and lying uncomfortably." In contrast, the Spaniard and the Swiss mercenary stress their military effectiveness. Their focus on military discipline corresponds to their downward sword position. The Spaniard notes that he is "certain with my harquebus/ To pick off the enemies from the walls." His clothes reflect his nimbleness and agility in battle: "My clothing is light and meagre / In storming and skirmishes especially / Am I swift, ready, and well rounded." That he is also "sober and alert at all hours" suggests he is the antithesis of the German *landsknechte*, whose preoccupations are typically represented, as we have seen, as boozing, gorging, and sex.

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 2.23: Hans Glaser, 1555, *Marketenderin, zwei Landsknechte und der Tod*, Woodcut, 30.4 x 40.5 cm, Schlossmuseum Gotha, Inv. Nr. 49,34.

Glaser contrasts the behavior of the Swiss mercenary with the *landsknechte* as well. Like the Spaniard, he proves ever alert: "With a long pike I always wait / To be drafted wherever they want me / Then I hoist the squires of the knights / Out of the saddle like a soldier / I can handle the long pike." His perpetual preparation for battle becomes a sign of his martial competence. The *landsknecht* stresses his martial competence as well, albeit in terms that register his inability to control himself. He is a harquebusier like the Spaniard, but his words do not emphasize his alertness or perpetual readiness for battle as had the verses of the Spaniard and the Swiss mercenary. Instead, the *landsknecht* acknowledges his efficacy in battle – "In field battles am I useful" – while also suggesting his

inability to refrain from violence – "So one cried loudly here, there, here / So I stand like a wrathful bear." The *landsknecht*'s practice of violence in this woodcut, then, contrasts with that of the Spaniard and Swiss mercenary because of the emphasis on the damage the *landsknecht* causes in wartime. Such motifs were similar to the moralizing messages in *danses macabres* insofar as they elaborate on the soldiers' ferocity rather than any sexual themes.

For example, in one *danse macabre* featuring a soldier from the early 1550s, the Nuremberg publisher Hans Weynel illustrates Death and a *landsknecht* engaged in close combat (**Figure 2.24**). Death possesses a shroud and hourglass, as he did in Graf's woodcut. The soldier lifts up his *Zweihänder* sword to fight back. His words reference his prowess and pride, but not his sexual escapades: "I never had any belief in you / Until I saw your dreadful face." Whereas previously, "I have deleted all fears / Much great distress have I survived," he now knows he must die. Like the *landsknecht* in the 1504 woodcut, he begs God for mercy. Death's verses also recapitulate the central theme of the 1504 woodcut. The soldier is "bold, strong, and tall" and has used these traits to inflict violence: "Many men have suffered coercion from you." Death confirms that his victory is inevitable when he proclaims that "Your battle sword will slice no more / Against me no resistance helps." Picking up on the theme of death as the great equalizer, Death notes that "I slay the captain with the lord" no matter their rank before telling the soldier that "You must now give answer to the judge," God, for his sins of coercion and violence. Weynel thus develops the theme of moral valuation for the soldier's sinful behavior. The soldier in Weynel's woodcut replicates the same tropes as those in the first panel of Glaser's woodcut. Moreover, Death is notably absent in the first, homosocial panel of Glaser's woodcut, suggesting artists' preference to depict death as an outcome of soldiers' liaisons with women camp followers instead of their haughtiness and aggression.

Whereas the verses in the first panel of Glaser's woodcut focus on the conduct of battle, the verses in the second panel convey overwhelming regret for joining the army. The panel begins with

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 2.24: Hans Weynel, c. 1550-55, *Der Landsknecht und der Tod*, Woodcut, 40.6 x 28.6 cm, Schlossmuseum Gotha, Inv. Nr. 49,50.

Ursulein, a stock character in woodcuts of soldiers and women camp followers and the same character in Strauch's woodcut of Little Ursula and the Cobbler's Apprentice. Little Ursula is often represented as a woman who has joined army life in search of personal riches and then becomes a prostitute. In this woodcut, her desires for financial gain have not been realized, as she laments, "Oh lead me again back home / the misery of war makes me presage." She expresses regret for her previous desire to improve her social station and wishes that she had never joined the army. She urges the reader to learn from her error and to "Let a master take care of you / So I want to serve a lady." Her words are pedagogical, instructing the viewer that warfare is not a means to acquire wealth and improve one's social status. Indeed, she opines that such a view is completely mistaken, for "There is not much to win in war / Besides slaps, poverty, and adversity." As if to stress the dangers of warfare and the adversity she faces in wartime, she concludes "Also death always lurks behind us."

The next figure, a soldier [*kriegßman*], acknowledges Little Ursula's lament and joins her plea for viewers to eschew the promise of riches that armies bring. He agrees with Little Ursula's advice to accept one's place in the social hierarchy by serving a master or a lady when he states "My Little Ursula, I want to do that." Yet only witnessing Death has led him to this conclusion: he advocates following Little Ursula's advice "Because after us a soldier lurks / The same is wrathful death / Who brings all soldiers in distress." Then, turning to the theme of death's inevitability that was central to the *danse macabre*, he concludes "we cannot escape him / No armor helps against his arrows / His wounds will never heal." The words of an ensign, an officer of moderate rank indicate that his military prowess is no match for death. Death's words conclude the panel. He replicates the central conceit of the *danse macabre* when he states "I cut down/ Captains, ensigns, soldiers, and women" – death is inescapable regardless of social station. Yet Death's words also capitalize on the sexual iconography of the image and the regret that the figures in the image express in their verses. After

Death has slain these figures, "they must for their lives/ Answer to the strict Judge [i.e.,. God]." Death forecloses the possibility of a positive moral valuation from God in his next line, "He will give them all punishment/ As they have earned it here." The precise actions for which the figures must answer remain characteristically unstated, allowing the viewer to read into Death's articulation that the way they have conducted their lives has warranted divine punishment. That Death appears in Little Ursula's panel, though, suggests that soldiers' accompaniment of figures like her has implicated them in a deadly scene. The panel that depicts exclusively male military figures, after all, does not include Death either visually or textually. Glaser's woodcut therefore suggests that the life of Little Ursula – turned out to be "not much" besides "pranks, poverty, and adversity" – and those who associate themselves with her have merited divine punishment. Consorting with women like Little Ursula courts death while jeopardizing the status of the soul by sullying it with sin. The solution to the deadly social disorders that women represent on campaign – and that because of the porosity of armies they might also visit on towns in which they settled – is eager acceptance of one's place in the early modern social hierarchy. By serving a master, young men can avoid death for as long as possible and retain the purity of their souls. Rather than the deceptive promise of riches, adventure, and free love that armies present, young men are better off staying at home, where they can continue to live in peace for a longer time.

2.4: Conclusions

Woodcuts pervaded the early modern German lands. Whether pasted onto the walls of buildings (as most were) or stored by collectors in cabinets (through which they survive until the present day), woodcuts provided a source of entertainment for early modern people. The characters they represented caricatures of soldiers' and women camp followers' lives that exaggerated

differences between life in early modern towns and life on campaign. Such woodcuts served as the basis for storytelling, moralizing, and debate among people, and depictions of militaries were a prominent example of this function of woodcuts. Through a complex interplay of word and image, woodcuts urged readers to think about sexuality and a good life through the lens of armies, a thinking that developed an exclusively verbal and much less ambiguous form in writing about soldiers and female camp followers in other genres like military treatises. Woodcuts suggested, and writers would later articulate, fears that women camp followers and common soldiers corrupted the institution of marriage by proclaiming their open and impermanent relationships as marriage. Unlike urban citizens, cavalrymen, and men of higher social station who purportedly distinguished prostitution from marriage in their personal lives, woodcuts implied that female camp followers and common *landsknechte* blurred the line between marriage and prostitution. These woodcuts thus conditioned viewers to approach marriages between women camp followers and *landsknechte* with skepticism. Eventually, these seeds would bear fruit in military discourse and military practice, when commanders lambasted and prohibited May Marriages.

The depiction of armies as places in which "whores" exercised power over men, in which gorging, drinking, and lechery had displaced prayer and training, and in which social disorder and death reigned supreme, erected a foil to early modern civic society's moral standards. On the one hand, armies became a vehicle that let people contain the social dangers of lust to places far enough away from them to be analyzed at a safe distance. On the other hand, the fact that members of an army came from German cities, towns, and villages meant that the project of moral reform had to start at home. That soldiers or women camp followers might leave armies and settle down nearby further galvanized attempts to channel all sexual energy into the institution of marriage in civic and military contexts. Moreover, these discourses helped to justify and naturalize the social hierarchies that structured in early modern cities by demonstrating what the usurpation of these hierarchies

might bring. Crucially, armies performed this cultural work precisely at the moment – the middle third of the sixteenth century – when the project of religious and moral reform reached its zenith in cities across the Holy Roman Empire. As the Reformations became institutionalized, and as Catholics and Protestants coalesced around distinct religious stances towards marriage, prostitution, and celibacy, the currency of these images waned. When the stances of cities seemed most unstable and undecided, however, artists and writers deployed armies as a forum to think through the connection of sexuality to the social order.

Chapter 3: Chastity and Discipline in Early Modern Disciplinary Discourse

"I did also observe here, that continency is a virtue very necessary for a Souldier, for abstaining from many inordinate appetites, that followe his profession, that he may the better suffer hunger, cold, thirst, nakednesse, travel, toyle, heate, and what else patiently, never mutin[y]ing for any defect: for it is the greatest victory we can attaine unto, to overcome our selves, and our appetites."[1] In this passage, Robert Monro, a Scottish nobleman who fought for the Swedish forces as a mercenary during the Thirty Years' War, advances a capacious view of continence.[2] Referring obliquely to a soldiers' "many inordinate appetites, that follow his profession," he suggests that continence brings forth other kinds of masculine hardiness necessary in military life. In restraining his own urges, Monro suggests, soldiers not only become masters over their bodies, but also more efficacious militarily.

This image implicitly stands in contrast to the depictions of soldiers surveyed in Chapter Two, which associated them with sexual activity outside of wedlock and the desire for luxurious living. As we shall see, for Monro, the best defense against the woman camp follower whose lechery threatened military order was the commander who exuded sexual continence. This form of self-discipline became a cornerstone of the ideal captain's ability to lead others. He acted as a disciplinarian who modeled virtuous traits for his subordinates and inspired them to act out these virtues through the threat of punishment and the desire to emulate his actions. His discipline was two-fold. First, he disciplined himself by tempering his urges and subordinating them to reason.

---

[1] Robert Monro, *Monro: His Expedition with the Worthy Scots Regiment* (London: William Jones, 1637), 1:25.

[2] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* s.v., "Monro, Robert, of Foulis," accessed June 7, 2022, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18977?rskey=DKSAHv&result=1.

Second, he disciplined his subordinates when they engaged in vices that might threaten the army. The figure of the "whore" acted as a foil for the ideal masculine discipline that military discourse described in its treatments of various officers, who were mostly noblemen.[3] In this way, militaries became a means of depicting both models and foils for continent behavior.

Much of the sizable literature on early modern discipline has minimized the form of discipline – continence – that Monro lauds. Early scholars of discipline like Norbert Elias concentrated on sexual behavior as an instantiation of civil behavior comparable to table manners and courteous conduct.[4] Gerhard Oestreich focuses on the qualities of reason, piety, and command that sovereigns ought to embody without commenting on continence.[5] Max Weber and Philip Gorski focus on the intersection between religious culture, economic organization, and military power; they similarly reduce sexuality to a peripheral concern in foregrounding economic, political, and social developments.[6] Dilwyn Knox, whose work traces how conceptions of *disciplina* were translated from medieval monastic contexts into the political and philosophical literature of later centuries, likewise pays little attention to the place of sexuality in early modern attitudes towards discipline.[7]

---

[3] Fritz Redlich, *The German Military Enterpriser and his Work Force: A Study in European Economic and Social History* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1964), 1:105-9.

[4] See Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983) and Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, eds., Eric Dunning, Johan Goudsblom, & Stephen Mennell (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000).

[5] Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism & the Early Modern State*, trans. David McKlintock and eds., Brigitta Oestreich and H. G. Koenigsberger (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982). See also Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550-1750* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

[6] Max Weber was an early and influential figure in this argument. See Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the 'Spirit' of Capitalism*, trans. Peter Baehr and Gorgon C. Wells (New York: Penguin, 2002). For a revitalization of Weber's central argument, see Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

[7] Dilwyn Knox, "*Disciplina*: The Monastic and Clerical Origins of European Civility" in *Renaissance Society and Culture: Essays in Honor of Eugene F. Rice, Jr.*, eds. John Monfasani and Ronald G. Musto (New York: Italica Press, 1991), 107-36. This neglect may be because chastity was assumed to be an important virtue in monastic contexts that furthermore could not be directly applied to laypeople writ large.

Continence remains a neglected topics in studies of early modern military discipline as well. Historians of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century armies, for example, have understood military discipline chiefly through the lenses of drill.[8] The military reforms of Maurice of Nassau (r. 1585-1625) loom large. In scholarship on the "military revolution," scholars have asserted that the Nassau reforms, which mandated that soldiers drill with their weapons in order to fire more rapidly, led to the formation of disciplinary infrastructures that resulted in the waxing power of central governments and the conditioning of people to be loyal subjects.[9] More recently, Therese Schwager has uncovered how ideas of military discipline circulated in Humanist circles of the late sixteenth century, filtering down to the level of military policy.[10]

And yet, as Michel Foucault argues, sexuality was integral to the inculcation of disciplined subjects. In his studies on the birth of the prison and the history of sexuality, Foucault conceives

---

[8] See especially Marco Faini and Maria Elena Severini, *Books for Captain and Captains in Books: Shaping the Perfect Military Commander in Early Modern Europe* (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz Verlag, 2016).

[9] Scholarship on an early modern "military revolution" have advanced this claim. Michael Roberts initially developed the military revolution thesis to describe how changes in gunpowder technology led to new military tactics and state centralization. Michael Roberts, "The Military Revolution," in *Essays in Swedish History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1967): 195-218. His ideas remained obscure until Geoffrey Parker argued that new defensive fortifications spurred greater military change than did gunpowder technology. Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988). Although the military revolution has been a generative paradigm for early modern military historiography, scholars have since qualified, questioned, and rebutted many of the facets that both Roberts and Parker interpret as transformative. Scholars of medieval militaries have identified in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries many elements that Roberts and Parker had identified as novel and transformative in the sixteenth century. See, for example, Kelly DeVries, "Gunpowder Weaponry and the Rise of the Early Modern State," *War in History* 5, no.2 (1998): 127-45; Dennis E. Showalter, "The Evolution of Cohesion in European Armies from the Middle Ages to the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of Military History* 57 (1993): 407-30; and Clifford J. Rogers, "The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years' War," *The Journal of Military History* 57, no.2 (1993): 241-78. Arguments about drill in warfare have been most prominently advanced by William McNeill and Sabina Loriga. McNeill argues that drill in warfare was one way that people subordinated their individual rhythms to achieve collective goals, a transformation that resulted in more pliable subjects. See William H. McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 101-50. Sabina Loriga's study on the eighteenth-century Piedmontese army argues that military discipline became a "disciplinary laboratory" that conditioned loyalty and subordination to social superiors. See Sabina Loriga, *Soldats: Un Laboratoire disciplinaire: l'armée piémontaise au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Mentha, 1991). More recently, scholars have challenged the "revolutionary" nature of military change in the early modern period. Most notable are David Parrott, *The Business of War: Military Enterprise and Military Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012) and Jeremy Black, "Patterns of Warfare, 1400-1800," in *The Cambridge World History*, eds. Jerry H. Bentley, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 29-49.

[10] Therese Schwager, *Militärtheorie im Späthumanismus: Kulturtransfer taktischer und strategischer Theorien in den Niederlanden und Frankreich (1590-1660)* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012).

discipline as a diffuse discursive process that constrains and shapes human action. He argues that disciplining became more invasive and more subtle over the course of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, moving away from brutal damage to the body and towards systems of surveillance and control. In the increasing sophistication of power, sexuality played a central role. In directing attention away from sexual activity in military academies, schools, and other prominent institutions, authorities sought to engineer subjects who kept their mind on their work and dutifully followed orders.[11]

Conversely, most historians of discipline have focused on the techniques civic authorities without fully taking account of gender. In studies of the institutionalization of the Reformation, surveyed in Chapter One, historians have focused on the apparatuses developed in civic contexts to encourage women to marry and to punish fornication and adultery. In surveys of the sixteenth century, scholars characterize the period as one preoccupied with sexual disciplining that aimed to channel all sexual energy into the institution of marriage.[12] The role of celebrations of continence in this literature has been left under-studied.

This chapter explores how three distinct genres – household literature, military treatises, and political literature – understood continence as a pre-requisite for a man's governance of the household, the army, and the realm. In concentrating on continence, both inside of marriage and outside of it, I contribute to our understanding of the disciplinary discourses that justified male governance. In bringing military discourse into conversation with household and political literature, I work to integrate militaries into the disciplinary discourse that historians have emphasized for the

---

[11] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), esp. 239-40 on the French École Militaire. See also Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990).

[12] See, for example, Isabel Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700-1815* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), esp. 25-28 and Faramerz Dabhoiwala, *The Origins of Sex: A History of the First Sexual Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), esp. 1-35.

sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Section One examines how conceptions of *disciplina* operated in discourse on the household and on marriage, which I refer to collectively as "household literature" following historian Torsten Meyer. It charts the ways that continence, piety, and moderation shaped the construction of ideal father of the household as a man who modeled chaste and moderate rulership, disciplined his subordinates, and accepted discipline from his own patriarchal superiors. In the household people learned to accept and exercise discipline and practice sexual restraint.

Section Two examines the ways the similar qualities of continence, piety, and moderation shaped the construction of ideal captains and soldiers. As household literature did for the household, military texts interpreted militaries as pedagogical institutions in which soldiers learned how to be chaste and obedient subjects and captains learned to teach their subordinates the value of subservience and continence. Both the ideal army and the ideal household taught subordinates to be chaste, pious, and obedient people, and to accept discipline when they failed to meet these standards. Section Three examines how these same conceptions of discipline mapped onto treatments of *disciplina* in political discourse. Writers in all three genres interpreted the institutions they discussed as pedagogical spaces designed to train people to be moderate, chaste, and pious subjects. Together, these three genres articulated a notion of discipline that found its laboratories in the small scale of the household, the medium scale of the army, and the large scale of the political realm. In all three, sexual restraint became a cornerstone of masculine comportment and a reflection of personal integrity.

The chronologies of the genres' development make it difficult to trace how military, household, and political thought influenced each other. Both military treatises and household manuals emerged as a genre with distinct conventions between 1520 and 1600 with some regularity

and both were very popular.[13] Political treatises appeared later in the sixteenth century, but were also widely disseminated in later centuries.[14] Nevertheless, whether or not writers in one genre were familiar with the writings of the other two, writers in all three genres cited the same Latin authorities – chiefly Tacitus, Caesar, and Seneca – to support their claims. The shared interest of military treatises, household manuals, and political tracts in classical authorities facilitated the sharing of argumentative conceits and became part of the same discursive field that linked sexuality to social order, casting continence as an important element of male governance.

There were only minor confessional differences between the attitudes espoused in these genres. Military treatises cut across confessional lines in ways that household literature and political philosophy did not, making them somewhat unique as a cross-confessional genre. Conversely, canonical household literature by the likes of Johannes Matthesius and Johannes Coler were distinctly Protestant, whereas the most widely disseminated and influential political philosophers like Justus Lipsius, Pierre Charron, and Guillaume du Vair were Catholic, and both Protestant and Catholic writers composed military treatises. Still, as we shall see, in spite of these differences of genre and confession, military treatises, household literature, and political philosophy agreed that a key facet of ideal captaincy, fatherhood, and rulership was the control of one's sexual urges. Some

---

[13] The writings of Johannes Mathesius on marriage and the household were similarly popular: Mathesius's writings went through no fewer than twenty editions between 1561 and 1580. See the entry for Mathesius's work in VD-16: https://www.gateway-bayern.de/TouchPoint_touchpoint/hitList.do?methodToCall=pos&identifier=19_FAST_153657367&curPos=1#19. The *Kriegßbuch* of Leonhart Fronsperger can serve as an example of the popularity of military discourse. Portions of the first of three eventual volumes first appeared in 1555 before being reissued in 1558 and expanded into another volume in 1565. The 1565 volume went through three editions before the Frankfurt-based printshop of Sigmund Feyrabend printed the *Kriegßbuch* in 1573. The *Kriegsbuch* was evidently quite popular: by the end of the sixteenth century, Feyrabend had issued two more editions. These numbers do not account for the other print runs of the various texts that Fronsperger's *magnum opus* included. Patrick Brugh, *Gunpowder, Masculinity, and Warfare in German Texts, 1400-1700* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2019), 54-61. See also Rainer Leng, *Ars Belli: Deutsche taktische und kriegstechnische Bilderhandschriften und Traktate im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2002), 1:313-16.

[14] Only during the 1580s to early 1600s did thinkers like Justus Lipsius and Pierre Charron formulate their conceptions of discipline, filtered as it was through rulership and subjecthood. Lipsius's writing *De Constantia* (1584) was rapidly translated into English, French, and German before the end of the century. The first French translation was published in Toulouse in 1594. The same year saw an English translation by John Stradling published in London. The first German translation appeared in 1599 in Leipzig.

authors, like the Jesuit historian and theologian René de Ceriziers, recapitulated old lines of thought when he counseled his readers to be wary of marriage because of the dangers love of women posed for male sovereignty.[15] This was a quintessentially Catholic statement that Protestants, who lauded continence *within* marriage, did not make. Most often, however, writers placed sexual continence in a constellation of other virtues like bravery, magnanimity, piety, and wisdom epitomized by ideal male rulers. There was broad agreement that sexual continence was a key attribute of ideal masculine leadership. As we will see, discourses that constituted *disciplina* not only stressed individual sexual restraint, but also connected individuals and collectives, working to justify and perpetuate class and gender hierarchies.

3.1: Household Literature

Sixteenth-century household literature built on classical exempla, chiefly on classical Greek treatises on the *oikos* (οἶκος) and its Latin descendants. The lineage of this literature was reflected in the titles of these works. Two of the most prominent works of household literature, Johannes Mathesius's 1561 *Oeconomia: Oder Bericht / wie sich ein Haußuatter halten sol* (Economy: Or Report, How a Father of the Household Should Behave), expanded in a second edition titled *Oeconomia: Order Bericht vom Christlichen Hauswesen* (Economy: Or Report on Christian Household Knowledge), and Johannes Coler's 1609 massive *Calendarium Perpetuum et Sex Libri Oeconomici* convey that early modern invocations of "economy" reflect a capacious view of the household.[16] Their topic is not economy as we understand it today, but rather an attempt to collect all knowledge that might benefit the survival of the household unit. Coler made this explicit in the extended title of his work. By *Oeconomia*, he

[15] See the discussion on Ceriziers below, page 176.

[16] I cite the 1564 edition exclusively throughout this chapter for ease of reference. The 1564 edition contains the 1561 text, albeit with minor spelling alterations and expands the text greatly.

referred to *de re Familiari, Hortensi, Rustica, Pecuaria, Venatoria, & Medicamentaria* (on matters of the family, horticulture, agriculture, husbandry, hunting, and medicine), the subtitle of his treatise. In short, these texts covered the sum of the relationships that constituted the household: "economy" referenced the household's moral economy, agricultural economy, subsistence economy, and market economy all compacted into a single term.

Scholars have debated what to call this corpus. In his analysis, Julius Hoffmann focuses on the relationships that constituted household governance, placing less emphasis on treatments of subsistence and physical nourishment in favor of the ideological operations that shaped the institution of the household.[17] Later scholars, like Otto Brunner, showed how the ideological operations of the household were integrated into texts' treatments of agricultural and economic knowledge.[18] For Brunner, household literature aimed at instruction for *das ganze haus*: the entire household.[19] Subsequent authors have focused on various aspects of household literature, from the interpenetration between religious reform and concepts of household governance to the ways that

[17] Julius Hoffmann, *Die 'Hausväterliteratur' und die 'Predigten über den christlichen Hausstand': Lehre vom Hause und Bildung für das häusliche Leben im 16., 17., u. 18. Jhdt.* (Berlin: Verlag Julius Beltz, 1959). This focus made sense in Hoffmann's context. Many scholars during the 1950s, drawing upon knowledge of Nazi programs like the Lebensborn, interpreted the rise of the Nazis as a function of the loosening of the power of the household in general and on the weakened power of the paterfamilias or Hausvater in particular. Hoffmann's work possessed a political valence as well: if, Hoffmann implied, the Hausväter of Germany again exerted their dominance and moral authority, Nazism could never rise again. Of course, the research of historians on sexuality and the family in Nazi Germany has refused these claims almost entirely in recent decades. See especially Dagmar Herzog, ed., *Sexuality and German Fascism* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004); Dagmar Herzog, *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 10-63.

[18] Torsten Meyer, "Cultivating the Landscape: The Perception and Description of Work in Sixteenth- to Eighteenth-Century German 'Household Literature' (Hausväterliteratur)," in *The Idea of Work in Europe from Antiquity to Modern Times*, eds. Josef Ehmer & Catharina Lis (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 215-44.

[19] Otto Brunner, *Neue Wege der Verfassungs- und Sozialgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1968), 103-27. See also a brief introduction to Brunner and his context in Stefan Weiß, "Otto Brunner und das Ganze Haus, oder Die zwei Arten der Wirtschaftsgeschichte," *Historische Zeitschrift* 273 (2001): 335-69. Later critiques of Brunner included that he painted a picture of patriarchal household governance that was far too rosy to the actual organization of households in the early modern period. See Claudia Opitz, "Neue Wege der Sozialgeschichte? Ein kritischer Blick auf Otto Brunners Konzept des 'Ganzen Hauses,'" *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 20, no.1 (1994): 88-98.

economic and agricultural advice in the early modern period elaborated on advice offered in the medieval period.[20]

Household literature was a distinctly prescriptive genre. The cost of the volumes – Coler's *Oeconomia* was over 1,000 pages long – made their acquisition prohibitive. Their contents appealed to people with large land holdings and numerous servants and would be passed down to friends and future generations. Latin subtitles of volumes in the vernacular reflected the educational aspiration of their readers. At the same time, they list a variety of readers who might engage with the texts, whether through reading or listening to the master read: the father and mother of the house, children who might recite the prayers in its pages, and servants who would decide the most appropriate time for planting different crops, among others. As compendia of knowledge that intended to serve the household, each subsequent volume built on and borrowed from volumes that came before it. Smaller volumes, like the household prayer manuals of Mathesius, were significantly cheaper and thus more likely to feature in the holdings of more modest householders. The longer and more comprehensive one catered to wealthier buyers.

Authors of German household literature argued that continence was a seminal feature of religious obedience without which the household could not survive. Frequently, they addressed the father and mother of the house directly (*hausvater* and *hausmutter*), but more often the former. Almost every text published during the sixteenth century spoke at length about proper household management. Typically, authors included advice about how parents could set a good, chaste example for their children and wives. Among common pieces of advice were methods *hausväter* and *hausmütter* could employ to raise their children to be obedient, continent, and upright Christians. These texts

[20] See, for example, Gotthardt Frühsorge, "Luthers Kleiner Katechismus und die 'Hausväterliteratur,'" *Pastoraltheologie* 73 (1984): 380-93.

rose in prominence especially after 1560 and became even more popular during the seventeenth century.[21]

The advice household literature offered grew out of the intertwined discourses of household management and religious reform, which decried licentiousness as evil, unchristian, and disorderly in the mid-sixteenth century. Lutheran preacher Melchior Ambach, for example, devoted an entire treatise to adultery and "whoring." He warns his readers not to engage in "gorging, drinking, drunkenness, nor in *vnzucht*, unchastity [*vnkeuscheit*] and lechery [*leichtfertigkeit*], but instead latch onto the lord Jesus and not deeds of carnal desires and lusts."[22] The passage suggests two antithetical sets of behaviors: drunkenness, gluttony, and fornication stand in opposition to pious obedience to scripture. For Ambach, then, giving into one's desires was a failure to act piously.

Piety was arguably the foremost quality household literature encouraged parents to instill in their children. Johannes Mathesius's 1561 *Œconomia* is widely considered by scholars of household literature to have reinvigorated the genre of the vernacular, prescriptive, and practical household manual. Unlike more comprehensive accounts that emerged later, Mathesius's early texts on *Œconomia* were more circumscribed in nature. They did not provide precise guidance on agriculture, medicine, or husbandry. Instead, Mathesius compiled a series of homilies and prayers in rhymed couplets that instructed *hausväter* in the proper governance of their household. Throughout his work, Mathesius addressed men most often. The text begins with advice on whom to marry:

Wer sein leben mit freut vnd rhu /	He who wants to live with joy and peace
In dem Ehstand wil bringen zu:	in the marital state will cause [the following]:
Auff das jms creutz auff dieser erd /	So that the cross [he will carry] on this earth/
Im haushalten deste leichter werd.	Become lighter in matters of the household.
Ein from Gottförchtigs kind er frey /	He shall marry a pious, Godfearing child/

21 A search for "Oeconomia" in VD16 and VD17 of the two most prominent Hausväterliteratur authors, Johannes Mathesius and Johann Coler yielded 68 different editions.

22 Melchior Ambach, *Von Ehbruch vnd H(o)urerey* (Frankfurt, 1543), Hij (v): "Nit in fressen / sauffen / vnnd trunckenheit / noch in vnzucht / vnkeuscheit vnnd leichtfertigkeit / sonder anlegen den herren Jesum vnnd nit des fleischs lusten vnd begirden thun…"

Das von ehrlichen Eltern sey. Who is from honest parents.[23]

In this passage, Mathesius lays out the foundation of the rest of his text. The household begins with marriage. Christian living is the model for enjoyment and tranquility, and piety makes householding more manageable. The individual qualities of a wife mirror those of the prospective husband to whom Mathesius writes. She should be "a pious, God-fearing child," and he should seek the advice of his parents and ask God if he wills the marriage to take place. Deploying the Christian – and mostly Protestant – imagery of the cross to bear, discipline becomes a lifelong struggle with which an honorable wife can help. In stating that a man who wishes to enjoy marital bliss marry a child, Mathesius enjoins men to marry young women, presumably informed and obedient, whom they can mold and shape into good *hausmütter*. His authority over her is supported by both gender and age. Because the couple will join together an extended family, Mathesius counsels that the parents of both spouses should also be honest.

According to Mathesius, one of the most essential qualities of a successful marriage is chastity. Mathesius writes that he wishes God's blessing upon his readers "so that you may live tenaciously, and be able to remain in blessed peace, and holy fire [*Brunst*], and beautiful *zucht*, and marital chastity [*keuschheit*], and honorable peace, and true knowledge of your God and Creator."[24] The sequencing of the list suggests that its elements are connected. True knowledge of God, correct child-rearing, and personal and social disciplined become embodied through the principle of marital chastity. And crucially, Mathesius does not name marital bliss as his wish for the readers who follow his instructions. Instead, he articulates marital *keuschheit*, a term which refers to chastity, abstinence, continence, and honesty. *Keuschheit* was as much a moral valuation as a description of moderation of

[23] Johannes Mathesius, *Œconomia: Oder Bericht vom Christlichen Hauswesen* (Wittenberg: 1564), Aij.
[24] Johannes Mathesius, *Hochzeitpredigten / Vomm Ehestand vnnd Haußwesen* (Nuremberg: Dietrich Gerlach, 1575), 4(v): "Damit jr nun also im seligen friede / vnnd heiliger brunst / vnd schöner zucht / vnnd Ehelicher keuschheit / vnnd ehrlicher freude / vnnd warer erkendtnuß ewers Gottes vnd Schöpffers / vnd schuldiger dancksagung / vnnd pflichtigem gehorsam / biß zur verwandlung inn das Geistliche leben / beharrlich leben / vnd bleiben könnet…"

erotic activity. In Mathesius's formulation, *keuschheit* becomes pious living within the confines of marriage.

Later in his treatise, Mathesius makes clear that one should continue to be continent in marriage. Mathesius's logic hinges on the argument that in marriage, a husband and wife become a single body. Like both the individual male and female bodies, this joint body must remain chaste. Thus, "if a young fellow or husband sullies himself with *vnzüchtiger* love and unbecoming intermingling [*vermischung*], then such a body becomes a disorderly body [*kotscher leib*] in which no holy spirit can live or remain and in which the wretched devil treads with mustiness and lies, all kinds of shame and damage."[25] Just as one body must remain chaste, the couple transformed into one body by the rite of marriage must remain continent, or they risk spoiling their joint body. In this passage, Mathesius suggests that a failure to live continently within marriage constitutes a turning away from God and towards devils and unclean spirits. The man "sullies himself" with such spirits and the result is a love that is *kotsche*, a term that refers primarily to a disorderly *hausmutter*, but which Mathesius stretches here to encompass sexual activity and social disorder.[26] Incontinence in marriage, Mathesius implies, is a capitulation to demonic-cum-sexual forces that destroy the social order. Such an argument, however, does not lead Mathesius to become skeptical about the religious status of marriage. Quite the opposite. On the next page, he opines that "the highest chastity [*keuschheit*] is in the marital state." This argument replicated Lutheran teaching about marriage, which paradoxically argued that marriage was not a sacrament and yet understood marriage rather than celibacy as the state most pleasing to God.[27] Strikingly, Mathesius does not argue that marriage

---

[25] Mathesius, *Hochzeitpredigten*, 11(v)-12: "… wenn sich ein junger Gesell oder Eheman / mit vnzüchtiger liebe vnd vnzimlicher vermischung besudelt / so wird solcher leib ein kotscher leib / da kein heiliger Geist inn wonen vnd bleiben kan / vnnd da der leidige Teufel mit moed vnd lügen / allerley schande vnd schaden / einzeucht."
[26] Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, "Kötsche," in *Deutsches Wörterbuch* online: https://woerterbuchnetz.de/?sigle=DWB&lemid=K11705#0.
[27] Steven Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 31. Joel F. Harrington, *Reordering Marriage and Society in Reformation Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 50-72.

supersedes the command that one remain chaste. Instead, he makes chastity and marriage compatible. Marriage becomes the paramount expression of chastity; therefore, all men should marry. After the Fall, Mathesius indicates, marriage became corruptible but maintained its status as "a holy medicine and help against all sorts of *vnzucht* and uncleanliness of the swampy spirits of whoring [*Hurengeister*]."[28] Marriage, then, helps maintain individual continence and becomes a mode of pious living. Mathesius confirms this argument later in his book when he opines that "the marital state is the chaste [*keuschen*] and *züchtig* state of God. Therefore the unclean and nasty [*garstige*] spirit is always against it."[29] Once more, the terms Mathesius employs connect chastity to social order – *keusch* and *züchtig* denote both erotic discipline and ordered social conduct. Furthermore, in a quintessentially Lutheran articulation, Mathesius makes marriage the institution in which the highest chastity can be attained.

Other authors of household made the connection between continence and social order even more explicit. Whereas some writers assert – partially via terms that imply both erotic excess and social disorder and partially through enunciations that interpret unchastity as an affront to piety – that fornication causes social disorder, another writer asserted that failures in social discipline bred fornication. In a book dedicated to justifying the fight against fornication, Lutheran theologian Andreas Hoppenrod connects "whoring" to improper household management, a familiar refrain in sermons and homilies. He writes that one cause "that is wont to arouse *vnzucht* and whoring is the great neglect of authority, that they do not punish these [deeds]."[30] In this formulation, the failure to police "whoring" results in more "whoring." Like many other authors we have considered,

---

[28] Mathesius, *Hochzeitpredigten*, 12(v): "Im Ehestand ist die höchste keuschheit…. die Ehe ein heilsame Ertzney vnnd hüllfe were / wider allerley vnzucht vnd vnsauberkeit der schlammigen Hurengeister."
[29] Mathesius, *Hochzeitpredigten*, 146: "Der Ehestand ist des keuschen vnd züchtigen Gottes stand / Darum ist jm der vnsauber vnnd garstige Geist allzeit entgegen…"
[30] Andreas Hoppenrod, *Wider den Huren Teufel vnd allerley Vnzucht* (Eisleben, 1565), 277(v): "Die sechste vrsach / so vnzucht vnd Hurerey pflegt zuerregen / ist die grosse nachlessigkeit aller Obrigkeit / das sie dieselbige nicht straffen…" This argument also replicated many Lutheran teachings, most notable in Luther's 1523 *Vom Ehelichen Stand*.

Hoppenrod refers to "whoring" with a term that evokes both social and sexual disorder: *unzucht*. The argument that he formulates suggests a cycle of social disorder that generates sexual excess, which in turn creates yet more social disorder. The cure, he implies, is chaste discipline.

It is in the context of chastity as obedience to God's will, a conformity which writers asserted maintained social order, that Mathesius's advice to parents can be understood as a claim regarding erotic activity. Almost halfway through his 1564 *Oeconomia*, Mathesius offers prayers that different members of the household can read aloud. In these prayers, Mathesius reveals what he understands as the social and moral role of each member of the household. Furthermore, in addressing different prayers to different individuals, he encourages his readers to strive for the perfection of the virtues he lays out. What is most interesting for the purposes of this study are the terms he uses to gloss household duties, as we will see. They were variations of the same terms authors of military treatises developed around the same time. For example, the *hausvater* asks God the following: "give me understanding so that I may rule [*regiere*] my wife, child, [and] servants in a Christian fashion, and educate them in God's word and all discipline [*zucht*]."[31] Mathesius's treatment of governance [*regierung*] depicts both a strictly hierarchical and a pedagogical unit. Furthermore, the same term used to *unzüchtige weiber* in sixteenth-century military and religious discourse here appears in its normative form – as proper child-rearing and discipline [*zucht*]. Mathesius's words reflect a dual strand of discipline: an ideal *hausvater* disciplines his own sexual desires and those of his subordinates to create a well-ordered household.

The writer of the longest work of early modern German household literature, Johannes Coler, replicated many of the conceits found in military treatises and in earlier household literature. His magnum opus, the 1,500-page *Oeconomici* (1609) combined astrological, agricultural, medicinal,

---

[31] Mathesius, *Oeconomia*, Bj (v). "…du wollest mir vorstand geben / das ich mein Weib / Kind / Gesinde Christlich regiere / vnd zu Gottes Wort / vnd aller zucht erziehe…"

horticultural, economic, and moral advice in his work to serve as a compendium of knowledge that nobles could draw upon for the diverse needs of their estates. Reflecting the anticipated wealth and power of his readers, Coler draws from military idioms to delineate duties for certain figures in the household. For example, a "sergeant [*Amptmann*] or captain [*Heuptman*]" of the household servants should "first be God-fearing [*Gottfürchtig*] and lead the other servants by good example diligently [*fleissig*] to keep God's word and the Holy Sacrament. He should also give commands [*befehl*] and do everything so that the servants avoid all evil and horrible blasphemy [*Gotteslesterung*], cursing and swearing, witchcraft, lies and imprecations, also all *Vnzucht* and frivolity [*Leichtfertigkeit*]."[32] The man's title – captain or sergeant – reflects his heightened authority and reflects the duty that subordinates have to follow his orders. Moreover, Coler's focus on sexual excess, notably the explicit inclusion of *unzucht* and *leichtfertigkeit*, echo earlier enunciations extolling the virtues of continence. Finally, Coler posits that household discipline is impossible unless social superiors practice self-discipline.

Coler proceeds to echo earlier associations of excess in food and drink spilling over into fornication when he writes that each captain "should be sober and avoid disgraceful drunkenness [*vollsaufens*]," to avoid all *unzucht*. The reading makes a causal link between "whoring" and drinking; the remedy for "whoring" is simply not to drink. Moreover, each captain must also have a wife in order to "prevent all kind of *Vnzucht* and many omissions of his charge." Finally, to act as an arbiter of sexual discipline, Coler writes that the captain of the servants is "not to tolerate or suffer that the servants [*Gesinde*] ... engage in whoring, adultery, or other vices…."[33] In Coler's text, sergeants and captains move from the conceptual realm of the military into that of households. Like *hausväter*

[32] Johannes Coler, *Aureo-Montani Silesii* (Wittenberg: Lorenz Seuberlich, 1609), 2: 8, "Vom Amptmann oder Heuptman": "Es sol aber ein Amptman erstlich Gottfürchtig sein / vnd sich dem andern Gesinde zu gutem Exempel fleissig zu Gottes Wort vnnd dem H. Hochwirdigen Sacrament halten / auch den befehl vnd die verschaffung thun / damit sich das Gesinde aller bösen vnd grawsamen Gotteslesterung / fluchens vnd schwerens / zaubern / liegens vnd betriegens / auch aller Vnzucht vnd Leichtfertigkeit eussere vnd enthalte…"

[33] Coler, *Aureo-Montani Silesii*, 2: 8: "Soll auch ein jeder Amptman nuchtern sein / vnd sich schendlichen vollsauffens enthalten / auch zur vermeidung allerley Vnzucht / vnd viel verseumens seines Ampts / sein vertrawet Eheweib haben / vnnd nicht dulden noch leiden / das das Gesinde / … Hurerey / Ehebruch / oder andere Laster treiben…"

(albeit with less power and under his authority), captains and sergeants of servants must be pious, chaste, and obedient and insure that their subordinates act in the same fashion. Indeed, they teach subordinates to discipline themselves by moderating their desires for food, drink, and sex.[34] For Coler and Mathesius, sexual restraint was a key aspect of personal discipline.

Sixteenth-century household literature was a distinctly German Protestant genre that later took hold in England and, to a lesser extent, in France in the seventeenth century. Yet sixteenth-century French religious writers shared many of the same ideas about obedience and chastity as hallmarks of discipline. Although the precise configurations of these discourses were necessarily different between the two linguistic, religious, and political contexts, French writers who treated marriage and the household agreed that continence was a pre-requisite for disciplined conduct. Furthermore, in both France and Germany, authors agreed that patriarchal authority conditioned subordinates to act as proper subjects and taught everyone to abide, assert, and celebrate their place in social hierarchies.

In France, sixteenth-century literature about the family focused on the regulation of marriage. This focus built on a medieval French tradition. In late medieval Montpellier, for example, court documents reveal that the legal superiority of household fathers rested on their moral responsibility for their household. Local legislation empowered fathers to punish minor crimes that their wives, children, dependents, apprentices, and servants perpetrated in the domestic sphere.[35] A good father governed himself and his household well, wisely worked to educate his charges, and modeled piety and restraint for the other members of his household. French heads of household

---

[34] Similar ideologies appear to have structured the lives of single men as well. See, for example, Elizabeth Harding, "The Early Modern Professor at Home: Masculinity, Bachelorhood and Family Concepts (Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries)," *Gender & History* 27, no.3 (2015): 736-51.

[35] See the examples in Sarah Hanley, "Family and State in Early Modern France: The Marriage Pact," in *Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World, 1500 to the Present*, eds. Marilyn J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 53-63.

(*pères de famille*) were responsible for providing for and protecting their families, and with disciplining and educating their members to become continent, pious, obedient subjects.[36]

For example, French texts asserted that a key component of a household father's authority was his ability to restrain his own sexual urges and control the sexual behavior of other household members. This was one aspect of the oft-uttered *ménagement* of the early modern French household.[37] The Jesuit priest Edmond Auger, for example, opined that letting one's carnal desires run unchecked in marriage challenged the purity of the marital state. He writes in the foreword to his discourse on marriage that "the profane ancients," unilluminated by the Holy Word, were "blinded by a world of false opinions, founded on the flesh."[38] In writing this, he juxtaposes fleshy, profane desire and reasoned, spiritual piety. As opposed to people who are ruled by reason and seek to support their souls or minds, the ancients are debauched to the extent that they are ruled by their opinions and seek pleasures of the flesh. For Auger, these pleasures make them less wise, blinding them to the true state of the world. The ancients' focus on bodily pleasures, Auger asserts, spoiled their marriages "by covering themselves in the dangers of jealousy, adultery, and other disadvantages, which rendered marriage to some of the most blind and rebarbative [people], as [an] odious [state]."[39] Letting reason become subordinated to bodily pleasure, then, risks marriage returning to

---

[36] In coining the "family-state compact," Sarah Hanley makes precisely this argument. See Sarah Hanley, "Engendering the State: Family Formation and State Building in Early Modern France," *French Historical Studies* 16, no.1 (1989): 4-27. See also Lucie Laumonier, "Meanings of Fatherhood in Late Medieval Montpellier: Love, Care and the Exercise of *Patria Potestas*," *Gender & History* 27, no.3 (2015): 651-68. As Hanley also points out, there were economic reasons for the assertion of patriarchal authority in France: because the French practice of venality treated titles as immovable property, inherited from one generation to the next, parents had a vested financial and emotional interest in the spouses their children chose. See Sarah Hanley, "'The Jurisprudence of the Arrêts': Marital Union, Civil Society, and State Formation in France, 1550-1650," *Law and History Review* 21, no.1 (2003): 1-40.

[37] On the resonances of *ménagement* in French households, see Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Management in Early Modern France* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), esp. 77-108.

[38] Edmond Auger, *Discours du sainct sacrement de mariage* (Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1577), aiij(v): "Les anciens profanes, & qui n'auoient la lumiere celeste escriuante aux yeux de leurs entendemens aueuglés d'vn monde de faulses opinion, fondées sur la chair…."

[39] Auger, *Discours du sainct sacrement de mariage*, aiij(v): "… & tantost en se couurant des dangers de ialousie, d'adultere & de tels inconueniens qui rendoient le Mariage à quelques vns des plus aigus, & rebarbatifs, comme odieux."

the "odious," pre-Christian state Auger condemns. Indeed, later in his treatise, Auger asserts that "there is nothing so vile as loving one's wife as if she were a whore," going so far as to call someone "who loves his wife too much" an "adulterer."[40] Even in marriage, chaste conduct is necessary. Auger glosses continence not only as subservience to reason, but as obedience to God. He asserts that "spouses must guard themselves well against other sins, offer God their bodies in sacrifice and pure and clean oblation."[41] In Auger's estimation, chastity becomes a sacrifice to the glory of God and a central aspect of obedience to his will.

In sum, in both French and German, writers extolled the virtues of chastity. They interpreted continence as a central attribute of pious and disciplined conduct. The language French marriage literature and German household literature used to gloss relationships between parents and their children echoed the terminology developed in military treatises. Both parents and captains of workers had to instruct their charges in disciplined conduct, model this conduct, and chastise subordinates who gave into fornication, gorging, drinking, and other acts of immoderation. Moreover, they argued that discipline began with self-discipline – that social superiors had first to manage their own desires before adequately disciplining their social inferiors.

3.2: Military Treatises

In spite of the different topics that household literature and military treatises discussed, the genres share many features. Both were prescriptive, and both dedicated much space to the pedagogical roles of their respective institutions. Both aimed at wealthy readers who could afford to purchase expensive books. Both deployed classical authors and concepts that underwent

[40] Auger, *Discours du sainct sacrement de mariage*, 6: "Il n'y a rien si vilain que d'aymer sa femme, comme si c'estoit vne putain ... qui est trop amateur de sa femme, en est adultere." This was a standard Catholic line of thought.
[41] Auger, *Discours du sainct sacrement de mariage*, 4(v): "Que les Mariés peuuent bien en se gardant d'autres pechés, offrir à Dieu leurs corps, en sacrifice, & oblation pure & nette."

development during the Middle Ages. Both celebrated the ability of men to control their sexual desires. Finally, both represented their topics as spaces were people learned to lead continent lives and accept disciplinary action from superiors if they fell into lechery. In short, authors of military treatises and household literature agreed that one of their primary concerns was the education and training of obedient, pious, and chaste subjects.

Like household literature, military treatises explicitly drew on formulations of *disciplina* from classical writers. Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus's *Epitoma rei militaris* (also known as *De re militari*) was a particular inspiration. Medieval military manuals adapted Vegetius's advice in light of changing military technologies.[42] And yet, even as writers altered Vegetius's advice for new generations, they recapitulated many of his arguments. Niccolò Machiavelli's 1520 *Art of* War, which had been translated into German, French, and English by the end of the sixteenth century, can serve as an example.[43] Machiavelli conserved Vegetius's arguments about the need for keeping courage and moderation in balance in order to insure military effectiveness. Adopting a geo-humoral approach, Vegetius argues that whereas people from southern regions are prudent but lack bravery, people from northern regions are brave but not prudent. He encourages his readers to recruit soldiers from temperate regions, for "the plenteousness of their blood supplies a contempt for wounds and death,

---

[42] Rainer Leng has demonstrated how military treatises evolved away from a strictly Vegetian model over the course of the sixteenth century. See Leng, *Ars Belli*, 1: 65-69. Compare the comprehensive advice offered in Vegetius's work to two medieval books of chivalry, one by Geoffroi de Charny, the other by Ramon Lull. Geoffroi de Charny, *A Knight's Own Book of Chivalry*, trans. Elspeth Kennedy (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005). Ramon Llull, *The Book of the Order of Chivalry = Llibre de l'Ordre de Cavallerie = Libro de la Orden de Caballeria*, trans. Antonio Cortijo Ocaña (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2015). Both focus overwhelmingly on the personal conduct of knights and their charges rather than on the army as a comprehensive unit. Compare also to a manuscript *Kriegsbuch* by Ludwig von Eyb, composed ca. 1500. Ludwig von Eyb, *Kriegsbuch* (1500), Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, UER MS.B 26. Eyb focuses on individual combat and siege engines, unlike military treatise authors who concentrate on the army as an entire unit. For scholarship on Vegetuis from the medieval period, see Christopher Allmand, *The* De re militari *of Vegetius: The Reception, Transmission and Legacy of a Roman Text in the Middle Ages* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011). See also Foster Hallberg Sherwood, "Studies in Medieval Uses of Vegetius' *Epitoma rei militaris*," (PhD Diss. UCLA, 1980). For a German example of the adoption and reorganization of Vegetius's writings, see Philipp von Seldeneck's *Kriegsbuch*, which mostly recapitulates Vegetius's *Epitoma* at the Badischen Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe, Durlach 18.

[43] In order to assess the ways that contemporaries understood the nexus of terms connected to *disciplina*, I have elected for period translations whenever available.

and intelligence cannot be lacking either which preserves discipline in camp and is of no little assistance with counsel in battle."[44] Similarly, Machiavelli writes that captains should choose soldiers from temperate regions "so that they have spirit and prudence. For a warm country generates prudent and not spirited [men], a cold one spirited and not prudent ones."[45]

Another inheritance of Vegetius was the understanding of military discipline as a pre-requisite for military success. For example, Vegetius writes that "In every battle it is not numbers and untaught bravery so much as skill and training that generally produce victory. For we see no other explanation of the conquest of the world by the Roman people than their drill-at-arms [*armorum exercitio*], camp-discipline [*disciplina castrorum*], and military expertise [*usu militiae*]."[46] The English translation from 1572 does not do justice to the gendered language of discipline in Vegetius's work. By invoking *disciplina castrorum*, he connected ideal soldierly *virtus* to the art of war, which consisted of the proper exercise of arms, an instantiation of discipline in the army, and knowledge of the practice of war. Besides his invocation of the term *virtus* (in Latin, literally the quality of being a man), Vegetius makes clear that his treatise is partially a formula for turning able but unrefined men into disciplined soldiers. First, Vegetius urges his readers to exercise discretion in choosing soldiers from appropriate climatic regions. But Vegetius also restricts the quality of men who could be molded into soldiers by occupation. He writes, "Fishermen, fowlers, pastrycooks, weavers and all who shall have dealt in anything pertaining to women's quarters [*ad gynaecea pertinens*]

---

[44] Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus, *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science*, trans. N. P. Milner (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993), 3-4. The Latin text was variable, a sign of its transmission through manuscript culture. A Roman reprint from 1494 held by the Herzog August Bibliothek in Germany reads thus: "quae uicinae sint soli nimio calore siccitatem amplius quidem sapere: & minus habere sanguinis dicunt: ac proptera constantiam: ac fiduciam eo minus habere pugnandi: quia metuunt uulnera: qui exiguum sanguinem se habere nouerint. Contra septentrionales populi remotia solis ardoribus inconsultiores quidem: Sed tandem largo sanguine redundates sunt ad bella, promptissimi. Tyrones igitur de temperatioribus legendi sunt plagis: quibus & sanguinis copa suppetat ad uulnerum: mortisque contemptum: & non possit deesse prudentia. Quare & modestiam seruat in castri: & non parum prodest in dimicatione consiliis." Flavius Vegetius Renatus, *Vegetius de re militari* (Rome: Silber), book 1, ch2, HAB A: 240.69 Quod. (2).

[45] Niccolò Machiavelli, *Art of War*, trans. Christopher Lynch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 20.

[46] Vegetius, *Vegetius*, 2. In Latin: "In omni autem paelio: non tam multitudo: & uirtus indocta: quod ars: & exercitium solent praestare uictoriam. Nulla enim alia re uidemus populum Romanum sibi orbem subiecisse terrarum: nisi armorum exercitio: disciplina castrorum: atque usu militiae." Vegetius, *Vegetius de re militari* book 1, ch1, HAB A: 240.69 Quod. (2).

should in my view be banned from the camp."[47] An ideal soldier had to be a particular kind of man – a masculine, disciplined man from a temperate region. Furthermore, an ideal soldier needed to be wise. Vegetius made the case for the military necessity of wisdom in his third book. In a series of short pieces of advice, Vegetius counsels his readers that wisdom and ideal masculinity ought to be conjoined in warfare: "It is difficult to beat someone who can form a true estimate of his own and the enemy's forces. Manhood [*virtus*] is of more value than numbers."[48] In employing the term *virtus*, Vegetius invoked a dense constellation of characteristics including wisdom, discipline, bravery, and restraint.

For Vegetius, armies played a pedagogical role insofar as they trained men to be industrious and disciplined: "Few men are born naturally brave [*fortes*]; hard work and good training makes many so."[49] In drawing upon the language of strength, Vegetius linked the realization of competent soldiering to discipline and industriousness. In short, the successful achievement of manhood [*virtus*] and the development of strong men [*viros fortes*] come through men's education inside of disciplinary institutions [*institiutione*], which teach men to be industrious [*industria*]. Earlier in the volume, Vegetius lays out advice about how to inculcate the ethics of discipline he would later specify. He writes that if the army will soon be deployed, "they should be detained for considerable periods on outpost-duty and be kept far away from the attractions of the city, so that by this means their physical and mental vigor may be increased."[50] Vegetius interprets bodily pleasures like excessive

---

[47] Vegetius, *Vegetius*, 7. In Latin: "Piscatores, aucupes, dulciarios, linteones, omnes que qui aliquid tractasse videbunteur ad gynaecea pertinens, longè arbitror pellendos a castris." Milner translates "ad gynaecea pertinens" as "pertaining to textile-mills" but notes that a more literal translation would be "pertaining to women's quarters." He argues that Vegetius means to prohibit people who worked in state-owned textile factories, chiefly slaves and women weavers and textile workers, from becoming soldiers.
[48] Vegetius, *Vegetius*, 109. "Difficile uincitus qui uere potest de suis & deaduersarii copiis iudicare. Amplius ualet uirtus: quam multitudo." Milner translates "virtus" as "bravery," but the Latin implies much more than just bravery. Related to the word "vir" or "man," *virtus* refers to a much more capacious view of masculine behavior.
[49] Vegetius, *Vegetius*, 109. "Paucos uiros fortes natura procreat: bona institutione plures reddit industria."
[50] Vegetius, *Vegetius*, 4. "... si longior expeditio emergit, in agrariis plurimum detinendi sunt proculque habendi a ciuitatis inlecebris, ut eo modo et corporibus eorum robur accedat et animis."

food, drink, and sex as antithetical to the disciplined manhood he seeks to promote. Vegetius makes this argument clear as he continues, idolizing Roman soldiers and Roman men generally because "in those days they were not enervated by luxury."[51] Men's focus on "luxury" and "the attractions of the city" make them soft and reflect a lack of discipline which Vegetius interprets as anathema to military effectiveness. But for Vegetius, the idealized discipline-centric manhood of soldiers does not end with military spaces. Instead, Vegetius argues that Roman soldiers and farmers used to possess essentially the same masculine traits of discipline, restraint, strength, and industry: "The same man was both warrior and farmer, merely changing the style of equipment."[52] Army discipline thus shapes and is shaped by the discipline of people who are not (yet) soldiers.

In the *Art of War*, Machiavelli recapitulates the central tenets of Vegetius's advice even as he glosses them in different terms and restructures their order of enunciation. In Machiavelli's seventh book, he mimics Vegetius by articulating several short rules for military success. He draws from Vegetius when he argues that "Nature produces few hardy men; industry and training makes many."[53] The difference between Vegetius's advice and that of Machiavelli is primarily terminological. Machiavelli distills the more capacious Latin *institutio* (institution, formation, training, convention, education) into the Italian *esercizio* (exercise, practice). In the process, he replaces a term that leans towards the organizational structure of armies with one that gestures towards training over time. In the process of adapting Vegetius's writings for his own purposes, in other words, Machiavelli adds new layers of meaning to his model text. Vegetius's advice that "Virtue/Manhood [*virtus*] is of more value than numbers," became two distinct pieces of advice for Machiavelli: "In

---

[51] Vegetius, *Vegetius*, 4. "Sed tunc nullis deliciis fragebantur."
[52] Vegetius, *Vegetius*, 4. "... idem bellator, idem agricola, genera tantum mutabat armorum."
[53] Machiavelli, *Art of Warre*, 158. "La natura genera pochi uomini gagliardi; la industria e l'esercizio ne fa assai."

war, discipline [*disciplina*] can [do] more than fury [*furore*]" and "The virtue [*virtù*] of soldiers is more valuable than their number [*moltitudine*]."[54]

Machiavelli agrees with Vegetius that the outcome of a battle depends first and foremost on the quality of the soldiers that a captain recruits. He proves especially critical of mercenaries because he distrusts their obedience. What is more, he insists that the soldiers who chose to serve in foreign lands and under foreign rulers "are scandalous, idle, without restraint, without religion, fugitives from their fathers' rule, blasphemers, gamblers, [and] in every part badly raised."[55] In this sentence, Machiavelli deploys a variety of tropes that depict mercenaries as agents of social disorder. Rather than point to specific examples, he composes a list of character traits that he finds abhorrent in mercenaries. Irreligion, insubordination, and laziness act as foils for Machiavelli's ideal soldier. But Machiavelli goes yet further when he implies that soldiers' military indiscipline is related to their insubordination to other patriarchal superiors. Because mercenaries tend to come from foreign regions, Machiavelli claims, they are not bound by the same relationship that connects subjects to their rulers. Thus, he reasons, mercenaries are less trustworthy because they come from outside the organic systems of discipline that characterize the domestic social order. Mercenaries become "unruly" insofar as they are "fugitive from the rule of their fathers." Mercenaries' flight from the rule of their fathers presages their insubordination to their commanders. Machiavelli further links insubordination to a lack of personal restraint: rather than work diligently to cultivate Christian virtue, mercenaries prove "idle"; rather than accept discipline, they generate scandal. Disobedience

---

[54] Machiavelli, *Art of War*, 158. "Può la disciplina nella guerra più che il furore.... Più vale la virtù de' soldati che la moltitudine."

[55] Machiavelli, *Art of War*, 21. Emphasis mine. A 1623 German translation: "darumb daß wann böse Buben / faule vnnd ärgerliche Müssiggänger / die weder Gottsforcht noch Religion haben / von jhren Herren / oder den Eltern entloffene ohnnütze Leckern/ Flucher / Gottslästerer / Betrüger vnd in summa in allweg vbel erzogene Söhn vorhanden / seind solches die aller ersten / die in Krieg ziehen wollen." Nicolai Machiavelli, *Kriegskunst* (Montbéliard: Ludwig Königs, 1623), 32. The original Italian reads: "... perchè se alcuni vi sono scandolosi, oziosi, senza freno, senza religione, fuggitisi dallo imperio del padre, bestemmiatori, giucatori, in ogni parte male nutriti, sono quegli che vogliono militare."

to God and disobedience to patriarchal social superiors slip into and structure one another; lack of restraint becomes a behavioral trait associated with disobedience.

These ideas continued to resonate in the sixteenth century in both French and German texts. Michel d'Amboise, the son of Charles d'Amboise, who served as a general on the French side of the Italian Wars, expanded on the disciplinary conception of masculinity treated by Vegetius and Machiavelli. Born in Naples, he worked as a poet, translator, rhetor, and essayist. Although he does not cite Vegetius or Machiavelli, he espouses a similar conception of discipline. Like therm, Amboise urged military commanders to exercise restraint and self-discipline in order to govern the army. He writes that a captain should "be noble and of good house ... and that he be without vice." His rationale relies upon the need of captains to incorporate the discipline they expected of soldiers into their personal conduct: "for he who wants to have dominion over another, he must first dominate and be master over himself."[56] Control over one's own urges becomes a key component in disciplined personal comportment.

Amboise proceeds to name the vices from which a captain should be free, portraying each of these qualities as deleterious to military discipline. Amboise begins by denigrating lust as an unmanly quality. "For where appetite, that is sultriness, rules and governs, all reason ceases." Amboise continues by arguing that reason is the central hallmark of masculinity, for without reason, "only in form, and not in fact, can we be called men." The most dangerous vice that captains must avoid is luxury (meaning giving into their bodily desires) because "luxury makes a man infamous and contemptible to his friends and his enemies, and other things [yet] more damaging. That is because if the captain is luxurious and bawdy, so too are the soldiers." Again, Amboise stresses that discipline begins with patriarchal superiors' self-discipline: "if the chief is sick, the members sense

---

[56] Michel d'Amboise, *Le Guidon des gens de guerre*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Gallior du Pré, 1543; Paris: *Librairie militaire de J. Dumaine*, 1878), 20. "Coronal, ou capitaine pour ton armée, ie te conseille eslire ung qui soit noble et bonne maison … et qu'il soit sans vice; car qui veult sur autruy dominer, il est besoing que premièrement luymesmes se domine et maistrise."

it." Here, the pedagogical role of military leaders comes to the fore. The behavior of the captain engenders similar conduct in his subordinates. Significantly, Amboise's example revolves around continence in highly sexualized language, especially his choice of the terms *sensualité* (sensuality, feeling), *luxurieux* (luxurious), and *paillard* (bawdy, ribald). Amboise's terminology here underscores the erotic tenor of desires that must be restrained by reason. Amboise then links the control of sexual urges to masculinity when he contends that if soldiers surrender to their lusts, they cease being effective military instruments and become incomplete men, barely worthy of the term. Amboise concludes his passage: "For this reason, the soldiers with their captain become effeminate, something as contrary to men of war as water is to fire."[57] By tapping into this preconception, Amboise cements continence as a feature necessary for discipline in wartime.

Whereas giving into one's desires made a soldier effeminate, Amboise considers continence and chastity key attributes of masculine governance. In a series of pronouncements about the proper conduct of war, Amboise advocated "that one must be chaste in war." He associated chastity chiefly with military leadership, as without chastity, he writes "nobody is worthy of being named lord or captain. Because he who is tainted and infested by these two cruel beasts, concupiscence and luxury, and over whom they have regime or government, how can he have domination over another?" Sexual self-governance becomes a prerequisite for leadership. Instead of luxury and concupiscence, Amboise urges his readers to follow the path of Alexander the Great, "who not only avoided carnally touching the daughters of the powerful Persian king (even though they excelled in beauty), but also did not even want to see them, when they were subjected to his captivity and power."[58]

---

[57] Amboise, *Le Guidon des gens de guerre*, 20-21. "Car où l'appetit, c'est assauoir la sensualité, domine et gouuerne, toute raison cesse, sans laquelle seulement par figure, non par effect, nous pouons estre appeléz hommes.... La luxure rend l'homme infâme, et à ses amys et ennemys contemnible, et qui plus est dommageable. C'est que, si le capitaine est luxurieux et paillard, pareillement le seront les souldats; car communement, si le chef est malade, les membres s'en sentent. Et à ceste cause, les souldars avecques leur capitaine deuiennent effeminez, chose aussi contraire à l'homme de guerre, comme est l'eau au feu."

[58] Amboise, *Le Guidon des gens de guerre*, 95. "Qu'il fault estre chaste en la guerre. Chasteté en guerre tellement d'vng chascun est louée et approuuée, que sans elle nul n'est digne d'est nommé seigneur ou capitaine. Car celluy qui sera

Amboise connects sexual discipline to military discipline more fully in fanciful account of the etymology of the French term "castle" – *château*: "But why are châteaux called châteaux? If not because one must live chastely [*châtement*] in them. Let us leave there the good reputation that we can acquire by chastity."[59] Military obedience became linked to the ability to bridle one's sexual urges – a bridling that was glossed as an innately masculine quality.

Raymond Rouer de Fourquevaux makes similar claims in his 1548 *Instructions sur l'art de la guerre*. When describing how best to retain a conquered place, he writes that soldiers ought to be "continent and chaste, keep themselves from violating the wife or daughter of another, be it by love or by force."[60] His rationale is chiefly functional: lack of chastity among soldiers breeds popular resentment, which imperils the ability of the captain to keep the conquered territory. Fourquevaux concludes, "I want to say that a general who will present himself as chaste and just will thereby win the hearts of the people of a country more than by another means that he may find."[61] Sexual restraint becomes a central element, not only in personal discipline and military order, but also in military success.

---

attainct et infesté de ces deux cruelles bestes, concupiscence et luxure, et sur lequel elles auront régime ou gouuernement, comment pourra il auoir domination sur autruy, au moins qui soit proffitable? … A ceste cause, il te sera très-bon d'ensuyvre Alexandre le Grand, qui non pas seuelement se garda d'attoucher charnellement les filles (combien qu'elles fussent excellentes en beauté) du puissant roy de Perse, mais aussi ne les voulut point veoir, quand elles furent réduyctes soubz sa captiuité et puissance." Amboise does not mention Alexander's later marriage to Roxana. On Alexander's various resonances on the early modern stage, which vacillated between depicting him as a heroic young conqueror or a wrathful and lustful tyrant, see Christine Sukic, "'We Have Made a God of Our Owne Bloud': Alexander the Great as Hero and Tyrant on the Early Modern Stage," in *Le Prince, le despote, ly tyran: figures du souverain en Europe de la Renaissance aux Lumières = The Prince, the Despot, the Tyrant: Figures of the Sovereign in Europe from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, eds. Myriam-Isabelle Ducroq and Laïla Ghermani (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2019), 113-128.

[59] Amboise, *Le Guidon des gens de guerre*, 96: "Mais pourquoy sont nomméz chasteaulx, chasteaulx? Sinon qu'en iceulx fault viure chastement. Laissons là la bonne renommée que nous pouons acquérir par chasteté." In reality, the term château comes from the Latin castellum (fortress, castle, redoubt, stronghold, refuge, reservoir), itself a diminutive of castrum (camp). *Larousse*, s.v. "Château," accessed November 22, 2021, https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/ch%c3%a2teau/14902. For the Latin, see *Online Latin Dictionary*, s.v. "castellum," accessed November 22, 2021, https://www.online-latin-dictionary.com/latin-english-dictionary.php?parola=castellum.

[60] Raymond Rouer de Fourquevaux, *Instructions sur le faict de la guerre* (Paris: 1548), 94: "… d'auantage, estre continent & chaste, se gardant de violer la femme ou la fille d'autruy, soit par amour ou par force."

[61] Fourquevaux, *Instructions sur l'art de la guerre*, 94: "Ie veulx dire pareillement qu'vn General qui se monstrera chaste & iuste, il gaignera par la le cueur de ceulx d'vn pais plus que par autre moyen qu'il sache trouuer."

French military officer Jérémie de Billon elaborated upon these arguments in his 1641 *Instructions militaires*. He reduced perfect military discipline to four components: (1) clear military order; (2) drill and exercise; (3) the institution of laws, punishments, and police; and (4) honors for virtuous conduct and good military service. The creation of laws and the stipulation of punishments for violations of military regulations gave Billon occasion to comment upon what he understood as the pre-requisites of military order. Like Amboise, he understands continence as a central component of military order. He writes that "there are three principal things without which there is neither order nor power in an army: continence, modesty, and abstinence. One must have them very rigorously observed." He clarifies that continence both includes and exceedes avoiding fornication: "One must have continence in all things, but above all in these three here: in sustenance [*viure*], in women, and in gambling [*jeu*]." Billon claims that moderation in sustenance, sexual restraint, and forbearance of gambling were connected for "all these things spoil the soul, the spirit, honor, goods, and the body." His pronouncement links personal restraint to social order, implying that all military disorder arose from excess in sustenance, women, or gambling when he writes that "and it is not needed to write each because these three names comprehend everything which depends on them."[62] In Billon's estimation, excess in food, gambling, and in sexual activity bleed into one another and serve as fonts of military disorder. In adding modesty and abstinence to the discourse, Billon augments the disciplinary discourse that emphasized continence. Abstinence was the most strongest form of restraint whereas modesty signified one's willingness to accept punishment for immoderation. The purpose of military police, he concludes, is to compel soldiers to comply with the dictates of continence, modesty, and abstinence considered critical to military effectiveness. In

---

[62] Jérémie de Billon, *Instructions militaires* (Lyon: Barthelemy Ancelin, 1617), 78: "Il y a trois choses principales sans lesquelles il n'y a ny ordre, ny force en vne armee: La continence. La modestie. Et l'abstinence. Il les faut-tres-rigoreusement faire observer. On doit auoir de la continence en toutes choses: mais sur tout en ces trois icy: Au viure. Aux femmes. Et au jeu. Toutes ces choses gastent l'ame, l'esprit, l'honneur, les biens, & le coprs. Et n'est pas besoin d'escrire sur chacune, parce que les trois noms comprennent tout ce que en despend."

this way, continence became of central concern in the generation of military order, which commanders understood as a pre-requisite for military effectiveness.

As formulated in military discourse, discipline exceeded the willingness of soldiers merely to discipline themselves, although this was one important element. It also included their willingness to accept discipline from their superior officers. For example, a 1576 code from France that governed the one hundred Swiss bodyguards [*Cent Suisses*] of the King prohibited soldiers from having "any wenches [*metzen*] to be brought to the quarter, or to keep wenches for himself, or he will be cashiered." To effect continence, the *Cent Suisses* were to remain segregated away from women who might attract their sexual attention. The same article stipulated that "He who marries a woman [*Wyb*], no matter who she is, without his captain's, lieutenant's, or ensign's knowledge and will, the same will be sent away from the service without honor."[63] The *Cent Suisses*, in short, needed officers' (and by extension, the king's) permission to marry. It appears that in joining the guards, a man transferred his obedience from his father to the king, whose officers thus took on the role of parental authority, including permission to marry.[64] Through their patriarchal governance, officers became not only arbiters of sexual morality and creators of social order, but also gatekeepers to the institution of marriage. In this way, militaries extended their power of gender and sexual disciplining.

---

[63] *Collection des ordonnances militaires [coll. des. ord.], Services Historiques de la Défense [SHD]*, Vincennes, 10: 210: 15, 1576. "*Zum fünffzechenden*. Sollend sy schweren. Welliche den dienst Haben wellen. Das sy khein metzen wellen Han. Noch dem Hof nach fueren. Oder für syn eigen Halten. By verlierung sines diensts. Unnd ob aber einer ein meineiden man stuhlte. Sodarf er im nitt wyters antwurt zegeben." The following paragraph reads "Wellicher ouch ein wyb zur Ee name. Unangeschen wer die ware, One sines Houpmans. Lütenampts. Vendrichs. Oder Statthalters. gunst wüssen und willen. der soll one gnad. Angentz von dem dienst verschickt werden."

[64] On the vested interest of parents in the marriage of their children in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France, see Hanley, "Family and State in Early Modern France." This idea proved durable. The *Encyclopédie*'s article on "mariage" noted that "Pour la validité du *mariage*, il ne faut en général d'autre consentement que celui des deux contractans, à moins qu'ils ne soient en la puissance d'autrui. Ainsi les princes & princesses du sang ne peuvent se marier sans le consentement du roi. Dans le royaume de Naples, les officiers ne peuvent pareillement se marier sans la permission du roi ; il est défendu aux évêques de souffrir qu'il se fasse de pareils *mariages* dans leur diocese. Autrefois, en France, le gentilhomme qui n'avoit que des filles perdoit sa terre s'il les marioit sans le consentement de son seigneur ; & la mere en ayant la garde qui les marioit sans ce même consentement, perdoit ses meubles. L'héritiere d'un fief, après la mort de son pere, ne pouvoit pas non plus être mariée sans le consentement de son seigneur : cet usage subsistoit encore du tems de saint Louis, suivant les établissemens ou ordonnances qu'il fit." ARTFL Encyclopédie, s.v. "Mariage," accessed May 10, 2022, https://artflsrv03.uchicago.edu/philologic4/encyclopedie1117/navigate/10/503/.

In the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, German and French armies alike required officers' permission before a soldier married. Part of the concern was moral, making sure that the woman had a good reputation before allowing the marriage to take place, part was logistical, to ensure that not too many women joined armies on campaign, and part was fiscal, to limit the payout of soldiers' pensions to too many people and therefore burden the state's tax revenue.[65]

The imperative that a captain be sexually continent was so strong for one French author that he questioned whether he should marry at all. This was an argument advanced by Catholic authors: Protestants understood marriage as both the norm and the ideal because it contained and bridled sexual excess. As a result, there were no Protestant military writers who went so far as to suggest that sexual desire was so dangerous as to negate the benefits of marriage. Yet Jesuit historian and theologian René de Ceriziers, who would go on to serve as the chaplain of Gaston, Duke of Orléans (King Henri IV's third son), advanced precisely this line of thought in a 1645 treatise on the qualities of a great military captain. The treatise, dedicated to the Estates of Catalonia, used historical profiles on various notable French captains to sketch out the virtues of an ideal army captain. In one passage, Ceriziers considers whether a great captain should get married. He responds in the negative, quoting German commander Albrecht von Wallenstein that "voluptuousness is such a cruel enemy of courage."[66] Juxtaposing love for women against love of virtue, he contends that "Woman is such a great obstacle to virtue: her tears prepare a dangerous shipwreck to beautiful actions; one of her sighs shakes the most inflexible heart."[67] In this passage, Ceriziers contends that romantic and sexual

---

[65] See Peter Wilson, "German Women and War, 1500-1800," *War in History* 3, no.2 (1996): 127-60; Beate Engelen, *Soldatenfrauen in Preußen: Eine Strukturanalyse der Garnisonsgesellschaft im späten 17. und im 18. Jahrhundert* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2005). See also the useful overview in John Lynn, *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 81-89.

[66] René de Ceriziers, *Le Heros françois ou l'idée du grand capitaine* (Paris: Jean Camusat & Pierre le Petit, 1645), 161-62. "La volupté est si cruelle Ennemie du Courage (comme le nomme le Vvalstin) qu'on doute mesme s'il est à propos qu'vn homme de commandement soit marié."

[67] Ceriziers, *Le Heros françois*, 162. "C'est vn grand obstacle à la vertu qu'vne femme: sa douceur naturelle amollit les plus endurcis; ses larmes preparent vn dangereux naufrage aux belles actions; vn de ses souspirs esbranle le cœur le moins flexible."

desire is incompatible with perfect military command because love makes a man effeminate. Ceriziers goes on to justify his argument by contending that voluptuousness is a distraction from military duty that imperils a captain's responsibilities to his soldiers, which should be his primary concern on campaign.[68] In the French context, Ceriziers was arguably the author most concerned with how sexual desire could pose dangers to military effectiveness – no other author asserted that continence in sexual matters was so important as to suggest that ideal captains avoid marriage.[69] All the same, he attests to the (in this case, extreme) importance of sexual continence in the formulation of ideal captaincy.

Catholic writers who actually led armies typically adopted a more moderate approach. Blaise de Monluc, a soldier who became marshal of France in 1574 and composed the *Commentaires* about his life between 1570 and 1576, compiled a list of things soldiers should avoid on campaign. The fourth was "the love of women." He curtly advised "Do not engage with them. That is completely contrary to a good heart. Leave love on the hooks when Mars is on campaign." Understanding that total sexual abstention is difficult, he writes that "if you cannot avoid it, at least go there soberly without losing yourself."[70] Understanding love as a means by which men lose the very qualities that characterize manhood, Monluc writes that love causes men to dispute over honor, neglect their training, and even die disgraced. As a cure, he offers greater obedience to captains. To captains, he suggests self-discipline, "for it is impossible for a soldier to know well how to command if he hasn't

---

[68] Ceriziers, *Le Heros françois*, 164-65.

[69] The practical drive to marry also came from the noble status of most captains. In early French, captain was a general term that encompassed kings and others who had purchased a commission. During the French Wars of Religion in particular, captains were noblemen who wielded control over the people who populated their armies even outside of military life. See Brian Sandberg, *Warrior Pursuits: noble culture and Civil Conflict in Early Modern France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), esp. 223-52. On the one hand, this meant that captains, if they wished their noble houses to continue, had to marry. On the other, their nobility stressed the necessity that they be continent: with so many people under their authority, the stakes were high if they failed to model discipline or sexual restraint.

[70] Blaise de Monluc, *Commentaires de Messire Blaise de Monluc* (Bordeaux: Millanges, 1592), 4. "Il y a un quatriesme, si vous ne le pouuez euiter, au moins allez y sobrement, sans vous perdre, c'est l'amous des femmes. Ne vous y engagez pas. Cela est du tout contraire à vn bon cœur. Laissez l'amour aus crochets, lors que Mars sera en campaigne."

first learned how to obey."[71] Equating the totality of soldiers' lives to obedience, Monluc renders sexual restraint a main facet of effective military leadership and a precondition for male rulership.

By contrast, Huguenot writers understood the relationships that held together the household as analogous to those that maintained the army and the kingdom. François de la Noue, a captain who began his service to the Huguenot cause in 1567 and was captured in 1580 while fighting in the Eighty Years' War in the Low Countries, contended that the same qualities that perfected the household would also perfect the army. While imprisoned, he penned his *Discours politiques et militaires*, a manual for captains that also furnished counsel on how to rule. In his discussion of how to bring peace about, Noue begins with the household. He writes that "families are composed of different people, some to command and others to obey.… The master and the mistress of the house must have it written in their hearts, and make it appear by gentle and moderate commands. The children and servants, each according to his degree, obey them with an honest and happy will, showing thereby that they are touched by the same affection."[72] In the household, love includes relationships of command and subservience, and the result of these relationships is concord. Only when these relationships break down, when the master and mistress do not assert their own authority or do not issue commands gently and moderately or when servants and children do not happily and willingly obey directives, does discord [*Discorde*] arise. For la Noue, the same bonds that characterize the household also characterize the army and the kingdom. Moreover, the same virtues that define good ideal household management also are the virtues of the noble captain. Naming prudence, humility, justice, and prowess in particular, la Noue advises his readers "not to stop at

---

[71] Monluc, *Commentaires de Messire Blaise de Monluc*, 4. "Car il est impossible qu'vn soldat sçache bien commander, qu'il n'aye sçeu plustost obeyr."
[72] François de la Noue, *Discours politiques et militaires* (Geneva: François Forest, 1587), 44. "… les familles soyent composes de differentes personnes, les vnes pour commander, les autres, pour obeïr …. Le maistre & la maistresse de la maison la doyuent auoir escrite dans leur cœur, & la faire paroistre par commandemens doux & moderez. Les enfants & seruivteurs, chacun selon son degré, en obeïssent d'vne franche & alaigre volonté, monstrent par là qu'ils sont touches de la mesme affection."

one, but to fall in love with several of them. For such loves are licit and these beautiful virgins [the virtues] never get jealous."[73] In war as in politics and the household, la Noue cautions his readers to temper their emotions and moderate their passions.[74] As a central part of rulership, men needed to cultivate temperance and bridle their urges, to love only virtues and the relationships of power and subservience thought to be conducive to peace and harmonious institutions.

Although German military treatises were distinct generically from their French counterparts in that the former aimed towards comprehensiveness of topics, their conceptions of military discipline revolved around the same nexus of terms as did French treatises. Both agreed that common infantrymen should be continent, pious, and obedient. Whereas French texts tended to encapsulate the elements of *disciplina* with the term *ordre*, German writers used *kriegsordnung* (war order), *kriegsregierung* (war government), and *disciplin* (discipline). The invocation of each of these terms tended towards an understanding that discipline was central to military effectiveness. *Ordnung* referred capaciously to order of the march, the distribution of food, and to more general moral and social order. *Ordre* in French functioned similarly. *Regierung* referenced hierarchical relationships that lent order to an army and to various other social institutions of varying size like the family and the realm. Finally, *disciplin* was a more general category that referenced one's personal qualities and one's willingness to accept disciplining by social superiors. Continence and sexual self-control became prominent topics in each of these conceptual terrains.

Solms argues that discipline, in which he includes continence, in an army portends victory. This conceit structures his entire tome. His first book, *Von Kriegsregirung vnd Ordnung*, reflects his

---

[73] La Noue, *Discours politiques et militaires*, 198. "Si est-il bon que chacun considere sa vocation, à fin d'y approprier celle qui lui est la plus conuenable, & de laquelle l'vsage lui doit ester plus familier: comme à l'homme politique la prudce, au Theologien l'humilité, au Iurisconsulte la justice, & au Soldat la hardiesse. Mais quant à l'homme Noble, à laquelle l'attacherons-nous? & principalement celio duquel les ancestres ont honnoré leurs siecles? Mon auis n'est pas de l'arrester à vne, ains de le render amoureux de plusieurs. Car tells amours sont licites, & iamais ces belle vierges n'entrent en ialousie."

[74] La Noue, *Discours politiques et militaires*, 199.

belief that discipline was a precondition for military effectiveness. In it, he conveys his view that Roman military success occurred "because the Romans led the largest, longest, hardest, and manliest wars that ever happened in the world."[75] The weight of classical Roman exempla was particularly salient for a man in service to the Holy Roman Emperor. Indeed, as art historian Christopher Wood has argued, German writers and artists tended to view themselves as inheritors of Rome; Rome lived on in the Holy Roman Empire.[76] In describing Roman manliness, then, Solms was making the case that German soldiers could follow in the footsteps of the Romans and enact Roman discipline if only they follow Roman exempla. Solms writes that the purpose of his volume was to describe "the old, manly, and commendable Roman *Kriegsordnung*, to honor the Germans ... and so that the Germans orient themselves again toward unity and [so that the Germans] may remain in good, honorable, and manly *Kriegs regierung* [sic] (as the old ones were)."[77]

According to Solms, the majority of German soldiers were successful precisely because they already embodied the characteristics that the Romans enacted. Solms celebrated the German soldiers because, he wrote recursively, they "have among themselves also the best justice and *Kriegßordnung*, more than any other nation, for they have a continuous, orderly justice, *Kriegßordnung* and articles of war."[78] When Solms argues that the infrastructure of army life is part of Germans' superlative military order, he is specifying the more general claim Vegetius makes that armies make men manlier. Germans have a superior *kriegsordnung* because and insofar as they possess specific military

---

[75] Solms, *Kriegsbuch*, 1: 3. "Die weil die aller gröste lengste schwerlichste vnd manlichste Krieg so in der Welt geschehen/ haben die Römer gefürt…"
[76] Christopher S. Wood, "Germany and 'Renaissance,'" in *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art*, ed. Christopher S. Wood (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 61-107.
[77] Solms, *Kriegsbuch*, 1:5. "Derhalben ich nit vnderlassen hab mögen / die alte / manlich vnd löblich Römisch Kriegsordnung wider zu beschreiben / zu ehren den Teutschen … darmit die Teutschen wider zu einigkeit sich richten vnd in g(o)uter ehrlicher / manlicher Kriegs regierung (wie die alten gewesen) bleiben möchten."
[78] Solms, *Kriegsbuch*, 1:5(v): "Die Kriegßleut oder Volck zu fuß / haben vnder jnen auch die beste Justitien vnd Kriegßordnung als kein Nation / dann sie haben ein stettige / ordenliche Justitien / Kriegßordnung vnd Artickels brieffe…"

regulations called articles of war, continuous and orderly justice, and, tautologically, *kriegsordnung* itself. Importantly, all of these aspects result in greater discipline and military effectiveness.

Solms continues by arguing that religiosity is one of the most important factors in the making of a good soldier. In a section titled *Instruction vnd vnderricht eines jungen Gesellen / der Krieg suchen vnd gebrauchen will* (Instruction and lessons of a young fellow who wants to go to and conduct war), piety becomes the single most important quality. Solms writes, "First, one should be God-fearing and have Him always before his eyes, and begin and lead all his deeds, intentions, and work in God's name." Additionally, he specifies pious behavior as a path to success for a soldier: "he should prevent himself from villainous blasphemy, which is good for nothing, in vain enraging God out of frivolity and a villainous custom."[79] The connection of frivolity to blasphemy and unspecified villainous customs recalls Machiavelli's excoriation of mercenary troops. In both, a soldier's carnal desire threatens to supplant God at the forefront of his mind. The result is the proliferation of military disorder, wrought by divine judgment against blasphemy.[80] Notably, in this passage, the father's gentle advice to his son indicates that for some men, military service became a family business, merging the finances and status of the family unit to that of the army.

Continence became an important facet of virtue in military discourse in part because it demonstrated one's ability to accept (self-)discipline. Arguably the most authoritative military treatise in sixteenth-century Germany, that of imperial general Leonhart Fronsperger, elaborated on Solms's nexus of pious, disciplined conduct by explicitly treating sexual discipline in army life. His work was a compilation of various other writings, some clearly by Vegetius, others by Machiavelli, and yet

---

[79] Solms, *Kriegsbuch*, 1: 38v-39. "Vor das erst soll einer Gottßförchtig sein vnd denselbigen vor augen haben / alle sein th(o)un / vorhaben vnd werck in Gottes namen anfahen vnd füren / zum andern / soll er sich hüten für der schendtlichen Gotteslesterung / die ist zu nichts güt dann Gott vergeblich auß leichtfertigkeit vnnd einer schendtlichen bösen gewohnheit zuerzörnen."
[80] On blasphemy in the early modern period, see Francisca Loetz, *Dealings with God: From Blasphemers in Early Modern Zurich to a Cultural History of Religiousness*, trans. Rosemary Selle (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009).

others by Solms. To these writings, woven into the text without explicit reference, Fronsperger added portions of his own previous writings. Fronsperger, a Catholic in the service of the Catholic Emperor, proposed that marriage was necessary in army life in order to maintain military order. He writes that "the marital state, as the ancients write, is a font and seed from which everything good arises, all respectability, *Zucht*, honor, strength, manliness flows, and humankind matures."[81] In making marriage the font of manliness, Fronsperger implies that manliness increases through marriage. This was in distinction to Ceriziers's later warnings about the dangers of marriage, although both Fronsperger and Ceriziers were Catholics. Fronsperger's choice of the term *zucht*, which references education, the raising of children, and disciplined personal conduct, inextricably connects obedience to disciplined comportment. Fronsperger continues by suggesting that marriage is a means to control lust. Fronsperger further articulates his position that an inability to bridle one's sexual urges was a feminine or effeminate quality: "for whoring [*Hurerey*] makes weak, womanly, dishonorable, unbearable people."[82] In this passage, Fronsperger represents abstinence from "whoring" as a masculine trait.[83] The risks lust posed to male authority and male agency, Fronsperger implies, can be resolved by male sexual continence and especially by marrying.

---

[81] Leonhart Fronsperger, *Kriegßbuch* ([1575]; Frankfurt: Feyrabend, 1596), 3: CCXXXI: "Der Ehelich stand / wie die alten schreiben / ist ein Brunn vnd Same / darauß alles guts entspringt / alle Ehrbarkeit / Zucht / Ehr / Stärcke / Mannheit fleust / vnd das Menschlich Geschlecht erwächst…"

[82] Fronsperger, *Kriegßbuch*, 3: CCXXXI: "Dann Hurerey macht weich / weibisch / vnehrbar / vnleidlich Leuth…"

[83] For a variety of reasons, lust itself was seen as an overwhelmingly feminine or effeminate quality. First, Biblical precedent, especially 1 John 2:16, was a common reference for writers who asserted that women were more prone to ambition, avarice, and lechery. See Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Idea of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 22. Women's humoral coldness was also understood as predisposing women to lust more than humorally hotter men. Although it was widely believed that there was humoral overlap between men and women such that the humorally hottest woman was hotter than the humorally coolest man, the idea that women were humorally colder than men was connected to women's supposed lack of reason and inclination to lust. See Gail Kern Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 78-79. Maclean, *The Renaissance Idea of Woman*, 34-35. This humoral-cum-sexual explanation helped to exclude women from rulership. See Sarah Hanley, "The Family, The State, and the Law in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France: The Political Ideology of Male Right versus an Early Theory of Natural Rights," *Journal of Modern History* 78, no.2 (2006): 289-332. Furthermore, the idea that effeminacy begat poor governance proved prominent across early modern Europe. See Rebecca Bushnell, "Tyranny and Effeminacy in Early Modern England," in *Reconsidering the Renaissance: Papers from the Twenty-First Annual Conference*, ed. Mario A. di Cesare (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Modern Studies at the State University of New York at Binghamton, 1992), 339-54.

Marriage, which Fronsperger depicts as a prophylactic against "whoring," becomes a means both to protect masculine constancy and to support the social order. In so doing, he echoes the place of marriage in public, reform, and marital discourses.[84] It is therefore unsurprising that Fronsperger interprets the sexual discipline of officers as especially significant to military order. Accordingly, sexual misconduct in particular makes one ineligible for military office. Fronsperger writes, for example, that if a major officer commits adultery, a crime throughout the Empire, he is to be cashiered.[85] Fronsperger evidently felt that the reasons for this punishment were self-explanatory: he gave no justification for the necessity of prohibiting and punishing adultery on the part of officers.

Adam Junghans, a regimental clerk who rose to the rank of commander of the guarrison of Oelsnitz in Saxony, also makes the chaste conduct of officers a precondition of their leadership. He contends that the captain should "most diligently beware avarice, blasphemy, whoring, and drunkenness (for all other vices flow from these)."[86] Such statements were a more comprehensive version of the advice Fronsperger issued to avoid sexual activity outside of marriage. A remarkably similar list appears in Junghans's discussion of the lieutenant, who should "not be a blasphemer, whorer [*H(o)urer*], gambler, drunkard, [or] ambitious, and not give the subservient soldiers an evil example."[87] The listing of drunkenness, avarice, blasphemy, and whoring together as causes of vice generally and of military disorder in particular suggests to the reader that they are connected. As we have seen from Billon's mandate that soldiers control their urges in matters pertaining to sexual intercourse, earing, drinking, and gambling, this idea was not limited to Germany. Each vice was an

---

[84] On the argument that marriage acted to prevent fornication, see Harrington, *Reordering Marriage and Society in Reformation Germany*, 34-35 and Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled*, 7-13.
[85] Fronsperger, *Kreigßbuch* 2: CXIII(v): "Item / wo sach wer / daß ein Büchsenmeister daheim ehelich Weib vnd Kinder hette / vnd er mit einer andern sich wolte einlassen / bey sich in vnehren zuhalten / der sol sein Ampt oder dienst verloren haben beraubt seyn."
[86] Adam Junghans, *Kriegs-Ordnung zu Wasser vnd Landt* ([1589]; Cologne: Wilhelm Lützenkirchen, 1594), 2: "Für Geitz / Gotteslesterung / Hurerey / vnnd der Trunckeneit (daher denn alle andere laster herfliessen) zum fleissigsten vor sehen [sic]."
[87] Junghans, *Kriegs-Ordnung zu Wasser vnd Landt*, 2: The lieutenant should "nit ein Gotteslesterer / H(o)urer / Spiler / Trunckenboltz vnd ehrgeitziger sein / vnd nicht den vnderhabenden Kriegsleuthen ein böß exempel geben."

example of a man denigrating divine dictates in favor of fleeting worldly pleasures Officers therefore had to restrain their lusts in order to model disciplined subjecthood for their soldiers.

The analogy between the leadership of a regiment and the leadership of the household extended beyond the suggestion that ideal male rulership be disciplined in ways that stressed sexual restraint. Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen, the headmaster of a military school in Siegen, drew on the supposedly natural differentials of power in the household to lay out a vision of a clear hierarchy among the officers. In contrast to leaders of companies exercising agency over their subordinate officers, Wallhausen urges his readers to give near total control to the *Obersten* who commanded regiments. He writes "Of course the colonel [*Oberste*] has the power to do what he pleases, and not what the captains [of companies] do in today's German regiments, where the captains each according to their own opinion and delight want to dictate to the colonels and regimental sergeants [*Wachtmeistern*] what he should do and not do…" For Wallhasuen, the result of this clear chain of command is "a very swift discipline in war [*KriegsDisciplin*] since such a regiment is ordered [*bestellet*] just like a household governance [*Haußregiment*]…" Likening the waxing power of subordinate officers to "when the women and the servants want to be over the lords of the house [*Haußherrn*] and dictate to them what he should and should not do," Wallhausen draws on the gendered language of household power dynamics to buttress the contested hierarchies of the regiment.[88] In both the qualities they were supposed to exude and the kinds of relationships they were supposed to foster, the household hierarchy became a model for military hierarchies.

---

[88] Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen, *Kriegkunst zu Fuß* (Oppenheim: de Bry, 1615), 116. "Doch hat der Oberste Macht mit seiner Compagnie zuthun / was jhme gefällig / vnd nicht was den Hauptleuten / wie es den heutiges Tages vnter den Teutschen Regiment also zugehet / da die Hauptleuten den Obersten vnd Regiments Wachtmeistern ein jeder bald nach seinem Sinn vnd Wolgefallen hat wöllen fürschreiben / was er thun vnd lassen solle / ein sehr hurtige KriegsDisciplin / da dann ein solches Regiment eben so bestellet ist / gleich wie ein Haußregiment / wann die Fraw vnd der Knecht vber den Haußherrn seyn wöllen / vnd dem vorschreiben / was er thun vnd lassen sol."

And if captains wished to command authority like *hausväter*, they needed to exhibit the same qualities of a masculine ruler. Ægidius Albertinus, a Catholic writer, librarian, court secretary, and translator, thus agreed with Fronsperger and Junghans that discipline and proper conduct of war [*Kriegßdisciplin* and *Kriegßzucht*] required personal restraint in sexual matters. Like Junghans, Albertinus understood that excess in one area of life begat excesses in others. When writing of a captain's duty to maintain order in the army, he urged the captain to enforce a specific behavioral code among his soldiers: "So that his subservient warriors love sobriety and temperance, he must ensure that they avoid all excess in food, drink, clothing, and other things, shun all *vnzüchtige* women, not stain himself with lechery [*geylheit*], harm nobody with plundering, robbing, and stealing, not tussle with [*rauffern*], hit, nor scuffle with each other."[89] Once again, the inability to bridle desires in one sphere of human activity results in uncontrollable lusts in other spheres. Excess in food, drink, clothing, and sex spill into each other; continence in all of these realms becomes necessary for disciplined conduct. Furthermore, order and discipline, terms explicitly invoked in the heading of this chapter, are found not just in temperate living, but especially in *superior officers' enforcement of temperate living*. To Albertinus, the disciplinary role of the officer exceeds simply setting a proper example for his subordinates. He must also enforce continence among his soldiers if he wishes to engender military discipline. Continence, then, becomes both a cause and effect of good military order.

Albertinus later articulates his belief that continence is a cornerstone of military discipline, which is gendered masculine. In a section entitled "On Temperance and Moderation of the *Kriegsobristen*," Albertinus writes that "temperance makes people moderate, sober, circumspect, chaste, quiet, and bashful. And whoever has these virtues in him overcomes his desires; he

[89] Aegidius Albertinus, *Der Kriegßleut Weckvhr* (Munich: Nicholas Henricus, 1601), 19v: "Am andern muß er drob halten / damit sein vntergeben Kriegßuolck die nüchterkeit vnd messigkeit liebe / allen vberfluß im Essen / Trinken / Kleidern vnnd andern dingen meide / aller vnzüchtigen Weiber müssig gehe / sich mit der geylheit nit beflecke / niemandt belaidige mit blünderung rauben vnd stelen / einander nit rauffern / schlagen noch katzbalgen."

moderates his affects, he multiplies his holy yearnings, and chastens evil lusts, he orders all disorder, he expels all evil thoughts…."[90] In this passage, temperance becomes a panacea for a vaguely sexualized conception of disorder that is also distinctly masculine, a fact which is marked by his choice of the possessive *seine* throughout.[91] The terms Albertinus employs stress eroticism. In practicing temperance, a man becomes chaste [*keusch*] and chastens evil lusts [*böse begird*], which Albertinus also glosses as an overcoming of his desire and a moderation of his affects. His "holy yearnings" [*heilige verlangen*] replace his previous sexual desires. Temperance becomes a mode of virtuous living that brings with it other modes of virtue. The benefits of temperance exceed the individual, however. In tempering his lusts, a man does not just become more pious. Unlike the possessive third person singular masculine *seine* in his passage, Albertinus describes the effect of chastity simply as "chasten[ing] evil lusts," a formulation that both encompasses and exceeds sexual desire. Temperate living does not just chasten the temperate man's "evil lusts," but chastens "evil lusts" more generally, reflecting the capacity for a disciplined man to punish his subordinates for their inordinate desires. Albertinus makes this claim clearer in his next clause. The temperate man chastens evil lusts and therefore orders all disorders. Temperance becomes both a mode of ordering society and a key attribute of the masculine gender. The somewhat erotically charged terms that Albertinus employs to describe desire demonstrate that restraining sexual desire was conceived of as particularly important to military order.

---

[90] Albertinus, *Der Kriegßleut Weckvhr*, 62: "Von Temperantz vnnd Messigkeit des Kriegßobristen": "Die Temperantz machet den Menschen messig / nüchtern / eingezogen / keusch / still vnd geschämig: Vnd wer dise Tugent an jhm hat / der bezwingt seine lüst / er messiget seine *affecten*, er *multiplicieret* seine heilige verlangen / vnd kasteyet die böse begird / alle vnordnung ordiniert er / die böse Gedancken vertreibt er…"

[91] As Helen North and Ethan Shagan have both remarked, *temperantia* became an especially important concept in the early modern period as writers integrated classical texts into their work. Many articulated that moderation and temperance were two virtues that engendered others. Helen North, *Sophrosyne: Self-Knowledge and Self-Restraint in Greek Literature* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966), 205; Ethan Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation: Violence, Religion and the Politics of Restraint in Early Modern England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 32-39.

Albertinus's understanding of the importance of chastity in religious contexts shaped his military advice. His disdain for soldiers' sexual practices in particular became manifest in his advice to his readers to preserve their chastity. His first argument against unchastity [*Vnkeuscheit*] was that it was divinely ordained, "For firstly, the nature of angels and saints are enemies of unchastity and therefore the Lord says that [chaste people] will neither be grabbed to marry nor taken to marry in the resurrection, but instead that they are just as angels in heaven."[92] Not even the devil, Albertinus states, tolerates unchastity. When a necromancer [*Schwartzkünstler*] attempted to approach the Devil at a sabbath, the spirits accepted his fealty but "stood far away from him and held his nose shut." When the magician asked why the Devil did not move closer, "the Devil answered him: the stink of your unchastity does not allow me to approach you. The *Schwartzkünstler* shortly before had lain with his concubine."[93] In this anecdote, lechery is too demonic even for the Devil. Soldiers, if they wish to become pious Christian men, must eschew their lusts and embrace instead continence as a hallmark of disciplined conduct.

Military writers in both France and Germany thus considered continence to be an essential trait of discipline. Such discipline began at the top of the social hierarchy, with an officer who tempered his lusts and upheld the institution of marriage. His continence was an essential facet of his obedience to God's commands and by acting in a sexually and otherwise disciplined manner, he encouraged his soldiers to become continent themselves. Furthermore, the ideal officer chastened his soldiers by disciplining their misdeeds, especially in the realm of sexual excess. His permission was necessary for soldiers to contract a valid marriage, making him an arbiter of the marital estate as

---

[92] Albertinus, *Die kriegßleut Weckuhr*, 2: 143v. "Dann erstlich ist die Natur der Engeln vnd Heyligen / der vnkeuscheit feind / vnd deßwegen spricht der Herr / daß sie in der Aufferstehung weder zur Ehe greiffen / noch zu der Ehe genommen werden/ sonder d[a]z sie seind gleich wie die Engel im Himmel."

[93] Albertinus, *Die kriegßleut Weckuhr*, 2: 143v-44. "Von einem Schwartzkünstler lesen wir / daß er auff ein zeit den bösen Geist habe citirt vnd beschworen / auch letztlich erschinen / aber weit von jhm gestanden / vnnd die Nasen zugehalten; Vnd als jhne der Schwartzkünstler fragte / warumb er nit nahender hinzugehe? Antworte ihm der Teuffel: der gestanck deiner Vnkeuscheit läst mich nit zu dir nahen. Dann es war dieser Schwartzkünstler kurz zuuor bey seiner Concubin gelegen."

well, as household fathers were in the late sixteenth-century city. In military discourse, then, continence became a trait that both generated and grew out of social order, glossed in terms of obedience to social superiors. It did so, sometimes implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, with reference to the relationships of power and discipline that characterized descriptions of ideal households.

3.3: Political Philosophy

A revival of classical stoic thought in the late sixteenth century cemented the commonplace that sexual continence was an important attribute of social order and masculine subjecthood. The social, political, and military ramifications of this neostoicism have been well studied. Norbert Elias and Gerhard Oestreich were early and influential scholars in the study of classical exempla as a force that shaped the manners and political behavior of noblemen.[94] Although neostoic influences on military life have been well-documented, the studies of Elias, Oestreich, and their successors, Therese Schwager and Jay Smith, have focused overwhelmingly on the seventeenth century. The study that investigates the earliest period, Schwager's study *Militärtheorie im Späthumanismus*, explores how political discourse moved across borders to shape prescriptions about how to maximize military effectiveness between 1590 and 1660. For Schwager, as for Oestreich before her, the "key moment" of military "modernization" was the military reform of Maurice of Nassau that took place in the last decade of the sixteenth century.[95] Oestreich interprets these reforms as an early incorporation of the

---

[94] Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 161-72, 257-61, 268-363. Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, 76-80. Similar ideologies operated in France. See especially Jay M. Smith, *The Culture of Merit: Nobility, Royal Service, and the Making of Absolute Monarchy in France, 1600-1789* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 45-49.
[95] Schwager, *Militärtheorie im Späthumanismus*, 187-238. Maurice was later, from 1618 until his death in 1625, Prince of Orange.

neostoic ideals of Flemish political theorist Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) into the political and military mainstream.[96]

Born in 1547 in a small town between Brussels and Louvain, Lipsius studied law at Louvain beginning in 1564. After traveling to Italy, Vienna, Jena, and Cologne, he and his wife Anna van der Calstere settled in Leiden, where they stayed from 1578 to 1591. While at the University of Leiden, he composed his two most famous treatises, *De Constantia* (1584) and *Politicorum sive Civilis Doctrinæ* (1589).[97] Both works formulated a conception of discipline that stressed moderation, piety, and reason, especially in matters related to love. Of course, these were the identical qualities with which military theorists wished to imbue their soldiers, and that writers of household literature urged their readers to embody and enforce. This similarity was not coincidental. Six years after he published *Politicorum*, Lipsius published a study of the Roman military, *De Militia Romana*, for emulation at the time.[98] As we have already seen, the exposition of Roman military discipline was a trope that had long been prominent in military discourse.

Both *Constantia* and *Politicorum* aimed to introduce scholars and princes to a Christian-influenced stoicism. A critical by-word of both was *disciplina* – a term which encompassed control over one's urges and the willing acceptance of policing by social superiors. In *De Constantia*, Lipsius focuses on self-control, a topic already widely treated in military and household literature. He encourages his readers to subordinate their emotions to reason and to cultivate constancy, which he defines as "an upright and unmoved vigor of mind that is neither uplifted nor cast down by outward or chance occurrences." The result is strength of mind, which he glosses as "a firmness deeply

---

[96] Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, 76-135.
[97] *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Spring 2019 ed., s.v. "Justus Lipsius," accessed August 23, 2021, https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2019/entries/justus-lipsius/.
[98] Justus Lipsius, *De Militia Romana Libri Quinque* (Antwerp: Plantijn-Moretus, 1595).

rooted in the mind, not by opinion, but by judgment and right reason."[99] To develop one's constancy, one needs patience, "the willing endurance without complaint of whatever occurs or befalls a man from without."[100] The cultivation of constancy requires a self-restraint and temperance that Lipsius considered necessary for those with social authority.

Although military matters only interest Lipsius tangentially in *De Constantia*, *Politicorum* addresses military organization explicitly. He stresses the difficulty of the business of governance early in his work, remarking "of what difficultie is it, for so many heads to be bridled by one head, and that vniuersall multitude, vnquiet, disunited, seditious, to be moderately brought vnder a certaine common yoke of obedience?"[101] Significantly, by government, Lipsius means not only a form of political organization, but an entire system of domination and subordination shaped by and constitutive of social hierarchies. To him, government is "A Certaine order as well in commanding as in obeying, the power (or rather the necessitie wherof) is so great, that it is the onely stay of human affaires." It follows that social harmony can only exist when people both accept and assert their places in social hierarchies. Lipsius extols the necessity of governance when he writes that "to beare rule, and to be ruled, is not onely in the number of those things which are necessarie, but amongest those likewise that are profitable." He opined that government "is the chaine, by which the common wealth is linked together, this is the vitall spirit, which so many millions of men do breath, and were this soule of commanding taken away, the common wealth of it should be nothing

[99] Justus Lipsius, *Justus Lipsius's Concerning Constancy*, trans. R. V. Young (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2011), 29. "*Constantiam* hîc appello, rectum & immotum animi robur non elati externis aut fortuitis, non depressi. Robur dixi, & intellego firmitudinem insitam animo, non ab Opinione, sed à iudicio & recta Ratione." Justus Lipsius, *De Constantia Libri Duo* (Antwerp: Christoph Plantinus, 1584), 10.
[100] Lipsius, *Justus Lipsius's Concerning Constancy*, 29. "At Constantiæ vera mater, Patientia & demissio animi est. quam definio *Rerum* quecumq. homini aliunde acidunt aut incidunt voluntariam & sine querela perpessionem. Quæ recta ratione suscepta, vna illa radix est, qua altitudo pulcherrimi huius roboris nixa." Lipsius, *De Constantia*, 11.
[101] Justus Lipsius, *Sixe Bookes of Politickes or Civil Doctrine*, trans. William Jones (1589; London: Richard Field, 1594), Aiiij(v). Justus Lipsius, *Politicorum Sive Civilus Doctrinæ Libri Sex* (Leiden: Franciscus Raphelengius, 1589), *2-*2(v). "Illam si inspicimus, quantæ molis, ab vno capite tot capita coërceri, & vniyersam illam multitudinem, inquietam, discordem, turbidam, leniter redigi sub commune quoddam Obedientiæ iugum?"

but a burthen, and open proy."[102] Lispius's conception of order therefore echoes arguments already familiar from writers about military and household affairs: without obedience to social hierarchy, the very fabric of human life disintegrates. Further, the responsibility for order lies with both those in charge and those subordinate to their rule.

Furthermore, Lipsius advances the same argument articulated by Amboise in the 1540s about the necessity that a commander bridle his carnal urges. Lipsius writes that "He is an euill gouernour, who of a large and ample fortune, can not gather any other profit, then the vsurpation of liceniousnesse: who taketh no care how matters passe, but playeth the Prince in voluptuousnesse [*stupris*] and lust [*adulteriis*]."[103] The Latin original is somewhat more explicit about the sexual nature of a leader's dereliction than is the period (and most recent) English translation. The terms Lipsius employs in the final clause are *stupris* and *adulteriis*. The former signifies both illicit sexual intercourse and dishonor. By employing these terms together, Lipsius implies that unrestrained sexuality threatens the social order by leading to "evil governance." This was the same argument that Amboise advanced in his discussion of the virtues of continence.

Lipsius continues by arguing that sexual restraint constitutes a central element of proper governance. Just as the father of the house and the commander of the army are the progenitors of continence, religiosity, and disciplined comportment, the prince brings forth either virtue or vice in his subjects by his example. "Hast thou a mind to haue them liue dissolutely, and dishonestly?" Lipsius asks. "Give thy selfe to loosenesse of life. For Princes do not onely ingender vices, but do likewise bring them forth, and sowe the same in the citie, and doe more harme by their example then

---

[102] Lipsius, *Politickes*, 16-17. "Illud alterius argumenti est, hoc mei quod definio, certum ordinem in iubendo et parendo. Cuius tanta vis siue necessitas potius, vt hoc vnum fulcrum sit rerum humanrum.... Istud sanè est vinculum, per quod respublica coheret: ille spiritis vitalis, quem hæc tot millia trahunt: nihil ipsa per se futura, nisi omis & præda, si mens illa imperij subtrahatur." Lipsius, *Politicorum*, 29.
[103] Lipsius, *Politickes*, 23. "Malus ille, qui *ex magnâ Fortunâ licentiam tantum vsurpat:* Qui *non ad curas intentus, sed stupris & adulteriis Principem agit*." Lipsius, *Politicorum*, 42.

by the ill they commit."[104] A critical component of the prince's example to his subjects was, unsurprisingly given Lipsius's earlier work, the cultivation of constancy in the face of erotic urges. In one passage, he urges his readers to "Loue chastitie: For there can no honest thing remayne in a mind corrupt with lust."[105] The period translation is not entirely faithful. In the original Latin, which does not come from Tacitus's *Annals* as does the rest of the sentence, Lipsius writes "Castus esto," or the imperative future "[He] will need to be chaste." Chastity, for Lipsius, is not the object of adoration; instead, it is a mode of being that implies the subservience of human desires to rational and religious dictates. That the recommendation derives from Lipsius himself rather than from Tacitus indicates the significance of continence to early modern conceptions of discipline. Chastity in political philosophy, as in military and household discourse, not only connotes self-discipline, good governance, and personal piety, but also leads to them.

Lipsius's idea of chastity also mapped onto dominant ideas about the fragility of masculinity and the broad misogynistic preoccupation with women's governance over men. In many articulations, erotic desire becomes a means through which women control men, leading them astray from their pious lives and into sins of the flesh.[106] Citing Tacitus's *Annals*, Lipsius urges his reader to "Giue care sometimes to thy wife, yet not as senceless Claudius did, who was ruled and commanded by his wife, that is a hurtfull thing, both to thy selfe and the common-wealth." Once more, Lipsius implies that unrestrained erotic desire is antithetical to both the individual soul and good governance. Finding a middle ground between total abstinence, which would end the patrilineal line of rule, and wanton sexual desire which leads to women ruling over men, Lipsius communicates

---

104 Lipsius, *Politickes*, 27. "Solutos & malos? te solue. Nam vitia non solùm spisi Principes concipiunt, sed etiam in ciuitatem infundunt: plusque exemplo, quàm peccato nocent." Lipsius, *Politicorum*, 48.
105 Lipsius, *Politickes*, 39. "Castus esto. *Animo* enim *per libidines corrupto nihil honestam inest*." Lipsius, *Politicorum*, 70.
106 See Roper, *Oedipus & the Devil*, esp. 136-38. See also James R. Farr, *Authority and Sexuality in Early Modern Burgundy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), esp. 24-25 and Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975), esp. 134-37.

men should listen to and engage in sexual activity with their wives "sometimes." His rationale replicates larger condemnations of women's power over men. Quoting Aristotle's *Politics*, he asks rhetorically "what difference is there, whether a woman do beare rule, or he that gouerneth be ruled by a woman?"[107] In this passage, Lipsius articulates erotic desire as a means by which men lose their rational will and become governed by the object of their desire. Chastity, then, became a guard to preserve masculine governance in much the same way as Amboise's rhetorical question: "he who is tainted and infested by these two cruel beasts, concupiscence and luxury, and over whom they have regime or government, how can he have domination over another?"[108]

Although Lipsius never served in an army, militaries become sometimes an example and sometimes a foil for the chaste, disciplined conduct that he extolls. He dedicates the fifth book of *Politicorum* to "military prudence." Importantly, he does not concentrate on the proper governance of armies, as did compilers of military treatises. Instead, armies become a forum for exploring the neostoic ethics he believed political elites should embody. To do this, he cites Vegetius, Seneca, Livy, Tacitus, Caesar, and Cicero amply. First, Lipsius interprets prudence in military matters as the defining characteristic of a Prince: "I holde then, that militarie prudence is necessary to the Prince aboue al other things, so that without it hee can scarcely bee a Prince." Echoing the treatment of discipline in military treatises, Lipsius avers that "A meere naked force, is not auayleable to bring this matter to passe, if it be not tempered with certaine industrie, and counsell: that is, with militarie prudence."[109] Echoing Machiavelli and Vegetius, Lipsius places military prudence above prowess as the chief element of military effectiveness. In turn, he agrees with authors of military treatises that

---

[107] Lipsius, *Politickes*, 39. "Coniugi deditus: nec tamen cum Claudiano illo stipite, *coniugum imperiis obnoxius*. Turpe viro imò ipsi imperio, καίτοι τί διαφέρει γυναῖκας ἄρχειν ἢ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἄρχεσθαι. *Quid vero interest, vtrum fæmine gubernent, an qui gubernant, gubernentur fæminis*?" Lipsius, *Politicorum*, 70.
[108] Amboise, *Le Guidon des gens de guerre*, 20-21.
[109] Lipsius, *Politickes*, 127. "Militarem autem Prudentiam, ante omni necessariam ego Principi assero, adeò vt sine eâ vix Princeps.... Vis nuda ac mera huic rei parum est, nisi arte quâdam & consilio temperetur: id est, Prudentiâ militandi." Lipsius, *Politicorum*, 227.

armies help to instruct soldiers to live chaste and disciplined lives. "We are driuen to come vnto vertue," he writes, "I meane that thy men be honest and couragious, which thou shalt neuer accomplish, except thou vse these two instruments, *Election* and *Discipline*, the one in getting them, the other in framing them after they are gotten."[110] This advice echoes the interpretations of military treatise writers that armies instructed men to be more disciplined subjects.

Lipsius sees armies as a laboratory for discipline. In both military and civic contexts, he defines discipline as "a seuere conforming of the soldier to value, and vertue." Four elements create discipline, according to Lipsius: "1. Exercise, 2. Order, 3. Constraint, 4. Examples." Exercise, Lipsius suggested, transformed men into better people. Unlike Vegetius and Machiavelli, for whom moral good appears to be a natural aspect of a man's life, Lipsius argues that personal betterment is cultivated, not inherent. "By Exercise," he writes, "I vnderstand, that thou dayly do accustome the choise soldier to the handling of his weapon, and to labour. The very name it selfe doth moue this: for Exercise is sayd to be that, which by vse maketh men the better."[111] In stating this, he drew upon ideas that had been developed in military treatises, and especially in Vegetius, that stressed the pedagogical role of militaries in creating more disciplined, pious, and obedient subjects over time by means of training. This ordering operated partly by the enforcement of discipline by superiors and partially by their good example, which encouraged soldiers to emulate the piety and restraint of their superiors. Lipsius's treatments of order, constraint, and examples therefore builds on discourse in household literature and military treatises.

---

[110] Lipsius, *Politickes*, 139. "Ad vertutem ergo veniendum: id est, vt bonos eos habeas fortesque. nec habebis vnquam, nisi hæc duo velut instrumenta adhibeas, Dilectum & Disciplinam..." Lipsius, *Politicorum*, 249.

[111] Lipsius, *Politickes*, 152. "Appello autem Disciplinam, seueram conformationem militis ad robur et vitutem. Partes eius siue munia (vt quæ variè sparsa sunt, in doctrinæ quendam gyrum redigam) facio quattor: Exercitum, Ordinem, Coerctionem, Exempla. Priores duæ ad *robur* spectant maximo; tertia ad *virtutem*; quarta ad vtrumque. Per *Exercitum*, intellego, vt electum militem assidue ad Arma condocefacis & ad Opus. Ipsum nomen ita suadet. nam Exercitus dicitur, quod melio fit exercitando." Lipsius, *Politicorum*, 272.

Yet military life also serves as a foil for the neostoic ideals Lipsius presented. He suggests that Tacitus's remark in *Histories* holds true in the sixteenth century when he contends that although "in times past they were woont to striue who should be most vertuous and modest, now the quarrel is who shall be most impudent and dissolute."[112] The precise activities that Lipsius contends soldiers engage in recalls the fixation in household literature and military discourse on excesses in food and drink spilling over into sexual excesses. Quoting Tacitus again, Lipsius writes that soldiers "abandon themselves to lust, to gluttonie, and to riot all the night."[113]

Specifically, the constancy Lipsius wished to witness in military milieux required "Continencie, Modestie, [and] Abstinencie," the identical list that Billon discussed nearly a half-century. Lipsius treats continence first, quoting Sallust's history of the Jugurthine war. Lipsius explains that continence consists of "abstaining from venerie [*Venere*], that is, that the souldiers not be riotouslie geuen, to banquets and to their belly, and to those most filthie [*turpißimæ*] parts of their body." Lipsius reasons that excessive food and drink weakens soldiers, citing Tacitus's *Histories* to support his claim: banquets and venereal pleasures "doth weaken them: and by a dayly custome of voluptuousnes, doth cause the soldier to degenerate, from his worthiness [*robore*], and vertue [*virtute*]. If he had any value [*ardoris*] and fierceness [*ferociæ*] in him it is lost, by this swilling in of drincke & gluttony." Lipsius continues by quoting Seneca's assertion that one season of luxury was enough to overthrow Hannibal's army after it crossed the Alps. Lipsius concludes by citing Tacitus once more, writing, "These things thou oughtest to haue regard of, and with seuerity to expel, these sumptuous prouisions of banquets, & the instruments of lust, and pleasure [*instrumenta libidinum*] from thine armie."[114] The same activities that authors of military treatises argued that one needed to expel from

---

[112] Lipsius, *Politickes*, 140. "Atque vt *olim virtutis modestiæque, nunc procacitatis petulaniæque certamen est*." Lipsius, *Politicorum*, 250.
[113] Lipsius, *Politickes*, 140. "*Effudunt se in luxum, & epulas, & nocturnos cœtus*." Lipsius, *Politicorum*, 251.
[114] Lipsius, *Politickes*, 156. "Contientia, Modestia, Abstinentia... Continentiam primò, in Cibo & Venere. id est, ne milites tui effusè sint *cunuiuiis & ventri dediti & turpißimæ parti corporis*. Vtraque res eneruat: & *degeenerat à robore ac virtute miles*

army life – gorging, feasting, and fornication – become the ones that Lipsius stresses to suggest that his neostoic virtues of continence, modesty, and abstinence should govern the lives of all men. Like military writers, Lipsius interprets excessive desire for food, drink, and sex as connected. All three, he suggests, destroy an army's military effectiveness.

Lipsius concludes his treatment of military affairs by turning towards the language of obedience that household literature and military literature had advocated for over the preceding decades: "I would haue Modestie in their deedes, that they be not stubborne, but obedient, ready, not only at euery commaundement of their Captaine, but at euery becke."[115] Like household and military discourses, the terms of Lipsius's writing underscores the disciplinary tenor of modesty. *Modestia* in Lipsius's Latin referred to personal restraint and temperance. But as in the English modesty, *modestia* also suggests an avoidance of impropriety by the adoption of disciplined conduct. In formulating modesty as a pre-requisite for obedience, Lipsius suggests that temperance in one's personal conduct is a component of social harmony. As in treatments about continence, the willingness of a man to restrain his desires becomes a critical feature of social order.

Later political philosophy would combine the advice offered by Lipsius and the arguments developed in household literature. French Catholic theologian Pierre Charron's 1601 text *De la Sagesse* (On Wisdom) espoused a very similar set of precepts as Lipsius's. Charron and Lipsius agreed on the fact that adopting the virtues they expounded would result in a more orderly republic formed by more pious, obedient, and chaste subjects. This similarity is unsurprising.[116] But whereas Lipsius used military life as a forum in which he developed his conceptions of ideal comportment, Charron

---

assuetudine voluptatum. Siquid ardoris ac ferociæ habuit, popinis & comessationibus deteritur.... Quæ tu caue. & arce seueriter à castris tuis *luxuriosos apparatus conuiuirum & instrumenta libidinum*." Lipsius, *Politicorum*, 277-78

[115] Lipsius, *Politickes*, 157. "In factis denique Modestiam exigo. vt obnoxij nimirum parentsq. sint, intenti ad ducis non signum modò, sed nutum." Lipsius, *Politicorum*, 281.

[116] Both Lipsius and Charron were close friends of the French thinker Michel de Montaigne, who espoused similar ideas and is widely considered one of Lipsius's and Charron's influences.

turns to the household. Charron echoes household literature in both France and Germany when he writes that "the estate of marriage is the first and most ancient, the most important, & as the foundation and fountain of human society, from which springs families, and from [families], republics."[117] This was the same notion Fronsperger paraphrased when he averred that the marital state was the font of all order in society. To make a good republic, both opine, the relationships that constituted the household had to be protected and supported.

For Charron, an essential duty of parents is to raise their children to be pious and chaste subjects. Charron particularly urges his readers to avoid "carnal love," which, he writes, is "a feverish and furious passion, and very dangerous to whoever lets himself be transported there." Recapitulating arguments set forth by Michel d'Amboise among others, he contends that carnal love makes a man lose himself: "his body will have a thousand pains to search out pleasure," rendering him equal to a beast.[118] Charron considers cupidity "an abyss" for "it is infinite, diverse, inconstant, confused, unresolved, often horrible and detestable."[119] His language mirrors the enunciations and logic of writers of household literature and compilers of military treatises. All three agreed that sexual passion and other forms of unbridled desire threatened to displace reason at the forefront of the human mind, leading people away from godliness. Indeed, Charron claims, alongside other prescriptive and military thinkers, a person ruled by his desire is more a beast than a human. Continence, then, becomes a key facet of mankind that writers employ to distinguish the human

---

[117] Pierre Charron, *De la Sagesse* (Bordeaux: Simon Millanges, 1601), 230-31. In a chapter "Du Mariage," Charron writes: "Combien que l'estat du mariage soit le premier & plus ancien, le plus important & comme le fondement & la fontaine de la societé humaine, d'où sourdent les familles, & d'elles les republiques." This is a translation of Cicero, also cited in Latin in the text: "*Prima societas in coniugio est, quod principium vrbis, seminarium republicæ.*"
[118] Pierre Charron, *De la Sagesse* (Bordeaux: Simon Millanges, 1601), 173-74: "C'est vne fieure & furieuse passion que l'amour charnel, & tres-dangereuse à qui s'y laisse transporter, car ou en est il? Il n'est plus à soy; son corps aura mille peines à chercher le plaisir, son esprit mille gehennes à seruir son desir, le desir croissant deuiendra fureur: comm'elle est naturelle aussi est welle violente & commune à tous, dont en son action elle esgalle & apparie les fols & les sages, les hommes & les bestes."
[119] Charron, *De la Sagesse*, 177. On "Desirs, Cupiditez", Charron writes "c'est vn abisme, il est infiny, diuers, inconstant, confus, & irresolu, souuent horrible & detestable, mais ordinairement vain & ridicule en ses desirs."

from the non-human living being. Charron further contends that the entirety of moral philosophy can be reduced to two ethics: sustain and abstain. He urges readers to sustain themselves in the face of adversity. Furthermore, he writes "abstain from pleasures, that is to say from voluptuousness and from prosperity."[120] In a later passage, he elaborates his rationale: "one must regulate oneself in all things and submit to right reason, which is the office of virtue, not to fickle opinion, inconstant, usually false, and even less to passion."[121] Configured as the opposite of reasoned and restrained conduct, lust makes people become bestial-like and unreasonable. Chastity, Charron implies, supported by the subordination of passions to reason, maintains the distinctions upon which society is based.

For Charron, household relationships are "reciprocal and reciprocally natural: if that of children is narrower, that of parents is older, the parents being the first authors & the cause, & more important to the public: for culture and good sustenance is needed to people it and garner good people & good citizens; which is the seed of the republic."[122] Parents therefore have a duty to govern their households because their household discipline conditions the subservience, piety, and obedience of their children to broader societal authorities. Indeed, according to Charron, parents' power over their children is justified because parents provide their children "life, sustenance, instruction, and communication."[123] In naming instruction as a parental duty, Charron makes the case for the pedagogical function of the early modern household, which served to create more pliable, pious, and subservient subjects. These characteristics of ideal subjecthood were bound

[120] Charron, *De la Sagesse*, 383-84. "Abstien toy des biens, c'est à dire des voluptés & de la prosperité."
[121] Charron, *De la Sagesse*, 575. "il faut en toutes choses se regler & sousmettre a la droite raison, qui est l'office de vertu, non a l'opinion volage, inconstante, fause ordinairement, moins encores a la passion."
[122] Charron, *De la Sagesse*, 628. "Le deuoir & obligation des parens & enfans est reciproque & reciproquement naturelle: si celle des enfans est plus estroicte, celle des parens est plus ancienne, estans les parens premiers autheurs & a la cause, & plus importante au public: car pour le peupler & garnir de gens de bien & bons citoyens est necessaire la culture, & bonne nourriture de la jeunesse; qui est la semence de la republique."
[123] Charron, *De la Sagesse*, 629. "…l'enfant doibt receuoir successiuement de ses parens, la vie, la nourriture, l'instruction, la communication..."

together and inseparable. Furthermore, ideally these traits reflected the interior disposition of subjects towards their patriarchal superiors. Charron writes, for example, that the duty of children towards their parents is one of "reverence, not only external in gestures [*gestes*] & countenances, but also more internal, which is a holy and high opinion & estimation, which the child must have towards their parents, as authors, cause, & origin of their being and their wellness, qualities which make them resemble God."[124] Disobedience to authorities, then, becomes a manifestation of impiety. This author marshals obedience to God, the ultimate spiritual and social good in the early modern period, to convey what he took to be the power and importance of "obedience even to the rudest and most difficult commands of the father."[125]

Charron's slippage between obedience to God and obedience to male superiors helps explain features of military thought and household literature that we have already explored in sections one and two of this chapter. He agreed and made explicit that the subservience, piety, and discipline children learned from their parents served as a small-scale analog for the relationship between rulers and their political subjects. Again, Charron turned towards the concept that patriarchal figures were God's representatives on Earth and therefore that obedience to God necessitated obedience to those in positions of authority. Charron writes that the prince is "the sovereign and mediator between God and the peoples, & debtor to both, [who] must always remember that he is the living image, the officer, & lieutenant general of God almighty his sovereign..."[126] To be sure, this was a lofty and important task, one that restricted the power of the prince as much as it defined this same power as Godly and God-given. The Prince's obedience to God meant that he had to govern his

---

[124] Charron, *De la Sagesse*, 698. "… le premier est la reuerance, non seulement externe en gestes, & contenances, mais encores plus interne, qui est vne saincte & haute opinion & estimation, que l'enfant doit auoir de ses parens, comme autheurs, cause & origine de son estre & de son bien, qualité qui les faict ressembler a Dieu."

[125] Charron, *De la Sagesse*, 698. "… obeissance voire aux plus rudes & difficiles mandemens du père…"

[126] Charron, *De la Sagesse*, 673. "Le souuerain comme mediateur entre Dieu & les peuples, & debiteur a tous deux se doit tousiours souuenir qu'il est l'image viue, l'officier & lieutenant general du grand Dieu son souuerain…"

realm wisely and justly, just as lieutenant generals had to treat their armies and fathers had to treat members of their households.

Submission to reason was the path to this ideal form of leadership according to Charron. He draws upon Lipsius's reintroduction of stoic values when he notes the four virtues that Lipsius also laid out as cornerstones of neostoic conduct: "prudence, justice, force, & temperance."[127] Prudence becomes the most important virtue for Charron. Quoting Thomas Aquinas, Charron claims that "Prudence is with reason placed on the first rank, like the general queen, superintendent & guide of all the other virtues, 'driver of the virtues;' without which there is nothing beautiful, good, decent & befitting."[128] The path to social harmony and to obedience, piety, and discipline, is in subjecting one's desires to reason. Reason becomes the way out of personal dispositions towards fleeting passions, passions that Lispius, inspired by military thought, had glossed as veering into gluttony, drunkenness, blasphemy, and lechery. Ultimately, Charron argues, the failure to subject one's life to right reason, and by so doing lead a pious and disciplined life, results in effeminacy. He cites Vegetius to claim that people "nourished by shadow, by delicacies, by profit, are more cowardly, insolent, and effeminate."[129] Because continence was an important facet of disciplined conduct, continence became an important element in masculine subjecthood. This attitude built on treatments of discipline in household and military discourse that similarly espoused the necessity of continence for disciplined personal and social conduct.

---

[127] Charron, *De la Sagesse*, 457. Because each of these terms signify roughly equally between French and English, I have chosen to keep the French original "prudence, justice, force, & temperance."

[128] Charron, *De la Sagesse*, 458. "Prudence est auec raison mise au premier rang, comme la Royne generalle, surintendente & guide de toutes les autres vertus, *auriga virtutum*; sans laquelle il n'y a rien de beau, de bon, de bien seant & aduenant."

[129] Charron, *De la Sagesse*, 525-26. "Car ceux des villes[,] nourris à l'ombre, aux delices, au gain, sont plus lasches, insolens, effeminez."

3.4: Conclusions

Over the course of the sixteenth century, household, military, and political discourse used continence in sexual matters as a central component of masculine sovereignty and a precondition of social harmony. Mature men who served at the head of their households, armies, and realms were better rulers if they strove for continence or proved continent. Continence in all three realms became a constitutive feature of masculine governance. By focusing on continence and chastity, this chapter has shown how military discourse operated within the same discursive field as two other major – and more studied – early modern discourses: household and political literature. In all three, order is hierarchical and depends on discipline, and sexual continence and chastity are a fundamental form that discipline takes. In all three, male superiors are expected to exercise sexual restraint in order to instill the same restraint in those men, women, and children subordinate to them. The result, it is said, is the vision of a well-ordered household, army, and state in which male rule is rational, prudent, and secure. That this image was an ideal rather than a reality justified both communal and top-down attempts to enforce its ethics further.

These three discourses employed continence to expound two facets of discipline: individual self-restraint and obedience to social superiors. In turn, they also attempted to engineer collectives based on the same values. All three employed sexual continence as a critical element in disciplined conduct because it melded both individualist and collective disciplinary imperatives. Sexual continence, all three discourses agreed, encompassed personal restraint in the service of social order and pious obedience to God. All three discourses interpreted their institutions as pedagogical spaces in which men learned how to be pious, chaste, and moderate subjects. Household and marriage literature attributed the same role to the father of the household through the discipline of the father of the house. Military authors, drawing on Vegetius, claimed that military discipline taught men to become diligent, chaste, and pious through the officer's embodiment of these traits and by

punishing subordinates who flouted these qualities. Political philosophy attributed the same imperatives to territorial sovereigns. The household and the army became institutions in which subjects learned to behave piously, continently, and temperately, and in turn become more godly, obedient, chaste, and disciplined subjects. In all three milieux, disciplining was an ongoing process that required repetition over time, aimed at an unattainable ideal. It called for increasing personal reflection, self-moderation, obedience to authorities, and assertion of one's place in the social hierarchy in order to effect social cohesion. Although the contours of these discourses appeared differently in Catholic thought – which continued to posit the preferability of abstinence over any form of sexual activity – than they did in Protestant thought – which celebrated marriage because it was thought to contain and bridle inescapable sexual urges – the vision they advanced of an ideal society founded on piety, obedience, and continence was nearly identical. As trans-confessional discourses, military treatises worked alongside household literature and political philosophy to advance a vision of masculine subjectivity with sexual restraint as a key pillar. Insofar as military discourse advanced similar lines of thought that distinguished sexually restrained, disciplined, masculine behavior from licentious, undisciplined, effeminate, and feminine behavior, military discourse derived from and contributed to dominant cultural conceits about gender, sexuality, and governance.

Chapter 4: "We Didn't Worry about That So Much as Something Else": Gender and Power in Treatments of Rape in the Thirty Years' War

On June 19, 1602, a soldier named Joachim Joachimson from Oldenburg was executed for having committed rape. Early in the morning of the 17th, Joachimson had abducted "a young girl named Betgen Diez" from near a monastery in Elten, Germany and brought her to an unspecified "nearby place." He then violently threw her to the ground "against her will and wish [*wider ihren Willen und Danck*]" and proceeded "to carnally mix with her [*sich mit ihr fleischlich zu vermischen*]." In spite of her screams, the soldier "did everything in his power to harm her honor [*seiner Seits alles gethan, was in seinem Vermögen gewesen, dieselbe an ihren Ehren zu verletzen*]." The crime might have gone unpunished had not his captain, a man by the name of Eninga, come at the sound of Diez's "loud screams and calling" and caught Joachimson in the act. Eninga immediately indicted and arraigned Joachimson "for robbing [Diez] of her honor." Joachimson was found guilty of rape [*notzucht*] and executed in accordance with military regulations. As a warning to his fellow soldiers, the regiment to which he belonged was forced to march past his corpse.[1]

The Joachimson case raises a variety of questions about rape in times of early modern military conflict. First, the topic of rape was significant enough to surface in a later printed compendium of military code, the context of the volume in which this report is included and the only reason it survives. The text seems to recapitulate, if not reproduce, an earlier now lost record of the relevant court martial. First, the level of detail at least reflects great familiarity with the events

[1] Johann Christian Lünig, *Corpus Juris Militaris Des Heil. Röm. Reichs* (Leipzig, 1723), 2: appendix 368.

and people involved. Second, the text makes explicit that Betgen Diez did not wish for the sexual contact to take place – portraying her as an unwilling victim of the soldier's violent attack. Her age and the report that the soldier slept with her "against her will and wish" may reflect the importance of female resistance to sexual assault order for a case to rise to the status of ra rape in courts martial. Third, Diez's rape is seen as a violation of her honor, implicitly by robbing her virginity. Although the record does not specify that Dietz is a virgin, she is described as a "young maiden;" the scene "by a convent" [*seitwärts dem Closter*] strongly suggests her virginal status. By taking her (strongly implied) virginity, Joachimson has damaged an integral part of Diez's female identity, which has ramifications for her standing as a future marital and sexual partner. Fourth, this injury seems so severe that it is difficult to describe. The record employs descriptions – "to carnally mix" and "to harm her honor" in recounting the event before turning to the more technical and legal term of *notzucht*: the charge for which the soldier was executed.[2] Fifth, it appears vital that Joachimson's captain himself witnessed the rape. In a juridical context in which evidence often consisted of statements by witnesses, whose social status shaped the perceived reliability of their testimony, Captain Eninga's testimony was likely central. Because captains were typically noblemen with large discretion over military matters, the testimony of Eninga, who also appears to have initiated the case, helps account for the rapidity, decisiveness, and eventual outcome of the judgment against Joachimson.

Notably, however, the documentary record elides Diez's voice and that of her family. Rather than Diez herself, Eninga serves as the narrator, effectively displacing Diez's perspective from the

---

[2] In German, the most common term used to refer to rape was "schänden" (which also meant to defile, desecrate, violate, and dishonor) whereas French writers employed a broader array of terms, chiefly "violer" and "forcer" (which also meant to violate, force, transgress, and even in some circumstances to steal) and their various participles and derivations. As section one will demonstrate, rapes by soldiers were considered *ipse facto* transgressive and sexual. For that reason, I use the terms rape and sexual violence more or less interchangeably, especially considering the vagaries that early modern sources employ when discussing instances of rape in wartime.

center of the case. The description of Diez's rape is further removed from her lived experience by the male court scribe's conceptions of rape, which fit into larger early modern beliefs about what constituted the crime: that the sexual contact occur against a woman's wishes, that she resist both physically and by screaming, and that the crime harm a woman's (sexual) honor.

The difficulty of representing rape has haunted early modern historiography. As Mieke Bal has argued for the modern context, "rape cannot be visualized because the experience is, physically and psychologically, *inner*. Rape takes place inside. In this sense, rape is by definition imagined; it can only exist as experience and as memory; as *image* translated into signs, never adequately objectifiable. As a consequence, the signs are all we have."[3] Scholars seeking to understand early modern rape have therefore necessarily turned to the signs present in early modern records. One of the chief challenges feminist historians of the early modern period have faced has been disentangling the voices of women from the frameworks of men. In legal documents and plays, two well-researched fora for the representation of rape in the early modern period, men typically speak on behalf of women. In records of legal suits, men pose questions of women and write women's responses in abbreviated, summary format. As a result, much like the case of Betgen Diez, women's positions appear veiled by men's assumptions, glosses, and agendas in these genres.

Regulations prohibiting rape against only certain women fit into larger cultural conceits about who early modern people thought could be raped. Research into late medieval and early modern civic prostitution has demonstrated that poor women and prostitutes – two groups that city councils often joined together – occupied a vulnerable position with regard to sexual violence. First, rape was seen as a crime not chiefly against a woman's bodily autonomy or sexual agency, but against her sexual honor, which was understood to be the property of her patriarchal superiors. Because prostitutes and other poor women suspected of prostitution occupied social positions

[3] Mieke Bal, "Calling to Witness: Lucretia," in *Looking in: The Art of Viewing* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 100.

considered dishonorable, many city councils implied, such women's sexual honor could not be harmed to the same extent as virgins, widows, or wives – if it could be harmed at all. Where prosecution was even a legal possibility, it was therefore harder for such women successfully to prosecute a rape committed against them than it was for women with honorable sexual reputations.[4] Frederick's articles of war fit into this wider pattern in which rape was portrayed as injury to female sexual honor, chiefly configured as the property of the male head of the household whose status was strongly influenced by the sexual status of the women in his household. By articulating the categories of women that soldiers could not rape, this regulation set the parameters of which rapes did damage to the social order and which bodies could be subject to sexual violence without punishment. Indeed, it implied that women without honorable sexual reputations could not bring charges of rape before a court martial.[5]

In view of the challenges feminist historians face in discerning women's experiences in early modern sources on rape, they have theorized the cultural work and meaning of rape in early modern discourse chiefly with reference to literature, the stage, and the courtroom.[6] Many scholars

---

[4] As Lyndal Roper has noted, in many German cities, women suspected of being prostitutes could not legally be raped because they were considered sexually accessible to the entire town's male population. See Lyndal Roper, "Discipline and Respectability: Prostitution and the Reformation in Augsburg," *History Workshop Journal* 19 (1985), 6. Jamie Paige's work on prostitutes in late medieval German cities provides important insights into how women suspected of prostitution navigated this legal terrain. See Jamie Paige, *Prostitution and Subjectivity in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 112-38. See the discussion in Francisca Loetz, *A New Approach to the History of Violence: "Sexual Assault" and "Sexual Abuse" in Europe, 1500-1850*, trans. Rosemary Selle (Boston: Brill, 2015), 186-88.

[5] Although prostitutes were able to bring accusations of rape in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France, but by 1555, it was ruled so minor a crime as to not merit punishment. See Walker, "Sexual Violence and Rape in Europe," 440. In the German-speaking lands, certain towns made it impossible for inhabitants of the municipal brothel to bring charges of rape in court whereas others prostitutes could refuse clients so long as the woman's sexual preference did not prove disruptive to the social order.

[6] In early modern European thought, rape was defined as a crime that men committed against women. At the lexical level, many Latin texts, like that of Hugo Grotius, wrote of *stupra in feminas*, effectively limiting rape to crimes carried out against the bodies of women. See Hugo Grotius, *De Iure Belli ac Pacis Libri Tres* (Paris: Buon, 1625), 603. Sodomitical rape, evidently, does not interest Grotius, as early modern legal theory held that a phallus was necessary for a crime to amount to rape and that any same-sex erotic activity amounted to sodomy and was reasonably covered by other injunctions. See, for example, the case of Catharina Link in Angela Steidele, *In Männerkleidern: Das verwegene Leben der Catharina Margaretha Linck alias Anastasius Lagrantinus Rosenstengel, hingerichtet 1721* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2004). As the historian Garthine Walker has argued, rape required three elements in order to be prosecuted in early modern courts. First, penile-vaginal intercourse had to have taken place; some jurisdictions required ejaculation to have taken place as well. Second, some degree of force had to be present. Third, the woman cannot have consented to the intercourse.

emphasize the work that rape did in upholding patriarchal early modern norms.[7] Nafize Bashar argues that the early modern linkage between rape and property damaged specifically harmed women without substantial property and made courts in England less willing to prosecute attacks against such women.[8] Caroline Dunn's work on rape in medieval England works to disentangle the crimes of theft, sexual assault, and abduction – crimes that late medieval and early modern jurists grouped under the Latin term *raptus*.[9] Katherine Gravdal has explored how literary depictions of rape became a forum in which writers worked out juridical understandings of the crime in late medieval France.[10] Examining Jeanne de Jussie's account of the Reformation in Geneva, Carrie F. Klaus argues that the convent's walls serve as a metaphor for the female body: the violation of the convent's enclosure by Protestants reflects the rape of nuns by Protestant men, a violation that cannot be represented except by reference to an inanimate object.[11] Miranda Chaytor's study of criminal rape cases in England has similarly demonstrated how damaged clothing became a metaphor for the bodily injuries that women suffered.[12] Maren Lorenz has charted the various institutional fora and institutionalized knowledges that judges brought to bear in litigating rape cases in the eighteenth century.[13] Jocelyn Catty's work interprets men's writing about rape as itself a rape:

Garthine Walker, "Sexual Violence and Rape in Europe, 1500-1750," in *The Routledge History of Sex and the Body, 1500 to the Present*, eds. Sarah Toulalan and Kate Fisher (New York: Routledge, 2013), 431.

[7] This research agenda takes as its inspiration Susan Brownmiller's influential work. See Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975).

[8] Nafize Bashar, "Rape in England between 1550 and 1700," in *The Sexual Dynamics of History* (London: Pluto Press, 1983), 28-42

[9] Caroline Dunn, *Stolen Women in Medieval England: Rape, Abduction, and Adultery, 1100-1500* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

[10] Kathryn Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991).

[11] Carrie F. Klaus, "Architecture and Sexual Identity: Jeanne de Jussie's Narrative of the Reformation in Geneva," *Feminist Studies* 29, no.2 (2003): 278-97.

[12] Miranda Chaytor, "Husband(ry): Narratives of Rape in the Seventeenth Century," *Gender & History* 7, no.3 (1995): 378-407.

[13] Maren Lorenz, "Da der anfängliche Schmerz in Liebeshitze übergehen kann: Das Delikt der 'Nothzucht' im gerichtsmedizinischen Diskurs des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 3 (1994): 328-57. Lorenz's approach is largely similar to that of Anke Meyer-Knees, *Verführung und sexuelle Gewalt: Untersuchung zum medizinischen und juristischen Diskurs im 18. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1992).

she argues that meaning-making about rape by men focus overwhelmingly on men, depriving women of agency in ways similar to sexual violence in corporeal form. Texts by men, she contends, insinuate that virtuous women do not get raped – only lecherous women do. Women's writing about rape, she posits, resisted these tendencies and amounted to a proto-feminist reclamation of rape narratives from patriarchal systems of knowledge production.[14] Helen Barker critiques this overarching scholarly agenda, arguing that it takes patriarchy as a given category to be found in the early modern period rather than a question to be explored. She asserts, unfairly in my view, that such scholarship has occluded the various effects of discourse on rape rather than exploring its syntaxes and assumptions.[15]

Conversely, other scholars see rape as a means of engagement with other questions that vexed early modern thinkers and therefore can shed light on early modern cultural and social dynamics. Donatella Pallotti argues that the discourse of rape was a key means by which 'high' and 'low' cultural forms came into contact in early modern England.[16] Amanda Pipkin and Yannice de Bruyn have demonstrated how depictions of rape by Spanish troops in Dutch literature helped to engender Dutch identity and unity in contrast to and in order to combat Spanish tyranny.[17] Deborah Burks has shown how scenes of rape in early modern English literature stirred people to tangible political action against King Charles I, who was depicted as a sexually transgressive tyrant.[18] And Julia Rudolph has explored how Whig theorists and politicians justified their overthrow of James II

[14] Jocelyn Catty, *Writing Rape, Writing Women in Early Modern England: Unbridled Speech* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).
[15] Helen Barker, *Rape in Early Modern England: Law, History and Criticism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021).
[16] Donatella Pallotti, "Maps of Woe: Narratives of Rape in Early Modern England," *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 2 (2013): 211-39.
[17] Amanda Pipkin, "'They were not humans, but devils in human bodies': Depictions of Sexual Violence and Spanish Tyranny as a Means of Fostering Identity in the Dutch Republic," *Journal of Early Modern History* 13 (2009): 229-64; Yannice de Bruyn, "'Help! Help! War wants to rape me!': War and Rape in a Dutch Peace Play of 1678," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 41, no.4 (2018): 489-509.
[18] Deborah G. Burks, *Horrid Spectacle: Violation in the Theater of Early Modern England* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2003), especially pages 261-360.

of England in 1688/89 with reference to the nexus of rape and tyranny.[19] In these contexts, rape became a polemical weapon wielded to generate resistance to what is seen as a usurpation of authority. Scholars of the early modern period have understood rape in two ways: as a tool of patriarchal oppression and as a polemical tool to be wielded against political opponents.

What can descriptions of rape during the Thirty Years' War add to scholarship on the representation of early modern rape? In many ways, the existing scholarship on rape by soldiers during war in the early modern period maps onto the lines of theorization developed by scholars who have treated rape on the stage and in the courtroom. John Theibault, for example, concentrates on the work of Hans Grimmelshausen and argues that rape was a means by which soldiers asserted authority over conquered populations, displacing the *hausvater's* power over his subordinates by sexually attacking his wife, servants, and daughters.[20] Ronald G. Asch agrees, contending that soldiers' "resentment against the wealthy and seemingly soft-living civilians" combined with their near starvation and social marginalization made rape a tool for them to assert superiority over local populations.[21] Ulinka Rublack's work on the Sack of Magdeburg (1631) traces how depictions of soldiers overtaking the city's walls and stealing the goods within mapped onto prominent conceits about rape cases.[22] Maren Lorenz concurs with these perspectives, writing that "in periods of violence, nothing symbolizes the total power of the army ... better than sexual violence. It is, for soldiers, a manner of breaking free from civic norms."[23] Employing the more capacious term "sexual violence," which included harm done to the sexual organs of both men and women (the former of

---

[19] Julia Rudolph, "Rape and Resistance: Women and Consent in Seventeenth-Century English Legal and Political Thought," *Journal of British Studies* 39, no.2 (2000): 157-84.
[20] John Theibault, "Landfrauen, Soldaten und Vergewaltigungen während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges," *WerkstattGeschichte* 19 (1998): 25-39.
[21] Ronald G. Asch, "'Wo der soldat hinkömbt, da ist alles sein': Military Violence and Atrocities in the Thirty Years War Re-examined," *German History* 18, no.3 (2000), 291-309.
[22] Ulinka Rublack, "Wench and Maiden: Women, War and the Pictorial Function of the Feminine in German Cities in the Early Modern Period," *History Workshop Journal* 44 (1997): 1-21.
[23] Lorenz, "Sur les traces de la violence sexuelle," 65.

which early modern military regulations did not explicitly prohibit), Lorenz contextualizes rape in the juridical, political, and economic contexts of the Thirty Years' War. She argues that the high incidence of rape in the war was the result of the so-called contribution system, the process by which armies demanded foodstuffs and goods from civilians in order not to attack them. All these authors ultimately agree that rape was a means for soldiers to assert power over conquered populations; wartime figures as an additional discursive forum in which the same (male-generated) tropes about rape elsewhere in society appear anew.

This chapter addresses the three strands of scholarship on early modern rape – first, sexual assault as a tool of patriarchy, second, rape as a means of lambasting political opponents, and third, as a means for soldiers to exert power over conquered populations – through memoirs and other reports of military developments. Concentrating on the Thirty Years' War, it builds on Diane Wolfthal's insight that soldiers' rapes were depicted as more transgressive that rape in other contexts.[24] In many ways, the more negative descriptions of soldiers' sexual violence was conditioned by the belief that soldiers were particularly licentious. The city of Konstanz, for example, prohibited women from lodging with or having sexual relations with soldiers to make it harder for soldiers to integrate into the community and to encourage women not to interact with them.[25] Because of soldiers' peripatetic existence, which muddied jurisdictional waters and necessitated the cooperation of commanders, very few rapes by were prosecuted.[26] This lack of

---

[24] Diane Wolfthal, *Images of Rape: The 'Heroic' Tradition and its Alternatives* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 60.

[25] Rublack, "Wench and Maiden," 12-18.

[26] In any case, as Nafize Bashar has noted, very few rape cases made it to trial. For Stéphanie Gaudillat Cautela, the difficulty of proving and stating a crime like rape, which violated a person's sexual honor, helps account for the relatively few criminal cases that exist for historians to survey in order to assess survivors' experiences of rape in the early modern period. Stéphanie Gaudillat Cautela, "Le 'viol' au XVIe siècle: Entre théories et pratiques" in *Normes juridiques et pratiques judiciaires du Moyen Âge à l'époque contemporaine*, ed. Benoît Garnot (Dijon: Editions Universitaires de Dijon, 2007), 103-11. Amy Greenstadt has argued that when early modern jurists encoded rape as a violation of women's will and not just the theft of a woman's body they encoded a preoccupation with intention that mapped onto the rise of the author of literature as a self-distinct from yet implicated in his or her society. The focus on intent was one means by which men accused of rape escaped punishment for the crimes they were accused of committing. Amy Greenstadt, *Rape and the Rise of the Author: Gendering Intention in Early Modern England* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009). On the importance of will and

prosecution encouraged other means of discussing sexual violence, chiefly in memoirs and in reports on the progress of campaigns. Because of the generic differences between these sources when compared to other records, the texts that this chapter explores shed new light on questions at the center of historiography on early modern rape: how did gender influence the ways that people made sense of rape? To what extent did the larger discourses of rape-as-tyranny and rape-as-sexual excess play out in people's recollections of rape during the Thirty Years' War? And how did discussions of sexual violence portray soldiers as distinct from other men?

Section one explores the legal underpinnings of prohibitions of rape in wartime. Surveying legal compendia, articles of war, military tracts, and treatises on the law of war, it charts how male writers understood rape as both violence and sexual excess. Section two surveys four recollections from the Thirty Years' War – three by women and one by a man. Unlike men, who listed rape among series of soldiers' crimes and sometimes indulged in lurid descriptions of soldiers' violence, women hesitated to mention rape in wartime. They developed strategies, chiefly entertaining officers of invading forces, to protect themselves from a "something else" (in the words of the nun Maria Anna Junius) that could not be named. Section three explores the male-dominated discourse about rape in wartime with particular attention to the ways that rape served as a means of understanding violent male rulership in the vein of tyranny. Marshaling understandings of ideal male governance as performed partially through the inculcation of sexual restraint, male writers argued that rape was a manifestation of soldiers' tyrannical usurpation of the household and of an opposing prince's violent usurpation of another prince's territory.

---

consent, which was contested in both the courtroom and on the stage in early modern Europe, see Barbara J. Baines, "Effacing Rape in Early Modern Representation," *ELH* 65, no.1 (1998): 69-98.

4.1: Rape in Military Regulations and Legal Compendia

Rape was a serious crime according to military regulations and military treatises across confessional and linguistic contexts, although scholars agree that commanders rarely prosecuted soldiers for rapes and that rapes occurred frequently in early modern warfare.[27] Articles of war cast rape as a violation of the injunction to protect people unfit for military duty. German and French articles of war, which soldiers had to swear to obey before enrolling in a regiment and which were remarkably consistent with regard to classes of people soldiers could not harm, punished cases of rape with the death penalty. This punishment fit into a wider context, derived from the medieval *pax dei*, which enjoined soldiers not to harm monks, preachers, women, old people, or children.[28] The categories of people included in early modern German articles of war both built on the medieval precedent and reflected dominant cultural conceits about sexual propriety. Take for example, articles of war made for Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III in 1486. Soldiers had to swear "to leave women in childbed, widows, and young children, priests and other honorable women, young girls and mothers of the household safe and unharmed under pain of perjury and death."[29] The categories of people that soldiers were not to harm included people who would not bear arms against Frederick III's army, so they were not a military threat. The classes of women protected by this statute also reflects dominant attitudes towards who could initiate legal complaints of rape. Not all women were protected from harm by this regulation: soldiers could evidently harm women with a dishonorable reputation so long as they did not fit into the other protected categories.

[27] See, e.g., Brian Sandberg, "'Generous Amazons Came to the Breach': Besieged Women, Agency and Subjectivity during the French Wars of Religion," *Gender & History* 16, no.3 (2004), 664; Rublack, "Wench and Maiden," 3-4; Lorenz, "Sur les traces de la violence sexuelle," 62; Asch, "'Wo der soldat himkömbt,'" 304; Theibault, "Landfrauen, Soldaten und Vergewaltigungen," 30.
[28] On the medieval pax dei, see Thomas Head and Richard Landes, eds., *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992).
[29] Lünig, *Corpus Iuris Militaris*, 1:4. "Sie sollen auch schweeren, die Kindbetterinnen, Wittiben vnd unerzogene kleine Kinder, die Priester und andere ehrbare Jungfrauen, junge Mägdlein und Haußmütter sicher und unbeleydiget zu lassen bey Straffe des Meyneids und des Lebens."

In a few cases, military regulations suggested that women with dishonorable sexual reputations could bring charges of rape. Yet even if so, the belief that rapes of women with dishonorable reputations were less serious than rapes of women with honorable reputations pervaded military thought. In an annotated set of military regulations that applied to Catholic German mercenaries fighting in Holland during the Eighty Years' War, the Bavarian patrician and military jurist Petrus Pappus von Tratzberg enumerated the various misdeeds that soldiers were forbidden to commit. The relevant code indicated that "all murder, rape of women, adultery, arson, theft, street robbery, public violence, [sexual] assault [*Vbertrang*], falseness, and other of the same wicked things and manifestly evil deeds, or unnatural abuse, should be punished by death."[30] Pappus proceeds to provide definitions and enumerate legal precedents for each of these prohibitions. Thus "unnatural abuse" includes parricide, incest, and sodomy, which he defines as same-sex copulation or copulation between a human and an animal.[31] In his commentary on the "rape of women" [*Frawenschenden*], Pappus references law codes that date back to antiquity. He also includes descriptions of gruesome punishments Roman commanders meted out to soldiers who committed rapes. Pappus notes that Emperor Marcus Opellius Macrinus (r. 217-18) punished two of his soldiers who raped a virginal servant girl in the lodging in which they were quartered by sewing them alive into two oxen with just their heads protruding while maggots ate them alive.[32] Pappus also includes the precedent of the Ostrogothic King Totila (r. 541-52) who executed a soldier for raping

[30] Petrus Pappus von Tratzberg, *Holländisch Kriegs-Recht/ Vnd Artickels-Brieff* (Frankfurt am Main: Wolfgang Hoffman, 1632), 8. "Alle Muthwillige Todtschläge / Frawenschenden / Ehebruch / Brandstifftung / Dieberey / Strasenrauben / Offentliger Gewalt / Vbertrang / Falschheit / vnnd andere dergleichen böse Stück vnd offebare Vbelthaten / oder vnnatürlicher Mißbrauch / sollen mit dem Todt gestrafft werden."

[31] Pappus, *Holländisch Kriegs-Recht*, 58.

[32] Pappus, *Holländisch Kriegs-Recht*, 32. "Der Keyser Opilius Macrinus, als bey jhm geklagt ward / daß zween Soldaten die Dienstmagd im Haus / da sie jhr Losament hatten / genöthzüchtiget hatten / hat er zween grosse Ochsen lebendig auffschneyden / vnnd in einen jeden einen Soldaten flecken lassn / also daß das Haupt allein herauß stund / vnd sie mit einander reden konten."

a virgin, giving all of his possessions to the woman.[33] Fernando d'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara, a Spanish captain who served in the armies of Charles V, reportedly stabbed two soldiers caught raping a woman during the siege of Genoa (1522) with his own sword.[34] The *Schwabenspiegel* (c. 1275) stipulated that a man who rapes a virgin should be buried alive and a man who rapes any other woman should be decapitated.[35] The purpose of these precedents, Pappus claims, is to demonstrate that "he who rapes a public whore is not punished with the usual capital punishment" that applies if someone rapes a wife, widow, or unmarried daughter.[36]

Pappus found only two German codes that prohibited rape *tout court*. The first was a Saxonian code which ordered that a rapist be decapitated regardless of the sexual reputation of the woman he raped.[37] The second was the *Schwabenspiegel* which mandated the execution of a rapist of "a girl or a wife, however evil she is."[38] Pappus resolved this apparent contradiction in the code by pointing to the means of capital punishment. Presumably, although execution was the punishment for all rapes, the means of execution reflected the damage to the woman's perceived sexual honor: for raping a virgin a man was buried alive, whereas for raping any other woman he was to be with a sword. According to Pappus's research, rapes that "only began and were not completed" were punished arbitrarily.[39] Pappus concludes his discussion by noting: "It should not be forgotten that

---

[33] Pappus, *Holländisch Kriegs-Recht*, 32. "Totilas hat einen Soldaten welcher ein Jungfraw geschändet hat / lassen tödten / vnd all sein Haab vnnd Gut derselben Jungfrawen zugeeygnet. Dann er sagte / daß ein solcher kein guter oder glücklicher Soldat seyn könte."

[34] Pappus, *Holländisch Kriegs-Recht*, 32-33. "Ziehet diese Straff auff allerley Weiber Schänderey / wann dieselbe schon an deß Feinds Weiber oder Töchter begangen würde: vnd erzehlt / daß der Marquis del Vasto è di Peschara zween Soldaten / die er in der Plünderung zu Genua gefunden / daß sie ein Weib nothzüchtigten / mit seiner eygnen Hand erstochen hab."

[35] Pappus, *Holländisch Kriegs-Recht*, 33. "Der Schwabenspiegel ordnet daß man den / welcher eine Jungfraw nothzüchtiget / lebendig begraben: vnd im Fall er solches an einem Weib begehet / man jhm den Kopff abhawen soll."

[36] Pappus, *Holländisch Kriegs-Recht*, 33. "Jedoch ist allhie zumercken / daß wer eine offentliche Hur nothzüchtiget / mit der gewöhnlichen Halßstraff nicht gestrafft werde."

[37] Pappus, *Holländisch Kriegs-Recht*, 33. "Aber das Sächsich Recht straffet solche eben so wol mit dem Schwert / als die / so ehrliche Weibspersonen nothzüchtigen."

[38] Pappus, *Holländisch Kriegs-Recht*, 33. "Ein Magd oder ein Weib / wie böß sie ist."

[39] Pappus, *Holländisch Kriegs-Recht*, 33. "Wann aber das Frawenschänden nur angefangen / vnnd nicht vollbracht worden / so wirds anderst nicht / dann willkührlich gestrafft."

the Rule of the Ommelanden [Groningen's territories] orders that no woman or virgin may complain of a rape when she slept a night over [at a man's residence]."[40] If Pappus's research reflected broader attitudes towards rape in wartime, a few elements shaped commanders' prohibitions of rape. First, as was the case in civic contexts, the perceived sexual honor of the woman who had been raped was decisive. The greater the woman's perceived sexual honor, the more rigorously a rape would be prosecuted. Second, some military precedents indicated that rape should be prosecuted regardless of a woman's perceived sexual honor. Third, women could not bring rape cases forward if they had willingly spent the night at a man's place – spending a night at a man's lodgingwas taken to mean that she had consented to any sexual encounter that would take place.

German military regulations usually protected only certain classes of women from harm by soldiers throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, and the list of protected people remained remarkably consistent. Such lists recapitulated the belief that rape was a crime against the sexual honor of a woman and her family, an attitude that depicted rapes against women without an honorable sexual reputation as less serious and less worthy of punishment. Michael Ott von Echterdingen, who served as the general in charge of the artillery for Holy Roman Emperors Maximilian I and Charles V, penned sample articles of war in a volume printed in the imperial free city of Augsburg in 1530. Ott's regulations slightly shortened the list of people that soldiers could not harm: "women in childbed, pregnant, and other honorable women, virgins, elderly people, young children, underage servants, priests who belong to the parish churches (so long as they did not resist): the above-named people should be kept uninjured in their bodies."[41] The similarities

---

[40] Pappus, *Holländisch Kriegs-Recht*, 33. "Auch ist nicht zuvergessen / daß das Recht der Ommelanden ordnet / daß kein Weib oder Jungfraw sich wegen der Nothzucht beklagen mag / wann sie ein Nacht darüber geschlaffen hatt."
[41] Michael Ott, *Kriegsordnung* (Augsburg, c. 1530), e v (v): "Kindtpetterin / Schwanger / vnd ander Erber Frawen / Junckfrawen / Allt erlebt vnd über Järig lewt / Junge Kinder / minder Järig Knaben / Priester / so z(o)u den Pfar

between Ott's and Frederick III's articles of war are striking. Both stipulate that only injury to "honorable" women, a category they proceed to enumerate, is punishable. With regards to rape, violence against honorable women would be punished by military authorities.

Such lists of women protected from rape and other injuries proliferated in sixteenth-century German articles of war. There were no discernable differences between Catholic and Protestant prohibitions. Reinhard, Graf zu Solms's sample articles of war dictated that "one should, as ordered, protect, shield, honor, and under pain of death in no way harm women in childbed, pregnant women, virgins, old people, priests, and other religious people."[42] Regulations for cavalry serving under Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II ordered that "the soldiers should protect, shield, and under pain of death in no ways harm women in childbed, pregnant women, old people, priests, and servants of the church."[43] The omission of virgins and honorable women as a categories of woman protected from injury did not mean soldiers could harm them without consequence. Another regulation in Maximilian II's articles of war ordered that blasphemers, "rapists of women and children," murderers, mutineers, and people who performed other unenumerated "dishonorable deeds" would be punished in an unspecified fashion.[44] The same list of protected people appears in German articles of war throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries across confessional

---

Kirchen gehörig / So ferr sy sich z(o)ur gegenwör nichts gebraucht / Die yetzgemellten Personen / söllen an jren leyben vnuerletzt gehalten werden."

[42] Reinhard Graf zu Solms, *Kriegsbuch* (Solms, 1559), 2: 80. "Item die Kindtbetterin / Schwangerfrawen / Jungfrawen / alt leut / Priester vnd andere Geistlichleut … die soll man wie sich gebürt beschützen / beschirmen / ehren / vnnd bei leib straff inn keinen weg beleidigen…"

[43] Maximilian II, *Reuter-Bestallung* [1570] in Lünig, *Corpus Iuris Militaris*, 1:71. "Item, die Kindbetterinnen, schwangere Frauen, alte Leute, Priester, Prediger und Kirchen-Diener, die sollen die Knechte beschützen, beschirmen, und bey Leibes-Straffe in keine Wege beleidigen."

[44] Maximilian II, *Reuter-Bestallung* [1570] in Lünig, *Corpus Iuris Militaris* 1:67-68. "110. Da auch sonsten in dieser Bestallung einer betreten würde, der ein öfentlicher Gottes und seines Worts Verächter, Lästerer, ein berüchtiger Jungfrauen- und Frauenschänder, der einen unredlich ermordet, von seinem Herren aus dem Felde geflohen, oder sonsten einer anderen unerbarlichen That überwiesen wäre, der soll vor dem Reuter-Rechte darum vorgestellet und gestrafft werden."

contexts.[45] Rape fit into the broad category of injury that soldiers were not permitted to commit against vulnerable populations.

Among seventeenth-century military prohibitions of rape, only the military regulations of the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus, who fought alongside Protestant German princes in the Thirty Years' War, prohibited soldiers from harming any woman. His articles of war indicated that "whoever rapes a woman, old or young, or also [who] assaults [her] with violent strikes and blows, be it in allied or enemy territory, and it be proven, he should be executed without mercy or recourse."[46] It appears that his soldiers understood this code to mean that all women were protected from bodily harm, including rape. William Watts, a Scottish mercenary who fought for Gustavus Adolphus and composed an account of the disciplinary measures Gustavus Adolphus instituted in his army, indicated in his translations of these articles of war that "He that forces *any* Woman to abuse her; and the matter be proved, he shall dye for it."[47] In sum, the vast majority of German articles of war enumerated the kinds of women that soldiers could not rape: women in childbed, virgins, widows, wives, and other women with honorable sexual reputations. Still, it appears clear from the legal commentary of Pappus and Watts's reading of Gustavus Adolphus's articles of war

---

[45] Catholic articles of war typically included language like "die Kindtbetterin/ Schwangern Frauwen/ Jungfrauwen/ alte Leut/ Priester/ Prediger vnd Kirchendiener/ sie solt jhr wie sich gebürt/ beschützen/ beschirmen/ vnnd bey Leibstraff in keinen weg beleydigen" in Leonhart Fronsperger, *Kreigßbuch* (1575; Frankfurt: Sig. Feyrabends, 1596), 1:14-14(v) and quoted here, 3:16. See also the Articuls-Brief from Maximilan, Duke of Bavaria in Lünig, *Corpus Iuris Militaris*, 2:778 and the *Keyseriche Kriegßverfassung oder ArticulsBrieff* (1626), 27. Rudolph II's 1577 Policey-Ordnung expanded the list of protexted classes by including sick people as well. See Rudolph II, *Policey-Ordnung* [1577] in Lünig, *Corpus Iuris Militaris*, 1:341 and 498. Protestant articles of war included nearly identical language. Johann Georg of Saxony's articles of war in 1631 thus read "Die Kindbetterinnen, schwangere Frauen, Jungfrauen, alte Leute, Prediger und Kirchen-Diener, die soll man, wie sichs gebühret, beschützen, beschirmen, und bey Leibes-Straffe in keinem Wege beleidigen." See also the Nieder-Sächsischen Creiß's, Articuls-Brief [1591] in Lünig, *Corpus Iuris Militaris*, 1: 654. The 1563 *Defensions-Verfassung* of the Schwäbischen Kreis indicated that rape was among a series of crimes that violated established peace and promised that rapists would be given no advice, help, or assistance and would instead support the victim's desire for restitution. Schwäbische Creiß Defensions-Verfassung und Executions Ordnung [1563] in Lünig, *Corpus Iuris Militaris*, 1:462.

[46] Gustavus Adolphus, *Schwedisches Kriegs-Recht* (Strasbourg, 1644), 19. The relevant code is title 15, article 69: "Welcher einige Weibsperson alt oder jung nothzüchtiget / stuprieret oder schändet / oder auch mit gewaltsamen Streichen vnd [20] Schlägen vberfället vnd nothdrenget / es sey in Freunds oder Feinds Landen / vnd dessen vberwiesen würde / der sol am Leben vnnachlässig gestrafft werden." Recall that the Schwabenspiegel also punished rape committed against women independent of their perceived sexual honor.

[47] William Watts, *The Swedish Discipline* (London: John Dawson, 1632), 55. Emphasis mine.

that some commanders did take seriously harm done to women regardless of their perceived sexual honor.

Compared to German articles of war, many French military regulations introduced both added specificity and added generality. They were more specific than German texts insofar as they tended to stipulate the manner of execution. French regulations were also more general in that they failed to enumerate the specific types of women whom soldiers were not permitted to harm. Take, for example, the military regulations in Raymon Rouer de Fourquevaux's 1548 *Instructions sur le faict de la guerre*. Fourquevaux included "anyone who shall take a woman by force" in his list of capital crimes.[48] English translators understood this code as a prohibition of rape: the terms "to take by force" [*prendre à force*], "to violate" or "to rape" [*violer*], and "to force" [*forcer*] were typically confined to sexual meaning. A sixteenth-century English translation thus rendered the text as "he who shall ravish any woman."[49] German translators interpreted the statute more generally, translating it as "whoever commits violence against a woman."[50] The French original leaves open for interpretation whether the statute prohibited only rape or violence against women more broadly. It seems likely that the vagueness of the regulation left it up to commanders' discretion which acts of violence against women could go unpunished and which would run a soldier afoul of the military regulations. Surviving military regulations for armies loyal to the monarchy conventionally used similar language: "he who will force a woman or a girl will be hanged."[51]

---

[48] Raymond Rouer de Fourquevaux, *Instructions sur le faict de la guerre* (Paris, 1548), 95: "Quiconque prend femme a force."
[49] The early modern English translation misattributes the text to Guillaume du Bellay. See [Raymond Rouer de Fourquevaux], *Instruction for the warres*, trans. Paul Ive (London: Thomas Man and Tobie Cooke, 1589), 263.
[50] The German text also misattributes the text to Bellay. See [Raymond Rouer de Fourquevaux], *Kriegs Regiment*, trans. Ulrich Budrym (Montbéliard: Peter Fischer, 1594), 634. "Welcher gewalt an ein Weib legt."
[51] Henri II's military regulations, issued on November 28, indicated that "Celuy qui forcera femme, ou fille, sera pendu & estranglé." Services Historiques de la Défense (SHD), *Collection des ordonnances*, 9:42, code 33. Henri issued the regulations with the same language again on December 23, 1533. SHD, *Coll. des. ord.*, 9:89, code 34. Many regulations employed the same language, including Henri IV on February 21, 1596. See SHD, *Coll. des. ord.*, 12:21, code 30 for the relevant code. Henri IV's regulations, issued at Camp d'Escoüy on November 3, 1590 specified where the hanging would take place: "Que celuy qui prendra femme ou fille à force, soit pendu & estranglé sur le champ." The dictate that "Celuy qui forcera femme, ou fille, sera pendu & estranglé" also appeared in numerous military treatises, including Antoine La Petriere, *Instructions de l'ordre militaire* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1595), 128; Jean de Montgeon, *Alphabet de l'art*

French-language articles of war created for Protestant armies issued nearly identical regulations to their Catholic counterparts. The Huguenot Henri I de Bourbon, Prince de Condé's military regulations employed a different verb, but to similar effect: "whoever will violate a girl or woman shall be punished with death."[52] The language of a regulation for infantry and cavalry by Henri IV after he converted to Catholicism and assumed the throne indicates that in the minds of some of the writers of military regulations, rape was one of a larger number of abuses committed by soldiers on local populations. These military regulations also prohibited rape against all women. The relevant code was issued on July 23, 1595 and prohibited soldiers from ransoming peasants, women, priests, unarmed clergy before pivoting to prohibit rape. Henri's regulations stipulated that soldiers were prohibited from "taking *any* women or girls by force under pain of being hanged forthwith without any form or figure of a trial."[53] This lack of a court martial is one reason we lack documentation of soldiers' sexual violence and registers the seriousness with which Henri took rape by his armies. The central elements of this regulation – that women were protected from rape regardless of perceived sexual honor and that rape was subsumed under other forms of violence against women – appeared in many French-language military regulations throughout the first half of the sixteenth century.[54]

---

militaire (Rouen: Claude le Villain, 1617), 41, at the HAB A: 39.4 Bell. (2); Jérémie de Billon, *Instructions militaires* (Lyon: Barthelemy Ancelin, 1617).

[52] Henri de Condé, *Déclaration de Monseigneur le prince de Condé, contenant les causes de son voyage en France avec main armée vers Monseigneur le duc fils & frère du roy* (1576), 21. "Quiconques violera fille ou femme sera puny de mort."

[53] SHD, *Coll. des. ord.*, 12:12. "Sont faites tres expresses defenses, à peine de la Vie; a tous gens de guerre tant de cheval que de pied de l'armée de Sa Majesté … de ne prendre a force aucunes femmes ny filles sur peine d'être incontinent pendus et etranglés sans aucune forme ny figure de procés." Emphasis mine.

[54] A code of ordonnances from Geneva indicated that "Tous violemens sont defendus sus peine de la vie." *Ordonnances et règlement sur la discipline militaire* (Geneva, 1603), Aij. French military regulations from the late Thirty Years' War, when King Louis XIV was still in his minority, indicated "Qu'il ne puisse être rien attenté au préiudice de l'honneur des filles et des femmes par qui que ce soit, à peine de la vie." Louis XIV's military regulation therefore depicted rape as an injury to a woman's honor, a conceit that was common in German articles of war. Given the precedent of military regulations for soldiers serving the king of France that prohibited rape against "any" women, however, it seems unlikely that this code indicates a more lax policy towards soldiers who raped women considered dishonorable.

Like their German counterparts, French writers urged captains brutally to punish rape to reflect the horrific nature of the crime. They furnished vivid details of the punishments to be meted out. Fourquevaux compares the capital crimes of theft and rape to show how commanders could use creative and savage punishments to deter soldiers from committing violent crimes. He compares two capital crimes, theft and rape, to show how harsh punishments deter soldiers from criminality. The comparison is telling, reflecting the tradition of comparing rape to the theft of sexual honor, which was understood as patriarchal property. Fourquevaux therefore notes that although "he who will have forced a woman, like he who will have stolen a loaf of bread or something else" shall receive the death penalty, "the crime of forcing [*crime de forcer*] is without comparison more scandalous and execrable than that of robbery."[55] To reflect the more detestable nature of rape, Fourquevaux urges his readers to follow the example of Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius's (r. 161-80) punishment of a soldier who seduced the wife of the man in whose house he was quartered, "for I think that these kind of forcers of women should be treated quite savagely."[56] Fourquevaux describes Aurelius's punishment in gory detail. Two tall trees are bent over and the legs of the offending soldier are tied firmly to the trees so that when the trees are released, the man is split in half. The brutality of the punishment evidently had the desired effect, for Fourquevaux claims that "there was not a single soldier of his who dared to commit any crime, being terrified of the punishment that he had had done to a poor adulterer."[57] He proceeds to cite Emperor Macrinus's

---

[55] Fourquevaux, *Instructions*, 104. "… aincois les grandz crimes & les petitz (pui que mort sen doibt ensuyuir) sont puniz d'vne mesme sorte: & aussi bien sera quitte pour estre pendu celluy qui aura forcé vne femme, comme celluy qui n'aura faict que desrober vn pain, ou autre chose: nonobstant que les peines deussent estre diuerses, veu que le crime de forcer est sans comparaison plus scandaleux & execrable, que n'est pas celluy de desrober." According to the 1609 *Thresor de la langue fracoyse*, on meaning of the verb "forcer" was "prendre à force, comme, Il a forcé une fille, Rapere." *Dictionnaires d'autrefois*, s.v., "forcer," accessed April 6, 2022, https://artflsrv03.uchicago.edu/philologic4/publicdicos/query?report=bibliography&head=forcer.

[56] Fourquevaux, *Instructions*, 104. "Ie vouldroye que la seuerité dudict Aurelius eust lieu en ce temps icy: car ie pense que ces gentilz forcesseurs de femmes seroient traictez bien sauluaigement, si nous voulons prendre pied a la punition qu'il feit d'icelluy qui auoir commis adultere auec la femme de son hoste."

[57] Fourquevaux, *Instructions*, 104. "… qu'il ne se trouua vn seul Souldard des siens qui ostat commetre aucun forfaict, estant espouentez de la punition qu'il auoir facit faire d'vn paoure adultere." This punishment was also cited by Klein, 235.

example of sewing rapists into a dead ox, as Pappus also did.[58] Note that Fourquevaux's discussion makes no mention of the perceived sexual honor of the woman attacked; the brutality of the punishment does not reflect the high social status of the woman whose honor was harmed, but instead the brutal nature of any form of sexual violence. When soldiers were punished for the crime of rape, it was done brutally and publicly, as had been the result of Joachimson's court martial at the start of this chapter. Thus in Robert Monro's recollections of his time as a Swedish mercenary, he writes that when a soldier named Mac-Myer was found guilty of "forcing the Boores daughter, where he [was] quartered," the soldier was shot at his assigned watch post "to terrifie others by his example from the like hainous sinne."[59]

The text of some French articles of war, and especially sample military regulations included in military treatises, shed light on commanders' rationales for the prohibition of rape. Some of the rationales were functional. Fourquevaux indicated that it was simpler "to win the hearts of men and keep them under subjection by benevolence [rather] than by force."[60] Fourquevaux thus urges his readers to ensure that soldiers do not anger conquered populations by stealing or by doing harm to their loved ones. Fourquevaux thus urges generals to "be continent and chaste, keep from violating the wife or daughter of another, either by love or by force: for there is no outrage that so offends the heart of people of a country than to see their wives seduced or forced."[61] The elision between adultery and rape is telling. For Fourquevaux, both represent an attack on the household father's

---

[58] Fourquevaux, *Instructions*, 104. "L'empereur Macrinus feit aussi mourir d'vne estrange maniere deux des siens, pour auoir forcé la chamberiere de leur hoste: car il feit fendre deux grands bœufz, & enclorre les Rees chacun dedens le sien, & puis coudre: & a celle find qu'ilz peussent parler l'vn a l'autre: il ordonna qu'ils eussent les estes deliures: donc que ces deux malheureux se pourrirent leans, & furent mangez de la vermine qui issoit de la chair des bœufz corrompue: non pas si tost qu'ilz n'y eussent languy plusieurs iours."

[59] Robert Monro, *Monro: His Expedition with the Worthy Scots Regiment* (London: William Jones, 1637), 1:41.

[60] Fourquevaux, *Instructions*, 93v. "… ains m'efforceroye de gaigner le cueur des hommes, & les tenir en subiection plus par beniuolence, que par contraincte."

[61] Fourquevaux, *Instructions*, 94. "… estre continent & chaste, se gardant de violer la femme ou la fille d'autruy, soit par amour ou par force: car il n'y a oultrage qui offense tant le cueur des gens d'vn pais, que veoir seduire leurs femmes ou forcer."

authority. Notably, the women he urges soldiers not to attack all bear some relationship to a man who might resist military occupation – his admonition to "keep from violating the wife or daughter of another," suggests that the crime of rape is first and foremost a crime against the man with a relationship to the attacked woman rather than to the woman herself. This idea is implicit in the conceptualization of rape as damage to a woman's sexual honor. Matthieu de la Simonne, a high-ranking member of Louis XIII's and XIV's court, understood rape as a provocation of both divine punishment and local resistance. He writes that "in any place that [the soldier] enters, either by friendly design or by force, he should not attempt the pudicity of women and girls in any fashion; those who let in a wanton passion commit a great sin against God and soon find vengeance among men."[62] Both Fourquevaux and Simonne justify the prohibition of rape with the supposition that the female victim's male relatives would take up arms to avenge their harmed daughters and wives if commanders fail to prevent their soldiers from attacking these women. Moreover, as a form of lust, rape contravenes God's commands not to engage in sexual activity outside of wedlock.

The Dutch legal theorist Hugo Grotius, whose 1625 *De Iure Belli ac Pacis* (*On the Law of War and Peace*) is widely considered a foundational text in international law, also justified the prohibition of rape in his text. Yet his rationale for rape's criminalization does not come from the *pax dei* or the mandate that soldiers protect clergy, women, old people, and people too young to bear arms. Grotius indicates that "an enemy's subjects may be harmed anywhere" and that "this right extends to infants, women, captives, and those who unconditionally surrender."[63] In being conquered,

---

[62] Matthieu de la Simonne, *L'Alphabet du soldat* (Paris: Pierre Billaine, 1623), 11. "Et en quelque place qu'il entre, soit par amiable composition, soit par force, qu'il n'attente en façon quelconque à la pudicité des femmes & filles, ceux qui laissent emporter vne impudique passion, commenttent vn grand peché enuers Dieu & trouuent tost la vengeance entre les hommes."

[63] Translation adapted from Hugo Grotius, *On the Law of Warre and Peace* (London: T. Warren, 1625), 538. "Qui autem verè subditi sunt hostium, ex causa scilicet permanente, eos offendere vbique locorum iure hoc genitum licet, si ipsorum personam respicimus.... Cæterum vt ad rem redeam quam latè licentia ista se protendat vel hinc intelligitur quod infantium quoque & feminarum cædes impune habetur & isto belli iure comprehenditur." Grotius, *De Iure Belli ac Pacis*, 596.

Grotius implies, subjects of military enemies lose their former protections and fall solely under the authority of the conquering prince. Only subjects in territories at peace cannot be harmed arbitrarily.[64] He cites biblical and classical precedents to support his view that upon being conquered, enemy subjects lose all rights. Yet in a chapter on rape in wartime, Grotius writes that captains and generals should try their best to prohibit soldiers from raping. He begins by discussing contemporary debates about the legality of rape [*stupra in feminas*] in wartime – those who argue that rape is legal in wartime draw on the logic he advances above, that the law of war [*iuri armorum*] permits harm to conquered populations. Although Grotius does contend that conquerors possess near total control over the lives of the people they conquer, he contends that rape should still be prohibited because rape is a manifestation of lust overpowering reason. Depicting rape as an "act of inordinate, wild lust that pertains neither to security nor to punishment," he contends that it should not "go unpunished either in war or in peace."[65] Although he admits that this is not the legal precedent in all regions, he states that the best rulers punish rape severely. Thus, Grotius argues, rape should be illegal for two reasons. First, insofar as it is an act of "inordinate wild lust," it contravenes the dictate, explored in the previous chapter, that soldiers and captains be sexually restrained and ruled by reason rather than erotic desire.[66] Second, because rape serves no legitimate military purpose, there is nothing against which to weigh the evil of uncontrolled lust that rape reflects. It follows for Grotius that the best generals consider rape wholly unlawful.[67]

---

[64] Grotius, *On the Law of Warre and Peace*, 539.

[65] Grotius, *On the Law of Warre and Peace*, 551. "Stupra in feminas in bellis passim legas & permissa & impermissa. Qui permiserunt spectarunt iniuriam solam in alienum corpus cuisubiacere quicquid hostile est iui aromorum non incongruens iudicabant. Melius alij qui non solam iniuriam sed ipsum effertatæ libidinis actum hic considerarunt, & quod is neque ad securitatem pertineat neque ad pœnam, ac proinde non bello magis quam pace impuntius esse debeat." Grotius, *De Iure Belli ac Pacis*, 603-4.

[66] This was a broader attitude in the early modern period. See, e.g., Garthine Walker, "Rereading Rape and Sexual Violence in Early Modern England," *Gender & History* 10, no.1 (1998), 5.

[67] Grotius's ideas built on previous scholars, like Pierino Belli and Bathlasar de Ayala, who posited that soldiers' discipline was critical to subduing conquered populations, maintaining Christian religion, and developing military effectiveness. See the discussion in Mariana Muravyeva, "'Ni pillage ni viol sans ordre préalable': Codifier la guerre dans l'Europe moderne," *Clio: Femmes, Genre, Histoire* 39 (2014), 61-62.

The legal status of wartime rape was relatively consistent across France and Germany. Although German articles of war typically enumerated particular classes of women whom soldiers could not harm, French regulations employed the shorter and broader dyad "women and girls" to prohibit rape. Both agreed, however, that the circumstances of the rape should be reflected in how the perpetrator was executed – the higher the perceived honor of the survivor, the more brutal the punishment for the perpetrator. Although few articles of war explicitly justify their prohibitions, texts like Fourquevaux's and Grotius's shed light on how early modern commenters thought about rape's illegality. As a crime thought to reflect a man's inability to restrain his own lusts and provoke the violent response of a woman's patriarchal superiors, rape should have no place in early modern warfare. When it did occur, the rapist should be punished quickly and brutally, sometimes without a trial, to dissuade other soldiers from perpetrating the same crime.

4.2: Women's and Men's Descriptions of Rape, 1618-48

In the context in which an accusation of rape would allow for litigation over a woman's sexual honor, and in which soldiers could be executed without trial if witnessed committing a rape, women typically refrained from describing or even mentioning rape in wartime. As we shall see, this was particularly true for nuns. Still, the threat of rape hung over women's recollections of soldiers they came across during the Thirty Years' War. Men's recollections of the war, conversely, indicated the frequency with which soldiers sexually assaulted women even when they declined to furnish details of the crimes soldiers committed.

A fragment of a journal by a woman named Anna Wolff is the only text composed by a woman that I have identified that mentions rape in wartime at any length. Wolff was the daughter of a miller's assistant who attended a local school "until the 23rd year" of her life, and her account

includes a description of soldiers' atrocities in and around Schwabach in 1632.[68] The journal that published Wolff's fragment in 1791 included a variety of historical sources related to the history of Franken for easier access to a late eighteenth-century German readership. The journal included sixteenth-century poems, seventeenth-century geographic descriptions of the region around Bayreuth, and various other archival finds. Wolff likely composed the account in the 1660s, a few decades after the horrors she describes.[69] Wolff often invokes "my dear Christ" [*mein lieber Christ*] and "hear, dear man" [*Höre lieber Mensch*], as if she envisioned the activity of committing her memories to paper as a meditative activity designed to communicate piety to God or even to communicate with Christ directly.[70] Wolff claims eye-witness status to the atrocities she discusses – at one point she recalls hiding in a concealed dovecote of the mill she ran with her brother when Bavarian troops came near her abode. She remained there five days until the soldiers had left.[71] The troops took everything from the houses they entered and killed all the livestock they saw: "they took the lives, goods, honor, children, and wives and had them driven away."[72] Wolff struggles to find the words to describe their conduct: "there was such a hue and cry and misery on top of misery that it cannot be expressed."[73] Invoking the hue and cry, one of the responses to rape expected in early modern legal contexts, she suggests that part of soldiers' theft of honor was the rape of the local women. Later, Wolff states explicitly that soldiers raped many women they encountered. She notes that soldiers "raped [*geschendet*] the women that they found, tortured them, dragged them to and fro, [and] mistreated them."[74] She then details the damage that she saw in her own mill – the soldier left

---

[68] Anna Wolff, "Fragment einer Handschrift aus den Zeiten des dreißigjährigen Kriegs von einer Frauensperson aufgesetzt," *Des Fränkischen Archivs* 3 (1791), 100.
[69] Geoff Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts of the Thirty Years' War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 28.
[70] See, e.g., Wolff, "Fragment einer Handschrift," 101-2 and 104-5.
[71] Wolff, "Fragment einer Handschrift," 106.
[72] Wolff, "Fragment einer Handschrift," 107: "Nimen Sie den leib, gutt Ehr Kind und Weib, laß fahren dahin…"
[73] Wolff, "Fragment einer Handschrift," 107: "So ist so ein Zettergeschrey gewesen vnd ein Jamer veber Jamer das Nitt auszusprechen."
[74] Wolff, "Fragment einer Handschrift," 107: "Die Weibsbilder was Sie gefunden haben geschendtet, gebeinigt, hin vnd her geschleift, vebel mitgefahren."

not a single speck of flour, decapitated all of the pigs, and stole the horse. Only on the fifth day of the plundering did the local population cobble together enough bread to pay off the soldiers, through a system known as contribution or *salvaguardia*, which convinced the soldiers to cease their marauding.[75]

Other texts by women, and particularly accounts written by nuns for convent archives, refused even to name rape. Take, for example, a recollection penned by Maria Anna Junius, a Dominican nun of Bamberg. Born in 1573 and daughter of Johannes Junius, the mayor of Bamberg who was executed as a witch during the Bamberg witch trials from 1626 to 1631, Maria Anna Junius entered the convent in 1622. She states that her account of the war, which is chronologically organized, is meant to convey to visiting sisters the trials and tribulations that the convent faced and demonstrate the piety and resilience of the convent's inhabitants.[76] She began writing in 1633 and detailed the events that transpired in the convent from the date she joined until Swedish forces moved out of Bamberg in 1634. The vast majority of entries come from 1632 to 1634, the years in which Bamberg became an epicenter of the conflict. Drawing also on reports from farther afield, Junius's work is less a personal narrative or list of convent assets than a demonstration of the valiant survival of her sisters in the face of the adversity of war.

Junius's first encounter with soldiers' violence occurred when Swedish forces invaded the area of Bayreuth in October 1631. she recalls that on October 13, a payment was made on her behalf to the Swedish forces for protection, a military strategy termed *salvaguardia*, *Brandschatz*, or *contribution* by modern historians. In this system, the transfer of goods to an army served as a kind of ransom to keep the inhabitants of a place safe.[77] Fearing for their lives, five of Junius's companions

[75] Wolff, "Fragment einer Handschrift," 108.
[76] Maria Anna Junius's report has been transcribed and published in K. Hümmer, ed. "Bamberg im Schweden-Kriege," in *Bestand und Wirken des historischen Vereins zu Bamberg* 52 (1890), 4.
[77] On the contribution system and its economy, see Fritz Redlich, "Contributions in the Thirty Years' War," *The Economic History Review* 12, no.2 (1959): 247-54.

chose to flee to Boxdorf just outside of Nuremberg in the following days. Junius recalls receiving a letter from the prince-bishop of Forchheim on the day they left asking how he could assist the sisters in their hour of need. She remembers that this letter "gave us very little consolation because we didn't know where to go while we were in such great fear."[78] She ultimately wrote to the count of Bayreuth asking for a payment of salvaguardia on her behalf, noting again that "we live in great fear, in particular because our poor little convent is located even further from the city."[79]

When Swedish forces sacked Bamberg on February 11, 1632, Junius recalls seeing the flames of the city from her convent's windows. Because the siege had turned into a sack, she knew that the Swedes "will spare no person, but massacre everything [and everyone] and set the city ablaze."[80] She recalls vividly the terror she and her sisters felt: "Oh, what dread and fear of death we had then experienced."[81] Yet she remembers, even though "we were aware of death every hour and moment, we didn't worry about that so much as something else."[82] Junius does not specify what she feared more than death, although given the similarities of her narration with reports of soldiers' atrocities during sacks, and given that rape typically served as the final crime in a list of soldiers' atrocities, rape is the most likely candidate.[83] Unlike male authors of memoirs, who, we shall see used the imagery and rhetoric of rape liberally, and in some cases seemed to revel in the lurid descriptions they provided, Junius hesitated even to name it. This fear – glossed by Junius as fear of soldiers *tout court* – appears consistently in her work.[84] To protect herself and her sisters, she notes the times that

---

[78] Junius, "Bamberg im Schweden-Kriege," 17: "… aber disses schreiben hat uns gar wenig trost geben / die weil wir nicht gewist haben wo wir hin solen in so groser angst seindt wir gewesen."
[79] Junius, "Bamberg im Schweden-Kriege," 17: "… dan wir in grosser forcht leben / in sondterheit die weil unser armes Clösterlein sogar weidt von der statt gelegen ist."
[80] Junius, "Bamberg im Schweden-Kriege," 33: "… sie werden keines menschen verschonen/ sondtern alles nidter machen und die statt anzündten."
[81] Junius, "Bamberg im Schweden-Kriege," 33: "… ach was schrecken und todt angst haben wir damals eingenumben."
[82] Junius, "Bamberg im Schweden-Kriege," 33: "… auch itzunt alle stund und augenblick des todts sein gewerdtig gewessen/ welchen wir doch nicht so fast gesorgt haben alls etwas anders."
[83] At another point, Junius replicates reports that soldiers killed children in their mothers' arms before slaying the women as well. See Junius, "Bamberg im Schweden-Kriege," 122.
[84] See, e.g., Junius, "Bamberg im Schweden-Kriege,"16, 22-25, 34-37, 40-42, 45, 120, 145.

she begrudgingly entertained Swedish captains, colonels, and generals so that they might prohibit soldiers from attacking the convent.[85] In entertaining the officers, Junius's sisters evidently hoped that these noblemen would protect them from the common soldiers. In this context, the commoners, rather than the officers, pose the gravest threat to the sisters because they lack sexual restraint and personal honor. This strategy evidently worked. Soldiers never attempted to break into Junius's convent and Junius gives no indication that any of her sisters were attacked by soldiers on the convent's property.[86]

In her *Tagebuch*, Klara Staiger, like Junius, conveys deep fears about the violence soldiers might perpetrate; she also refuses to name rape. Staiger was the mother superior of the Augustinian convent Mariastein close to Eichstätt. Unlike Junius's account, which describes the war to laud the resilience of her sisters, Staiger's work is much more unruly. She includes lists of the financial damage to the convent, gifts to the sisters when they fled invading Protestant troops in 1633, and alms the convent distributed. Combining personal recollection and official registry, Staiger also had ample reason to comment on her experience of the war. Like Junius, Staiger includes discussions of news she received about the war from letters and broadsheets and she does not explicitly name sexual violence.

Staiger first encountered soldiers in 1620. On February 17, she recalls a feeling of "great insecurity" on account of troops from Peter Ernst Graf von Mansfeld, who despite being a Catholic, fought alongside the Protestants.[87] Mansfeld's troops often quartered in local churches and convents, where they committed "great evil, and often were near us." Staiger's convent served as

---

[85] See, e.g., Junius, "Bamberg im Schweden-Kriege," 37, 40-41, 145, 158.
[86] Indeed, at one point, a captain asks Junius for spare rooms and stations three soldiers there at a particularly dangerous point in the war for the convent's protection. Junius gratefully accepted his offer. Junius, "Bamberg im Schweden-Kriege," 130.
[87] Mansfeld was not the only person who fought for the opposing confession in the war. Gottfried Heinrich Graf zu Pappenheim was born a Protestant, but converted to Catholicism in 1614 and fought for the imperial side. The French monarchy entered the war on the Protestant side in 1635 despite being a Catholic state.

refuge for eighteen sisters and the mother superior of the neighboring Mariaburg convent for three years.[88] Catholic soldiers offered her no greater protection; given the trans-confessional nature of early modern mercenary armies, this is not surprising. In September 1632, when imperial troops moved near Eichstätt, she recalls that they "corrupted and robbed churches and cloisters more than the enemy himself."[89] On May 15, 1633, Protestant troops attacked her convent and plundered it of relics and goods while the sisters hid away inside.[90] The next day, a commandant and his wife [*gemähelin*] came to the cloister to inspect the damage. When Staiger joined them, she saw "nothing but uncleanliness" with broken valuables and materials strewn throughout the courtyard.[91] On July 26, 1633, a group of Croatian cavalrymen came to the convent and demanded funds for salvaguardia, which "caused great worries in the gracious women" of the convent.[92] In neither of these episodes does Staiger mention any threat of rape.

Although Staiger meditates less on her emotional state than did Junius, she does reflect on the fear that the nuns had when near soldiers. For example, on December 6, 1633, Staiger recalls that from her convent she heard footsteps in the alleyways of Eichstätt. A priest then yelled that Swedish troops had broken into the city, causing a panic among the sisters. Staiger knew immediately that she and the other sisters would have to evacuate to Ingolstadt. A subprior and nun "immediately absconded in fear and came back again safe into the cloister. But [when] I and most [of the sisters] followed after me towards the fierce enemy, they [the enemies] rode after us with

---

[88] Klara Staiger, *Klara Staigers Tagebuch*, ed. Ortrun Fina (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1981), 44: "Anno 1620. Den 17 Februarii sein von wegen grosser unsicherhait und das der Mansfelder mit seinen soldaten seer ubel in den kirchen und clöstern gehaust / und uns offt nachent geweßen / die W. muetter und 18 schwestern von Mariaburg zu uns komen / und bei uns geweßen 3 jar…"
[89] Staiger, *Klara Staigers Tagebuch*, 61-62: "… verderbt / kirchen und clöster mehr als der feindt selbsten beraubt."
[90] Staiger, *Klara Staigers Tagebuch*, 85.
[91] Staiger, *Klara Staigers Tagebuch*, 86: "… sechen mir nichts dan unsaubrigkait."
[92] Staiger, *Klara Staigers Tagebuch*, 94: "… hat der frauen große kümmernis verursacht."

brandished weapons and rifles in their hands, coveting [our] money and lives."[93] The language she employs stresses the havoc and panic she experienced on account of the sack. Moreover, the soldiers, whose actions in the sack she avoids discussing, appear as almost demonic creations – fierce [*grimmigen*] and covetous [*begern*] of money and life, with brandished weapons and open threats of violence – uncontrollable in their urges. Of course, these descriptions strike fear, but they also fit into larger discourses that described soldiers as evil, rapacious, insatiable, and indiscriminate in their violence. These depictions of soldiers evidently gained widespread traction: Staiger notes that when soldiers enter an area "it is quite unsafe [because of] the soldiers."[94] She references her engagement with the broader discourses of the Thirty Years' when she recalls that on December 10-12, 1635 there "were again evil tidings and so great danger, that I feared from the bottom of my heart in the new lodgings, and at times strove to take flight."[95] Her engagement with another report of the war similarly made Staiger and her sisters fear that soldiers might attack them.[96]

Although Staiger, like Junius, does not mention rape explicitly, her engagement with reports of soldiers' atrocities, her assumptions of soldiers' conduct, and her experiences of soldiers cause her to fear what soldiers might do with the sisters in her convent. Staiger writes that on March 31, 1648, a group of soldiers broke into Eichstätt, where Staiger was visiting. They "demanded quarter and forcefully [*mit gewalt*] climbed over the walls and roofs," which caused her great distress.[97] Because some of her sisters had gone with her to the mountains for safety while others had stayed in the

[93] Staiger, *Klara Staigers Tagebuch*, 111: "Suppriorin laufft mit einer schwester gleich im schreckhen forth / und kombt noch sicher ins closter. Aber ich und der mererthail / so mit und nach mir geloffen / geen dem grymmigen feindt / mit gezuckter wör / und bixern in die hendt / sy lauffen und reithen gegen uns / begern gelt oder das Leben / seczen."
[94] Staiger, *Klara Staigers Tagebuch*, 183. On July 9, 1635, she notes that "… ists wider gar unsicher von soldaten gewesen."
[95] Staiger, *Klara Staigers Tagebuch*, 193: "Den 10. 11 / und 12 / sein wider bese zeittung und so grosse unsicherhait gewesen / das mir uns von herczen in der newen wohnung geforchten / und thails nach der flucht tracht…"
[96] Staiger, *Klara Staigers Tagebuch*, 290. On November 3, 1642, "Dise wochen haben mir widerumb bese kriegszeittung gehabt / Das unser volck vor Leibzig einbüest hat welches grossen schreckhen verursacht Das mann aller orthen tag und nacht hat troschen biß man das liebe getraidt auß Den stedlen in verwahrung gebraucht Dan laider nichts anders als fraidt und feindt zue fürchsten gewest."
[97] Staiger, *Klara Staigers Tagebuch*, 316: "Da habens quattir begert / Und seint mit gewalt ubers gemeür und Dächer gestigen." She then remarks that "… wie ich am hoffberg so grosse feindtsmacht gesechen ist mir angst abgestigen."

convent and because from her vantage point she could see the convent clearly, "concern for my 20 other sisters in the cloister made me so afraid."[98] She was among many who retreated into the convent for protection. They spent the next few nights in great fear.[99] On April 2, two soldiers came to the convent and "demanded much money or [they] would carry off a sister."[100] To prevent the soldiers from harming her sisters, she gave them many valuables from the convent.[101] Staiger stops short of indicating what might become of the sister the soldiers threatened to carry off, reminding us once again that those most vulnerable to rape were the least likely to discuss it at length or provide descriptive detail. As Carrie Kraus has argued for the case of nuns in Reformation Geneva, the sexualized resonance of the convent may have made explicit reference to the convent unnecessary.[102] It is also likely that given nun's vows of chastity, they would not mention sex at all.

Men's accounts of the war indicated, in contrast, that soldiers raped women with some frequency. A text composed by Volckmar Happe, a legal adviser in Thuringia, included rapes in catalogues of atrocities committed by soldiers. Happe was born on November 15, 1587 in the town of Greußen in Thuringia. His parents were farmers and textile merchants. He worked in his family businesses before studying law in Tübingen, Strasbourg, Altdorf, and Jena between 1607 and 1611. After his studies, Happe returned to selling cloth until 1619, when representatives of the court of Christian Günther I von Schwarzburg-Sondershausen made him a legal adviser to the administrative region centered in Keula. In 1623 he was promoted and joined Christian Günther's court as a legal adviser, in which position he served until the count's death in 1643. Happe then served Christian Günther's successor Anton Günther I until his death around 1659. In his *Chronicon Thuringiae*, he

---

[98] Staiger, *Klara Staigers Tagebuch*, 316: "… und wie ich mit etlich Schwestern auff der Höche des bergs bin / sich ich also ins Clösterle einsprengen / hat mich die sorg für meine noch 20 Schwestern im Closter so engstig gemacht."
[99] Staiger, *Klara Staigers Tagebuch*, 317.
[100] Staiger, *Klara Staigers Tagebuch*, 317: "… vil gelt gefordert oder ein Schwester weelen mitfüern."
[101] Staiger, *Klara Staigers Tagebuch*, 317.
[102] See Klaus, "Architecture and Sexual Identity," 296.

notes that his family spent long stretches of the war fleeing famine, soldierly marauding, and disease. Their peripatetic existence gave them insight into the encounters that typified the war on the ground, encounters which Happe records. The text begins with a brief and enthusiastic genealogical sketch of Happe and his family, a "Genealogia Happiana!" as the first words of the first volume indicate.[103] Happe then transitions to discuss the war between 1623 and 1642.[104] Brief discussions of future events at various points in the text indicate that it was written after the fact and not day by day as the war progressed. The consistency of the hand suggests that Happe penned his *Chronicon* within a relatively short period of time, perhaps from documents he collected during his time as a legal adviser and which he retained. The social disorder brought by war is a central preoccupation of the text: alongside descriptions of soldiers' violence, Happe discusses murders, robberies, and a variety of other challenges to social order. In spite of and because of these challenges, Happe maintains his belief in the beneficence of God and reflects at great length on the strength of his faith in the face of adversity. The *Chronicon* notes a variety of events, from cosmological to deeply personal. Some entries note agricultural production and legal cases in line with his official duties. He meticulously includes the estimated financial cost of soldiers' raids at times and comments on various atrocities that soldiers committed in the process.

As was the case for many male writers, Happe catalogs various forms of soldiers' violence. Describing the plundering of Udestedt and its surrounding villages in Thuringia in January 1623, Happe recalls that "several hundred farmers who resisted were abjectly murdered, [had] everything plundered, robbed, raped, and corrupted, which it is to be pitied and deeply lamented."[105] He

---

[103] All references to Happe rely on the folio numbers, accessible online through the University of Jena at http://www.mdsz.thulb.uni-jena.de/happe/quelle.php. Happe, *Chronicon Thuringiae*, 1:f.1r.

[104] The first volume includes the genealogy and events between 1623 and 1636. The second volume details events that took place between 1636 and 1642.

[105] Happe, *Chronicon Thuringiae*, 1:f.32r: "… etzliche hundert Bauren in Udestedt und andern Dorfen, so sich widersetzet, jämmerlich ermordet, alles geplündert, geraubet, geschendet und verderbet worden, dass es zu erbarmen und hoch zu beklagen."

describes a similar episode that took place in 1627, in which imperial troops abused the populations with whom they were quartered: "we were plagued by evil and completely corrupted by many quarterings of many imperial soldiers," who caused twelve barrels worth of gold in damages, "not to mention how many poor innocent men, women, and children were abjectly murdered[, and] women and virgins raped."[106] Happe also recalls that in 1632 forces under the command of the imperial Count Pappenheim uncorked one hundred casks of wine and spilled them on the ground. As the culmination of the soldiers' violence, Happe notes that "They raped several women."[107] He notes that on October 17, the towns of Großvargula, Thomasbrücken, and Salza were "completely plundered, many men were cut down and all women gruesomely raped by the imperial Pappenheim [soldiers]."[108] Just as in reports treating the situations in which soldierly rapes occurred and that connected soldiers' sexual violence to wantonness and indiscipline, Happe recalls rape as part of a string of soldiers' crimes. Notably, rape comes last in all of these lists, the ultimate crime in a series of soldierly abuses.

At other points, Happe provides specific details for rapes he heard about or witnessed. For example, he recalls that after a group of four imperial soldiers demanded food and lodging from local farmers, they "found a woman in the field, whom two of them raped" while the other two and a messenger looked on.[109] In another entry, Happe comments on the Sack of Magdeburg. Noting the rumors circulating about the scale of destruction during that siege ("wie die Sage gehet"), Happe

---

[106] Happe, *Chronicon Thuringiae*, 1:f.125v: "… darinnen wir mit Einquartirunge viel keyserlichen Krieges Volcks sehr übel geplagt und ganz verderbet worden, also dass in der gantzen Herrschaft Schwartzburg beyder Linien auf und über 12 Tonnen Goldes Schaden geschehen, zu geschweigen, wie viel arme unschuldige Männer, Weiber und Kinder jämmerlichen ermordet Weiber und Jungfrauen geschendet worden."
[107] Happe, *Chronicon Thuringiae*, 1:f. 235v: "Die Zapfen aus den Weinfassen gezogen und über 100 Eymer Wein jämmerlich in den Dreck gelassen. Etzliche Weibesbilder haben sie geschendet."
[108] Happe, *Chronicon Thuringiae*, 1:f. 282v: "Den 17. Oktober [1632] ist Großen Vargula geplündert, Thomasbrücken geplündert und in Brand gestecket, Salza ganz ausgeplündert, viel Manns Personnen niedergehauen und alles Weibes Volck greulich von den keyserischen Pappenheimischen geschendet worden."
[109] Happe, *Chronicon Thuringiae*, 1:1 f. 221r: "… haben sie bey Blankenburg ein Weib im Felde angetroffen, das haben ihrer zweene mit Gewalt geschendet, die andern zweene und der Bothe, den wir ihnen von hier zu geben, haben der Schande zugesehen."

writes that "more than forty thousand men, from soldiers, citizens, women, and children, were abjectly cut down and several thrown into the Elbe."[110] As in discussions of pillage, Happe concludes his recollection of Magdeburg's sack by noting the prevalence of rape: "many citizens, women, and children were violently raped."[111] As in other media, the indiscriminate nature of the rape and killing underscored the soldiers' brutality. By including men among victims of rape, Happe casts the imperial soldiers who sacked Magdeburg as exceptionally cruelty and transgressive. His is the only German-language account I have found that lists men among the victims of rape. Happe affirms this implication in another passage. He recalls that on June 18, 1638, "a poor young maid, of approximately 10 years of age, was raped violently to death by a wanton, roguish cavalryman."[112] For Happe, rape becomes a sign of soldiers' licentiousness, unruliness, and indiscriminate violence as they were in the other wartime reports we have examined. The vivid details he provides evince familiarity with the facts of each case and appear calibrated to depict enemy soldiers as animalistic in their brute violence.

Happe's association of rape with uncontrolled sexuality made it easy for him to concentrate on instances in which Catholic forces and their allies perpetrated atrocities. For example, in addition to the instances treated above, he recalls an episode in which seven companies of predominantly Croatian soldiers occupied surrounding territory in 1629. In concluding the passage, Happe writes, "it is to be deeply mourned what kind of murder, robbery, and rape of women has gone on from time to time."[113] In depicting Croatian troops in the service of the emperor as serial rapists – in contrast to other instances of gruesome but isolated rapes – Happe drew on a Protestant tradition

---

[110] Happe, *Chronicon Thuringiae*, 1:1 f. 263r: "Und sind, wie die Sage gehet, über die viertzig tausend Menschen an Soldaten, Bürgern, Weiber und Kindern erbärmlichen nieder gehauen und entlichen in die Elbe geworfen worden."
[111] Happe, *Chronicon Thuringiae*, 1:1 f. 265r: "Darumb sind noch etzliche Bürger, Weiber und Kinder gewaltsamerweise geschendet worden."
[112] Happe, *Chronicon Thuringiae*, 2: f. 206v: "Den 18. Juni ist ein armes Mägdlein, von 10 Jahren ohngefehr, im Ehricher Felde von einem leichtfertigen, schellmischen Reuter gewaltsamer Weise bis auf den Todt geschendet worden."
[113] Happe, *Chronicon Thuringiae*, 1: f. 183r: "Was vor Mordschlag, Rauberey, Schändunge der Weibesbilder hin und wieder vorgegangen, ist hoch zutrauern."

that associated Catholics and non-Germans with sexual depravity and mirrored the depiction of Huguenot soldiers as rapists in the Catholic priest Haton's *mémoires*.[114] Compare this depiction of rape, for example, with Happe's recollection of the Catholic General Tilly after the Sack of Magdeburg. Happe notes that after entering Thuringia in 1631, Tilly's soldiers "completely miserably plundered, especially cruelly in the County of Schwarzburg[;] no church was spared and many honorable women and virgins were raped."[115] Still, Happe does not specify that these rapes occurred regularly, as he does in the case of the Croatian soldiers.

Happe's descriptions of rapes committed by Catholic forces mobilized the broader association of rape with tyranny, unchristian behavior, and sexual depravity. For example, detailing the Catholic occupation of Thuringia by Pappenheim in October 1632, Happe subsumes soldiers' atrocities under the rubric of tyranny when he recalls that Pappenheim "let the small city of Bad Tennstedt be very miserably plundered and acted very tyrannically with the people." Moreover, "many women were raped and several men killed."[116] The following day, Happe notes that Pappenheim's forces continued their destruction by pillaging more places, raping more women, and killing more people. Associations of rape with wantonness and indiscipline spilled over into the few instances where Happe describes the atrocities committed by his co-religionists in the war. Notably, these descriptions come much later in his *Chronicon*. He opens his discussion of 1637 by recalling that when the Swedish forces in and around Erfurt demanded victuals and the local population did not comply, the soldiers "plundered, murdered, robbed, raped, and completely ruined us poor

---

114 See the discussion in Helmut Puff, "Localizing Sodomy: The 'Priest and Sodomite' in Pre-Reformation Germany and Switzerland," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 8, no.2 (1997): 165-95.

115 Happe, *Chronicon Thuringiae*, 1: f. 211v: "… gantz elendiglich ausgeplündert, sonderlich in der Grafschaft Schwartzburg grausamlich gehandelt, ist keiner Kirchen verschonet und viel ehrliche Weiber und Jungfrauen geschendet worden…"

116 Happe, *Chronicon Thuringiae*, 1: f. 284v: "Den 20. Oktober hat der Pappenheim das Städtlein Tennstedt gantz elendiglich ausplündern lassen und ist mit den Leuthen sehr tyrannisch gehandelt, viel Weiber geschendet worden und etzliche Männer todt blieben."

people in the country in an unchristian manner."[117] Even in cases where Protestant forces committed atrocities, Happe draws on a lexicon that links rape with unchristian conduct, tyrannical governance, and uncontrollable sexual desire. He proves very willing to describe the atrocities imperial soldiers commit. His *Chronicon* provides specific, and at times gory, details to depict soldiers as especially violent and undisciplined.

Like all so-called ego-documents, the recollections of Wolff, Junius, Staiger, and Happe are explicitly written from the perspective of the author's lived subjectivity. Yet that Happe routinely discusses rape whereas Wolff mentions it but once and Staiger and Junius avoid naming rape at all suggests that gender rather than genre explains how rape is represented in the context of early modern war. Happe's relationship to the crime of rape is significantly different from that of Wolff, Junius, and Staiger, for whom rape poses an immediate and serious threat. Happe, like most other male authors, conversely, condemns rapes that soldiers commit from a relatively safe distance. He notes instances in which soldiers commit rape, classing it as a form of tyranny, that is violent and transgressive usurpation of power. Despite his statement that Tilly's forces committed rape against men, women, and children at Magdeburg, this appears a rare enough occurrence for him to connect rape to tyranny in ways that female writers did not. Although hardly an objective observer, Happe discusses rape in order to condemn the excesses of soldiers and the people they serve.

4.3: Rape and Tyranny

Like Happe's recollection that soldiers around Bad Tennstedt "acted very tyrannically" in raping local women, male authors brandished discussions of rape in wartime for their own political and religious purposes. The frequency of sexual violence in wartime – in spite of regulations banning

[117] Happe, *Chronicon Thuringiae*, 2: f.185r-v: "… sie uns arme Leuthe auf dem Lande ausgeplündert, gemordet, beraubet, geschendet und gantz unchristlich ruiniret."

or restricting it – and the heightened stakes of religious warfare made soldiers' sexual violence a particularly attractive polemical weapon for male authors. Rapes were *de facto* allowed in sacks of cities and the plundering of towns that did not pay the protective *salvaguardia*.[118] Conrad Dieterich, a Lutheran pastor who wrote numerous texts based on Martin Luther's *Small Catechism*, composed a *Discurs vom Kriegs-Raub vnd Beutten* (Discourse on Robbery and Booty in War) in 1633. Unlike Grotius, he argued that all people incapable of bearing arms should be spared from harm by occupying forces. And yet he acknowledged that in practice, this sort of restraint was exceptionally rare. "Wherever the soldier goes, everything is his, whether it be in the house or on the field; yes it is this *dos belli*, the soldier's dowry."[119] Mobilizing the specter of rape – or at the very least, soldiers sexual activity with the people of occupied lands via the poignant metaphor of the dowry – Dieterich links soldiers' excessive plundering to their sexual appetites. He was unique in evoking the dowry as a metaphor for their behavior. Although Dieterich does not mention rape in his treatise other than by vague and uncertain implication in this passage, he collaborates with depicting soldiers as people who exert excessive violence on the people with whom they come into contact. In two places, Dieterich refers to this excessive violence explicitly as a form of tyranny [*Tyranney*].[120]

Arguably the most salient idiom in early modern depictions of rape during times of war connected rape to oppression and tyranny. Rape could perfectly situated to be linked to tyranny for several reasons. First, it was an affront to sexual restraint, which as we have seen was a constitutive feature of ideas about male governance in early modern military, household, and political discourses. As a form of extramarital sex, it was, as Grotius argued, a form of bodily desire overpowering the supposedly rational mind. Second, because soldiers' rapes – by definition – violated not only

---

[118] Brian Sandberg, "'Generous Amazons Came to the Breach,'" 664; Rublack, "Wench and Maiden," 3-4; Lorenz, "Sur les traces de la violence sexuelle," 62.
[119] Conrad Dieterich, *Discurs vom Kriegs-Raub vnd Beutten* (Heilbronn: Christoff Kransen, 1633), 176. "Wo der Soldat himkomme / da sey alles sein / sey im Haus / oder auff dem Felde / ja es sey dieses *dos belli*, der Soldaten Heyrathgut."
[120] Dieterich, *Discurs vom Kriegs-Raub vnd Beutten*, 82 and 266.

women's perceived sexual honor, but also the sexual exclusivity of marriage or the desirability of am unmarried woman for marriage, rape was conceived of as a violent act against the integrity of the household. When soldiers on campaign raped women, they therefore usurped the power of the household patriarch.[121] Third, in early modern thought, tyranny was understood as violent rulership without the consent of the governed. Whereas political thinkers like Jean Bodin associated despotism with authority which subordinates accepted or even celebrated, tyranny was defined as political power that contravened established customs and mores.[122] Soldiers thus were thought to usurp of patriarchal authority on the small scale and act as agents of political tyranny at a large scale. The language of tyranny, typically in its adverbial form "tyrannically" in early modern descriptions of rape in wartime, thus became a powerful polemical tool that men wielded against their religious and military adversaries. The history of Tarquin the Proud, a tyrannical king of Rome who raped the noblewoman Lucretia, further cemented the association between rape and tyranny.[123] Both in form and in effect, soldierly rape became a sign of male tyranny that undermined the social order. In male-authored discussions of the events of war, writers provided gory details of soldiers' atrocities, polemicizing rape to stir emotions and actions against political, religious, and military enemies.

Descriptions of rape that underscored the brutality and transgressiveness of rape set the stage for the articulation of rape as male tyranny. This idiom reached back at least to the sixteenth century, and likely much earlier. For example, describing the atrocities committed by Protestant soldiers in the Schmalkaldic War to his friend Ambrosius Blarer, Heinrich Bullinger, the Swiss

---

[121] On the relationship between tyranny and usurpation in early modern thought, see Doyeeta Majumder, *Tyranny and Usurpation: The New Prince and Lawmaking Violence in Early Modern Drama* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019), esp. 136-89.

[122] Mario Turchetti, "La Leçon de Jean Bodin (1530-1596): Sur la distinction 'vitale,' oubliée, entre despotisme et tyrannie," in *Le Prince, le despote, le tyran: figures du souverain en Europe de la Renaissance aux Lumières = The Prince, the Despot, the Tyrant: Figures of the Sovereign in Europe from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. Myriam-Isabelle Ducrocq and Laïla Ghermani (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2019), 53-59.

[123] See the discussion in Sarah D. R. Sallman, "Performing the Self and Staging the Other: Scripting the Legend of Lucretia in Early Modern England," *Paragrana* 19, no.2 (2010): 44-59.

Reformer, notes that some soldiers "robbed, plundered, [and] abused women and virgins" around Ulm "so abjectly that it is to be pitied."[124] Bullinger proceeded to describe, in great detail, "how these wretched soldiers raped several underage girls so severely, that blood filled their shoes."[125] Bullinger underscores the transgressive nature of these deeds, concluding that "it is in sum neither discipline [*zucht*] nor honor, neither proper nor right."[126] Bullinger thus links "abuse" [*Mißhandlung*], a trope associated with tyranny in early modern thought and a term often used in sexual contexts to denote sexual violence, to rape. Rape in this case appears as the ultimate expression of this abuse, coming as the last item in this reformer's list of soldiers' actions that include robbing and pillaging.

In descriptions of atrocities committed by Ottoman soldiers which were intended to rouse patriotic German sentiments against Ottoman invasions, artists and writers concentrated on Ottoman soldiers' violence against women. In this context, rape became a sign of Ottoman tyranny and Ottoman soldiers' inability (or unwillingness) to rein in their violence. It also made clear to German publics the necessity of fighting to protect their loved ones. That depictions of violence were projected onto Ottoman soldiers, marked as distinct from Germans along political, religious, linguistic, cultural, and geographical lines, made it easier for German printers to depict Ottoman atrocities as indicative of tyrannical rulership. One woodcut depicts two Ottoman cavalrymen who have captured two German women (**Figure 4.1**). The distinctive headpieces of the mounted soldiers mark them as Ottomans while the blond hair of the women mark them as European. The German verses, composed by Hans Sachs, detail Ottoman atrocities at greater length: they have "Ravaged and burned villages / Raped the women and virgins / One finds bodies in the streets / Many led off in such a way / They have avoided no cruelty / Children cut away from mothers' bellies / And then

---

[124] Heinrich Bullinger, *Werke: Zweite Abteil: Briefwechsel* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2019), 19: 308: "Item, man robt, plundert, misshandlet wyber unnd junckfrauwen… so jomerlich, das es z(o)u erbarmen ist."
[125] Bullinger, *Werke*, 19: 308: "… wie das dis ellend kriegsvolcks ettliche junge, unzytige tochterle dermasse stendlingen stupriert (vergewaltigt) habend, das inen das bl(o)ut in sch(o)uchen geschwummen seye."
[126] Bullinger, *Werke*, 19: 308: "Es ist summa weder zucht noch ehr, weder billichs noch rechts..."

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 4.1: Niklas Stör, 1530, *Zwei türkisch Lanzenreiter mit zwei gefangenen Mädchen*, Woodcut, 29.3 x 40.5 cm, Schlossmuseum Gotha, Inv. Nr. 49,13.

stuck on their pikes." The litany of violent acts depicts Ottoman soldiers as rapacious and unrestrained in their ferocity. Evidently, they make no distinction as to proper targets of military violence, attacking fetuses, women, and virgins as much as men of military age. This violence becomes a manifestation of divine punishment by the end of the verses: because all Germans are complicit in sin, all experience God's wrath. The final lines thus urge Germans to lead a more disciplined life in order to avoid God's wrath and combat Ottoman advances. Together, the image and text urge readers to interpret Ottoman atrocities as a form of divine retribution visited on Germans for their sins. In the process, Ottoman soldiers become a foil for Germans' military behavior. They are a mirror insofar as the unrestrained violence Ottoman soldiers commit against unarmed Germans corresponds to the transgressive sins that Germans commit.

In the Thirty Years' War, many reports about the atrocities of soldiers depicted rape among many excessively violent deeds. In one early seventeenth-century English text which detailed the cruelties of the war, the anonymous author writes that across the theater of war, "Boys and Women being fearefully violated & rauished, are carried prisoners away."[127] This author includes males as potential targets of sexual violence, as Happe would go on to do later with the Sack of Magdeburg. In both cases, the sexual assault of boys is described as something committed only by people at a significant religious, geographic, and political remove from the author of the text. As was the case with Bullinger, the terms employed reflect the transgressive nature of the acts. The author proceeds to list the various atrocities that soldiers committed, including rape: unarmed people were tortured, the flesh torn from their bodies using red-hot pokers, and hung by their necks, hands, feet, and genitals. He then states that "women, gentlewomen, and young wenches vnder yeeres [were] rauished till they die." Soldiers butchered people indiscriminately: "old and young, high and low states, spirituall and temporal persons, without any difference, oppressed, and many thousands of

[127] *Two Very Lamentable Relations* ([London?]: 1620), C(v).

innocent people [were] fearefully murthered."[128] This indiscriminate violence reflects the lack of control of soldiers over their own actions and of captains over their soldiers. Social distinctions that are supposed to be honored, and which articles of war insist must be respected, collapse in these scenes of violence.

In *The Lamentations of Germany*, English theologian Philip Vincent similarly suggested that soldiers were a violent rabble who terrorized the German populace. Vincent was baptized into the Church of England in 1600 in Yorkshire before studying at Peterhouse, Cambridge. Between 1633 and 1635, he traveled to the continent and spent time in Germany as part of his studies. What he witnessed, read about, and heard discussed in his time likely formed the basis of his text – the subtitle of his book professes that he was an eye-witness to the abuses he describes.[129] His vivid descriptions worked alongside illustrations of soldiers' atrocities "the more to affect the Reader."[130] Intended to bolster the support of the flagging Protestant cause in England while also furnishing lessons about the dangers of sinful behavior for an English reading public, Vincent's 1638 text comments extensively on "the cruelties which the licentious Souldier hath exercised upon the persons of the inhabitants."[131] The singular use of "Souldier" universalized the profession into one of excessive and violent harm, initially erasing distinctions in religion, language, and geographic origin. Corroborating the earlier report on the indiscriminate violence of soldiers, Vincent reports that "Without respect of age, sex, dignitie, calling, &c. and we shall rather thinke them banditos or renegado's [sic], than men of armes, rather monsters than mankinde."[132] With this description, the

---

128 *Two Very Lamentable Relations* (1620), Ci(v).
129 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Philip Vincent," accessed August 17, 2021, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28313?rskey=NtSeIU&result=1.
130 [Philip] Vincent, *The Lamentations of Germany* (London: E. G., 1638), frontispiece.
131 Vincent, *The Lamentations of Germany*, 11. In his preface, Vincent asks rhetorically if "Germany drinkes now of the cup of [God's] wrath, because shee hath long drunke of the cup of sundry great abominations? The generall cause, which is sinne, we all acknowledge."
132 Vincent, *The Lamentations of Germany*, 11.

soldiers' indiscriminate violence suggests their disorder and their lack of humanity. Vincent casts soldiers in terms that suggest their non-Englishness, even their non-Europeanness: bandito commonly referred to Italian highwaymen and renegado had an anti-Muslim valence.[133] To drive home the way that these actions transgress norms of Christian behavior, Vincent claims that "Nor Turkes nor Infidels have so behaved themselves" before noting that "yea some of the female sex, as the old Dutchesse dowager of Wirtenberg, have been without any regard or pitty, taken prisonors, reviled, [and] abused."[134] In turning the censure typically directed against Ottoman forces on his European counterparts, Vincent employs a rhetorical device prominent in early modern discourse. The Ottomans, though not Christian, are better than their Christian counterparts.

Vincent concentrates on sexual violence that soldiers perpetrated as an important facet of soldiers' oppression of locals. These descriptions appear calibrated to depict soldiers' violence as a challenge to household and marital integrity. He notes that soldiers "openly gelded" some householders "in the presence of their wives and children."[135] The castration of householders was a physical as well as symbolic act, literally depriving them of the symbol of their virility, emasculating them in front of their loved ones and social subordinates, and challenging their male authority. Descriptions of soldiers' atrocities underscored how they undermined the social order. Vincent dedicates an entire chapter to the brutal rapes soldiers committed during the wars. Claiming eyewitness status, he states that the horrors of rape in wartime escape language: "I will now speake little of this ensuing abomination, and (I feare) too much. Rapes and ravishing scarce to be spoken or heard of, have they committed, beyond all humane modesty."[136] Stressing the excessive violence that he considers a hallmark of rape, he writes that "Maides, and matrons, widdowes and wives,

---

133 Julius R. Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe*, 31 on bandito. The renegado gained popularity in England through the play by the same name, composed by Philip Massinger.
134 Vincent, *The Lamentations of Germany*, 11.
135 Vincent, *The Lamentations of Germany*, 14.
136 Vincent, *The Lamentations of Germany*, 19.

without distinction have they violated and forced, and that in the presence of their parents, husbands, neighbours, &c. women with child, in child-bed, &c. no penne can write it, no faith beleeve it."[137] That such rapes took place in front of women's loved ones reflected the dynamics of power at play – not only was rape violence against the individual victim, it also expressed the soldier's ability to violate the ability of other men to protect their wives, mothers, and daughters, kin, or householders. In this context, soldiers' rapes appear to have targeted the social fabric of the areas through which armies passed. Soldiers' assertion of their power over local populations by use of rape was especially pronounced in Pomerania, where soldiers of an unnamed company and region "tooke the fairest daughters of the Country-dwellers, and ravished them in the light of their parents, making them and their friends to sing Psalmes before them all the while."[138] In forcing villagers to sing Psalms as soldiers tortured their loved ones, the soldiers relished the pain they inflicted on the innocents. In the context of friends and parents offering prayers to God as their daughters were raped before their eyes, soldiers communicated their near total, if also impermanent, control over the people they came across. Insofar as soldiers acted violently to exert power where considered improper, they engaged in a form of usurpation at the household level.

Vincent proceeds to provide graphic details of rapes Catholic German troops when they besieged Mantua in support of the Spanish crown between September 1629 and October 1631: "Among the rest, a beautiful maid was by her Parents hid in the dunghill. But they found her out, had their pleasures of her, then cut her in pieces, hung her quarters up in the Church, and bid her friends pray to the Saints for her succour."[139] As Vincent had done earlier, his description of this particular episode indicates soldiers' indiscriminate brutality. In the context of articles of war which banned rape, destruction of church property, and harm of unarmed women, episodes like these

---

[137] Vincent, *The Lamentations of Germany*, 19.
[138] Vincent, *The Lamentations of Germany*, 20.
[139] Vincent, *The Lamentations of Germany*, 20.

would have evoked horror and suggested that soldiers exerted excessive control via violence when they came. Vincent details similar episodes from other troops in Germany , again to elicit sympathy for German countryfolk and to cast soldiers as a violent, undisciplined, rapacious rabble. Thus "The Sperenrentrish horse-men (as we came through *Brunswick*-land) tooke by force a young maide ten yeeres old, and carryed her into a wood to ravish her. The mother with upreard hands came running after our Coach, crying out to my Colonell, who was here a stranger without command, and could not relieve her."[140] Vincent concludes these horrific descriptions by noting that soldiers threatened to kill "Vertuous and chaste women ... or throwne their children into the fire, to make them yeeld."[141] Depictions of soldiers targeting the most vulnerable people they find contributed to a sense that soldiers were out of control, indiscriminately and capriciously enacting violence on vulnerable people across Germany.

Vincent then notes how soldiers raped nuns – a violation of articles of war which prohibited both attacking honorable women and committing violent acts in churches and other religious sites. He does not specify if these forces served Protestant or Catholic potentates. Vincent writes that soldiers "have not spared the very Nunnes in the Cloysters, but after they have entered by force, broken open their Trunkes and Coffers, and taken their goods, they have likewise ravished them, and killed some of them."[142] The modifier "very" communicates the shocking nature of sexual

---

[140] Vincent, *The Lamentations of Germany*, 20. Historian Geoff Mortimer interprets Vincent's specificity of the "Sperenrentrish horse-men" as evidence of his eye-witness status. See Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts of the Thirty Years War*, 27. Yet I have found no reference to "Sperenrentrish" soldiers in the historical literature of the Thirty Years' War or indeed in any early modern text. The second edition of the Theatrum Europeaum, of which the volumes include sizeable indices, includes no reference to anything approaching a German place or person with the name "Sperenren." Perhaps Vincent misread the German term Speyer (in Fraktur rendered to look to an unfamiliar English reader somewhat like "Spener," but this explanation seems unlikely because Vincent would likely have rendered this word "Spenrentish." It could be that Vincent is referring to troops from near the Sparrenberg castle, but this transliteration also seems unlikely given the different endings of the word. Perhaps Vincent misheard the name of the cavalry troop he witnessed on his travels. Perhaps the publisher mistyped the word (there are no errata listed in Vincent's short text). Perhaps Vincent simply misread some German- or English-language report about the war's course. Or perhaps a confluence of these decisions lead to the text including "Sprenrentrish horse-men" as a clear referent that English readers would ostensibly clearly understand.

[141] Vincent, *The Lamentations of Germany*, 20.

[142] Vincent, *The Lamentations of Germany*, 21.

violence committed against nuns. Invoking the story of Lucretia, Vincent states that "Some [women] have leaped into rivers, into wells, or killed themselves because they would not be subject to the filthy lusts of these hell-borne furies. Not onely sicke and weake maids, and women have beene violated till they dyed, but these wretches have committed like filthinesse with the dead bodies."[143] This litany of atrocities, marked by indiscriminate sexual violence, conditions the reader to interpret soldiers as given to excessive acts of violence. In stressing soldiers' aggression as a key component of violence committed against local populaces, Vincent links the abuse of power associated to a lack of moderation, making rape a hallmark of a specifically sexualized form of tyranny. No longer men, soldiers become "hell-borne furies" who harm German countryfolk.

These acts were explicitly translated into the idiom of tyranny in the *Theatrum Europaeum*, a journal produced in the Protestant print shop of Matthäus Merian in Frankfurt that detailed the campaigns of various armies during the Thirty Years' War. For example, in describing negotiations between (Catholic) Emperor Matthias and the (Protestant) Bohemian Estates in the opening phase of the war, Merian reports that the Emperor threatened to unleash "arson, robbery, and all sorts of tyranny" on Bohemia if the Estates did not follow his wishes.[144] When the Estates did not accede, Matthias's soldiers "shed the blood of so many innocents, practiced such great barbarous wantonness, raped women and daughters, cut children from their mother's breasts, and caused many barrels of gold's worth of damage."[145] They threatened a remarkably similar list of atrocities when they besieged Vienna, an Imperial holding. Bohemian troops cautioned that a sack would make the surrounding territory "so terribly rampant with robbery, murder, arson, and other misdeeds, that it

---

[143] Vincent, *The Lamentations of Germany*, 21.
[144] Matthäus Merian, *Theatrum Europaeum*, ([1635]; Frankfurt am Main, 1662), 1:103: "… mit Brennen/ Rauben/ und allerley Tyranney..." All Theatrum Europeaeum editions refer to the third.
[145] Merian, *Theatrum Europaeum*, 1:105: "… so viel Blut vergossen / so grosser Barbarischer Muhtwill geübet / Weiber und Töchter geschändet / Kinder and der Mutter Brüsten zerhauet würden / und mit Raub und Brand viel Tonnen Golds Schaden geschehen."

has more to do with the archenemy of the Christian name" than with pious Christian comportment. Indeed, they threatened that it would be "impossible to use greater iniquity and violence" should the city be taken by siege: children would be cut out of pregnant women's wombs, wives and daughters raped in front of their husbands and fathers, and even women lying in childbed killed in cold blood.[146] When Hungarian troops under Matthias's authority invaded, the *Theatrum* reports, they enacted precisely these horrific acts.[147] The threat of rape appears here as a weapon to compel cities to surrender, as a strategy of war that can demoralize a population and expedite military actions by inflicting fear into the hearts of adversaries. Moreover, atrocities are projected onto non-Protestants and non-Germans initially, reflecting the fact that this publication in the Protestant city of Frankfurt. The association of rape and other atrocities with religious and ethnic others helped authorize the linkage between rape and tyranny.

And yet the same language that linked rape and excess to tyrannical, disorderly, and wanton behavior appears in the *Theatrum*'s description of Protestant soldiers as well. Discussing Frederick V of the Palatinate's campaign in Bohemia in 1620, the *Theatrum* connects rape to excessive violence and a breakdown of order when he notes that Protestant soldiers, "against just war, orders, and articles of war, undertook robbery, arson, strangulation of innocent people, women, and children, rape of honorable women and virgins, and moreover excess in other ways."[148] Such descriptions also appear prominently in discussions of imperial troops, and especially Cossack soldiers hired by the

[146] Merian, *Theatrum Europaeum*, 1:122: "Welches mit Raub / Mord / Brand und andern Unthaten so schröcklich grassirt / daß es auch dem Erbfeind Christlichen Namens mehrers zuthun / oder sich grössers Frevels und Gewalts zugebrauchen unmüglich / in dem sie so gar des Kindes in Mutterleib nicht verschonet / die Ehelichen Weibs-Personen auch (deren Männer sie theils niedergehauen / theils an Händen und Füssen binden lassen / und diesem Spectactul zuzusehen genötiget) und die Jungfrauen geschändet / ja auch der Kindbetterin hierin nicht verschonet."
[147] Merian, *Theatrum Europaeum*, 1:145.
[148] Merian, *Theatrum Europaeum*, 1:303: "… durch unser Kriewgsvolck gegen Kriegs-Recht / Ordnung und Articuls-Brieff / mit Rauben / Brennen / Erwürgung unschuldiger Personen / Weib und Kinder / Schändung ehrlicher Frawen und Jungfrawen / und sonsten in andere Weg Excess fürgenommen."

Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II.[149] Later in 1620, Merian quotes a complaint from the Estates of Lower Austria [*Nider Oesterreichischen Stände*] that detailed "the tyranny of the Cossacks and other soldiers."[150] The letter complains of "barbarous abominations" and "unheard-of deeds" practiced by "the undisciplined soldiers, especially the Cossacks."[151] Specifically, soldiers "abducted knaves and women after terrible rapes, tortured people, old and young, women and men in all sorts of gruesome ways, scourged them with strikes, pressed them with wood, ripped meat from their bodies with pliers, ... [and] women, virgins, yes even underage children raped to death."[152] Invoking again the specter of male-male rape, the *Theatrum* again depicts soldiers transgressing even prohibitions of sodomy. Such descriptions evidently circulated widely: the same list appears in Vincent's *Lamentations*. Both import the language of horrifying, ungoverned excess to depict the atrocities of war.[153] As the war continued, this idiom lost the confessional specificity that characterized it earlier in the *Theatrum*.

This religious specificity never faded entirely, though. The polemic weaponization of early modern descriptions of rape in wartime arguably reached its zenith in Protestant treatments of the Imperial Sack of Magdeburg. Otto von Guericke, the son of a patrician family who fled Magdeburg before the sack but became its mayor in 1646 left an account in which he drew on a number of tropes about rape to cast the imperial army as an unrestrained rapacious rabble. He writes that when

---

[149] See, for example, Merian, *Theatrum Europaeum*, 2:346: "Die Cossaggen haben nachmalen in Unter-Oesterreich übel gehauset und grossen Schaden gethan / auch mit den Inwohnern / ohne Unterschied der Religion jämmerlich umbgangen."

[150] Merian, *Theatrum Europaeum*, 1:348: "Der Nieder Oesterreicher Bitt-Schrifft an Keyser Ferdinand wegen der Cossaggen und anders Kriegscolcks Tyranney," reads the marginal comment.

[151] Merian, *Theatrum Europaeum*, 1:348: After an opening appeal to the Emperor, the letter remarks that "solche Barbarische Grewel begangen werden" before blaming "die undisciplinierte Soldaten / sonderlich die Cossaggen / dergliechen unerhörte Thaten zu verüben kein Entsetzen gehabt…"

[152] Merian, *Theatrum Europaeum*, 1:349: "Knaben und Weibs-Peronen nach schröcklicher Schändung hinweg geführet / die Leut / Jung und Alt / Weib und Mann auff allerley grausame Weiß gemartert/ mit Stricken gerüttelt / mit Höltzern gepresst / ihnen das Fleisch mit Zangen vom Leib gereissen… Frauen und Jungfrauen / ja gar unzeitige Kinder biß auff den Todt geschändt."

[153] Elsewhere, the *Theatrum* includes rapes next to invocations of soldierly "excess," "disorder," "tyranny," and "evil." See Merian, *Theatrum Europaeum*, 1:639 and 736; Merian, *Theatrum Europaeum*, 2:174, 248, 368, and 654; Merian, *Theatrum Europaeum*, 4:581.

Tilly's forces poured into the city, Tilly lost control of his soldiers. Guericke notes that "much evil happened with the wives, virgins, daughters, and maids who had no husbands, parents, or relatives who paid a ransom for them or who could not search for the help and advice of high officers." Guericke continues, "some were raped and ravished, others were kept as concubines [*Konkubinen*], but also many others, who had no friends or means, were miraculously honorably kept and some protected by honor-loving soldiers who took them prisoner [and were then] honorably released or even got married."[154] The inclusion of soldiers who protected women alongside soldiers who ruthlessly attacked the city's women injects a sense of realism to Guericke's account. That some women became soldiers' concubines to save their lives, leaving their homes to accompany them without benefit of marriage, similarly reflected the damage soldiers did to the social fabric of the city.

Guericke strongly emphasizes the rapes soldiers committed in Magdeburg. As was common in such descriptions, Guericke turned to the classical Roman story of Lucretia to cast the sack of Magdeburg as an episode of Catholic tyranny and to extol the virtues of Magdeburg's female inhabitants. Thus, he recalls, "some Magdeburg virgins, after Lucretia's example, would have preferred to let themselves be killed or kill themselves than lose their honor." That such figures "had not heard of this Lucretia" lent authenticity to the story, in which Magdeburgers (ostensibly unintentionally) became identified with Lucretia whereas the imperial forces became early modern Tarquins.[155]

---

[154] Otto von Guericke, *Die Zerstörung Magdeburgs von Otto von Guericke und andere Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Dreissigjährigen Kriege*, ed. Karl Lohmann (Berlin: Gutenberg-Verlag, 1913), 101: "Mit den Weibern, Jungfrauen, Töchtern und Mägden aber, die keine Männer, Eltern oder Verwandte hatten, kein Lösegeld erlegen, noch bei hohen Offizieren Hilfe und Rat suchen konnten, lief es vielfach sehr übel an. Einige wurden geschändet, andere als Konkubinen behalten. Dennoch wurden viele, die weder Freunde noch Mittel hatten, wunderbar in Ehren gehalten, einige von ehrliebenden, redlichen Soldaten ehrlich losgelassen oder wohl gar geheiratet."

[155] Guericke, *Die Zerstörung Magdeburgs*, 162: "Etliche Magdeburger Jungfrauen nach dem Beispiel der Lucretia viel lieber hätten umbringen lassen oder selber umgebracht, als ihre Ehre verloren: aber von solcher Lucretia hat man in der Stadt nichts gehört."

Reports about the sexual violence that soldiers perpetrated after Magdeburg's sack collaborated with descriptions of the sack itself to portray Tilly's soldiers as foils for the disciplined, sexually restrained soldiers that commanders desired. They also suggested that soldiers' violence, once unleashed, was difficult to bridle. The violence of the sack evidently continued into subsequent days, unleashing soldiers' violent desires on local populations. Guericke, for example, recalled that four days after the sack, Tilly's soldiers committed a "terrifying deed."[156] Six "godless" soldiers raped a twelve- or thirteen-year-old girl in a churchyard so violently that she died. Upon hearing about this crime, one of Tilly's commanders decided to inform him personally "in order for such a ghastly blasphemy to be avoided."[157] The narration reportedly brought tears to Tilly's eyes. Two elements made this story different from the other violence at Magdeburg. First, the girl's status as a virgin appears clear and uncontested. Her age clearly indicates that she counts among the categories protected in relevant articles of war. Second, the rape did not take place during the sack of a city, when commanders were prone to consider rape a tolerable consequence of a city's failure to surrender. Because this event happened after the sack, the rape clearly contravened both articles of war and fundamental Christian principles – hence the labeling of the deed as "blasphemy." The blasphemy of the deed was so severe that Tilly's commander framed the decision to punish the soldiers as critical to Tilly's military success: "If your excellence does not counter and through strong orders stop such evil, then the Lord God will take victory from your excellence and give it to your enemy the Swede, and that will happen shortly!"[158] Fear of God's punishment and of losing control of his soldiers leads Tilly to order the officer to find and execute the soldiers immediately. The

[156] Guericke, *Die Zerstörung Magdeburgs*, 170: "Am Samstag, dem 24. Mai, begab sich eine schreckliche Tat."
[157] Guericke, *Die Zerstörung Magdeburgs*, 170: "… damit derartig erschreckliche Laster möchten vermieden bleiben."
[158] Guericke, *Die Zerstörung Magdeburgs*, 170: "Wenn Ihre Exzellenz solchem Unheil nicht begegnen und durch strengen Befehl Einhalt tun, so wird der Herrgott den Sieg von Ihrer Exzellenz nehmen und dem Feind, dem Schweden geben und das wird in Kurze geschehen!" On the connection between blasphemy and rape, see Francisca Loetz, *Dealings with God: From Blasphemers in Early Modern Zurich to a Cultural History of Religiousness*, trans. Rosemary Selle (New York: Routledge, 2009), 88-89.

various responses of Tilly – first threatening the rape of Magdeburg's women in order to procure a surrender from the city and then vigorously punishing the rape of a young girl only four days later – reflects the fact that although rape was *de jure* illegal in wartime, captains did little to restrain it *de facto* during sacks. Insofar as rape was a strategy of war, commanders arbitrarily allowed or punished it, further forging the connection between sexual violence and tyranny in the popular imagination because both relied on arbitrary and totalizing power.

French descriptions employed nearly identical formulations to describe rapes in wartime. A 1573 pamphlet which printed a letter sent to King Charles IX on March 18, 1562 stressed the villainy and evilness of Huguenot forces. The anonymous writer, an inhabitant of Lyon, which Huguenot troops sacked on April 29 and 30 of that year, made mention of "the murders, pillages, thefts, brigandages, and ransacking of goods that [Huguenot soldiers] indifferently committed against your subjects, no matter their religion."[159] That Huguenot soldiers harmed even their coreligionists reflects the indiscriminate nature of their violence. The writer proceeds to detail the other, more severe atrocities that Huguenot soldiers committed. He notes that "not content with having forced and raped married women and virgin girls, they also spilled over onto wild beasts, exercising sin [sic] worse than Sodom and Gomorrah, publicly to the horrible and detestable scandal of all Christianity and of all people."[160] According to this writer, the carnal urges of Huguenot soldiers appear quite literally uncontrollable, overflowing the bounds of Christian sexual order. The indiscriminateness of Huguenot soldiers' lusts is reflected not only in the rape of women and girls,

---

[159] "La juste et saincte défense de la ville de Lyon," in *Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France*, ed. L. Cimber (Paris: Beauvais, 1835), 1st series, 4:207-8: "Les meurtres, pillages, voleries, brigandages et saccagemens de biens qu'ils ont faictz indifféremment sur vos subjectz, de quelque religion qu'ils fussent…"

[160] "La juste et saincte défense de la ville de Lyon," 208: "Et non contans d'avoir forcé et violé femmes mariées et filles vierges, se sont aussi desbordé sur les bestes brutes, exerceans péché pire que Sodome et Gomorre, publiquement au scandale horrible et détestable de toute la chrestienté et de tout le monde…"

but also in their sexual intimacies with animals. The author defaults to a euphemism connected with the overflow of humors in medical tracts – *se déborder* (overflow, spill over) – to hint at the ways that soldiers' actions transgress the Christian moral order.[161] Indeed, the term he employs reflects the transgressive excessiveness of soldiers' violence by connecting rapes to bestiality. Ultimately, according to this writer, Huguenot soldiers appear more abject and more sinful than the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, reflecting a discourse that connected unrestrained carnal urges to pure evil.[162] In this context, the defense of Lyon from the ravages of the Huguenot soldiers became imperative. Classing the Huguenot cause as a form of "tyranny of our enemies" while drawing on attempts in England and Germany to stamp out Protestantism, the writer of this pamphlet connects rape to tyranny. This tyranny, he avers, must be combatted in order to prevent them from pillaging the town and raping its female inhabitants. He solidifies the connection between rape, sin, and tyranny when he describes how Protestant forces had previously "ransacked and pillaged, raped married women and virgins, and exercised all blasphemies, villainies, and idolatries" even against their allies.[163] Once more, rape appears a crime born of indiscriminate lust, impious and villainous behavior, and a desire to exercise excessive violence over local populations.

Descriptions linking rape to tyranny also adhered to French depictions of Ottoman soldiers. Thomas Sailly, a military chaplain who organized the Jesuit chaplaincy for the Army of Flanders under Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma from 1587 to 1592, composed a treatise that served as a guide for Christian soldiery and contrasted the sexual behavior of Ottoman soldiers to their

---

[161] *Le Dictionnaire de l'Academie française*, 4th edition, s.v., "se déborder," accessed November 22, 2021, https://artflsrv03.uchicago.edu/philologic4/publicdicos/navigate/8/9441/.

[162] The connection of heresy to a variety of sexual derelictions has a longer history, which the writer here mobilizes to lambast the Huguenot soldiers. For a concise and excellent analysis, see Michael D. Barbezat, "Bodies of Spirit and Bodies of Flesh: The Significance of the Sexual Practices Attributed to Heretics from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 25, no.3 (2016): 387-419.

[163] "La juste et saincte défense de la ville de Lyon," 211-12. He narrates an example in which Protestant soldiers were welcomed into Vienna and nevertheless "ont saccagée et pillée, violé les femmes mariées et vierges, et exercé tous blasphèmes, vilennies et idolatries."

Christian counterparts. He depicts Ottoman soldiers as carnal and rapacious, contending that they are "greatly given to all sensuality" before calling them "carnal heretics, which by this carnal liberty have raped and daily rape ... the cloisters of virgins dedicated to the divine majesty... putting everything underneath their feet and as if pushed by filthy spirits from hell, are given to every sort of bawdiness."[164] The language capitalizes on associations of Ottomans with licentiousness, connecting their allegedly excessive lusts to the rape of nuns in particular. The language Sailly employs depicts Ottomans in much the same way as the Lyon inhabitant depicted Huguenots in his letter to Charles IX: as driven by (or becoming) creatures from hell who oppress people as a manifestation of their carnal urges.

Other French writers employed the same tropes to describe Spanish soldiers. The *mémoire* of Jacques Carorguy, clerk [*greffier*] of the town of Bar-sur-Seine, discussed retaliations of local populations against an invading Catholic army in the closing stages of the French Wars of Religion. He asks rhetorically "Where this army has passed, ... have they not burned more than eighty villages? Raped women and girls publicly?"[165] Such atrocities led villagers to flee to the woods during the day and return to fortified churches at night; when they found soldiers, the villagers killed them and took their arms and horses. In this case, the stipulation that rapes were public served to impugn Spanish soldiers' ability to restrain their erotic desires and castigated Spanish captains who failed to punish soldiers who committed rape.

One of the most prominent descriptions of wartime rape in early modern French came from Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme. Brantôme was the grandson of two members of

---

[164] Thomas Sailly, *Guidon et practicque spirituelle du soldat chrestien* (Anvers: Plantinienne, 1590), 87. Sailly writes that "les Turcs mesmes, adonnez grandement à toute sensualité" before noting that "les infidelz & heretiques charnels, lesquelz par ceste liberté charnelle, ont violé, & violent iournellement ... les cloistres des vierges dediees à la Maiesté diuine ... & comme poussez d'esprits immonds d'enfer, s'adonnent à toute sorte de paillardise."

[165] Jacques Carorguy, *Mémoires de Jacques Carorguy* (Paris: Alph. Picard, 1880), 93: "Par où a passé ceste armé… ont ilz pas bruslé plus de quatre vingtz villages? violer les femmes et filles tout publicquement?"

Marguerite de Navarre's court and nephew of a member of the royal household. Rather than become a priest, he became a soldier, fighting in Morocco, joining the Order of Malta, and then fighting under Charles IX against the Huguenots. After an injury, he dedicated his life to composing *mémoires* about various notable figures. In one volume treating the *Grands capitaines estrangers* (Great foreign captains), he recalled the violence committed by the joint Spanish-German army under Emperor Charles V when they sacked Rome in 1527. After Charles's soldiers had entered the city and it had been "vanquished and completely under the power of the Spanish and *Landsknechte*," Brantôme writes, they "began to steal, kill and rape women, without any respect to age or dignity, neither men nor women, nor without sparing the holy relics of the temples, nor virgins or nuns."[166] Like other writers, Brantôme connects rape to excessive violence. His writing also reflects the traction of Lutheran rhetoric that depicted Rome as a cesspit and the pope as a whorish antichrist.[167] Brantôme concentrates on the violence soldiers perpetrated against noblewomen in particular. He remembers that the soldiers "did not want some of the most beautiful courtesans of the city and left them (they said) for the lackeys and hangers-on, who had a good time with them."[168] In leaving courtesans for lackeys and male camp followers, the soldiers asserted ownership and superiority over the Roman populace, inverting the social order in the process. This action was a form of violence across class lines as well. First, that soldiers did not desire some of Rome's most beautiful courtesans was an assertion that the soldiers were superior to them. Second, when soldiers had people of the

---

166 Pierre de Bourdeille seigneur de Brantôme, *Œuvres complètes de Pierre de Bourdeille seigneur de Brantôme*, ed. Ludovic Lalanne (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1864) 1:272. Brantôme notes that "Rome vaincue et du tout en la puissance des Espagnolz et lansquenetz" before detailing the atrocities they perpetrated: they "se mirent à desrober, tuer et violer femmes, sans tenir aucun respect ny à l'aage ny à dignité, ny à hommes ny à femmes, ny sans espargner les sainctes reliques des temples, ny les vierges ny les moniales."

167 See, e.g., Katherine Crawford, *The Sexual Culture of the French Renaissance* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 12; R. W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1981), 131-32; Helmut Puff, *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland, 1400-1600* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 126-28 and 145-49.

168 Brantôme, *Œuvres complètes*, 1:274: "Des courtizanes des plus belles de la ville ilz n'en vouloient point, et les laissoient (disoient-ilz) *para los laquayos y parrassos*, (pour les lacquais et goujats,) qui s'en donnoient de bon temps."

lowest status in camp – lackeys and various other male camp followers – rape courtesans, they projected the dominance and ownership of Spanish and German commoners over noble Romans. In circumstances like these, rape became another king of strategy: a means by which soldiers asserted power and ownership over people above their social station. Although very few soldiers rose through the ranks to become ennobled, in sacks soldiers could exercise power over civilians of any rank, upending the social hierarchy and placing themselves at its apex, if only for a short time.[169]

Brantôme makes clear that rape was a violent and abominable form of social disruption. He describes soldiers' violence against local girls and nuns in particular: soldiers "made a very crass brothel of their convent" and debated which women were the best to rape.[170] These actions were clear indictments of the soldiers' licentiousness and their captain's disinterest in restraining their sexual urges. Brantôme thus writes that "if avarice was common to these gentlemen, they were no less bawdy."[171] In addition to the rape of Roman noblewomen by lackeys and other male camp followers and the conversion of a convent into a "brothel" in which soldiers raped nuns, soldiers raped women in front of their husbands to assert their power before abducting the women, calling them "relics of the sack of Rome."[172] The language is that of the inversion of social status, of which gender was a salient component. During the sack, soldiers do more than violate the bodily integrity of the courtesans. They also upend the social order. Whereas armies were supposed to mirror broader social hierarchies, with noble captains disciplining common soldiers, in the sack of Rome,

---

[169] On the social origin of commanders and infantry in German armies, see Fritz Redlich, *The German Military Enterpriser and his Work Force: A Study in European Economic and Social History* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1964), 1:105-41.
[170] Brantôme, *Œuvres complètes*, 1:275: "et mesmes pour les filles et religieuses, qu'ilz n'espargnoient non plus que les autres, et en firent un bordeau très friand de leur convent." Brantôme continues by noting that "car on dit cuysse de nonain; d'autres disent que c'est la perdrix des femmes, pour en estre la viande plus friande et savoureuse que des autres, ce que je ne croy, car il n'y a que f., sur le velours et l'or, disoit-on le temps passé."
[171] Brantôme, *Œuvres complètes*, 1:275: "si l'avarice fut commune à ces messieurs, la paillardise ne leur fut pas moins."
[172] Brantôme, *Œuvres complètes*, 1:275: "Et, quis pis est, des femmes maryées, quand ilz les touchoient, ilz en exiboient de beaux spectacles à leurs pauvres haires de marys, qu'ilz faisoient si gentiment cocuz devant eux qu'ilz n'en osoient dire mot devant eux, mais encores bien aises; et devant tout le monde, en pleine rues, les repassoient, en les menant pourmener par tout sans leur faire tenir chambre sarée, comme l'on fait à Rome, superbement habillées, selon leur grandeur, tousjours pour leur en faire mieux venir l'apettit, les tenant par les mains, comme si ce fussent estées leurs propres femmes; de sorte que long tempos après on appelloit ces grandes dames *les reliques du sac de Rome*.""

the Habsburg army does exactly the opposite. In raping the courtesans of Rome, soldiers paradoxically perpetrate both indiscriminate violence against Rome's people and wealth as well as targeted violence against the social order by damaging people's personal honor. Together, these actions upend the social order.[173] Moreover, the publicness of these rapes indicates that they functioned to assert power over the Romans – against women by assaulting them and against men by making clear to them that they were unable to exercise their masculine prerogative to protect their loved ones. The indiscriminate excessiveness of soldiers' violence, then, became a mode of violence that transgressed and harmed the social order.

Although the belief that wartime rape was a form of male tyranny brought on by soldiers' excessive lusts was usually articulated in recollections of the atrocities of foreign soldiers, the same attitude appeared in French Catholic descriptions of Huguenot soldiers' misdeeds. Claude Haton, a Catholic priest from Provence and partisan of the Duc de Guise and the Catholic League during the French wars of religion notes in his *mémoires* that "nobody would believe the larcenies, thefts, extortions, ransomings, murders, batteries and oppressions that the French soldiers did to the village people and villages where they lodged."[174] In terming these actions a form of oppression, Haton stresses the way that they manifest tyrannical male rulership. Haton then compares the atrocities of the French soldiers to those of foreign soldiers: "barbarians, Jews, Turks, Saracens, and infidels would not have done more harm to the Christian people than the said French soldiers [did] to the poor people."[175] Later in his work, he complains of "the violence, oppression, and unbelievable evil"

---

[173] On the upside down world, a feature associated mainly with the early modern carnival, see Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women on Top," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975), 124-48 and David Kunzle, "World Upside Down: The Iconography of a European Broadsheet Type," in *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society*, ed. Barbara A. Babcock (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978), 39-94.
[174] Claude Haton, *Mémoires de Claude Haton (1553-1582)*, eds. Jean-Pierre Andry et. al. (Paris: CTHS, 2001), 3 ;319. "Nul ne croiroit les larcins, volleries, pilleries, ransonnemens, murtres, battures et oppressions que faisoient les gens de guerre de France aux bonnes gens des villes et villages où ilz logoient."
[175] Haton, *Mémoires de Claude Haton*, 3:319. "les barbares, juifs, turcz, sarasins et infidelles n'eussent sceu faire plus de mal aux gens chrestiens que faisoient lesdis gens de guerre françoys au pauvre peuple."

that soldiers committed when pillaging goods in an area surrounding a town under siege. The first example Haton provides to document soldiers' oppression of locals is their "violence against the honor and pudicity of [the inhabitant's] wives and daughters."[176] The association of rape with otherness served to dehumanize the Huguenots, to call into question their claim to being Christian, even though they remain French. In stating that the atrocities committed by the Huguenot soldiers were worse than those committed by any non-Christian others, Haton implies that these supposed Christians were less moral even than those non-believers.

As in German texts, the horrific realities of war over time led French writers to stress that tyranny did not possess any particular confessional flavor. The evidence they marshalled in support of these arguments was the prevalence of rape. Thus François de la Noue, the Huguenot captain, transitioned from extolling the virtues of the Huguenot Louis, Prince de Condé's army on one page before delving into the "disorders" that his army committed. Soldiers' vices, Noue emphasizes, were learned on campaign. Thus Condé's well-ordered army that previously refused to gamble, entertain women, blaspheme, forage, or pillage, and instead spent their time praying and training, fell into sin later in the war. The "first disorder" that Noue witnessed occurred when Condé's forces captured the town of Beaugency. After gaining access to the city, Condé's forces "exercised more cruelty and plunder against the people of the Religion [i.e., Huguenots] who were not able to leave than against the Catholic soldiers who defended them." Among the violence Condé's forces inflicted on their coreligionists was "rape of women [*des forcemens de femmes*]."[177] In the process, Huguenot forces

---

[176] Haton, *Mémoires de Claude Haton*, 4: 410-411. The locals presented complaints to the head of the relevant army complaining "de la viollence, de l'oppression et du mal incroiable que leur faisoient ... en la violence de l'honneur et pudicité de leurs femmes et filles."

[177] François de la Noue, *Discours politiques et militaires* (Geneva: François Forest, 1587), 575. "… là où ils exercents plus de cruauté & de pillerie sur ceux de la Religion habitans d'icelle, qui n'auoyent peu sortir, que contre les soldats Catholiques qui la defensoyent: mesmement il y eut des forcemens de femmes."

appear as unchristian insofar as they perpetrate rape on people they should protect. Again, the parallels to tyranny, in which governance becomes excessive and transgressive, are striking.

Male authors interpreted soldiers' rapes as a manifestation of their tyrannical behavior. In classing soldiers' violence as a species of tyranny, writers argued both that soldiers were instruments of their military enemies' tyranny and were themselves acting tyrannically. A variety of factors facilitated this linkage between sexual violence and tyranny. The widely disseminated story and iconography of the rape of Lucretia by Tarquin the Proud, an oft-invoked example in discussions of soldiers' sexual violence, primed writers to link tyranny to sexual violence. Capitalizing on this association, writers of political tracts commonly interpreted tyranny as absolute rulership that violated the principles of reciprocity that characterized more typical subject-ruler relationships. Because invading soldiers necessarily stood outside the peace-time relationships of power that constituted the household and the realm, soldiers easily stood in for usurpers. This usurpation took place on two levels: that of the individual household, represented by the body of the violated wife or daughter whose husband or father was powerless to protect her in the face of the soldier's might; and that of the prince who used his rapacious armies unjustly to expand his own authority. Soldiers were thus both instruments of tyranny and tyrannical actors in and of themselves. In both cases, soldiers' sexual violence served to rouse sentiments against invading forces for fear that their own positions of authority might be usurped. Because rape was considered a crime not only against a woman's sexual honor, but also that of her patriarchal superior, soldiers' rapes became implicated in discussions of the dark side of male governance – when men outside of the peacetime social order exercised unrestrained power over those with more status in their communities. Rape became a way for soldiers usurp power typically reserved for their social superiors. In much the same way, soldiers allowed rulers to usurp the authority of their rivals.

4.4: Conclusions

In spite of military regulations prohibiting soldiers from "forcing" or "violating" women in French (and some German) articles of war, and German regulations protecting women with honorable sexual reputations from various types of violence by soldiers, rape was commonplace in early modern wartime. In recollections of the Thirty Years' War, women, and nuns like Staiger and Junius in particular gestured toward their fear of rape but did not give voice to its actuality. Men like Happe, conversely, indicated that soldiers frequently raped women in areas they occupied and linked rapes to men's political, religious, and military agendas. Arguably the most prevalent idiom associated with soldiers' rapes was that of tyranny. Bolstered by histories of Tarquin and Lucretia that transhistorically linked rape with tyranny, male writers discussed soldiers' rapes to galvanize resistance to military occupation and to excoriate the violence practiced by their religious, political, and military foes. Soldiers' sexual violence thus indicated two forms of male power understood as deleterious to the social order. On the smaller level, soldiers' sexual violence became a form of usurpation, in which a soldier normally extraneous to the social hierarchy violently if momentarily supplanted the father of the household, demonstrating the inability of the household father to protect his wife and children. As a form of household usurpation, the soldier thus acted tyrannically when he attacked women. On the larger level, a prince's or captain's inability to restrain the sexual urges of his soldiers reflected his own failure of command. Yet, that he also chose to impose his authority over an unwilling populace, authorizing rape as a strategy of terror, further cemented the connection between wartime rape and tyranny. In both cases, rape became a way for men to think sexual excess, violence, and male governance together. As conflicts stretched on and the horrors of war mounted, the confessional specificities that had earlier characterized the equation of rape and tyranny faded. What replaced it was a willingness to locate rape as a facet of tyranny across linguistic and religious distinctions. Rape became a facet typical of the soldier's life. Critically, as men like

Noue argued, soldiers learned to engage in this form of tyranny-cum-sexual excess as part of army life. If armies could (and, writers insisted, should) be spaces that engendered chaste subjecthood, discussions of rape revealed that this vision was very far away indeed. Rather than becoming modest and restrained subjects, soldiers became accustomed to indulging in violence and transgressing even the most important social mores.

Conclusions

At the end of his fictional retelling of the life and actions of the woman camp follower Courage during the Thirty Years' War, Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen provides an admonition to his (presumed male) readership. Whereas the rest of the piece is narrated from the perspective of Courage and in the first person, in the *Zugab des Autors* (*Author's addition)*, Grimmelshausen instructs his readers to avoid "the love of whores." As a result, militaries thus served as a forum in which the dangers of prostitution can be presented – at once immediate enough to be instantly recognizable or meaningful to readers and yet far enough away to function as a moral foil. Using the informal second person, he warns "you *züchtige* youths, you honorable widowers and also you married men" to avoid "dangerous Chimeras" like Courage.[1] Whereas Grimmelshausen characterizes men as *züchtig*, which can be translated as disciplined, chaste, modest, innocent, or virtuous, Courage appears as monstrous. He writes, "in the love of whores you can expect nothing more than all kinds of uncleanliness, shame, mockery, poverty, and misery, and worst of all, a bad conscience [*böß Gewissen*]. Then you only too late realize what you've had with them, how foul, how nefarious, lousy, scurfy, unclean, stinky, both in the breath and on the whole body, how they are so full of the French [disease], inside and outside are full of the pox, that one must finally shame himself, and often

[1] [Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen], *Die Ertzbetrügerin und Landstörtzerin Courage* ([Nuremberg: Felsecker, 1671]), 253. "Ihr züchtige Jüngling / ihr ehrliche Wittwer und auch ihr vererlichte Männer…"

laments much too late."[2] In Grimmelshausen, women like Courage are abject figures, destructive to the social order, men's health, and the purity of the soul.[3]

Courage's story proved lasting and influential. Corresponding with intensifying attempts to police soldiers' sexual relationships with women in campaign and in garrison, and with tightening restrictions on the roles women could play in army life, Courage became a figure that seemed to justify the deepening control of the state over armies. Her recounting of war's destruction even inspired the twentieth-century German playwright Bertolt Brecht to use Grimmelshausen's narrative as the basis for his 1939 *Mother Courage and her Children*. Whereas Brecht rewrote Courage's story to rouse public sentiment against war, humanizing Courage to reveal the scars of war, Grimmelshausen made her a symbol of war's destruction of the social order. For Grimmelshausen, Courage's story demonstrates how war brings instability to the social order, upending the authority of the household, allowing women to exert power over men through the necessity of women's labor and the use of their erotic wiles, and culminating in the destruction of huge swaths of territory to feed armies on the march.

Of course, as we have seen, Grimmelshausen was far from alone in making armies a privileged forum in the sexual imaginary. Many other writers and authors depicted armies creatively to link sexual activity to ideas of both personal and interpersonal discipline, thereby connecting these forms of sexual discipline to the social order. Armies became an occasion for sexual and gendered

---

[2] Grimmelshausen, *Courage*, 253. "… daß bey Huren-Leib nichts anders zugewarten / als allerhand Unreinigkeit / Schand / Spot / Armuth und Elend / und was das meiste ist / auch ein böß Gewissen; Da wird man erst gewahr / aber zu spat / was man an ihnen gehabt / wie unflätig / wie schändlich / laussig / grindig / unrein / stinckend / beydes am Athem / und am gantzen Leib / wie sie inwendig so voll Frantzosen / und auswendig voller Blattern gewesen / daß man sich endlich dessen bey sich selbsten schämen muß / und offtermals viel zu spat beklagt."

[3] Courage's story proved lasting and influential. Corresponding with intensifying attempts to police soldiers' sexual relationships with women in campaign and in garrison, and with tightening restrictions on the roles women could play in army life, Courage became a figure that seemed to justify the deepening control of the state over armies. Her recounting of war's destruction even inspired the twentieth-century German playwright Bertolt Brecht to use Grimmelshausen's narrative as the basis for his own 1939 *Mother Courage and her Children*. Whereas Brecht rewrote Courage's story to rouse public sentiment against war, Grimmelshausen made her a symbol who incites men's social power over women.

representation at a moment of instability for established norms: the Reformations. As sixteenth-century reformers and their opponents debated which forms of sexuality were most pleasing to God, and as cities and towns debated the closure of the municipal brothel, armies became a prominent topos of sexual meaning-making. Armies invited people to imagine institutions in which their understandings of sexual propriety were nowhere to be found, where "whoring" replaced marriage, where women exerted authority over men, and where discipline broke down. Because armies were at once realms of representation *and* tangible institutions, they allowed people latitude to think broadly while also demanding change to address the problems armies caused as well as the anxieties writers and artists displaced onto them. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries, when gender and sexuality were re-evaluatated, people deployed armies to generate knowledge about how various forms sexual activity influenced the social order.

Armies were able to play this prominent role in the sexual imaginary for several reasons. First, they existed on the margins of society. They possessed their own mores and cultures, sometimes opposed to those of civic life. Second, they were of substantial size, comparable to medium-sized cities in terms of population. At any rate, the number of people associated with armies increased their purchase as a vehicle for thought about gender and sexuality. Third, because armies were chiefly mercenary institutions, writers and artists feared that soldiers and women camp followers learned how to live immoral lives in armies and then brought these behaviors back to civic life when they reinhabited towns after campaigns. Such discourse also warned people not to join armies in the first place. Fourth, insofar as armies were instruments of political power, able to influence policy through armed conflict between potentates, writers articulated that the project of religious reform would necessarily be incomplete and vulnerable unless it also transformed the conduct of armies.

It makes sense to think of armies, then, encountering, adopting, and adapting elements of the Reformations' civic institutionalization. I call this process a "military reformation." Around the same time as city councils considered whether to close the municipal brothel, how to legislate the behavior of women they labeled as "whores," and how to encourage people to forego "fornication" in favor of marriages, military thinkers broached the same problems. Slowly and unevenly over the course of the sixteenth century, commanders issued regulations banning "whores" and "common disreputable women" from the campaign trail and permitting only soldiers' wives to join the march. Whereas commanders like Michael Ott von Echterdingen, who led the garrison of Augsburg, understood the presence of prostitutes on campaign to be a solution to the problem of soldiers fighting with each other for the favor of women around 1530, later writers considered "whores" deleterious to the proper functioning of the army. Those who understood "whores" as harbingers of social disorder did little to justify their position, stipulating instead without much reasoning that the prevalence of "whores" on campaign hampered military effectiveness and courted God's wrath. In allowing only soldiers' wives to follow armies on campaign, commanders adopted and adapted a prominent conceit of the Reformations' institutionalizations in cities – that marriage was the only acceptable receptacle for sexual activity.

If the treatises composed by military commanders reflect an underlying truth, soldiers and women camp followers resisted the binary categorization of their relationships. There was a mismatch, in short, between commanders' regulations and the enforcement of these regulations. Some camp followers and soldiers evidently called their existing relationships marriages, but treated them as temporary unions. In a world in which divorce, which was allowed only in Protestant territories and illegal in Catholic territories, was nevertheless exceedingly rare, writers understood these so-called "May Marriages" as threats to the institution of marriage. This threat necessitated new forms of discipline – chiefly the expanding authority of the *hurenweibel* whose job morphed from

ensuring camp followers did not disrupt the march to policing the intimate lives of soldiers and camp followers. As implications that *huren und buben* continued to challenge the integrity of the army proliferated, so too did the *hurenweibel*'s pay, both in absolute terms and relative to other officers. By the seventeenth century, commanders had soldiers' marital status included in written records of the army's enrollment the better to punish soldiers found engaging in sexual activity outside of wedlock. In sum, just as cities worked to clamp down on extramarital sex and sought to channel all sexual energy into the marital bed, army commanders sought to prohibit "fornication" and encourage soldiers and camp followers to marry. Writers agreed that these reforms remained largely unsuccessful. Armies, like cities, then, reckoned with the shifting attitudes regarding gender and sexuality that the Reformations' wrought in early modern cities.

If the shifting and multiform sexual imaginary of early modern Europe influenced military policy, armies also helped to shape the ways that people thought about gender and sexuality. As city councils deliberated whether or not to close the municipal brothel, artists and poets collaborated to depict scenes of military life in which common soldiers and women camp followers had ambiguous relationships. In woodcuts, artists and writers often implied that women camp followers were "whores" who poisoned soldiers with disease and dressed as soldiers' wives to avoid punishment. Their debasement of marriage contrasted with the supposed behavior of officers and higher-ranking soldiers like cavalrymen who, if they engaged in extramarital sex at all, were clear to distinguish it from marriage. Artists and poets further implied that the lack of definition surrounding women camp followers' relationships with common soldiers caused fights in the baggage train and even brought death in its wake. These woodcuts acted as humorous exempla, inspirations for storytelling, and provocations to thought that considered the relationship between sexual activity and social harmony. In encouraging readers to link fornication to social chaos, armies were imaged as institutions in which people could enjoy the specter of illicit activities at a safe distance from the

reader while developing arguments about the deleterious effect of sexual activity on civic social order. Armies, in short, became an important vehicle through which people assessed how "fornication" undermined society.

Because of the overwhelmingly negative depiction of armies in sixteenth-century culture and discourses, some writers intentionally represented some armies as paragons of order. By inverting the conventions of military representation at the time, they highlighted the moral probity of the army's leaders. Insofar as a commander was able to discipline armies, he became an example of ideal male governance. The virtues an ideal captain cultivated mapped onto the set of virtues adumbrated in household manuals and political literature. An ideal man embodied continence, these literatures agreed, for if a man could not control his own desires, how was he to serve as an example for his charges? He inspired emulation from his social subordinates on the one hand, and punished derelictions on the other. By advancing a vision of male governance that mapped onto the small scale of the household and the large scale of the realm, armies became a means of making sense of discipline. By discipline, writers referred to both personal discipline, the moderation of one's individual desires, and the process by which one was held accountable for moral failings by social superiors and by other members of the community. When a captain successfully modeled the virtues of continence, piety, and discipline, he transformed an army from a lecherous lot to one in which commoners learned to accept and assert their particular places in the social hierarchy. The result, they averred, was a well-ordered society. Nevertheless, because the vision advanced of households, armies, and political predicated on piety, continence, and discipline existed only in the realm of the imaginary, these representations called for renewed efforts to bring the actual conduct of armies into closer conformity with the imagined perfect army.

In reality, of course, armies were tools of war that inflicted and suffered death and destruction. Because rape stood in diametric opposition to the restrained and chaste conduct lauded

in household, military, and political thought, and because it was widespread in early modern warfare, descriptions of rape garnered attention in memoirs, reports, and other media. Rape became a weapon of war; the threat of rape could encourage people to sue for peace lest a commander set soldiers on unarmed inhabitants. Women, the chief targets of rape, rarely reported or discussed rape in wartime. Men, conversely, included rape as the final in a series of soldiers' atrocities and sometimes furnished lurid descriptions of soldiers' brutal conduct. They understood rape as a form of tyranny. On a small scale, soldiers inflicted brutal violence on members of a household – often aimed at the most intimate of people's body parts and at the ability to reproduce – to usurp the authority of the household father. On a much larger scale, soldiers were means by which noblemen attempted to claim new territory and effect new religious policy. Rape became yet another signifier of soldiers' sexual excess. By interpreting rape as a personal moral failing, writers deflected attention away from the structural issue – the provisioning of armies that depended on despoiling the countryside of goods for an army's upkeep that historians call the contribution system. In both cases, writers implied, a stronger central authority capable of supplying and disciplining the army would be needed to stop these abuses and to make armies laboratories of discipline rather than lechery.

In arguing that armies were salient topoi of the early modern sexual imaginary, this dissertation contributes to the Reformation historiography, the history of sexuality, and military history. Whereas most scholarship on the Reformations hone in on specific cities or compare and contrast Protestant and Catholic belief systems, this dissertation draws attention to how the Reformations played out in transconfessional spaces. Insofar as both Protestants and Catholics defined sexual behavior as a key component of pious personal and communal conduct, they competed with each other for which confession could best reform army life. This competition eventually led to similar policies – the encouragement of soldiers and women camp followers to

marry and the belief that all unmarried women camp followers were "whores" who must be prohibited from the army. By focusing on transconfessional lives and discourses, this dissertation contributes to more recent directions in scholarship on the Reformations – as a process by which competitions for moral purity among Protestants and Catholics led to similar outcomes with respect to the institutionalization of reform movements.

Second, as a history of sexuality, this dissertation brings into focus the work that armies did in the early modern sexual imaginary. It places armies alongside the church, the stage, the courtroom, art, and literature as forums in which people developed arguments about gender and sexuality. Armies were a privileged institution among other institutions insofar as writers and artists depicted armies in an overwhelmingly negative light, allowing people to consider a society in which lechery was more prevalent than marriage, rape was more common than continence, and chaos superseded social harmony. Moreover, because armies were both constitutive of the early modern sexual imaginary and real institutions that could tangibly affect the lives of readers, they galvanized communities' attempts at reform.

The overwhelmingly negative depiction of armies and the insistence that all sexual activity be confined to the marital bed influenced military policy as well. Whereas most military historians emphasize gunpowder technology and bureaucratic growth as drivers of military change in the sixteenth century, I emphasize the role that evolving attitudes towards gender and sexuality played in the formation of army discipline. Without an appreciation of the ways that armies adopted and adapted attitudes towards marriage and fornication characteristic of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations, we cannot understand how and why armies developed the organizational structures that they did in the age of the wars of religion.

This dissertation, then, calls for further investigation into the relationship between religious reform, systems of meaning-making regarding gender and sexuality, and military institutions in early

modern Europe. To what extent did city authorities invoke army life to justify their policies? How regularly did people who served in or followed armies appear in court records, and in what circumstances did they appear? To what extent was the discourse that depicted armies as spaces of licentiousness in contrast to civic society pervasive across periods? And to what degree were the discourses this dissertation has explored limited to France and the Holy Roman Empire, or to warfare between Protestants and Catholics more generally? As institutions in which people from different political, linguistic, and social contexts interacted, in what ways did armies trigger processes by which early modern people developed a sense of ethnic distinction? To what extent did these distinctions intersect with gender, class, and other vectors of power? Answering these questions can help elucidate the encounter between militaries and early modern culture in much greater detail.

Appendix

Translations of texts in paintings and woodcuts

Figure 2.3: Detail of Brunswick Monogrammist, 1535-40, *Die lockere Gesellschaft (Bordellszene)*, Painting, 30.1 x 46.5 cm, Gemäldegalerie Berlin, Id. Nr. 558

dat dinck dat die dochter dalen	the thing the daughters gossip about

Figure 2.5: Wolfgang Strauch (after Erhard Schoen), 1568, *Der Sudler vnd sein Sudlerin*, Woodcut in Max Geisberg, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1500-1550*, ed. Walter Strauss (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1974), 3: no.1212

Der Sudler vnd sein Sudlerin.	**The Sutler and his [feminine] Sutler. / The Sullied and his [feminine] Sullied.**
Auß Frießlandt rauschen wir da her	Out of Friesland we rush here
Ihn Braunschweig steet vnser beger	We want to go to Brunswick
Ob wir ihm heer do möchten Sudlen	Because we wish to sutle in the army
Mit Braten / Bachen / Sieden / sudlen	With roasted, baked, and boiled things we peddle
Mit Küen / Sewen / Lemmer / Gensen	With cows, pigs, lamb, geese
Mit würsten / kraut / kröß / leber / wensen	With sausages, cabbage, dumplings, liver, tripe
Auff das ich vnd mein Sudel Koch	So that I and my sullied cook / sutler cook
Beyn Knechten möchten bleyben noch.	We would still like to remain with the soldiers.

Figure 2.7: Wolfgang Strauch (after Erhard Schoen), 1568, *Vrschelein und Schüchknecht*, Woodcut in Max Geisberg, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1500-1550*, ed. Walter Strauss (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1974), 3: 1213

Vrschelein.	**Little Ursula.**
Mein Hans so wil ich mit dir lauffen	My Hans I want to go with you
Ihn Frigaul zu dem hellen hauffen	Into Friuli to the colorful bands
Villeicht mag ich so vil gewinnen	Maybe I can earn so much more
Das ich die weyl nit möcht erspinnen	Than I ever could spinning
An dem nee garen vnnd zwyren	With the sewing yarn and twine
Wirt dannoch wol ein Schüsters dyren.	I'll likely become a cobbler's whore / girl.
Schüchknecht.	**Cobbler's apprentice.**
Wol auff du schönes Vrschelein	O you beautiful little Ursula
Ihn Frigaul wöllen wir hinein	We wish to go to Friuli
Schüch machen wil ich lassen liegen	I want leave behind making shoes

Wann ich hab vor in manchen kriegen
Gewunnen Eer vnd grosses g(o)ut
Wer waiß wembs noch gelu̍cken thut.

For in many wars I aim to
Win honor and great wealth
Who knows who will be lucky?

Figure 2.8: Niklas Stör, c. 1553, *Ein Reuterßman bin ich geborn*, Woodcut, 35.4 x 27.5 cm, Schlossmuseum Gotha, Inv. Nr. 38,94

Ein Reuterßman bin ich geborn /
Wolauff mit mir mein megetlein
Wir wöllen in das Welschland nein
Im Krieg gewinnen ehr vnd gut
Wie manch küner reuters man thut
Du darfst mir keinen plunder tragen
Wil dir bstellen roß oder wagen
Vnd dich kleyden in Sammat seyden
Bey mir darffstu kein hunger leyden
Solst haben Copaun gesotten vnd praten
Ich hab vil Taler vnd Ducaten
Hie sollen alle werden dein
Wo du dich allein heltest mein.

A Cavalier was I born /
O come with me my Little Meg
We want to go to Italy, no?
To win honor and goods in war
As many bold cavaliers do
You needn't carry plunder for me
I will order you a horse or a wagon
And clothe you in silken velvet
With me you will suffer no hunger
You will have boiled and fried capon
I have many Thalers and Ducats
Here they should all become yours
If you only consider yourself mine.

Zum Krieg erwelt vnd außerkorn
Dieweil du mir verheist so vil
Ich es gleich mit dir wagen wil
Bin weder die erst noch die letzt
Von dir wird ich es also ergetzt
Weil ich nit darf zu fusen gan
Vnd wilt mich kleyden also schon
Sol auch das best zu essen haben
Wilt mich mit gelt reichlich begaben
Raußstreichen vor ander herfrawen
So solstu mir glauben vnd trawen
Du solt mir sein der werdest gast
Weil du ein pfennig im seckel hast.

Chosen and raised for war.
Because you promise me so much
I now want to risk it with you
I am neither the first nor the last
I am delighted by you
Because I may not walk on foot
And wish to clothe myself so beautifully
I should also have the best to eat
If you gift me money
Stand out before other army women
So you should believe and trust me
You shall be my worthiest guest
Because you have a penny in your sack.

Figure 2.9: Wolfgang Strauch, c. 1555-61, *Landsknecht, sein Weib und Heerfrau,* Woodcut, 40.5 x 30 cm, Schlossmuseum Gotha, Inv. Nr. 49,26:

Des Lantzknecht weib.
Du polck du solst mir nit entpfliehen
Wolstu mit meinem Mann hin ziehen
Du must den plunder hinder dir lassen
Wil dir darzu abschneiden dein nasen
Vnd was bist du für ein loser Man
Vnd nimpst ein andern schlepsack an
Weil ich doch hab in krieg und frieden
Vbel und gut mit dir erlieden.

The Landsknecht's woman / wife
You whore, you shall not escape me
If you want to move away with my man
You must leave the plunder behind you
I also want to cut off your nose
And what kind of wanton man are you
To accept another dissolute woman
Because I have in war and peace
Suffered evil and good with you.

Die heerfraw.	**The army woman.**
Laß mich zu frid du alt faldübel	Leave me in peace you old sick hag
Laß mich gehn schmech mich nit so übel	Let me go, do not taunt me so meanly
Hestu du deinem Man gut gethan	Had you done good by your man
Er het mich nicht genommen an	He would not have taken up with me
O hilff du mir mein lieber Clas	Oh help me my dear Clas
Das mich dein Weib zu frieden las	Make your woman let go of me
Vnd mich nit mach also zu schandt	And thus not ruin me
So wil ich mit dir ins Welschlandt.	Then I will go with you to Italy.

Der Lantzknecht.	**The Landsknecht.**
Was plagt ir baid ich laß geschehen	What distresses you both I let happen
Thu euch durch die finger zu sehen	I observe you both through my fingers
Ir seit pirter bös alle baid	You both are very angry
Ich hilff keiner bey meinem aid	I help neither, I swear,
Welche unter euch in dem zanck	Whoever in this spat
Obligt /der selben sag ich danck	Is victorious, the same I will thank
Vnd ir auch ain gunstigen bin	And will be favorable to her
Die ander wird stampa dahin.	The other will stomp away.

Figure 2.11: Albrecht Dürer, 1496, *Flugblatt auf die Syphilis (Der Syphilitiker)*, Woodcut, 41.0 x 28.4 cm, Albertina, Vienna, Inv. Nr. DG1930/210

Theodoricus Vlsenius Phrisius Medicus Vniuersis litterarum Patronis
in Epidimicam scabiem que passum orbe grassatur vaticinium dicat.

LICHNICA GENESIS

Nuper inauditam scabiem mutabile vulgus
Clamat: et arbitrio docte stipendia turbe
Murmurat anguicoam crines scalpente Megera.
En, ait, ignote nemo succurrere pesti,
Nemo salutiferam nouit conferre medelam.
Inde neces dum nostra rotat corda Empiryis,
Impunes peragit medicorum contio discors.
Talibus vt crucior populi clamoribus: ecce
Fessa soporiferam deposcunt membra quietem.
    Libera mens clarum speculant in ethere phebum.
Visus adesse deus qualis Cumea sacerdos
Intonat, Eneadum dum fortia corda remollit.
Non ego retrogrados flecto giramine gressus,
Roscida signifero quamque soror euolat arcu,
Sed certis metam gradibus conuertor eandem.
Ipse deum medius: moderator lucis et auctor
Carminis, inocuasque frequens depromo sagittas,
Plectra lytamque gero, laurus mihi tempora nectit.
Ne tamen insontem pergat lacerare Camenam

Neu Parnasicolas solito deprauet honore
Vulgus iners: ventosa cohors: arcana recludam,
Que sinit Altitonans facta atque infecta deorum
Pandere Apollineam et cunctis praestare salutem.
Munus vtrumque meum est herbis ac carmine sano.
Vidimus incuruum Mavortis nuper in aula
Stare patrem natoque satis male succensentem,
Quod nimis humano generi indulgere putaret
Egregium Iubar et vitalis numen Olympi,
Ferre minas falcemque pigram persepe leuantem.
Scilicet ille procax Genius, Iouis altera cura,
Sanguine spumabit nimio, venus improba luxu
Sortilego monstrisque feret turbarier orbem,
Eurysteus dum magnus adest dumque atria tentat
Diua nouercales Morsor qui prodidit iras,
Atria, luce minor Chijus que Chelifer ambit
Virosaque nepa none libramina Sphere.
Hic ubi congressum statuunt vbi pocula ponunt
Nectatis ambrosii (scelus est laudare nocentes),
Falcifer ambiguum genito miscere venenum
Cogitat et sancta Gradiui fedus in ede
Frangere (maiorum liceat meminisse nefanda).
Protinus igniuomam rumor defertur ad aram
Nigraque coruigere flexamina personat Hydre.

Noxia continuo meditatus prelia Mauors:
Ista licent, iratus ait; Sic spernimur istis
Numinibus pigris et nostra altaria squallent
Sulfure:
dum tetricas immergit thure cucullas
hoc imbelle genus, dum clausa murmurat vmbra.
Victricios (hec pauca fremens) in damna maniplos
Euocat: et celeres frustra retinente Minerua
* column break *
Vrget equos: bilemque ciet: calcantur ariste
Almaque vitali fraudatur munere Ceres.
Leditur omne genus diuum neque te, bone Hiache,
Libera simplicitas, virato flamine mundum
Miscuerint superi. supos culpare quis ausit?
Semina dira mali, corrupto stemmate pendet
Postera progenies vix vlli chara priorum.
Haud secus ac silicis cussu scintilla relabens
Crescit in immensum, teneros depascitur artus
Sulfur edax, piceoque obnubilat omnia fumo.
Hinc pestes, hinc saxa pluunt, portenta videntur,
Martia non numeris scatuit germania monstris.
Ni videat natura sagax (dissensio circis
Quanta volubilibus, tanta est discordia fibras

Cernere sub medias) viresque adiuta resumat,
Ausa diu tentare nihil sub pondere tanto
Deficiat, leuo ventris cui meta recessu
Per vada fecalem pallenti corde lienem,
Harmoniam, distenta premit. Rosiua parotis
Emicat, hinc bullas vrentis, inde papellas
Diiaculatur ouans Mentagram, viscida Lichne,
Feda lues; spurco primum contagia peni,
Crustosi (bene nota Cano) noua semina morbi.
Nemo putet celoque sedet mens nescia falli
Ethereo timidos quo fixit liber asellos:
Fusca bicorporeum de cardine bestia monstrum
Vlcera sulfuree vibrabat acumine caude,
Oriona fugans, pestis monumentam, piando.
At quis forte roget que sit medicina dolori?
Est locus alato subnixus in ethera signo
Piniferumque solum Musis non vltima sedes.
Siue Helycon seu Nysa placet, tranare licebit
Aonios iterum latices, vbi Phrisius vnus
Luserat ista Iatrus, flaua Pignitis harena
Qua secat in preceps, Siluas vbi saxeus vrget
Collis, vbi coos inter notissima Francos
Moenia, Virgineo subijt gens Norica celo:
Hic Genius deposcat opem mea prima voluptas
Asclepium Figulumque dabo (modo digna quotannis
Sacra locet), placabo deos et murmura ponam
Antidotumque feram virus emarceat atrox.
Me duce sic membris mox fatifer humor abibit
Innocuus scabrasque trahet purgamine sordes.
Cithius hec, Ast Mnemosyne mendosa reuellit
Somnia (huic morum labentis ante ruinas
Questus eram). Ah, quotiens suspirans inquit, amena est
Philliridum vitiata manus? Quid vendere? Pro quo?
Nonne vides, Astrea fugit? Quid secula culpas?
Quid quereris derforme chaos, dum tempora voluunt
Maxima, dum veteres metiuntur fata figuras?
at the bottom
Insigni Achijatriae studio Sacrum:

SI mihi turpe putas medico componere versus
Et Musis operam carminibusque dare
Nullaque Pegasei tan[que] sir gloria fontis
Metraque sint studijs inferiora meis
Falleris: Ille meas primus qui tradidit artes
Quiaque salutiferam condidit auctor opem
Inter Pierides cithara crepitante sorores
Phebus diuino pollice ducit ebur.
Sic lustrat celos. Sic clara poemata fingit

Irraiatque nonem flamina docta deas:

Nurnberge Calendis Sextilibus
1496

Translation:

Theodoricus Ulsenius, Frisian Doctor of Letters to all patrons
tells a prophecy about the epidemic scabies that is ravaging the whole world.[572]

OF THE GENESIS OF THE SKIN DISEASE

The changeable rabble exclaims about the until recently unknown scabies: and protest the fees imposed by the learned crowd while the snake-haired Megaera[573] scratches her locks. Lo, they say, nobody knows how to face the unknown plague, nobody knows how to confer healing medicine. Thence while Empiryis keeps our minds in constant turmoil, the discordant bickering of doctors causes unpunished deaths. While I am haunted by the cries of the people: behold, the tired limbs require sleepy rest.

Then the mind sees the radiant Phoebus in the ether. It is as if the deity himself is there, as the Cumean priestess[574] intoned, she made the brave hearts of the Trojans soft. I do not retrace my steps in a circular motion even though my sister jumps out with a misty bow, but returns with steady strides to the same post. I, the medium of the Gods: the moderator [*medius* = *medicus*? i.e., the enlightened doctor] of light and author of song, I often draw my harmless arrows, I bear the plectrum and lyre, a laurel wrapped about my temples. But lest the incompetent rabble, the windy cohort, harmlessly continue to slander the muse and not deprive the inhabitants of Parnasus of their accustomed honor: I will unlock the mysteries of the Gods' deeds that the Thunderous one allows me to reveal in order to furnish Apollonian health to all. Both are my charge, I heal with herbs and song.

Recently we have seen the curved father[575] standing in the house of Mars extremely enraged because his son in law believed that he, the great radiance and God of living Olympus, was too indulgent to the human race, making threats and lifting his slow scythe. Of course the impudent genius, Jove's second concern, will be foaming with too much blood, evil Venus will announce with luxury [*luxu*] and signs that the world is being confused while the great Eurystheus[576] is present and while Morsor[577] tests the divine stepmotherly atria, the atria with less light which contain the scissor-bearer of Chios and the poisonous scorpion, the scales of the ninth sphere.

---

572 I have consulted the only other translation of this poem that I have been able to locate in order to inform the translation I have provided below. The relevant previous translation comes from Catrien Santing's Dutch-language doctoral work. See Catrien Santing, *Geneeskunde en humanisme: Een intellectuele biografie van Theodericus Ulsenius (c. 1460-1508)* (Rotterdam: Erasmus Publishing, 1992), 256-262.

573 One of the three mythical furies (Erinyes) who possess snakes for hair. Megaera is associated with jealousy, infidelity, theft, and treachery.

574 The head priestess at the Oracle of Apollo at Cumae near Naples.

575 Refers to Saturn, the ringed planet

576 Eurystheus was the Greek mythological King of Tiryns, was one of the Mycenean rulers.

577 Referring to Scorpio, which tries to bite Orion in Greek myth, perhaps.

Here, where they establish their meeting, where they serve nectar of ambrosia (it is a crime to praise criminals), the scythe-bearer plots to mix a questionable poison for his son and to break the alliance in the holy house of Gradivus[578] (may he be free to recall the crimes of the ancestors). At once the rumor is conveyed to the fire-spewing altar and the black dress of the raven-bearing hydra loudly responds. Immediately Mars spoke angrily between battles: they are allowed; thus we are despised by those idle powers and our altars polluted with Sulphur: while he speaks he calls this unwarlike kind to destruction while murmuring in the closed darkness. Snortingly (growling this little), he calls the manipulators to ruin and chases his swift horses: and Minerva tries in vain to stop them and rouses the bile; the ears being trampled, nourishing Ceres is swindled of her vitality.

Hurt will be the entire genus of the divine, and not you, good Bacchus, the free simplicity, the celestial Gods will mix with a poisonous breeze. Who would dare blame the celestial Gods? This is the cruel seed of evil, with the corrupted genealogical tree, the subsequent offspring depends on it, although it is hardly loved by the preceding ones. Not at all different from when by a blow of some flint a spark immeasurably grows, greedy sulfur devours tender appendages [i.e., genitals] and envelops everything in pitch black smoke. Hence plagues, hence rocks fall like rain, these portends are seen, Martian Germany was teeming with innumerable monsters.

Unless perceptive nature would consider (so great as the conflict with winding orbits, so is the discord be perceived below in the middle of the bowels) and with support regain her strength, then after daring to do nothing for a long time she would pale under such a great burden, whereby the boundary in the left side of the abdominal cavity through the ducts, swells and destroys the excretory spleen, harmony, as the heart pales. A rose-colored tumor near the ear suddenly appears, from here painful blisters and triumphant pustules, the Mentagra,[579] a sticky and horrible contagion; first it infects the unclean penis, (I sing of well noted things) of an encrusted new seed of a disease. Let no one believe that in heaven there resides a mind unknowing of deception, where Liber fixed his timid donkeys: the dark brown animal that hinged about a spindle[580] was swinging ulcers around with the sharp tip of its sulfurous tail, after which he chased Orion, in the monument of the plague, to do penance.

But perhaps someone might ask what medicine there is for the pain? It is a place in heaven supported by a winged sign and by a spruce bottom,[581] not the last seat for the muses. Whether it pleases Helicon or Nysa, it will be legal to swim across the Ionian waters again, where a single Frisian doctor[582] had played at these matters, by which route the Pegnitz river with its blond sand steeply splits into two and makes its way through the woods,[583] where among the most well-known city walls of the Franconians of Kos, the people of Nuremberg ascended for the heavenly virgin. Should this genius ask for help, my delight, I will be an Aesculapius and a Figulus[584] (provided he arranges worthy sacrifices many times a year), I will appease the Gods and will provide mutterings and I will make antidotes so that this heinous disease weakens. At my command the deadly humor will soon flow away from these members innocuously and will carry the filth in a purifying fashion.

---

578 A reference to Mars in some Roman prayers.
579 A skin disease considered by imperial Romans to be spread by kissing.
580 Likely a reference to a scorpion and its tail.
581 Refers to one Nuremberg's crests, the Jungfrauenadler depicted on the left side of the woodcut.
582 Ulsenius refers to himself here.
583 Refers to the split in the river Pegnitz near Nuremberg.
584 Aesculapius was the Roman god of medicine; Figulus was a scholarly contemporary of Cicero.

Thus speaks the Cynthian [Apollo], but Mnemosyne[585] tears away the erroneous dreams (I was previously complaining to her about the collapse of morals). Ah, how many times, she said sighing, is the pleasant band of the Philyrides[586] spoiled? What to sell? For what? Do you not see that Astrea flees?[587] What do you blame for these times? Why do you complain about the dismal chaos while the great misfortunes revolve, while the fates traverse the ancient constellations?

The distinguished doctor's sacrifice for his study:

If you think that I am disgracing myself as a doctor by writing verses and giving effort to the Muses and the poetry, believing that no fame comes from the Pegasic fountain[588] and that the meters are beneath the dignity of my studies, then you are mistaken. For he who was the first to pass on my arts and who as creator founded the salvific aid, in the midst of the Pieridic sisters,[589] while the zither rustles; He leads Phoebus with the divine thumb of the ivory; He traverses the heavens, makes famous poems and inspires the nine goddesses[590] with his learned breath

Nuremberg, August
1496

Figure 2.16: Martin Weygel(?), c. 1526-50. *Die Landtsknechts hür*, Woodcut, 18.9 x 15.9 cm, Graphische Sammlung, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, Inv. Nr. HB 13008

Die Landtsknechts hür.
Wann nit wer das fressen vnd sauffen /
Ja ich wolt dir nit lang nach lauffen.
Solt ich vmb sunst lang nahy traben /
Ließ dich wol die Frantzhosen haben.
Wolt wol dahaymen sein belyben /
Vnd wolt das neen haben tryben.

The Landsknecht's Whore.
If it were not for the gorging and drinking,
I would not follow behind you indeed for long.
Should I trot for free with you for long,
I will make you have the French [disease].
You all/I would want much to be at home,
And want it never to have happened.

Figure 2.20: Hans Weigel after Jost Amman, 1573, *Das newe Fendlein Teutscher Landsknecht*, Woodcut, 54.8 x 178.6 cm., Ashmolean Museum WA 1863.3070.1-6

Das newe Fendlein Teutscher Lantzknecht.

Der Hauptman spricht.
Ich bin ein Hauptman ausserwelt
  Von dem Römischen Reich bestelt
Vber diß Fendlein Teutscher Knecht
  Haben geleret Krieges recht
In Franckreich vnd in Welschem Landt
  Baide mit Hertzern vnd der Handt

The new ensign of the German Landsknecht.

The Captain speaks.
I am a captain of distinction.
  Appointed by the Roman Empire
Over this ensign of German soldiers
  They have learned military justice
In France and Italian lands
  Both with hearts and the hand

585 Muse and goddess of memory.
586 A mythical group of centaurs.
587 Astrea was the Greek virgin goddess of justice, innocence, and purity.
588 Refers to Pirene, the mythological fountain favored by Pegasus where poets would travel to drink and be inspired.
589 Nine sisters who challenged the Muses to a singing contest and were turned into birds when they lost.
590 I.e., the nine Muses

Die wil ich wider den Türcken füern
Der sein Tyranney lest mördisch spurn.

Der ein Trabandt.
Ja Herr Hauptman die Lantzknecht haben
Geschriebn Bayern / Francken vnd Schwaben
In Düringen / Sachsen vnd dem Reinstram
Biß ich das Fenlein Knecht bekam
Da macht wir manche Werckstat lehr
Der hertz zu Krign het beger
Der samlet wir diß Fenlein gleich
Die werden doch nit alle reich.

Die Büchsen Schützen.
Der Hunger vnd die thewrung hat
Vns vil trieben auß der Werckstat
Weil vnser Handwerck sehr namen ab
Dergleich sich der gröst tail begab
Auß fürwitz in den Krig darneben
In ein gefehrlich / elend leben
Darin ist weder rhu noch rast
Vnd macht manchen vnwerden gast
Doch muß man auch zu dieser zeit
Helffen schützen die Christenheit
Vor dem Türkn vnd andern Tyrannen
Die auffwerffen jr gottloß Fannen
Wider all recht vnd billigkeit
Da sol die Christlich Obrigkeit
Gebrauchen jre Vnderthon
Zu schutz dem Feind zu widerston.

Die Spillewt.
Frisch auff jr Lantzknecht all zugleich
Frewd euch wir wöllen all werden reich
Gott wird vns geben häil vnd glück
Zu dempffen der argen feinde dück
Die vnschuldiges Blut vergiessn
Werden Sieg vnd Gelück verliessn
Vnd das bezalen mit der heut
Als verwegen Gotlose leut.

Der Fendrich.
Seid vnuerzagt jr trewen Lantzknecht
Vnsers Krigs hab wir fueg vnd recht
Zu schützen den gemäinen Man
Der lieber fried vnd rhu wolt han
Mit arbeit nehren Weib vnd Kind
Die Gott hertzlich anruffen sind

I will lead them against the Turk
Who lets his tyranny be murderously felt.

One Bodyguard.
Yes Lord Captain the Landsknechte have
Written to Bavarians, Franconians and Swabians
In Thuringia, Saxony, and the Rhine valley
Until I received the soldiers' company
We emptied many workshops
Whose hearts desired to make war
We collect these companies straight away
They will not all however be rich.

The Harquebusiers.
Hunger and inflation have
Led us many out of the workshop
Because our crafts decreased greatly
Of which the largest part derives
Out of brazenness into war instead
Into a dangerous, wretched life
In which there is neither calm nor rest
And make many unworthy guests
However one must also at this time
Help protect Christendom
Against the Turk and other tyrants
Who raise their godless flags
Against all justice and fairness
The Christian commanders should
Use their subordinates
For protection and to resist the enemy.

The Musicians.
Get up crisply all at once you Landsknechte
Rejoice [for] we all want to become rich
God will give us salvation and luck
To curb the guile of the spiteful enemies
Who spill innocent blood
[And they] will forsake/lose victory and luck
And pay with their skin
As reckless Godless people

The Ensign.
Be undaunted you loyal Landsknechte
In our war we have complete justification
To protect the common man
Who would prefer to have peace and quiet
With work nourish wife and child
Who warmly pray to God

Das Gott getrewlich bey wolt stehn
Das der Feind werd zu flüchten gehn.

That God would faithfully stand by them
That the enemy will be routed.

Die Doppel Söldner.
Jr Doppel Söldner mit Hellenparten
Thut des Fanen vnuerzagt warten
Darmit wir wollen Ehr einlegen
Den feind Ritterlich stehn entgegen
Darmit erlangen Ehr vnd gut
Als noch manch trewer Krigsman thut
Der beystet Christlicher Obrigkeit
Die jm Erhlich Soltung geit.

The Veterans (lit. Double-Paid).
You veterans with halberds
Do wait patiently to flag
With that we want to earn honor
Chivalrously stand against the enemies
Thereby attain honor and goods
As indeed many a stalwart warrior does
Who supports Christian government
That gives him honorable pay.

Die gemäinen Knecht.
Ja trewlich woll wir greiffen an
Den Feind dörffen nit abelan
Biß wir erlegen sein hochmut
Das er bezal vnschuldig Blut
Das er wider recht vergossn hat
Auff Gott all vnser hoffnung stat
Der wird vns frid vnd rhu gebn
Auff das wir Christlich mügen lebn.

The Common Soldiers.
Yes truly we want to attack
The enemy, [we] must not give up
Until we slay his haughtiness
That he pays for the innocent blood
Which he has unjustly shed
In God all our hope stands
Who will give us peace and quiet
In which we Christianly like to live.

Der Hurnwaible.
Zicht fort vnd raumbt vns straß vnd weg
Dann der Troß ist müd / faul vnd treg
Der hernach kumpt mit grosser peut
Darmit er raubt die Bawers leut
Von Hüner / Gensen / Küe vnd Roß
Darmit sich nehr der Krieges Troß
Darmit die Bawrn den Burgers Man
Gar dückisch vbersetzet han
Mit Korn / Gdreid / Rübn vnd Kraut
Vnd was sie haben zu Feld gepaut
Das wird jtzt auch gnummen jn
Wie es herkumpt so geht es hin
Derhalb ist besser Frid vnd Sig
Denn Bluturgissn vnd der Krig
Den geb vns Gott / das Fried auffwachs
Hie vnd dort ewig wünscht Hanns Sachs.

The *hurenweibel*.
Move away and clear the road and way for us
For the baggage train is tired, lazy, and slow
Which comes behind [me] with great booty
Of which he robbed the peasants
Of hens, geese, cows, and steeds
With which the army's baggage train is fed
And with which the peasants
Have unduly charged the burghers
For grain, cereal, beets, and cabbage
And what they grew in the fields
That will now also be taken in
As it comes, so it goes away
So it is better to have peace and victory
Than the shedding of blood and war
Then grant us God, that peace thrives
Here and there Hans Sachs eternally wishes.

Figure 2.22: Hans Glaser, 1555, *Trossbube, Spanier, Schweizer und Landsknecht*, Woodcut, 27.4 x 37.1 cm, Schlossmuseum Gotha, Inv. Nr. 49,33.

Der Troßpub.
Kisten fegen kan ich wol
Vnd was ein Troßbub künnen sol
Yedoch wer ich da heimen lieber

The Baggage Boy.
Boxes can I well winnow
And what else a baggage boy should be able to do
Yet I would rather be at home

Wann nichts denn lewß /Rur oder fiber
Vbel essen / vnd hart ligen
Bring ich daruon mit meinem kriegen

When nothing but lice, dysentery or fever
Ingesting bad food, and lying uncomfortably
Is what I get from war

Der Spanier.
Ich bin gewis mit meinem Hacken
Die Feindt von der Mawer zu zwacken
Mein kleidung ist leicht vnd gering
In sturm vnd scharmützel aller ding
Bin ich hurtig fertig vnd rund
Nüchter vnd wachbar alle stund

The Spaniard.
I am certain with my harquebus
To pick off the enemies from the walls
My clothing is light and meagre
In storming and skirmishes especially
Am I swift, ready, and well-rounded
Sober and alert at all hours

Der Eidgnoß.
Ich Eydgnoß in dem halben part
Im langen spieß ich allzeyt wart
Auff die Raysing wo sie her traben

So heb ich denn die Reutters knaben
Auß dem Satel wie ein Kriegßman
Den langen spieß ich schwingen kan

The Swiss Mercenary.
I, Swiss Mercenary with half a beard
With a long pike I always wait
To be drafted wherever they want me
[lit: Upon the tip of the pike where they trot here]
Then I hoist the squires of the knights
Out of the saddle like a soldier
I can handle the long pike

Der Lantzknecht.
Ich aber bin ein Hackenschütz
In der Feldtschlacht so bin ich nütz
So man schreit lermen her / der / her
So steh ich wie ein grimmig behr
Vnd laß denn in der Feinde hauffen
Ein kugel nach der andern lauffen.

The Landsknecht.
But I am an arquebusier
In field battles am I useful
So one cries loudly here, there, here
So I stand like a wrathful bear
And let into the ranks of the enemies
One bullet after another fly.

Figure 2.23: Hans Glaser, 1555, *Marketenderin, zwei Landsknechte und der Tod*, Woodcut, 30.4 x 40.5 cm, Schlossmuseum Gotha, Inv. Nr. 49,34

Das Vrsulein.
Ach für mich wider heim zu landt
Des Krieges ellendt thut mir ant
Thu dir nach einem Meister schauen
So will ich dienen einer Frawen
Dieweil mich dunckt in all mein sinnen
Es sey im Krieg nit vil zu gewinnen
Denn maulstriech / armut vnd vngemach
Auch schleicht vns der todt allzeyt nach.

Little Ursula.
Oh lead me again back home
The misery of war makes me presage
Let a master take care of you
So I want to serve a lady
Because I think with every fiber
There is not much to win in war
Besides slaps, poverty, and adversity
Also death always lurks behind us.

Der Kriegßman.
Mein Vrsulein das will ich than
Weil vns nach schleichet ein Kriegßman
Das selbig ist der grimme todt
Der alle Kriegßleut bringt in not

The Soldier.
My Little Ursula, I want to do that
Because after us a soldier lurks
The same is wrathful death
Who brings all soldiers in distress

Sehen wir jn gleich sawer an	We may behold him sorely
So müg wir jm doch nit entgon	Still, we cannot escape him
Kein rüstung hilfft für seine pfeyl	No armor helps against his arrows
Sein wunden werden nimmer heil.	His wounds will never heal.

Der Fendrich.	**The Ensign.**
Mein Fenlein hab ich fliegen lassen	My colors have I let fly
Fürsten vnd Herrn gedient der massen	Inasmuch as I have served princes and lords
In scharmützel / stürm vnd feldtschlacht	In skirmishes, stormings, and field battles
Hab ich mein leben daruon bracht	I have wasted my life
Jetzt aber ist mir naher kummen	Now however Death come closer to me
Der todt / hat mir mein künheyt gnummen	Who who has taken my courage from me
Derhalben mus ich mich yetzt schmiegen	So I now have to cower
Vnd laß mein Fenlein nit mehr fliegen.	And let my colors fly no more.

Der Todt.	**Death.**
Ich bin ein Kriegßman mit der Sensen	I am a soldier with a scythe
Den Kriegßlewten thu ich nach densen	I dance after soldiers
Darmit thu ich darnider hawen	So that I cut down
Hauptlewt / Fendrich / kriegßlewt vnd frawen	Captains, ensigns, soldiers, and women
Da müssens denn von jren leben	Then they must for their lives
Dem strengen Richter rechnung geben	Answer to the strict Judge [i.e., God]
Der wirdt jn allen geben lon	He will give them all punishment
Wie sie das hie verdient hon.	As they have earned it here.

Figure 2.24: Hans Weynel, c. 1550-55, *Der Landsknecht und der Tod*, Woodcut, 40.6 x 28.6 cm, Schlossmuseum Gotha, Inv. Nr. 49,50.

Der Kriegsman spricht	**The soldier speaks**
O grimer dot waß thuestu hie	O wrathful death what are you doing here
An dich het ich kein glauben nie	I never had any belief in you
Piß das ich sich dein greülich gesicht	Until I saw your dreadful face
Gantz alle forcht hab ich vernicht	I have deleted all fears
Maniche grosse not hab ich pestanden	Much great distress have I survived
In deütschen vnd in welchen Landen	In German and Italian lands
Nun muß ich leyden des dottes pein	Now must I suffer the pain of death
O Herre gott erparm dich mein	O Lord God have mercy on me

Der dot spricht	**Death speaks**
Wiewol du pist kün / Starck vnd Lang	Although you are bold, strong, and tall
Manich man hat von dir gelitten Zwang	Many men have suffered coercion from you
Jtz must dn auch mein pfeil erleyden	Now you too must suffer my arrow
Dein schlacht schwerdt das wirt nit mer scheyden	Your battle sword will slice no more
Gegen mir hilft kein gegen Wher	Against me no resistance helps
Ich Erlech den Hauptman sambt dem Her	I slay the captain with the army [no matter the rank]
Wolauff du wirst nit lenger leben	O you will no longer live

Du must dem Richter antwort geben	You must give answer to the judge

Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES

Archival Sources, including visual material.

DG1930/210. Albertina, Vienna, Austria.

KMSsp69. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Collection des ordonnances militaires. vols. 8-18.. *Services Historiques de la Défense.* Vincennes, France.

719. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen – Alte Pinakothek München, Germany.

558. Gemäldegalerie Berlin, Germany.

ESchön AB 3.18. Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig, Germany.

A 129800. Kupferstickkabinett Dresden, Germany.

UER MS.B 26. Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, Germany.

38,94; 49;13; 49,26; 49,33; 49,34; 49,50. Schlossmuseum Gotha, Germany.

Cod. Pal. germ. 123. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Germany.

1 Nr. 11. Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, Germany.

Durlach 18. Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe, Germany.

4 Inc.s.a. 929. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, Germany.

HB 13008. Graphische Sammlung, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, Germany.

A 28 Bü 134, 141, and 146. Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, Germany.

Augusteer Collection, Bellica. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Germany.

X.2255. Kunstmuseum Basel, Switzerland.

E, 8.140 and E, 8.141. British Museum, London, UK.

1863.3070.1-6. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, UK.

1958.3. The Davis Museum at Wellesley College, Wellesley, MA, USA.

1943.3.3455. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, USA.

Happe, Volckmar. *Chronicon Thuringae*, ed. Hans Medick, online at http://www.mdsz.thulb.uni-jena.de/happe/quelle.php.

Printed Sources

Adolphus, Gustavus. *Schwedisches Kriegs-Recht oder Articuls-Brieff.* Strasburg: Caspar Dietzels, 1644.

Albertinus, Aegidius. *Der Kriegßleut Weckvhr*. Munich: Nicholas Henricus, 1601.

Althamer, Andreas. *Ain Sermon von dem eelichen stand.* [Augsburg: Ulhart,] 1525.

Ambach, Melchior. *Von Ehbruch vnd H(o)urerey*. Frankfurt am Main: [zum Bart,] 1543.

Auger, Edmond. *Discours de sainct sacrament de mariage*. Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1577.

Barbaro, Francesco. *Eyn gut bich von der Ehe*. Hanau: Kobain,1536.

Billon, Jérémie de. *Instructions militaires*. Lyon: Barthelemy Ancelin, 1617.

Brantôme, Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur de. *Œuvres complètes de Pierre de Bourdeille seigneur de Brantôme*. Edited by Ludovic Lalanne. 11 vols. Paris: Jules Renouard, 1864.

Bullinger, Heinrich. *Der christlich Eestand.* Zurich, 1540.

Canisius, Peter. *Haußzucht vnd Regiment*. Dilingen: Mayer, 1569.

Carorguy, Jacques. *Mémoires de Jacques Carorguy*. Paris: Alph. Picard, 1880.

Ceriziers, René de. *Le Heros françois ou l'idée du grand capitaine*. Paris: Jean Camusat & Pierre le Petit, 1645.

Charny, Geoffroi de. *A Knight's Own Book of Chivalry*. Translated by Elspeth Kennedy and edited by Richard Kaeuper. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.

Charron, Pierre. *De la Sagesse*. Bordeaux: Simon Millanges, 1601.

Cleves, Philipp Duc de. *Instruction de toutes manieres de guerroyer, tant par terre que par mer, & des choses y seruantes*. Paris: Guillaume Morel, 1558.

Coler, Johannes. *Aureo-Montani Silesii*. Wittenberg: Lorenz Seuberlich, 1609.

Condé, Henri de. *Déclaration de Monsieur le prince de Condé*. NP, 1576.

D'Amboise, Michel. *Le Guidon des gens de guerre*. Paris: Gallior du Pré, 1543; Paris: Librairie militaire de J. Dumaine, 1878.

Dieterich, Conrad. *Discurs vom Kriegs-Raub vnd Beutten*. Heilbronn: Christoff Kransen, 1633.

Ferdinand II, *Keyserliche Kriegßverfassung oder ArticulsBrieff*. NP, 1626.

[Fourquevaux], [Raymond Rouer de]. *Instruction for the warres*. Translated by Paul Ive. London: Thomas Man and Tobie Cooke, 1589.

______. *Instructions sur le faict de la guerre*. Paris: Vascofan et al., 1548.

______. *Instruction for the warres*. Translated by Paul Ive. London: Thomas Man and Tobie Cooke, 1589.

______. *Kriegs Regiment*. Translated by Ulrich Budrym. Montbéliard: Peter Fischer, 1594.

Fronsperger, Leonhart. *Kreigßbuch*. 3 vols. 1575; Frankfurt am Main: Sig. Feyrabends, 1596.

Gabler, Ulrich, ed. *Heinrich Bullinger Werke: Zweite Abteil: Briefwechsel*. Vol. 19. Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2019.

Geisberg, Max. *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1500-1550*. Edited by Walter Strauss. 4 vols. New York: Hacker Art Books, 1974.

Grimmelshausen, Hans Jakob Christoffel von. *Die Ertzbetrügerin und Landstörtzerin Courage*. Utopia [Nuremberg]: Stratiot [Felsecker], [1671].

Grotius, Hugo. *De Iure Belli ac Pacis Libri Tres*. Paris: Buon, 1625.

Günzburg, Johann Eberlin von. *Wie gar Geferlich sey/ so ein Priester kein Eeweyb hat*. [Strasbourg, Schürer,] 1522.

Guericke, Otto von. *Die Zerstörung Magdeburgs von Otto von Guericke und andere Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Dreissigjährigen Kriege*. Edited by Karl Lohmann. Berlin: Gutenberg-Verlag, 1913.

Haton, Claude. *Mémoires de Claude Haton (1553-1582)*. Edited by Jean-Pierre Andry et. al. 3 vols. Paris: CTHS, 2001.

Henri III. *Les Ordonannces militaires tirees dv code dv Roy Henry III. Roy de France & de Pologne*. Paris: Louis Feugé, 1625.

Hoppenrod, Andreas. *Wider den Huren-Teufel vnd allerley Vnzucht*. Eisleben: n.p., 1565.

Junghans, Adam. *Kriegs-Ordnung zu Wasser vnd Landt*. 1589; Cologne: Wilhelm Lützenkirhen, 1594.

Junius, Maria Anna. "Bamberg im Schweden-Kriege." Edited by F. K. Hümmer. *Bestand und Wirken des historischen Vereins zu Bamberg* 52 (1890): 2-168.

______. "Bamberg im Schweden-Kriege." Edited by F. K. Hümmer. *Bestand und Wirken des historischen Vereins zu Bamberg* 53 (1891), 169-230.

Kirchhoff, Hans Wilhelm. *Militaris Disciplina, Das ist: KriegsRegiments Historische vnnd außführliche Benschreibung*. Frankfurt am Main: Joachim Brathering, 1602.

Klein, Dionysius. *Kriegs Institution*. Stuttgart: Fürstern, 1598.

"La juste et saincte défense de la ville de Lyon." In *Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France*, 1st series, edited by L. Cimber, 4: 207-8. Paris: Beauvais, 1835.

Lipsius, Justus. *De Constantia Libri Duo*. Antwerp: Christoph Plantinus, 1584.

______. *De Militia Romana Libri Quinque*. Antwerp: Plantijn-Moretus, 1595.

______. *Justus Lipsius's Concerning Constancy*. Translated by R. V. Young. Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2011.

______. *Politicorum Sive Civilus Doctrinæ Libri Sex*. Leiden: Franciscus Raphelengius, 1589.

______. *Sixe Bookes of Politickes or Civil Doctrine*. Translated by William Jones. London: Richard Field, 1594.

Llull, Ramon. *The Book of the Order of Chivalry = Llibre de l'Ordre de Cavallerie = Libro de la Orden de Caballeria*. Translated by Antonio Cortijo Ocaña. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2015.

Louis XIII. *Certaine Articles or Ordinances Made by the French Kinge and the Duke d'Espernon*. Amsterdam, George Veseler, 1621.

Lünig, Johann Christian. *Corpus Juris Militaris Des Heil. Röm. Reichs*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Lankisch, 1723.

Luther, Martin. *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimarer Ausgabe)*. Series 1, *Schriften*. Vol. 30, Part 1: *Catechism Sermons*. Weimar: H. Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1910.

______. *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimarer Ausgabe)*. Series 1, *Schriften*. Vol. 42. Weimar: H. Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1911.

______. *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimarer Ausgabe)*. Series 1, *Schriften*. Vol. 43. Weimar: H. Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1912.

______. *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimarer Ausgabe)*. Series 2, *Tischreden*. Volume 4. Weimar: H. Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1916.

______. *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimarer Ausgabe)*. Series 4, *Briefwechsel*. Volume 9. Weimar: H. Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1941.

Machiavelli, Niccolò. *Art of War*. Translated by Christopher Lynch. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Mathesius, Johannes. *Hochzeitpredigten/ Vomm Ehestand vnnd Haußwesen*. Nuremberg: Dietrich Gerlach, 1575.

______. *Œconomia: Oder Bericht vom Christlichen Hauswesen*. Wittenberg: Krafft, 1564.

Merian, Matthäus. *Theatrum Europaeum*. 6 vols. [1635]; Frankfurt am Main: Merian, 1662.

Monluc, Blaise de. *Commentaires de Messire Blaise de Monluc.* Bordeaux: Millanges, 1592.

Monro, Robert. *Monro: His Expedition with the Worthy Scots Regiment.* London: William Jones, 1637.

Noue, François de la. *Discours politiques et militaires.* Geneva: François Forest, 1587.

Ordonnances et règlement sur la discipline militaire. Geneva, 1603.

Ott, Michael von Echterdingen. *Kriegsordnung.* [Augsburg: Otmar, c. 1530].

Sailly, Thomas. *Guidon et practicque spirituelle du soldat chrestien.* Antwerp: Plantinienne, 1590.

Schwendi, Lazarus von. *Kriegs-Discurs.* Frankfurt am Main: Claudi de Marne & Johan Aubri, 1593.

Simonne, Matthieu de la. *L'Alphabet du soldat.* Paris: Pierre Billaine, 1623.

Solms, Reinhard Graf zu. *Kriegsbuch*. Solms, 1559.

Staiger, Klara. *Klara Staigers Tagebuch*. Edited by Ortrun Fina. Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1981.

Stör, Thomas. *Der Ehelich standt von Gott mit gebenedeyung auffgesetzt.* Nuremberg: [Höltzel], 1525.

Tratzberg, Petrus Pappus von. *Holländisch Kriegs-Recht/ Vnd Artickels-Brieff.* Frankfurt am Main: Wolfgang Hoffman, 1632.

Turner, James. *Pallas Armata: Military Essayes of the Ancient, Grecian, Roman and Modern Art of War.* London: Richard Chiswell, 1683.

Two Very Lamentable Relations. NP, 1620.

Vegetius Renatus, Publius Flavius. *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science*, Translated by N. P. Milner. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993.

Vincent, [Philip]. *The Lamentations of Germany*. London: E. G., 1638.

Wallhausen, Johann Jacobi von. *Defensio Patriæ, oder Landtrettung.* Frankfurt: Daniel & David Aubrij, 1621.

______. *Kriegkunst zu Fuß.* Oppenheim: de Bry, 1615.

Watts, William. *The Svvedish Discipline: Religious, Civile, Military*. London: John Dawson, 1632.

Wolff, Anna. "Fragment einer Handschrift aus den Zeiten des dreisigjährigen Kriegs von einer Frauensperson aufgesetzt." *Des Fränkischen Archivs* 3 (1791): 98-1290.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Ailes, Mary Elizabeth. *Courage and Grief: Women and Sweden's Thirty Years' War*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2018.

Allmand, Christopher. *The* De Re Militari *of Vegetius: The Reception, Transmission and Legacy of a Roman Text in the Middle Ages*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Amundsen, Darrel W. *Medicine, Society, and Faith in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Andersson, Christiane. *Dirnen, Krieger, Narren: Ausgewählte Zeichnungen von Urs Graf*. Basel: GS-Verlag, 1978.

______. "Von 'Metzen' und 'Dirnen': Frauenbilder in Kriegsdarstellungen der Frühen Neuzeit." In *Landsknechte, Soldatenfrauen und Nationalkrieger: Milität, Krieg und Geschlechterordnung im historischen Wandel*, edited by Karen Hagemann and Ralf Pröve, 171-98. New York: Campus Verlag, 1998.

Areford, David S. *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010.

Armas, Frederick A. de. *The Return of Astraea: An Astral-Imperial Myth in Calderón*. Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 2014.

Arrizabalaga, Jon. "Medical Responses to the 'French Disease' in Europe at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century." In *Sins of the Flesh: Responding to Sexual Disease in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Kevin Siena, 33-55. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2005.

Asch, Ronald G. "'Wo der soldat hinkömbt, da ist alles sein': Military Violence and Atrocities in the Thirty Years War Re-examined." *German History* 18, no.3 (2000), 291-309.

Baines, Barbara J. "Effacing Rape in Early Modern Representation." *ELH* 65, no.1 (1998): 69-98.

Bal, Mieke. *Looking in: The Art of Viewing*. New York: Routledge, 2001). See esp. chap. 3, "Calling to Witness: Lucretia."

Barbezat, Michael D. "Bodies of Spirit and Bodies of Flesh: The Significance of the Sexual Practices Attributed to Heretics from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 25, no.3 (2016): 387-419.

Barker, Helen. *Rape in Early Modern England: Law, History and Criticism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.

Bartrum, Guilia. *German Renaissance Prints, 1490-1550*. London: British Museum Publications, 1995.

Bashar, Nafize. "Rape in England between 1550 and 1700." In *The Sexual Dynamics of History*, 28-42. London: Pluto Press, 1983.

Bauer, Max. *Liebesleben in deutschen Vergangenheit*. Berlin: P. Langenscheidt, 1924.

Baumann, Reinhard. *Landsknechte: Ihre Geschichte und Kultur vom späten Mittelalter bis zum Dreißigjährigen Krieg*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1994.

Bax, Dirk. *Hieronymus Bosch: His Picture Writing Deciphered*. Montclair, NJ: Abner Schram, 1979.

Baxandall, Michael. *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980.

Black, Jeremy. "Patterns of Warfare, 1400-1800." In *The Cambridge World History*, edited by Jerry H. Bentley, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, 29-49. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Blickle, Peter. *The Revolution of 1525: The German Peasants' War from a New Perspective*. Translated by Thomas Brady and H. C. Erik Midelfort. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981.

Blosen, Hans and Harald Pors, eds. *Landsknechte bei Hans Sachs: Alte und neue Landsknechtstexte auf Einblattdrucken mit Holzschnitten*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2016.

Brownmiller, Susan. *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975.

Boswell, John. *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

______. *Same-Sex Unions in Premodern Europe*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.

Burschel, Peter. *Söldner im Nordwestdeutschland des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994.

Bushnell, Rebecca. "Tyranny and Effeminacy in Early Modern England." In *Reconsidering the Renaissance: Papers from the Twenty-First Annual Conference*, edited by Mario A. di Cesare, 339-54. Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Modern Studies at the State University of New York at Binghamton, 1992.

Bray, Alan. *Homosexuality in Renaissance England*. London: Gay Men's Press, 1982.

Brewer, John. *The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688-1783*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Brugh, Patrick. *Gunpowder, Masculinity, and Warfare in German Texts, 1400-1700*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2019.

Brunner, Otto. *Neue Wege der Verfassungs- und Sozialgeschichte*. Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1968.

Bruyn, Yannice de. "'Help! Help! War wants to rape me!': War and Rape in a Dutch Peace Play of 1678." *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 41, no.4 (2018): 489-509.

Burks, Deborah G. *Horrid Spectacle: Violation in the Theater of Early Modern England*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2003.

Byers, Andrew. *The Sexual Economy of War: Discipline and Desire in the US Army*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019.

Catty, Jocelyn. *Writing Rape, Writing Women in Early Modern England: Unbridled Speech*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.

Cautela, Stéphanie Gaudillat. "Le 'viol' au XVIe siècle: Entre théories et pratiques." In *Normes juridiques et pratiques judiciaires du Moyen Âge à l'époque contemporaine*, edited by Benoît Garnot, 103-11. Dijon: Editions Universitaires de Dijon, 2007.

Chaytor, Miranda "Husband(ry): Narratives of Rape in the Seventeenth Century." *Gender & History* 7, no.3 (1995): 378-407.

Citino, Robert M. "Military Histories Old and New: A Reintroduction." *The American Historical Review* 112, no.4 (2007): 1070-90.

Cocks, H. G. *Visions of Sodom: Religion, Homoerotic Desire, and the End of the World in England c. 1550-1850*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017.

Corvisier, André. *Armies and Societies in Europe, 1494-1789*. Translated by Abigail T. Siddall. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979.

Crawford, Katherine. *The Sexual Culture of the French Renaissance*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Crouthamel, Jason. *An Intimate History of the Front: Masculinity, Sexuality, and German Soldiers in the First World War*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Curry, Anne. "Sex and the Soldier in Lancastrian Normandy, 1415-1450." *Reading Medieval Studies* 14 (1988): 17-42.

Dabhoiwala, Faramerz. *The Origins of Sex: A History of the First Sexual Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Dackerman, Susan. *Painted Prints: The Revelation of Color in Northern Renaissance & Baroque Engravings, Etchings & Woodcuts*. Baltimore: Penn State University Press, 2002.

DeVries, Kelly. "Gunpowder Weaponry and the Rise of the Early Modern State." *War in History* 5, no.2 (1998): 127-45.

Doan, Laura. *Disturbing Practices: History, Sexuality, and Women's Experience of Modern War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013.

Dunn, Caroline. *Stolen Women in Medieval England: Rape, Abduction, and Adultery, 1100-1500*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Eisler, Colin. "Who is Dürer's 'Syphilitic Man'?." *Perspectives in Biology and* Medicine 52, no.1 (2009): 48-60.

El-Rouayheb, Khaled. *Before Homosexuality in the Arab-Islamic World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Elias, Norbert. *The Civilizing Process*. Translated by Edmund Jephcott and edited by Eric Dunning, Johan Goudsblom, and Stephen Mennell. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000.

______. *The Court Society*. Translated by Edmund Jephcott. New York: Pantheon Books, 1983.

Engelen, Beate. *Soldatenfrauen in Preußen: Eine Strukturanalyse der Garnisonsgesellschaft im späten 17. und im 18. Jahrhundert*. Münster: Lit Verlag, 2005.

Faini, Marco and Maria Elena Severini, eds. *Books for Captain and Captains in Books: Shaping the Perfect Military Commander in Early Modern Europe*. Wiesbaden: Harassowitz Verlag, 2016.

Farr, James R. *Authority and Sexuality in Early Modern Burgundy (1550-1730)*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Field, Richard S. "The Early Woodcut: The Known and the Unknown." In *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public*, edited by Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch, 19-36. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Fisher, Will. "'Had it a codpiece, 'twere a man indeed': The Codpiece as Constitutive Accessory in Early Modern English Culture." In *Ornamentalism: The Art of Renaissance Accessories*, edited by Bella Mirabella, 102-29. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011.

Foa, Anna. "The New and the Old: The Spread of Syphilis (1494-1530)." In *Sex and Gender in Historical Perspective*, edited by Guido Ruggiero and Edward Muir, 26-45. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.

Forster, Marc R. *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

______. *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1514-1630*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992.

Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality: Volume 1: The Will to Knowledge*. Translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.

Freccero, Carla. *Queer / Early / Modern*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.

Frühsorge, Gotthardt. "Luthers Kleiner Katechismus und die 'Hausväterliteratur.'" *Pastoraltheologie* 73 (1984): 380-93.

Giesberg, Judith. *Sex and the Civil War: Sex and the Civil War: Soldiers, Pornography, and the Making of American Morality*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017.

Gorski, Philip S. *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Gravdal, Kathryn. *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.

Greenstadt, Amy. *Rape and the Rise of the Author: Gendering Intention in Early Modern England.* Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009.

Griese, Sabine. *Text-Bilder und ihre Kontexte: Medialität und Materialität von Einblatt-Holz- und Metallschnitten des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2011.

Griffiths, Antony. *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques*. London: British Museum Publications, 1980.

Groebner, Valentin. *Defaced: The Visual Culture of Violence in the Late Middle Ages*, trans. Pamela Selwyn. New York: Zone Books, 2008.

Haberling, Wilhelm. "Army Prostitution and Its Control: An Historical Study." In *Morals in Wartime*, edited by Victor Robinson, 3-90. New York: Publishers Foundation, 1943.

Hacker, Barton C. "Women and Military Institutions in Early Modern Europe: A Reconnaissance." *Signs* 6, no.4 (1981): 643-71.

Hale, J. R. *War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450-1620*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985.

Halperin, David M. *How to do the History of Homosexuality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

______. "Is there a History of Sexuality?." *History and Theory* 28, no.3 (1989): 257-74.

Hamm, Berndt. "Normative Centering in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Observations on Religiosity, Theology, and Iconology." Translated by John M. Frymire. *Journal of Early Modern History* 3, no.4 (1999): 307-54.

Hanley, Sarah. "Engendering the State: Family Formation and State Building in Early Modern France." *French Historical Studies* 16, no.1 (1989): 4-27.

______. "Family and State in Early Modern France: The Marriage Pact." In *Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World, 1500 to the Present*, edited by Marilyn J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert, 53-63. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

______. "'The Jurisprudence of the Arrêts': Marital Union, Civil Society, and State Formation in France, 1550-1650." *Law and History Review* 21, no.1 (2003): 1-40.

______. "The Family, The State, and the Law in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France: The Political Ideology of Male Right versus an Early Theory of Natural Rights." *Journal of Modern History* 78, no.2 (2006): 289-332.

Hanson, Victor Davis. *Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise to Western Power*. New York: Anchor Books, 2001.

Harding, Elizabeth. "The Early Modern Professor at Home: Masculinity, Bachelorhood and Family Concepts (Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries)." *Gender & History* 27, no.3 (2015): 736-51.

Hardwick, Julie. *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Management in Early Modern France*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998.

Harrington, Joel F. *Reordering Marriage and Society in Reformation Germany*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Harris, Jonathan Gil. *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic: Discourses of Social Pathology in Early Modern England*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Head, Thomas and Richard Landes, eds. *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992.

Hentschell, Roze. "Luxury and Lechery: Hunting the French Pox in Early Modern England." In *Sins of the Flesh: Responding to Sexual Desire in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Kevin Siena, 133-57. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2005.

Herzog, Dagmar. *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005.

______, ed. *Sexuality and German Fascism*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2004.

Hoffmann, Julius. *Die 'Hausväterliteratur' und die 'Predigten über den christlichen Hausstand': Lehre vom Hause und Bildung für das häusliche Leben im 16., 17., u. 18. Jhdt.*. Berlin: Verlag Julius Beltz, 1959.

Hsia, Ronnie Po-Chia. *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550-1750*. New York: Routledge, 1992.

Hull, Isabel V. *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700-1815*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Hutchinson, Christopher. "Going Viral: Printing Disease in Early Modern Germany." PhD diss., Stanford University, 2019.

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

Jordan, Mark D. *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Kaplan, Benjamin. "Fictions of Privacy: House Chapels and the Spatial Accommodation of Religious Dissent in Early Modern Europe." *American Historical Review* 107, no.4 (2002): 1031-64.

Karant-Nunn, Susan C. and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks. *Luther on Women: A Sourcebook*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Karras, Ruth Mazo. *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

______. *Unmarriages: Women, Men, and Sexual Unions in the Middle Ages*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012.

Kingdon, Robert M. *Adultery and Divorce in Calvin's Geneva*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Klaus, Carrie F. "Architecture and Sexual Identity: Jeanne de Jussie's Narrative of the Reformation in Geneva." *Feminist Studies* 29, no.2 (2003): 278-97.

Knox, Dilwyn. "*Disciplina*: The Monastic and Clerical Origins of European Civility." In *Renaissance Society and Culture: Essays in Honor of Eugene F. Rice, Jr.*, eds. John Monfasani and Ronald G. Musto, 107-36. New York: Italica Press, 1991.

Kratz, Henry. "Über den Wortschatz der Erotik im Spätmittelhochdeutschen und Frühneuhochdeutschen." PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1949.

Kriegk, Georg. *Deutsches Bürgerthum im Mittelalter*. 2 vols. Frankfurt: Rutten and Loning, 1871.

LaQua-O'Donnell, Simone. *Women and the Counter-Reformation in Early Modern Münster*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Lanser, Susan. *The Sexuality of History: Modernity and the Sapphic, 1565-1830*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014.

Laumonier, Lucie. "Meanings of Fatherhood in Late Medieval Montpellier: Love, Care and the Exercise of *Patria Potestas*." *Gender & History* 27, no.3 (2015): 651-68.

Leng, Rainer. *Ars Belli: Deutsche taktische und kriegstechnische Bilderhandschriften und Traktate im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*. 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2002.

Lincoln, Evelyn. *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.

Loetz, Francisca. *Dealings with God: From Blasphemers in Early Modern Zurich to a Cultural History of Religiousness*. Translated by Rosemary Selle. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009.

______. *A New Approach to the History of Violence: "Sexual Assault" and "Sexual Abuse" in Europe, 1500-1850*. Translated by Rosemary Selle. Boston: Brill, 2015.

Lorenz, Maren. "Da der anfängliche Schmerz in Liebeshitze übergehen kann: Das Delikt der 'Nothzucht' im gerichtsmedizinischen Diskurs des 18. Jahrhunderts." *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 3 (1994): 328-57.

______. *Menschenzucht: Frühe Ideen und Strategien, 1500-1870*. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2018.

Loriga, Sabina. *Soldats: Un Laboratoire disciplinaire: l'armée piémontaise au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Mentha, 1991.

Losse, Deborah. *Syphilis: Medicine, Metaphor, and Religious Conflict in Early Modern France*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2015.

Lynn, John A. *Battle: A History of Combat and Culture*. New York: Basic Books, 2004.

______. "The Evolution of Army Style in the Modern West, 800-2000." *International History Review* 18, no.3 (1996): 505-45.

______. *Giant of the Grand Siècle: The French Army, 1610-1715*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

______. *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Maclean, Ian. *The Renaissance Idea of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Majumder, Doyeeta. *Tyranny and Usurpation: The New Prince and Lawmaking Violence in Early Modern Drama*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019.

Martin, A. Lynn. *Alcohol, Sex, and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Martin, Brian Joseph. *Napoleonic Friendship: Military Fraternity, Intimacy, and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century France*. Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 2011.

Marshall, Sherrin, ed. *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe: Public and Private Worlds*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.

McDonald, Mark P. *Ferdinand Columbus: Renaissance Collector*. London: British Museum Press, 2004.

McFarlane, Cameron. *The Sodomite in Fiction and Satire, 1660- 1750*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

McGough, Laura. *Gender, Sexuality, and Syphilis in Early Modern Venice: The Disease that Came to Stay*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

McNeill, William H. *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Messerli, Alfred and Michael Schilling, eds. *Die Intermedialitiät des Flugblatts in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Stuttgart: S. Hirzel Verlag, 2015.

Meyer, Torsten. "Cultivating the Landscape: The Perception and Description of Work in Sixteenth- to Eighteenth-Century German 'Household Literature' (Hausväterliteratur)." In *The Idea of Work in Europe from Antiquity to Modern Times*, edited by Josef Ehmer & Catharina Lis, 215-44. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009.

Meyer-Knees, Anke. *Verführung uns sexuelle Gewalt: Untersuchung zum medizinischen und juristischen Diskurs im 18. Jahrhundert*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 199).

Mitchell, W. J. T. *Picture Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Möller, Hans-Michael. *Das Regiment der Landsknechte: Untersuchungen zu Verfassung, Recht und Selbstverständnis in Deutschen Söldnerheeren des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976.

Morgan, Jennifer. *Reckoning with Slavery: Gender, Kinship, and Capitalism in the Early Black Atlantic*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2021.

Morrall, Andrew. "Soldiers and Gypsies: Outsides and Their Families in Early Sixteenth-Century German Art." In *Artful Armies, Beautiful Battles: Art and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*, edited Pia F. Cuneo, 159-80. Boston: Brill, 2002.

Mortimer, Geoff. *Eyewitness Accounts of the Thirty Years' War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

Moxey, Keith. *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Müller, Christian. *Urs Graf: Die Zeichnungen im Zupferstichkabinett Basel.* Basel: Schwabe & Co. AG, 2001.

Muñoz, José Esteban. *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*. New York: NYU Press, 2009.

Muravyeva, Mariana. "'Ni pillage ni viol sans ordre préalable': Codifier la guerre dans l'Europe moderne." *Clio: Femmes, Genre, Histoire* 39, (2014) : 58-81.

Nichols, Tom, ed. *Others and Outcasts in Early Modern Europe* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007).

Nocentelli, Carmen. *Empires of Love: Europe, Asia, and the Making of Early Modern Identity*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

Nordenfalk, Carl. "The Five Senses in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art." *Journal of the Warberg and Courtauld Institutes* 48 (1985): 1-22.

North, Helen. *Sophrosyne: Self-Knowledge and Self-Restraint in Greek Literature*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966.

Norton, Rictor. *Mother Clap's Molly House: The Gay Subculture in England 1700-1830/* London: Nonesuch Publishing, 2007.

______. *The Myth of the Modern Homosexual: Queer History and the Search for Cultural Unity*. Washington, DC: Cassell, 1997.

Oestreich, Gerhard. *Neostoicism & the Early Modern State*. Translated by David McKlintock and edited by Brigitta Oestreich and H. G. Koenigsberger. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Onnekink, David, ed. *War and Religion after Westphalia*. New York: Routledge, 2016.

Opitz, Claudia. "Neue Wege der Sozialgeschichte? Ein kritischer Blick auf Otto Brunners Konzept des 'Ganzen Hauses.'" *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 20, no.1 (1994): 88-98.

Otis, Leah Lydia. *Prostitution in Medieval Society: The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.

Ozment, Steven. *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983.

Page, Jamie. *Prostitution and Subjectivity in Late Medieval Germany*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2021.

Pallotti, Donatella. "Maps of Woe: Narratives of Rape in Early Modern England." *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 2 (2013): 211-39.

Parker, Geoffrey. *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Parrott, David. *The Business of War: Military Enterprise and Military Revolution in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

______. *Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624-1642*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Paster, Gail Kern. *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Pettegree, Andrew. *Brand Luther: How an Unheralded Monk Turned His Small Town into a Center of Publishing, Made Himself the Most Famous Man in Europe – and Started the Protestant Reformation*. New York: Penguin, 2015.

Pichichero, Christy. *The Military Enlightenment: War and Culture in the French Empire from Louis XIV to Napoleon.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017.

Pipkin, Amanda. "'They were not humans, but devils in human bodies': Depictions of Sexual Violence and Spanish Tyranny as a Means of Fostering Identity in the Dutch Republic." *Journal of Early Modern History* 13 (2009): 229-64.

Plummer, Marjorie Elizabeth. *From Priest's Whore to Pastor's Wife: Clerical Marriage and the Process of Reform in the Early German Reformation*. New York: Routledge, 2016.

Puff, Helmut. "Belief in the Reformation Era: Reflections on the State of Confessionalization." *Central European History* 51 (2018): 46-52.

______. *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland, 1400-1600*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

______. "Textualität und Visualität um 1500." In *Handbuch Literatur & Visuelle Kultur*, edited by Claudia Benthien and Brigitte Weingart, 321-40. Göttingen: De Gruyter, 2014.

Qualtiere, Louis F. and William W. E. Slights. "Contagion and Blame in Early Modern England: The Case of the French Pox," *Literature and Medicine* 22, no.1 (2003): 1-24.

Quataert, Jean H. and Leigh Ann Wheeler, eds. "Gender, War, and Sexuality: Convergences of Past and Present." Special issue, *Journal of Women's History* 26, no.3 (2014).

Quétel, Claude. *History of Syphilis*. Translated Judith Braddock and Brian Pike. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press: 1990.

Redlich, Fritz. "Contributions in the Thirty Years' War." *The Economic History Review* 12, no.2 (1959): 247-54.

______. *The German Military Enterpriser and his Work Force: A Study in European Economic and Social History*. 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1964.

Retief, F. P. and L. Cilliers. "Epidemics of the Roman Empire, 27 BC – AD 476." *South African Medical Journal* 90, no.3 (2000): 267-72.

Roberts, Mary Louise. *What Soldiers Do: Sex and the American GI in World War II France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013.

Roberts, Michael. *Essays in Swedish History*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1967. See esp. chap. 7, "The Military Revolution."

Rocke, Michael. *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Roger Maren and Rachel Ward. *Wartime Relations: Intimacy, Violence, and Prostitution in Occupied Poland, 1939-1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2021.

Rogers, Clifford J. "The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years' War." *The Journal of Military History* 57, no.2 (1993): 241-78.

Rogg, Matthias. *Landsknechte und Reisläufer: Bilder vom Soldaten: Ein Stand in der Kunst des 16. Jahrhunderts.* Paderborn: Schöningh, 2002.

Rollo-Koster, Joelle. "From Prostitutes to Brides of Christ: The Avignonese Repenties in the Late Middle Ages." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31, no.2 (2002): 109-44.

Roper, Lyndal. "'The Common Man,' 'The Common Good,' 'Common Women': Gender and Meaning in the German Reformation Commune." *Social History* 12, no.1 (1987), 1-21.

______. "Discipline and Respectability: Prostitution and the Reformation in Augsburg." *History Workshop Journal* 19 (1985), 3-28.

______. *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

______. *Oedipus & the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe.* New York: Routledge, 1994.

______. *Witch Craze: Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

Rublack, Ulinka. *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press.

______. "Wench and Maiden: Women, War and the Pictorial Function of the Feminine in German Cities in the Early Modern Period." *History Workshop Journal* 44 (1997): 1-21.

Rudolph, Julia. "Rape and Resistance: Women and Consent in Seventeenth-Century English Legal and Political Thought." *Journal of British Studies* 39, no.2 (2000): 157-84.

Russell, Paul A. "Syphilis, God's Scourge or Nature's Vengeance? The German Printed Response to a Public Problem in the Early Sixteenth Century." *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 80 (1989): 286-307.

Sallman, Sarah D. R. "Performing the Self and Staging the Other: Scripting the Legend of Lucretia in Early Modern England." *Paragrana* 19, no.2 (2010): 44-59.

Sand, Alexa. "And Your Little Dog, Too: Michal's Lapdog and the Romance of the Old Testament." In *Our Dogs, Our Selves: Dogs in Medieval and Early Modern Art, Literature, and Society*, edited by Laura D. Gelfand, 165-86. Boston: Brill, 2016.

Sandberg, Brian. "'Generous Amazons Came to the Breach': Besieged Women, Agency and Subjectivity during the French Wars of Religion." *Gender &* History 16, no.3 (2004): 654-88.

______. *Warrior Pursuits: noble culture and Civil Conflict in Early Modern France*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010.

Savinetskaya, Irina. "The Politics and Poetics of *Morbus Gallicus* in the German Lands (1495-1520)." PhD diss., Central European University, 2016.

Schleiner, Winfried. "Moral Attitudes towards Syphilis and Its Prevention in the Renaissance." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 68, no.3 (1994): 389-410.

Schreiber, Wilhelm Ludwig. *Handbuch der Holz- und Metaalschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts*. 8 vols. Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1926-30.

Schuster, Beate. *Die freien Frauen: Dirnen und Frauenhäuser im 15. Und 16. Jahrhundert*. New York: Campus Verlag, 1995.

Schuster, Peter. *Das Frauenhaus: Städtische Bordelle in Deutschland (1350-1600)*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1992.

Schwager, Therese. *Militärtheorie im Späthumanismus: Kulturtransfer Taktischer und Strageischer Theorien in den Niederlanden und Frankreich (1590-1660)*. Boston: De Gruyter, 2012.

Schnadelbauer, Karl. "Kaiser Maximilian I. und die gallische Krankheit." *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 22, no.1 (1929): 102.

Scribner, R. W. *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation*. New York: Clarendon Press, 1981.

Shagan, Ethan. *The Rule of Moderation: Violence, Religion and the Politics of Restraint in Early Modern England.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Showalter, Dennis E. "The Evolution of Cohesion in European Armies from the Middle Ages to the Sixteenth Century." *Journal of Military History* 57 (1993): 407-30.

Silver, Larry. "Pox vobiscum: Early Modern German Art and Syphilis." In *Tributes in Honor of James H. Marrow: Studies in Painting and Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages and Northern Renaissance,* edited by Jeffrey F. Hamburger, 465-76. London: Harvey Miller 2006.

Simons, Patricia. *The Sex of Men in Premodern Europe: A Cultural History*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Smith, Jay M. *The Culture of Merit: Nobility, Royal Service, and the Making of Absolute Monarchy in France, 1600-1789*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.

Spector, Scott, Helmut Puff, and Dagmar Herzog, eds. *After* The History of Sexuality: *German Genealogies with and Beyond Foucault*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2012.

Spiess, Stephen. "The Measure of Sexual Memory." *Shakespeare Survey* 67 (2014): 318-26.

______. "Shakespeare's Whore: Language, Prostitution, and Knowledge in Early Modern England." PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2013.

Staino-Daniels, Lucia. "The War People: The Daily Life of Common Soldiers, 1618-1654." PhD diss., UCLA, 2018.

Steidele, Angela. *In Männerkleidern: Das verwegene Leben der Catharina Margaretha Linck alias Anastasius Lagrantinus Rosenstengel, hingerichtet 1721* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2004).

Stewart, Alison G. *Before Bruegel: Hans Sebald Beham and the Origins of Peasant Festival Imagery*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

______. "Distaffs and Spindles: Sexual Misbehavior in Sebald Beham's *Spinning Bee*." In *Saints, Sinners, and Sisters: Gender and Northern Art in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Jane L. Carroll and Alison G. Stewart, 127-54. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

______. "Taverns in Nuremberg Prints at the Time of the German Reformation." In *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Beat Kümin and B. Ann Tlusty, 95-115. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.

Strasser, Ulrike. *State of Virginity: Gender, Religion, and Politics in an Early Modern Catholic State*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Sudhoff, Karl. *Die ersten Massnahmen der Stadt Nürnberg gegen die Syphilis in den Jahren 1496 und 1497*. Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1912.

Swart, Erik. "From 'Landsknecht' to 'Soldier': The Low German Foot Soldiers of the Low Countries in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century." *International Review of Social History* 51, no.1 (2006): 75-92.

Tallett, Frank. *War and Society in Early Modern Europe, 1495-1715*. New York: Routledge, 1992.

Theibault, John. "Landfrauen, Soldaten und Vergewaltigungen während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges." *WerkstattGeschichte* 19 (1998): 25-39.

Timm, Annette F., ed. Special issue, *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 26, no.3 (2017).

Tlusty, B. Ann. *Bacchus and the Civic Order: The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2001.

Tortorici, Zeb. *Sins Against Nature: Sex & Archives in Colonial New Spain*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018.

Turchetti, Mario. "La Leçon de Jean Bodin (1530-1596): Sur la distinction 'vitale,' oubliée, entre despotisme et tyrannie." In *Le Prince, le despote, le tyran: figures du souverain en Europe de la Renaissance aux Lumières = The Prince, the Despot, the Tyrant: Figures of the Sovereign in Europe from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, edited by Myriam-Isabelle Ducrocq and Laïla Ghermani, 53-59. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2019.

Traub, Valerie. *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

______. *Thinking Sex with the Early Moderns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.

Ubl, Matthias. *Der Braunschweiger Monogrammist: Wegbereiter der niederländischen Genremalerei vor Bruegel.* Fulda: Imhof Verlag, 2014.

Vickers, Emma. *Queen and Country: Same-Sex Desire in the British Armed Forces, 1939-45*. Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2013.

Vivo, Filippo de. *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Walker, Garthine. "Rereading Rape and Sexual Violence in Early Modern England." *Gender & History* 10, no.1 (1998): 1-25.

______. "Sexual Violence and Rape in Europe, 1500-1750." In *The Routledge History of Sex and the Body, 1500 to the Present*, edited by Sarah Toulalan and Kate Fisher, 429-43. New York: Routledge, 2013.

Wandel, Lee Palmer. *The Reformation: Towards a New History*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Weber, Bruno. *Wunderzeichen und Winkeldrucker 1543-1586: Einblattdrucke aus der Sammlung Wikiana in der Zentralbibliothek Zürich* (Dietikon-Zürich: Urs Graf-Verlag, 1972).

Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the 'Spirit' of Capitalism*, trans. Peter Baehr and Gorgon C. Wells. New York: Penguin, 2002.

Weeks, Jeffrey. *Sexuality*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Weiß, Stefan. "Otto Brunner und das Ganze Haus, oder Die zwei Arten der Wirtschaftsgeschichte." *Historische Zeitschrift* 273 (2001): 335-69.

Wieslecker, Hermann. *Der Kaiser und seine Umwelt, Hof Staat, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft und Kultur*. Vol. 5 of *Kaiser Maximilian I., das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1986.

Wiesner, Merry. *Working Women in Renaissance Germany* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986).

Wiesner-Hanks, Merry E. "Do Women Need the Renaissance?." *Gender in History* 20, no.3 (2008): 539-57.

Wilson, Peter H. "German Women and War, 1500-1800." *War in History* 3, no.2 (1996): 127-60.

______. *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press for Harvard University Press, 2009.

Wohlfeil, Rainer and Trudl Wohlfeil. "Das Landsknechts-Bild als geschichtliche Quelle: Überlegungen zur Historischen Bildkunde." In *Militärgeschichte: Probleme – Thesen – Wege*, edited by Manfred Messerschmidt, 81-99. Stuttgart, 1982.

Wolfthal, Diane. *Images of Rape: The 'Heroic' Tradition and its Alternatives*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Wood, Christopher S. *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Wood, James B. *The King's Army: Warfare, Soldiers, and Society During the French Wars of Religion in France, 1562-1576*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Zika, Charles. *The Appearance of Witchcraft: Print and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Europe*. New York: Routledge, 2007.