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CENTRAL EUROPEAN INFANTRY HANDBOOKS IN THE TIME OF EARLY MODERN MILITARY REVOLUTION

Summary. The theory of early modern military revolution, which was presented by Michael Roberts in the 1950s and was later revised by various historians, is well known and still in use even today. One of the pillars of supposed revolution was a change of infantry training and a general change of infantry tactics, which first happened in the Netherlands in the 1590s. Another modification of infantry training and tactics took place in Sweden during the reign of Gustavus Adolphus. These transformations were reflected by a specific genre of period learned literature – military handbooks for infantry. Military manuals were published not only in Western Europe but also in Central Europe, mostly in Germany. In the period of 1550–1650, approximately 125 military handbooks were printed in ca. 225 editions. Twenty-five of these books were concerned specifically with the art of infantry war.

Book history is a transdisciplinary field which offers new methods of studying military history. While researching changes of the content and formal aspects of military publications, it is possible to trace changes of period military theory. The prosopography of military theorists and book publishers helps to reveal how the new ideas were disseminated – in this case how the new approaches to infantry training and the art of war spread from Western and Northern Europe to its centre. The aim of this contribution is not only to describe period infantry handbooks, but also to characterise the transfer of revolutionary changes in infantry warfare from Netherlands and Sweden into Central Europe with the help of period military manuals – especially those intended for infantry.

Keywords: Central Europe, early modern period, infantry, military handbooks, book history

When Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen published his *Kriegskunst zu Fuss* in 1615,¹ it was one of the first detailed treatises on the military art of infantry to appear in print in Europe. Wallhausen soon became known as a military theorist who published at least fourteen writings on military subjects. The most influential of these was the *Kriegskunst zu Fuss*, which was published at least ten times by the mid-17th century in four different language versions. The book was later followed by a number of other authors. While writing it, Wallhausen himself drew on information he had acquired in various ways, both by studying older writings and by personal experience gained from his service in the army of the military reformers Maurice of Orange and his cousins. What was the history of infantry military manuals in Central Europe before and after Wallhausen, and what was the development of this genre?

Military handbooks as a genre of educational literature

The genre of military manuals does not have a universally employed definition; therefore, it is necessary to characterise it at the beginning of this paper. Taking into account the specifics of different historical periods and geographical areas, military manuals can be broadly characterised as educational publications intended for soldiers at various degrees of military hierarchy, containing information either about military service and warfare from a general perspective, or about service and warfare of specific kinds of the army. This information might come from one source or from combination of several kinds of sources, e.g., military and legal regulations, service instructions, or the practical experience of soldiers.

When focusing on the period 1550–1650, the military manuals of the time can be characterised more specifically as scientific publications dealing with military administration, military mathematics, military art, or fortress construction. They focus on the military in general or on the military of particular types of troops – infantry, cavalry, artillery or navy. They are general volumes with international validity, which were not obligatory for the military commanders of the time, but were recommendations on how to train soldiers, what tactics and strategies to use, or how to supply their troops, for example.

¹ J.J. VON WALLHAUSEN, *Kriegskunst zu Fuss*, Oppenheim 1615.

The dissemination of military handbooks through movable type began in the early printing period. The first printed military manual was *De re militari* by the Italian architect Roberto Valturio (1405–1475), a manuscript version of which appeared before 1463 and was first printed in 1472.² It was soon followed by a treatise of the same title by the Roman military theorist Flavius Vegetius Rhenanus (4th–5th century AD), issued around 1473. Both of these works were published in Italy, but the Central European press did not take long to follow suit. It was the aforementioned Vegetius's work that became the earliest German military incunabulum.³

Military manuals, which before 1472 were distributed only as manuscripts, could reach a wider circle of readers thanks to the invention of the printing press. In addition to editions of treatises that originated in antiquity or were heavily inspired by ancient writings, new works began to be printed that responded to modern trends in military science. This paper will focus exactly on these books, as they were the only ones that could be used as instructional texts for modern warfare. The Central European military manuals from 1550–1650 can be divided into three similarly long chronological periods, which roughly indicate the development and transformations of the genre.

The period of 1550–1590 was a time when bastion fortresses were developed in Southern and Western Europe and this coincided with the publishing of literature on fortifications. However, in Central Europe, such books still appeared rarely. Publications issued there were mostly of an administrative character, which did not pay much attention to the tactics and which frequently responded to the war with the Turks.

In the period of 1590–1618, the number of books on military administration gradually dropped and publications on military art grew. Besides the works responding to the wars with the Turks, the first publications promoting ideas of the Dutch military reforms started to appear in the German states. In Central Europe, publications on fortification construction were printed more frequently.

² R. VALTURIO, *De re militari*, [Verona] 1472. For more, *vide*: e.g., G. WILSON, *Military Science, History and Art*, [in:] *Artful Armies, Beautiful Battles. Art and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*, ed. P. CUNEO, Leiden 2002, pp. 14–15.

³ In Latin, it was VEGETIUS, *De re militari*, [Köln ca. 1475]. In a German translation: VEGETIUS, [*Kurze Verweisung von der Ritterschafft*], [Augsburg ca. 1475].

The period of 1618–1650 can be identified with the Thirty Years' War and the immediately following years. The new military publications now responded to this major conflict. Books on fortification were still published. Many book militaria were new editions of works from the previous period.⁴

Military handbooks of East-Central Europe

The German-language area, which will be the main topic of following text, became an important centre for the development of military science in the context of the whole of Europe. Military manuals were disseminated there primarily through the printing press, and copies of individual editions can still be found in libraries throughout the continent. The situation was different in the eastern half of Central Europe, where the printing industry spread later. In the case of today's Slovakia, for example, it is impossible to speak of any printing house having been active on its territory for a long period of time before the middle of the 17th century. Books therefore had to be imported from other parts of the Kingdom of Hungary or from abroad. However, military manuals were not printed in Hungarian workshops at that time either, and all military prints had to be imported from abroad.

The situation was different in the territory of the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Kingdom of Poland (later Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth), where printing had already spread at the end of the 15th century. Although educational publications were disseminated through this region, military manuals usually were not. Between the mid-16th and the mid-17th centuries, only one military manual was printed in the territory of the Kingdom of Bohemia – a translation of the famous work of the imperial general Lazarus von Schwendi, *Kriegs Discurs*,⁵ which was published in Prague in 1618 under the title *Discurs o běhu válečném*.⁶

⁴ More on the reflection of military manuals in modern (mainly dictionary and encyclopaedic) literature, on the specifics of the genre between 1550–1650 and its division into distinctive subcategories in: K. ANDRESOVÁ, *Vojenské příručky raného novověku jako předmět výzkumu historiografie vojenství a knihovnědy. Tisky středovýchodní Evropy v kontextu evropské produkce*, "Vojenská história" 2018, vol. 3, pp. 62–68.

⁵ First issue: L. VON SCHWENDI, *Kriegs Discurs*, Frankfurt am Main 1593.

⁶ IDEM, *Discurs o Běhu Válečném a Auřadech Wogenských*, Praha 1618. More about this book in: K. ANDRESOVÁ, *Česká vojenská příručka z roku 1618*, "Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae – Historia Litterarum" 2020, vol. 1–2, pp. 44–52.

However, no other such book was printed there until 1733. In Poland, slightly more (ca. ten) military manuals were printed between 1550 and 1650, but the situation in the two countries did not differ much. Both Czechs and Poles produced military manuals, but they mostly distributed them in manuscripts. The most important military manuscripts of that time in Bohemia were probably the *Instrukcí vojanská* by Zikmund Chotek of Chotkov⁷ and the *Naučení vojanské* by Jindřich Michal Hýzrlé of Chody.⁸ In Poland it is worth mentioning, for example, *Księgi hetmańskie* by Stanisław Sarnicki.⁹

Other strategies for the dissemination of military ideas included the incorporation of military treatises into larger works, which, however, cannot be described as military manuals due to their more general focus. Some authors chose to publish their military works in foreign printing houses, most notably the Poles Adam Freitag and Kazimierz Siemienowicz.¹⁰ In the period 1550–1650, only one manual of infantry military art was printed in the territory of the Czech and Polish kingdoms – the German-language book *Tyrocinium militare* by Conrad Cöller, published in 1616 in Gdańsk.¹¹ The following text will therefore focus mainly on publications issued in the German-language area.¹²

Infantry handbooks

Between 1550 and 1650 about 225 editions of military manuals were published in Central Europe. As some books were published twice or more, this amounts to a total of about 125 different works. A number of these books dealt with the warfare of the time in general – either in terms of military administration or

⁷ More on the manuscript: O. ŠVEHELKA, „Zbroje a od ní potřeby jest...“ Čtyři texty ze 16. století týkající se tureckých válek, s přihlédnutím k válce patnáctileté, “Historie – otázky – problémy” 2014, vol. 2, pp. 186–196.

⁸ Its edition was elaborated in the master's thesis: T. OPAVOVÁ, *Obraz války a vojenství v 16.–17. století očima českých šlechticů*, Univerzita Karlova, Filozofická fakulta, Ústav českých dějin, 2013, pp. 84–155.

⁹ More on it, e.g., in: Z. SPIERALSKI, *Polska sztuka wojenna w latach 1454–1562*, Warszawa 1958, pp. 137–143, 149–153.

¹⁰ For editions of their works, *vide*: e.g., the database *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (USTC), www.ustc.ac.uk (access: 9 IX 2021).

¹¹ C. CÖLLER, *Tyrocinium Militare*, Gdańsk 1616.

¹² More on the issue of military manuals of East-Central Europe: K. ANDRESOVÁ, *Vojenské příručky...*, pp. 72–76.

military art and training. Twenty-three of the editions dealt exclusively with infantry. If we add the publications that also included passages on artillery and fortifications, this makes a total of 26 editions.¹³ These books fall into three basic groups, which are military mathematics, military administration and military art (drill books and military treatises).

Books of military mathematics were a special kind of literature, usually written not by warriors but by mathematicians. They were either mathematics textbooks, part of which dealt with the use of arithmetic and geometry in military science, or collections of tables supplemented only by a short introduction. Some of these tables were aimed at fortress construction, in which case they specified the recommended angles and dimensions of fortification structures; artillery tables dealt with ballistics. Infantry tables which could also be used by cavalry how a particular number of men in an army should be divided into smaller organisational units. This group of military handbooks might have been accompanied by simple illustrations – woodcuts or typographic illustrations that depicted battle formations. The authors of these books in the period under study were Zacharias Lochner, Johannes Lhor, Caspar Grunewald, and Philipp Geiger.¹⁴

As already indicated, military administrative manuals were the dominant type of military handbook until about 1590. These books dealt primarily with the various ranks and offices in the army and discussed the rights and duties of their holders. The most important author of this type of book in the region under study was Leonhardt Fronsberger. His general-oriented *Fünff Bücher. Vonn Kriegs Regiment vnd Ordnung* of 1555¹⁵ was later expanded into a comprehensive three-volume *Kriegsbuch*, which was published repeatedly until the end of the 16th century.¹⁶ The second volume of the *Kriegsbuch* dealt mostly with infantry and artillery, although one may say it was a general military handbook.¹⁷

¹³ These numbers are based on excerpts from the databases USTC (www.ustc.ac.uk), VD16 (<https://www.vd16.de/>), VD17 (<http://www.vd17.de/>), GLN 15-16 (<http://www.ville-ge.ch/musinfo/bd/bge/gln/>), Bibliografia Staropolska (<https://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/staropolska/>), Knihopis (<http://www.knihopis.cz/>) (all access: 9 XII 2021).

¹⁴ If mathematical books dealing with artillery and fortifications are included, it is necessary to mention also Rhodius Ambrosius and Jacob Willemsz Verroten.

¹⁵ First issue: L. FRONBERGER, *Fünff Bücher. Vonn Kriegs Regiment vnd Ordnung*, Frankfurt am Main 1555.

¹⁶ First issue: IDEM, *Kriegsbuch*, Frankfurt am Main 1573. It was last published in 1596.

¹⁷ Title of this volume: *Kriegsbuch. Ander Theyl, Von Wagenburgk vmb die Feldleger...*

The work was a bestseller from the beginning, and was followed by works by other authors.

One such example is the unique book *Kurtzer vnd notwendiger bericht der Feldtschreiberey* by Stanislaus Hohenspach.¹⁸ This publication, unlike most other military manuals, was not primarily intended for officers and military leaders, but for military scribes. It describes the duties of these scribes and also the documents they produce, together with their appropriate formality. The present-day researcher will find in it, among other things, information on the recruitment and mustering of troops or the manning of sentries in a military camp.

After 1590, publications on military art were among the most common types of military manuals (besides books on fortress construction). These books can be subdivided into short but usually richly illustrated drill books and more comprehensive military treatises.¹⁹ The former focused on the operation of weapons and the basic functioning of soldiers in units, while the longer treatises also included texts on military administration, the establishment of military camps, military campaigns, strategies and other related topics. Drill books and military treatises coexisted, and the gradual trend, which became more pronounced in the second half of the 17th century, seems to have been an increase in the number of drill books at the expense of military treatises. This, in turn, is indicative of the changing function of the military manual and the changing demands on this type of literature over the years, as books originally intended for scholars gradually changed to utilitarian writings that helped to unify military practice across Europe.

One of the first and most famous drill books is *Wapenhandelinghe* by Jacques de Gheyn. The core of the book is composed of a series of 117 illustrations showing the operation of infantry weapons – simple handguns, muskets, and pikes. This is why the work is known not by the author of the text (probably Johann of Nassau) but by the author of the illustrations (Jacques de Gheyn). *Wapenhandelinghe* was first published in 1607 in the Netherlands.²⁰ It was soon translated and a German-French version was first published in 1609.²¹ De Gheyn was

¹⁸ S. HOHENSPOCH, *Kurtzer vnd notwendiger bericht der Feldtschreiberey*, Heidelberg 1577.

¹⁹ Division into drill books and military treatises is based on D. LAWRENCE, *The Complete Soldier*, Leiden 2008, p. 195.

²⁰ J. DE GHEYN, *Wapenhandelinghe van de Roers, Musquetten ende Spiesen*, The Hague 1607.

²¹ IDEM, *Waffenhandlung Von den Röhren, Mußquetten vnd Spiessen*, Frankfurt am Main 1609.

followed by a number of other authors. A slightly younger infantry drill book was, for example, Peter Isselburg's Franco-German treatise *Künstliche Waffenhandlung* from 1620, which was, in fact, just a reprint of de Gheyn's book.²² From 1619 comes the anonymous drill book *Scola Militaris Exercitationis*.²³

The first military treatise published in the region was issued at the turn of the century: a lesser-known manual of military art by Maurice of Hessen-Cassel.²⁴ The book was relatively short and dealt briefly with basic aspects of warfare, army administration, infantry training, and its basic battle formations.

The best-known military treatise for infantry was not published in the region under study until fifteen years later: Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen's *Kriegskunst zu Fuss*. Its illustrations depicting the operation of the weapons were based on Jacob de Gheyn's copperplates from a few years earlier. As already mentioned, the book was reprinted several times and translated into several European languages. It was a large publication in folio format, accompanied by a number of copper engravings, and was therefore quite expensive. In order to make the basics of military art accessible to poorer people, Wallhausen published an abridgement of the book soon afterwards, entitled *Alphabetum pro tyrone pedestri*.²⁵

One of the first to be inspired by Wallhausen's infantry manual was an officer who very likely knew him personally. Wallhausen entered the service in Danzig in 1613, and in his writings he addressed himself as captain of that city until 1 May 1616.²⁶ When on 29 May 1616 the otherwise unknown Conrad Cöller dated the preface of his handbook *Tyrocinium militare*, he titled himself as a Gdańsk lieutenant. However, lieutenant Cöller did not become as famous as captain Wallhausen, did not write further works, and did not publish his book for a second time. His only known treatise, which contains only one simple illustration, deals mainly with the procedure for handling weapons and training the

²² P. ISSELBURG, *Künstliche Waffenhandlung der Musqueten vn[d] Piquen oder Langen Spiessen*, Nürnberg 1620.

²³ *Scola Militaris Exercitationis*, Köln 1619.

²⁴ M. HESSEN-KASSEL, *Instruction. Was sich unsere Bestellte Kriegsräthe vnd Diener verhalten sollen*, Kassel 1600.

²⁵ J.J. VON WALLHAUSEN, *Alphabetum pro tyrone pedestri*, Frankfurt am Main 1615.

²⁶ More on Wallhausen's life in, e.g., U. WENDLAND, *Zur Lebensgeschichte des Danziger Hauptmanns Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen*, "Mitteilungen des westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins" 1936, vol. 4, pp. 81–92; or H. ZOPF, *Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen als Kriegsschriftsteller*, "Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins" 1938, vol. 2, pp. 34–43.

movements of entire infantry units, and is written in the form of a dialogue between two men, Julius and Cornelius. However, Wallhausen was also followed by a number of other authors who did not necessarily know him personally but were familiar with his writings.

Authors of infantry handbooks

Seventeen different men can be identified as the authors of the 26 books examined, one of which is anonymous. The authors of these infantry manuals – and of contemporary military manuals in general – can be divided into several groups according to their occupation. Some are obvious, others somewhat surprising. In the sample of authors examined, there are well-known military theorists (Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen) and fortress builders (Valentin Friderich). Several military officers, who usually published one theoretical work each, are known to us just from the pages of these works and are otherwise unknown (Conrad Cöller, Zacharias Krammer von Heydeck, Laurentius a Troupitzen, the military scribe Stanislaus Hohenspach). In the case of mathematical books, the authors were mathematicians (Zacharias Lochner, Philipp Geiger, Caspar Grunewald and also Rhodius Ambrosius and Jacob Willemsz Verrotten). The authorship of military manuals, of which the pictorial accompaniment is an essential component, fell to illustrators (Jacob de Gheyn, Peter Isselburg). Somewhat surprisingly, some military or fortification manuals were written by physicians (Gamaliel de La Tour) – and on the contrary, some, for example, fortress builders, devoted themselves to medicine as a secondary subject. The last type of authors were noblemen – in this case it was just one – Maurice of Hessen-Cassel. His military-theoretical contribution is not unusual, as nobles were often educated in military issues and studied the works of older military theorists. Among the most famous examples of this approach is Johann of Nassau, who was writing at the same time, and whose extensive military works remain only in manuscript.²⁷

²⁷ Johann's work has been made accessible editorially: *Die Heeresreform der Oranier. Das Kriegsbuch des Grafen Johann von Nassau-Siegen*, ed. W. HAHLEWEG, Wiesbaden 1973.

Illustrations

Most military manuals from the Central European region of the period under study were illustrated, and infantry manuals are no exception: apart from a few inexpensive, small-format books (mainly on military mathematics), the examined books were illustrated. Three graphic types of illustrations were involved: woodcuts, prevalent in the 16th century, were gradually replaced over the years by the more common copperplates. At the same time, illustrations made of typographic signs, which usually indicated the way soldiers were arranged in units, were used throughout the whole century under study.

The examined infantry manuals are accompanied by two types of illustrations: the first type is educational illustrations depicting the handling of weapons, the ordering of soldiers in units, the structure of military camps or drawings of fortress buildings; the second type lies on the borderline between educational and artistic illustrations and it depicts of the holders of various offices and ranks in the army or scenes from military engagements. All illustrations included in the publications are at least partly educational.

These illustrations are usually not signed. This is true for simple educational diagrams, but often also for more demanding illustrations. In fact, only three illustrators of the manuals examined are known by name: the aforementioned engraver and painter Jacob de Gheyn²⁸ and the draughtsman, engraver and printer Peter Isselburg,²⁹ who followed de Gheyn's illustration book and republished it under his own name. The third illustrator known by name is painter and engraver Jost Amman, who created the illustrations of the *Kriegsbuch* by Leonhardt Fronsberger in the mid-16th century.³⁰ In the case of the infantry part of the book, these are woodcuts depicting various types of soldiers and military officials, as well as copperplates showing military camps or troops on campaign.

²⁸ More on de Gheyn, *vide*: J.P.F. KOK, *Jacques de Gheyn II Engraver, Designer and Publisher – I*, "Print Quarterly" 1990, vol. 3, pp. 248–281.

²⁹ More on Isselburg, e.g., K. PILZ, *Isselburg, Peter*, [in:] *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 10, Berlin 1974, pp. 201–202.

³⁰ More on Amman, e.g., *The New Hollstein German engravings, etchings and woodcuts 1400–1700, Part I–X*, ed. G. SEELIG, Rotterdam 2002–2003.

Dissemination of ideas through military books

Several inspirational lines can be traced among the infantry manuals examined. Within books on military mathematics, Zacharias Lochner's *Zwey Büchlein der gerechneten Schlachtordnung*, published in 1557, achieved a certain influence.³¹ It was a set of tables advising how to divide a unit of a certain number of soldiers into ranks. Johannes Lhor's *Kriegs Feldbüchlin*, 12 years younger, dealt with the same problem.³² Lochner's book was also mentioned in other literature – for example, from 1561 onwards a page extract from this book appeared in Georg Lauterbeck's *Regentenbuch*.³³ This excerpt was later translated into Czech when a translation of the *Regentenbuch* was published in 1584 and 1606 under the title *Politia historica* in Prague by Daniel Adam of Veleslavín.³⁴ (It should be mentioned that the *Politia historica* was a rather exceptional text in the Czech environment, as it contained several chapters focusing on the warfare of the time. As already mentioned, for the entire period under study, only one separate military manual was published in Czech – *Discurs o běhu válečném*.)

The second source of inspiration is Leonhardt Fronsberger's *Kriegsbuch*. In his work, the war veteran Fronsberger discussed, among other things, the rights and duties of different types of soldiers and military officials. The book was published repeatedly during the second half of the 16th century and achieved considerable fame, to which other authors and printers referred. In 1577, 22 years after the publication of Fronsberger's first military work, a manual for military scribes, *Kurtzer vnd notwendiger bericht der Feldtschreiberey* by Stanislaus Hohenspach, was printed. In a dedication to Colonel Claus von Handtstadt, the printer Müller included the following sentence: "I have no doubt that the *Kriegsordnung*, which was published by the late Leonhardt Fronsberger, and which has been reprinted in Frankfurt, has been seen and read by your Grace."³⁵ The intention of the printer, and perhaps of the author, was therefore evidently to build on Fronsberger's fame and to expand on one of the themes opened up by that author.

³¹ Z. LOCHNER, *Zwey Büchlein der gerechneten Schlachtordnung*, Nürnberg 1557.

³² J. LHOR, *Kriegs Feldbüchlin, von allerlay Schlachtordnungen*, Dillingen 1569.

³³ First issue with this extract: G. LAUTERBECK, *Regentenbuch*, [Leipzig] 1561, p. CCXIIa.

³⁴ First issue: IDEM, *Politia historica*, Praha 1584, pp. 480–481.

³⁵ S. HOHENSPACH, *op. cit.*, p. [3].

Almost everyone who published a military administrative manual in the German-language area, whether specifically infantry or universal, responded to Fronsberger's work. The Dresden topographer and postmaster Daniel Wintzenberger, in his *Beschreibung einer KriegsOrdnung* of 1588, stated:

Useful thoughts have already been written about military order, especially in the great book divided into three parts and published in Frankfurt am Main by Georg [sic] Fronsberger, namely, on the warfare of the Emperor Charles V, as conducted on water and on land, together with artillery and all ammunition, with many illustrations. But not everyone can buy the book, furthermore it takes a lot of time to read such an extensive work, and it is impossible to keep it all in one's head. All this is briefly treated in this book, which every warrior, according to his status and office, needs to know.³⁶

The third source of inspiration came from the Netherlands from military reformers – Prince Maurice of Orange and his cousins William and Johann of Nassau, whose military works remained in manuscript only. Although the most famous of these three men is undoubtedly Maurice of Orange, the main originator of Dutch modernisation and the unification of military training and equipment was Johann of Nassau, author of the manuscript *Kriegsbuch*. In it, he explored both ancient soldiering and ways to apply it in a modern way using the resources that the late 16th century offered. Johann of Nassau was the author of the text part of the drill book illustrated by Jacob de Gheyn. As we have already mentioned, de Gheyn's manual was later followed by another illustrator – Peter Isselburg.

Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen also drew from his contacts with the Dutch reformers. He began his military career in 1599 in the army of Maurice of Orange, later serving in Hungary and Russia and from 1613 in Danzig. In 1616, in collaboration with Johann of Nassau, he prepared the curriculum for the first European military academy in the German town of Siegen, which he ran as its director for several months in 1617.³⁷ It should be recalled that Wallhausen's work was followed by that of another soldier working in Danzig – perhaps Wallhausen's subordinate – lieutenant Conrad Cöller.

³⁶ D. WINTZENBERGER, *Beschreibung einer Kriegs Ordnung zu Roß vnd Fueß*, Dresden 1588, p. [4].

³⁷ More on the Siegen military academy: C. BRACHTHÄUSER, „*Wie sich ein Fürst zum Krieg soll rüsten*“. *Die älteste Militärakademie der Welt*, Groß-Gerau 2016.

Inspiration in Dutch military reforms can be found in a number of military manuals from the first half of the 17th century. In particular, the infantry manual by Valentin Friderich *Kriegs kunst zu Fuß* of 1619 refers to the teachings of Maurice of Orange.³⁸ The Netherlands is mentioned as a leading country where military art was taught by Zacharias Krammer von Heydeck, author of the manual *Bellona* of 1625; he also mentions that he was taught at a ‘high military school,’ by which he could theoretically mean the Siegen Academy.³⁹ Even the French manual by Gamaliel de la Tour, published in Geneva in 1633 and 1634, *Principes de l’art militaire*, refers in its title to military art as practiced in the Netherlands.⁴⁰

In the 1630s, a new stream of ideas came to Central Europe from Sweden. There, Dutch military doctrine was reworked by a commander and, above all, a king – Gustavus Adolphus. An infantry manual published twice in Germany was called *Kriegs Kunst, Nach Königlicher Schwedischer Manier* and was written by an officer in the Swedish service, Laurentius a Troupitzen. In the preface of the book, he praised the order, wisdom, art, and experience of the soldiers in the Dutch service.⁴¹ However, he emphasised above all the contribution of Gustavus Adolphus to the Swedish military, who, in his opinion, improved the discipline and order previously used in Europe, but also, for example, invented new battle formations, thus earning eternal fame.

Theory and praxis

It is clear, then, that Dutch and Swedish reformist ideas reached Central Europe through books shortly after their introduction in Western and Northern Europe. Virtually everyone who published a book on infantry soldiering in the German language area can be linked in some way to the Dutch military reforms, either through personal experience or through study of earlier books. On the other hand, it should be mentioned that not everyone associated with the Dutch tradition actually implemented it in his writings. This is also true for

³⁸ V. FRIDERICH, *Kriegs kunst zu Fuß vnnnd Eige[n]dlicher vnderricht*, Bern 1619, p. 1.

³⁹ Z. KRAMMER VON HEYDECK, *Bellona*, Neuburg am Donau 1625, p. [3].

⁴⁰ First issue: G. DE LA TOUR, *Principes de l’art militaire*, Genève 1633, title page.

⁴¹ First issue: L. A. TROUPITZEN, *Kriegs Kunst, Nach Königlicher Schwedischer Manier*, Frankfurt am Main 1633, p. 4.

Wallhausen himself – while he knew and accepted the Dutch drill, he recommended that troops be trained and organised according to older, proven practices used, for example, on the battlefield in Hungary.⁴²

After all, it is also his work that raises the question of how quickly Dutch military practice really took hold in Central Europe. In 1615, Wallhausen published his first work on the military art of infantry, in which he recalled the art of good warfare – ‘ars bene belligerandi.’ He published the book in the hope that experienced warriors would once again elevate the art. However, in 1621, when he published *Defensio patriae*, Wallhausen mentioned that he had unfortunately not seen the use of this art in practice so far.⁴³

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⁴² Cf. J.J. VON WALLHAUSEN, *Kriegskunst...*

⁴³ IDEM, *Defensio patriae*, Frankfurt am Main 1621, p. 6.

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Klára Andresová

ŚRODKOWE EUROPEJSKIE PODRĘCZNIKI SZTUKI WOJSKOWEJ DOTYCZĄCE PIECHOTY W DOBIE WCZESNONOWOŻYTNEJ REWOLUCJI MILITARNEJ

Streszczenie. Teoria wczesnonowożytnej rewolucji militarnej, przedstawiona przez Michaela Robertsa w latach pięćdziesiątych XX w., a następnie zrewidowana przez kolejnych historyków, jest dziś powszechnie znana i ciągle stosowana przez badaczy. Jednym z jej filarów była zmiana w szkoleniu piechoty i ogólna ewolucja taktyki wojskowej w odniesieniu do piechoty, która nastąpiła najpierw w Holandii w latach dziewięćdziesiątych XVI w. Kolejne modyfikacje w tym zakresie wprowadzono w Szwecji za panowania Gustawa Adolfa. Odzwierciedleniem tych przemian był specyficzny gatunek literacki epoki nowożytnej – podręczniki wojskowe dla piechoty, publikowane nie tylko w Europie Zachodniej, ale także w Europie Środkowej, głównie w Niemczech. W latach 1550–1650 ukazało się około 125 traktatów wojskowych w blisko 225 wydaniach. Dwadzieścia pięć z tych podręczników koncentrowało się wyłącznie na piechocie. Studia nad historią książki mają charakter interdyscyplinarny, oferując zarazem nowe metody badania historii wojskowości. Analizując zmiany treści i aspektów formalnych publikacji wojskowych, możemy prześledzić zmiany teorii wojskowej omawianego okresu. Protopografia teoretyków wojskowych i wydawców książek pomaga wykazać sposoby rozpowszechniania się nowych idei – w tym wypadku możemy zobaczyć, jak nowatorskie podejścia do

szkolenia piechoty i sztuki wojennej przenikały z obszaru Europy Zachodniej i Północnej do centrum kontynentu. Celem artykułu było opisanie wczesnonowożytnych podręczników piechoty oraz scharakteryzowanie sposobu, w jaki rewolucyjne zmiany w taktyce wojennej przenikały z Holandii i Szwecji do Europy Środkowej za pomocą podręczników wojskowych – w szczególności traktatów dotyczących piechoty.

Słowa kluczowe: Europa Środkowa, okres wczesnonowożytny, piechota, podręczniki wojskowe, historia książki

Клара Андресова

ЦЕНТРАЛЬНО-ЕВРОПЕЙСКИЕ УЧЕБНИКИ ВОЕННОГО ИСКУССТВА КААСАЮЩЕЕСЯ ПЕХОТЫ В ЭПОХУ ВОЕННОЙ РЕВОЛЮЦИИ РАННЕГО НОВОГО ВРЕМЕНИ

Аннотация. Теория военной революции раннего Нового времени, представленная Майклом Робертсом в 1950-х гг. и затем пересмотренная последующими историками, в настоящее время широко известна и до сих пор используется исследователями. Одним из ее столпов было изменение в обучении пехоты и эволюция военной тактики по отношению к пехоте, которая впервые произошла в Нидерландах в 1590-х гг. Последующие модификации в этом отношении были введены в Швеции во время правления Густава Адольфа. Эти изменения отразились на специфическом жанре письма эпохи нового времени – военные наставления для пехоты издавались не только в Западной Европе (преимущественно в Германии), но и в Центральной Европе. Между 1550 и 1650 г. было опубликовано около 125 военных трактатов с почти 225 изданиями. Двадцать пять из этих руководств были посвящены исключительно пехоте.

Исследования по истории книги носят междисциплинарный характер и в то же время предлагают новые методы изучения военной истории. Анализируя изменения в содержании и формальных аспектах военных изданий, можно проследить изменения в военной теории рассматриваемого периода. Просопографическое исследование группы военных теоретиков и книгоиздателей помогает показать, как распространялись новые идеи. Таким образом, мы видим, как новаторские подходы к обучению пехоты и военному искусству проникали из Западной и Северной Европы в центр континента. Цель статьи состоит в том, чтобы описать наставления для пехоты раннего Нового времени и охарактеризовать путь, по которому революционные изменения в тактике ведения войны распространялись из Нидерландов и Швеции в Центральную Европу с посредничеством военных наставлений – в частности трактатов о пехоте.

Ключевые слова: Центральная Европа, раннее новое время, пехота, военные уставы, книжная история