

# *The Organization of the Imperial Army in the Fifteen Years War*

ZOLTÁN BAGI



The soldiers of the Habsburg imperial-royal army were recruited by series of personal contracts in the Long or Fifteen Years' War between the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires (1591/3–1606).<sup>1</sup> When organizing different horse- and infantry units the payment of the soldiers and officers, and consequently the structure of these hired units was determined by the abilities and court connections of the military entrepreneur. It is almost impossible to find a unified concept in the recruitment; however in the archival documents one may reveal a developing form and procedure of establishing foot regiments and different cavalry troops.

## *The recruitment and organization of infantry*

In case of entrusting an experienced and adventurous person with the equipment of a foot regiment the military entrepreneur appointed by the ruler was given five different documents by the court war council (*Hofkriegsrat*) in this period. These documents fixed his obligations and rights, as well as his salary and the payment of his subordinates.

The first group of these documents were constituted by decrees or *Bestallungsbrief* for the military entrepreneur (*Obrist*)<sup>2</sup> which contained commands and tasks for establishing a given military unit. According to a draft from the beginning of the Long War there were the following regulations. A German foot regiment was commonly recruited for three months by the commission of the ruler, but if needed, it had to soldier on. The enlisted unit was ordered to a defined place of muster, and their payment was calculated from the very day of the muster. Then the soldiers had to serve either at land or at sea following the orders of the ruler or the commander-in-chief or its deputy. They could serve with a regiment or half regiment or with a "flag" or battalion (*Fahne*), as it was required by the military action. The soldiers got their first payment after the muster, and after that

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<sup>1</sup> On this cf. S. L. Tóth, *A mezőkeresztesi csata és a tizenöt éves háború*. [The Battle of Mezőkeresztes and the Fifteen Years' War] Szeged 2000.

<sup>2</sup> Generally I used the German form of the military ranks, because their meaning was quite different at that time, so their translation into another language would have been misleading.

they received monthly "in accordance with an old custom" 4 Rhenish florins (*forint*).<sup>3</sup> The enlisted soldiers had to buy their weapons or to recover them, and to pay for their foodstuff and lodgings. The exchange rate of florin were stipulated (1 florin/*forint* = 15 *fillér* = 60 *krajcár*) in order to avoid abuses and because of several monetary units in circulation in the Holy Roman-German Empire. If the mercenaries did not get their payment for any reason, the ruler asked for their patience. After a successful siege or a victorious battle a bonus, an extra monthly payment should be paid to the members of the regiment. At the end of the campaign, if their services were no longer needed by the ruler, the soldiers were dismissed and they got half of their monthly payment. A further command was contained in the so-called *Artikelbrief*, on which the mercenaries swore an oath. The so-called *Bestallungsbrief* was authenticated by the royal seal and signature.<sup>4</sup> The military contractors commissioned to establish Walloon, French and Lotharingian infantry regiments obtained similar documents from the court war council.<sup>5</sup>

The second group of documents were constituted by the imperial-royal *Bestallung* registers (*Bestallungsverzeichnis*), appointing the commanders of the hired regiments. In these registers the payment of the *Obrist* and his staff, and the so-called *prima plana*, i.e. the staff of the *Hauptmann*, commanding the battalions were defined and their pay. The payment was not fixed in money, but a multiple of a monthly payment was given. An *Obrist*, a commander of a regiment was paid 75 times a payment of an ordinary mercenary.

The leadership of the regiment was composed of the immediate team (*Obristen Statt*) of the entrepreneur/*Obrist*, and of the so-called "team of higher officers" (*Statt der hohen Ämter*) responsible for the orderlines, provision and organization of the regiment. To the former group belonged the scribe of the *Obrist* (*Schreiber*), eight personal bodyguards<sup>6</sup> (*Trabant*) for his service and protection, a chaplain

<sup>3</sup> H. Möller, *Das Regiment der Landsknechte. Untersuchungen zu Verfassung. Recht und Selbstverständnis in deutschen Söldnerheeren des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Frankfurter historische Abhandlungen 12. Wiesbaden 1976, 17.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Österreichisches Staatsarchiv* (henceforth: ÖStA) *Kriegsarchiv* (henceforth: KA) *Bestallungen* (henceforth: Best.) 464/1593; ÖStA KA Best. 477/1594; *Illustrierte Geschichte der K.u.K. Armee*. I. Band. Wien 1898, 221–222; P. Újhelyi, *Az állandó hadsereg története I. Lipót korától Mária Terézia haláláig (1657–1780)*. [The History of the Standing Army from the Age of Leopold I till the Death of Maria Theresa (1657–1780)] Budapest 1914, 19; F. Blau, *Die deutschen Landsknechte*. Kettwig 1985, 23; R. Baumann, *Landsknechte. Ihrer Geschichte und Kultur vom späten Mittelalter bis zum Dreißigjährigen Krieg*. München 1994, 48–52; Z. P. Bagi, *A császári-királyi mezei hadsereg a tizenöt éves háborúban. Hadszervezet, érdekérvényesítés, reformkísérletek*. [The Imperial-Royal Army in the Fifteen Years, War. Organisation, Lobbying and Attempts at Reforms] Budapest 2001, 398–399, 419–420; F. Edelmayer, *Söldner und Pensionäre. Das Netzwerk Philipps II. im Heiligen Römischen Reich*. München 2002, 227; U. Waidmayr, *Das Söldnerwesen in der Frühen Neuzeit. Diplomarbeit zur Erlangen des Magistergrades der Philosophie aus der Studienrichtung Geschichte und Sozialkunde eingereicht an der Geistes- und Kulturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Wien*, Wien 2003, 28–29.

<sup>5</sup> ÖStA KA Best. 521/1597.; ÖStA KA *Alte Feldakten* (henceforth: AFA) 1602/5/1ad.

<sup>6</sup> Soldier, who was orderly besides the commander at camping, and a guardman in battle, cf. J. Kelenik, "A kézi lőfegyverek jelentősége a hadügyi forradalom kibontakozásában. A császári-királyi hadsereg fegyverzetének jellege Magyarországon a tizenöt éves háború éveiben," [The importance of handguns in the emergence of war-

(*Caplan*), a drummer (*Trombschlager*), a piper, an interpreter (*Dolmatsch*), five horsemen (*reisiger Knecht*) taking care of the *Obrist* and representing his power, a coach (*Wagen*), and a cook (*Koch*).<sup>7</sup>

To this immediate team of the *Obrist* pertained his substitute (*Oberstleutnant*) and two guardsmen of the latter officer. If the *Obrist*/entrepreneur did not reside at his troops, which was quite frequent, his mentioned helpers had to take charge. If the *Obrist* stayed at his regiment, his deputy operated as the *Hauptmann* of the second "flag", battalion for a higher payment.<sup>8</sup>

To the "team of the higher officers" belonged the so-called *Profos*/provost (*Profoß*), who may be called nowadays the leader of the military police, who was responsible for the order of the regiment's camp. Besides this function, he represented the prosecution by his advocate on trials. He assigned the place for the market of the regiment's camp as well, and had to provide for its order. The butchers had to notify him about each slaughtered animal by sending him the tongue of the animal.<sup>9</sup> He was helped by his staff of 13 people: four guardsmen for his protection, six provost-marshal (*Stocken Knecht*), a deputy (*Profoserleutnant*),<sup>10</sup> a jailer (*Stockmeister*), and an executioner (*Scharfrichter*).

In the hierarchy the jurisdiction of the *Obrist* was followed by the so-called judge of the military tribunal or royal inspector (*Schultheiß*).<sup>11</sup> For the sake of effective and quick judicial procedures he was supported by a judicial notary (*Gerichtschreiber*),<sup>12</sup> who took down the charge, the answer of the accused and the statements. Besides him a bailiff (*Gerichtsweibel*)<sup>13</sup> and a guardsman served the military judge. In the so-called *Bestallung* registers the number of jurors (ten persons) ne-

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fare revolution] *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 104 (1991:3), 9.

<sup>7</sup> W. Dilich, *Kriegsschule I*. Frankfurt am Main 1689, (Reprint Magstadt 1967) 40; H. Meynert, *Geschichte der K. K. österreichischen Armee. Ihrer Heranbildung und Organisation, so wie ihrer Schicksale, Thaten und Feldzüge von den frühesten bis auf die neuere Zeit, Geschichte des Kriegswesens und der Heeresverfassung in der Österreichischen Monarchie zur Zeit Kaiser Maximilian's I. und bis zum dreissigjährigen Krieg*. Wien 1854, 124-125; W. Rüstow, *Geschichte der Infanterie*. I. Band. Nordhausen 1864, 204; Baumann, *Landsknechte*, 93; Waidmayr, *Das Söldnerwesen*, 34-35.

<sup>8</sup> Rüstow, *Geschichte der Infanterie*, 204; Újhelyi, *Az állandó hadsereg*, 45; F. Redlich, "Die Markatender." in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 41 (1954) 55; Blau, *Die Deutsche Landsknechte*, 40; Waidmayr, *Das Söldnerwesen*, 35.

<sup>9</sup> On the role of the *Profos*/provost of the regiment, see Dilich, *Kriegsschule* 43; Meynert, *Geschichte* 215; Rüstow, *Geschichte der Infanterie*, 204; Újhelyi, *Az állandó hadsereg*, 48-49; Redlich, *Die Markatender*, 233-234; Möller, *Das Regiment*, 189-234; Blau, *Die Deutsche Landsknechte*, 41-43; S. Fiedler, "Kriegswesen und Kriegführung im Zeitalter der Landknechte." in *Heerwesen der Neuzeit I/2*. Hrsg.: G. Ortenburg, Koblenz 1985, 79; Baumann, *Landsknechte*, 94; G. Pálffy, *Katonai igazságszolgáltatás a királyi Magyarországon a XVI-XVII. században*. [Military Jurisdiction in Royal Hungary in the 16th and 17th century] Győr 1995, 34-41; Waidmayr, *Das Söldnerwesen*, 36-37.

<sup>10</sup> Blau, *Die Deutsche Landsknechte*, 43; Waidmayr, *Das Söldnerwesen*, 37.

<sup>11</sup> On the responsibilities of the judge of military tribunal, see Dilich, *Kriegsschule*, 42-43; Rüstow, *Geschichte der Infanterie*, 204.; Újhelyi, *Az állandó hadsereg*, 47; Möller, *Das Regiment*, 134-136; Baumann, *Landsknechte*, 94; Pálffy, *Katonai igazságszolgáltatás*, 34-41; Waidmayr, *Das Söldnerwesen*, 35-36.

<sup>12</sup> Pálffy, *Katonai igazságszolgáltatás*, 37.

<sup>13</sup> Möller, *Das Regiment*, 142; Pálffy, *Katonai igazságszolgáltatás*, 37; Waidmayr, *Das Söldnerwesen*, 36.

cessary for the activity of military jury (*Gerichtsleut*)<sup>14</sup> and their monthly payments were recorded as well.

The safety and guarding of the camp and the organization of the march was provided for by the so-called guardmaster (*Wachtmeister*),<sup>15</sup> and for the accommodation of the unit, the quartermaster (*Quartiermeister*)<sup>16</sup> was responsible. Each of them was helped by a personal bodyguard.

To this "team of the higher officers" belonged the master of provisioning (*Proviantmeister*),<sup>17</sup> who was responsible for providing food for the regiment, the chief leech (*Obrestfeldscherer*),<sup>18</sup> who was taking care of the wounded, and the officer liable for the impedimenta of the soldiers (*Hurenweibel*).<sup>19</sup>

The military unit of the regiment was constituted by the flag/battalion (*Fahne*). It was led by the *Hauptmann*, who was helped by his own staff called *prima plana* (*Der Hauptleut erstes Platts*). Its constitution and monthly payment was fixed in the *Bestallung* as well. Similarly to the staff of the *Obrist* it was composed of military officers responsible for the organisation of the daily routine. The battalion was directed by the *Hauptmann*, who was the entrepreneur in case of the first battalion, and in case of the second battalion, as mentioned, his deputy.<sup>20</sup> The *Hauptmann* had to support his own servant (*Junge*) from his payment.

The staff of the *Hauptmann* included the ensign (*Fändrich*), who was hired personally by the *Obrist*.<sup>21</sup> The *Fändrich* had to keep his own servant from his salary as well. Military tasks were assigned to the deputy of the *Hauptmann*, the *Leutnant*,<sup>22</sup> and another officer, the *Feldweibel*, who was liable for the collection of the soldiers and for their deployment and for helping the *Profos*, the chief military police officer at the sessions of the court martial.<sup>23</sup> Two officers (*Weibel*) chosen by the soldi-

<sup>14</sup> The military judge chose a juror from each battalion/flag Möller, *Das Regiment*, 197–202; Pálffy, *Katonai igazságszolgáltatás*, 38.

<sup>15</sup> Dilich, *Kriegsschule*, 41; Meynert, *Geschichte*, 125–126; Rüstow, *Geschichte der Infanterie*, 204; Újhelyi, *Az állandó hadsereg*, 45–46; Blau, *Die Deutsche Landsknechte*, 41; Baumann, *Landsknechte*, 94; Waidmayr, *Das Söldnerwesen*, 37–38.

<sup>16</sup> Dilich, *Kriegsschule*, 41; Meynert, *Geschichte*, 126; Rüstow, *Geschichte der Infanterie*, 204; Újhelyi, *Az állandó hadsereg*, 46; Blau, *Die Deutsche Landsknechte*, 41; Baumann, *Landsknechte*, 94; Waidmayr, *Das Söldnerwesen*, 37.

<sup>17</sup> Dilich, *Kriegsschule*, 41; Blau, *Die Deutsche Landsknechte*, 41; Baumann, *Landsknechte*, 94; Waidmayr, *Das Söldnerwesen*, 37.

<sup>18</sup> Újhelyi, *Az állandó hadsereg*, 47–48.

<sup>19</sup> Baumann, *Landsknechte*, 94, 150–162; Waidmayr, *Das Söldnerwesen*, 38; according to László Nagy, the *Hurenweibel* was responsible for the supervision of the whores travelling with camp, see L. Nagy, "Megint fölzánt magyar világ van..." *Társadalom és hadsereg a XVII. század első felének Habsburg-ellenes küzdelmeiben*. ["Now there is again a revolting Hungarian world..." *Society and Army in the Struggles against the Habsburg-dynasty in the second half of the 17th century*]. Budapest 1985, 145.

<sup>20</sup> Redlich, *Die Markatender*, 55.

<sup>21</sup> On the duties of the *Hauptmann* and the *Fändrich* (ensign): Dilich, *Kriegsschule*, 44–46; Rüstow, *Geschichte der Infanterie*, 205; Redlich, *Die Markatender*, 41; Blau, *Die Deutsche Geschichte*, 45; Baumann, *Landsknechte*, 95–98; Waidmayr, *Das Söldnerwesen*, 38–39.

<sup>22</sup> On the duties of the *Leutnant*: Dilich, *Kriegsschule*, 45–46; Rüstow, *Geschichte der Infanterie*, 205.

<sup>23</sup> Blau, *Die deutsche Landsknechte* 46–48; Fiedler, *Kriegswesen*, 80; Kelenik, *A kézi löfegyverek*, 9; Baumann, *Landsknechte*, 95–98; Pálffy, *Katonai igazságszolgáltatás*, 39–41; Waidmayr, *Das Söldnerwesen*, 39, 86–87.

ers had to report the complaints of the soldiers to the commander of the battalion, had to organize the order of the march and to help the *Feldweibel* in picketing, and they were responsible for the distribution of gunpowder, lead and food as well.<sup>24</sup>

The minor officers of the flag/battalion were the field-scribe (*Feldschreiber*), the leech, the *Furier* or "leader" or "guide" (*Führer*), who allotted the living quarters to the soldier, the chaplain, two drummers, two pipers, two guards, an interpreter, a cook, a stableman (*Reitknecht*), and the *Hurenweibel* responsible for the victuals and the impedimenta.<sup>25</sup> The members of the staff were taken into account together with the so-called mercenaries with double pay.<sup>26</sup> It was even recorded in the *Bestallung* register, whether the yearly cost of the regiment would be covered by a province or it would be paid from the imperial subsidy voted and collected for the struggle against the Ottomans. The document was authenticated by the signature of the emperor and by the privy seal.<sup>27</sup>

The entrepreneurs commissioned with the recruitment of Walloon and French infantry regiments were given similar *Bestallung* registers by the court war council. Compared with the files for hiring German foot regiments there are three differences in these documents. On one hand, e.g. in the document (*Bestallung* register) filled out for Jean T'Sercleas de Tilly there were two *Weibels* and six corporals (*Corporal*)<sup>28</sup> in the staff, while there were much less officers in the *prima plana* for organizing the everyday life of the unit and its supply: only a chaplain, a leech and two drummers and two pipers. On the other hand, the orderly payment and the surplus of the *Obrist* and his immediate staff were given in one amount enumerating the members of the staff (scribe, cook, guard, piper, stableman, chaplain) without mentioning their monthly payment. And lastly the members of the *prima plana* were not counted into the total number of the battalion.<sup>29</sup>

The duet of *Bestallungsbrief* and *Bestallung* register meant the real *Bestallung*, not only in the imperial-royal army, but in case of German units recruited by the Spanish.<sup>30</sup>

The third type of documents was constituted by the recruiting letters patent (*Werbepatent*), by which the *Hauptmann* of the commissioned officer or the entrepreneur could start enlisting the given unit or regiment on the territory designated for that purpose. The document contained the name of the recruiting person, the number of flags/battalions to be enlisted, and the magnitude of the unit. It mentioned the cause of the war, and the fact, that the mercenaries would be deployed

<sup>24</sup> A rank of beadle, maybe the closest nowadays to the rank of sergeant, but in the 16th century it was a more important rank than the sergeant nowadays. Rüstow, *Geschichte der Infanterie*, 205; Blau, *Die Deutsche Landsknechte*, 48–49; Kelenik, *A kézi löfegyverek*, 9.

<sup>25</sup> On the other members of the *prima plana* see, Dilich, *Kriegsschule*, 47–52; Meynert, *Geschichte*, 126; Rüstow, *Geschichte der Infanterie*, 205; Blau, *Die Deutsche Landsknechte*, 49–52; Waidmayr, *Das Söldnerwesen*, 39–40.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. ÖStA KA AFA 1598/4/ad 2.

<sup>27</sup> ÖStA KA Best. 464/1593; ÖStA KA Best. 469/1594; ÖStA KA Best. 524/1597; ÖStA KA Best. 537/1597; Z. Bagi, "Az 1595-ben Esztergom ostromára rendelt császári hadsereg szervezete és felépítése." [The Organisation and Build-up of the Imperial Army at the Siege of Esztergom] *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 113:2-3 (2001): 399–401, 421–422; Edelmayer, *Söldner*, 227–228; Waidmayr, *Das Söldnerwesen*, 29–32.

<sup>28</sup> Kelenik, *A kézi löfegyverek*, 9.

<sup>29</sup> ÖStA KA Best. 521/1597; ÖStA KA AFA 1602/5/1ad

<sup>30</sup> Edelmayer, *Söldner*, 227–228.



by the ruler against the Ottoman Empire. The employer asked the leaders of the particular imperial province, city or town to support the activity of the enlisting persons not only in recruitment, but in muster and during the march to the front in return for appropriate payment. The imperial diet at Worms in 1495 made it compulsory for the ruler as well, to ask for license from the authorities of the region assigned for enlistment. If the recruiting *Hauptmann* could not produce such a document, he was arrested and expelled.<sup>31</sup>

The fourth type of files was the so-called *Artikelbrief*. This document was born at the end of the fifteenth century as part of the military reforms of Emperor Maximilian I (1486–1519) for securing the deployment and discipline of the infantry called *Landsknechts*. Originally it was a bilateral contract, which contained not only the regulations pertaining to the mercenaries, but the duties of the enlisting officer as well. During the sixteenth century it became an one-sided collection of military criminal code, from which the rights of the soldiers were removed.<sup>32</sup>

During the Fifteen Years' War the *Artikelbrief* written by Lazarus von Schwendi and accepted by the imperial diet of Speyer in 1570 was used for swearing in the recruited soldiers after their muster.<sup>33</sup> This document consisting of 74 articles was mainly for maintaining discipline and orderlines in the military camp. It prohibited the mercenaries from drinking, gambling, rioting, harassing the population, missing the mass, brawling, using their arms without permission, abandoning the watchpost, missing the alarms, keeping contact with the enemy, stealing, wasting the mills and bread-baking places. The *Artikelbrief* disposed of the booty and the captives, the obligatory acceptance of assigned living quarters, and commanded, that only informal soldiers were allowed to travel with the impedimenta. None, but the wives of the recruited soldiers were allowed to stay in the camp among the gentle sex, any other lewd woman had to leave. If the mercenaries breached the rules included in the document, they got death penalty in most cases.

The *Artikelbrief* contained other regulations as well. Similarly to the *Bestallungsbrief* it fixed the payment of the soldiers in its tenth article: they got 4 florins per month, or 15 pennies (*fillérs*) or 60 farthings (*krajcárs*). The hiring entrepreneur required and demanded in exchange from the mercenaries with double pay or from those serving with firearms to dispose of complete armor and mail of good condition,<sup>34</sup> and to be skilled in warfare. The document emphasized in case of musketeers and firemen, that if their weapons proved to be inefficient on guard or

<sup>31</sup> *Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv* (henceforth: HHStA) *Mainzer Erzkantzlerarchiv* (henceforth: MEA) Mandata Fasc: 4. a document without a folio number; Meynert, *Geschichte*, 51; Redlich, *Die Markatender*, 38; Blau, *Die Deutsche Landsknechte*, 24; Waidmayr, *Das Söldnerwesen*, 42–43.

<sup>32</sup> Waidmayr, *Das Söldnerwesen*, 76.

<sup>33</sup> On the development of *Artikelbrief*: Möller, *Das Regiment*, 31–51; Pálffy, „*Katonai igazságszolgáltatás*”, 28–29.

<sup>34</sup> One of the articles of *Artikelbrief* made by Lazarus Schwendi detailed the armament equipment of the soldiers of a battalion (400 men). According to this article hundred heavy armoured footmen had to have a long pike and a pistol. Fifty soldiers had to fight with sword, battle-axe and a pistol. Among the so-called mercenaries with double pay fifty soldiers had to fight with pikes. The riflemen had to wear helmet and a long dagger. Cf. W. Janko, *Lazarus von Schwendi oberster Feldhauptmann und Rath Kaiser Maximilian, s II*. Wien 1871, 211; Kelenik, *A kézi löfegyverek*, 84.

in battle, they had to be punished by death penalty. They were required to wear a coat or an overcoat in order to be able to protect themselves and their firearms against cold weather and rain. The commissioned was obliged according to the articles 3, 47, 48, 49 and 50 of the *Artikelbrief* not to do any harm by abuse either on musters or on the front.<sup>35</sup>

The fifth type of documents was constituted by those capitulations or contracts fixing the mode of organization of German and Walloon-French infantry troops. In the first years of the Fifteen Years' War these documents contained the number of flags/battalions of the regiment, and the rate of musketeers, firemen and mercenaries with double pay. Besides, the supply and the replacement of the arms of the recruited soldiers were fixed, and the extent of advance money and the place and probable commencement of the muster were stipulated as well.<sup>36</sup>

### *The recruitment and organization of the cavalry*

While in case of the infantry the entrepreneur was given at least five types of documents, the four different troops of cavalry made the differences more acute and articulated. In case of hiring cavalry units two documents were used by the court war council. The *Reiterbestallung* – which was consisting of 111 articles and made by Lazarus von Schwendi and voted by the imperial diet of Speyer in 1570 – was adopted in case of the German or black horsemen, the court flag/battalion (*Hof-fahne*),<sup>37</sup> and some mounted firing units.<sup>38</sup> This document mixed some articles of *Bestallungsbrieft* and *Bestallung-registers* and *Artikelbrieft* used for securing the order of the camp and revisioned according to the greater social prestige of horsemen.<sup>39</sup>

The entrepreneurs commissioned with hiring and commanding mounted firemen, curassiers, dragoons and bodyguard troops<sup>40</sup> got the abbreviated version of the aforementioned document. Its name was "short *Bestallung*," or was called

<sup>35</sup> ÖStA KA Best. 464/1593.; for the decrees of the imperial diet of Speyer in 1570, see HHStA MEA Reichstagakten (henceforth: RA) Fasc. 57. Fol. 88v.-100v; in the work of Fronsperger published in 1573 there was an *Artikelbrief* made in 1566 for the German infantry containing 59 articles, cf. L. Fronsperger, *Von Schanzen vnnd Befestigungen vmb die Feldtlager auffzuwerffen...* Frankfurt am Main 1573, XXIVr.-XXVIIv; J. C. Lünig, *Corpus juris militaris des Heil.Röm.Reichs...* Leipzig 1723, 70-75; Meynert, *Geschichte*, 54-60; Janko Lazarus Freiherr von Schwendi, 198-211; Fiedler, *Kriegswesen*, 67; Waidmayr, *Das Söldnerwesen*, 40-41, 76-86.

<sup>36</sup> ÖStA KA Best. 464/1593; ÖStA KA Best. 515/1596.; ÖStA KA Best. 464/1597.

<sup>37</sup> ÖStA KA AFA 1595/12/5; ÖStA KA Best. 550/1597. ÖStA KA Best. 607/1598; ÖStA KA Best. 642/1599.

<sup>38</sup> ÖStA KA Best. 678/1601; ÖStA KA Best. 681/1601; ÖStA KA Best. 712/1602.

<sup>39</sup> For the decrees of the imperial diet of Speyer in 1570 cf. HHStA MEA RA Fasc. 57. Fol. 61v.-82v; Lünig, *Corpus Iuris*, 58-68; Meynert, *Geschichte*, 86-98; Janko, *Lazarus Freiherr von Schwendi*, 172-193; L. Koller, *Studien zur Reichskriegsverfassung des Heiligen Römischen Reiches in der Neuzeit*. Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades an der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Wien. Wien 1990, 367-368; Pálffy, *Katonai igazságszolgáltatás*, 30-31.

<sup>40</sup> ÖStA KA Best. 602/1598; ÖStA KA Best. 638/1599; ÖStA KA Best. 783/1604; ÖStA KA Best. 720/1602; ÖStA KA Best. 740/1603; ÖStA KA Best. 770/1604.

by contemporaries *Bestallungsbrief*.<sup>41</sup> In contrast with the detailed rules of maintaining discipline and order by the *Reiterbestallung*, the documents for other mounted units contained only a very brief reference, namely that the order should be kept by the commissioned person and his subordinates according to the letter of articles for the mounted (*Reiter Artikelsbrief*).<sup>42</sup> There is an exception, a document dated June 17, 1595, which entrusted Adolf von Schwarzenberg with the recruitment of 20 companies of Walloon curassiers and mounted firemen. It can be considered in its structure and articles a bit modified and actualized version of the *Reiterbestallung* compiled by Schwendi.<sup>43</sup>

Both types of document defined the organization of the unit, the weaponry of the soldiers, the duration of their service (3 months), the number and payment of the officers and the horsemen, their advance money, and their daily allowance (*Nachtgeld*) while waiting during their muster, the order of the muster, and the mode of their demobilization (*Abdankung*) and final payment. The entrepreneurs were warned – similarly to the *Bestallungsbrief* used at the infantry – that they were obliged with their subordinates to obey the orders of their superiors (ruler, commander-in-chief or *General Feld-Oberst* and field marshal/*General Obrist-Feldmarschall*) and if needed to serve on faithfully after three months as well.

The documents included arrangements for avoiding financial abuses, because even the number of the retinue (*lange Reihe*) marching to war with their noble lords serving in different cavalry units was fixed. In muster registers both the name of the noble, and the names of the members of his retinue were recorded. It was important, because the noble took over the payments of his soldiers, which made the abuses possible.<sup>44</sup>

The payment of the *Obrist* and the composition and payment of his staff was not mentioned in the *Reiterbestallung* of 1570. The standard document compiled by the court war council was to substitute it, but this compound type of document was not used,<sup>45</sup> just in the Frank district. In the *Reiterbestallung* of 1594 for a

<sup>41</sup> The *Bestallungsbrief* used for the cavalry was the same in its structure and elements like the similar document used for the recruitment of footmen, cf. ÖStA KA Best. 464/1593; ÖStA KA Best. 477/1594; Bagi, Az 1595-ben Esztergom ostromára rendelt, 398-399; Z. Bagi, *A Német-Római Birodalom és a Magyar Királyság kapcsolatai a 16-17. század fordulóján. Különös tekintettel a birodalmi gyűlésekre és a császári-királyi had szervezetére a tizenöt éves háború időszakában*. [The Relations of the German-Roman Empire and the Hungarian Kingdom at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries with special emphasis on the imperial diets and on the organisation of the imperial-royal army]. PhD-dissertation, Budapest 2005, 111-112.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. ÖStA KA Best. 516/1596; ÖStA KA Best. 531/1597; ÖStA KA Best. 557/1597; ÖStA KA Best. 589/1598; ÖStA KA Best. 587/1598; ÖStA KA Best. 611/1598; ÖStA KA Best. 711/1602; ÖStA KA Best. 727/1602; ÖStA KA Best. 731/1602.

<sup>43</sup> ÖStA Hoffinanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Hofkammerarchiv (henceforth: HKA) *Gedenkbücher, Ungarische Reihe* (henceforth: GBU) 1595-1596, No. 407. 139v-156v.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. ÖStA KA Best. 457/1593; ÖStA KA Best. 458/1593; ÖStA KA Best. 516/1596; ÖStA KA Best. 531/1597; ÖStA KA Best. 557/1597; ÖStA KA Best. 580/1598; ÖStA KA Best. 581/1598; ÖStA KA Best. 589/1598; ÖStA KA Best. 587/1598; ÖStA KA Best. 611/1598; ÖStA KA Best. 626/1599; ÖStA KA Best. 653/1600; ÖStA KA Best. 711/1602; ÖStA KA Best. 727/1602; ÖStA KA Best. 731/1602; Lünig, *Corpus Iuris*, 58-60; Janko, *Lazarus Freiherr von Schwendi*, 172-176.

<sup>45</sup> ÖStA KA Best. 457/1593.



mounted unit of 1000 the composition of the staff can be found, but the payment of was missing.<sup>46</sup> The possible cause of the lack of the latter was that at the time of the filling out of the document there was going on a debate about the commander of the unit between the estates of the Frank district and the *Obrist* of the district.<sup>47</sup> One year later in the *Bestallung* of Hohenlohe commissioned for the recruitment of a mounted unit of the Frank district, there was the assessment of payment for this function as well.<sup>48</sup>

Since the monthly allowances of the *Obrists* and their staff of the German horsemen and mounted riflemen were not indicated in the *Reiterbestallung*,<sup>49</sup> therefore these were fixed – similarly to the infantry – in a special *Bestallung*-register, made for this occasion. So the commander was allowed to hire four bodyguards/*Trabants* for his own service. In his absence his deputy or lieutenant had to attend his duties, who was served by two guards/*Trabants*. The *Obrist*/commander had to hire the *Quartiermeister*, who was appointing the lodgings, and the *Wachtmeister*, who was responsible for the order and defense of the camp, and the *Profiantmeister*, who cared for the victuals.<sup>50</sup> Besides them his staff was consisted of a military prosecutor or *Profos*, a camp pastor, the so-called *Wagenburgmeister*, whose function was to appoint and build a wagon-fort for the defense of the camp, a surgeon (*Wundarzt*), a scribe and a “master of alarm” (*Rumormeister*). One may add to the members of the staff three jailors, a prison warder, a cook, two drummers (*Hörpauker*), an interpreter, three guards/*Trabants* and an armour-maker (*Plattner*). Finally, the document – similarly to the *Bestallung* registers for commissioners recruiting infantry regiments – gave account of what sources would be used for maintaining these troops.<sup>51</sup>

In contrast with this, the payment of the *Obrists* recruiting and commanding cuirassier and mounted units as well as the payment and composition of their staff

<sup>46</sup> ÖStA KA Best. 487/1594 Fol. 822r-823r.

<sup>47</sup> The army of the Frankish district should have been led by the *Obrist* of this district. However, Georg Friedrich did not want to lead his 1000 horsemen personally, but referring to the decision of the imperial diet of Augsburg in 1555 recommended two persons instead of himself. The district estates did not agree with his opinion, because their appointee was Archduke Maximilian. On this debate between the *Obrist* of the Frankish district and the district estates, see the decree of the Frankish district assembly, April 12, 1594, HHStA MEA *Fränkische Kreisakten* (henceforth: FK) Fasc. 4. Fol. 98r.-103v; for the decree of the Frankish district assembly, May 23, 1594, HHStA MEA FK Fasc. 4. Fol. 107r.-111.; the letter of Georg Friedrich, margrave of Brandenburg to the Frank district assembly, 1594, see HHStA MEA FK Fasc. 4. Fol. 112r.-115v. on the tether of the district *Obrist*: Lünig, *Corpus Ivris*, 47–54.

<sup>48</sup> HHStA MEA FK Fasc. 5. Fol. 254v.

<sup>49</sup> Only the register of the *Bestallung* survived: ÖStA KA Best. 501/1596; ÖStA KA Best. 629/1599; ÖStA KA Best. 742/1603; ÖStA KA Best. 744/1603. A register of *Bestallung* with another document: ÖStA KA Best. 678/1601; ÖStA KA Best. 681/1601; ÖStA KA Best. 697/1601; ÖStA KA Best. 711/1602; ÖStA KA Best. 712/1602.

<sup>50</sup> On their tasks see Dilich, *Kriegsschule*, 36.

<sup>51</sup> ÖStA KA Best. 587/1598; On the *Obrist* of the cavalry unit see: Meynert, *Geschichte*, 123; Heischmann, *Die Anfänge des Stehenden Heeres in Österreich*. Wien 1925, 245; Bagi, *Az 1595-ben Esztergom ostromára rendelt*, 428–429.

were indicated not in a special *Bestallung-register*, but in a *Bestallungsbrief*.<sup>52</sup> However, it was not always the case. Neither the rank of commissioned, or his payment or the composition and payment of his staff can be found in the document written for Simon von Lippe in 1598.<sup>53</sup> These were probably fixed by the two contracting parties in a separate register.

In case of the cavalry the office of judge (*Schultheis*) was missing from the staff of the *Obrists*. The martial law of the cavalry was regularized in 18 articles by the *Reiterrecht* of 1570, published as the appendix to the *Reiterbestallung*. The commander-in-chief of the cavalry, the field marshal or *General Obrist-Feldmarschall* appointed a nobleman as his substitute for the control of the judiciary process.<sup>54</sup>

The structure of the two *Bestallungs* for the enlistment of the cavalry, apart from little differences, was parallel with each other. However, in their contents there were major differences considering the organisation of the units not only according to the types of troops, but inside these troops as well.

Examining their structure of organization, the most uniform structure can be demonstrated for the recruitment of the German horsemen in the *Reiterbestallung* adopted by the imperial diet of Speyer in 1570. According to it, the units consisted of generally 1.000 horsemen<sup>55</sup> were organized in flags/battalions (*Fahne*) as in case of the infantry. This document did not mention the members of the staff of the *Obrist*, just enumerated the officers of the subunit and their monthly payment. The staff of this battalion included the commanding officer (*Rittmeister*), his substitute, the ensign (*Fähndrich*), and a chaplain or preacher, two trumpeters, a scribe, a *Quartiermeister*, an armour-maker, a shoeing-smith, two guards/*Trabants* and a saddler. For the sake of effective commandment a *Rottmeister* was appointed leading fifty horsemen.<sup>56</sup>

The payment of the *Rotmeisters* was established quite irregularly, because it was related to the numbers of their subordinate soldiers. A *Rittmeister* received one Rhenish florins after each horseman mustered in his flag/battalion.<sup>57</sup> The amount of payment might be different according to units or even inside units, depending on the number of the participants in the muster. In case of 4 flags/battalions the *Rittmeisters* got their payment after 250 horsemen.<sup>58</sup> If there were just 3 subunits, each of them might have had 333 soldiers,<sup>59</sup> or the *Obrist* might com-

<sup>52</sup> Cf. ÖStA KA Best. 516/1596; ÖStA KA Best. 557/1597; ÖStA KA Best. 611/1598; ÖStA KA Best. 655/1600; ÖStA KA Best. 684/1601; ÖStA KA Best. 721/1602; ÖStA KA Best. 731/1602.

<sup>53</sup> ÖStA KA Best. 587/1598.

<sup>54</sup> Lünig, *Corpus Iuris*, 69–70; Janko, *Lazarus Freiherr von Schwendi*, 196–198; Pálffy, *Katonai igazságszolgáltatás*, 41–42; for the decree of Speyer, 1570, see HHStA MEA RA Fasc. 57. Fol. 85v.–88v.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. ÖStA KA Best. 457/1593; ÖStA KA Best. 458/1593; ÖStA KA Best. 460/1593; ÖStA KA Best. 502/1596; ÖStA KA Best. 580/1598; ÖStA KA Best. 581/1598; ÖStA KA Best. 626/1599; ÖStA KA Best. 653/1600.

<sup>56</sup> On the officers of the German horsemen see Meynert, *Geschichte*, 123–124; Dilich, *Kriegsschule*, 38–39.

<sup>57</sup> Lünig, *Corpus Iuris*, 59; Janko, *Lazarus Freiherr von Schwendi*, 175.

<sup>58</sup> ÖStA KA Best. 457/1593.

<sup>59</sup> HHStA MEA FK Fasc.: 4, 116r–117r.

mand over 400, and each of his two *Rittmeisters* might lead over 300 soldiers.<sup>60</sup> The payment of the *Rottmeister* can be deduced from the number of the subordinate horsemen, since they got half florin after each of the mustered soldiers, so altogether they were paid 25 florins (after 50 horsemen).<sup>61</sup>

It can be stated in case of the German mounted riflemen even in the first half of the Fifteen Years' War, that the forms of organization, the *Bestallungsbriefts* made for the entrepreneurs commissioned with the recruitment and commandment, and the denominations of these officers show a great variety. For the recruitment of smaller and bigger (consisting of hundreds, even a thousand horsemen) units were given commissions by the court war council. The mounted riflemen were organized, similarly to the German horsemen, into flags/battalions (*Fahne*). Once before 1598 a new subunit can be detected in the documents: the denomination of squadron or *korneta* (*squadrigelie oder cornette*) as the organization form of 700 German mounted riflemen had appeared in the *Bestallung* for Seifreid von Kollonich (December 20, 1596).<sup>62</sup> It is difficult to decide, whether it is an early appearance of the Walloon-French appellation, or the writer of the document used these designations inconsequently. For me the latter interpretation seems more likely, since Kollonich got commissions for organizing similar units in the next two years, but in each cases these troops were called again in the *Bestallungsbrief* as flags/battalions.<sup>63</sup>

*Hauptmanns* were commissioned with the recruitment and organization of the flags/battalions, like in case of the infantry.<sup>64</sup> Besides them in one case the rank of *Rittmeister* was mentioned, who had greater prestige and pay. The *Bestallungs* for Kollonich in 1596, 1597 and 1598 mentioned the leaders of the subunits with this rank.<sup>65</sup>

The number of the flags/battalions were much greater, than in case of the German riders, which makes the usage of ranks and organizational units more complicated. There were units consisting of 100, 120, 125 or 200 horsemen,<sup>66</sup> or even 400 riders. In the latter case, this larger mounted unit belonged to the personal command of the *Obrist*.<sup>67</sup>

There were Walloon, Netherlandish and Italian mounted riflemen besides the German units in the imperial-royal army. In contrast with the unique relations of the German cavalry as far ranks and organizational units were concerned, the recruited riders were organized into companies, consisting of 100 soldiers, and were led by captains (*Capitan*).<sup>68</sup> During the Long War altogether there were sixteen commissions given by the court war council for organizing these compani-

<sup>60</sup> ÖStA KA Best. 626/1599.

<sup>61</sup> Lünig, *Corpus Iuris*, 60; Janko, *Lazarus Freiherr von Schwendi*, 176.

<sup>62</sup> ÖStA KA Best. 516/1596.

<sup>63</sup> ÖStA KA Best. 557/159.; ÖStA KA Best. 611/1598.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. ÖStA KA Best. 451/1593; ÖStA KA Best. 455/1593; ÖStA KA Best. 465/1593; ÖStA KA Best. 498/1595.

<sup>65</sup> ÖStA KA Best. 516/1596; ÖStA KA Best. 557/1597; ÖStA KA Best. 611/1598.

<sup>66</sup> ÖStA KA Best. 451/1593; ÖStA KA Best. 455/1593; ÖStA KA Best. 465/1593; ÖStA KA Best. 498/1595.

<sup>67</sup> ÖStA KA Best. 516/1596; ÖStA KA Best. 557/1597; ÖStA KA Best. 611/1598.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. ÖStA KA Best. 531/1597; ÖStA KA Best. 533a/1597; ÖStA KA Best. 561/1598; ÖStA KA Best. 745/1603.

es, and in ten cases the commissioner got license for enlisting of one company. Six entrepreneurs were charged with the recruitment of a larger unit. Three persons, namely Alphonso Montecuccoli, Germanico Strassoldo and Carlo Formentin were entrusted (in May 8, 1597) as Captains with the organization of two companies of mounted riflemen, each of them consisting of 200 horsemen.<sup>69</sup> In March 1597 Emperor Rudolph decided to hire 1000 Walloon horsemen, but he commissioned not one *Obrist*, but would give commissions for recruiting companies.<sup>70</sup> The four Walloon dragoon companies (each of them consisting of 100 riders) enlisted in 1602 were organized by the court war council on the model of Netherlandish, Italian and Walloon model.<sup>71</sup>

Following the orders of the court war council, the recruited curassiers were organized generally into companies of 100 riders,<sup>72</sup> which were commanded by captains.<sup>73</sup> In one case we know of an exception. Philipp Otto Graf zu Salm, the Wild- und Rheingraf was entrusted in August 10, 1603 with the organization of an unit consisting of 800 curassiers and 600 mounted riflemen. He had to recruit the curassiers of Braunschweig coming from the Lower Saxon district and had to unite them with his troops of 6 companies, which he took over after the death of duke Merceoeur and complemented it. The Obrist had to appoint *Rittmeisters* as the leaders of the "new" companies. He appointed Otto Plato von Helversen as the commander of 200 curassiers, and Johann von Boberßaw as the commander of 100 riders.<sup>74</sup> The rank of *Rittmeister* was used in this document, and not the captain, because formerly the officers of Braunschweig had been hired by the imperial district with these conditions.<sup>75</sup>

## Summary

It can be maintained, that on one hand in case of the infantry there was a uniform recruitment model, at least in principles, since everybody was given the same documents and the same standards were in each documents. On the other hand, these documents complemented and overlapped each other, signifying that they can be rather considered as efforts for helping to solve emergencies and not as the signs of a uniform concept.

In case of the cavalry there was not a uniform recruitment concept even on the face of it. The *Obrists* of the German horsemen got other documents, than the commissioners entrusted with the enlistment and commandment of the mounted fire-

<sup>69</sup> ÖStA KA Best. 530/1597; ÖStA KA Best. 533/1597.

<sup>70</sup> E. Heischmann, *Die Anfänge*, 252.

<sup>71</sup> ÖStA KA Best. 727/1602.

<sup>72</sup> An exception was the *Bestallung* for Lubin Carra, who commanded over 150 cuirassiers, ÖStA KA Best. 767/1604.

<sup>73</sup> On the number of the companies of cuirassiers, ÖStA KA Best. 589/1598.; ÖStA KA Best. 587/1598; ÖStA KA Best. 655/1600; ÖStA KA Best. 684/1601; ÖStA KA Best. 731/1602. An exception is the *Bestallung* for Lubin Carre, the lord of Chamgaillard, who was to hire 150 cuirassiers, cf. ÖStA KA Best. 767/1604.

<sup>74</sup> ÖStA KA Best. 748/1603.

<sup>75</sup> It seems, that the common German-French and Lotharingian horse unit was not realized, Heischmann, *Die Anfänge*, 255-256.

men, curassiers and dragoons. Inside the equestrian troops the organization of the German, Walloon, French and Italian riders were quite different. Although there were efforts for the unification of this diverse military system, they all failed one after another. The fitting of the organization of the infantry and the cavalry into one system took place very slowly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Bagi, *A császári-királyi mezei hadsereg*, 235–284, 357–370.