Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions

Battlefield Emotions 1500–1800

Practices, Experience, Imagination

Edited by
ERIKA KUIJPERS
CORNELIS VAN DER HAVEN

Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions

Series Editors

David Lemmings
School of History and Politics
University of Adelaide
Adelaide, Australia

William Reddy
226 Carr Bldg
Department of History
Durham, North Carolina, USA

Aims of the Series

Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions includes work that redefines past definitions of emotions; re-conceptualizes theories of emotional 'development' through history; undertakes research into the genesis and effects of mass emotions; and employs a variety of humanities disciplines and methodologies. In this way it produces a new interdisciplinary history of the emotions in Europe between 1100 and 2000.

More information about this series at
http://www.springer.com/series/14584

Erika Kuijpers • Cornelis van der Haven
Editors

Battlefield Emotions 1500–1800

Practices, Experience, Imagination

palgrave
macmillan

Editors
Erika Kuijpers
Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Cornelis van der Haven
Ghent University
Ghent, Belgium

This publication has been made possible with the generous support of the Research Foundation-Flanders.

Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions
ISBN 978-1-137-56489-4 ISBN 978-1-137-56490-0 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-56490-0

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016962029

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016
The author(s) has/have asserted their right(s) to be identified as the author(s) of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.
This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.
The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.
The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made.

Cover illustration: Gerard ter Borch, Man on horseback, oil on panel, 54.9 × 41 cm, 1634. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Juliana Cheney Edwards Collection.

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Macmillan Publishers Ltd. London
The registered company address is: The Campus, 4 Crinan Street, London, N1 9XW, United Kingdom

Preface

This book is the product of two international workshops on early modern battlefield emotions in Amsterdam (2013) and Ghent (2014). We enjoyed the lively and convivial round table discussions with a relatively small but interdisciplinary group of scholars all dedicated to the study of military art and literature, military theory or the social history of soldiers and war. Just a few of them had begun thinking systematically about the role of emotions in military history. Others, historians of emotions or arts and literary studies, knew less about the historical realities of the battlefield. The workshops turned out to be very fruitful. This book samples many approaches to battlefield emotions and their mediation in the early modern period. In their contributions the authors explored theory and concepts developed in the blossoming field of emotion studies. We intended this volume to reflect the spirits of the workshops by inserting critical comments by two of our discussants (Johan Verberckmoes and Mary Favret) and by concluding with the synthesizing reflections of Dorothee Sturkenboom.

We should like to thank all the participants who were present during the workshops and who have directly or indirectly contributed to this volume. We also would like to mention the hosts of both workshops, the Amsterdam Centre for Cross-Disciplinary Emotion and Sensory Studies (ACCESS) at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam and the Group for Early Modern Studies (GEMS) at Ghent University. We would like to thank the

Research Foundation - Flanders (FWO-Vlaanderen), Leiden University (History Department), Ghent University (Faculty of Arts, Literary Department) as well as the Arbeitskreis Militär und Gesellschaft (AMG) for their financial support for both workshops and the current volume. Finally we should like to thank Sarah Adams for her assistance in preparing the manuscript and compiling the index.

Contents

Introduction 1

1 **Battlefield Emotions 1500–1800: Practices, Experience, Imagination** 3
Erika Kuijpers and Cornelis van der Haven

Part I The Military: Emotional Practices and Community 23

2 **Drill and Allocution as Emotional Practices in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Poetry, Plays and Military Treatises** 25
Cornelis van der Haven

3 **Magical Swords and Heavenly Weapons: Battlefield Fear(lessness) in the Seventeenth Century** 49
Andreas Bähr

4 **Emotions, Imagination and Surgery: Wounded Warriors in the Work of Ambroise Paré and Johan van Beverwijck** 71
Bettina Noak

5 Fear, Honour and Emotional Control on the Eighteenth-Century Battlefield 93
Ilya Berkovich

Reflections I 111

6 Early Modern Jokes on Fearing Soldiers 113
Johan Verberckmoes

Part II The Combatant: Emotional Experience and Writing 125

7 'His Courage Produced More Fear in His Enemies than Shame in His Soldiers': Siege Combat and Emotional Display in the French Wars of Religion 127
Brian Sandberg

8 Emotions in the Making: The Transformation of Battlefield Experiences during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) 149
Marian Füssel

9 Mediated Battlefields of the French Revolution and Emotives at Work 173
Ian Germani

Reflections II 195

10 Whose Battlefield Emotion? 197
Mary A. Favret

Part III The Public: Emotional Re-Creation 205

11 The Sidelong Glance: Tracing Battlefield Emotions in Dutch Art of the Golden Age 207
Lisa De Boer

12 Deflecting the Fire of Eighteenth-Century French Battle Painting 229
Valerie Mainz

13 Picturing Valenciennes: Philippe-Jacques de Loutherbourg and the Emotional Regulation of British Military Art in the 1790s 249
Philip Shaw

Conclusions and Perspectives 269

14 Battlefield Emotions in Early Modern Europe: Trends, Key Issues and Blind Spots 271
Dorothee Sturkenboom

Index 285

List of Figures

Fig. 2.1	Jacob de Gheyn, *Maniement d'armes d'arquebuses, mousquetz, et piques* […] (Amsterdam: Robert de Baudous, s.a.), plate 2.2, engraving. © Utrecht University Library	30
Fig. 2.2	Johan van Paffenrode, *Der Griken en Romeynen krygs-handel: ofte Beschrijvinge van de Griekse en Roomse land-militie, waer onder vele outheden dier volkeren vertoont worden, begrepen in ses boeken* (Gorinchem: Paulus Vinck, 1675), plate on page 297 (roman harangue), engraving. © Ghent University Library	37
Fig. 2.3	Pauwels van Hillegaert, Portrait of Prince Frederick Henry of Orange on horseback during a siege, oil on panel, 35.7 × 28.6 cm, around 1630. © Rijksmuseum Amsterdam	41
Fig. 3.1	Jacob Boydt, The sword of Gustavus Adolphus in Georg, in: Wallin, *Refutationis commenti de gladio* […] *magico* (Uppsala, 1728–1729), copperplate engraving between page 122 and 123. © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz	50
Fig. 3.2	Johanna Dorothea Sysang, The sword of Gustavus Adolphus, in: Adam Friedrich Glafey, *De gladio* (Leipzig, 1749), copperplate engraving between page 42 and 43. © Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle an der Saale	51
Fig. 4.1	Anon., 'Wounded Man', from: Johan van Beverwyck, *Wercken der genees-konste, bestaende in den schat der gesontheyt, schat der ongesontheyt, heel-konste* (Amsterdam: J.J. Schipper, 1672), engraving in Book III, page 127. © Ghent University Library	81

Fig. 6.1 Joris Hoefnagel, Soldier, from the unpublished series of emblems, *Traité de la Patience*, drawing, 1569. © Collections de la Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen 116
Fig. 8.1 Tobacco box with bust of Frederick II, battle scenes of Roßbach 1757 and Lissa (Leuthen) 1757, brass with copper sides, embossed, around 1757. © Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin 159
Fig. 8.2 Vivat ribbon with victories at Zorndorf and Louisbourg 1758, silk ribbon, around 1758. © Schloss Neu-Augustusburg, Weißenfels 160
Fig. 9.1 Thomas Charles Naudet, *La Charge du Pont d'Arcole*, ink drawing, around 1796. © Coll. Musée de la Révolution Française/Domaine de Vizille 179
Fig. 9.2 Anon., *Beau mouvement de cinq cent mille Républicains*, engraving, 9,5 × 15 cm, 1793, published by *Revolutions de Paris.* © Bibliothèque Nationale de France/BNF 181
Fig. 9.3 Anon., *Action héroïque du Citoyen Mandement* (Battle of Hondschoote), around 1793. Private Collection 185
Fig. 11.1 Gerard ter Borch, *Man on horseback*, oil on panel, 54.9 × 41 cm, 1634. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Juliana Cheney Edwards Collection 208
Fig. 11.2 Jacques de Gheyn II, *Siege of Geertruidenberg,* engraving and letterpress, 70 × 55 cm, 1593. © University Library of Amsterdam 215
Fig. 11.3 Anon., *Waerachtige Conterfeytinge der wytberoembden Stadt Gronninge* (Siege of Groningen), woodcut and letterpress, 1594. © Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam 216
Fig. 11.4 Gerard ter Borch, *Officer Writing a Letter, with a Trumpeter*, oil on canvas, 56.8 × 43.8 cm, c. 1658–1659. Philadelphia Museum of Art. © The William L. Elkins Collection 221
Fig. 12.1 Philippe-Jacques de Loutherbourg, *Une Bataille*, oil on canvas, 97 × 129 cm, 1767. © Collection Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Cholet, Dépôt du Musée du Louvre, Cliché Mathilde 236
Fig. 12.2 Jacques-Louis David, *Les Sabines*, oil on canvas, 385 × 522 cm, 1799. Paris, Louvre Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre)/ René-Gabriel Ojéda 241
Fig. 13.1 William Bromley (after Philip James de Loutherbourg), *The Grand Attack on Valenciennes by the Combined Armies Under the Command of His Royal Highness, the Duke of York on the 25th July, 1793,* 1801, hand-coloured engraving on paper,

60.5 × 83.3 cm, published by V&R, Green and Christian von Mechel. © The Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection 255

Fig. 13.2 James Gillray, *Fatigues of the Campaign in Flanders* 1793, hand-coloured etching on paper, 25.2 × 50.5 cm, published by Hannah Humphrey. British Museum, London. © Trustees of the British Museum 257

Fig. 13.3 James Gillray, *John Bull's Progress,* 1793, hand-coloured etching on paper, 30 × 38.5 cm, published by Hannah Humphrey. British Museum, London © Trustees of the British Museum 258

Introduction

CHAPTER 1

Battlefield Emotions 1500–1800: Practices, Experience, Imagination

Erika Kuijpers and Cornelis van der Haven

The battlefield is a world apart. A place that evokes emotions that civilians do not know and veterans try to grasp in their memoirs. There is suffering, agony, fear, exhaustion, but also the pleasure of being with one's comrades, being absorbed in group action, the power of life and death, the excitement of a game: to hit, to win, to be pushed to physical and emotional limits.[1] One of most enduring adages in military memoirs since the late sixteenth century is that it is impossible to imagine what the battlefield is like for those who have never been there. Not only traumatic experiences are difficult to share, many battlefield emotions are loaded with taboos and sometimes shame and guilt.

Compared to their predecessors, modern media pay much attention to individual and intimate feelings like fear and dejection suffered by the military subject. The psycho-medicalisation of Western society has turned

E. Kuijpers
Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

C. van der Haven
Ghent University, Ghent, Belgium

© The Author(s) 2016

E. Kuijpers, C. van der Haven (eds.), *Battlefield Emotions 1500–1800*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-56490-0_1

soldiers from heroes into victims of their uncontrollable emotions. As Mary Favret noted in her lecture at one of our workshops: nowadays more US Soldiers die from suicide than on the battlefields across the world.[2] Emotions can be lethal. It is difficult to live with the memory of violence, with fear or with guilt. It seems to be even more difficult to reconnect emotionally to a world that does not share these memories and does not understand or appreciate what has been lived through.

Is this a modern phenomenon? We think that battlefield emotions have been a source of inner and social conflict for many centuries. Also, in the eighteenth century soldiers would not write about the numbers they killed. To cite an eighteenth century soldier: 'I slewed about all over the place like a mad thing, and immune to the slightest fear, in *one* burst I shot off well nigh all 60 of my rounds till my musket was pretty well red-hot and I had to drag it behind me by its strap; I don't believe I hit a living soul though—it all went into the air.'[3]

The emotions of soldiers have always been conditioned by stringent emotional regimes. Military discipline does not allow for emotions that may undermine the troops' morale. Military action requires a mental state or combat motivation, comradeship and pride that overcomes fear and enables killing. While Western society today encourages soul-seeking and the exploration of individual vulnerabilities and intimate feelings in public, soldiers must repress such feelings and hang on to others, such as love for abstract entities and values, professional pride and comradeship. While civilian society developed a culture of sensibility and sentimentalism in the course of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, soldiers had to uphold an image of heroic masculinity, courage and chivalry as well as aggression and invincibility.[4]

The early modern changes in the relationship between civil and military emotional cultures, and the consequent frictions, resulted from a number of simultaneous developments. Military theory and practice as well as the social position of the soldier changed over time. Military reforms like the introduction of projectile arms in the late Middle Ages, and firearms in the fifteenth century, the organisation of the troops in smaller and more manoeuvrable pike and shot formations in the sixteenth century, new drill techniques in the seventeenth century, as well as mass conscription in the eighteenth century, have transformed military experiences over the centuries. Also, the scale of battles changed over time. The army of the French King in the mid-fifteenth century (by the end of the Hundred Years War) counted 20,000 armed men,

in 1695, the Nine Years' War, French troops mounted up to 340,000.[5] Siege warfare introduced the hardships of underfed and poorly clothed soldiers wintering in muddy camps as well as the new dangers involved with the undermining with explosives of walls and bulwarks.[6] Mass manoeuvres and the use of firearms reduced the key importance of individual performance in man-to-man fights while, on the other hand, these reforms demanded more professional training of soldiers, paying more attention to discipline, technical skills and mental constitution.[7]

Finally, social status and life conditions of the military changed dramatically over time. Until the mid-seventeenth century the troops of early modern armies were a scourge to the population. The lack of regular wage, poor logistics and foraging, combined with military legislation that allowed them booty in the occasion of sacks and victories, inspired a particularly negative framing of the soldier in the public media of the time.[8] The relative freedom and mobility of the sixteenth-century soldier, such as the German *Landsknecht*, who was free to join whatever commander who offered him the most attractive contract, came to an end when soldiers were incorporated in armies that transformed them in mere wage-earners and aimed to discipline their behaviour not only on the battlefield but beyond.[9] The semi-permanent settlement of garrisons in early modern urban societies again led to a reconfiguring of expected behaviour and discipline.[10]

Professionalisation and growing discipline, however, did not dispel the utterly chaotic and complex character of early modern battles. Rather, advancing military techniques turned battlefields in hell on earth. Huge battles during the succession wars, like the Battle of Blenheim (1704) and the Battle of Fontenoy (1745), were characterised by increasing numbers of dead, wounded and deserted soldiers.[11] This is also the time in which soldiers started to describe their own feelings during combat. Instead of describing the disgraceful fear of their enemies—as sixteenth-century authors would do—they started writing about their own fear, as well as about the difficulty to articulate the sensory and emotional perception of the battlefield.[12] In the course of what we now call the 'Military Enlightenment' of the late eighteenth century,[13] military strategists and reformers became aware that the management of the soldier's emotions could be decisive in battle. The military reformer Henry Lloyd was one of the first to acknowledge that the strength of an army depended on the combat motivation of each individual soldier, a readiness to fight which not only was bound to external circumstances (like payment) but also to

internal stimuli.[14] German pioneers like Georg Heinrich von Berenhorst and Carl von Clausewitz had an interest in philosophical issues and discovered the new scholarly field of '*Seelenkunde*' (psychology) that became part of their military theory in the last decades of the eighteenth century.[15] With *Vom Kriege* (1832), Clausewitz enabled a general reading audience to reflect on military experience and behaviour while discussing emotion management as a particular point of interest for military strategists. In the course of the nineteenth and twentieth century the mental health of the soldier became a concern of military scientists. Military psychiatry emerged as a new field, with special interest in a psychological approach to military trauma.[16]

The immense body of literature on military psychology as well as the popularity of veteran memoirs today contrasts sharply with our knowledge of battlefield experience and emotions before Napoleon. Military history has long been focussed on the technical and logistics, on the harder facts and figures of war, but the field of battlefield experience and emotions is in full development. This volume testifies to the recent explorations of historians in the social, cultural and psychological history of the military and the battlefield.[17] The blossoming history of emotions, so far, has largely concerned itself with war and violence from the perspective of the victim.[18] In this book we have tried to bring these scholarly fields together, aiming for an interdisciplinary exploration of battlefield emotions from the perspective of the military, individual soldiers and audiences.

The volume consists of three parts. In the first, the object of study is the military as an emotional community. Authors explore the emotional practices in the army, such as practices of drill, command and obedience, social control and the emotional management of pain and fear. The second part approaches emotional practices and experiences of the individual early modern soldier through the study of autobiographical writing. The third part discusses the mediated battlefield in art, literature, theatre, journals and material culture—the war imagined by others, the experience of war at a distance. The division is somewhat artificial because in historical reality collective practices, individual experiences and public imagination interacted and overlapped. As soon as the flourishing printing press and the emergence of genres like the military memoir or published correspondence of officers enabled the public to reflect on battlefield experiences, these reflections would take effect on how soldiers would interpret future experiences and the emotions related to them. Thus, the mediated battlefield provided for a

stock of examples, heroic anecdotes and emotive utterances about the battlefield that would help soldiers to frame their own emotional experiences.

Practices

What do we know about the emotional practices of pre-modern soldiers on the battlefield, in their barracks and camps among comrades, and back home with their families? And what do we know about the emotional requirements of early modern soldiers during a battle?

A key issue in the military throughout history is combat motivation. In order to be able to fight, soldiers must overcome fear and be emotionally rewarded for the risks they run. Military drill, and the army's system of punishment, compensation and remuneration represents an emotional economy in which fear, pride, honour, faith, loyalty and comradeship play a role in varying degrees over time. In this context, the control and expression of emotions was highly embodied. Physical exercises contributed to the desired mood or emotional state of the troops.

The concept of 'emotional habitus', introduced by ethno-historian Monique Scheer, seems very apt to describe the emotional socialisation of soldiers in the military. The idea of an emotional habitus connects Bourdieu's concept of social habitus to a school of cognitive psychology that, in essence like Bourdieu, conceives of human thought and ideas as achieved not only conceptually but also in the body's sensorimotor system and in the environment, 'encompassing people and manipulated objects to which we 'offload' information processing, knowledge, memory, and perception'.[19] In this view the socially and environmentally contextualised body thinks and feels along with the brain. Emotional experience, conceptualisation, expression and behaviour are shaped and practised from childhood and become automatic and unconscious to a large extent. Scheer also suggests that emotions can be learned by a more conscious practising. We know of several groups and cultures in the past in which such practices are identified and described, such as the medieval religious women who practised compassion for the suffering Christ through a regime of spiritual exercise and bodily fasting.[20] Or the nineteenth-century Methodist Churches that practiced feelings of sinfulness, remorse and despair collectively in their services.[21]

Scheer's understanding of 'emotional practices' that mobilise emotions entails the 'manipulation of body and mind'. Emotional practices evoke 'feelings where there are none [...], or change or remove emotions already

there'.[22] In other words: feeling certain emotions and repressing others can be learned by doing. The military is *par excellence* a community where emotions are practised in that sense.

Now, what kind of emotional practices should we think of in relation to the military? Recent studies about the early modern sensory experiences of the battlefield mention how singing, yelling and drumming were meant to arouse bravery and feelings of invincibility during combat, whereas moments of contemplation and communal praying were important in the wake of a battle.[23] As we will see in Chapter 4 by Bettina Noak, early modern surgeons defined some of the emotional practices that could help soldiers and their caretakers to cope with strong emotions of melancholy and to heal their mental suffering after battle.

Chapter 2 by van der Haven highlights two emotional practices in seventeenth-century military theory and literature: drill and allocution. Drill books written for the army of the Dutch Republic depict the ideal of total motoric control over troops, an ideal that was realised through physical and emotional exercises. Marching in pace and synchronised movements for instance may have supported social bonding and emotional control.[24] Also drill itself could be seen as an emotional practice, since it relayed on the principle of *tranquilitas* and a felt 'devotion' to war and to courage in particular. Some of these practices and their emotional effects are explicitly mentioned in military and religious handbooks of the time. Van der Haven studied these handbooks in combination with Dutch seventeenth-century war poems and plays, which reflected upon heroic military virtues like emotional encouragement, guidance, obedience and tranquillity.

Perhaps most central to military organisation was (and is) finding a solution to the problem of fear. Andreas Bähr's Chapter 3 analyses the many-faced character of fear in military discourse and adds the religious dimension of emotional experiences. The object of fear could either be God, the enemy, or the battlefield itself. Communal prayer before battle can be interpreted as an emotional practice that aimed to evoke feelings of confidence and courage. It helped to suppress the soldiers' fear and united them in a feeling of confidence towards God who would protect them in battle. Also, magical beliefs were still present in early modern thinking about how to combat fear and evoke courage and bravery instead. Bähr discusses the early modern debate about the sword of the Swedish king Gustav Adolf that allegedly had magical inscriptions to save him from bad luck, that is, according to his adversaries, who thus accused him of superstition. Noak refers to the practice of 'weapon

salve' that was based on pneumatic theory that admitted the sympathetic relationship between the natural spirits and the spirits of the body.

Collective rituals and practices, such as prayer before battle, encouraged soldiers in different ways. The strong social bonds and interdependency of soldiers within their units was also mobilising and regulating emotions in another way. In Chapter 5, Berkovich argues that fear of social exclusion is key to understand the functioning of soldiers in battalions and their behaviour in combat. More than in any other part of early modern society, the military fostered strong expectations about the warrior's heroic behaviour on the battlefield, as the apogee of masculinity. On the battlefield, fearlessness, bravery, comradeship and control were of vital importance and even a prerequisite for survival and resilience of the group. In the barracks among fellow soldiers, other social skills and emotion management were tested. Here, emotions like honour and comradeship served bonding and defining one's place in the social hierarchy. Berkovich argues that fear of dishonour trumped the fear of battle itself in ancien régime armies. Although discipline and punishments could be harsh, worse was the ostracism by comrades when soldiers failed to function within the tight social system of reciprocity and shared responsibility for the group's survival.

Armies could be considered as self-regulating emotional communities; however, their emotional standards and practices did not evolve in isolation from the rest of the world. Military virtues and emotional culture interacted with civil society in many ways. Military emotional rules and behaviour negotiated the expectations and emotional responses of non-military communities. The on-going institutionalisation and disciplining of the military in the course of the eighteenth century improved the reputation of the military while a growing popularity and adaptation of military norms in civilian culture can also be observed.[25] This influencing was a two-way process. The rise of sentimentalism in the eighteenth century affected the military as well.[26] At home with their families, soldiers of all ranks had to meet chivalric ideals in their role as brave and unwavering breadwinners and defenders of the weak and harmless. Yet in the course of the eighteenth century such expectations developed an affective dimension. Fathers' and husbands' tenderness and sensitivity gained importance and the love of the fatherland was increasingly loaded with emotional devoutness. This culture of sentimentalism can even be observed in the military itself, where officers figured as a loving fathers to the soldiers in their regiment.[27]

Experience

How close can we get to the battlefield experience itself? And to what extent is that experience related to the self of the individual involved? For a long time, historians worked with a model of emotions in which human subjectivity was housed in a 'true' self, a self whose 'true feelings' were increasingly submitted to social norms and conventions over the course of history. In the wake of Elias, who saw medieval and early modern history of emotions in the context of the civilizing process', historians thus reproduced the ancient concept of a gap between experience and expression between an inner and an outer world. In his pioneering work on military experience, Christopher Duffy cites the nineteenth-century German general von Verdy du Vernois, who wrote the following about his incapability to remember and write about his own battle experiences: 'We come to believe that we have thought, or even experienced such and such a thing, when it actually became lodged in our minds by some other means, and perhaps in a totally misleading way.'[28]

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century soldier memoirs mainly report on the military and logistic aspects of war and focus on heroic events in a very terse, factual way. From the fifteenth century onwards ambitious soldiers kept accounts of their services, in order to reproduce them in their applications for rewards, pardons, or better positions. Many military memoirs were written retrospectively but based on such notebooks. Others, however, merely focus on the heroic deeds of the lords the authors served. Contrary to what the term 'memoir' seems to suggest, many early military memoirs should therefore rather be characterised as a chronicle of military events rather than as an autobiography.[29] Apart from deriving from chivalric literature the military also seems to have fostered a very strong oral tradition. Soldiers, often far from home, formed social communities that transmitted their own oral culture quite apart from the rest of society.[30]

Yuval Harari in his path-breaking but also controversial work on military memoirs, observes that most of these authors make no clear distinction between history and life story. Renaissance authors of military memoirs focus on the description of tangible actions, and 'ignore their inner reality', according to Harari.[31] They generally do not comment upon their emotional involvement with combat or suffering nor do they evaluate their experiences as life changing, this in sharp contrast with modern soldiers who often describe their war experiences as a watershed in their lives. Harari seeks an explanation for this difference in the fact that Renaissance

authors 'have no autonomous inner reality that they considered to be unique and independent of the historical reality'.[32] More generally the sixteenth-century self is defined by one's deeds and social standing; by being part of social bodies, like families, corporations, regiments, religious communities, and by being part of history: witnessing historical events, or, in the case of the military, military campaigns, sieges or battles, in the proximity of grand war lords and princes. Predominant emotions that go with that image are pride, honour and admiration.

It is true that many early modern military memoirs may disappoint the historian who hopes to find close descriptions of the inner experiences and thoughts of the combatant. Yet Brian Sandberg rightly points out in Chapter 7 that many of these early texts nonetheless breathe strong emotions that must have thoroughly moved the soldier's heart: pride and respect for the honourable deeds of themselves and their superiors, reverence and awe for the historical military events they witnessed, comradeship, religious zeal, fear for the divine, a strong awareness of the temporality of human life and fame. Moreover, the factuality, the accounting of numbers of shots and dead and wounded, the distances marched, the accounting of booty and horses, these elements all seem to derive from a love for order and control.[33] The tendency to count, organise and schematise, to explain the technical details with professional pride, a love of professional control that is also observed by Lisa De Boer in Chapter 11. She notes that seventeenth-century birds-eye views of battlefields, could perhaps be interpreted as a way of dealing with the utterly chaotic character of the real battlefield, the turmoil of shouts, sounds, smoke, dust and corpses, the multi-sensory and emotional experiences related to that space.

According to Harari, the terseness of sixteenth-century soldiers' memoirs is connected to the absence of a 'modern self'. Modern authors of military memoirs define the self by describing personal development through life experiences.[34] One could also argue that the cultural context of emotional expression defines the content of what it communicates more than we used to believe. In soldiers' writings the focus on heroism and masculine ideals of honour and courage appears to persist over time, apparently disregarding the development of sentimentalism and critical introspection in civil and religious communities. The terseness of Renaissance military memoirs should perhaps be explained not by the absence of a 'modern self' but rather as an inevitable part of the soldier's identity. The long tradition of soldiers' writing dictates the communication of fearlessness and other empowering masculine ideals that tend to suppress some emotions:

fear, feelings of senselessness, disgust, personal grief, and underscore others such as the love for the fatherland, courage and a fighting spirit. The letters of soldiers of the revolutionary French army cited by Germani in Chapter 9, bear witness to the impassioned revolutionary élan they had apparently internalised completely.[35]

Letters, memoirs and chronicles by soldiers thus are inherently emotional even if they do not express or discuss emotions explicitly. We see how conventions of genre strictly define what emotions should be expressed and which should not. While the term emotional 'regime' still stresses the disciplinary character of emotional cultures, we agree with Gammerl, Scheer and others that emotional norms and practices rather define emotional 'styles' and that these styles are embodied and unconsciously appropriated through a process of socialisation.[36]

The question remains, of course, whether sixteenth- and seventeenth-century combatants had other emotions than the ones they describe. Harari discusses the fact that a few exceptional experiential and emotional passages can be found in renaissance military memoirs as well. From this he concludes that other narrative models were available to soldiers and that they could have written differently. Yet apparently they deliberately chose to do otherwise.[37] The requests of the maimed soldiers studied by Marc Stoyle also suggest that soldiers could write emotionally about their combat experiences if secondary gain was to be had from it. In their requests for pensions Civil War veterans extensively describe their suffering and distress during sieges and combats.[38]

There is reason to believe, however, that emotions are not part of our consciousness as long as they are not caught in words or behaviour. William Reddy argued that emotional expressions (emotives) organise the experience and bring thoughts and feelings that were present but outside awareness into consciousness.[39] Reddy believes that there are 'kinds of thought that lie "outside" of language', but as soon as we speak about our emotions they 'come into a peculiar, dynamic relationship with what we say about them'.[40] According to Scheer's notion of emotional practice and experience, 'an emotion without a medium for experience cannot be described as one', in other words: we have to take into account first the embodied practice of an emotion before we can talk about emotional experiences at all.[41] If we agree with Reddy and Scheer, this means that we should appreciate soldiers' emotions in their writing for what they are and at the same time be aware that the conventions of genre dictate what emotions are at stake.

Meanwhile, not every author is as consequent in the observation of genre rules. The same must have been true for living up to military norms and ideals in real life. Even if we agree that emotions are embodied and not always part of a subject's conscious reflection, we also see that emotions in the military and on the battlefield represented a 'domain of effort' in which there may have been an enormous variance between emotional standards and the extent to which individuals managed to conform to them.[42] Moreover, the authors of the eye-witness accounts and ego-documents analysed by Füssel, Germani and Sandberg moved from one space to the other and usually were members of more than one social community. Sometimes a multiplicity of emotional styles therefore made up the expression of an individual battle experience on paper, all of these styles being authentic and 'true' at the time.

In the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth century military men (at first mainly officers but some lower-rank soldiers as well) slowly started to describe their experience from a more personal point of view. A watershed in the history of the genre is perhaps the famous memoirs of the Swiss mercenary Ulrich Bräker (1735–1798), 'the Poor man of Toggenburg' explored by Marian Füssel in Chapter 8. Bräker is not just unique in his closely described flesh-witnessing, but also in his critical questioning of warfare in general. As far as we can see, Bräker's account may be the first soldier's memoir in which honour and pride are not the foregrounded emotions. Bräker also seems to be the first memoirist who admits that he is (temporarily) fed up with the business of war.

Bräker's disillusion did not become a widely shared new attitude to war. To the contrary, during the radical phase of the French Revolution, the focus upon self-sacrifice and stoicism in the face of death, and love of *la patrie* was practiced more fervently than ever before. The traditional notions of military honour and glory returned to the fore. Germani in Chapter 9 shows that even common soldiers' writings reveal that they were deeply influenced by revolutionary ideology. Nevertheless, close scrutiny of the sources reveals that not all battlefield experiences fitted in that revolutionary format. In his memoirs one *canonnier* Bricard described his misery in March 1793 when he learned that his brother, for whom he had been looking for days without food or sleep, was dead. 'Existence was hateful to me,' he wrote, 'separated forever from a brother, from a friend; reduced to the most extreme misery, half naked, having no change of shirt and covered in vermin.'[43]

The emotional culture of soldiers seems to have gained complexity by 1800. Both the fatherland and the family had become demanding subjects of the soldier's love and pride, and perhaps soldiers had become more aware of the emotional conflicts they faced, wrestling with their inner cowardice, their fears and shame.

Imagination

The battlefield always appealed to the public imagination. Great battles were commemorated in songs and paintings, their enormous scale and complex organisation mapped in birds-eye views. Newsprints reported on their dramatic development and outcomes in seemingly exact numbers of fired cannon balls, battlefield deaths and wounded combatants as well as the estimated value of the material losses. The planned storming of a besieged city would attract thousands of spectators in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The imagined fierceness of the fighting induced awe, the death of a hero public mourning. Most early modern public media would appeal to the hunger of the audience for the sensational, for the smell of blood and gunsmoke and for heroism. Yet in the course of the eighteenth century the positive appreciation of the image of the battlefield came under pressure. More and more, the audience became aware of the discrepancy between the view from a distance and the chaos and terror of direct experience. Did eye-witnesses perhaps feel an inability to express their feelings, whereas the spectators hungered for the unreachable 'real' and for ever more sensation? One of the problems for both parties was the growing appreciation of more intimate emotions, often characterised as 'feminine', that destabilised old military virtues like honour and courage. How could the realities of war be accommodated within this culture of sensibility and the expectations of a new civic-patriotic morale?

In Part III, the evocation of emotions in the intended audience is central, as well as the ways this evocation was effectuated through genre, techniques, style, image and 'vocabulary'. Emotions concerning the battlefield as they are represented in the media are distanced from the battlefield in time and space, and re-contextualised socially and artistically. Some of these representations conceive of an inner experience or an emotional self of the soldier in combat, whereas other texts and images represent the battlefield in a more rational, impersonal or emotionally detached way. Inspired by Reddy's definition of emotives as self-exploring and self-altering emotional speech acts, we would like to distinguish two instances of the 'pro-

duction' of battlefield emotions in art and literature. On the one hand, the emotions described or depictured in a piece of art can be considered emotional claims of the speaking subject; on the other, we will consider the (un)intended effect of these images, the emotions evoked in the minds of readers and spectators. Also the interaction between author or artist and audience shapes an emotional community with its own rules and dynamics.

Literary and artistic reflections on the battlefield served processes of multi-directional communication between the military and civil society. Literary writings on war experiences, for instance, often have served the legitimation of the battle or the author's role or experiences in it.[44] Secondly, eye-witnesses feel a need to share their experiences and to bond with their home communities or families. Literature and art can often be seen as attempts to bridge the experiential gap between citizens and the military, by making the soldier's professional behavioural codes on the battlefield emotionally perceptible to a more general public, although wartime literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century also provides many examples of representations which consciously keep the horror of war experiences at a safe distance.[45] Moreover, literary and artistic forms of battlefield representations have influenced military strategy itself. The image of war as theatre ('the theatre of war') has enabled us to 'see' the battlefield as a surveyable stage with a director (the general), who controls the performances of his actors (the soldiers),[46] whereas theatrical re-enactments invite citizens to imagine themselves as part of the exotic world of the military.[47]

In the various chapters many questions arise about the processes of representation and imagination of the battlefield experience. For instance, Lisa De Boer in Chapter 11 asks whether we should consider textual and visual explorations of battlefield emotions in art as attempts to order something that is in fact chaotic in nature. The birds-eye views of battles and sieges in pre-1700 engravings seem to present military actions as a paragon of rational order. The confrontation of artistic and military 'ways of seeing' also brought about more destabilising effects on the aesthetics of battlefield art. Valerie Mainz discusses such effects in Chapter 12 about the bellicose emotions that undermined the neoclassical ideals of beauty in France. The arguments used by art critics to condemn these emotions were diverse however. Diderot, for instance, praised the spectacle of battle painting and the extraordinary feelings of the beholder, like fear and commiseration, but he criticised the routine of painters like Loutherborg, whose work would not ground in any personal observation of the battlefield. Later on, critics

would rather appreciate paintings like David's *Les Sabines* (1799), which depicted the moment of ceasefire instead of battle, highlighting emotions like despair, grief, horror and entreaty. This new type of battle piece was clearly pacifist and charged with an emotional aversion of war.

Textual and visual representations of the battlefield often confront us with a friction between closeness and distance of individual emotions. The social distance between citizens and the military was reflected in abstract or even satirical depictions of soldierly emotions in art. In the late eighteenth century, there was also a growing tension between 'official' media representations of battle and the 'unofficial' soldiers' stories, as we will see in Chapter 9 by Ian Germani. Philip Shaw looks into this tension in Chapter 13, discussing the difficult position of painters, who had to deal with conflicting ways of 'seeing' battles and the emotions related to this conflict. Some of these painters worked for the royal court. With printmakers and art critics they established an emotional habitus of pro-war sentiment sanctioned by royal officials. The huge battle painting by De Loutherbourg of the Battle of Valenciennes, which was so heavily criticised by Diderot, was a product of royal patronage. A copy of it 'Dedicated, by permission, to His Majesty' was widely circulated and reproduced by subscription in printed form. The print glorifies the battle as a theatrical spectacle, highlighting the glory of the British heroes. The royal regulation of emotional responses to war sought to deny emotions 'not suited to the public tranquillity', like the brutalities of war depicted by artists like William Hodge.

In the course of the eighteenth century citizens manifested an ever-growing fascination with war journalism and the details of war acts. This fascination also fostered an increased production and circulation of material objects that could be collected as souvenirs and memorabilia such as ribbons, engraved tobacco boxes and so on, as discussed by Marian Füssel in Chapter 8. Cheap media and collectable memorabilia allowed the broader public to engage with the imagination about the military and the battlefield. The explosive production of collectable souvenirs suggests that there was a growing emotional impact of military events.[48]

The imagined battlefield in the public sphere of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was in many cases an idealised battlefield. Horror, pain and the killing itself, as well as the emotions related to that darker side of battle, often remained invisible and hidden, or they were framed as dissident sentiments, contrary to the prevailing emotional regime. Censorship in the eighteenth century, however, could no longer avoid

those dissident emotions becoming part of the public reflections on war, as discussed in the chapters by Füssel, Germani and Shaw. The battlefield dissident himself, the deserter, who remained unheard for a very long time, suddenly became a public figure, like Ulrich Bräker, the 'Poor man of Toggenburg'. Bräker's outspoken battle account of the Battle of Lowositz on 1 October 1752 not only describes the turmoil of battle, but also his disgust, fear, agony and finally his relief when he escaped. It is with Bräker's dishonourable decision to leave the Prussian battlefield that we conclude this Introduction, opening the debate on this multiple appearances of bodies, practices, expressions and understandings of early modern battlefield emotions:

> So I first slunk in slow-march time a little towards this left side, through the vines. A few Prussians were still rushing past me. 'Come on, brother! Come on!' they were saying: 'To Victory!' I never let on, but made as if I was slightly wounded and continued to make gradual progress; I was scared stiff, I must admit. But as soon as I'd got so far no one could see me any more, doubled, trebled, quadrupled, quintupled, sextupled my steps, looked to left and right like a huntsman, still saw away in distance—for the last time in my life—wholesale murder; then in full gallop I skirted a small wood that lay full of dead hussars, pandours and horses, ran full tilt down towards the river and now found myself in a dell.[49]

Notes

1. Joanna Bourke, *An Intimate History of Killing*: *Face-to-Face Killing in Twentieth-Century Warfare* (London: Granta Books, 1999), 14–15.
2. Mary Favret, 'The Necessity of Violence: The Suicide and the Soldier,' lecture at VU University, Amsterdam, 18 January 2013. Favret refers to: Anthony Swofford, 'We Pretend The Vets Don't Even Exist,' *Newsweek* 159 (2012) 26–32.
3. Ulrich Bräker, cited by Füssel. According to Füssel, hitting no one is an eighteenth-century topos. See Chapter 8.
4. This tension becomes visible for instance in plays of the eighteenth century that explicitly discuss the problematic relationship between the world of the soldier and the citizen, as in Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm* (1767) and *Philotas* (1758/59). See Johannes Birgfeld, *Krieg und Aufklärung. Studien zum Kriegsdiskurs in der deutschsprachigen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2 (Hannover 2012), 867–8 and Cornelis van der Haven, 'Stockende Kampfmaschinen. Die Problematik des enthusiastischen

Kriegshelden bei Wieland und Lessing,' *Seminar. A Journal of Germanic Studies* 50 (2014): 18–33.

5. David Parrott, *The Business of War*: *Military Enterprise and Military Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 74, 294.
6. Marc Stoyle, 'Memories of the Maimed: The Testimony of Charles I's Former Soldiers, 1660–1730,' *History* 88 (2003): 204–26; Christopher Duffy, *Siege Warfare*: *The Fortress in the Early Modern World 1494–1660* (London; New York: Routledge, 2013); See also in this volume Chapter 7 by Brian Sandberg.
7. Keith Roberts, *Pike and Shot Tactics 1590–1660*, ed. Adam Hook, Elite 179 (Oxford: Osprey, 2010); Olaf van Nimwegen, *The Dutch Army and the Military Revolutions*, *1588–1688*, ed. Andrew May, Warfare in History (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2010); Jacob de Gheyn, *The Renaissance Drill Book*, ed. David J. Blackmore (London: Greenhill Books; Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2003); Elisabeth Krimmer and Patricia Anne Simpson, *Enlightened War*: *German Theories and Cultures of Warfare from Frederick the Great to Clausewitz* (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2011); Christopher Duffy, *The Military Experience in the Age of Reason 1715–1789* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1978), 207–21.
8. Robert G. Asch, '"Wo Der Soldat Hinkömbt, Da Ist Alles Sein": Military Violence and Atrocities in the Thirty Years War Re-Examined,' *German History*: *The Journal of the German History Society* 18 (2000): 291–309; David Kunzle, *From Criminal to Courtier*: *The Soldier in Netherlandish Art 1550–1672*, History of Warfare 10 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002); Philip Benedict, *Graphic History*: *The Wars*, *Massacres and Troubles of Tortorel and Perrissin* (Genève: Droz, 2007); Jane Susannah Fishman, *Boerenverdriet*: *Violence between Peasants and Soldiers in Early Modern Netherlands Art*, Studies in the Fine Arts: Iconography (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1982); Italo Michele Battafarano, *Simpliciana Bellica*: *Grimmelshausens Kriegsdarstellung und ihre Rezeption 1667–2006* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2011).
9. M. Sikora, '"Über die Veredlung des Soldaten". Positionsbestimmung zwischen Militär und Aufklärung,' in *Die Kriegskunst im Lichte der Vernunft*: *Militär und Aufklärung im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Daniel Hohrath and Klaus Gerteis (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 2000), 25–50; 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 (2006): 75–92.
10. Ralf Pröve, 'Der Soldat in Der "Guten Bürgerstube": Das frühneuzeitliche Einquartierungssystem und die sozioökonomischen Folgen,' in *Krieg und Frieden*: *Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Bernhard

R. Kroener and Ralf Pröve (Paderborn etc.: Schöningh, 1996), 191–217; Ralf Pröve, *Stehendes Heer und städtische Gesellschaft im* 18. Jahrhundert: Göttingen und seine Militärbevölkerung 1713–1756, Beiträge Zur Militärgeschichte 47. (Berlin, Boston: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 1995) Marjolein 't Hart, *The Dutch Wars of Independence*: *Warfare and Commerce in the Netherlands 1570–1680*, Modern Wars in Perspective (London: Routledge, 2014), especially Chapter 5 on garrisons.

11. On the Battle of Blenheim (1704): Peter Verney, *The Battle of Blenheim* (London: Batsford, 1976).
12. See for instance the autobiographical 'adventures' by Bräker, also discussed by Marian Füsel in this volume: Ulrich Bräker, *Sämtliche Schriften*, *Bd. IV. Lebensgeschichte und vermischte Schriften*, ed. Claudia Holliger-Wiesmann et al. (Munich: Beck, 2000).
13. Azar Gat, *The Origins of Military Thought. From the Enlightenment to Clausewitz* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
14. See Patrick Speelman, *Henry Lloyd and the Military Enlightenment of Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002).
15. Gat, *The Origins of Military Thought*, 150–5.
16. On the history of shell shock and trauma since the First Word War see e.g. Jay Winter, *Remembering War. The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven and London, 2006); Allan Young, *The Harmony of Illusions*: *Inventing Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).
17. Robert M. Citino, 'Military Histories Old and New: A Reintroduction,' *The American Historical Review* 112 (2007): 1070–90.
18. Susan Broomhall, 'Disturbing Memories: Narrating Experiences and Emotions of Distressing Events in the French Wars of Religion,' in *Memory before Modernity. Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Erika Kuijpers, Judith Pollmann, Johannes Müller and Jasper van der Steen (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 251–67; Erika Kuijpers, 'Expressions of Fear, Counting the Loss: Managing Emotions in War Chronicles in the Netherlands (1568–1648),' in *Disaster*, *Death and the Emotions in the Shadow of the Apocalypse*, *1400–1700*, ed. Jennifer Spinks and Charles Zika (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 93–111; Otto Ulbricht, 'The Experience of Violence during the Thirty Years War: A Look at the Civilian Victims,' in *Power*, *Violence and Mass Death in Pre-Modern and Modern Times*, ed. Joseph Canning, Hartmut Lehmann, and Jay Winter (Aldershot; Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2004), 97–127; Susan Broomhall, ed., *Ordering Emotions in Europe*, *1100–1800* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015); Erika Kuijpers and Judith Pollmann, 'Why Remember Terror? Memories of Violence in the Dutch Revolt,' in *Ireland 1641*: *Contexts and Reactions*, edited by Micheál Ó Siochrú and Jane Ohlmeyer (Manchester:

Manchester University Press, 2013), 176–96; Jacques Berchtold and Marie-Madeleine Fragonard, eds, *La Mémoire des Guerres de Religion* : *La Concurrence des Genres Historiques XVIe–XVIIIe Siècles*, *Actes du Colloque Intern*., Cahiers d'Humanisme et Renaissance 79 (Paris: Erudist, 2007).

19. Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (And Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion,' *History and Theory* 51 (2012): 193–220, 197; See also: Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions*: *An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 265–70.
20. Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).
21. Monique Scheer, 'Protestantisch fühlen lernen,' *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft* 15 (2012): 179–93; Monique Scheer, 'Empfundener Glaube. Die kulturelle Praxis religiöser Emotionen im deutschen Methodismus des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*: *Im Auftrage des Verbandes deutscher Vereine für Volkskunde* 2 (2009): 185–214.
22. Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?' 209.
23. Marian Füssel, 'Zwischen Schlachtenlärm und Siegesklang: Zur akustischen Repräsentation von militärischer Gewalt im Siebenjährigen Krieg (1756–1763)', in *Krieg und Frieden im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Stefanie Stockhorst (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2015), 149–66 and Michael Kaiser, 'Der Soldat und der Tod,' in: *Militär und Religiosität in der Frühen Neuzei*t, ed. Michael Kaiser and Stefan Krol (London: LIT, 2004), 323–43: 330–1.
24. William Hardy McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time*: *Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).
25. Alfred Vagts, *A History of Militarism*: *Civilian and Military* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981).
26. William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*: *A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 209–10.
27. Kornee van der Haven, 'De militair als denkend en voelend individu in twee achttiende-eeuwse soldatenstukken,' in *Oorlogsliteratuur in de vroeg-moderne tijd*: *vorm*, *identiteit en herinnering*, ed. Lotte Jensen and Nina Geerdink (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), 105–18.
28. Duffy, *The Military Experience*, Preface.
29. Yuval Noah Harari, 'Military Memoirs: A Historical Overview of the Genre from the Middle Ages to the Late Modern Era,' *War in History* 14 (2007): 289–309, 293–4; Yuval Noah Harari, *Renaissance Military Memoirs*: *War*, *History*, *and Identity*, *1450–1600* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2004).
30. Michael Wolfe, '"Pain and Memory" The War Wounds of Blaise de Monluc,' in *France and Its Spaces of War*: *Experience*, *Memory*, *Image*, ed. Patricia Lorcin and Daniel Brewer (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); David Hopkin, 'Storytelling, Fairytales and Autobiography: Some

Observations on Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century French Soldiers' and Sailors' Memoirs,' *Social History* 2 (2004): 186–98.
31. Harari, *Renaissance Military Memoirs*, 58.
32. Harari, *Renaissance Military Memoirs*, 56.
33. John Gagné, 'Counting the Dead: Traditions of Enumeration and the Italian Wars,' *Renaissance Quarterly* 67 (2014): 791–840.
34. Harari, *Renaissance Military Memoirs*; Yuval Harari, *The Ultimate Experience : Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture, 1450–2000* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Esmeralda Kleinreesink, 'On Military Memoirs. Soldier-Authors, Publishers, Plots and Motives' (Diss. Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication (ESHCC), 2014), http://repub.eur.nl/pub/51741.
35. Ian Germani, Chapter 9.
36. Benno Gammerl, 'Emotional Styles—Concepts and Challenges,' *Rethinking History* 16 (2012): 161–75.
37. Harari, *Renaissance Military Memoirs*, 22.
38. Stoyle, 'Memories of the Maimed'.
39. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 97–100.
40. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 64.
41. Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?' 209.
42. William M. Reddy, 'Historical Research on the Self and Emotions,' *Emotion Review* 1 (2009): 302–15.
43. Cited by Germani, Chapter 9, 000.
44. Stephanie Downes, Andrew Lynch, and Katrina O'Loughlin eds, *Emotions and War: Medieval to Romantic Literature* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Catherine Mary MacLoughlin, *Authoring War: The Literary Representation of War from the Iliad to Iraq* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) and Birgfeld, *Krieg und Aufklärung*, vol. 1: 105–286.
45. Mary A. Favret, *War at a Distance: Romanticism and the Making of Modern Wartime* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).
46. Marian Füssel, 'Theatrum Belli. Der Krieg als Inszenierung und Wissensschauplatz im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert,' *Metaphorik* 14 (2008): 205–30.
47. Gillian Russell, *The Theatres of War: Performance, Politics, and Society, 1793–1815* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).
48. Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward and Jeremy Aynsley, eds, *Material Memories* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1999).
49. Ulrich Bräker, *The Life Story and Real Adventures of the Poor Man of Toggenburg*, trans. Derek Bowman (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970), 141.

PART I

The Military: Emotional Practices and Community

CHAPTER 2

Drill and Allocution as Emotional Practices in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Poetry, Plays and Military Treatises

Cornelis van der Haven

During the first decades of the Eighty Years' War, Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange and Captain-General of Holland, introduced a military training system of routine drill that would soon inspire military powers beyond the Dutch Republic. The handbooks by Jacques de Gheyn (*Wapenhandelinghe*, 1607), Simon Stevin (*Castrametatio*, 1617) and others prescribe how successful armies should be organised and how soldiers were to be drilled in small battalions and by use of commands for even the smallest movements of their bodies. Efficiency became an important paradigm in military science under Maurice of Orange. The commander's ability to exercise absolute control over individual movements depended on the collective sensibility of soldiers to obey orders and commands. According to scholars like McNeill, the heroism of the individual soldier 'withered and died' in this process of professionalisation, whereas the

This chapter was written with financial support from the Research Foundation-Flanders (FWO-Vlaanderen)

C. van der Haven
Ghent University, Ghent, Belgium

© The Author(s) 2016

E. Kuijpers, C. van der Haven (eds.), *Battlefield Emotions 1500–1800*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-56490-0_2

techniques of a well-oiled war machine of small battalions, specialised in quick movements, became key to military strategy.[1]

In the context of these reforms, the Dutch army under Maurice was an experiment in physical and mental discipline that produced soldiers as models for what Foucault would call the '*corps docile*', the body that automatically responds to the commands it receives through its senses.[2] We may expect that even in this political-military fantasy of the docile body, emotions are still involved, including feelings of submission and attachment to the commanding voice. Yet, the works by de Gheyn and Stevin do not explicitly mention any emotional aspects of military training: they are fully focused on the outward appearances and movements of fighting bodies and the relationship between body and object (musket, rifle) in particular. de Gheyn's depictions of soldier movements have often been used by scholars to illustrate how the rationalisation of the army in the seventeenth century transformed soldiers into the cogs of an imaginary machine that did not *allow* emotions to be exposed.[3] In her more nuanced analysis of these pictures, art historian Suzanne Walkers states that de Gheyn does not really ignore the soldier's emotions, but aims to suppress the display of destabilising affects (like fear) by diverting our attention to the idealised and aestheticised 'work' and physical appearance of the military body.[4]

The presumed seventeenth-century relegation to the background of the individual soldier and his heroic feelings could be critically confronted with references in contemporary poems and plays to both military affects and drill, as in Joost van den Vondel's *Verovering van Grol* ('Siege of Groenlo', 1627) and siege plays like P.C. Hooft's *Achilles en Polyxena* ('Achilles and Polyxena', 1615) about the heroes of the Trojan War. These plays and poems present ancient patterns of heroism, together with the old aristocratic military virtues and the emotional codes related to them (honour, courage). The heroes provide both positive and negative *exempla* of military behaviour from which readers and spectators should draw lessons, including in regard to contemporary issues of military leadership. Vondel, for instance, sings about Stadtholder Frederick Henry as the rational 'manager' of an agile moving front of fighters under the full control of their commanders. These texts confront us with tensions between old and new conceptions of military leadership, which depended increasingly on the military commander's authority as a technocrat well acquainted with the newest military techniques (like drill).[5] In this chapter I will investigate whether literary texts and military treatises dealt with such tensions or with frictions arising from the different ways in which soldiers and their emotions are represented. I will also consider to the question whether the

representation of drilled soldiers in literature and military treatises implied that authors denied their emotions by focusing solely on the individual performance of certain commands or whether drill also introduced novel emotional qualities that coincided with or replaced the old aristocratic codes of military behaviour.

I will study the above-mentioned tensions by focusing on two techniques of addressing soldiers verbally. The first technique (*allocutio*) seems to be exemplary for the ancient and aristocratic understanding of the army as a collection of highly motivated fighters, longing for honour, whereas the second technique (drill commands) represents the professionalised and rationalised understanding of the soldier as a docile body from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries onwards. My question will concern which feelings had to be evoked by the 'words' of the commander and which had to be suppressed. Two examples of 'military speech' will be considered in particular: the emotional effect or implications of short commands and orders on which seventeenth-century drill practices were based and the *allocutio* or *harangue*,[6] the military speech before battle, as an ancient tradition that was rediscovered in early modern military treatises—like Machiavelli's famous *Dell'arte della guerra* (1520)—and in the above-mentioned poems and plays.

The two examples of 'military speech' will be considered in this chapter as emotional practices that 'mobilise' and 'manage' certain battlefield emotions, which Scheer defines as 'habits and rituals that aim to evoke certain emotions, or to change or remove emotions already there'.[7] I will consider commands and *harangues* as examples of emotional practices, used here to train the bodies and minds of soldiers and to bring into practice particular emotions and/or to suppress others. My focus, however, will not primarily be on how the feeling individual manages his or her emotions, but rather on the emotional practices that were imposed on *others* (here by military commanders) in order to manage the emotions of that other (here the soldier). The emotional practices discussed here primarily are discursive practices of what linguists call 'perlocution', referring to the verbal techniques of address that induce the addressed person to perform a certain behaviour.[8] Perlocutionary 'speech acts' (to do something by saying something) could direct the behaviour of others immediately (for instance, by commands), or they could produce certain 'consequential effects upon the feelings of others' (as by allocution).[9] Language is considered in this chapter as one of the main instruments in the 'politics of emotions' as it was practised within the early modern military apparatus. Military drill and allocution will be

studied as attempts to 'manage' the emotions of the soldiers by way of a discourse that is 'emotional' in itself and/or by its emotional effect on the minds and bodies of the fighting soldiers.[10]

Drill, Obedience and Dedication

In his important manual about the art of war, *Les Principes de l'Art Militaire* (1617), inspired by drill practices in the Dutch States Army,[11] the French military author Jean de Billon explains that the 'first quality' of a soldier should be *l'obeyssance*.[12] Obedience is mentioned in the part of the manual that deals with the duties and moral qualities of a soldier, where it is discussed as the soldier's primary quality and the source of all other military duties. Obedience demands, in the first place, that the soldier refrains from independent thought or action. This demand also has physical implications: the obedient soldier should not move his body until some order is given. Only an obedient army can remain a closed front of soldiers who stay together in any situation, even in the fury of battle, always ready to receive orders and commands. Staying together is one of the main *effets de l'obeyssance* as described by Billon, and thus the individual quality of obedience also strengthens the army as a whole:

> For we have seen a million times that soldiers who never broke their ranks,—and were willing to maintain such order and unity together, never allowing the lines of their battalion be broken—, never went into battle, nor moved without orders, always defeated their enemies sooner or later, […].[13]

The unity of the battalion realised by the obedience and discipline of each soldier is based here on the ideal of togetherness—staying 'together together'—a *union ensemble*, that refers not only to the preceding military order (*ordre*), but also to its social dimensions and maybe also to the feelings related to that ideal.

Machiavelli's pioneering work published a century before Billon's manual, *Dell'arte della guerra* (1520), was one of the first works on military strategy to discuss the army as a collection of 'governable' individuals. Obedient soldiers are not only better at staying together; they also tend to *feel* stronger during battle. Because of their long experience with drill and discipline, they are inspired with confidence, as Machiavelli puts it in Book Three of his treatise.[14] Self-confidence therefore has a strong emotional component based on soldierly expertise obtained through drill

practices. Machiavelli praises the *virtú* of the experienced soldier who remains silent while receiving the charge, and in fact he considers drill as an emotional practice that replaces fear with feelings of self-confidence and pride. However, he also is aware of the fact that few soldiers would be able to evoke such honourable feelings by themselves. That is the reason why there always ought to be a corporal over every ten soldiers, who has 'more spirit and courage [...] than the rest in order to inspire them by both his words and his example'.[15] Obedience therefore depends not only on drill and discipline but also on the inspirational effect of courageous comrades who set a good example. The essence of Machiavelli's argument here is the power of words. The effect of drill itself is based on the limited and clear vocabulary of command, but the inspirational effect of the fighting corporals—filled with confidence by this drill practice—also depends on words, words focused on inspiration and exaltation of the fighting comrades in battle.

Though 'obedience' is highlighted in the treatises of Billon and Machiavelli as a moral quality or even as a virtue, the question remains whether we should really consider 'obedience' as a quality referring to the active fulfilment of orders, or if it is much more about being 'in control', in other words: being able to restrain mind and body, rather than carrying out individual acts of courage in battle. Suzanne Walker speaks about a tension between the combatant's ideal of self-constraint and the old aristocratic warrior ethic, focused on fame as the reward for heroic deeds in battle.[16] Whereas the old warrior had to be courageous, brave and ready to attack the enemy, the 'new' soldier under the control of his commander's words was expected in the first place to be silent and obedient. In Jacques de Gheyn's *Wapenhandelinghe* (Fig. 2.1) it is this image of the silent, self-constrained soldier that seems to be dominant. Not only his gestures and mien but his whole physical appearance is 'portrayed as an aesthetic and performative ideal of physical self-control'.[17]

De Gheyn's book consists only of lists with sequences of commands, followed by a series of engravings of soldiers who carry out the series of actions to which the commands refer. Their gestures and mien indeed indicate a sense of control of both mind and body, needed in order to carry out a sequence of movements, military actions as re-actions, performed to an 'external stimulus, the voice of the officer'.[18] What Walker, however, does not mention in her article about de Gheyn's images of the ideal soldier is the aspect of individualisation: the idea that a sequence of actions is totally dependent on obedience as an *individual* characteristic

Fig. 2.1 Jacob de Gheyn, *Maniement d'armes d'arquebuses, mousquetz, et piques* [...] (Amsterdam: Robert de Baudous, s.a.), plate 2.2, engraving. © Utrecht University Library

and not as a group mentality. De Gheyn depicts individual soldiers only in isolation, as if each step were carried out only by single soldiers who are not tied up with the collective of the battalion or the army as a whole. The social environment of the army is reduced here to one single relationship: that between those who give the orders—the commander—and those who carry them out—the individual soldiers. The one-to-one relationship between command and action strengthens this monomaniacal depiction

of soldierly behaviour, which totally depends on the vocabulary of orders. This abstraction of a military action leaves out the element of group bonding—which obviously also derived in large part from drill experiences—while highlighting the calmness of the individual soldier whose mind and body are solely devoted to a careful submission to commands and whose face expresses a silent and deep concentration, with an eye only to the precise performance of the commanded actions (Fig. 2.1).

In his references to early modern battlefield revelations, Yuval Noah Harari underlines that the drill manuals written by de Gheyn and others do focus on 'collective skills of the military trade' and that the series of movements had to be repeated by 'groups of soldiers again and again'.[19] Like Walker, he does not take notice of the fact that in these drill manuals soldiers are always depicted in isolation and never as a group. In his attempt to show that the transformation of soldiers into Cartesian automatons also implied a transformation of the common soldiers into 'mere bodies', the cogs of a military machine that cannot think or feel independently, the *emotional* effect of drill is largely ignored. Drill was meant to 'iron out all their independent "initiatives"', Harari writes.[20] Though this last observation may not be far from the 'truth' of early modern drill theory, this does not mean that the new principles of drill did not rely on the fact that a well-trained soldier also needed particular mental *and* emotional capacities in order to perform his movements. The soldier's silent receptivity as expressed by the faces of de Gheyn's soldiers, certainly refers to his pre-supposed willingness to be docile and subordinated to the will of his commander; but at the same time this docility implies the mental capacity to remain quiet and in a state of deep concentration, even in the turmoil of battle.

Where de Gheyn provides his depicted soldiers with an air of 'tranquillity', this calmness should not be seen as an expression of passivity and docility solely. In drill manuals the ideal of the drilled soldier who is calm, silent and receptive falls back on the ancient principle of *tranquillitas* and a stoic 'calmness of mind', the emotional state that will be discussed later in this book and which was strongly related to the ideal of self-constraint.[21] Contemporaries of de Gheyn saw this tranquillity often in connection with a 'courage of mind' that defends this virtue against disturbing thoughts and feelings. The moral philosopher Pierre Charron, for instance, in his treatise *De la Sagesse* ('On Wisdom', 1601), extensively discusses *tranquilité* as the state of mind that, on the one hand, relates to the devotion of the self to God and the 'vraye pieté',

innocence and 'bonne conscience' of the true Christian, but that, on the other hand, involves a certain firmness and 'courage of mind'. True tranquillity requires a courageous mind—'la force & la fermeté de courage'—since feeble and timid characters would not be strong enough to harbour a calm mind.[22] To describe tranquillity, Charron explicitly uses the metaphorical language of battle, in the tradition of Prudentius, and doing so he pleads for 'courage and strength' as the mind's 'glorious munition' and defence against 'storms' that can disturb its rest.[23]

Muscular Bonding and Togetherness

In line with what we have seen in Billon's treatise, some military theorists and tacticians of the seventeenth century explicitly state that social interaction between soldiers during a fight should be avoided, since the soldier's body and mind should be focused solely on the commanding voice. Sounds and voices of comrades could easily disturb this readiness to obey, and therefore it is silence that is highlighted as a 'principall point of warlike discipline, and therefore in commands they make it first', as John Bingham puts it in his translation of Aelianus Tacticus, the Greek military writer of the famous treatise, *Taktikē theōria* ('Tactical theory'):

> Silence […] is ohne of the principall points of obedience, which belongeth to a souldier […] a man that is not attentive, cannot marke the command delivered, nor can he be attentive, that whilest it is delivered busieth his head with other thoughts or else entertaineth his next standers by with talke, a meanes to divert aswell the speaker as the hearer from that heed, which ought to be given to direction […].[24]

Though soldiers of the infantry often stood closely together in formations that were inspired by the Greek phalanx, they were prohibited from communicating because this would distract their attention from commands. To stay together physically, the soldier should isolate himself mentally and emotionally from his fellow-soldiers: he is expected to be an isolated individual among other individuals ('together alone'), who is bound to the words only of his commander and the performance of these commands. This idea of mental isolation contradicts emotional practices in the army that were focused on creating an emotional tie between soldiers.

One of these bonding practices was the prayer before the fight. A feeling of togetherness was expressed in the collective prayer as a collective

ritual meant to remove fear and bring faith to the hearts of the soldiers. This silence before battle also evoked a moment of concentration, one based not on the principle of isolation, but on a feeling of being united in the soldier's submission to the will of God in the moment of the fight.[25]

According to William H. McNeill, drill practices were based on feelings of togetherness, for which he uses the term 'muscular bonding', the emotional resonance of daily and prolonged close-order drill. 'Muscular bonding' actually is a feeling of exaltation, induced by drill and the pleasure every group experiences while keeping together in time. The drill effect of the interiorised and automatised movements of marching and military exercises may be amplified by the emotional responses they arouse, like the 'pleasurable' feeling of keeping together in time. According to McNeill, close-order drill as invented by Maurice of Orange should be considered as one of the main elements in the process of military group bonding and would have been so powerful because of the emotional effect of 'muscular bonding'. However, it is difficult to describe this feeling, as McNeill has to admit when he tries to describe his own experience as a US soldier during the Second World War, walking hour after hour in unison with his comrades on the Texas plain:

> A sense of pervasive well-being is what I recall; more specifically, a strange sense of personal enlargement; a sort of swelling out, becoming bigger than life, thanks to participation in collective ritual. [...] Words are inadequate to describe the emotion aroused by the prolonged movement in unison that drilling involved.[26]

McNeill clearly has difficulty in describing the somewhat obscure emotional effect of 'muscular bonding'. Most of the early modern military handbooks tend to ignore such feelings—though there certainly are authors who connect emotions to drill, for instance in the inspirational 'confidence' of the experienced drilled soldier mentioned by Machiavelli.[27] We should agree, however, with McNeill that it is necessary to take this effect of 'muscular bonding' into consideration when we try to understand the military success of drill practices in history.[28]

McNeill relates the modern drill-effect of 'muscular bonding' to ancient methods of marching in close ranks, as they were practised by the Greeks, especially within the Spartan phalanx-formations.[29] The inspiring effect of marching together was strengthened with songs and shouts. The back rows in a Greek phalanx had to support their fellow

combatants in the frontlines by singing and shouting in order to fortify them and inflame their courage. In some early modern military handbooks the cries and songs of the Greek and Roman phalanxes are mentioned as examples for contemporary armies.[30] In his book about Greek and Roman military practices (*Der Griken en Romeynen Krygs-Handel*, posthumously printed in 1675), the Dutch poet and colonel Johan van Paffenrode extensively discusses the different formations of the ancient phalanxes, with one chapter particularly devoted to their *veldgeschrey* (battle cries) and other utterances of 'goede genegentheyd en coeragie' (good affection and courage).[31] The commander could positively contribute to such emotional practices by encouraging his troops before the battle, not by command, but by an encouraging speech, the so-called *allocutio ad milites*. Van Paffenrode dedicates a special chapter to military allocution, but he only very generally relates such emotional practices to seventeenth-century military tactics.[32] We may wonder how the new conception of the army as a drill machine, based on the obedience of soldiers as silent individuals who are in full control of their emotions, relates to that other conception of the army as an collective body of passionate warriors, incited by the words of their commander. In the following two sections we will move to theatre and poetry in order to find out to what extent these seemingly conflicting conceptions are present in Dutch laudatory poems and siege plays of the first half of the seventeenth century.

Allocution and the Devotion to Courage

The Amsterdam chamber of rhetoric 'De Eglantier' was one of the precursors of the famous *Schouwburg* (a public theatre house, founded in 1637). It staged the first Dutch renaissance plays based on Greek and Roman examples, like the tragedy *Achilles en Polyxena* by Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft (written before 1600 and published in 1615). In his play, Hooft presents the main warriors of the Trojan War: Achilles, Hector and Agamemnon, who represent both negative and positive examples of political-military leadership, depending on the extent to which their actions are based on their passions or on the power of reason respectively. As was common in the Dutch tradition of the so-called Senecan–Scaligerian type of tragedy, the drama defended the stoic ideal of emotional self-control. However, to achieve that goal, characters were often presented in a state of emotional confusion into which they gradually fell as they increasingly ignored the voice of reason over the course of the play.[33]

The neo-stoic tragedy in the Dutch tradition was also rooted in the Aristotelian tradition, with its focus on the emotional impact on the audience caused by the tragic downfall of its main protagonist. The performance of such a tragedy could very well be seen as an 'emotional practice' in the definition of Scheer as well, aiming at achieving a certain emotional state.[34] The tragic downfall of the hero had to evoke in the audience a sense of 'pity' and 'fear' during the Aristotelian process of *catharsis* (emotional purification). In the course of the play characters perform various rituals to evoke emotions in themselves and others. Some of these rituals in Hooft's *Achilles en Polyxena* are directly related to contemporary military practices and traditions meant to prepare soldiers for battle. Drill could be considered as the manipulation of mind and body to evoke a feeling of 'togetherness', on the one hand, and silent commitment to receive orders, on the other. The military emotional practices performed in this play produce an opposite emotional effect: the arousal of hatred and combativeness instead of concentration, docility and silent introversion. In both cases, however, emotions were mobilised in order to 'change or remove emotions already there':[35] fear had to be replaced by war enthusiasm and wild courage, whereas in the case of drill, the emotional state of abandonment and dissipation had to be replaced by a feeling of commitment, dedication and a sense of corporate strength.

The most salient emotional practice staged in *Achilles en Polyxena* and one that certainly belongs to the classical repertoire of military leadership is the allocution, or *aanspraak* in Dutch. In his treatise on Greek and Roman war strategy, van Paffenrode demonstrates that there is a broad classical repertoire of well-known speeches on to which the early modern general could fall back.[36] Two of these historical *exempla* are the ones that Hooft brings to life again in his play, the speeches by Agamemnon (to the Greek army) and Hector (to the Trojan army) during the Trojan War, in which the Greek hero Patroklos was killed by Hector and Euphorbus. The speeches in the play have a similar structure. Both military orators begin with a statement about the righteous cause of the battle: the Greeks feel they have a right to seek revenge on the Trojans, and the Trojans believe they are entitled to avenge themselves against the Greeks. To take revenge, it is necessary of course to show courage, which is also stressed in both speeches. Agamemnon knows that his enemy has been weakened, whereas Hector states that those who were the last to lose a fight (the Trojans) should be the first to win. Both speeches end with a reference

to the women of the enemy, who will be the trophies of the conquerors, after which a last call for a courageous and victorious battle resounds.[37]

The emotions that are highlighted in both speeches are readiness to fight, vengefulness, courage and bravery, of which the emotion of revenge is, of course, the most troublesome in the eyes of the stoics, as will be illustrated later in the play by the behaviour of Hector himself who mutilates the body of Patroklos. Hector also mentions 'happiness' (*te sijn verblijt*: to be happy)[38] as an important battlefield emotion, generating a forward-looking state of mind: the expectation that one shall win a battle can be a source of happiness beforehand. It is this combination of vengefulness and exuberance (under the pretext of 'happiness') in which the cruelty at the end of the battle seems to be rooted. Three stages are shown that lead to the cruelties of the conquerors: first, the speech as an emotional practice, aiming at evoking those emotions that are already present in the soldiers, but which need stirring up by way of an encouraging speech. The second stage is the fight, which is represented without spoken text but may have been accompanied by shouts and cries of the fighting actors on stage. The third stage is the cruel deed itself, also just shown on stage, concisely described in one single stage direction: '*Patroclus remains behind. Hector carries the body aside and mutilates it*.'[39]

Whereas Hooft's play confronts the audience with the negative effect of over-encouraged fighters, who are 'over-motivated' by passions like revenge and hatred, military treatises of the time tend to highlight the positive effects of a military speech or *harangue*. Van Paffenrode, for instance, extensively discusses the unifying effect of the military speech, evoking feelings of solidarity and comradeship that could transform an army into a collective of fellow-soldiers who feel like comrades, irrespective of their military rank (see Fig. 2.2). The *harangue* could transform an army into one single body and unity, as if it were 'all together one single person', governed by the emotionalised speech of their general, who characterises himself as a fellow-soldier (*mede-soldaet*).[40] The main function, however, of the military speech or *aanspraak* is to 'stir up feelings and to encourage the soldiers in despair', which can be achieved best by a general who knows the minds and hearts of his soldiers and knows how to inflame their strong feelings by his eloquence.[41]

In the speeches delivered by Agamemnon and Hector two virtues are highlighted that depend on emotional qualities and entail mental effects that are quite different from the antique examples of encouragement that van Paffenrode discusses in his treatise. First, we have the virtuous state

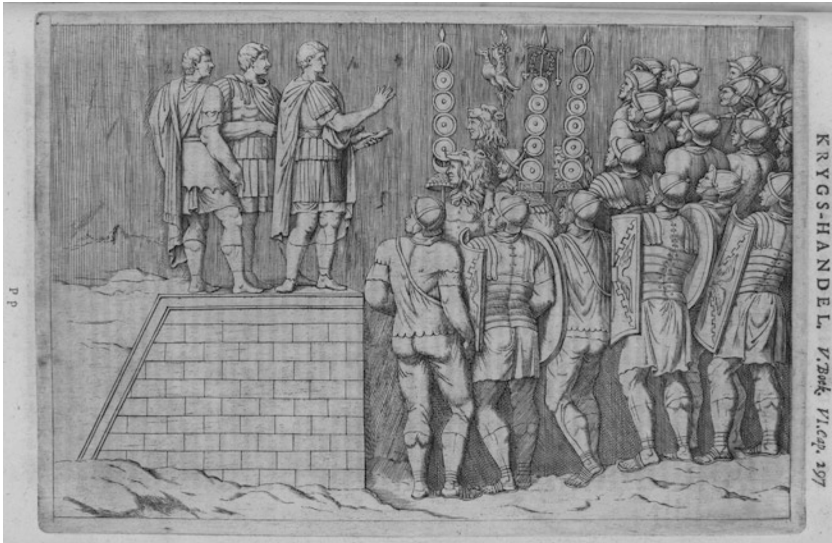

Fig. 2.2 Johan van Paffenrode, *Der Griken en Romeynen krygs-handel: ofte Beschrijvinge van de Griekse en Roomse land-militie, waer onder vele outheden dier volkeren vertoont worden, begrepen in ses boeken* (Gorinchem: Paulus Vinck, 1675), plate on page 297 (roman harangue), engraving. © Ghent University Library

of mind called *vroomheid* in Dutch. Both Hector and Agamemnon praise this moral quality of their soldiers that should be maintained during their fight. Three times Agamemnon mentions the word *vroom* in relation to his soldiers, and Hector also explicitly defends the *vroomheid* of his men, as an answer to the enemy who would accuse them of a lack of such a quality ('gebreck van vroomheijt').[42] *Vroom* in seventeenth-century Dutch refers, in the first place, to courage rooted in a deep love for the fatherland, as in the following words of Agamemnon that refer to the eagerness of his soldiers to leave wife and children to defend their fatherland: 'You *vroom* Greek warriors, who, far from wife and children,/Went to preserve your fatherland from harm [...]'.[43] *Vroom* also relates courageous behaviour to a feeling of commitment and even contemplation, a connotation retained in the modern meaning of the Dutch word, which is 'pious'. This means that the military speeches here not only stir up 'wild' spirits like bravery, courage and revenge, but that they also bring soldiers into a state of

devotion that allows them to submit to the will of their commander and to their collective responsibility as defenders of their country.

To address and inflame the courage of their soldiers, Hector and Agamemnon also use the word *dapper* instead of *vroom*, a word that refers to an emotional qualification of courageous behaviour. As soon as their courage is *vroom* and devoted to the general cause, soldiers indeed become *dapper*, which means: firm and resolute in defending their fatherland. *Dapper* also means that a soldier is eager to fight, and as such it refers to a certain swiftness in transferring his feeling (courage, *vroomheid*) to firmness during the act of fighting itself (*dapperheid*), as in the last words of Hector: 'Each shows the power of his right arm/And the firmness of courage. Look there, the Greek. Alarm.'[44] The twofold character of 'courage' in Hector's speech, referring both to the collective moment of devotion and contemplation, as well as to the readiness to fight and the firm character of that devotion as the origin of soldier's 'courage' (*dapperheijt van moedt*), could be seen as an example of collectivised emotional management by way of a differentiated approach to emotional behaviour. Courage as *vroomheid* (devotion and submission before battle) thus paves the way for a *dapperheijt* of courage (a firm and resolute execution of their job based on a strong feeling of courage). It is the general who anticipates how the emotional effect of collective devotion on his soldiers *before* the battle will develop into a 'firmness of courage' *during* the battle, when 'courage' has to be shown in an act of killing without hesitation as soon as the enemy appears before the soldier's eyes ('Look there, the Greek').

The Swift Spirits of Frederick Henry

Hooft not only wrote plays about Greek heroes; he also was the author of poems about contemporary war heroes, like the Dutch stadtholder Frederick Henry of Orange, who was the commander-in-chief of the Dutch navy and States Army. In the appendix of a long laudatory poem on the Siege of Groenlo in 1627, written by Joost van den Vondel, we find a satirical poem in which Hooft ridicules the Spanish–Habsburg military performances in favour of Frederick Henry's brilliant military leadership: 'So is your brain nodding, your treasure melting, your lance yielding/To the speed, council and swift spirits of Frederick Henry'.[45] No real battlefield emotions in this poem are mentioned other than these

'swift spirits' of the Dutch stadtholder. In another poem about the Siege of Groenlo, written by Zacharias Heyns, the stadtholder's 'swift spirits' are related to his 'swift words'. The speed of his words are presented here as the main instrument used by Frederick Henry to successfully draw up his troops in battle arrays, a command efficiency that is also based on the element of fidelity and faithfulness of his soldiers:

> You come, you go, you fly through your swift words,
> Soon your army will stand at will in battle arrays
> And your loyal Soldiers (taking care of their task)
> Let themselves be guided to the Winds of your fortune.[46]

The 'swift words' of the general are related here to the process of drill and troop formation as the source of the commander's fortune, together with the moral qualities of his soldiers. The verbal presence of the general, through the words of his commands, thus is placed at centre stage by this poet in the representation of the Dutch States Army. While writing such poems, Heyns must have had knowledge of contemporary military theory, since, as a translator of du Praissac's *Discours militaires*, he was at least familiar with the idea that the general should indeed be 'like the soul in the body of all his ranks', a diligent man who is everywhere at once, providing support where parts of the army are in despair and in need of help.[47]

Though we know from seventeenth-century historiographic accounts that the stadtholder addressed his officers and soldiers in order to inspire them and provide them with 'goeden moed' (*bon courage*)[48] now and then, the laudatory poems about Frederick Henry do not refer to any allocutions before battle. Not the long inspirational speeches held in front of his soldiers, but his short and quick words of command are highlighted and praised in these poems. Joost van den Vondel's long epic laudation about the Siege of Groenlo, for instance, has a lengthy *exordium* about the preparations for battle and the complex logistics carried out *op's veldheeren woord*, at the general's word (here referring to the highest commander after Frederick Henry, Ernst Casimir I of Nassau-Dietz):

> But the docile army did not approach so quickly the men on horseback
> Or, at the general's word, the spades dig in the earth:
> One defends oneself against internal and external disaster:
> One strings the circuit with bulwarks and entrenchments.[49]

The States Army is characterised here as docile and obedient, literally 'willing to follow' (*volgsaem* in Dutch). The army's agility originates in this willingness to follow the swift words (of command) of the general as they are a product of Frederick Henry's swift mind. Although the appearances of the army as a swiftly moving front, ready to attack the enemy and to free the city from any possible direction, seems to be dominant in these poems, they do not completely neglect the moral and emotional qualities of the soldiers. The mental swiftness of the general can be effective only because he could count on the courage of the soldiers, as with Hooft's '*dapperheijt van moedt*' discussed earlier in this chapter: a firm and resolute execution of their job, based on their devotion to the common cause. Still, Vondel does not explicitly mention these moral qualities of the soldiers, and he prefers to underline the swift words of the general instead of the soldiers' ability to obey and to fight without hesitation.

Though the stadtholder as a genuine commander is spotlighted in the poem by Vondel, at the same time his positive *exemplum* is based on his modest attitude, corresponding to the image of the *slecht soldaet*, the ordinary soldier. The Dutch republican motto of the Eighty Years' War 'every citizen a soldier' is applied here to the *stadtholder* as the servant of state. While serving the confederation of the seven Dutch provinces, the *stadtholder* should feel and act like a servant ready to defend his fatherland like any other citizen in wartime. Vondel pays tribute to the Prince of Orange because of his humble behaviour and the fact that he too, like any other soldier, was *staegh in wapen* (steadily armed) and ready to stand guard, though he knew this task was far below his station:

> The Prince did not sleep until the arrival of the earl,
> But was awake, night after night, and was steadily armed,
> Standing guard by himself, and below his station,
> Sleeping by turns like an ordinary soldier: […].[50]

In Vondel's laudatory poem about the Siege of Den Bosch, it is again this image of the *stadtholder* as a soldier between soldiers that is highlighted. Frederick Henry like a modern Hercules fights *op 't spitste* (in the vanguard), between dying soldiers and colonels, and matches the *vroomheyd des soldaets* (the dedicated courage of the soldier).[51]

It may seem a contradiction in terms to place the egalitarian profile of Frederick Henry at the heart of what should be a laudation of his military leadership. However, emotions along with soldierly behaviour are key to

that leadership. One of Vondel's metaphors depicts the army as a fighting horse. The horse as the embodiment of armed power was a well-known early modern metaphor, as was the 'body politic' for the political regime. The personal-emotional relationship between horse and horseman was central to this figurative use of the horse image in literature (and in epic poetry in particular).[52] The general as a horseman represents not only genuine and heroic military leadership, but also emotional leadership (see also Fig. 2.3). The horse of Frederick Henry in Vondel's poem fully corresponds to the baroque depiction of the military horse, as a restless and agitated animal in need of emotional guidance:

Fig. 2.3 Pauwels van Hillegaert, Portrait of Prince Frederick Henry of Orange on horseback during a siege, oil on panel, 35.7 × 28.6 cm, around 1630. © Rijksmuseum Amsterdam

> There he was sitting, calmly on his Amsterdam gelding
> A daredevil, never tired of snorting, prancing, scrawling,
> And trained, to scramble fiercely with the horseshoe
> In the Spanish troops, where he elicits fear and space; [...].[53]

Whereas the general remains calm, the horse is unruly and impatient. Not only does the poem include the baroque depiction of the horse's snorting and prancing, as a reference to the army's fighting spirit, but also an account of its well-trained performance (*afgerecht*), as it has been drilled to be obedient in the hands of a competent horseman.

The horse as a figuration of affect falls back on Plato's well-known chariot allegory in *Phaidros*, with a chariot—referring to the human soul—pulled by two horses, representing different emotions, reined in by their teamster (reason). In Vondel's poem, however, this allegory is reduced to just one horse, the horse of the *stadtholder*, whose different attributes—*tuygh* (tack), *spoor* (spur) and *gebit* (bit)—are explicitly related to the names of the different troop commanders below him (Van Lokeren, Bacx and Styrum).[54] The three attributes refer to how these military commanders are expected to use their specific qualities (of taming, encouraging and guiding) in order to direct their troops both physically and emotionally in the right direction. The image of the well-trained horse is followed by the element of drill which unites all 'lads' (*borsten*), while 'marching in straight lines of attack' (*slaghordensloopen*).[55] The order of the drilled troops seems to be an anomaly in the spectacle of war that dominates the battle description in the poem, with somewhat chaotic scenes of fighting and the lightning operations (*blixemspel*) of the troops, encouraged by *veldgeschrey* (shouts, cries), trumpets and drums that inspire even the most *bloode borsten* (faint-hearted lads).[56] This friction between the ideal of military order, on the one hand, and the turmoil of the fight, on the other, also affects the characterisation of Frederick Henry in the poem. Before the battle, the prince is portrayed as a calm horseman in full control over the troops, with his commanders as his 'eye and hand', who are expected to steer the emotions of their soldiers in the right direction. During the fight, however, the *stadtholder* is fighting alongside his soldiers, hardly recognisable as their commander 'in the jumble of dust,/And in the centre of the turmoil',[57] driven by untameable emotions and entirely swallowed by his own war enthusiasm.

Conclusion

Both the 'swift words' of military command and the encouraging speeches discussed in this chapter can be considered as examples of speech acts that were meant to set an army in motion both physically and emotionally. The 'swift words' of Stadtholder Frederick Henry of Orange refer not only to the swiftness of his own mind, but they also relate to his troops and their willingness to follow. His words evoke a feeling of commitment among the soldiers, driven by both these words of command and the cries and shouts of their fellow-soldiers. The receptivity of the soldier to listen to commands and to carry them out dutifully is related to a state of mind that could be characterised as 'emotional', falling back on both the ancient principle of *tranquillitas*, a stoic 'calmness of mind', and a felt 'devotion' to war and to courage in particular, as it is expressed by the word *vroom* in the war plays and poems discussed here.

The way in which Vondel sings about Frederick Henry's swift words of command certainly allows us to characterise seventeenth-century drill as an emotional practice as defined by Scheer. Still, looking at the other sources discussed in this chapter, the question is whether the devotional and 'tranquil' state of mind indeed represented an emotional effect of addressing the soldiers with commands or whether these emotions rather provided the conditional mental framework the soldier needed to carry out these commands. Emotional responses that could not be mixed up with such mental preconditions, like the feeling of 'muscular bonding' described by a modern scholar like McNeill, are not as such mentioned in seventeenth-century sources. This does not mean, however, that early modern theorists did not pay any attention to related emotional effects of drill. Machiavelli, for instance, mentions in *The Art of War* drill practices that should create a feeling of confidence among experienced soldiers. The less-experienced soldiers, who are not yet filled with such feelings, need the words of the fighting comrades that evoke inspiration and exaltation among them.

Inconsistent with our hypothesis that the very different emotions evoked by drill and allocution tend to create tensions between different conceptions of military behaviour, there are indications that the two techniques of verbal address do not contradict but rather complete each other. Van Paffenrode writes that the general himself could manage the emotions of his soldiers by acting like a soldier among soldiers and setting an inspiring example, but that he could also create fellow-feeling through a *harangue*

or allocution before battle. The Dutch plays of the time staged ancient speeches that had to encourage the soldiers and evoke feelings of commitment and devotion to the general cause during the Trojan War, feelings that are strongly related to the discussed effect of drill. Similar speeches by contemporary Dutch generals, like Frederick Henry of Orange, are not mentioned in the literature, yet the emotional effect of the commanders' very presence on the battlefield was praised in poetry in which the metaphor of the army as a horse was commonly used. The inspirational general not only tames the horse by drilling it, but he also knows how to whip it up with both his words of command and the inspirational power of his own example, fighting among and absorbed by the fighting masses of what are now his fellow-soldiers. In this regard, drill and allocution could be considered as intertwined emotional practices that provided two important instruments to manage the emotions of the army as one would an unruly horse that is sometimes calm and docile and at other times wild and exalted.

Notes

1. William H. McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time*: *Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 130.
2. Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), 137.
3. See for instance Yuval Noah Harari, *The Ultimate Experience*: *Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture*, *1450–2000* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 113–4.
4. Suzanne J. Walker, 'Arms and the Man: Constructing the Soldier in Jacques de Gheyn's "Wapenhandelinghe",' *Netherlands Yearbook for History and Art* 58 (2007/8): 139–61, 153–6.
5. See J.B. Trim, 'Army, Society and Military Professionalism in the Netherlands during the Eighty Years' War,' *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism*, ed. J.B. Trim (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003), 269–289: 273–274.
6. Not (quite) the same as the familiar English word 'harangue' – a lengthy and aggressive speech.
7. Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (And Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bordieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion,' *History and Theory* 51 (2012): 193–220, 209.
8. John L. Austin, *How To Do Things With Words* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 108–109.

9. Austin, *How To Do Things*, 101.
10. See the definition of emotional discourse in: Catherine A. Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod eds, *Language and theolitics of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 10–11.
11. John A. Lynn, *Giant of the* '*Grand Siècle*': *The French Army*, *1610–1715* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 475.
12. Jean de Billon, *Les Principes de l'Art Militaire* (Rouen: Chez Jean Berthelin, 1633), 5. See also Walker, 'Arms and the Man,' 140.
13. 'Car cela s'est veu un million de fois, que les soldats qui n'ont point rompu leurs rangs, & ont voulu garder un tel ordre & union ensemble que de ne laissai iamais ouurir leur bataillon, ny aller au combat ou se deplacer sans commandements, ont tousiours vaincu tost ou tard leurs ennemis, [...].' De Billon, *Les Principes de l'Art Militaire*, 12–13.
14. 'The expertness they have acquired by long drilling and discipline inspires them with confidence.' Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Art of War*, trans. Ellis Farneworth (Indianapolis [etc.]: The Library of Liberal Arts, 1965), 93.
15. Machiavelli, *The Art of War*, 75.
16. Walker, 'Arms and the Man,' 140.
17. Walker, 'Arms and the Man,' 143.
18. Walker, 'Arms and the Man,' 146.
19. Harari, *The Ultimate Experience*, 115.
20. Harari, *The Ultimate Experience*, 115.
21. See Chap. 11 by Lisa De Boer and Ann Jensen Adams, 'The Three-Quarter Length Life-Sized Portrait in Seventeenth-Century Holland: The Cultural Functions of "Tranquillitas",' In *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Art*: *Realism Reconsidered*, ed. Wayne Franits (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 158–174.
22. Pierre Charron, *De la Sagesse* (Bordeaux: Par Simon Millanges, 1607), vol. 3, 551–2.
23. Charron, *De la Sagesse*, vol. 3, 552.
24. Cited in: Werner Hahlweg, *Die Heeresreform der Oranier und die Antike* (Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt Verlag, 1941), 98.
25. See Michael Kaiser, 'Der Soldat und der Tod,' in *Militär und Religiosität in der Frühen Neuzei*t, edited by Michael Kaiser and Stefan Krol (London: LIT, 2004), 323–43: 330–1.
26. McNeill, *Keeping Together In Time*, 2.
27. Machiavelli, *The Art of War*, 93.
28. McNeill, *Keeping Together In Time*, 117.
29. McNeill, *Keeping Together In Time*, 116–7.
30. Machiavelli sketches the emotional impact of sounds and military music and how certain tonalities in music created different emotions on the battlefield (see, for instance, Machiavelli, *The Art of War*, 76).

31. Johan van Paffenrode, *Der Griken en Romeynen Krygs-Handel*: *Ofte Beschrijvinge van de Griekse en Roomse Land-Militie* (Gorinchem: By Paulus Vink, 1675), 309–15.
32. See his dedication to the Prince of Orange in the preface: Van Paffenrode *Der Griken en Romeynen Krygs-Handel*, Fol. *3r/v.
33. On emotions in Dutch seventeenth-century tragedies, see Jan Konst, *Woedende wraakgierigheidt en vruchtelooze weeklachten*: *De hartstochten in de Nederlandse tragedie van de zeventiende eeuw* (Assen and Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1993), 126–7.
34. Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?' 209.
35. Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?' 209.
36. Van Paffenrode, *Der Griken en Romeynen Krygs-Handel*, 294–300.
37. Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, *Achilles en Polyxena*, ed. Th.C.J. van der Heijden (Zutphen: Thieme, 1972), 55–9.
38. Hooft, *Achilles en Polyxena*, 57 (334).
39. 'Patroclus blijfft. Hector draecht het lichaem ter sijen en schent het.' Hooft, *Achilles en Polyxena*, 59.
40. Van Paffenrode, *Der Griken en Romeynen Krygs-Handel*, 295.
41. Van Paffenrode, *Der Griken en Romeynen Krygs-Handel*, 298.
42. Hooft, *Achilles en Polyxena*, 58 (339).
43. 'Ghij griexse crijsluij vroom, die ver van wijff en kind'ren/Troct om u vaderlant sijn schade te verhindren […]'. Hooft, *Achilles en Polyxena*, 56 (315–6).
44. 'Elck enen toon de cracht van sijnen rechter arm/En dapperheijt van moedt. Siet daer den grieck. Alarm.' Hooft, *Achilles en Polyxena*, 58–9 (359–60).
45. 'Soo suft uw breyn, verroockt uw schat, en swicht uw spits/Voor rasheyt, raedt, en rap gemoedt van Frederick Henrijck.' Joost van den Vondel, *Verovering van Grol*, *door Frederick Henrick*, *Prince van Oranje* (T'Amsterdam: by Willem Jansz Blaeu, 1627), appendix.
46. 'Ghy komt, ghy gaet, ghy vliegt door uw snelle woorden,/Geraeckt u Leger stracx na willen in slachoorden/En u Soldaten trou (wel lettende op haer stuck)/Haer voeren laten na de Wint van u geluck.' Zacharias Heyns, *Vreugden-Gesang ter Eeren Der overwinnenden Held Frederic Hendric* (Zwolle 1629), Fol. A2v.
47. 'De Generaal van't Legher moet door sijn naersticheyt sijn ghelijck de ziele in't Lichaem in alle sijne ghelederen […]'. Zacharias Heyns: *Krychs-Handelinge Ghedaen by den Heere van Praissac* (t'Amsterdam, Ghedruckt by Broer Iantz, 1623), 31.
48. See for instance Pieter Christiaensz. Bor, *Gelegentheyt van 's Hertogen-Bosch vierde hooft-stadt van Brabandt*: *haer oorspronck*, *fundatie ende vergrootinge*, *verscheyden hare belgeringen*, *ende eyntlijcke overwinninge*,

verrasinghe ende inneminghe van Wesel ende meer andere geschiedenissen des Iaers 1629: *alles onder 't voorsichtigh wijs ende kloeck beleyt van* [...] *Frederick Henrick*, *Prince van Orangien*, *Grave van Nassau* [...] ('s Graven-Hage: Aert Meuris, 1639), 195 and 199.

49. 'Maer 't volgsaem heyr genaeckt soo ras niet 'tvolck te paerd./Of op's veldheeren woord soo steeckt de schup in d'aerd:/Men sterckt sich tegens ramp van binnen en van buyten:/Men ryght den ommekreyts met schanssen en reduyten.' Vondel, *Verovering van Grol*, Fol. B1v.
50. 'De Prins heeft op de komst des Graeven niet geslaepen,/Maer waeckte nacht op nacht, en hiel sich staegh in wapen:/Self ging hy ronde doen, en lager als sijn staet,/Op sijne beurten sliep gelijck een slecht soldaet: [...].' Vondel, *Verovering van Grol*, Fol. B4r.
51. Joost van den Vondel, *Zegesang ter Eere van Frederick Henrick*, *Boschdwinger*, *Wezelwinner*, *Prince van Oranje* (t'Amstelredam: By Willem Blaeu, 1629), 11. See also the remarks in: Olga van Marion, *Heldinnenbrieven*: *Ovidius*' '*Heroides*' *in Nederland* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2005), 176.
52. About the horse in medieval epic poetry, Beate Ackermann-Arlt, *Das Pferd und seine epische Funktion im Mittelhochdeutschen* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990).
53. 'Daer sat hy rustigh op sijn' Amsterdamschen ruyn,/Een klepper, nimmer moe van briesschen steygren krabbelen,/En afgerecht, om met 't hoefyser fel te grabbelen/In Spaensche troepen, daer hy schrick en ruymte maeckt; [...].' Vondel, *Verovering van Grol*, Fol. B4v.
54. Vondel, *Verovering van Grol*, Fol. B4v.
55. 'All' borsten afgerecht op het slaghordensloopen, [...].' Vondel, *Verovering van Grol*, Fol. B4v.
56. Vondel, *Verovering van Grol*, Fol. C1v.
57. Vondel, *Verovering van Grol*, Fol. B4v.

CHAPTER 3

Magical Swords and Heavenly Weapons: Battlefield Fear(lessness) in the Seventeenth Century

Andreas Bähr

The Magical Sword of Gustavus Adolphus

On 16 November 1632, Gustavus II Adolphus of Sweden lost his life in the Battle of Lützen. Soon rumours were spreading that the king had carried a sword bearing both magical and astrological symbols and a proverb borrowed from Vergil: *Audaces fortuna iuvat*, *timidosque repellit*: 'fortune assists the bold, but repels the timid'.[1] Protestants were alarmed by the news, since its consequences were fairly compromising. Evidently, fortune had assisted Gustavus Adolphus for quite a long time; in the end, however, it had refused to continue its support. Had this proved the king to be timid and cowardly instead of audacious? When fighting in battle, had he relied on apotropaic magic and heathen sayings instead of trusting in his own bravery? Had he even been in league with evil powers that let him down at the crucial moment and unmasked his previous victories as diabolic?

A. Bähr
Department of History, Humboldt-Universität, Berlin, Germany

© The Author(s) 2016

E. Kuijpers, C. van der Haven (eds.), *Battlefield Emotions 1500–1800*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-56490-0_3

In order to disprove this insinuation, in the first half of the eighteenth century entire dissertations were written. Georg Wallin and Adam Friedrich Glafey, in particular, addressed the matter.[2] For Wallin, it was not the proverb that constituted the main problem. After all, it had been adopted by humanists: it could be found in Christian mirrors for princes, and it was not to be compared with the 'idolatrous' and 'shameful' invocation of the Virgin Mary reportedly engraved onto the sword of Emperor Maximilian (*Maria iuva nos omnes*).[3] Much more controversial were the astrological symbols, the sun and Mars, alleging that Gustavus Adolphus was anxious to foresee what only God could have known, his own future and fate, and that he sought to obtain bravery from stars and planets, not from the Heavenly Father (Fig. 3.1).[4] Entirely unacceptable to Wallin, however, were those magical signs that the Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher confidently deciphered as kabbalistic monograms invoking evil spirits and demons.[5] To Wallin, apotropaic devices were familiar only from violent 'papists', the soldiers of Tilly, Pappenheim und Wallenstein: could they have been used by the just, mild and human saviour of Protestantism?[6] Inconceivable. Confident in God, not blasphemous swords, Gustavus Adolphus himself—says Wallin—had put a ban on such practices.[7]

The *fama*[8] of the magical sword threatened to desecrate the Lutherans' figurehead and discredit the Swedish mission in the Holy Roman Empire. Therefore, the Protestant party hastened to unmask the compromising weapon as an envious Jesuit invention.[9] As the main argument goes, the sword that purportedly had been shown in Leipzig, Aix en Provence and

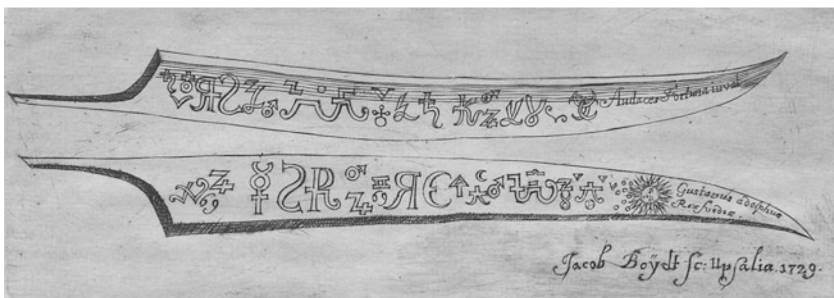

Fig. 3.1 Jacob Boydt, The sword of Gustavus Adolphus, in: Georg Wallin, *Refutationis commenti de gladio* […] *magico* (Uppsala, 1728–1729), copperplate engraving between page 122 and 123. © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz

Paris, had not been witnessed in the Battle of Lützen nor at the transportation of the king's corpse to Sweden and its burial in Stockholm.[10]

Critics took up two positions. Some denied that there had been an inscribed blade at all (and they were right)[11]; others, however, could imagine nothing but a sword bearing a 'pious' engraving only (Fig. 3.2). In particular, the slogans *Constantes fortuna iuvat* ('Fortune assists the steadfast') and *Virtus funeri superstes* ('Virtue overcomes death') were quoted time and again.[12] This version replaces the 'bold' and 'daring' with the 'steadfast' and 'virtuous', and thus, Gustavus Adolphus's death near Lützen changed from proving God-less timidity to proving God-fearing martyrdom.[13] 'Steadfastly and sincerely' (*constanter et sincere*), Glafey's sword goes on to say, the king had fought 'for Christ and his homeland': *pro Christo et patria*, that is, *pro religione Evangelica* and *Germania libera*.[14] Thus, since from the military point of view the battle had not turned out badly for the Swedes, the Protestants could not but conclude that the bravery of their hero celebrated its triumphs even in death.[15] *Stans*: *Acie pugnans*: *Vincens*: *Moriensque triumphat* can be read on the ducats and thalers coined in memory of the burial of Gustavus Adolphus in 1634.[16]

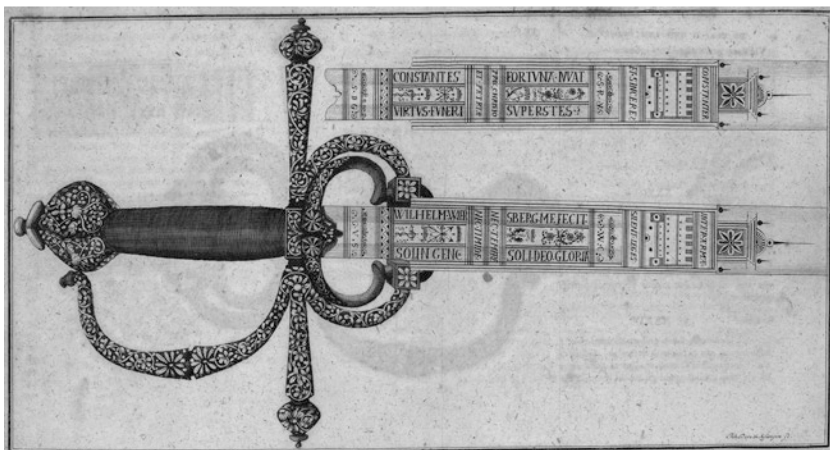

Fig. 3.2 Johanna Dorothea Sysang, The sword of Gustavus Adolphus, in: Adam Friedrich Glafey, *De gladio* (Leipzig, 1749), copperplate engraving between page 42 and 43. © Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle an der Saale

Yet there were even more pious sword engravings: *Nec temere nec timide*, for example.[17] This statement makes it clear that in battle Gustavus Adolphus had been not only not 'fearful', but also not 'imprudent' or 'careless', in other words, not *audax*, in the negative sense of the term. The phrase points to a second semantic differentiation: fearlessness in battle was defined not only in opposition to fear and cowardice; properly understood, it was—at the other end of the scale—also not to be mistaken for audacity.

Thus, the allegedly engraved swords—both the 'pious' and 'magical' versions—drew pictures not only of the person of Gustavus Adolphus. They revealed more than the apotheosis and demonisation of the king of Sweden. The sword controversy, which has attracted very little scholarly attention to date,[18] in fact offers also a compressed definition of soldiers' right and wrong fear(lessness) in Europe during the long seventeenth century. Definitions like these are of great importance both for military history and the debates on the history of emotions. Focusing on the writings of military theorists, philosophers, theologians and physicians as well as on self-narrative sources from the Thirty Years' War and Turkish wars, this chapter analyses the complex historical-cultural semantics of battlefield fear and fearlessness in the 'iron century'. In doing so, it also explores the normative implications of these concepts, yet not in terms of William Reddy's 'emotional regimes' grounded as they are on modern ideas of feeling and the self basically borrowed from cognitive psychology.[19] In contrast, I will examine *historical* meanings of soldierly 'fear' and 'anxiety' that differ significantly from ours. Without distinguishing between feelings and their linguistic representation (or investigating questions of emotional disciplining and liberty), I will not inquire into what emotions are and how they were constituted and formed but examine how contemporaries conceptualised and described the soldiers' *affectus* and 'motions of the soul'.[20]

Soldiers' Diaries

Protestants argued with Catholics over whether in battle Gustavus Adolphus had been fearful or not. In any case, they agreed on one point: soldiers were not allowed to feel fear. Unsurprisingly, therefore, seventeenth-century soldiers wrote hardly anything about personal fears and anxieties.[21] This is true not only of commanders relating the events of the war and strategies of battle but also applies to low-ranking officers and common soldiers.

At best, in those few military diaries that have survived soldiers describe fear felt by others; the anxieties they experienced themselves, however, are usually not directed towards violence in battle. The diary of an anonymous muster clerk reporting on the recapture of Belgrade in 1688 provides an illustrative example. After 'many thousand people, young and old, had been killed by the enemy' and 'several thousand, induced by great anxiety and fear, had thrown themselves into the river Danube and drowned', the war volunteer set off to plunder the recently conquered city. After climbing over all those people 'lying piled up', 'some dead, others alive, and most dreadfully slaughtered', he reached a small grocer's shop where he came across a large, promising jar. Searching for the valuables it might be hiding, he fell into this tempting container. Then, the author mocks himself, 'there was lying Lord Anxious and Scared' (*herr von angst und bang*) and only a Bavarian musketeer could 'help him out of the hole again'.[22]

In the Thirty Years' War, the soldier Peter Hagendorf related his injuries and the danger he was exposed to in the field, yet his experiences, as he makes us believe, did not make him feel fear. He was only 'frightened' in the presence of a flock of 2000 sheep, and 'horrible' was only the 'fire' he and his comrades 'threw into' the city of Einbeck in October 1641.[23]

Finally, also the court trumpeter Jöns Månsson Teitt, who accompanied Gustavus Adolphus on his campaigns, reports only of the terror and fright the Swedes caused among their enemies. In contrast, the soldiers of his own party excelled in fearlessness. As Gustavus Adolphus was killed in action, fearlessness in the face of battle was by no means natural, yet Teitt found the true explanation for this behaviour in the courage of their king: 'though His Majesty died like a chevalier, the soldiers were not scared but attacked the enemy like lions, taking their pieces and beating the foe'. (And thus, Gustavus Adolphus 'triumphed also after His death, as before in His life'.[24])

Here it becomes manifest that reports and comments on soldierly fear mostly came from the pen of distant spectators: it was always others who were filled with anxiety. In battlefield reports, this, first of all, was the enemy. For theologians and military theorists, however, it was also the godless soldier in their own lines. In the following, I will not inquire into whether or not soldiers felt fear in battle, but examine whom they were meant to be afraid of and whom they were not meant to fear. This debate was not about mental states of individual soldiers but about their legitimate power (*potestas*) and illegitimate violence (*violentia*)[25]: their dangerousness both to the foe and to those they had to protect.

The Fearlessness of the Christian soldier

Soldiers had to be fearless in the presence of the enemy, and those who did not fulfil the requirement came under threat of severe sanctions. As the military theorist Hans Friedrich von Fleming put it in his *Vollkommener Teutscher Soldat* of 1726, those soldiers unable to show bravery should better stay 'at home, behind the stove'; they were 'unmanly', 'the most contemptible and miserable creatures under the sun' and thus 'unworthy to live'. Those who feared for their own life had already forfeited their life: the 'cowardly' and 'detestable', Fleming's companion to 'military science' advises, had to succumb to the power of death, be it immediate, at the hands of their own officers, or by being legally and 'disgracefully sentenced to death'.[26]

Thus, soldiers should be more afraid of their superiors than of the enemy—superiors who sanctioned the fear of death with death. The advice can also be found in Michel de Montaigne and Justus Lipsius, and in 1763 Frederick II of Prussia was to say it explicitly.[27] Making soldiers afraid of execution was meant to make them fearless in the presence of the foe[28]; and if they had proved cowardly (as in cases of desertion) it was meant to lead them back to the right fear—by a simulated preparation for execution (with the assistance of army chaplains).[29] The *terror praesens*, Leibniz was convinced shortly before the siege of Vienna in 1683, that is, 'the true and visible danger', would 'overcome' 'the distant and imagined terror' (*terror futuri*)—and thus protect the soldiers against getting caught up in confusion and 'panic'. (And if the 'subaltern' officers had not the 'courage' to apply 'this ultimate remedy', Leibniz proceeds, even they should 'forfeit their honour and life, as if they had been the first to take flight'.[30])

Affectological recommendations like these raised a difficult question: was replacing one fear with another really effective in producing bravery and courage? Or did it rather lead to the augmentation of fear? Military theorists like Leibniz were well aware of the problem, and thus, they went beyond merely threatening soldiers with the violent power of their superiors. They knew that what was really needed was fear not of the officers but of the supreme commander in heaven to whom even officers some day would have to render their account. What was needed was the fear of God who promised to overcome fear, not to intensify it, or, to put it theologically, a 'filial', loving fear rewarded by God with His love. The soldiers' fear of their superiors was necessary, yet it was not sufficient.[31]

Thus, the Habsburg general Raimondo Montecuccoli taught in his *Delle battaglie* (1673) that only those who ignored that death liberated the soul from the body and, with that, from earthly evil and pain, lacked bravery on the battlefield. Even 'atheists' (*atei*) might draw comfort from this thought. Christians, however, knew that hereafter the soul would be unified with the divine—and that only those who led a bad life would face a 'bad death'. And what is more, Montecuccoli proceeds, why should one fear death, if its date was predetermined by God?[32] In the end, only those—both Catholics and Protestants—who prayed for redemption from sins, assistance in battle, and consolation would vanquish their 'anxiety'.[33]

Favouring spiritual remedies against battlefield fears implied the denigration of magic. From the critics' point of view, apotropaic devices inevitably failed to have the desired effect since they were based on a 'servile' and 'superstitious' fear of God that was apt to intensify fear, not to drive it out. In contrast, 'Christian soldiers' (*milites christiani*) trusted in God, not in their own or demonic powers. As Fleming put it, those who sought to protect themselves 'against shooting, stabbing and beating' by shamefully applying the 'Passau art', that is, using various tricks and herbs or pieces of parchment with Biblical sayings and strange words and signs on it, even by devoting themselves to the 'evil spirit', proved to lack a brave 'heart' and rebelled against the providence of God who, from the beginning, knew the hour of death. Man was not the one to decide on life and death. God-fearing soldiers strove for the art of dying, not the ability to avoid death: the *ars moriendi*, not the *ars mortis evitandae*. The only remedy was to 'trust in God, our Lord'.[34] Only God-fearing soldiers had no reason to fear, since anyone who trusted in his heavenly father, could really rely on Him. Zedler's *Univeral Lexicon* quotes the book of Deuteronomy: 'Hear, O Israel', the priest said to the people, 'today you are drawing near for battle against your enemies: let not your heart faint. Do not fear or panic or be in dread of them, for the Lord your God is he who goes with you to fight for you against your enemies, to give you the victory'.[35] In the end, those who did not trust in the Lord had every reason to fear—to fear not only officers and foes but also God himself and his just retribution. Those soldiers, however, who felt a 'filial' fear of the Lord, in other words, who were afraid of his righteous anger justly punishing them for their lack of fear toward God and for fearing the enemy too much, had no grounds to fear the foe. This was true not only of common soldiers but also of their military superiors.[36]

God's help was twofold: it took fear from the God-fearing soldiers and put it into their enemies' hearts, to make them flee from His countenance, struck with cowardice and terror.[37] To theologians, magical devices intensified those fears they promised to quell. The 'heart and trust' in God, however, as the Lutheran preacher Arnold Mengering put it, might 'give a small group of people luck and victory even over a large crowd', for 'truly pious Christians' had learned to 'assiduously' pray that 'God may give the enemy a cowardly and pusillanimous heart and touch their conscience so they will fall victim to their own evil business and scatter and flee like chaff in the wind'.[38] This is what Luther already knew: those who had a clear conscience, who were 'despondent' (*verzagt*) in face of the Lord, were 'undaunted' (*unverzagt*) in face of the enemy. God rewarded those fighting a just war with victory—by making the enemy recognise the injustice of his own fight, and thus making him 'cowardly and timid' (*zag*).[39]

The Fearlessness of the Godless Soldier

God-fearing soldiers were able to feel 'contempt' for death as they could be sure of God's assistance. However, this was only one side of the coin. On the other hand, Christian soldiers had to give their life in order to help their Lord to be victorious. According to the historian Johann Christoph Rüdiger, those soldiers proved most useful who did not overly love their life but were aware of the 'vanity of human existence'.[40] This requirement proved to be Janus-faced: those who were ready to die for their Lord, did not gamble with their life. The good soldier's fearlessness resulted from the conquest of fear, not from ignorance or disregard of danger: for protection from real threats, fear proved indispensable.[41] Thus, bravery and courage were not to be confused with 'outrageous audacity' and self-destructive 'daredevilry'.[42] Fearlessness liberated the soldier from this world and bound him to God. The brave soldier did not give up his life but dedicated it to the Lord; he loved it not as his own property but as God's creation. To sacrifice oneself was neither to 'murder oneself' (not even with the goal of not falling into the hands of the enemy)[43] nor to show a recklessness with deadly consequences. The 'perfect' soldier was not to fear death, yet neither was he to seek it; he gave his life courageously and did not deliberately put it at risk: 'Neither is he to long for living nor for dying but must constantly and firmly intend to fulfil his duty and to commend his life and death to the Lord. Only the Christian devoted to God is able to do this, not the natural man; thus, we are justified to state

that the most pious people provide the best soldiers.'[44] And these soldiers knew that it was God who earned the victory, not man.[45]

Hence, the *miles christianus* decided not only against 'gallantry',[46] but also against 'gluttony', 'insobriety', 'unchastity and prostitution', that is, against all those excesses that 'frequently ruined the body that was to be dedicated to God's honour and the fatherland'.[47] The drunken and godless soldier broke the rule of cautiousness, neglected his duties and put himself in danger as well as those he theoretically had to protect.[48] Thoughtless fearlessness and 'imprudent courage' gave many reasons to fear.[49]

And what is more: 'dissolute' and 'daring' soldiers themselves terrified their fellow men over and over again. Employed to banish the fear of the enemy, they themselves became a frightening foe. In the sixteenth century, when soldiers began to be remunerated, complaints about their indiscipline and sinfulness, that is, the loss of the *miles christianus*, had been the order of the day.[50] During the Thirty Years' War, the situation grew worse. Numerous authors explained the fear, anxiety and terror of this time by pointing to the fact that the itinerant mercenaries had ceased fighting for the good. The 'perverted' soldier of this age, Arnold Mengering laments in his *Perversa ultimi seculi militia* of 1633, could not be terrified by anything. He did not fear his conscience nor even the devil. As a consequence, plundering, robbery and rape became a constant threat.[51]

By indulging in this brand of fearlessness, soldiers put the salvation of their souls at stake. As Fleming put it, 'careless, God-less and reckless minds' like these 'neither have hope for heaven nor are terrified by hell, but live in impenitence, stubbornness and security until eternity will come over them'.[52] These soldiers were threatened by a 'sudden death' (*mors improvisa*) in the field, preventing them from repentance and absolution.[53] The explanation was simple: the soldiers of the 'German War' did not fear the devil because they appeared to be his instrument.[54] In the eyes of Mengering and many others they proved worse murderers than the confessional enemy, worse even than 'Turks and Tartars' and Satan himself.[55] In order to teach these soldiers the meaning of fear, princes and commanders should not hesitate to resort to violence. This is what Machiavelli had already taught.[56] In the course of the Thirty Years' War, however, it became obvious to contemporaries that the soldiers' illegitimate violence had to be hedged by law: by a *ius in bello*.[57]

According to the logic of Mengering's diagnosis, these devilish soldiers terrified not only civilians but also each other: they fell victim to their own

violent tricks. Explanation was provided by the paradoxes of Protestant theology. The godless artisans of killing were filled with fear, not only because they tried to defeat their anxiety by applying reprehensible magical devices (as depicted by Fleming), but because God punished them with fright for frightening others. In a sense, they executed upon themselves the divine sentence passed upon them.[58] With that, Mengering regarded unchristian soldiers both as evils of sin and evils of punishment.[59] When spreading terror, these warriors appeared to be an apocalyptic scourge, sanctioning the terrified for their sins. The instrument for punishment, however, was punishable itself. Hence, the warrior class, treating the principles of Christian knighthood with contempt, had to suffer from the violence of its own weapons (as, in particular, the newly developed artillery pieces).[60] The soldiers of the Thirty Years' War enforced the divine judgement they themselves had to endure—and vice versa. This was comprehensible only to those who believed that God was hidden and concealed (*deus absconditus*), punishing sins with sins.[61]

The Impact of Fear

In short: in the eyes of the learned, a lack of fear of God and an 'evil conscience' might lead both to cowardice in the presence of the enemy, preventing authorities from using legitimate military force, and to audacity ending in illegitimate cruelty. In turn, both sins would be justly punished not only from eternal or military judges but already in battle.

Also physicians, when examining the pathological consequences of fear, were familiar with these facts. The fate of those soldiers who defended Christianity against the Ottomans in Hungary is particularly telling here. As several authors reported, when fearing to be decapitated by the 'Turks', many of these soldiers fell ill from typhus. Their fear gave this illness its original name: *Soldiers' illness* or *Hungarian fever*. According to medical doctors, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries more soldiers were killed by the *febris Hungarica* than by the sabres of the 'Turks'—and even in the eyes of physicians this illness could not be cured without the true fear of God.[62]

Yet soldierly fear might also have a more immediate impact. Theophrastus Paracelsus, for example, noted:

> How many are those who have been shot in storms, battles and skirmishes, and nothing but their imagination was to blame for it! This happens if

> someone is fearful, shy and timid, and terrified by every single shot and if he believes that every bullet fired against him is about to—or has already—hit him. Such a person, I say, is much more likely to lose his life and to be shot than he who boldly, cheerfully and undauntedly proceeds, not terrified by anything, unafraid of any shot, with a strong belief and good hope that he will escape with his life rather than all other warriors.
>
> With warriors like these, castles, cities and countries could be conquered. All the rest, however, be they great or little twits, noble or ignoble, chevaliers or counts, are not worth a penny in the presence of the enemy, let alone payment.[63]

Hence, it could only be advantageous to the commonwealth if an ‘unmanly’ person did not set foot on the battleground but cultivated his field—particularly as he jeopardised not only himself but also his comrades: he threatened to cause ‘panic’ and thus lead them into disaster.[64] Therefore, a prudent prince would refrain from recruiting soldiers forcibly.[65] He would do so because he was well aware of the power of imagination. As Andrew Melville tells us in his autobiography, in the Battle of St Gotthard-Mogersdorf (1664), when he was a lieutenant-colonel in the service of the Elector of Cologne, he witnessed the emperor’s soldiers letting themselves ‘have their heads cut off’ by the Ottomans, unable to move due to anxiety and terror.[66]

Numerous authors were convinced that fearful soldiers ran the risk of achieving the exact opposite of what they were recruited for: they gave way to what they feared. Fearlessness, however, taught the adversaries the meaning of fear. Timid soldiers encouraged the enemy; their bravery, however, made him lose heart and put him to flight. Thus, military theorists used to sum up: death in battle comes to those who are afraid of it; the less fear, the less danger.[67]

Evidence was supplied by eye-witnesses of the siege of Vienna in 1683. According to Protestant treatises of the early 1660s, Christians were threatened anew by the ‘Turks’ as punishment for not having learned from the godless violence of the Thirty Years’ War (considered even worse than ‘Turkish’ violence): for not having converted and done penance as this war had warned them to do.[68] In retrospect, however, people had apparently learned their lesson. Prior to the Battle of Vienna, the call for repentance had prevailed including among Catholics,[69] but after the successful relief of the city, everybody knew for sure: every soldier had been a brave and God-fearing man.

Unsurprisingly, the relevant reports told a specifically Catholic story: the warriors' fear of God had manifested itself not only in penance and confession of sins, but also in the invocation and help of the Holy Virgin Mary. After the precipitate flight of the Ottomans there could be no doubt that the Blessed Mother had answered the prayers of the soldiers and commanders and the burghers of Vienna. She had consoled the citizens in their 'anxiety', and she had been the decisive helper in battle. She had provided fearlessness and military strength to the soldiers—after offerings of gratitude had solemnly been promised to her.[70]

The Virgin Mary helped the God-fearing soldiers in proceeding from fear to fearlessness; and she did so by moving God to 'strike' hitherto fearless 'Turks' with anxiety and terror: with the fear of fearless Christians.[71] The Ottomans, who for centuries had been sent by God to punish the Christians, now appeared to be punished themselves. To the allied forces, this happened quite astonishingly, since at that time they did not have any strategic advantage over the besieger. And what is even more important: for a long time, the terrifying power and violence of the 'Turks' had been explained by their putative lack of fear of death. Looking back, however, the victors recognised the truth: when facing truly God-fearing soldiers, the fearlessness of the Ottomans, which was supposed to result from their 'fatalistic' belief in an inescapable fate, soon proved to be dishonourable cowardice.[72] Though indicating a respectable fear of God, the *fatum mahometanum* was not to be equated with the Christian ideas of providence and predestination. Thus, the Turkish and the Christian feelings of contempt for death were considered to be fundamentally different. The Ottomans' defiance of death resulted in hazardous audacity, not in true bravery.[73] And therefore, it was not linked with legitimate power but illegitimate violence—a cruelty that by tradition was a constitutive part of Christian images of the 'Turks'.

This becomes also manifest in the controversy about the true shape of the sword of Gustavus Adolphus. Unlike the magical weapon, Georg Wallin stressed in allusion to the Epistle to the Hebrews, the king's real sword (as well as Glafey's 'pious' one) had been double-edged—and not curved as the sabres of the 'Asians and Orientals'.[74] Clearing this question up, Wallin sought to defend Gustavus Adolophus not only from the suspicion of employing magic but also of an allegedly blind 'Turkish' fearlessness that had more in common with carelessness than with the Christians' true fear of God—a fearlessness that gave the Ottomans a military strike capability that was bought with injustice and cruelty and thus would only be of limited duration.

With this, not only the engraved *Nec temere nec timide* becomes comprehensible but also the sentence *Inter arma silent leges*, quoted in both versions of the sword: 'in time of war, the law is silent' (adapted from Cicero and Quintilian).[75] In the case of the curved magical weapon this could be interpreted as indicating lawlessness and 'Turkish' cruelty.[76] On the pious blade, however, the statement got the opposite meaning—influenced by Hugo Grotius who adopted the ancient phrase in his natural law theory and was said to have been deeply esteemed by Gustavus Adolphus.[77] As Glafey mentions, by tradition the sentence had been inscribed on the swords of princes in order to admonish them to either refrain from fighting a war or, in case they could not avoid it, not to trample on reason and humanity.[78]

Nobody was meant to insinuate that near Lützen Gustavus Adolphus had fallen victim to wrong fear or wrong fearlessness. Thus, the double-edged sword was invented in order to prevent the God-fearing king not only from being confused with Christian conjurers of demons but also with 'Turks and Tartars'. The regimental clerk who had accompanied Gustavus Adolphus on his campaign had noted in his diary that the king had not been afraid of death, since long before he had 'sacrificed his life to the good cause', and he had been 'horrified' only when his soldiers had tortured civilians, contrary to his commands.[79] Those who denied that Gustavus Adolphus had carried a magical weapon underlined his God-fearing fearlessness, the legitimate fear and terror he had caused in his enemies' minds,[80] and the 'sacred horror' experienced by those who picked up his true sword.[81] Statements like these give us grounds to conclude that the seventeenth-century semantics of soldierly fear has little in common with modern concepts of (battlefield) 'emotion'.

Notes

1. Jean-Baptiste Morin, *Astrologia Gallica* [...] (The Hague: Vlaqc, 1661), 494. Cf. Publius Vergilius Maro, 'Aeneidos,' in *Opera*, ed. Roger A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 103–422, there X, 282–4.
2. Georg Wallin, *Triga Dissertationvm De Gladio magico Gustavi Adolphi Svecorvm Regis* (Leipzig: Stopfel, 1746); Adam Friedrich Glafey, *De gladio qvo cvm Gustavvs Adolphvs Rex Sveciae in proelio Luzenensi occvbvit* (Leipzig: Langenheim, 1749), in particular 4. See also Johan Arckenholtz, *Mémoires concernant Christine, Reine du Suède* [...], vol. 2 (Amsterdam and Leipzig: Mortier, 1751), 210–1.

3. Wallin, *De gladio magico*, 40.
4. Wallin, *De gladio magico*, 26–8, 40–1, 61, 101–2. Concerning the astrological meaning of the sun Wallin refers to Strozzi Cicogna, *Magiae omnifariae, vel potius, vniversae natvrae theatrvm* […] (Coloniae: Bütgen, 1607), 447.
5. Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc to Athanasius Kircher, 30 March 1635, Archivum Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae, Rome, 568, Fols. 364r–365v, there 365r–v; Gaspar Schott, 'Benevolo Lectori,' in Athanasius Kircher, *Œdipus Ægyptiacus. Hoc est Universalis Hieroglyphicæ Veterum doctrinæ temporum iniuria abolitæ instauratio* […] (Rome: Mascardi, 1652–1654), vol. 1, Fol. D 1r; Wallin, *De gladio magico*, 42–7.
6. Wallin, *De gladio magico*, 3–41, in particular 31–3.
7. Wallin, *De gladio magico*, 54–8, 61. Cf. Günter Barudio, *Gustaf Adolf—der Große. Eine politische Biographie* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1982), 74.
8. Glafey, *De gladio*, 3.
9. Wallin, *De gladio magico*, 47, 75–102; Glafey, *De gladio*, 30; Heinrich Anselm von Ziegler und Kliphausen, *Täglicher Schau-Platz der Zeit* […] (Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1695), 1325; Johann Nicolas Pechlin, *Jani Philadelphi Consultatio desultoria de optima Christianorum secta, et vitiis pontificiorum. Prodromus religionis medici* (Patavii, 1688), 47; Daniel Georg Morhof, *Polyhistor literarivs philosophicvs et practicvs*, 2nd ed. (Lübeck: Böckmann, 1714), 458.
10. Glafey, *De gladio*, 4–24; Wallin, *De gladio magico*, 65–70.
11. Wallin, *De gladio magico*, 51. The sword Gustavus Adolphus actually carried near Lützen is kept in the Royal Armoury, Stockholm, inventory no. 1661 (1946).
12. Glafey, *De gladio*, 8, 25–6, 36–7 and Fig. 3.2; Pechlin, *De optima Christianorum secta*, 47; Ziegler und Kliphausen, *Schau-Platz*, 1325.
13. Cf. also Wallin, *De gladio magico*, 101–2.
14. Glafey, *De gladio*, 37–8 and Fig. 3.2.
15. See for instance 'Gustauus Adolphus, derer Schweden, Gothen und Wenden König,' in *Grosses vollständiges Universal Lexicon Aller Wissen schafften und Künste*, ed. Johann Heinrich Zedler (Halle an der Saale; Leipzig: Zedler, 1732–1754), vol. 1, 1441–8.
16. Ziegler und Kliphausen, *Schau-Platz*, 1325.
17. Glafey, *De gladio*, 25–6, 36 and Fig. 3.2; Pechlin, *De optima Christianorum secta*, 47; Ziegler und Kliphausen, *Schau-Platz*, 1325.
18. Cf. François Secret, 'Un épisode oublié de la vie de Peiresc: La sabre magique de Gustave Adolphe,' *XVIIe Siècle* 117 (1977), 49–52.
19. William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Cf. Bettina

Hitzer, 'Emotionsgeschichte—ein Anfang mit Folgen,' *H-Soz-u-Kult*, 23.11.2011, http://www.hsozkult.de/literaturereview/id/forschungsberichte-1221, 8–9.

20. For further methodological details see Andreas Bähr, 'Remembering Fear: The Fear of Violence and the Violence of Fear in Seventeenth-Century War Memories,' in *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Erika Kuijpers, Judith Pollmann, Johannes Müller and Jasper van der Steen (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 269–82; idem, *Furcht und Furchtlosigkeit. Göttliche Gewalt und Selbstkonstitution im 17. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht unipress, 2013), Chap. 2.4. On early modern concepts of 'emotion', 'affect' and 'passion' cf. also Dominik Perler, *Transformationen der Gefühle. Philosophische Emotionstheorien 1270–1650* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2011), 24. In the historiography of early modern fear and anxiety, soldierly fear has not been investigated yet, not even in the relevant psychohistorical works inspired by Jean Delumeau, *La peur en Occident (XIVe–XVIIIe siècles). Une cité assiégée* (Paris: Fayard, 1978), and idem, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th–18th Centuries* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990).
21. Cf. Martin Dinges, 'Soldatenkörper in der frühen Neuzeit. Erfahrungen mit einem unzureichend geschützten, formierten und verletzten Körper in Selbstzeugnissen,' in *Studien zur historischen Kulturforschung*, ed. Richard van Dülmen, vol. 5: *Körper-Geschichten* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1996), 71–98; Maren Lorenz, *Das Rad der Gewalt. Militär und Zivilbevölkerung in Norddeutschland nach dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg (1650–1700)* (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna: Böhlau, 2007), 281–2; Yuval Noah Harari, *The Ultimate Experience: Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture, 1450–2000* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 104; Marc Höchner, *Selbstzeugnisse von Schweizer Söldneroffizieren im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht unipress, 2015), 116–7. It was not before the late eighteenth century that this situation began to change. Cf. Stefan Kroll, *Soldaten im 18. Jahrhundert zwischen Friedensalltag und Kriegserfahrung. Lebenswelten und Kultur in der kursächsischen Armee 1728–1796* (Paderborn, Munich, Vienna and Zurich: Schöningh, 2006), 418–23, 541–8; Sascha Möbius, *Mehr Angst vor dem Offizier als vor dem Feind? Eine mentalitätsgeschichtliche Studie zur preußischen Taktik im Siebenjährigen Krieg* (Saarbrücken: VDM-Verlag Müller, 2007), 51–96.
22. *Tagebuch aus dem Türkenkrieg 1688*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Cod. germ. 7074, fols. 49r–51r. Cf. 33r, 45v.
23. Jan Peters, ed., *Peter Hagendorf—Tagebuch eines Söldners aus dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht unipress,

2012), Fols. 69, 126. On Hagendorf cf. Peter Burschel, 'Himmelreich und Hölle. Ein Söldner, sein Tagebuch und die Ordnungen des Krieges,' in *Zwischen Alltag und Katastrophe. Der Dreißigjährige Krieg aus der Nähe*, eds Benigna von Krusenstjern and Hans Medick, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 181–94; Geoff Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts of the Thirty Years War 1618–1648* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2002), passim.

24. Jöns Månsson Teitts Kriegszüge mit Gustav II. Adolf, 1621–1632, http://www.amg-fnz.de/joens-mansson-teitts-kriegszuege-mit-gustav-ii-adolf/, fols. 5v, 10v–11r, 12v, 14v–15r, the quotation is on 14v–15r: 'Ob nun gleich Ihr Kön: Mttn dero leben ritterlich gelassen, seindt doch die Soldaten nicht erschrocken gewest, sondern den feindt wie die Lewen angefallen, undt Ihnen die Stücke abgenohmen, undt den feindt geschlagen… Alßo haben Ihr Kön: Mttn auch nach Ihrem Todte gesieget, wie zuvohr in Ihrem leben'.—The ensign Joachim Zehe mentioned only his fear of thunderstorms and shipwreck: Joachim Dietrich Zehe, *Hannoversche Rotröcke in Griechenland* (*Das Tagebuch des Fähnrichs Zehe in den Türkenkriegen 1685–1688*), ed. Herbert Röhrig (Hildesheim: Lax, 1975), 175, 196–7.
25. On *violentia* and *potestas* cf. Ralf Pröve, 'Violentia und Potestas. Perzeptionsprobleme von Gewalt in Söldnertagebüchern des 17. Jahrhunderts,' in *Ein Schauplatz herber Angst. Wahrnehmung und Darstellung von Gewalt im 17. Jahrhundert*, eds Markus Meumann and Dirk Niefanger (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1997), 24–42; Michaela Hohkamp, 'Grausamkeit blutet—Gerechtigkeit zwackt: Überlegungen zu Grenzziehungen legitimer und nicht-legitimer Gewalt,' in *Streitkulturen. Studien zu Gewalt, Konflikt und Kommunikation in der ländlichen Gesellschaft* (*16.–19. Jahrhundert*), ed. Magnus Eriksson and Barbara Krug-Richter (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna: Böhlau, 2003), 59–79.
26. Hannss Friedrich von Fleming, *Der Vollkommene Teutsche Soldat*, *welcher die gantze Kriegs-Wissenschafft*, *insonderheit was bey der Jnfanterie vorkommt*, *ordentlich und deutlich vorträgt* […] (Leipzig: Martini, 1726), 98–9; see also 'Soldat,' in *Universal Lexicon*, ed. Zedler, vol. 38, 415–47, there 422–3. According to Johann Wagner, however, 'in times of unrest in Germany' this order had been 'little observed': Johann Tobias Wagner, *Entwurf einer Soldaten-Bibliothek*, *nebst der ganzen Alten*, *Römischen*, *Teutschen*, *wie auch Neuen Kriegs-Verfassung* (Leipzig: König, 1724), 332.
27. Justus Lipsius, *Politica. Six Books of Politics or Political Instruction*, ed. Jan Waszink (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2004), 5.13.6; Michel de Montaigne, *Les Essais*, ed. Jean Balsamo (Paris: Gallimard, 2007), III, 12, 1088; Friedrich II. von Preußen, 'Instruction für die Commandeurs der Cavallerie-Regimenter […],' *Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand*, ed. Johann D. E. Preuss (Berlin: Decker, 1846–56), vol. 30/3, 298–314, there 302.

28. Fleming, *Soldat*, 99; see also 'Soldat,' in *Universal Lexicon*, ed. Zedler, 423.
29. Cf. Johann Ludwig Hocker, *Pastorale castrense Oder Nützlich und treuer Unterricht vor neu-angehende Feld-Prediger* [...] (Onolzbach: Lüders, ca. 1710), 458–63.
30. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, 'Bedencken wegen der unglücklichen Retirade aus Ungarn,' in *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe*, ed. Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, 4th series: *Politische Schriften* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1983–), vol. 2, 605–9, there 608–9. For details and further bibliographical references see Andreas Bähr, '"... vor denen nur furchtsame sich zu fürchtigen haben": Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz und die "Türkengefahr",' in *Umwelt und Weltgestaltung. Leibniz' politisches Denken in seiner Zeit*, ed. Friedrich Beiderbeck, Irene Dingel and Wenchao Li (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 379–412.
31. Cf. Bähr, 'Leibniz,' 390–4.
32. Raimondo Montecuccoli, 'Delle battaglie,' part I, *Le opere*, ed. Raimondo Luraghi, vol. 2 (Rome: Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito, Ufficio Storico, 1988), 7–117, there 69–70.
33. Montecuccoli, 'Delle battaglie,' 66–70; Fleming, *Soldat*, 293–302; Sigismund Schererz, *Manuale Militantium. Kriegsbüchlein/ Für Christliche Soldaten*: *Vnnd für die/ so mit Kriegsnoth von GOtt heimgesucht sind* (Lüneburg: Stern, 1628), the quotation is on fol. A 3r–v. On Schererz cf. Johann Anselm Steiger, 'Gerechter Krieg und ewiger Friede. Zu Theologie und Ethik lutherischer Konsolationsliteratur für Soldaten zur Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges,' in *Der Krieg hat kein Loch. Friedenssehnsucht und Kriegsapologie in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds Marc Föcking and Claudia Schindler (Heidelberg: Winter, 2014), 175–97, there 176–82.
34. Fleming, *Soldat*, 101; see also 'Soldat,' in *Universal Lexicon*, ed. Zedler, 426. Notwithstanding that, Fleming presents numerous magical and sympathetic devices, 'comfortable and helpful to soldiers': 355–68. Cf. also Johann Ludwig Hartmann, *Neue Teuffels-Stücklein*: *Passauer-Kunst/ Vestmachen/ Schieß- und Büchsen-Kunst/ Feuer-löschung/ Granaten- und Kugel-dämpffen/ Unsichtbar machen/ Noth-Hembd/ Waffen-Salb/ Auß-Seegnen etc.* ... (Frankfurt: Zunner, 1678). Obviously, those who criticised apotropaic magic did not deny its efficacy. Cf. Nikolas Funke, '"Naturali legitimâque Magica" oder "Teufflische Zauberey"? Das "Festmachen" im Militär des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts,' *Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit* 13/1 (2009), 16–32, in particular 19–21, 23; Ulrike Ludwig, 'Der Zauber des Tötens. Waffenmagie im frühneuzeitlichen Militär,' *Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit* 13/1 (2009), 33–49; Michael Kaiser, 'Zwischen "ars moriendi" und "ars mortem evitandi". Der Soldat und der Tod in der Frühen Neuzeit,' in *Militär und Religiosität in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds idem and

Stefan Kroll (Hamburg: LIT, 2004), 323–43, there 333–6. Ludwig's and Kaiser's work, however, is based on a psychological concept of fear and anxiety. On the notion of the *miles christianus* cf. Harari, *The Ultimate Experience*, 31, 35–56; Andreas Wang, *Der 'Miles Christianus' im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert und seine mittelalterliche Tradition. Ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis von sprachlicher und graphischer Bildlichkeit* (Bern and Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1975).

35. Deut 5: 20, 3–4, quoted in 'Soldat,' in *Universal Lexicon*, ed. Zedler, 446.
36. Johann Samuel Stryk, *Dissertatio ivris pvblici de militia lecta provinciali, Von der Land-Milice* (Halle an der Saale and Magdeburg: Orphanotrophium, 1705), 25.
37. Fleming, *Soldat*, 295–9.
38. Arnold Mengering, *Perversa ultimi seculi militia, Oder Kriegs-Belial, Der Soldaten-Teuffel* …, 4th ed. (Leipzig: Lüderwaldt, 1687 [1st ed.: Dresden, 1633]), 119, 594: 'Zeuch zu Gemüth/daß warlich fromme Christen von diesem lieben Vater so viel gelernet/daß sie warlich fleissig beten werden/damit GOtt den Widersachern ein verzagt/blödes/feiges Hertz gebe/und ihr Gewissen rühre/dadurch sie ihre eigene böse Sache treffen/und zerstieben und fliehen/wie Spreu vorm Winde' (594). Cf. also 26, 37, 556, 616.
39. Martin Luther, 'Ob kriegsleutte auch ynn seligem stande seyn künden,' *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (*Weimarer Ausgabe*) (Weimar: Böhlau, 1883–), vol. 19, 616–62, there 623–4, 651. Cf. also 659.
40. Johann Christoph Rüdiger, *Klugheit zu Leben, und zu Herrschen* … (Leipzig: Körner, 1722), 435. Cf. also Lipsius, *Politica*, 5.12.2.
41. Cf. also Lipsius, *Politica*, 5.13.3.
42. Justus Georg Schottelius, *Ethica. Die Sittenkunst oder Wollebenskunst*, ed. Jörg Jochen Berns (Bern and Munich: Francke, 1980) (reprint of the first edition, Wolfenbüttel, 1669), 421–7, the quotation is on 427; 'Tapferkeit,' in *Universal Lexicon*, ed. Zedler, 1774–7, there 1774.
43. Ahasver Fritsch, *Miles peccans, sive tractatus de peccatis militum* (Osterode and Rudolstadt: Fuhrmann and Fleischer, 1682), 133–5.
44. 'Soldat,' in *Universal Lexicon*, ed. Zedler, 446: 'Er muß weder Lust zu leben, noch zu sterben haben; sondern allezeit in dem festen Vorsatze stehen, seine Schuldigkeit zu beobachten, und seinem Gott Leben und Sterben zu befehlen. Ein natürlicher Mensch kan dieses vor sich nicht thun; Ein Christ, der zu Gott bekehret, vermag dieses, daß wir billig sagen müssen, die frömmsten Leute geben die besten Soldaten ab'. See also 447 and Rüdiger, *Klugheit*, 435 ff. Furthermore, cf. Fleming, *Soldat*, 99; Montecuccoli, 'Delle battaglie,' 70.
45. Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial*, 119–20; Fritsch, *Miles peccans*, 103–4; Fleming, *Soldat*, 296.

46. Fleming, *Soldat*, 99; see also 'Soldat,' in *Universal Lexicon*, ed. Zedler, 424.
47. Fleming, *Soldat*, 97–8; see also 'Soldat,' in *Universal Lexicon*, ed. Zedler, 421–2. Consequently, Fleming presents numerous recommendations concerning healthcare and personal hygiene (part 3, Chaps. 40–3).
48. Cf. Hans Wilhelm Kirchhof, *Militaris Disciplina* [*1602*]. *Kritische Ausgabe*, ed. Bodo Gotzkowsky (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1976), Chap. 28.
49. Cf. also Luther, 'Ob kriegsleutte,' 624, 651, 659.
50. Cf. Peter Burschel, *Söldner im Nordwestdeutschland des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Sozialgeschichtliche Studien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 27 ff., 45–53; Kaiser, 'Zwischen "ars moriendi",' 331; Jan Willem Huntebrinker, '*Fromme Knechte*' *und* '*Garteteufel*'. *Söldner als soziale Gruppe im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Konstanz: UVK, 2010), Chap. II.2.
51. Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial*, 223; cf. also 76, 115.
52. Fleming, *Soldat*, 293–4: 'Es giebet einige so Leichtsinnige, Gottesvergessene und ruchlose Gemüther, die sich weder vor GOtt, noch vor den Teufel, fürchten, weder den Himmel hoffen, noch über der Hölle erschrecken, sondern in ihrer Unbußfertigkeit, Verstockung und Sicherheit dahin gehen, biß sie die Ewigkeit überfällt'.
53. Fritsch, *Miles peccans*, 213. On the problem of 'sudden death' cf. Sebastian Leutert, *Geschichten vom Tod. Tod und Sterben in Deutschschweizer und oberdeutschen Selbstzeugnissen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Basel: Schwabe, 2007), Chaps. 3, 4 and 8; Benigna von Krusenstjern, 'Seliges Sterben und böser Tod. Tod und Sterben in der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges,' in *Zwischen Alltag und Katastrophe*, eds idem and Medick, 469–96.
54. Fritsch, *Miles peccans*, 112.
55. For this topos, see Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial*, in particular 15, 172–4, 188–90, 204, 237–8, 468–72, 488, 596, 613–5.
56. Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, eds Quentin Skinner and Russell Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 60.
57. Cf. Ronald G. Asch, 'Kriegsrecht und Kriegswirklichkeit im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges,' *Osnabrücker Jahrbuch für Frieden und Wissenschaft* 5 (1998), 107–22.
58. Also by using violence against those clerics and priests whom they needed in order to receive pastoral care and absolution: Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial*, 556.
59. Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial*, 2, 4 (referring on Luther's *Table Talk*).
60. Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial*, 672–4.
61. Cf. Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial*, 584 ff., 639.
62. For details and bibliographical references see Bähr, *Furcht*, in particular Chap. 4.4.

63. Theophrastus Paracelsus, 'De occulta philosophia,' *Werke*, ed. Will-Erich Peuckert, 2nd ed. (Basel and Stuttgart: Schwabe, 1982), vol. 5, 133–76, there 155–6: 'Wie viel sind in Stürmen, Schlachten und Scharmützeln erschossen worden, da allein ihre Imagination daran schuld gewesen ist! Das ist, wenn einer furchtsam, scheu und zaghaft ist, sich ob jedem Schuß entsetzt, und nicht anders vermeint, denn er sei oder werde gewiß getroffen, so oft ein Schuß gegen ihn geschieht. Ein solcher, sage ich, kommt viel eher ums Leben, wird auch viel eher erschossen, als einer, der keck, fröhlich, unverzagt angeht, sich nicht entsetzt, keinen Schuß fürchtet, hat einen starken Glauben und gute Hoffnung, er werde vor allen andern Kriegsleuten davon kommen. Solches sind rechte Kriegsleut, mit denen Schlösser, Städt, Land und Leut, wie man sagt, zu gewinnen sind. Aber die andern alle, sie seien groß oder kleine Hansen, edel oder unedel, Ritter oder Grafen, sind vor dem Feind nicht eines Pfennigs wert, ich geschweige eines Solds'.
64. This was also true of officers and captains: Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial*, 618–9, 714; Rüdiger, *Klugheit*, 440.
65. 'Soldat,' in *Universal Lexicon*, ed. Zedler, 447; Rüdiger, *Klugheit*, 433–4. Cf. also Hermann Conring, *De militia lecta*, *mercenaria et socia* (Helmstedt, 1663), §§ 20, 25; Stryk, *De militia lecta*, 18; Mengering, *Kriegs-Belial*, 603 ff.
66. *Memoires de Monsieur le Chevalier de Melvill*, *General Major de Troupes de S. A. S. Monseigneur le Duc de Cell*, *& Grand Baillif du Conté de Giforn* (Amsterdam: Desbordes, 1705), 255.
67. Lipsius, *Politica*, 5.16.11; Montaigne, *Essais*, III, 6, 943.
68. Tobias Wagner, *Türcken-Büchlein/Das ist*: *Summarische Beschreibung deß Ottomanischen Hauses Herkommen/und Kriegen/biß auf gegenwärtige Zeiten* …, 2nd ed. (Ulm: Kühn, 1664), 219–20.
69. See, in particular, Abraham a Sancta Clara, *Auff/Auff ihr Christen*! *Das ist/Ein bewegliche Anfrischung der Christlichen Waffen wider den Türckischen Bluet Egel* … (Salzburg: Haan, 1683).
70. Balthasar Knellinger SJ, *Predigen Zu Zeit deß Türken-Kriegs Von Anno 1683. In welchen das Christen-Volk Zur Buß/vnd Andacht/Dann auch Zu Lob- vnd Dank-Sprechung Auffgemahnet worden* (Munich: von Gelder, 1687), 24–5, 76–7, 90–1.
71. Knellinger, *Predigen*; Johann Peter von Vaelckeren, *Wienn von Türcken belägert/von Christen entsezt* … (Linz: Rädlmayr, 1684), 92; *Summarische Relation*, *Was sich in währender Belägerung der Stadt Wien in- und ausser deroselben zwischen dem Feind und Belägerten von Tag zu Tag zugetragen.* … (Nuremberg: Loschge, ca. 1683), 12; Eberhard Werner Happel, *Der Ungarische Kriegs-Roman*, *Oder Außführliche Beschreibung/Deß jüngsten Türcken-Kriegs* … (Ulm: Wagner, 1685), 812, 819; Georg Christoph von

Kunitz, *Diarium … Nebst außführlicher Relation Der Wienerischen Belägerung* … (s.l., 1684), fols. A 1r, A 3v—B 1r. Cf. Klaus Schreiner, 'Kriege im Namen Gottes, Jesu und Mariä. Heilige Abwehrkämpfe gegen die Türken im späten Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit,' in idem, ed., *Heilige Kriege. Religiöse Begründungen militärischer Gewaltanwendung. Judentum, Christentum und Islam im Vergleich* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2008), 151–92, on Knellinger 180–2.

72. See, in particular, Vaelckeren, *Wienn*, 91; Francis Taaffe, 3rd Earl of Carlingford, to Nicholas Taaffe, 2nd Earl of Carlingford, 12 September 1683, in *Count Taaffe's Letters from the Imperial Camp, To his brother the Earl of Carlingford here in London* … (London, 1684), 14–5.
73. Cf. Erasmus Francisci, *Die heran dringende Türcken-Gefahr* … (s.l. [Nuremberg?], 1663), fols. H 1r, H 2v–3v; Happel, *Kriegs-Roman*, 736; Leibniz, 'Bedencken,' 609; idem, *Essais de Théodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme, et l'origine du mal/Die Theodizee. Von der Güte Gottes, der Freiheit des Menschen und dem Ursprung des Übels*, ed. Herbert Herring, 2nd ed., Philosophische Schriften 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1986), vol. 1, 16–9, 34–5, 288–9. For details see Bähr, 'Leibniz,' 403–9; idem, *Furcht*, Chap. 5.3. Cf. also Franziska Rehlinghaus, *Die Semantik des Schicksals. Zur Relevanz des Unverfügbaren zwischen Aufklärung und Erstem Weltkrieg* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), Chap. 3.6.
74. Wallin, *De gladio magico*, 62–5, the quotation is on 62. Cf. Hebr 4,12.
75. Marcus Tullius Cicero, 'Pro Milone,' in *Orationes*, ed. Albert Curtis Clark, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), 11; Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria*, ed. Michael Winterbottom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), V, 14, 17.
76. Wallin, *De gladio magico*, 39, 62 and Fig. between 24 and 25.
77. Hugo Grotius, *De iure belli ac pacis* (Paris: Buon, 1625), Prolegomena, § 26; cf. Wallin, *De gladio magico*, 9.
78. Glafey, *De gladio*, 37.
79. Erik Zeeh and Nils Belfrage, eds, *Dagbok förd i det svenska fältkansliet, 26 maj 1630 – 6 november 1632* (*Journal de Gustave Adolphe*) (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1940), 1–74, there 27, 29.
80. Cf. *Dagbok*, eds Zeeh and Belfrage, 52, 55, 62–3.
81. Wallin, *De gladio magico*, 70.

CHAPTER 4

Emotions, Imagination and Surgery: Wounded Warriors in the Work of Ambroise Paré and Johan van Beverwijck

Bettina Noak

A Case of Compassion

One of the first experiences of the young Ambroise Paré as the field-surgeon of the Duke of Montejan was the siege of Suze in 1536. In his book *Apologie*, Paré relates this initial encounter with the cruelties of war. When the victorious French soldiers swarmed into the town, Paré heard with horror the screams of wounded soldiers under the hooves of the French horses. This, as he wrote, 'filled my heart with great compassion and I regretted to have left Paris to see such a miserable spectacle'.[1] In a barn in the town, Paré found three gruesomely disfigured soldiers. They were not able to see, hear or speak, and their clothes still smouldered from the gunpowder that had burned them. The young surgeon, full of commiseration, contemplated the casualties. At that point, an old soldier entered the shelter and asked him whether the wounded could be saved, to which Paré answered in the negative. The old soldier quickly moved towards them and cut their throats 'gently and without rage'. Paré was

B. Noak
Free University, Berlin, Germany

© The Author(s) 2016

E. Kuijpers, C. van der Haven (eds.), *Battlefield Emotions 1500–1800*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-56490-0_4

aghast and called him a bad man, but the soldier answered that he prayed to God to give him the same chance should he be incurably wounded.[2]

Ambroise Paré (1510–1590) tells this story as a prelude to his *Apologie, et Traicté contenant les Voyages, faicts en divers lieux* (*The Apologie and Treatise of Ambroise Paré. Containing the Voyages Made Into Divers Places*; first published in 1585) wherein he refers to his experiences of curing wounds appropriate to his war experiences.[3] It seems that the shock about the limitations of his art and the drastic interference of the old warrior spurred him to search for new treatments. Indeed, he later became famous for his unconventional methods of healing shot wounds. Instead of using boiling oil and cauterisation he treated the patients with a medicine made of egg yolk, oil of roses and turpentine, and he re-invented the ligature of arteries during an amputation instead of the common cauterisation. He disagreed with the common opinions regarding the toxicity of shot wounds and could therefore find some more appropriate remedies for the suffering soldiers. In his *Apologie*, he narrates some almost hopeless cases of severely wounded patients who could be cured thanks only to his courage and experience. With his treatise on the treatment of shot wounds (*La Methode de Traicter les Playes faictes par Hacquebutes* etc., 1545) and later his *Oeuvres*, he became one of the most influential surgical writers of early modern times.[4]

The anecdote told here shows that compassion was considered an important emotion for an early modern field surgeon. This chapter reflects on the complex relationship between battlefield experiences, emotions and medicine in early modern times. As we know from the work of Yuval Noah Harari, medieval and early modern warriors were not really keen to share their emotional experiences with their contemporaries or with posterity.[5] Nevertheless, we can find an awareness of the positive and/or negative implications of emotions on the process of healing in early modern medical writings. Biblical, mythological and historical battlefield experiences served as a reservoir of case histories that provided physicians with knowledge about the role of passions in medical science. This chapter will show that there is even a theoretical link between the development of surgery and the art of war. To understand this relationship it is necessary to take a broader look at the theoretical backgrounds of early modern medicine and surgery.

The ideas of Ambroise Paré about the impact of passions on the conditions of the patients are my starting point. Paré, who served as a surgeon under four French kings, is seen as the father of battlefield surgery. The

humoral theory plays a crucial role in Paré's work when he discusses emotional practices. Like the Hippocratic writers and Galen, he was convinced about the strong relationship between physical and mental health. I will use Paré's ideas to contextualise the ideas of Johan van Beverwijck (1594–1647), a Dutch physician of the seventeenth century, who was, like so many others, influenced by Paré.[6] In his book on surgery, *Heel-konste* (1645), which was the last part of his trilogy on medicine (cf. *Schat der gesontheyt* ['Treasure of Health', 1636], *Schat der ongesontheyt* ['Treasure of Illness', 1642]), Johan van Beverwijck used sources on ancient, medieval and contemporary history to demonstrate not only the impressive tradition of this sub-discipline of medical science, but he also refers to the emotional impact of injuries on different war heroes. It was for example the task of Paeon, a 'simple surgeon' in the *Iliad* of Homer, as van Beverwijck writes, to cure the wounded God Ares and relieve his 'bitter suffering'.[7]

In other words, war was seen as an important source of the development of the art of surgery.[8] This becomes clear in the life of Ambroise Paré, whose work emanated from his practice as a field-surgeon and thus was literally born on the battlefield. One hundred years later, van Beverwijck could offer no new methods of surgery or healing. He based his science on the same humoral principles as had the French master, yet his reflection on the relationship between war, history and surgery was more elaborate than in the work of his French predecessor.

Imagination Conquers Minds

In early modern times imagination was seen as one of the two faculties of the soul, together with common sense, and in this quality it was linked with the production of emotions. Although the theory of imagination was very complex, I should like to focus on two aspects of this term: imagination as the result of the interplay between perception and fancy in the human soul, and imagination as a rhetorical procedure.[9] Ambroise Paré reflects on the first aspect in his chapter about the faculties of the human soul: 'Next unto the common sense followeth the phantasie or imagination, so called, because of it arise the formes and ideas that are conceived in the minde, called of the Greekes *Phantasmata*. [...] The power of this faculty of the minde is so great in us, that often it bringeth the whole body in subjection unto it.'[10] Paré uses the example of one of the most famous warriors to illustrate the power of imagination: 'For it is

recorded in history, that *Alexander* the Great sitting at Table, and hearing *Timotheus* the Musician sing a martiall Sonnet unto his Citherne, that hee presently leaped from the table, and called for armes; but when againe the Musician mollified his tune, hee returned to the Table and sate downe as before.'[11] This example allows the conclusion that imagination and mental troubles can have a strong relationship, as will be shown below. Perturbations of the mind, caused by the activities of imagination, can befall all patients, and they can produce severe physical ailments.

The second aspect of imagination discussed by Paré is its power to stimulate the art of rhetoric, the production of texts and the ability to find appropriate metaphors. This also includes the reception of texts and the emotional effects of literature.[12] As I would like to show in the second part of this chapter, imagination and battlefield emotions are not only linked in the aforementioned sense of a bodily impact of imaginary processes. Medical case histories of ancient or contemporary battles could also stimulate the production of medical knowledge, as can be seen in the work of Johan van Beverwijck.

Emotions and Surgery in the Work of Ambroise Paré

In his introduction to the arts of surgery, Paré speaks about the preconditions of medical treatment: the necessity for surgeons to possess reliable knowledge about the laws of nature and the functions of the body. He explains the Hippocratic theory of the elements, the temperaments, the four humours, the faculties of the soul and the spirits. For him as for many other humanistic physicians—including van Beverwijck—it is clear that health depends on the balance of the four humoral fluids blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile. These fluids are produced by the process of digestion, and they are dispersed in the body by the three spirits—the *spiritus naturalis*, the *spiritus vitalis* and the *spiritus animalis*. Disturbances of the fluxion of the fluids through the body cause illnesses. Paré distinguishes between natural and non-natural causes of physical ailments. He discusses the non-natural causes on the basis of the traditional *sex res non naturales*, the theory about dietetics developed by ancient authors such as Galen: he examines the health of air, food and drink, sleeping, motion of the body, excretion and bloodletting and, finally, the motions of the soul. Emotional well-being therefore becomes a definite part of the health system.[13]

Paré defines the 'perturbations of the mind' as accidents that can befall the mind without changing its nature. The knowledge of these perturbations is absolutely necessary for a good surgeon:

> The Perturbations, are commonly called the accidents of the minde; because, as bodily accidents from the body, so may these be present and absent from the minde, without the corruption of the subject. The knowledge of these must not be lightly passed over by the Chirurgion; for they stir up great troubles in the bodies, and yield occasion of many and great diseases [...].[14]

In relation to the battlefield, three passions seem of a special interest to the reader of Paré: anger, sorrow or grief, and fear. As we can see, Paré describes all these passions according to the humoral theory. In light of this, he depicts anger as an effusion of heat in the body that inflames the humours and spirits and therefore causes putrid fevers in the patients.[15] On the other hand, sorrow or grief dries the body, until the heart function is so reduced that the natural heat produced in the heart becomes almost extinct, and the generation of spirits ceases. This process weakens the life faculties of the patient decisively:

> Sorrow, or griefe dries the body by a way quite contrary to that of anger, because by this the heart is so straitened, the heate being almost extinct, that the accustomed generation of spirits cannot be performed; and if any be generated, they cannot freely passe into the members with the bloud; wherefore the vitall facultie is weakened, the lively colour of the face withers and decaies, and the body wastes away with a lingering consumption.[16]

Fear functions similarly; it draws back the spirits violently and causes immediate physical transformations in the patient: the face becomes pale, the limbs become cold, the whole body trembles, sometimes the patient defecates, the patient cannot speak, the heart beats violently and the hair stands on end:

> Feare in like sort drawes in and calls back the spirits, and not by little and little as in sorrow, but sodainely and violently; hereupon the face growes sodainly pale, the extreame parts cold, all the body trembles or shakes, the belly in some is loosed, the voice as it were staies in the jawes, the heart beate with a violent pulsation, because it is almost opprest by the heate, strangled by the plenty of bloud, and spirits abundantly rushing thither; The haire also stands upright, because the heate and bloud are retired to the inner parts,

> and the utmost parts are more cold and drie than stone; by reason whereof the utmost skinne and pores, in which the rootes of the haires are fastened, are drawne together.[17]

At the end of his chapter on passions he suggests an adjusted treatment of the patients. In most of the cases the avoidance of harmful emotions is one of the tasks of the good surgeon or physician, but under extraordinary circumstances the agitation of emotions can be useful too.[18] The regulation of emotions demands the attention of the surgeon to the concept of imagination because certain fantasies can affect the emotional health of the patients.

Imagination and Healing

As we have seen, the humoral doctrine was a common theoretical ground for early modern medical science and for dealing with emotions.[19] To understand how early modern physicians could influence the emotions of their patients we will take a closer look at the effects of imagination on patients with a 'melancholic disposition'. Firstly, in Paré's view, melancholia, one of the four human temperaments, was caused by an excess of black bile. Secondly, as van Beverwijck underlines, melancholy could be understood as a mental illness that usually accompanies fear and terror in the heart and comes from an inverted imagination. Therefore, the manipulation of their imagination can cure patients' mental suffering.[20]

The symptoms of the melancholic listed by van Beverwijck resemble the symptoms that Paré describes concerning sorrow and fear. The patient loses his lust for life and his vitality, and sometimes he will segregate himself from human society; he can be under a constant fear that makes his body tremble, makes his heart beat faster and causes the cessation of speech.[21] However, the most characteristic symptom of melancholia is the perturbation of the patient's imagination. The melancholic will see and feel strange things as in bad dreams. Van Beverwijck depicts some case histories about this dysfunction of the mind, including the notion of phantom pain, derived from Paré's work.[22]

The melancholic passions, Paré tells, are sometimes more monstrous and distorted than the chimaera of the antique fables. He mentions two examples of an affected mind: a certain man with the melancholic disease

had persuaded himself that he was without a head. All measures of his physicians failed. After lots of experiments, they put on his head a very heavy helmet, so that with the weight of it and the trouble it caused him he became cured of his error. The power of imagination can also be seen in the second example. Another man believed that he had horns on his head. Nobody could cure him of this 'monstrous opinion'. In the end the surgeons blinded him and wounded his forehead with the lower parts of ox horns, and so the man believed that his 'horns' were taken from him by force, and he felt better and could be freed from his delusion.[23] Furthermore, Paré refers to the ability of music to soften pain and recommends the use of music in medicine. Concerning melancholia, he cites the example of David, who calmed the evil spirit of Saul with the sweet sound of his harp.[24]

Paré emphasises that sometimes passions can be used as medical treatments. He gives some examples of the use of fear for healing, including a story by Herodotus, who tells of the son of Croesus. He was not able to speak, but after the occupation of the city by enemies he cried out loudly in fear to prevent them from killing his father and got his speech back by this accident. A contemporary example is Paré's story of Captain St. Arbin. This soldier wanted to take part in the fight against the Spanish in the city of Dorlan, although he was affected by a fit of ague. During the fight St. Arbin was shot with a bullet in his neck and thereby so stricken by the terror of death that his fever was driven out by fear, and he subsequently recovered from this illness.[25] Van Beverwijck, who presents a more elaborate concept of melancholia than Paré, also gives many examples of the curative power of imagination.[26]

The case histories mentioned above demonstrate a general awareness of the significance of emotion in the healing process among early modern physicians. It enabled them to explain the bodily effects of disordered feelings by means of the humoral theory. The imagination of the patients could have an important regulative effect on their suffering: an 'inverted imagination' could cause pain—such as the phantom pain after an amputation—but it could also cure old afflictions, as can be seen in Paré's examples. The suggestion that emotions can be manipulated to good effect appears in the work of both Paré and van Beverwijck. The effective treatment of emotions and the pursuit of the emotional well-being of patients were considered acts of charity that could alleviate pain, an achievement which was one of the main goals of a surgeon.[27]

Surgery and Military

We will now turn to the other function of imagination, the imagination as a source of rhetorical abilities, used in the history of medical art itself, in the stories about its dignity, its meanings and in the examples and case histories that can be found not only in patients' narratives, but also in historical or literary accounts. Although Paré emphasises the importance of personal experience in the development of the art of surgery, the example of the story by Herodotus shows that he also used ancient historical sources as a source of medical knowledge.[28] In the work of Johan van Beverwijck, a more philosophical approach towards the development of surgical and medical art can be found: healing of the body also means healing of the crucial traumata of mankind.

Van Beverwijck begins his book about medical science with contemplations on the dignity of life and human nature. Life is a gift of God, and so is the love of life. It is—following the words of Seneca—like a chain that ties man to his existence and imposes on him the responsibility for the well-being of his soul and body. The two are inseparable and therefore their relationship forms the basis of medical science. Or, as van Beverwijck puts it: 'Therefore everybody should preserve the sweet alliance of body and soul with all his might to pass his time of life in peace of mind and bodily welfare.'[29] The dignity of the immortal human soul entails the dignity of man and the human body, which after all serves as the house of the soul. In the first chapter of his *Schat der gesontheyt* ('Treasure of Health') van Beverwijck uses several ancient sources to demonstrate the dignity of man and the human body: Hermes Trismegistos called man a great wonder, 'one who is almost God'; Pythagoras speaks of man as measure of all things; Plato calls the body a wonder of wonders, and after a life of study of human anatomy Zoroaster bursts out: 'O man, admirable work of bold and untameable nature!'[30]

From this point of view, van Beverwijck sees surgery as the most important part of medical science. Aristotle and other philosophers determined the value of a science by the subject it deals with and the certainty of its conclusions, van Beverwijck argues. Therefore, surgery holds a high position indeed: as shown above, the dignity of the human body is beyond doubt, and as for certainty, it is clear that astronomy has to give way to anatomy and surgery. What the surgeon is doing is visible before his eyes, and he can feel it with his hands; daily experience feeds his knowledge.[31]

Van Beverwijck considers the healing of wounds to be the most important part of surgery. At the beginning of the relevant section of his book, he refers to the history of the art of healing. As he puts it, the treatment of traumata is the oldest part of ancient medicine. According to the writings of Celsus, Aesculapius and his son Machaon were the main protagonists of this art and therefore were praised by Homer and other poets. Yet the calamitous wound of Abel was considerably older than the injuries of the fighters of the Trojan War, which made the Bible a source of medical knowledge, too.[32]

In his *Heel-konste*, van Beverwijck unfolds the, in his opinion, most significant sources of surgical knowledge. Firstly, the mythical figures of Aesculapius and Machaon (who fought in the battle of Troy) and the writings of Homer and other poets not only represent the beginning of the poetical expression of the memory of mankind, but they stand at the beginning of its medical memory as well. Secondly, he refers to the period of Celsus when Roman physicians reflected on their methods of art and on the history of their science. And thirdly, van Beverwijck points to the wound of Abel which emblematises the fatal history of fratricide and war that determines the history of mankind.[33] With the murder of Abel and the Trojan War, he places violent acts at the origin of medical science, which likewise constitute the whole of human history. Therefore, the healing of traumata can be seen as a task of surgery *and* a task of philosophy, politics and humanist literature. As for the use of examples as medical case histories, the stories of the murder of Abel and the Trojan War offer an endless reservoir of 'medical' knowledge that is linked to suffering on the battlefields.

The recourse to the Trojan War illustrates another important principle of van Beverwijck's theory on surgery: 'heel-konste' (surgery) and military science are to be seen as arts and as such are closely linked. The boundaries of both sciences could be described by the first aphorism of Hippocrates: 'Life is short, Art long, opportunity fleeting, experiment treacherous, judgement difficult.' (Van Beverwijck unfolds this aphorism at length in his 'Foreword' to the *Heel-konste*). In particular, the dependency of surgery and military art on the fortunate *occasio* shows the concordance of the two sciences. Furthermore, both fields of knowledge borrow examples and metaphors from each other, as in the case of Scipio the Younger who used to say that a wise general like a skilful surgeon would use iron weapons only as the very last remedy.[34] In the same manner, van Beverwijck compares military knowledge with the knowledge

of anatomy: just as nobody could understand the histories of campaigns, sieges and battles without a close knowledge of the places where such military actions had taken place, at least with the help of maps, no surgeon can cure wounds without knowledge of the parts and places of the human body.[35] Therefore, surgery and military art possess not only a common rhetoric, but also a common scientific basis.

Emotions and Surgical Practice

At the beginning of the third part of his book on surgery, 'On Wounds', van Beverwijck shows the well-known figure of the 'Wound Man' (Fig. 4.1). This is a traditional surgical illustration of the wounded male body, in which, as can be seen, the wounds are caused by weapons. In early modern drawings, in contrast to late-medieval illustrations, one can see injuries generated by firearms.[36] Here, the Dutch physician refers to the oeuvre of Ambroise Paré and admits that his approach to the healing of wounds will be a general overview, whilst Paré did the more specialised work.[37]

In his description of the treatment of injuries, van Beverwijck uses the classical principle *a capite ad calcem*: just as in an anatomical session, the instructions start at the head and continue with the rest of the corpus, so the treatment of wounds has to begin with the brain and then has to continue over the whole body. In this regard, historical examples are an important narrative instrument. The author refers to the numerous battle-field injuries of kings and other famous personalities, even mythological figures, for example to the story of Odysseus and Polyphemus. As we can learn here, the first plan of the Greek hero was to kill the giant with a powerful stab in the abdominal cavity to destroy his liver and spleen, which offers van Beverwijck the opportunity to give a lecture on the fatality of wounds in this part of the body.[38]

As for the surgical treatment of the patients, emotions are of evident importance. Van Beverwijck cites Hippocrates' reminder that it is not enough for a surgeon to take all measures of the art to cure a patient. The attitude of the sufferer and the outer circumstances of his life are crucial for a successful process of healing.[39] The personality of the surgeon plays a primary role. As Cornelius Celsus writes, the surgeon has to be a young person, not older than middle age, with strong senses and a strong hand without any tremor. Concerning the emotions, he has to be bold and remorseless, and he should not be persuaded by the screaming of the patient to hasten his work or cut less than is necessary in a specific case.

127

VAN DE

WONDEN.

Het Eerste Capittel.

1. WONDENS *oudtheyt, ende gemeenheyt,*
2. *Benaminge in verscheyde Talen,*
3. *Beschrijvinge,*
4. *Verscheydenheyt,*
5. *Oorsaecken,*
6. *Ken-teyckenen,*
7. *Voor-teyckenen,*
8. *Genesinge,*
9. *Maniere van Leven.*

1.

Onder alle de Deelen der Genees-konste en is by de Schrijvers van geen ouder gewagh gemaeckt, als 't welck de Wonden betreft. *Æsculapius*, de vinder, ofte altijt de voort-setter, gelijck *Celsus* seyt, deser Konste, ende sijn soon *Machaon* werden daer over geroemt van den ouden Grieck *Homerus*, als oock andere Poëten. Dan vry wat ouder is noch de rampsalige Wonde van *Abel*.

S 3 Ende

Fig. 4.1 Anon, 'Wounded Man', from: Johan Van Beverwyck, *Wercken der genees-konste, bestaende in den schat der gesontheyt, schat der ongesontheyt, heel-konste* (Amsterdam: J.J. Schipper, 1672), engraving in Book III, page 127. © Ghent University Library

To this quotation of the ancient source, van Beverwijck adds the requirement of Christian compassion with the 'miserable sufferer'. Nevertheless, this compassion should not lead to a tentative attitude on the part of the surgeon, particularly in the work of amputating or setting limbs.[40]

With the help of a paratext in his book, Thomas Garzoni's *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo* (*Great marketplace of all professions*, 1585), which in its turn uses John of Vigo's treatise on surgery, van Beverwijck discusses the rhetorical requirements of a good surgeon.[41] He has to possess a comforting manner of speaking, with which he has to console the patient and give him a lively hope of healing. The surgeon should convince the sufferer with sweet words to follow his instructions and undergo all the necessary measures of wound treatment without resistance.[42] On the other hand, it is the duty of the patient to reveal the circumstances of his injuries, the places where the strongest pain can be found and to follow the instructions of the surgeon. In this, it is absolutely essential to avoid listening to unprofessional recommendations of quacks, old wives or other self-appointed experts. The surgeon and his assistants have to take care of the emotions of the sufferer, who often becomes desperate due to unqualified remarks of outsiders.[43]

In his chapter on wound-treatment, van Beverwijck describes the measures of healing on the basis of the traditional *sex res non naturales*.[44] He calls for examination of the air of the sickroom, food and drink, sleep, motion of the body, excretion and bloodletting, and the motions of the soul (*affectus animi*), which he considers critical: 'The motion of the mind cannot be useful at all, not even great joy, but most harm comes from despair.'[45]

The fear of pain and death, and the bodily suffering of pain, appear inseparable from the nature of man. That this is the case we can also see in the work of Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert, *Zedekunst dat is Wellevenskunste* ('Ethics, or the Art of Living Well', 1586). Although Coornhert was an author who believed in the possibility of human perfectibility, he had to admit that even the greatest philosopher would be affected by physical pain. 'Intellect cannot change nature,' as Coornhert writes. In this regard, it is obviously not possible to steer the passions so as to avoid the natural signs of suffering: The body squirms with pain and the tongue wails because pain is a consequence of natural processes in flesh and blood.[46] In consequence, Coornhert demands in his writings the rational separation of body and soul. The wise sufferer should command his mind. With his intellectual abilities, he achieves a separation of the physical pain from

the feelings of the soul. Since he will not doubt the goodness of God, he knows that God will give him the necessary strength to bear the pain or that the 'true physician' will end his suffering and let the patient go to his heavenly fatherland.

In the work of van Beverwijck, we cannot find such rationalisations. His treatment of emotional suffering seems more practical as it directly affects the healing process.

Spiritualist Science

In this final section, I would like to focus on an aspect of military medicine in the work of van Beverwijck that is linked with a belief in the force of spiritual power, seen as a natural spirit or *pneuma* that can affect the healing of wounds.[47] It is an aspect of surgery that became famous and was controversially debated mainly in the first half of the seventeenth century, although its sources go back to Paracelsus and his followers. In the fifth chapter of his 'On Wounds', van Beverwijck refers to fundamental changes in the history of ideas during the sixteenth century. As Luther and Copernicus had left the traditional path of thinking in religion and astronomy, the Swiss physician Theophrastus Paracelsus had found new methods in medicine, for example concerning the healing of wounds.[48]

According to van Beverwijck, Paracelsus described a certain 'weapon salve' that he presented to the Emperor Maximilian I. Van Beverwijck even gives us the recipe: 'Usnea, which is moss grown on the head of a hanged man or a person who did not die a natural death; blood of man; two ounces each; fat; mummia [a powder made from mummies]; a lot each; half a lot of linseed oil; turpentine and kaolin, one ounce each, all well mixed as a salve.'[49] With this 'weapon salve' (of the related 'powder of sympathy') one had to coat the weapon that had caused the injury or an item that had been in contact with the wound, for example the dressing, instead of the wound itself. The interest in this alternative form of healing for van Beverwijck lies in the possibility to cure wounds in a non-invasive manner because the treatment took place at a distance and without touching the real wound itself. It seems that van Beverwijck seriously considered these cures possible.

Although for the modern reader this treatment seems quite magical, in early modern times it was backed by the pneumatic theory that admitted the sympathetic relationship between the natural spirits and the spirits of the body.[50] Van Beverwijck mentions Paré's doubts about this method and

his ironical approach to the 'powder of sympathy', but, as van Beverwijck comments, in the described case, it was a hopeless wound, which even the great surgeon could not cure.[51] Van Beverwijck cites different authorities to confirm his positive opinion about the 'weapon salve', amongst them Kenelm Digby, whom he esteemed as a great scientist. Digby convinced van Beverwijck of the existence of a 'world spirit' that not only generated magnetism but also the possibility of spiritualist, distant healing. Other confirmative authorities were Claudius Salmasius and Robert Fludd.[52]

Nevertheless, van Beverwijck was aware of the fierce discussion that this subject provoked. He also mentions the antagonists of this theory, amongst them the Jesuits Martin Anton Delrio (in his treaty on witchcraft *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex*, 1599) and Athanasius Kircher as well as the German physician Daniel Sennert.[53] Van Beverwijck optimistically believed in the positive conclusion of the problem: 'It is not always necromancy (as the common people believe) what we cannot immediately understand, because there are countless phenomena hidden in nature which are detracted from the grasp of our understanding.'[54] For van Beverwijck, medicine was a science with a great future.

Conclusion

Ambroise Paré directly developed his surgical knowledge on the battlefield. In his *Apologie*, one can follow the process of formation and transfer of medical knowledge in his career. As shown above, compassion towards the sufferer was one of the motivations that led him to pursue medical innovation. The awareness of the power of passions and imagination in the bodily system and their influence on the process of healing played an important role in the work of the early modern surgeon. In light of this, we can understand the final words in Paré's famous work, *La Methode de Traicter les Playes faictes par Hacquebutes*, with which he sought to motivate young followers in his art: never leave even the deadly wounded, but help them according to the rules of our art. Do not leave the sick if they are poor, and do not work for money alone. We have to cure the sufferers according to the commandment of mercy, Paré writes. And if we are successful in healing, it is not our, but God's, merit.[55] Therefore, in his opinion, compassion became one of the most important values in the treatment of wounded soldiers.

Johan van Beverwijck did not possess the practical experience of his French predecessor. Nevertheless, the injury of the human body, this

beautiful and hallowed gift of God, had to be looked upon as a sin, as he writes in his *Heel-konste*. As the historical origins of the traumata of mankind, the Dutch author cites the biblical wound of Abel and the poetic history of the War of Troy. Thus, although not directly expressed, we can take van Beverwijck's attitude towards warfare to be a critical one. He openly shows this opinion, for example in his description of firearms and their horrible effect on the human body. On the other hand, 'war as the father of all things' (Heraclitus) offers physicians and surgeons of early modern times (and later) countless possibilities of historical and contemporary medical cases and experiences, chances that were appreciated by van Beverwijck, too.

In a soldier's prayer book by the German Capuchin Martin von Cochem, the *Soldaten-Büchlein* (ca. 1698), we can find a special prayer for soldiers at the beginning of a battle. It is the only place in the whole prayerbook where the soldier confesses that his human nature is captured by deadly terror. The unknown warrior prays to Christ who had suffered deadly fear on the Mount of Olives and thereby compares his suffering with the suffering of Jesus who 'cried bloody tears' in his agony.[56] Through prayer the soldier has to overcome the obstacles of his human nature in order to do his duty of obedience and to offer his life as Jesus himself had done. Paré and van Beverwijck would have agreed with this vision: without the help of *Christus medicus*, neither the perturbations of the mind nor the dysfunctions of the body could be cured. Or, as the famous device of Paré puts it: 'Ie le pensay, et Dieu le guarit—I dressed him, and God healed him.'[57]

Notes

1. 'Nous entrasmes à foulle en la ville, et passions par sus les morts, et quelques-uns ne l'estans encore, les oyons crier sous les pieds de nos chevaux, qui me faisoit grande passion en mon coeur./Et veritablement ie me repenti d'estre parti de Paris, pour veoir si piteux spectacle.' Paré, 'Apologie 1585,' MCCXIIII–MCCXV. I used two editions of the *Apologie*: Ambroise Paré, 'Apologie, et Traicté contenant les Voyages, faicts en divers lieux,' in Ambroise Paré, *Les Oeuvres d'Ambroise Paré*, [...] *divisées en vingt huict livres avec les figures et portraicts, tant de l'anatomie que des instruments de chirurgie, et de plusieurs monstres, reveuës et augmentées par l'autheur* (Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1585), MCCVII–MCCXLV. In the notes it is referred to as Paré, *Les Oeuvres*; Ambroise Paré, *Rechtfertigung und Bericht über meine Reisen in verschiedene Orte*, ed. Erwin Ackerknecht (Bern and Stuttgart: Hans Huber, 1963). There is also an English translation: *The*

Apologie and Treatise of Ambroise Paré. Containing the Voyages Made Into Divers Places With Many of His Writings Upon Surgery, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (New York: Dover Publ., 1968).

2. 'Estant en la ville, i'entray en une estable pour cuider loger mon cheval et celuy de mon homme, là où ie trouvay quatre soldats morts, et trois qui estoyent appuyez contre la muraille, leur face entierement desfiguree, et ne voyoyent, n'oyoyent, ny ne parloyent, et leurs habillements flamboyent encore de la pouldre à canon qui les avoit bruslez. Les regardant en pitié, il furuint un vieil soldat qui me demanda s'il y avoit moyen de les puvoir guarit, ie dis que non, subit il s'approcha d'eux et leur coupa la gorge doucement et sans colere. Voyant ceste grande cruauté ie luy dis qu'il estoit un mauvais homme. Il me feist response, qu'il prioit Dieu que lors qu'il seroit accoustré de telle façon, qu'il se trouvast quelqu'un qui luy en feist autant, à fin de ne languir miserablement.' Paré, 'Apologie 1585,' MCCXV.
3. Cf. on Ambroise Paré: Wallace B. Hamby, *Ambroise Paré. Surgeon of the Renaissance* (St. Louis: Warren H. Green, 1967); Detlef Rüster, *Alte Chirurgie. Von der Steinzeit bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1999), 186–92; Jean-Michel Delacomptée, *Ambroise Paré. La Main Savante* (Paris: Gallimard, 2007).
4. His *Oeuvres* were published in various editions from 1575 onwards; the most famous are the *Opera Ambrosii Parei*, the Latin edition by his pupil Jacques Guillemeau; and the 4th French edition of *Les Oeuvres* in 1585. There are many translations of his oeuvre, mostly from the Latin edition of 1582. Cf. Hamby, *Ambroise Paré*, 207–9.
5. Yuval Noah Harari, *Renaissance Military Memoirs*: *War*, *History and Identity*, *1450–1600* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004).
6. Cf. regarding van Beverwijck: Gerrit Arie Lindeboom, *Geschiedenis van de medische wetenschap in Nederland* (Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1981), 44, 75; Lia van Gemert, 'Johan van Beverwijck als instituut,' *De zeventiende eeuw* 8 (1992): 99–106; Lia van Gemert, 'Severing what was joined together: Debates about pain in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic,' in *The Sense of Suffering. Constructions of Physical Pain in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen and Karel Enenkel (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), 443–68; Bettina Noak, 'Samen und Worte—sprachliche und natürliche Zeugung bei Johan van Beverwijck und Jacob Cats,' in *Text-Körper. Anfänge—Spuren—Überschreitungen*, ed. Lydia Bauer and Antje Wittstock (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2014), 35–57.
7. Cf. van Beverwijck, 'Heel-konste,' author's foliation, 4. I used the edition Johan van Beverwijck, *Wercken der Genees-konste*, *bestaende in den Schat der Gesontheyt*, *Schat der Ongesontheyt*, *Heel-konste etc*. (Amsterdam: Weduwe J.J. Schipper, 1680).

8. Cf. the literature about the history of surgery and military medicine, for example: Richard A. Gabriel and Karen S. Metz, *A history of military medicine*, 2 vols (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992).
9. Cf. for an historical overview of the concept of imagination: Ulrich Bell, 'Phantasie,' in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, ed. Gert Ueding (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2003), vol. 6, 927–43.
10. I quote from the 1634 English translation: Ambroise Paré, *The workes of that famous chirurgion Ambrose Parey translated out of Latine and compared with the French, by Th. Johnson* (London: Th. Cotes and R. Young, 1634), 897. 'Apres le Sens commun vient l'Imagination, appellee des Grecs *Phantasia*, à cause que d'icelle viennent les idees & visions qu'on appelle fantasies [...]. Iceluy sens a grande seigneurie en nous, tellement que le corps naturellement luy obeit en plusieurs & diverses choses, lors qu'il est fort arresté en quelque imagination.' Paré, *Les Oeuvres*, book XXIV, Chap. XI, IX.C.XXXVII.
11. Pare, *The workes*, 897. '[...] Les histoires font mention qu'Alexandre le Macedon, estant à disner, son harpeur Timothee ioüant de sa harpe un assaut de guerre, luy fit abandonner la table, & demander ses armes, & alors qu'il changeoit & adoucissoit son jeu, se rasseoit [...].' Paré, *Les Oeuvres*, book XXIV, Chap. XI, IX.C.XXXVII.
12. Cf. Bell, 'Phantasie,' 927.
13. Cf. Ambroise Paré, *Les Oeuvres*, book I, Chaps. I–XXIX, I–LIIII.
14. Paré, *The workes*, 39. Cf. Paré, *Les Oeuvres*, book I, Chap. XXI, XXXVI–XXXVIII.
15. 'Anger causeth the same effusion of heate in us, but farre speedier than joy; therefore the spirits and humors are so inflamed by it, that it often causes putrid feavers, especially if the body abound with any ill humor.' Paré, *The workes*, 39.
16. Paré, *The workes*, 39.
17. Paré, *The workes*, 39–40.
18. 'Now we have declared what commoditie and discommoditie may redound to man from these forementioned passions, and have shewed that anger is profitable to none, unlesse by chance to some dull by reason of idlenesse, or opprest with some cold, clammy and phlegmaticke humor; and feare convenient for none, unlesse peradventure for such as are brought into manifest and extreme danger of their life by some extraordinary sweat, immoderate bleeding, or the like unbridled evacuation, wherefore it behoves a wise Chirurgion to have a care, lest he inconsiderately put any Patient committed to his charge into any of these passions, unlesse there bee some necessitie thereof, by reason of any of the forementioned occasions.' Paré, *The workes*, 40.

19. The literature about emotions, passions and medical concepts of emotional treatment in early modern times is abundant. Here I cite a few titles most relevant for this article: Michael S. Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England. Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Florike Egmond and Robert Zwijnenberg, eds, *Bodily Extremities. Preoccupations with the Human Body in Early Modern European Culture*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Ute Frevert, *Vergängliche Gefühle* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2013); *Emotions and Health 1200–1700*, ed. Elena Carrera (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013).
20. Cf. Paré, *Les Oeuvres*, book I, Chap. IX, XVI–XVII and van Beverwijck, 'Schat der ongesontheyt II.I,' in *Wercken der Genees-konste 1680*, author's foliation, 38. Cf. on the concept of melancholie of van Beverwijck: Bettina Noak, 'Pictures of Melancholia in Four Tragedies by Joost van den Vondel,' in *Illness and Literature in the Low Countries. From the Middle Ages until the 21st Century*, ed. Jaap Grave, Rick Honings and Bettina Noak (Göttingen: v&r unipress, 2016), 61–80. On concepts of melancholy in the Renaissance cf. Angus Gowland, *The Worlds of Renaissance Melancholy. Robert Burton in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
21. Cf. van Beverwijck, 'Schat der ongesontheyt II.I.,' 43–5.
22. Cf. van Beverwijck, 'Schat der ongesontheyt II.I.,' 40.
23. Ambroise Paré, *Les Oeuvres d'Ambroise Paré, conseiller et premier chirurgien du roy, divisées en vingt-sept livres* […] (Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1579), book I, Chap. XXII, XL–XLI. The two examples mentioned here are missing in the edition of 1585. Via the Latin translation of this 1579-edition of *Les Oeuvres*, translated by Jacques Guillemeau and printed in 1582, these examples reached the translations in the vernacular. On the transmission of his books cf. Hamby, *Ambroise Paré*, 207–9; Van Beverwijck also refers to 'the man without a head,' cf. van Beverwijck, 'Schat der ongesontheyt II.I,' 46.
24. Paré, *Les Oeuvres*, book I, Chap. XXVII, XLVIII.
25. Paré, *Les Oeuvres*, book I, Chap. XXVII, XLVIII.
26. Van Beverwijck, 'Schat der ongesontheyt II.I.,' 45–8.
27. The concept of melancholia was also used in the military medicine of the eighteenth century. Cf. Alexander Kästner, 'Desertionen in das Jenseits. Ansätze und Desiderate einer militärhistorischen Suizidforschung für die Frühe Neuzeit,' *Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit* 11 (2007), 85–111.
28. Cf. the first part of his *Apologie*, which opens with a detailed paragraph on experience. Paré, 'Apologie 1585,' MCCIX–MCCXIIII.
29. 'Dewijl dan't Leven een geschenck en zegen is van Godt almachtigh, en dat oock de liefde van 't selve, een kettingh is, gelijck *Seneca* spreeckt, die

ons vast hout, soo moet een yegelick de soete gemeenschap van Lichaem en Ziele met alle middelen soecken te onderhouden, en alle vlijt aenwenden, om den tijdt sijns Levens in gerustheyt des Gemoets, en welstant des Lichaems over te brengen.' Van Beverwijck, 'Schat der gesontheyt,' 'Voorreden,' in van Beverwijck, *Wercken der Genees-konste 1680*, author's foliation, 5.

30. '*Mercurius Trismegistus* heeft hem [man, B.N.] genoemd een groot wonder, een Dier Godt seer gelijck: *Pythagoras* de Mate van alle dingen: *Plato* een wonder der Wonderen […]. Den ouden *Zoroaster* na dat hy by sijn selven lang overdacht hadde, 't konstigh maecksel van den Mensche, bersten ten lesten uyt met dese woorden: *O mensche, ghy zijt een heerlick werck van de stoute en alles dervende nature!*' Van Beverwijck, 'Schat der gesontheyt,' 6. Ambroise Paré also refers to the dignity of man as sovereign of creation. He praises him with Galen (*De usu partium*) and Aristotle and sees the abilities of his hands—the hand is the instrument of all instruments—and his reason as the greatest gifts of God to mankind. Paré, *Les Oeuvres*, book II, Chap. XXIII, LXXXI–LXXXII. The praise of the hand, of course, befits the surgeon.
31. Van Beverwijck, 'Heel-konste,' in van Beverwijck, *Wercken der Genees-konste 1680*, author's foliation, 3.
32. Van Beverwijck, 'Heel-konste,' 127.
33. 'Onder alle de Deelen der Genees-konste en is by de Schrijvers van geen ouder gewagh gemaeckt, als 't welck de Wonden betreft. *Aesculapius*, de vinder, ofte altijt de voort-setter, gelijck *Celsus* seyt, deser Konste, ende syn soon *Machaon* werden daer over geroemt van den ouden Grieck *Homerus*, als oock andere Poëten. Dan vry wat ouder is noch de rampsalige Wonde van *Abel*. Ende gelijck onder de uyterlijcke gebreecken de Wonden wel voor de oudste gereeckent werden, soo zijn se oock wel de gemeenste, dewijl het in de werelt nimmermeer aen twist, gelijck alreede aengeroert is, ontbroken heeft, de welcke dan oorsaeck is, dat niet alleen bysondere malkander grieven: maer oock Koningen, ende Prinçen door Oorlogh haer volck doen ombrengen.' Van Beverwijck, 'Heel-konste,' 127–8.
34. Van Beverwijck, 'Heel-konste,' 'Voor-reden,' without foliation.
35. Van Beverwijck, 'Heel-konste,' 9.
36. Cf. the illustration in van Beverwijck, 'Heel-konste,' 127. The famous 'wound man' can be seen in Hans van Gersdorff, *Feldbuch der Wundarznei*, ed. Johannes Steudel (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967), XVIII–XIX. The illustration of van Gersdorff clearly influenced the illustration in van Beverwijck. On the 'wound man' see Richard Toellner, *Der Arzt, das Buch und das Bild*, in http://www.uni-muenster.de/ZBMed/bibliothek/profil/vortrag_toellner.html (accessed 4 December 2015); Klaus Neuhaus, *Der Wundenmann. Tradition und Struktur einer Abbildungsart in der medizinischen Literatur*. (Münster: Diss., 1981).

37. Van Beverwijck, 'Heel-konste,' 126.
38. Van Beverwijck, 'Heel-konste,' 132.
39. Van Beverwijck, 'Heel-konste,' 'Voor-reden,' without foliation.
40. Van Beverwijck, 'Heel-konste,' 'Voor-reden,' without foliation.
41. Cf. Tommaso Garzoni, *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo*, ed. Giovanni Battista Bronzini, 2 vols (Firenze: Olschki, 1996). See also the German translation: Tommaso Garzoni, *Piazza Universale, das ist: Allgemeiner Schauwplatz/ oder Marckt/ und Zusammenkunfft aller Professionen* (Frankfurt am Main: Hoffmann, 1619). Joannis de Vigo, *In chirurgia*, 2 vols (Leiden: Giuncta, 1525). See the English translation: John of Vigo, *The most excellent workes of chirurgerye* [1543], ed. B. Traheron (Amsterdam: Theatrum orbis terrarum, 1968).
42. Van Beverwijck, 'Heel-konste,' 10.
43. Van Beverwijck, 'Heel-konste,' 'Voor-reden,' without foliation.
44. Cf. on this concept Klaus Bergdolt, *Leib und Seele. Eine Kulturgeschichte des gesunden Lebens* (München: Beck, 1999).
45. Van Beverwijck, 'Heel-konste,' 134.
46. Cf. Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert, *Zedekunst dat is wellevenskunste*, ed. Bruno Becker (Leiden: Brill, 1942), V, VI, 359; On medical concepts in the work of Coornhert cf. Bettina Noak, 'Concepts of illness and health in the "Zedekunst dat is Wellevenskunste" ("Ethics, or the Art of Living Well", 1586) by Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert (1522–1590),' in: Anne Eusterschulte and Hannah Wälzholz, eds, *Anthropological Reformations—Anthropology in the Era of Reformation* (Göttingen: v&r unipress, 2015), 295–304.
47. In early modern times the doctrine of the spiritus is very complex. As illustrated in this paper, the three forms of spiritus (the *spiritus naturalis*, the *spiritus vitalis* and the *spiritus animalis*) worked in the blood. Alongside those there existed a pneuma in the air that gave the body that inhaled it its natural heat. Finally, another form of the pneuma, following the Stoic philosophy, could be understood as an organising, generative principle of the whole of nature. The working of the different pneumata determined the relationships between body, soul and universe. Cf. Marielene Putscher, *Pneuma, spiritus, Geist. Vorstellungen vom Lebensantrieb in ihren geschichtlichen Wandlungen* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1973); Michael Sonntag, 'Gefährte der Seele, Träger des Lebens. Die medizinischen Spiritus im 16. Jahrhundert,' in *Die Seele. Ihre Geschichte im Abendland*, ed. Gerd Jüttemann, Michael Sonntag and Christoph Wulf (Weinheim: Psychologie-Verl.-Union, 1991), 165–79; Gerhard Klier, *Die drei Geister des Menschen. Die sogenannte Spirituslehre in der Physiologie der Frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2002).
48. Van Beverwijck, 'Heel-konste,' 139.

49. 'Usnea, dat is Mosch, gewassen op het Hooft-scheel van een die gehangen, of geen natuyrlicken doodt gestorven is, Menschen-Bloedt, van elcks 2 onçen, Smout, Mumia, van elcks 1 loot, Lijnzaet-olye, ½ loot, Termenthijn, Bolus, van elcks 1 onçe; onder malkander gemengt tot een Salve.' Van Beverwijck, 'Heel-konste,' 140.
50. For the discussion about the 'weapon salve' and the 'powder of sympathy' cf.: Carlos Ziller-Camenietzki, 'La poudre de Madame: la trajectoire de la guérison magnétique des blessures en France,' *Dix-septième siècle* 211 (2001): 285–305; Elizabeth Hedrick, 'Romancing the salve: Sir Kenelm Digby and the powder of sympathy,' *The British Journal for the History of Science* 41 (2008): 161–85; the article 'weapon salve' in William E. Burns, *The Scientific Revolution. An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 2001), 320–1; Wolf-Dieter Müller-Jahncke, 'Magische Medizin bei Paracelsus und den Paracelsisten: Die Waffensalbe,' in *Resultate und Desiderate der Paracelsusforschung,* ed. Peter Dilg and Hartmut Rudolph, (Stuttgart: Sudhoffs Archiv, 1993), 43–55; Allen G. Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy. Paracelsian Science and Medicine in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York: Science History Publications, 1977), vol. 1, 127–293.
51. Van Beverwijck, 'Heel-konste,' 140.
52. Van Beverwijck, 'Heel-konste,' 139–41.
53. Cf. Sir Kenelm Digby, *A late discourse made in solemne assembly of nobles and learned men at Montpellier in France*, *touching the cure of wounds by the powder of sympathy*, 2nd edition (London: R. Lowdes, 1658). Martin Antonio Delrio, *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex in tres tomos partiti* (Lovanii: Ex officina Gerardi Rivii, 1599–1601). See the English translation: Martin del Rio, *Investigations into Magic*, ed. P. G. Maxwell-Stuart (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).
54. 'Maer het en is niet al terstont Toovernye (gelijck het gemeen volck sijn selven inbeeldt) waer van geen reden kan gegeven werden, dewijl dat 'er noch ontallicke dingen in de Nature soo verborgen zijn, dat ons verstant daer van het minste bericht niet en soude kunnen doen.' Van Beverwijck, 'Heel-konste,' 141.
55. Ambroise Paré, *Die Behandlung der Schußwunden 1545*, ed. Henry E. Sigerist (Leipzig: J.A. Barth, 1923), 47–8.
56. Martin von Cochem, *Soldaten-Büchlein*, *Oder Nutzliches Gebett-Büchlein*: *Begreiffend Anmüthig- vnd kräfftige Gebetter vnd Seegen/So wohl für Hohe vnd Nidere Officier/als gemeine Soldaten. In Kriegs- vnd Fridens-Zeiten zu gebrauchen* [sl/sa, 1698?], 177.
57. Paré, 'Apologie 1585,' MCCXIIII.

CHAPTER 5

Fear, Honour and Emotional Control on the Eighteenth-Century Battlefield

Ilya Berkovich

The eighteenth century is typically seen as the age of limited warfare. The quest for decisive victory, which came to dominate Western grand strategy in the modern period, was yet to emerge. In early modern Europe wars were fought for concrete aims such as dynastic interests, gaining control over a specific province or keeping in check a state which was becoming too strong for its neighbours' taste. This balance of power was not only political but also military. The armies of the major belligerents were large enough to ensure that they could not be overwhelmed in a single campaign, but the continuation of the conflict meant these forces would soon outrun the fiscal and logistical systems which backed them. With no side being strong enough to achieve total victory, most early modern wars eventually dwindled into long matches of military and financial attrition ending with mutual exhaustion and political compromise.[1] But the comparatively restrained aims of ancien régime policy makers and the relatively limited capabilities of their military forces should not mislead us, for the actual combat experience on the eighteenth-century battlefield was among the most intense in the history of warfare.

I am grateful to Helen Roche and Adam Storring for their help with this paper.

I. Berkovich
Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich, Germany

© The Author(s) 2016

E. Kuijpers, C. van der Haven (eds.), *Battlefield Emotions 1500–1800*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-56490-0_5

This was a result of a change in weaponry, which took place in the late seventeenth century. The invention of the socket bayonet, which allowed the musket to be used as a shock weapon without impairing its ability to fire, prompted the abolition of the pike. As long as some infantrymen were armed with cold weapons only, there was reasonable chance for close combat to occur.[2] Now, however, battles were to be decided by firepower. To maximise its effectiveness, the depth of the infantry formation was decreased to four, three and sometimes even two men so that as many muskets as possible could be brought simultaneously against the enemy. Yet infantry fire had to remain concentrated and soldiers were arrayed elbow to elbow, creating a thin and cumbersome line completely unsuited for quick movement. Moreover, smoothbore muskets were inaccurate and massed volleys ruled out the possibility for aimed fire. A general discharge from 200 metres would not hit more than a few men. It would have a better result when delivered from half that distance, but when fired from 50 metres or less, the volley could prove murderous, hitting as many as every third soldier in the enemy line.

The effective employment of infantry firepower required that shooting was withheld as long as possible, while the unwieldiness of the infantry battle line prevented any quick deployment. A typical pace of advance rarely exceeded 75 steps per minute and halts were common to allow slower moving units to catch up. As the infantry gradually stepped forward, it would come under artillery fire. A well-aimed cannon ball would snatch a number of men at a time, showering the survivors with blood and torn body tissue. During the last few hundred metres, the artillery would switch to canister—spraying the advancing troops with thousands of iron pellets. Yet soldiers were to continue marching toward the enemy without stopping to fire back and ignoring whatever defensive fire came their way, until able to discharge the precious first volley that had been calmly loaded before the battle. If the enemy still stood his ground, a battle would turn into a firefight with lines of infantrymen blazing at each other through the gunpowder smoke from a distance of as little as 20 metres.

Yet it was the initial slow measured advance while stoically enduring losses rather than actively inflicting them, which became the prevailing characteristic of ancien régime warfare from the War of the Spanish Succession onwards. Lynn fittingly called it ‘the battle culture of forbearance’ which required ‘paying heavy cost in casualties as an essential downpayment on victory’.[3] Yet in spite of the high losses these tactics entailed, their aim was not the physical extermination of the enemy line.

The battle was won when soldiers on one side could no longer endure fighting, broke formation and fled. Essentially, infantry tactics boiled down to a brutal duel of collective mental endurance between the opposing troops. This logic is usually cited to explain the alleged brutality of ancien régime military discipline. Influenced by a famous remark made by King Frederick the Great of Prussia, this view holds that common soldiers feared their own officers more than they feared the enemy and only continued to fight because the prospect of failing or fleeing held worse terrors than confronting the enemy. To put it differently, the conventional scholarly wisdom attributes the motivation of ancien régime common soldiers to fear. This chapter reconsiders that view by presenting an alternative model of combat motivation on the eighteenth-century battlefield.

I would argue that fear did indeed play a prominent role in ancien régime combat motivation, but it was not fear of punishment at the hand of superiors but fear of shame in face of fellow soldiers. Eighteenth-century soldiers had a strong honour code with well-defined rules. Bravery, toughness and other traits associated with masculine behaviour were highly regarded, while men who were suspected of shunning combat would be branded as cowards and ostracised by their own comrades.

After a number of general observations which need to be made about the conventional interpretation attributing ancien régime combat motivation to coercion and fear of punishment, this chapter will go on to demonstrate how the collective habitus was created, sustained and eventually contributed to combat performance. Although fear of social exclusion could reconcile soldiers to the need to fight, the horrors of combat still loomed large. The final section will then describe the mental strategies employed by the men of the line to help them overcome their fear, both before and during battle.

The Limits of the Conventional Model

As already pointed out by Blanning, the combat record of early modern armies was too good to 'be explained simply in terms of iron discipline'.[4] For instance, at the Battle of Minden (1759) a badly-phrased order caused six British and two Hanoverian infantry battalions to advance directly into the centre of the French battle line. After braving flanking fire from enemy batteries, the attackers proceeded to repulse three French cavalry charges and a further infantry counterattack, essentially deciding the battle almost alone. Less than a year before, when Frederick the Great was surprised by

the Austrians at Hochkirch, the desperate resistance of the second battalion of the Markgraf Karl regiment enabled most of the Prussian army to escape, perhaps, even saving their king from ruin. In October 1799, when Alexander Suvorov's Russian troops were surrounded in the middle of the Swiss Alps by a much larger French force, they broke out and retreated to safety through the snow-covered Panixer pass, not before badly mauling the pursuing French vanguard. But even when not faced by extreme circumstances, such as a desperate last stand or an attack against overwhelming odds, ancien régime infantry regiments often lost a quarter or even a third of their men in the course of a single battle, sometimes in as little as a few minutes, while instances of individual units enduring casualty rates of over 50 per cent were also not unheard of.[5] The fact that men were successfully brought to fight in such conditions speaks highly of their combat motivation, regardless of whether they were victorious or not.

In theory, linear combat required the implementation of the most forceful control methods, a point stressed by eighteenth-century regulations which instructed officers to kill any soldier turning to flee or even murmuring in the ranks. The reality was more complex, however, because ancien régime tactics were more varied than a mechanical exchange of volleys between two opposing infantry lines. Troops could be ordered to charge with the bayonet or dispersed to fight in open order.[6] But even when soldiers stood shoulder-to-shoulder in a formation lined by officers and NCOs, the ability of their superiors to control them was limited by another surprisingly prosaic factor. When the infantry marched forward, many officers were actually placed in front of the line, exposed not only to the enemy but also to their own men. When fighting started, smoke and volley firing made it impossible to discern the fire of individual muskets discharged from the closely compact line. As with modern instances of fragging, direct evidence for officers murdered by their soldiers is rare, but there is enough material to suggest such acts did occasionally occur. Duffy has even come across a particularly brazen case when a British major was shot in front of his men *after* the battle was over.[7] While always remaining formally subordinate to their superiors, the mere possibility that men of the line could retaliate against a brutal officer must have kept the latter in some check.

Whether they were due to actual battlefield conditions or prompted by a more reciprocal balance of fear between officers and soldiers, the limits on direct control by superiors do not come easily in ancien régime military regulations. Another group of readily available sources which

present a rather one-sided view of common soldiers are the writings of their superiors. As we will soon show, the actual behaviour of some officers demonstrates their awareness of higher motives among the rank and file; stating this openly in writing was another matter, however. Instead, the prevailing polite discourse dictated that soldiers were to be expected to follow the vilest traits of human character. In addition to the class prejudices of the largely noble officer corps, such views reflected a broader social reality. Ancien régime armies essentially mirrored the practices of the patriarchal society of that time, and soldiers were seen as perpetually immature and mischievous children who were to be disciplined by their social superiors.[8] Hence, this chapter focuses on the writings of ordinary soldiers themselves. Admittedly, their letters, journals and memoirs, of which a surprisingly large number survive, were written with the benefit of hindsight and could be influenced by literary models and cultural expectations of remembrance. However, the same can be said about any historical source from any age. Studies of combat motivation in other periods rely heavily on first-hand accounts[9] and this paper follows their example. Whatever their drawbacks, the writings of common soldiers are likely to come closest to describing the actual combat experience on the eighteenth-century battlefield. That said, our discussion of honour among the rank and file actually begins by considering the actions of their officers.

Honour and the Common Soldier

While his political testament describes Prussian soldiers as lacking honour and ambition, Frederick employed these terms when addressing his troops. Before the Battle of Leuthen (1757), after informing his men that they would attack a much larger Austrian army holding a strong defensive position, the king warned that he would disgrace any regiment that broke in front of the enemy. More concretely, Frederick threatened to take away the regimental standards and soldiers' swords and to cut off the braid from the hats of officers and NCOs. In 1760, Frederick inflicted this punishment on the Anhalt-Bernburg Regiment after it was routed during an Austrian sortie at the Siege of Dresden. Depriving its men of a few external marks of military honour proved spectacularly effective. A few months later, at the Battle of Liegnitz, this regiment spearheaded a bayonet charge in what became one of the very few instances in Western warfare of a cavalry force being defeated by attacking infantry in a regular

field engagement.[10] To cite the example of another famous commander, British General James Wolfe occasionally refers in private writings to his soldiers as scum; none the less, before battle he would appeal to his men's honour and sense of duty. According to John Johnson, who served in the 58th Regiment of Foot during the Siege of Quebec, when preparations were made for a decisive attack against the fortress in September 1759, the soldiers were read Wolfe's order calling them to fulfil their duty to their country. Admittedly, Wolfe's uplifting message was also reinforced with a double ration of rum. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that Wolfe would have employed any patriotic rhetoric to start with, if his soldiers were totally indifferent to it. Interestingly, according to a French veteran of the battle, Wolfe's opponent, the Marquis de Montcalm, used similar language, asking his troops to uphold the honour of France.[11] Before the Battle of Camden against the American rebels (1781), British General Cornwallis harangued his troops by exalting the glory of British arms and offering cowards to stand back, should they wish.[12] If any of these commanders truly thought that their men had no notion of honour, they would have used some other means to encourage them into action.

Further evidence that common soldiers internalised the concept of honour is suggested by the frequent reference to the term in the men's writings. For instance, it was evoked to describe successful military actions, especially those achieved against great odds. Describing the Battle of Rhode Island (1778), Johann Conrad Döhla writes that the German and British regiments won much honour and fame when they held an exposed position against superior enemy forces under heavy artillery fire. Describing how his detachment was able to evict a much larger French force out of a strong defensive position, Guardsman John Tory writes that 'We gained much honour and they nothing but disgrace'.[13] Writers could similarly refer to their personal honour, as did Sergeant Roger Lamb, who explains his decision to escape from captivity, in violation of surrender terms, because the Americans were the first to break their word by refusing to parole the British prisoners. More generally, Lamb remarks that although the army does have bad individuals, one should not think that soldiers are indifferent to honour. Another British veteran of the American War of Independence, James Miller, states that commanders who failed to recognise their men's sense of honour damaged morale. For instance, General Burgoyne undermined the confidence of his army by stating publicly that the soldiery was composed from the scum of the nation. According to Miller, the army might have many young ignorant

boys in its ranks, but these men do care 'when slandered and treated with contempt'.[14]

However, the role of honour was not limited to that of a literary metaphor. The best example demonstrating that this was a factor that actively shaped soldierly behaviour is duelling. Despite being universally forbidden, duelling in eighteenth-century armies was widespread, and although it was traditionally associated with the officers, their subordinates engaged in it as well. Duels in the lower ranks usually followed the customs of their elite counterparts, such as the issue of a challenge, setting the conditions, and the presence of seconds and witnesses.[15] More importantly, the whole practice was governed by an informal but influential code. The social pressure to conduct duels was high. Challenged by a fellow Swedish NCO, Johann Kaspar Steube arranged for a transfer into a different detachment. Returning to his old garrison five months later, Steube discovered that, rather than forgetting the whole matter, his comrades now openly mocked him as a coward. When issued with a renewed challenge to a duel, Steube felt forced to accept it.[16] Although the regulations formally equated it with murder, the attitude of the military authorities towards duelling was largely lenient. The future revolutionary General, Jean Rossignol, who served eight years as a private in Louis XVI's army, describes fighting in no less than ten formal duels, as well as numerous brawls. After his first fight, in which Rossignol bayoneted his opponent, he was forgiven by the regimental sergeant-major after justifying himself that a soldier always has to fight when provoked, in order not to be dishonoured. Not long before his discharge, some of Rossignol's personal enemies fabricated a denunciation that he had refused a challenge. Rather than praising Rossignol for upholding formal military discipline, his officers punished him with two months of picketing.[17] Such an attitude towards duelling was, in fact, based on thoroughly practical considerations. Duelling promoted courage—a value which the military organisation actively endorsed. Although it contravened formal rules of discipline, duelling still contributed towards the overall goal of the army, thus making the authorities far more willing to tolerate it.

The example of duelling shows that soldierly honour was a mix of personal pride and peer pressure to maintain one's reputation and avoid appearing as a coward. This brings us to the other side of honour, which is fear of shame. Here again, this attitude was created by a combination of encouragement from above, together with its successful internalisation by the rank and file. As in the case of duellists, treatment of cowards did not

punctually follow formal regulations. Instead of death or corporal punishment, such men could be exposed to shaming and ridicule. General Wolfe ordered that a soldier who had panicked during an enemy attack was to be placed on guard near the latrines. A French soldier who hid inside a cooking cauldron during battle against the English navy was punished by having half of his moustache cut off. Furthermore, it was declared that if another sea battle was to be fought, this man would be tied to the mainmast of the ship and given a fencing foil to deflect the cannon balls.[18] Such punishments were announced to the troops through the public reading of the daily orders. These were intended not only to inform but also to shape the men's attitudes and perceptions in a way desirable to the military authorities. These measures appear to have succeeded. According to the accounts of the soldiers themselves, these men had a clear view of what was the proper behaviour expected from a good soldier on the battlefield.

Demonstrable firmness under fire was valued in its own right, irrespective of whether the military action was going well and, indeed, whether the sacrifice of the soldiers was actually contributing to the overall success of the Battle. Guardsman John Marshall Deane describes how at Malplaquet, which was the bloodiest battle of the War of the Spanish Succession (1709), British troops stormed three lines of French fortifications under heavy fire and regardless of their losses. According to a witness of the Battle of Lobositz (1756), the Prussian army stood exposed to Austrian artillery, but its troops endured the ordeal like brave soldiers until the end of the fighting.[19] Moreover, ancien régime soldier-writers report a similar attitude known from modern studies of combat motivation. There was clearly an element of guilt in knowing they were not doing their share when comrades were fighting. Before battle, sick soldiers were reported to abscond from the hospitals to rejoin their units, while during battle there were numerous instances of wounded men who refused to evacuate to the rear as their comrades are fighting. The preacher John Haime tells of a fellow Methodist soldier, William Clements, who refused to leave the battlefield after his arm was broken, declaring that he could hold his sword in his other hand. After his wounded hand was bandaged, Matthew Bishop returned to his gun crew, using his other hand to cover the touchhole of the cannon during loading until the end of the action.[20] More generally, there was an element of shame if one shunned wartime service. After he was discharged from hospital, Lamb, whose regiment had already left Dublin on its way to Canada, was offered the chance to be sent to England to raise recruits. However, Lamb thought, 'it is incompatible

with the spirit of a soldier to avoid service in time of war while his comrades were fighting', and travelled quickly to the port where he rejoined the Royal Welch Fusiliers just before they embarked.[21]

Such attitudes were not based on idealism alone. If courage under fire and sticking by your comrades in battle and on campaign was appreciated, demonstrable failure to exhibit such qualities carried a social price. Cowards are referred to derisively in soldierly writings, and special contempt was reserved for men who boasted of their bravado and then failed to live up to their promise once the action started.[22] The desire to avoid similar allegations and the stigma these entailed was an important consideration. The wife of Sampson Staniforth, who married him on the understanding that he would soon leave the army, was disappointed when her husband declared he would return to his regiment in Flanders. Reminded of his original promise, Staniforth replied that a big battle was soon expected and applying for a discharge would brand him as a coward. A veteran of 24 years who was exempted of all further active service, the father of the Prussian scholar Karl Friedrich Klöden volunteered to rejoin his regiment at the start of the War in 1792 because he felt embarrassed in front of the other sergeants who asked how could he stay behind when his regiment was due to be sent on campaign. The threat of losing face could also motivate men, as happened to a comrade whom Matthew Bishop overheard grumbling about the weariness and lack of sleep during the Siege of Gibraltar (1704). Bishop reproached the man, telling he was fighting for himself and the preservation of his comrades, and that if he was too weak to continue then Bishop would not think him 'a proper Man to come into the Army'. According to Bishop, the comrade begged him not to inform the other soldiers about his weakness, and did his duty well ever after.[23]

The coward was not merely an offender, but a villain whose actions challenged the established social norms of the military community as a whole. Men suspected of evading combat were rejected by their own comrades—a severe punishment to endure at the hands of one's most immediate and, for many soldiers, only available social network. Grenadier Sergeant James Thompson of the Fraser Highlanders tells how a piper was ostracised after he absconded from the regiment shortly before the charge at the Battle of Quebec. No soldier was willing to share his meals with the piper, which proved not only embarrassing but also difficult because supply arrangements at that time dictated that provisions were issued to pre-arranged messes of a number of men, rather than individual soldiers.

This measure drove the piper to restore his reputation, and next year at the Battle of St. Foy (1760), his lively music helped to rally a retreating regiment. This allowed the man to regain his social standing and his messmates.[24] In this case, censure and reinstatement to favour were both accomplished informally without any action on the part of military superiors; yet the possibility of redeeming one's honour could also be codified. In the Austrian army, the regulations describe an elaborate ceremony in which dishonoured soldiers would be ritually purified and readmitted back into their unit with their reputation restored. A very similar motivating mechanism is described by Hessian Jäger Georg Beß, who writes that men were constantly judged by their peers, and that those who performed badly in one action were expected to redeem their reputation with an exceptional act of bravery. If they failed, they were forced out of the unit.[25]

Fighting Fear

Whether it resulted from idealistic or practical motives, this interplay between honour, fear and shame appears as the single most important collective source of ancien régime combat motivation. Nevertheless, individual soldiers still had to overcome their basic survival instinct. As with the case of fear of dishonour, fear for one's life could actually prove a powerful motivator at times. When combat started, men would fight harder, especially against an enemy perceived as alien or cruel. According to Georg Daniel Flohr, who served in the French contingent during the Siege of Yorktown (1781), when his entrenching party came under English artillery, no further orders from the officers were necessary as men started digging in as quickly as they could to avoid the enemy fire. Donald McBane tells that the French defenders of Liege started fighting much harder after seeing how some of their comrades were killed after surrendering, while the servant of Captain Cholmley attributed the desperate resistance of the English troops at the Battle of Monongahela (1755) to the fear of falling alive into the hands of the Indians.[26] Some authors say that fighting actively actually helped them overcome their fear, echoing S.L.A. Marshall's classic study of modern combat motivation, which sees fighting as potential cure for fear.[27] But just as activity proved empowering to some men, passivity undermined one's courage if it was impossible to shoot back at the enemy.[28] This, however, was an integral feature of ancien régime infantry tactics when the infantry lines advanced toward each other. How did ancien régime soldiers surmount this challenge?

One of the more straightforward ways to alleviate one's fear was alcohol. Ulrich Bräker reports heavy drinking by Prussian troops on their approach march to Lobositz. Johann Jacob Dominicus, who fought in the same battle, bought a measure of brandy shortly before his regiment left for the battlefield.[29] The encouraging effect of alcohol was widely recognised by the military authorities who often issued troops with a ration of gin, schnapps or something equally strong to boost morale shortly before the engagement. Just as with discipline, however, one should not exaggerate the effectiveness of alcohol in motivating the men. Intoxicated troops were incompatible with the general ethos of restraint and self-control under fire which constituted such an important feature of ancien régime tactics. More crucially, such men were dangerous to themselves as well as others. Johann Friedrich Löffler reports an unfortunate case, in which an Austrian surprise attack on the fortress of Dubica (1788) failed disastrously after a drunk soldier fired too early, alerting the Turkish garrison. To avoid such risk, alcohol intake before battle had to be limited, but this also meant that whatever effects it might have would quickly wear off.[30] Rather, it seems that alcohol intake before combat served another purpose than simply getting the men drunk so as to forget their fear. According to Pastor Christian Täge, the Russian soldiers preparing for the Battle of Zorndorf drank from their flasks only after being blessed by the army priest as he rode along the battle line. Afterwards, the men shouted 'Ura', the Russian battle cry, 'demonstrating their resolve to meet the enemy'.[31] It is unlikely that a single portion of vodka was what kept the Russian troops fighting in a battle which was to stand out in its ferocity even by ancien régime standards, in which the Russians lost half and the Prussians one-third of their army. Alcohol appears more as a part of a broader preparatory strategy whose main component was based on faith.

Soldier-authors report a general upsurge in religious feeling before combat and in other hazardous situations, such as sea travel.[32] Praying before action was common, and some Protestant troops went into battle singing hymns, as Hessian troops did as they went into action in the Battle of Long Island (1776).[33] Men also took delight in favourable omens. A soldier who fought in the Battle of Prague (1757) tells how a large rainbow and a white dove which sat on a roadside crucifix were interpreted by the men as signs of divine goodwill to the Prussian army.[34] Other surviving writings show that their authors put their trust in protective charms, invoked biblical metaphors or simply drew solace from their families and their prayers. Barthel Linck wrote that the motto 'Jesus help us win, Jesus

help us fight, Jesus help us to beat and chase the enemy', had helped him greatly during the last battle and that he was also encouraged by thinking of such Old Testament heroes such as Joshua and Gideon. Edward Linn, wrote from the battlefield of Culloden (1746), to ask his wife and the local priest to continue praying for his survival and for swift victory over the Jacobite rebels.[35] One trend which comes across in a large number of writings is that some men adopted a relatively elaborate emotional defence mechanism which combined religious faith with wishful thinking.

Interestingly, it was actually the unpredictability of one's fate which helped men to overcome their fear. Lamb wrote that many soldiers perceived their destiny to be part of a predetermined divine plan. In other words, the prospects of an individual soldier would be no worse in combat than in any other situation. This belief prompted men to resign themselves to their fate, whatever it might be.[36] Jäger Beß wrote that the belief that nothing would happen to him without the express wish of the Almighty gave him courage. At the same time Beß was also convinced that if he were killed, his death would be followed by 'honour and rest'. Beß was not the only man who believed that if he would be killed, his soul would go directly to heaven. According to Haime, at Fontenoy (1745) many men died willingly believing they were going to Jesus. Damian Friedmeyer thought that fellow soldiers who died from their wounds were welcomed before God's throne. Simon Ancell who served during the Siege of Gibraltar claims that he found happiness and resignation in the will of God and was willing to receive death 'with Christian fortitude and meet honour with extended arms'.[37] Essentially, such an outlook, offered soldiers a reassuring win–win situation—they would either survive or gain eternal bliss.

As with the culture of honour, this form of optimistic fatalism was encouraged from above. In their sermons, military chaplains called soldiers to consign themselves to God, who would reward the brave and punish cowards.[38] It does not mean, of course, that all men subscribed to this attitude. Sergeant Lamb admits that not all soldiers accepted divine providence. Moreover, even firm believers were aware that death was not the only fearful outcome. Writing shortly before Kunersdorf (1759), which was to be Prussia's greatest defeat in the Seven Years' War, Corporal Nikolaus Binn declared he would rather be killed than become a cripple or fall alive into the hands of the enemy. In his letter Binn drew encouragement from previous victories, reaffirmed his trust in God's wisdom and asked his family to pray so that he and the rest of the Prussian army would have the courage to perform their duty.[39] For Binn, these were comfort-

ing thoughts combined with a firm sense of the proper behaviour that was expected from a good soldier.

The effectiveness of dispensing public marks of honour and shame to individual combatants has been known in other pre-modern military cultures,[40] and ancien régime Europe is no exception. Yet, previous discussions of martial honour in the eighteenth-century tend to see it as primarily an elite phenomenon and the preserve of a noble officer corps. According to this view, the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars democratised honour, first as a virtue for the mass conscript armies, and then for the nation as whole, helping to prompt the emotional hysteria which contributed to the carnage of the First World War.[41] This paper suggests that, as far as the experience of common soldiers was concerned, the role of the French Revolution as a turning point has been exaggerated. Notions of military honour both as an aim in itself and also as a powerful promoter of desired military conduct, has been just as relevant for the rank and file ancien régime armies. It can be argued that this system still contained an inherent element of coercion. Nevertheless, this was very different from the simple fear of superiors postulated by older scholarship. Fear of dishonour in the eyes of one's equals trumped the fear of battle. As we saw, soldiers still had to learn to control their fear through a set of comforting defensive mechanisms, but these became relevant only after an initial resolve to enter combat was firmly established. The combat efficiency of ancien régime armies attests to the success of this model.

Notes

1. Christopher Duffy, *The Military Experience in the Age of Reason* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 10–12; Michael Howard, *War in European History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 54–74; David A. Bell, *The First Total War*: *The Age of Napoleon and the Birth of War as We Know it* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007), 44–8; Jürgen Luh, *Ancien Régime Warfare and the Military Revolution*: *A Study* (Groningen: INOS, 2000).
2. David G. Chandler, *The Art of Warfare in the Age of Marlborough* (London: Batsford, 1976), 75–84; Luh, *Ancien Régime Warfare*, 156–60.
3. John A. Lynn, *Battle*: *A History of Combat and Culture* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2003), 129 and 144; For a general discussion of infantry tactics in the period, see: Chandler, *Art of War*, 110–30; Duffy, *Military Experience*, 204–21.

4. T.C.W. Blanning, *The French Revolutionary Wars, 1787–1802* (London: Arnold, 1996), 119.
5. Examples of ancien régime armies suffering losses of one third or more include the Prussian army at the Seven Years War battles of Hochkirch, Zorndorf (1758) and Torgau (1760). At the Battle of Parma (1734), a Swiss battalion in the Piedmontese service lost some 70 per cent of its men, but continued fighting, see: Duffy, *Military Experience*, 245 and 249–50, and also: Duffy, *The Army of Frederick the Great* (London: Newton Abbot, 1974), 184–5 and 195–6.
6. Brent Nosworthy, *The Anatomy of Victory: Battle Tactics, 1689–1763* (New York: Hippocrene, 1992), 99–112, 190–2 and 316–7; Matthew H. Spring, *With Zeal and with Bayonets Only: The British Army on Campaign in North America, 1775–1783* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 216–44.
7. Duffy, *Military Experience*, 136; see also: Matthew Bishop, *The Life and Adventures of Matthew Bishop of Deddington, Oxfordshire… Written by Himself* (London: J. Bridley et al., 1744); Georg Daniel Flohr, *The American Campaigns of Georg Daniel Flohr*, ed. and trans. Robert A. Selig, 59 (forthcoming).
8. Despite his positive view on the potential role of rewards and improvements, Stephan Payne Adye, the author of the standard British work on courts martial, considered the army to be composed from 'the refuse of society,' see: *A Treatise on Courts Martial also an Essay on Military Punishments and Rewards*, 5th ed. (London: J. Murray, 1799), 270; see also: Duffy, *Military Experience*, 82–4; Spring, *With Zeal and with Bayonets*, 107–10.
9. For instance: Alan I. Forrest, *Napoleon's Men: the Soldiers of the Revolution and the Empire* (London: Hambledon, 2002); James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Alexander Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Moral and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). For a concrete discussion on ancien régime soldierly writings, see: Ilya Berkovich, *Motivation in War: The Experience of Common Soldiers in Old Regime Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 38–54.
10. Duffy, *Army*, 176 and 193–4, and by the same author: *Frederick the Great: A Military Life* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), 147 and 204–5.
11. Stephen Brumwell, *Paths of Glory: The Life and Death of General James Wolfe* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), 266; John Johnson, 'Memoirs of the Siege of Quebec and the Total Reduction of Canada,' in *The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of Plains of Abraham*, ed. Arthur

Doughty and G.W. Parmelee, 6 vols. (Quebec: Dussault & Proulx, 1901), vol. 5, 101; [Joseph Charles Bonin], *Voyage au Canada, dans le nord de l'Amérique septentrionale, fait depuis l'an 1751 à 1761*, 196, accessed 12 July 2015, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1095006.

12. John Robert Shaw, *John Robert Shaw: An Autobiography of Thirty Years, 1777–1807*, ed. Oressa M. Teagarden and Jeanne L. Crabtree (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1992), 31; compare with William Todd's description of the Marquess of Granby's address to the troops at the battles of Vellinghausen (1760) and Höxter (1760), *The Journal of Corporal Todd, 1745–1762*, ed. Andrew Cormack and Alan Jones (London: Army Records Society, 2001), 164 and 181.
13. Johann Conrad Döhla, 'Tagebuch eines Bayreuther Soldaten aus dem nordamerikanischen Freiheitskrieg 1777–1787,' ed. W. von Waldenfels, *Archiv für Geschichte und Altertumskunde von Oberfranken* 25.1 (1912): 157–8; John Tory, *A Journal of the Allied Army's Marches, from the First Arrival of the British Troops, In Germany to the Present Time*, 2nd ed., (Osnabrück: J.W. Kisling, 1762), 41–2 and 57; see also: Todd, *Journal*, 158.
14. Roger Lamb, *Memoir of his own Life: Formerly a Sergeant in the Royal Welch Fusiliers* (Dublin: J. Jones, 1811), 105 and 234; Centre of Kentish Studies, U1350 Z9A, James Miller, 'Memoir of an Invalid,' 134–5; compare with: Joseph Ferdinand Dreyer, *Leben und Thaten eines Preußischen Regiments-Tambours, Von ihm selbst beschrieben in seinem 93ten Lebensjahre*, ed. Hans Bleckwenn (Osnabrück: Biblio 1975), 20.
15. See for example: Johann Carl Büttner, 'Narrative of Johann Carl Buettner in the American Revolution', in *Souls for Sale: Two German Redemptioners Come to Revolutionary America*, ed. Susan E. Klepp, Farley Grubb, and Anne Pfaelzer de Ortiz (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 247; on the spread of duelling practice among the lower orders, see: Pieter Spierenburg, 'Knife Fighting and Popular Codes of Honour in Early Modern Amsterdam,' in *Men and Violence: Gender, Honor and Rituals in Modern Europe and America*, idem., ed. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 103–27.
16. Johann Kaspar Steube, *Wanderschaften und Schicksale von Johann Caspar Steübe, Schuhmacher und Italiän. Sprachmister in Gotha* (Gotha: Ettingerischen Buchandlung, 1791), 50–2; for other soldiers who unwillingly accepted a challenge in order to save face, see: Donald McBane, 'The Expert Sword-Man's Companion or the True Art of Self Defence,' in *Highland Swordsmanship: Techniques of Scottish Swordmasters*, ed. Mark Rector (Union City, California: Chivalry Bookshelf, 2001), 39; Shaw, *Autobiography*, 36–7.
17. Jean Rossignol, *La vie veritable de citoyen Jean Rossignol*, ed. Jean Barrucand (Paris: E. Plan, 1896) 14–16, 20–1, 34–7, 41, 56–7; for more

examples of duellists being forgiven of getting away with a relatively light punishments, see: Döhla, 'Tagebuch,' 146 and 171–2; Charles-Étienne Bernos, 'Souvenirs de campagne d'un soldat de régiment Limousin (1741–1748),' *Carnet de Sabretache* 10 (1902): 738–9.

18. Library of Congress, Washington, 'MCC 1907 Milton S. Latham Journal,' 17–9; René Chartrand, 'Punishment for Cowardice, Quebec, 1759,' *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 66 (1988): 186; Stephen Brumwell, *Redcoats: The British Soldier and War in the Americas, 1755–1763* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 102–3.
19. John Marshall Deane, *A Journal of Marlborough's Campaigns during the War of the Spanish Succession, 1704–1711*, ed. David G. Chandler (London: Society for Army Historical Research, 1984), 91–3; *Briefe preußischer Soldaten aus den Feldzügen 1756 und 1757* (Berlin: Mittler, 1901), 9.
20. 'The Life of Mr. John Haime, written by himself,' in *Lives of Early Methodist Preachers, Chiefly Written by Themselves*, ed. Thomas Jackson, 4th ed., 3 vols. (Stoke-on-Trent & Lewes: Tentmaker & Berith, 1998), vol. 1, 222–3; Bishop, *Life*, 21–2; Compare with: *Memoirs of the Life and Gallant Exploits of the Old Highlander Sergeant Donald MacLeod* (London: D. and D. Stuart, 1791), 65; Johann Friedrich Löffler, *Der alte Sergeant: Leben des Schlesiers J. F. L.* (Breslau: Graß & Barth, 1836), 44; Miller, *Memoir*, 56–7.
21. Lamb. *Memoir*, 107; Compare with: Yakov Starkov, *Raskazi Starova Voina o Suvorove* (Moscow: Universiteskaiia Tipografiia, 1847), 21–2; Joseph Coates, *The Narrative of a Soldier* (Worcester: Thomas Hayes, 1836), 73.
22. 'MCC 1907 Milton S. Latham Journal,' 16–17; Ulrich Bräker, 'Lebensgeschichte und natürliche Ebentheuer des Armen Mannes im Tockenburg' in *Sämmtliche Schriften*, ed. Andreas Bürgi et al., 5 vols. (Munich & Bern: Beck & P. Haupt, 1998–2010), vol. 4, 464–5; Büttner, 'Narrative,' 239; Deane, *Journal*, 65, 89 and 107.
23. 'The Life of Mr. Sampson Staniforth, Written by Himself,' in *Lives of Early Methodist Preachers, Chiefly Written by Themselves*, ed. Thomas Jackson, 4th ed., 3 vols. (Stoke-on-Trent & Lewes: Tentmaker & Berith, 1998), vol. 2, 340; Karl Friedrich von Klöden, *Jugenderinnerungen*, ed. Max Jähns (Leipzig: F.W. Grunow, 1874), 36–7; Bishop, *Life*, 27–28; for mores examples of shaming men into action: Georg Beß, 'Aus dem Tagebuch eines Veteranen des siebenjährigen Krieges,' *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde*, Neue Folge 2 (1869): 209; Friedrich Christian Laukhard, *Leben und Schicksale*, ed. Wolfgang Becker (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1955), 327–8.
24. James Thompson, *A Bard of Wolfe's Army: James Thompson, Gentlemen Volunteer, 1733–1830*, ed. Earl John Chapman and Ian Macpherson McCulloch, (Montreal: R. Brass Studio, 2010), 185–6 and 200.

25. *Reglement für die sämmentlich-Kaiserlich-Königliche Infanterie*, (Vienna: Johann Thomas von Trattner, 1769), 164–5; Beß, 'Tagebuch,' 195–6; See also, Starkov, *Raskazi*, 23.
26. McBane, 'Expert Sword-Man's Companion,' 33; 'A Journal of Captain's Cholmley's Batman,' in *Braddock's Defeat*, ed. Charles Hamilton, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), 29–30; see also: *The Life of William Hutton and the History of the Hutton Family*, ed. Llewellyyn Jewitt, (London & New York: Frederick Warne, Scribner, Welford and Armstrong, 1872), 75–6.
27. S.L.A. Marshall, *Men against Fire*: *The Problem of Battlefield Command*, (Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 2000), 64–84; Bishop, *Life*, 24.
28. Gorge Blennie, *Narrative of a Private Soldier in one of his Majesty's Regiments of Foot*, *written by himself*, (Glasgow: A. & J. M. Duncan, 1819), 45; Flohr, *American Campaigns*, 31; see also Duffy, *Military Experience*, 218–9.
29. Bräker, 'Leben,' 460–1; Johann Jacob Dominicus, *Aus dem siebenjährigen Krieg*: *die Tagebuch des Musketiers Dominicus*, ed. Dietrich Kerler, (Munich: Beck, 1891), 5.
30. Löffler, *Alte Sergeant*, 37; Beß, 'Tagebuch,' 209; see also: Sylvia Frey, *The British Soldier in America*: *A Social History of Military Life in the Revolutionary Period*, (Austin: University of Texas Press), 112–13.
31. *Christian Täge's ehemaligen Russischen Feldpredigers*, *jezigen Pfarrers in Pobethen*, *Lebensgeschichte*, ed. August Samuel Gerber, (Königsberg: Heinrich Degen, 1804), 180.
32. Admittedly, though, such outbursts of piety were likely to subside soon after danger had passed, see: John Scot, 'The Remembrance: or The Progress of Lord Portmore's Regiment,' in *The Scots Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands*, *1572–1782*, ed. James Ferguson, 3 Vols., (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1899–1901), Vol. 3, 318; *The Life of Peter Henly…Written by himself*, (Calne: W. Baily, 1799), 10; Blennie, *Narrative*, 38; Staniforth, 'Life,' 334–5.
33. Dreyer, *Leben*, 22; Lamb, *Memoir*, 174; Frey, *British Soldier*, 116–17.
34. *Briefe preußischer Soldaten*, 53–4.
35. 'Jesu hilf siegen, Jesu hilf kriegen, Jesu hilf Schlagen die Feinde fortjagen,' in *Briefe preußischer Soldaten*, 15; Edward Linn, 'The Battle of Culloden, 16 April 1746, as described in a Letter from a Soldier of the Royal Army to his Wife,' *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 1 (1921–2); see also: Dominicus, *siebenjährigen Krieg*, 63; ed. Rolf Dieter Kohl, 'Ein brief des Wiblingwerder Bauernsohnes Johann Hermann Dresel aus dem Siebenjährigen Krieg,' *Der Märker* 28 (1979): 84.
36. Lamb, *Memoir*, 177; *Briefe preußischer Soldaten*, 20, 34, 45, 49; similarly: Bishop, *Life*, 215–16; Johannes Reuber, *Diary of a Hessian Grenadier of Colonel Rall's Regiment*, Trans. Bruce E. Burgoyne, (s.l.: Johannes

Schwalm Historical Association, 2006), 5; Duncan Cameron, *The Life Adventures and Surprising Deliverances of Duncan Cameron*, 3rd ed. (Philadelphia: James Chattin, 1756), 16.

37. Beß, 'Tagebuch,' 196 and 238–9; Haime, *Life*, 221–3; *Briefe preußischer Soldaten*, 37; Samuel Ancell, *A Circumstantial Journal of the Long and Tedious Blockade of Gibraltar*, (Liverpool: Charles Wosencroft, 1784), 143.
38. Friedrich Christian Sohr, *Meine Geschichte*, (Görlitz: J.F. Fickelscherer, 1788), 55; 'Diary of John Cleaveland, Chaplain of Colonel Jonathan Bagley's 3rd Regiment of Provincials,' *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum* 10 (1959): 196; Täge, *Lebensgeschichte*, 181.
39. Lamb, *Memoir*, 176; Georg Liebe, ed., 'Preußische Soldatenbriefe aus dem Gebiet der Provinz Sachsen im 18. Jahrhundert,' *Jahresbericht des Thüringisch-Sächsischen Vereins für Erforschung des vaterländischen Altertums und Erhaltung seiner Denkmale* 92–3 (1911–2): 22.
40. For example: Herodotus, *Histories* 7, 229–32; Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'The "Tractatus de locis et statu sancta terre ierosolimitane",' in *The Crusades and their Sources*: *Essays presented to Bernhard Hamilton*, ed. John France and William G. Zajac (Aldershot; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 1998), 113–33: 125–6.
41. Armstrong Starkey, *War in the Age of Enlightenment*, *1700–1789*, (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2003), 92; Michael J. Hughes, *Forging Napoleon's Grand Armée*: *Motivation*, *Military Culture*, *and Masculinity in the French Army*, *1800–1808* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 51–78; Ute Frevert, 'Wartime Emotions: Honour, Shame, and the Ecstasy of Sacrifice,' in: *1914–1918-online.*

    International Encyclopedia of the First World War, eds Ute Daniel et al., Freie Universität Berlin, Accessed 10 September 2015, http://encyclopedia.1914–1918-online.net/wartime_emotions_honour_shame_and_the_ecstasy_of_Sacrifice/2014-10-08.

Reflections I

CHAPTER 6

Early Modern Jokes on Fearing Soldiers

Johan Verberckmoes

In his treatise on laughter, *Democritus sive de risu* (1612), the humanist and stylish Latinist, royal historiographer and professor of Latin and Roman history at the University of Louvain Erycius Puteanus (1574–1646), quoted two witty remarks by soldiers to endorse his argument that the Spartans had an excellent military reputation because they encouraged their soldiers to crack jokes so as to stimulate virtue and ward off failure. One Claudius prepared himself for war, but was being laughed at because he had a bad leg. He responded: 'In war there is no need for people who run, but for those who stand firm.' Another soldier had his shield decorated with the image of a fly. He was mocked for hiding because his enemies would not be able to spot him with such a small insignia. He replied: 'I do that to be better known, because my enemies will have to come very nearby to distinguish my little fly.'[1] In both jokes cowardice in combat is ridiculed and fearlessness praised, as befits good Spartan soldiers. To achieve this, both witty soldiers demonstrate with their quick repartee that they are able to manage their emotions. They are insulted, but turn the impact of the insult to their advantage by re-channelling emotional energy to good and unexpected jesting, for everyone assumes that soldiers

J. Verberckmoes
University of Louvain, Louvain, Belgium

© The Author(s) 2016

E. Kuijpers, C. van der Haven (eds.), *Battlefield Emotions 1500–1800*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-56490-0_6

have fear in combat. As both soldiers definitely risk serious wounds—one already has a lame leg, the other one risks direct bodily confrontation—fear even seems unavoidable.

These jokes must have resonated very well with Puteanus' student audience. As the title suggests, under the guise of Democritus, the Greek philosopher who defended laughter at human vices and defects, Puteanus pleaded for the beneficial effects of moderate laughter. He did this in a public oration at the university during the *Saturnalia*, the period in December when students sought merriment during winter times.[2] Since the start of the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–1621) the benefits of peace were welcomed after the many decades of irregular warfare with detrimental effects in the Southern Netherlands loyal to the Spanish Habsburgs.[3] The time had come for some light-hearted joking about soldiers during war, although the memories of atrocities had not faded, meaning that the jokes were pertinent, that is, emotionally effective. As Puteanus framed it, the Spartan government operated along the lines of a truly Foucauldian discourse. It stimulated its soldiers to exercise their preparedness for battle among themselves through jokes. The city thus implemented subtle techniques of behavioral self-regulation, disciplining the soldiers into courageous fighters.[4] In Chapter 2, Cornelis van der Haven demonstrates how in military treatises under Maurice of Nassau, not by coincidence contemporary to Puteanus (who himself wrote on military affairs), intragroup disciplining was imperative.

As a solidly learned humanist Puteanus used the genre inherited from classical antiquity of witty sayings or *salii*, salted jests, often put in the mouth of great people. When told by plain soldiers the comic means of inversion was even more effective in bolstering a common ideal of fearless combativeness that apparently was always under threat. The witty sayings on courage show us that in order for soldiers to remain committed to (or prepared for) combat as a group, they need attachment among each other, and that is also what their superiors (of the city-state Sparta) take up as their responsibility. Theories on humour emphasise that it is a form of social bonding and that laughter as a response to anxiety and fear serves an affiliative purpose.[5] Meanwhile, humour also helps to hide the emotional disturbance that fear causes. This is generally what jokes do: they create a distance between the emotion of anxiety and the individual who is living through it and in doing so it becomes possible to bring the emotion into the open. As a battlefield was a liminal situation of soldiers' emotions, humour about soldiers on (or, by way of carnivalesque inversion, far

away from) the battlefield can tell us more about how soldiers managed fear and concomitant experiences of discipline and self-discipline. Stitched with reflections on the four chapters of Part I, this is what this chapter aims to do.

Consider the soldier depicted by Joris Hoefnagel in 1569 who distressingly is not fit to fight (Fig. 6.1). The Patient Dupé is a Spanish soldier on top of a bulwark witnessing people skating on the ice of a frozen canal or moat and comically putting his hand in his trousers while tightening his legs because he is so cold and hungry, disillusioned by his service in Flanders (as the text of the emblem explains).[6] He is not only comically forfeiting his right to be a valiant soldier of the crown, he also negotiates contradictory emotions. War in a foreign country brings about loneliness and disorientation and he implores Our Blessed Lady to assist and guide him ('Valga me nuestra Sennora & guia'). Another (non-comic) emblem in the same series shows two seriously wounded soldiers seeking each other's comfort. In other words, battlefield experiences in the early years of the Dutch Revolt caused emotional havoc. As Andreas Bähr asserts in Chapter 3, fear of the battlefield was never directly and individually expressed in soldiers' diaries, but always indirectly; the emblem seems to confirm this. As Bähr also reminds us, God (or the Virgin) was the true resort against the plight of the soldier.

In his contribution, Andreas Bähr analyses the images of the good Christian soldier and of a redeeming God as guiding principles of managing emotions in the seventeenth century. Wavering between the fear instilled by demanding commanders, the primordial fear of the enemy, the adequate use of legitimate violence, and the fear-inspired violence against innocent victims, the collective imagination of fear among the military is according to Bähr to be interpreted against seventeenth-century views of the omnipresence of God. Such emotional reactions as cowardice in the face of the enemy or incautious audacity were seen as a consequence of not obeying God. Participation in warfare was thus a matter of discriminating judgement, and that also comes up in jests such as the following: A wise and pious soldier was convinced by some of his friends to take service in the garrison in an Italian city that was in the hands of the French king. He asked his friends who would protect them in case of a siege. They answered, the king of France. The man climbed the nearest mountain, called three times 'King of France', but received no answer. Upon which he told his colleagues that he would not take service after all as apparently he who would come to his aid did not hear him. Soon afterwards the city

Fig. 6.1 Joris Hoefnagel, Soldier, from the unpublished series of emblems, *Traité de la Patience*, drawing, 1569. © Collections de la Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen

was besieged and overcome and his friends were killed.[7] This jest thrives on the idea of the good soldier who is able to identify a real threat and who does not sacrifice himself in vain. The soldier is characterised as wise and pious; he is therefore aware that his fate lies in the hands of God and that he does not have to seek unnecessary danger. This ties in with both Protestant and Catholic views on the prudent soldier who acts according to good judgement. But as well as a story with a moral it is also a jest, thanks to the amusing action of the soldier climbing a mountain and shouting from the top. This lends the story a comic twist.

If the military in the early modern period was an emotional community[8] propelled by emotives[9] impacting the world as well as the individual, fear and anxiety are strong candidates to have been the prime movers. The visible side was melancholy, from which soldiers suffered immoderately.[10] The emotional practices of soldiers and their officers therefore depended on an adequate management of fear. Whether joking about fear on the battlefield was an emotional practice in the early modern period is difficult to establish, due to a lack of documentation. At least some jests, such as the one previously mentioned, seem to suggest so. But as the printed jests I refer to were a staple of humanist and intellectual culture we should be cautious about putting the witty replies in the mouths of actual soldiers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We can only assume that they also joked about battlefield fear with each other.

By the latter half of the seventeenth century jestbooks became a part of a rapidly spreading and cheaply available popular literature and this might have had an impact on humour among soldiers.[11] By the eighteenth century attitudes to fear might have changed. Ilya Berkovich highlights in his contribution that soldiers in late eighteenth-century wars on both sides of the Atlantic inspired each other to be courageous. Soldiers displayed a culture of honour in which self-regulation of fear was the key. The maintenance of a soldier's honour was based on the shame for comrades, and professional pride. According to Berkovich, coercion by others to go to war or punishments for cowardice did occur, but only the internalisation of the expected courage by the individual soldier can explain why—despite very heavy losses—bloody battles continued to be fought. This is in contrast to what Bähr finds for the seventeenth century, when fear of dissolute and godless soldiers in their own or the enemies' ranks, fear of a stern commander and, above all, fear of God overrode mutual encouragement among soldiers, although Bähr also emphasises

that a good Christian soldier obeying God was the epitome of the fearless fighter, albeit an ideal rather than an attained source of self-reflection.

When it comes to early modern humour in battlefield situations, there seems to be some truth in Bähr's assertion that fear was not directly scrutinised. Indeed, many jests in the early modern period, presumably numerically many more than the jests about battlefield situations that I analyse in this contribution, do not deal with the battlefield, but rather with soldiers far away from it.[12] Nonetheless, there is a link between the two personified by the wounded and miserable soldier. Indeed, the two jokes mentioned by Puteanus are a variant on the trope in jests on war situations, that lame, limping and one-eyed men are to be preferred as soldiers as they cannot run away or cannot see the enemy adequately.[13] Moreover, I would argue that even if early modern jests were consumption products of some intellectual stature, it seems not unreasonable to maintain that military commanders had printed jokes in their pockets so as to encourage their soldiers in the way Sparta did. In these jests the prevalent images were of destitute men poorly recruited, a mirror for the commanders that these were the kind of soldiers one had to be afraid of as they (contrary to the conventions of jokes) would be no use in actual battle situations. Disabled soldiers and the famed wooden leg remained comic stimuli into the eighteenth century.[14]

As a consequence of their poor situation, soldiers featuring in early modern jestbooks mainly terrified not the enemy, but simple civilians because of their disreputable actions. As henchmen of the devil, lacking payment and discipline, dissolute mercenaries harassed peasants rather than enemies, plundered, drank, gambled and generally lost control, acting as fools.[15] Such jokes were often in the format of a comic dialogue or apophthegmatic (which the commander could re-enact among his soldiers). If in a joke a soldier made a witty reply it would be focused on the dire circumstances in which he was operating. So soldiers made funny remarks about the oats they were given to eat ('do we have to become like sparrows?' punning on flying away in the face of danger),[16] or the poverty they suffered ('take what you can' and then stealing from a comrade).[17] Debauchery was perhaps the most visible expression of destitution among the soldiery. Take this jest situated in the *Schwarzwald* in Schwaben, considered as a backward region of simple peasants: Some soldiers demand food and lodging from the peasants. One soldier is invited into a little farm and is treated to a good meal by a widow and her very beautiful daughter. Answering the request for a bed, the widow tells the soldier that they only possess two beds and proposes to hold a long jump contest. Those

who jump the longest jump will share the same bed. The daughter jumps farther than the mother, and the soldier jumps even farther, through the doorway and out of the house. Immediately, the widow locks the door, and the soldier spends the night in the pigsty.[18] Clearly, the soldier was even less intelligent than a rude peasant, even less, in the trickling down of social expectations, than a peasant woman. These examples and endless series of other jests conform to the stereotype of stupidity, the presumed lower-class origins of simple soldiers emphasising their outsider position in the eyes of the civilised readers of jestbooks. Moreover, jokes about soldiers play on the cultural contradiction between a civilian way of living in peace and the combativeness expected to characterise the military.[19] Ultimately, the stupidity stereotype would change in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with issues of technical skill gradually taking over ('military intelligence: an oxymoron').[20]

To return to the battlefield and its anxiety management, the motive of not discussing emotions related to actual fighting (and the focus on the supposed stupidity of the soldiers) seems more important in jests than issues of honour and cowardice. A jest on cowardice from a Spanish collection of witty sayings and deeds deals with a cowardly knight who fought with his friends against the Moors in Granada. The Moors won and the cowardly knight was reported to have been killed. A woman who knew him said that could not be true. 'Why not?' they asked her. 'Because the Moors do not eat the meat of a hare,' she replied.[21] The hare has been a symbol of cowardice since Antiquity.

In this joke it is no coincidence that the third party who delivers the punchline is a woman. She is obviously not a soldier and can break the rule among the knights that cowardice is not a topic up for discussion. Or, to put it differently, she can voice the anxiety that remains unspoken among fighters. The backdrop is the military ethos that honour can only be maintained by participating in the fight against infidels, this being a case in which running away is totally out of place, as God would be on the knight's side anyway. The killing that takes place in the anecdote therefore has a double significance: the knight might have been physically killed (although the words of the woman imply doubt about that), but at any rate his reputation is destroyed (he might as well have been killed). The anecdote suggests that the maintenance of honourable reputation was silently agreed upon among the knights unless the implicit consensus was broken by an accusation of cowardly behaviour from a third party.

Therefore, beyond chivalric self-fashioning (through comic inversion of the ideal of the *miles gloriosus*) anxiety was at stake.

Silence is in this respect a crucial variable, and in his contribution Cornelis van der Haven alerts us to this. He raises questions about the encouragement or suppression of emotions among soldiers. On the one hand, the emotional practice of drill as the nucleus of military innovation under Maurice of Nassau needed an obedient and silent fighter who performed efficiently in combat. On the other hand, passion was needed to fight. The advice given in manuals and conveyed in literature was that the passionate warrior demonstrated a courage of mind when bonding with his comrades resulting in alternately practising silence to better understand orders given by superiors and crying out loud during battle or as a sign of enjoyment of victory. Self-constraint and a tranquility of mind were the hallmark of the new warrior, who was not less passionate, but more focused than those who blindly followed their passions.

Contemporary chronicles occasionally report on battlefield cries. These pertain to the passionate actions of the committed soldier. Since Antiquity soldiers have been encouraged to harden their bravery with mockery of the enemy. Mocking and defiant cries of soldiers vilifying their opponents were called *cavillae* in classical Latin and *gabae* in medieval Latin. According to humoral theories, the loud cries were proof of the inner passion that stirred the crier: 'For indeed, men in ire and wrath, shew, by their pronuntiation, the flame which lodgeth in their breasts. Wherefore Cato gaue counsell, that souldiers in the warre should terrifie their enemies with vehement voices and cries.'[22] In other words, soldiers shouting out loud confirmed that they were willing to fight and win. One example is situated in late sixteenth-century Calvinist Bruges where Walloon Catholic loyalists besieging the city indulged in mocking. In November 1583 the Walloons were under fire from heavy artillery from the city's Cross Gate. They mockingly replied to each shot 'Jau, jau.' In February 1584 the Walloons assembled in front of the gates during the night, playing the Dutch lute and mockingly singing, 'Grand merci, grand merci! We thank you for the convoy you sent us, please send some more.'[23] This was a mocking reference to failed attempts to come to the aid of the besieged.

Some jokes confirm that soldiers understood the dangers of war very well: A Spanish soldier serving in the galleys against the Turks was wounded in the head by an arrow. The surgeons operated on him to get the arrow out of his head, but were afraid to damage his brain. The soldier

told them: 'Be not afraid to hurt my brain over there, because if I had had a brain there I would not have come to a place where such arrows are being fired'.[24] This joke hinges on the intelligence of the soldier assessing a battlefield situation who at the same time explains he is utterly stupid. Contemporaries will not have missed the allusions to cutting the stone in one's head as a false cure for stupidity. As several contributions in this book show, wounds incurred on the battlefield offered new challenges to medical knowledge and raised questions about the functioning of the body. As Bettina Noak highlights in her contribution, compassion was a major emotion accompanying Ambroise Paré's chirurgical advances. Moreover, surgeons as well as philosophical treatises on health and healing interpreted inflicting physical wounds on soldiers as having serious implications for the inner feelings of the victim. The wounded soldier was a *pars pro toto* of a sinful mankind in need of regeneration. The depth of the suffering was in accordance with the prevailing interpretation of God's mercy as the only true source of restored health. This adds an important dimension to the interpretation of unspoken anxiety trauma among soldiers. Christian piety was their main tool of coping and the explicit horizon against which cultural evaluations of emotional practices of soldiers were seen. The stupidity joke about the soldier giving advice about how to cure his injured brain is in this perspective a perfect example of a fool who does not know God (*insipiens Dei*). As a fool he speaks the truth, in this joke as a good soldier knowing how to assess danger, but also acting as a virtuous Christian and avoiding direct confrontation with cruel and devilish Turks.

To conclude, jokes are important means of uncovering the emotional silence that early modern battlefield situations seemed to imply. Jests opened up a space of communication and provided commanders and soldiers with a language in which to speak about anxieties. Practising self-restraint was not in contradiction to joking about foolish colleagues, rather the contrary. In this respect it is significant that in jests soldiers are often represented as individuals and not as part of a group, which they actually were. Whether the cunning soldier who exposes the deficiency of his commander (the King of France joke) or the stupid soldier who has taken too great a risk and is therefore a sinful fool (the brain damage joke), in jokes the soldier stands alone, and it is this that causes his irrational responses. In the topsy-turvy world promoted by the jestbooks the soldier was in control of the battlefield situation as he would be part of a group bonded by the very same jokes.

Notes

1. 'Claudus quidam animos sumpserat, ac jam se preparabat, ut in militiam iret: desirus fuit tanquam parum aptus. At ille, *In bello*, inquit, *non fugientibus opus est*, *sed firmantibus gradum*. Alius clypeum Muscae imagine insigniverat: derisus fuit, tanquam latere vellet, nec ab hoste conspici, qui tam parvum assumpsisset signum. At ille, *Imo*, inquit, *ut agnoscar. Tam prope enim accedo ad hostes*, *ut vel muscam videant*.' Erycius Puteanus, *Democritus*, *sive de risu dissertatio saturnalis* (Louvain: apud Ioannem Christophorum Flavium, 1612), 19.
2. Johan Verberckmoes, 'Puteanus' Democritus, sive de risu,' *Humanistica Lovaniensia. Journal of Neo-Latin Studies* 49 (2000): 399–409.
3. Luc Duerloo and Werner Thomas, eds, *Albert and Isabella 1598–1621*, 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).
4. Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975).
5. Judith Kay Nelson, *What Made Freud Laugh. An Attachment Perspective on Laughter* (New York and London: Routledge, 2012), 154–8.
6. James Tanis and Daniel Horst, *Images of Discord. A graphic interpretation of the opening decades of the Eighty Years' War* (Bryn Mawr and Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993), 18.
7. *Clucht boeck*, *inhoudende vele recreative propoosten ende cluchten* (Antwerp: Heyndrick Heyndricsen, 1576), 92: '[title] Vande soldaten die in garnisoen laghen. Eenen soldaet dwelc een wijs ende vroom man was, werde verlockt van sommige sijne medegesellen (so ick meyne) dat hi hem onder tgarnisoen eender stadt in Italien (die den Francoysen toebehooren) begheven wilde. Hy vraechde hun oft sake ware dat de stadt beleghert werdt, wie sou haer onderstant doen? De Coninc van Vranckrijc seyden d'ander. Ende hi terstont climmende op eenen berch die daer ontrent lach, riep luyder kelen, driemael den Coninck van Vranckrijck. Maer doens hem niemant en antworde, seyde hy tot die soldaten sijn medeghesellen dat hy hem niet en wilde laten besluyten, daer hem den ghenen, die hem bijstant sou doen, gheroepen sijnde, niet en hoorde. D'ander die daer binnen waren, werden corts daer naer beleghen, verwonnen, ende oock ghedoot.'
8. Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).
9. William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
10. Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road 1567–1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries' Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 211 emphasises that despair rather than fear was the prevailing emotion and 158–84 documents

the pitiful and melancholy-producing situations the soldiers found themselves in. Current historiography seems to prefer fear or anxiety (*timor*) as the vocabulary of legitimation of a certain emotional condition involving life-threatening circumstances, cf. Frabrizio Ricciardelli and Andrea Zorzi, eds, *Emotions, Passions, and Power in Renaissance Italy. Proceedings of the International Conference Georgetown University at Villa Le Balze, 5–8 May 2012* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 45–75 and passim.

11. Johan Verberckmoes, *Laughter, Jestbooks and Society in the Spanish Netherlands* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999).
12. Elfriede Moser-Rath, "*Lustige Gesellschaft*". *Schwank und Witz des 17. Und 18. Jahrhunderts in kultur- und sozialgeschichtlichem Kontext* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1984), 227 states that few jokes are about military courage. The joke she quotes about a soldier who lost a leg is an exception. His comrade tried to console him by saying that every step reminded him of his courage (from *Der Uberaus lustige und kurtzweilige Scheer-Geiger* (1673), I, 47, no. 10 = II, 141, no. 68: 'Einem Soldaten wurde ein Schenckel abgeschossen, dass er an der Krucken gehen muste, den tröstet ein anderer, dass er nun Ursache habe, sich bey jedem Tritt seiner Tapfferkeit zu erinnern.' The *Scheer-Geiger* has a section of 100 jokes on soldiers).
13. Moser-Rath, "*Lustige Gesellschaft*", 227; Stith Thompson, ed., *Motif-index of Folk-Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books and Local Legends* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1955–8), J 1494.
14. Simon Dickie, *Cruelty & Laughter: Forgotten Comic Literature and the Unsentimental Eighteenth Century* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 93 ff.
15. Moser-Rath, "*Lustige Gesellschaft*", 224–32 alleges, on the basis of a large collection of German jestbooks, that the Thirty Years War destroyed the positive Renaissance image of the soldier in return for gloomy anecdotes about wandering desperados who did not understand war; see also Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1989), 89–100 (comic images of self-inflated soldiers in nice costumes as a satire and reversal of the poor soldier type), and David M. Hopkin, *Soldier and Peasant in French Popular Culture, 1766–1870* (London: The Royal Historical Society; Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2003).
16. *Den seer vermaeckelycken kluchtvertelder* (Ypres and Antwerp: Willem van Bloemen, s.a.), 50–1.
17. *Ghenuechelijcke ende recreative exempelen* (Antwerpen: Guilliam Verdussen, 1627), 126–8.

18. *Ghenuechelijcke ende recreative exempelen*, 137–40. As a wise reflection on female and male honour this refined jest also evokes a wide scale of emotions, from fright and good companionship to hope and excitement, relief and deception. It encapsulated in a nutshell (as jokes do, being concise as well as precise in their immediate recognisability) the emotional tensions in society at large about what soldiers did when they were not fighting, as was the case most of the time.
19. Christie Davies, *Ethnic Humor Around the World. A Comparative Analysis* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), 171–233 (chapter on militarists and cowards, exploring humor about the military in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries).
20. Christie Davies, *Jokes and Targets* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2011), 27–31.
21. Melchior de Santa Cruz, *Floresta española*, ed. Pilar Cuartero and Maxime Chevalier (Barcelona: Crítica, 1997), 69–70.
22. Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Minde in General* (London: Printed by Valentine Simmes for Walter Burre, 1604), 132–3.
23. Joannes-Petrus van Male, *Geschiedenis van Vlaenderen, van het jaer 1566, tot de vrede van Munster*, ed. F. vande Putte (Brugge: Vandecasteele-Werbrouck, 1843), 235 and 244 and see also 172. The chronicle was compiled by the Catholic priest Joannes-Petrus van Male (1684–1735) in the early eighteenth century on the basis of sixteenth-century chronicles; see for instance the February 1584 song 'Grand merci, grand merci!' as recorded by Guillaume Weydts, *Chronique flamande 1571–1584*, ed. Emile Varenbergh (Ghent, Bruges and The Hague: Hoste, 1869), 126.
24. R[ichard] V[erstegen], *Den wet-steen des verstants* (Antwerpen: by Guilliam Lesteens, 1620), Fol. G8v; Willem J.C. Buitendijk, 'Richard Verstegen als verteller en journalist,' *De nieuwe taalgids* 46 (1953), 21–30 (here: 25); Paul Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World: Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of Catholic Reformation* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004), 127.

PART II

The Combatant: Emotional Experience and Writing

CHAPTER 7

'His Courage Produced More Fear in His Enemies than Shame in His Soldiers': Siege Combat and Emotional Display in the French Wars of Religion

Brian Sandberg

Military historians have long privileged the history of battles over the history of sieges. The modern concept of the decisive battle considers the battlefield as the proper space for combat, filled with fast-paced actions and intense emotions.[1] The myth of the decisive battle de-valorises sieges and blockades as tedious and costly. Siege warfare is often presented in conventional military histories as slow, predictable and boring. Sieges might then seem to have no place in a volume on battlefield emotions.

The military officers who directed warfare in early modern Europe made no such distinctions between battles and sieges, however. They considered siege combat every bit as important and as emotionally charged

Research for this article was made possible by the generous funding of the Institut d'Études Avancées de Paris, Northern Illinois University, and a Fulbright Research Award from the Franco-American Commission. All translations are the author's unless otherwise noted.

B. Sandberg
Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, IL, USA

© The Author(s) 2016

E. Kuijpers, C. van der Haven (eds.), *Battlefield Emotions 1500–1800*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-56490-0_7

with occasions for honour and glory as 'traditional' battlefields. Indeed, sieges were pivotal events in the lives of the military officers and soldiers who fought in the European Wars of Religion of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Formal sieges in this period developed gradually through a series of combats involving blockades, approaches, batteries and, finally, assaults. Major sieges normally lasted for months, encompassing daily skirmishes, sorties, bombardments, and combats that could produce intense emotional experiences for combatants.

This chapter will examine how French military officers engaged in siege warfare during the French Wars of Religion (1562–1629) and how they wrote about their combat experiences and emotional responses. These military officers had extensive knowledge of siege warfare, since hundreds of cities and towns were blockaded or besieged during the prolonged civil wars between Catholics and Calvinists in France. The chapter will foreground combatants' perspectives over those of siege observers and besieged civilians. The illiteracy of the vast majority of rank-and-file soldiers in the armies of the religious wars unfortunately precludes an analysis of their feelings and attitudes, forcing us to focus exclusively on military officers and their encounters with siege combat. Many dimensions of officers' emotional responses to war can be discerned in their manuscript writings and in printed works.

I will focus specifically on Catholic military officers. Throughout the religious wars, Catholics represented the vast religious majority in France—composing around 90 percent of the kingdom's population. At the peak of the Calvinist movement's growth in the 1560s, perhaps a third of French nobles were Huguenots (as French Calvinists were known), but Protestantism gradually declined following the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre in August 1572. As a result, Catholics produced many more siege accounts than Calvinists did.

The first section of the chapter briefly presents the ways in which sieges served as sites for emotional display. I will then examine siege narratives as sources for the history of emotions, assessing the complexities of the diverse body of sources that provide evidence on emotions in siege settings, before turning to analyse personal narratives of siege warfare in detail. The second section delves into three case studies of Catholic military officers' personal narratives, demonstrating the range of feelings that officers experienced and the diverse rhetorical uses of their emotional experiences in their writings. I will argue that these three texts present divergent models of Catholic loyalism, virtuous command and religious testimony.

Siege Combat and Emotional Expression

Sieges as Sites of Emotional Display

The sieges of the religious wars served as vital sites of emotional display for combatants, who experienced both the monotonous routines and horrific brutality of early modern siege warfare. Authors of printed and manuscript siege accounts alike constructed their narratives with theatrical settings and emplotments. Military officers typically described the everyday combats during sieges as emotionally charged micro-events that carried larger significance. Besiegers' attacks on defensive outworks could be depicted as furious combats at the siege of Montauban, while bombardments could be described as heated at the siege of Montpellier—as in a passage that relates that the 'batteries recommenced hotly' against one of the city's gates.[2] Defenders' sorties often produced surprise and alarm in besiegers' encampments, but they were often repulsed and 'hotly pursued'.[3] These small-scale combats were considered intense—far from minor skirmishes. Religious motives and confessional identities gave sieges a heightened sense of importance. Beleaguered defenders sometimes compared their besieged communities to the great Hebrew city of Jerusalem, as in narratives of the epic siege of Paris in 1590.[4] Accounts of the siege of Monheur in 1622 emphasise royal and divine punishment of a heretical and rebellious community.[5]

Siege narratives vividly relate officers' experiences of facing artillery and musket fire. Artillery batteries are depicted as angry guns and artillery bombardments are described as intense. Many accounts cite the number of cannon shots fired by the besiegers per day.[6] Descriptions of siege assaults employ terms such as *furieusement* (furiously), *vivement* (lively), or *vigoreusement* (vigorously) to depict the intensity of defensive artillery fire and musketry against attacking infantry during assaults.[7]

Combatants and observers of sieges alike expressed their horror at the use of incendiary and explosive devices. Nonetheless their use became generalised in France during the religious wars.[8] The *pétard*, a metal device filled with gunpowder, became a favoured weapon in attacking gates and other vulnerable fortification sites during the French Wars of Religion.[9] These *pétard* attacks were incredibly risky for those who carried them out, as shown by an account of the siege of Sommières in 1625 that laments the death of a *pétardier* named Rozier.[10] Even more powerful than the *pétards* were massive gunpowder mines that were prepared secretly by sappers

over days or even weeks of tense work. Accounts of mining operations emphasise the fear and nervousness, as well as the audacity, of the officers and soldiers working in the underground galleries. Gunpowder mines placed in underground passages underneath enemy trenches or fortifications could explode with massive force and dramatic display.[11] Narratives offer emotional descriptions of the force of these explosions and the danger to both besiegers and besieged.

The prolonged state of danger and fear during sieges may have intensified religious hatreds and radicalised combatants and besieged residents during the religious wars. Combatants viewed their enemies as heretics, idolaters, rebels, or traitors. The research of Denis Crouzet and Barbara B. Diefendorf has demonstrated the powerful confessional passions that motivated many participants in the conflicts.[12] Descriptions of surprise attacks present frightening prospect of communities overwhelmed by treasonous and rebellious forces.[13]

Siege narratives also describe hand-to-hand combat and military units that were 'ruined' by it. Groups of soldiers who retreated or broke in combat were described as 'rudely' treated or 'hotly pursued' or 'torn to pieces'.[14] When attacks on outworks were repulsed and when assaults on breaches failed, accusations of blame often accumulated. Narratives refer to the feeling of *honte* (shame) at losses in siege combats or at failures in relief efforts, describing shameful actions of individual noble commanders and infantry units.[15]

The seeming randomness of firearms combat led many authors of siege narratives to discuss the role of chance in warfare.[16] Even if literary sources habitually describe death in combat as a matter of luck, the concentrated fire of firearms and artillery in sieges seems to have made death even more random. Sources utilise the verb *hasarder* (to risk) to discuss chance in siege warfare.[17] Texts simultaneously stress the role of Providence in determining who won and lost siege combats, and who died during them. François de Bassompierre, a Catholic military commander, describes a near-death experience at the siege of Lunel, when three barrels of gunpowder serving one of the siege batteries exploded, blowing up an entire infantry company that was nearby. Bassompierre relates that 'I was scalded, but not burned, thank God, for I had just left and was 40 paces away.'[18] His relief suggests his fear of death and surprise at having survived. Despite the seeming randomness of death in such descriptions, accounts also lament fallen military officers. Passages relating siege combats often describe the deaths of noble officers as tragic, while simply enumerating the numbers of ordinary soldiers killed in action.[19]

Hatred of the enemy seems to have provoked combatants to mock and humiliate their confessional enemies during sieges. Some soldiers allegedly stripped and mutilated the cadavers of slain soldiers. Mistreatments of dead bodies provoked emotional responses. Accounts sometimes use the term *touché* (touched) in particularly emotive or traumatic passages.

Narratives of siege combats also underline the courage and valour of the brave officers and soldiers who overcame their fear to advance into artillery fire. Blaise de Monluc famously commented: 'those who want to gain honour by arms must resolve to shut their eyes to all dangers in the first battles they find themselves. For everyone will be watching, to see what they've got inside. If at the beginning they carry out some striking action, to show their courage and toughness, they'll be marked and known forever after.'[20] Personal displays of courage and honour were closely linked to the king's honour. French kings sometimes took on the role of a *roi de guerre* during major sieges, observing the progress of approach trenches and granting rewards to meritorious royal officers and soldiers.[21] The king's majesty became especially linked to noble officers' performances of honour through courageous acts in siege assaults. Honour also had religious dimensions, since noble officers associated their own honour with God's glory.[22]

Siege Narratives as Emotional Sources

Siege narratives represented a vital aspect of popular culture during the religious wars, framing audiences' understandings of combat as well as their emotions. Both printed and manuscript sources described besieged cities and recorded the progress of besiegers' attacks. The widest circulated siege narratives were probably the printed pamphlets and printed siege views that were sold at print shops and by itinerant colporteurs, but these prints need to be understood as only part of a much broader body of siege accounts that reached French readers. Some accounts were produced during on-going sieges to provide news of military campaigns to military officers, administrators, or to be published for a larger readership. Others were printed after sieges in order to memorialise victories or explain defeats.

Newsprints about the war appealed to a large audience. During the French Wars of Religion, the French printing industry responded to this public demand by portraying sieges as exciting events with remarkable visual and sonic displays. The sites of major sieges actually attracted

audiences that came to observe the spectacle of bombardments and assaults from a distance.[23] Sensational accounts of the horrors of seizures of towns and brutal sacks generated outrage and galvanised French public opinion against specific enemies. The emotional impact of siege news fuelled religious tensions and derailed peace agreements.[24]

Printed pamphlets at first just seem to invoke emotions for polemical use. Many of those pamphlets and histories were indeed highly polemical and have often been analysed as through the lens of 'pamphlet wars'.[25] However, these sources often incorporated eye-witness reports such as letters and reports from officers serving at sieges and thus can also provide insights on military officers' experiences of war. Moreover, some pamphlets seem to have been commissioned by noble commanders who sought to relate their personal combat experiences and advertise their own military service. Those narratives, even when printed, must be set into the context of manuscript writings on war and war correspondence.

During the course of sieges, military officers wrote numerous letters and military reports to relate news of siege operations to their commanders and to the royal government. They also corresponded closely with municipal and provincial officials, collaborating on political affairs and military logistics. Seemingly mundane administrative and official documents offer additional evidence on siege experiences. Manuscript commissions, *brévets*, *dons* and other royal documents often recounted individual nobles' courageous exploits in combat, sometimes providing brief narratives of sieges.[26]

Regardless of their format, all of these narratives seem designed to provoke a range of powerful emotional responses among readers: anger, outrage, fear, terror, disgust, sympathy, or sadness. Most of these sources are complex texts that mix elements of personal, political, and polemical writing—reflecting debates and divisions within political culture during an extended period of religious conflict and civil warfare.

Investigating siege emotions thus requires a serious consideration of authorship and reception. Authors could adopt various authorial positions to visualise and narrate siege combats.[27] The siege accounts in journals and letters were primarily meant to convey practical information about military operations and political situations, but they also engaged in public debates. Personal experiences were often of secondary importance. Moreover, multiple authors often contributed to these reports. Military officers who reported on sieges often dictated their letters, journals, and memoirs to their secretaries, who presumably inserted their own perceptions and

judgements into the texts. Some clerks and secretaries probably penned entire accounts, acting as ghost-writers. Therefore, identifying authorship of many siege narratives is difficult, since military reports and other manuscript narratives often went unsigned, and many printed accounts of sieges were published anonymously. Nobles, including military officers and their families, seem to have been the principal readership for printed siege narratives.

Personal Narratives of Siege Warfare

Personal narratives offer more intimate accounts of the experience of war. A few military officers wrote journals and diaries during the religious wars, recording personal experiences and major events over a period of time. Some noble families kept manuscript *livres de raison*, informal account books that sometimes included personal entries and commentaries. Nobles crafted diverse *mémoires*, which could represent a list, memorandum, planning document, or narrative account. Most contemporary *mémoires* remained in manuscript form, but a few were published for various reasons. Noble families were increasingly composing genealogies during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, sometimes commissioning the publication of elaborate family histories and genealogical trees. Some of these sources provide glimpses of inner feelings and traumas during wartime. Nonetheless, there were also strong connections between the emotional registers of published pamphlets and siege narratives and these personal narratives.

The personal narratives of the religious wars sometimes convey an intimate experience of war, but also employ emotions to achieve polemical and rhetorical effects. Even if such works included autobiographical elements, they were often written for other reasons: to promote just causes, to honour the heroic deeds of military officers, to celebrate military victories, to blame commanders for failures, or to justify acts of violence. The combat experiences of an author—much less his feelings or reflections on the meaning of war—are not necessarily the exclusive focus of such texts.[28] Yuval Noah Harari is one of the few scholars who has attempted to investigate wartime emotions and combat experiences in the early modern period. Unfortunately, he insists on using a modern conception of military memoirs that is anachronistic, attempting to find expressions of an 'inner personal reality' by early modern war memoir writers.[29] This approach ignores the vast historical literature on Renaissance concepts of the 'self'

and the 'individual'.[30] Harari assumes that the authors of sixteenth-century texts on war could merely display 'two umbrella-emotions of "joy" and "sadness"'.[31] This simplistic approach failed to explore the broad range of emotional experience and depiction that is being explored by historians working in the now rapidly expanding field of the history of emotions.[32]

Historians have begun to examine diverse personal narratives of the French Wars of Religion for evidence of emotions, violence, and trauma. Mark Greengrass traces the personal narratives of Huguenots who survived the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre of August 1572.[33] Susan Broomhall explores the processes through which Calvinists and Catholics who lived through the religious wars composed personal accounts of their traumatic experiences.[34] Many of the riveting accounts written during or immediately after the religious wars seem to have shaped collective historical memories of the religious wars for future generations. Siege warfare has recently become an area of interest for some early modern French historians, providing new research findings and methodological approaches that allow us to consider emotions as rhetoric, discourses, feelings, or practices.[35]

In the next section, I will analyse in detail three important early modern French texts that provide fascinating evidence of siege emotions. The military writings of Louis de Maine, Henri II de Montmorency and Louis de Pontis can be considered early examples of war memoirs, but they also reveal the instability of this emerging literary genre. These Catholic military officers served during latter stages of the religious wars in the 1610s and 1620s, fighting together in a number of sieges in southern France, where the vast majority of the Huguenots lived in scattered rural villages and urban centres.

Three Case Studies of Siege Emotions

Catholic Loyalism of the Baron de Chabans

Louis de Maine, baron de Chabans, a Catholic infantry officer who served in the armies of Louis XIII, wrote a remarkable account of the religious wars of early seventeenth century that was published in 1634 as *Histoire de la guerre des Huguenots faicte en France sous le regne du roy Louys XIII*.[36] Chabans was a provincial nobleman who addressed his work directly to Louis XIII, extolling the king's military leadership and exclaiming that 'books, marbles and bronzes teach our nephews that from the age of

15, [His Majesty] has commanded armies in person and at 28, he has re-established divine and [royal] authority in his kingdom'.[37] Louis XIII was intimately acquainted with siege warfare, having directed or observed numerous sieges, and was clearly interested in reading about siege combat. The king and his ministers represented the privileged audience for Chabans's *Histoire de la guerre des Huguenots*, allowing the text to present piety and loyalty in a specific ways.

Chabans uses emotional descriptions of siege combat to present himself as a committed Catholic and a dedicated loyalist during the religious wars. His account of the siege of Nègrepelisse also depicts the tragic losses of Catholic military officers, whose deaths are blamed on the Huguenot rebels. He provides an extended lamentation on the death of the baron de Paillez, one of the captains in the regiment de Normandie, at the siege of Nègrepelisse in 1622. Chabans stresses that he was 'extremely angry at this loss,' because he had convinced this officer, who had apparently previously been a Calvinist, 'to become Catholic'.[38] Chabans relates that he went to view the body of the fallen officer and found him laid out on the ground, having 'shown no sign of life since he was wounded'. But, when Chabans approached the baron de Paillez, 'he touched his hand saying to the men [in the room] that he was not dead, at the same time [Paillez] took a great breath and seeing this, he called him by his name and the wounded man responded. Before leaving there, [Chabans] made him pray to God and sent for a priest to hear his confession.'[39] The baron had suffered a terrible musket wound that had torn out his eyes and injured his brain. The king's surgeon attended to the baron de Paillez, but said that he could not possibly live and that 'this little bit of life is miraculous'. Indeed, the baron de Paillez died later that night, but his death seems to have powerfully moved Chabans and the other officers who visited him.[40] The baron de Paillez's suffering displays a contemporary Catholic ideal of a good death, thus confirming his status as a *bona fide* New Catholic and heightening Chabans's sense of tragic loss.

Such passages reveal the emotional experience of combat for Catholic military officers, who believed that they were engaged in religious warfare against heretics. The baron de Chabans and many of his Catholic comrades saw their Huguenot enemies as dangerous and subversive religious rebels who were polluting and corrupting French society. Religious motivations demanded an emotional engagement in converting or conquering Huguenots in order to suppress heresy throughout the kingdom.

Chabans's accounts of other sieges often focus on his personal heroism and the wounds he suffered. After a grenade wounded his foot during one siege, he continued to fight. One of the captains of the *gardes françaises* regiment witnessed Chabans's heroic effort and 'assured him that he would testify about it to the king'.[41] Such descriptions draw on a deep repertoire of heroic ideals drawn from chivalric literature and noble culture, yet Chabans's heroism is set into the specific contexts of religious warfare and into the modalities of *dévot* religiosity. Chabans's personal suffering is that of a devout Catholic and loyal officer fighting to ensure the kingdom's Catholic identity.

Virtuous Command of the Duc de Montmorency

Another seventeenth-century text offers a very different portrayal of emotions in siege warfare. The *Histoire de la vie de Henry dernier duc de Montmorency*, a biography of Henri II de Montmorency, duc de Montmorency, written by his secretary, du Cros, perhaps based on writings of Montmorency himself.[42] This hybrid text shares features of a military memoir and provides rich descriptions of military campaigns and combats. A number of siege accounts feature prominently in the *Histoire*, showcasing the virtuous qualities of the duc de Montmorency and his abilities in commanding troops. This view of virtuous command is intriguing because political philosophers in France were developing a refined neo-stoicism during the course of the religious wars, advocating control of emotional display.[43] A new ethos of command seems to have been simultaneously developing in the French military system, demanding prudence and emotional detachment on the part of military officers. The growing professionalisation of military officers in France during the early seventeenth century was gradually producing a culture of command that incorporated neo-stoic ideals of channelling emotions.[44] The *Histoire* presents the duc de Montmorency as a virtuous commander who displays anger, outrage and sadness when necessary to produce appropriate emotional responses in his officers and soldiers.

The duc de Montmorency reacted angrily to the news of the fall of the château de Privas in Vivarais in 1621. In his role as the provincial governor of Languedoc, he had personally installed his follower Saint-Palais as governor of the château, but Calvinists in the town of Privas had rebelled, aided by a Huguenot force composed of regional nobles and had surrounded the château. A heavily outnumbered Saint-Palais

surrendered the château at Privas after a fourteen-day siege. After this capitulation, Montmorency 'was so offended that he dreamed of nothing but promptly repairing this affront and hastening the recruitment of his troops'.[45] Montmorency's outrage signals the necessity of a bellicose response to defend his personal honour and his authority in the province. Anger here embodies the just indignation of a commander whose honour and authority have been challenged directly.

Montmorency rapidly assembled a small Catholic army and marched to besiege the rebellious Huguenots at Privas. The *Histoire* stresses Montmorency's emotional state when organising this military campaign, remarking that 'this honourable man was in pain at finding himself a provincial governor, zealous for his religion, offended by the insolence of [Privas] and [yet] claiming to blindly obey the wishes of his master [Louis XIII]'.[46] Montmorency's small army arrived at Privas and surrounded the town, calling on the Huguenots to open their gates. The *Histoire* records that: 'the residents, summoned to surrender, responded with laughter, firing furiously on [the reconnaissance party] that scouted for the best place to site the batteries.'[47] This outrage prompted the Catholic forces to assault Privas and seize the town. However, Montmorency's *maréchal de camp*, Moreze, died of a musket wound suffered during the attack, and the *Histoire* records that the Catholic officers expressed 'the regret due to a person of his merit'.[48] Montmorency's outrage at the rebellious Huguenots gives way to a sense of sadness at the loss of a comrade in arms.

The *Histoire* also provides a more extended narrative of the siege of Montpellier, emphasising the duc de Montmorency's courage under fire and its effect on the troops under his command. During one attack, 'his courage gave more fear to his enemies than shame to his own soldiers'.[49] The *Histoire* narrates another combat in which the duc de Montmorency was wounded and a number of other nobles were killed in attack at Montpellier. Montmorency's survival appears in this passage as 'a miracle', stressing that numerous 'honourable men' were killed. The text insists on 'admiring the secrets of God, who allows so many important men to die so miserably'.[50] A description of the medical treatment of Montmorency's wounds narrates a visit by his wife, during which he expressed his ardent desire to return to the siege works: 'he spoke of returning to the siege and renewed her fears and worries that he would be in peril.'[51] The duc de Montmorency's sense of duty and his commitment to his troops outweighed his wife's fears.

Later in the text, an account of the 1629 siege of Privas, during a new outbreak of religious warfare, focuses on the tragic death of the marquis de Portes, the duc de Montmorency's own uncle and a key member of the Montmorency clientele. The marquis de Portes had served as a key military and administrative officer in Languedoc for decades. The entire royal army at the siege of Privas mourned his death, especially since he was supposed to receive promotion as a *maréchal de France* on the very day that he was killed in combat. But this loss especially touched the duc de Montmorency and the *Histoire* constructs an emotional scene in which the duc de Montmorency, who was sleeping in his tent, was awakened by the marquis de Portes's voice 'sadly telling him goodbye'. According to the text, 'the love that he had for a person who was so close made it so that he attributed the illusion of this dream to the force of his imagination'.[52] This passage underlines the emotional bonds of command that were shared by members of noble clienteles, who were often linked by kinship and confessional ties. The duc de Montmorency thus suffers an emotional loss of his uncle, but also the loss of one of his key subordinates—who had played a vital role in recruiting Catholic troops to serve in his infantry and cavalry units over the previous decade. Montmorency thus has to display a neo-stoic command of his emotions to deal with his personal loss, as well as to overcome the challenges represented by the death of the marquis de Portes.

Siege accounts operate throughout the *Histoire* to highlight the virtuous command and heroic qualities of the duc de Montmorency. At one point the text sums up his leadership qualities, emphasising his warmth and support of his troops: 'the gifts and favours that he showered on his captains and soldiers served well to advance their glorious success'.[53] Montmorency consistently displays emotions at the precise moments when they are relevant to his exercise of military command. The *Histoire* thus presents the duc de Montmorency as an exemplar of neo-stoic philosophic ideals and an ideal military commander through his proper display of emotions. This only heightened the sense of tragedy in the text, since the *Histoire* concludes with the execution of the duc de Montmorency following his capture during the disastrous civil war of 1632.

Siege Testimony of Louis de Pontis

One of the best-known sources on siege warfare in early modern France is Louis de Pontis's *Mémoires*, which arguably contributed to the formation of the literary genre of the war memoir in the seventeenth century.[54] Louis

de Pontis served an infantry officer in the armies of Henri IV, Louis XIII, and Louis XIV. Pontis's *Mémoires* have been frequently employed by generations of historians as a key source on military life and noble comportment during the seventeenth century. Pontis fought at numerous sieges in southern France during the early seventeenth century and was seriously wounded at the siege of Montpellier in 1622. His descriptions of siege warfare have been examined by numerous military historians, but few historians have analysed his rich sensory descriptions and potent emotional language.

Pontis does figure in Yuval Noah Harari's study of writings on combat experience, if only briefly. Harari argues that 'Even though he became a changed man, spending his remaining years in prayer and meditation on death, when he reflected back on his military experiences he could not find even with the help of hindsight any revelations there except two: that God saved him from death because he had plans for him; and that God decides the fortunes of war.'[55] Harari dismisses the emotive aspects of Pontis's *Mémoires*, however, arguing that: '[…] his reflections on war are just a list of battles, sieges, and brave exploits, focusing on matters of worldly honour and virtue. The only thing they could inspire in readers is a desire to imitate Pontis's martial career, go to war, and gain there honour and earthly glory.'[56] Harari fails to consider the religious dimensions and polemical positions in Pontis's *Mémoires*, ignoring the specifically Jansenist testimonial that Pontis constructs, in which each combat is infused with religious meaning. Combat experiences lead him toward a gradual recognition of his spirituality and his acceptance of God's gift of salvation.

Early in his career, Pontis served in Catholic and royal armies during the latter stages of the Wars of Religion, providing detailed accounts of a number of sieges during the campaigns of 1621–1622. Pontis was as an infantry officer in the régiment de Champagne, which marched to join Louis XIII's army in the summer of 1621. He fought at the siege of Saint-Jean-d'Angély in June 1621, but rather than narrating the entire course of the two-week siege, he relates one particularly intense combat that he experienced. Pontis describes how the explosion of a gunpowder mine buried him and his troops beneath earth and stone, leaving them only 'a small empty space that prevented them from suffocating before being rescued'.[57] Nearby royal soldiers responded quickly, digging Pontis and his comrades out before their air ran out. Pontis describes his rescue as a miracle, but he was clearly shaken by the experience. He records that 'I found

myself so unwell at having been crumpled and buried beneath the earth […] that I remained shaken for a month, which left me inconsolable.'[58] He is devastated because his sense of duty and honour demands that he returns to the fighting, but he admits that he cannot do so because he is so upset by the trauma of his near-death experience. The Huguenot defenders of Saint-Jean-d'Angély soon capitulated, but Pontis avoids describing the tightening siege and bombardments that forced the Huguenots to negotiate. His account merely records 'the town having submitted, the king advanced to Montauban with an army composed of about 24,000 men, commanded by Monsieur le connétable de Luynes'.[59] Instead of narrating the entire action of the siege, then, Pontis's account instead remains focused on his terrifying personal experiences of siege combat and his shaken emotional state.

The royal army invested the city of Montauban, one of the principal Huguenot *places de sûreté* (or security towns) in southern France, in August 1621. Pontis discusses the plan of attack and the allocation of commands in the royal army. He then narrates the digging of approach trenches and various combats. He describes how the generals became frustrated and the maréchal de Schomberg 'found himself quite embarrassed' by an advanced guard sent forward by the garrison to threaten the besiegers' batteries. Pontis led royal troops to force the besiegers back, impressing Schomberg, who 'praised me publicly in front of the army' for having saved him from his embarrassment and having secured his honour.[60]

This heroic act transformed Pontis's career trajectory and opened a new pathway of spiritual friendship. Jean Zamet, *mestre de camp* of the régiment de Picardie, witnessed Schomberg's public acknowledgement of Pontis and seems to have been impressed by the young officer's leadership qualities. Pontis explains that Zamet 'began to express a particular affection [for me], and asked me to come and see him frequently'.[61] Pontis describes this social contact as life altering: 'It was then that this strong friendship formed between us, of which I can only say that the foundation was on the one hand the knowledge I had of the merit and wisdom of this great man, and on the other his goodness to consider me as someone who was not unworthy of his friendship.'[62] Although Pontis offers an extended narrative of the lengthening siege, this friendship becomes crucial to the whole structure of his *Mémoires* and to the emotional arc of Pontis's spiritual development.

Fighting resumed in early 1622, and Pontis narrates his service at the sieges of the small towns of Tonneins, Sainte-Foy, Nègrepelisse, and

Sommières.[63] But, the text dwells on the major siege of the Huguenot city of Montpellier later that year. The highlight of Pontis's relation of this siege is the dramatic news that his *mestre de camp*, Jean Zamet, has been killed. In this passage, Pontis rushes to find Zamet and discovers him still alive, but gravely wounded by a cannonball that had swept away his leg. Pontis is so overcome with emotion that he ‘could not utter a word because my heart had ceased beating’.[64] The wounded Zamet speaks to him in ‘a fashion so Christian, that I remained overwhelmed with confusion and carried away’.[65] Pontis records his lengthy bedside conversation with Zamet, who emphasises his readiness to accept the will of God and his Providential wisdom. Pontis breaks down in tears at Zamet's words and his ‘tenderness’, offering a touching moral example to the younger officer. Zamet displays moral strength and courage through his confidence in God's omnipotence, marking his *dévot* piety.

After this intense emotional scene, Pontis returns to combat, but is himself seriously wounded. His long and difficult convalescence is described as an experience in which emotions are dangerous. Pontis had clearly been shaken by his intimate encounter with the gravely wounded Zamet, who died from his wounds soon after their discussion. However, Pontis only learns of his protector's death after his own recovery. His doctors had kept the news of Zamet's death from him because they ‘did not dare tell me this news that could well have killed me in the state that I was in’.[66] Pontis's weak physical condition and emotional state prevented him from participating in the rest of the siege of Montpellier. Before Pontis could recover, a negotiated peace with the Huguenots finally ended the 1621–1622 war, and the city of Montpellier opened its gates to the royal army. Finally able to rejoin his regiment, Pontis mourned his fallen protector and lamented the lost opportunities for enhancing his honour in siege combat.

Conclusion

Siege narratives offer glimpses of the combat emotions of the military officers and soldiers who fought in the numerous sieges of the French Wars of Religion. Catholic and Calvinist writers included emotional appeals and descriptions in their war writings, especially in personal narratives that had hybrid religious, political and polemical purposes. The genre of the war memoir was gradually emerging toward the end of the religious wars, but still with unstable structures, literary conventions, and emotional registers.

Siege narratives in other textual genres exhibited similar instability. These forms of writing did not often produce the sort of revelation that Harari emphasises, in part due to collective authorship and diverse audiences for their texts. Nonetheless, personal narratives of the French Wars of Religion demonstrate that writers did discuss combat experiences in terms of intense and meaningful emotions that shaped the military culture of officers (and perhaps soldiers) during the religious wars.

The siege narratives of Louis de Maine, Henri II de Montmorency, and Louis de Pontis were written about military campaigns that they all experienced in common, but nonetheless reveal very different personal accounts of their combat experiences. The texts employ distinct aims and rhetorical devices in depicting emotions. The baron de Chabans offers a model of Catholic loyalism, religious motivation, and sanctity honour. The duc de Montmorency's account presents him as a paragon of virtuous and honourable command. Finally, Pontis delivers Jansenist testimony of his spiritual growth through military service. Even though all three of these officers were Catholics who were at times serving in the same royal armies, their texts deploy distinct emotional registers and descriptions to markedly different purposes. These personal narratives of siege combat thus challenge many of our received notions about seventeenth-century armies and military officers.

Notes

1. On the concept of the decisive battle, see: Yuval Noah Harari, 'The Concept of 'Decisive Battles' in World History,' *Journal of World History* 18 (2007): 251–66.
2. For examples, see: 'La suitte du tableau du siege de Montauban contenant ce qui cest passé despuis le retour du roy a Paris jusques au mois de novembre 1622,' Bibliothèque Nationale de France [hereafter, BNF], Mss. fr. 18756, Fol. 80–1; 'Memoire ou journal du siege de Montpellier,' BNF, Mss. fr. 23339, Fol. 178–9.
3. For example, see: *La deffaicte de cinq cens hommes de guerre sortis de Montpellier. Par monsieur le Duc de Mont-morency. Ensemble la nouvelle arrivé des registres & Lansquenets levez en Allemagne pour le service de sa Majesté en Languedoc* (Paris: Joseph Bouillerot, 1622), Bibliothèque Municipale [hereafter, BM] de Montpellier, 30239.
4. Barbara B. Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity Pious Women and the Catholic Reformation in Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 27–48; Denis Crouzet, *Les guerriers de Dieu*: *la violence au temps des trou-*

bles de religion, *vers 1525–vers 1610*, 2 vols (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 1990), vol. 2, 427–50.

5. *Plan de la ville de Mon-heur*, *avec les particularitez du siege mis devant icelle*, *bruslement*, *et chastiment exemplaire* (Paris: Nicolas de Mathonière, 1622).
6. 'Tableau du siege de Montaulban 1622,' BNF, Mss. fr. 18756.
7. For examples, see: Louis de Maine, baron de Chabans, *Histoire de la guerre des Huguenots faicte en France sous le regne du roy Louys XIII* (Paris: Toussainct du Bray, 1634), 148, 150, 169, 190, 544.
8. For example, see Blaise de Monluc, *Commentaires 1521–1675: Chroniques des guerres de religion* (Paris: Gallimard, 1964).
9. David Potter, *Renaissance France at War*: *Armies*, *Culture and Society*, *c. 1480–1560* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2008); Christopher Duffy, *Siege Warfare*: *The Fortress in the Early Modern World*, *1494–1660* (New York, NY: Barnes and Noble Books, 1979), 111–12.
10. 'Memoire de la prise et reprise de la ville et chãu de Somieres du VIe juillet 1625,' BNF, Mss. fr. 3674, f° 98–101.
11. Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution*: *Military Innovation and the Rise of the West*, *1500–1800*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 13–14; Bert S. Hall, *Weapons and Warfare in Renaissance Europe* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 158–64.
12. Crouzet, *Les guerriers de Dieu*, 319–97; Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*: *Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 49–63, 145–58.
13. For example, see: *Recit tres-veritable de ce qui s'est passé le mercredy 19. janvier 1628. en l'entreprise faicte par monsieur le Duc de Rohan sur la ville & citadelle de Montpellier* (Montpellier: Jean Pech, 1628), BNF, 8° Lb[36] 2598.
14. See: *La deffaicte de cinq cens hommes de guerre sortis de Montpellier. Par monsieur le Duc de Mont-morency. Ensemble la nouvelle arrivé des registres & Lansquenets levez en Allemagne pour le service de sa Majesté en Languedoc* (Paris: Joseph Bouillerot, 1622), copy, BM Montpellier, 30239, Fol. 5; 'Relation des Progrès du roy dans le Vivarez et le Languedoc,' 18[?] June 1629, in *Lettres*, *instructions diplomatiques et papiers d'état du cardinal de Richelieu. Volume III*: *1628–1630*, ed. M. Avenel (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1858), 351–3; 'La Prise par force de la ville de Bonail en Languedoc' (Paris: Adrian Bacot, 1625), copy, BM Montpellier, 30017, f° 5.
15. For example, see: *La prise du fort de Corconne*, *en Languedoc. Par Monsieur le marquis de Fossez*, *gouverneur de la ville & citadelle de Montpellier. Avec le recit veritable de ce qui s'est passé au restablissement des anciennes armes de ladite ville* (Paris: Jean Barbotte, 1628), BNF, 8° Lb[36] 2589.

16. John D. Lyons and Kathleen Wine, eds., *Chance, Literature, and Culture in Early Modern France* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).
17. For example, see: Chabans, *Histoire de la guerre des Huguenots*, 164.
18. The original reads: 'J'y fus eschaudé, mais non beuslé, Dieu mercy; car j'en sortois et en estoit a quarante pas.' François de Bassompierre, *Journal de ma vie: mémoires du maréchal de Bassompierre*, ed. Marquis de Chantérac (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1875), vol. 3, 100.
19. See: 'Tableau du siege de Montaulban 1622,' BNF, Mss. fr. 18756, Fol. 51–2.
20. Monluc, quoted in Yuval Noah Harari, *The Ultimate Experience: Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture, 1450–2000* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 105.
21. Joel Cornette, *Le roi de guerre. Essai sur la souveraineté dans la France du Grand Siècle* (Paris: Payot, 1993), 221–9.
22. Brian Sandberg, *Warrior Pursuits: Noble Culture and Civil Conflict in Early Modern France* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 154–9.
23. Brian Sandberg, "'To Have the Pleasure of This Siege": Envisioning Siege Warfare during the European Wars of Religion,' in *Beholding Violence in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Erin Felicia Labbie and Allie Terry-Fritch (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), 143–62.
24. Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know About Itself* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014); Brendan Dooley, ed., *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010).
25. Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity during the French Wars of Religion* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).
26. For an example, see: Brévet de Louis XIII, 18 September 1621, Archives Nationales [hereafter, AN], 508 AP 46, n.f.
27. Sandberg, '"To Have the Pleasure of This Siege",' 150–3.
28. Yuval Noah Harari, 'Military Memoirs: A Historical Overview of the Genre from the Middle Ages to the Late Modern Era,' *War in History* 14 (2007): 289–309, 293–4; Yuval Noah Harari, *Renaissance Military Memoirs: War, History, and Identity, 1450–1600* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004).
29. See: Brian Sandberg, review of Yuval Noah Harari, *Renaissance Military Memoirs: War, History and Identity, 1450–1600*, in *Renaissance Studies* 20 (2006): 592–4.
30. A few key works include: Peter Heehs, *Writing the Self: Diaries, Memoirs, and the History of the Self* (New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013) D. V. Kent, *Friendship, Love, and Trust in Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); John Jeffries Martin, *Myths of Renaissance*

Individualism (Basingstoke; New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); William J. Connell, ed., *Society and Individual in Renaissance Florence* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002); Roy Porter, *Rewriting the Self Histories from the Renaissance to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1997); Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*: *From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

31. Harari, *Renaissance Military Memoirs*, 58.
32. Susan Broomhall, ed., *Ordering Emotions in Europe*, *1100–1800* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2015); William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
33. Mark Greengrass, ‘Hidden Transcripts: Secret Histories and Personal Testimonies of Religious Violence in the French Wars of Religion,’ in *The Massacre in History*, ed. Mark Levene and Penny Roberts (New York, NY: Berghahn, 1999), 69–88.
34. Susan Broomhall, ‘Reasons and Identities to Remember: Composing Personal Accounts of Religious Violence in Sixteenth-Century France,’ *French History* 27 (2013): 1–20.
35. Amy Houston, ‘Defending the City, Defending the Faith: The Sieges of the French Civil Wars, 1552–1628’ (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2010); Michael Wolfe, *Walled Towns and the Shaping of France from the Medieval to the Early Modern Era* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); James B. Wood, *The King’s Army*: *Warfare*, *Soldiers*, *and Society during the Wars of Religion in France*, *1562–1576* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
36. Louis de Maine, baron de Chabans, *Histoire de la guerre des Huguenots faicte en France sous le regne du roy Louys XIII* (Paris: Toussainct du Bray, 1634).
37. ‘Mais, sire, il n’en va pas ainsi, le public & le particulier y sont trop interessés, les livres, les marbres, & les bronzes apprendront à nos nepveux que depuis l’aage de quinze ans elle a commandé ses armées en personne qu’à vingt huict elle avoit restably l’authorité divine & la sienne dans ses royaumes.’ Chabans, *Histoire de la guerre*, preface.
38. ‘extremement fasché de ceste perte’, and ‘à se faire Catholique’. Chabans, *Histoire de la guerre*, 154–5.
39. ‘tesmoigné aucun signe de vie, depuis sa blessure’, ‘le toucha de sa main en disant à ses gens que peut estre il n’estoit pas mort, à mesme te[m]ps il fist un grand souspir, ce que voyant, il l’appella par son nom, & le blessé respondant, avant partir delà, il le fit prier dieu, luy fit venir un prestre qui le confessa.’ Chabans, *Histoire de la guerre*, 154–5.
40. ‘ce peu de vie estoit miraculeux’. Chabans, *Histoire de la guerre*, 154–5.
41. ‘l’asseura qu’il le tesmoigneroit au roy’. Chabans, *Histoire de la guerre des Huguenots*, 186.

42. Simon Du Cros, *Histoire de la vie de Henry dernier Duc de Montmorency. Contenant tout ce qu'il a fait de plus remarquable depuis sa naissance jusques à sa mort* (Paris: Antoine Sommaville & Augustin Courbé, 1643).
43. Crouzet, *Les guerriers de Dieu* , vol. 2, 554–65.
44. Sandberg, *Warrior Pursuits*, 253–5, 259–61.
45. 'fut si piqué qu'il ne songea plus qu'aux moyens de reparer promtement cét affront, & haster la levée de ses troupes'. Du Cros, *Histoire de la vie de Henry dernier Duc de Montmorency*, 28–9.
46. 'Ce commandement limité, avec d'autres ordres secrets plains de jalousie & de deffiance, mirent ce genereux homme en la peine où se trouve un Gouverneur de Province, zelé pour sa Religion, piqué de l'insolence d'un particulier, & faisant profession d'obeïr aveuglément aux volontez de son Maistre.' Du Cros, *Histoire de la vie de Henry dernier Duc de Montmorency*, 29–30.
47. 'Les habitans sommez de se rendre, respondent avec raillerie, & tirent furieusement sur ceux qui vont remarquer le lieu plus propre pour loger le canon.' Du Cros, *Histoire de la vie de Henry dernier Duc de Montmorency*, 32–3.
48. 'le regret deû à une personne de son merite'. Du Cros, *Histoire de la vie de Henry dernier Duc de Montmorency*, 32–3.
49. 'Son courage fit plus de peur aux ennemis, que de honte à ses soldats: il arresta l'impetusité des uns, ne pouvant empescher la fuitte des autres, & sauva la vie à ceux dont il ne pût sauver l'honneur.' Du Cros, *Histoire de la vie de Henry dernier Duc de Montmorency*, *64–6.*
50. 'En fin se voyant environné d'ennemis, & abandonné des siens, il se retira du combat avec la mesme resolution qu'il y estoit entré, & emporta deux coups de pique, qui tesmoignerent qu'il avoit l'obligation de sa vie à une cause plus puissante & plus favorable que la courtoisie des hommes. En effet c'est un miracle, comme nous l'avons remarqué, que de tant d'honnestes gens qui le suivirent pas un ne s'en retourna; & il ne faut point dire que les ennemis eussent envie de le favoriser: car outre que le hazard est aveugle, & que les mousquetades n'espargnent personne, les blesseures qu'il reçeut firent voir de quel esprit estoient poussez ceux qu'il avoit si mal traittez en diverses rencontres; & fraischement à la deffaite du Bosquet, qui se fit à la veuë des habitans de Montpellier. Il faut croire que son heure n'estoit pas encore venuë, & admirer les secrets de Dieu, qui permit que tant d'hommes considerables se perdissent si miserablement. Le Duc de Fronsac fut de ce nombre, les marquis de Bevron & de Canillac, Saint Brés, Cadoene, les deux Fabregues, Oqueto, le chevalier de Ribaute, Lussan, Monbrun, de l'Estrange, & quelques autres dont les noms se voyent escrits dans l'Histoire.' Du Cros, *Histoire de la vie de Henry dernier Duc de Montmorency*, *67.*

51. ‘il parla de s’en retourner au siege, & renouvella les craintes & les inquietudes qu’elle avoit lors qu’il estoit dans le peril’. Du Cros, *Histoire de la vie de Henry dernier Duc de Montmorency*, 67–8.
52. ‘l’amour qu’il avoit pour une personne qui luy estoit si proche, fit qu’il attribua l’illusion de ce songe à la force de son imagination’. Du Cros, *Histoire de la vie de Henry dernier Duc de Montmorency*, 189–92.
53. ‘les caresses & les liberalitez dont il animoit les capitains & les soldats, servirent de beaucoup à l’avancement de ce dernier & glorieux succés’. Du Cros, *Histoire de la vie de Henry dernier Duc de Montmorency*, 159–64.
54. Interpreting the emotional descriptions in Pontis’s text is aided by Andrée Villard’s recent critical edition of the *Mémoires*, which reassesses questions of authorship. After a long military career, Pontis converted to Jansenism, seeking solitude and repentance for his sins. The aging officer began a spiritual retreat in 1653 at the Port-Royal monastery, the central Jansenist institution in France. There, Pontis engaged in frequent conversation with a young Jansenist named Thomas du Fossé, apparently dictating his memoirs to him. Pontis died in 1670 and his memoirs were only published in 1676, possibly with significant editing by Fossé. So, the *Mémoires* already represented a composite co-authored text on their initial publication.
55. Harari, *The Ultimate Experience*, 52.
56. Harari, *The Ultimate Experience*, 52.
57. ‘un petit espace vide qui empêcha que nous ne fussions étouffés avant que d’être secourus’. Louis de Pontis, *Mémoires* (*1676*), ed. Andrée Villard (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2000), 143–5.
58. ‘je me trouvai si mal d’avoir été ainsi froissé et enfermé dans ces terres, et d’avoir ensuite plutôt suivi mon ardeur inconsidérée que le conseil de mes amis, que je gardai pendant un mois une jaunisse qui me rendait presque méconnaissable’. Pontis, *Mémoires*, 143–5.
59. ‘La ville s’étant rendue, le roi alla devant Montauban avec une armée composée d’environ vingt-quatre mille hommes et commandée par Monsieur le connétable de Luynes.’ Pontis, *Mémoires*, 145.
60. ‘se trouvèrent bien embarrassés’ and ‘me loua publiquement devant l’armée’. Pontis, *Mémoires*, 147–9.
61. ‘commença à me témoigner une affaction particulière, et me pria de le venir voir souvent’. Pontis, *Mémoires*, 149.
62. ‘Ce fut donc par là que commença à se lier cette amitiee si étroite qui s’est formée entre nous, dont je puis dire que le fondement était d’une part la connaissance que j’avais du mérite et de la sagesse de ce grand homme, et d’autre part la bonté qu’il eut de me regarder comme une personne qui n’était pas indigne de son amitié.’ Pontis, *Mémoires*, 149.
63. Pontis, *Mémoires*, 182–91.

64. ‘ne pouvant dire une parole tant j’avais le cœur saisi’. Pontis, *Mémoires*, 212.
65. ‘une façon si chrétienne, que je demeurai couvert de confusion de m’être ainsi laissé emporter’. Pontis, *Mémoires*, 212.
66. ‘n’osait me dire tout d’un coup une nouvelle qui aurait été capable de me faire mourir dans l’état où j’étais pour lors’. Pontis, *Mémoires*, 221.

CHAPTER 8

Emotions in the Making: The Transformation of Battlefield Experiences during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763)

Marian Füssel

The Seven Years' War (1756–1763) has often been termed a time of transition, a cultural laboratory between the ancien régime and modernity.[1] This transition comprises the making of a bourgeois public sphere, rapidly increasing global entanglements of political and military conflicts since the Austrian War of Succession (1740–1748) and the shift from local patriotism to a kind of proto-nationalism involving the creation of new images of heroic sacrifice for the fatherland.[2] God and King were still regarded as the main agents of fate in battle, but political propaganda transformed the struggle between European monarchies into one of nations against nations. In particular, the Prussian King Frederick II, 'the Great', aroused a new patriotism beyond the borders of Prussia by amplifying the degree of emotions through a 'politics of emotions'—to use a term coined by Ute Frevert.[3] A 'Fritzian' attitude (Goethe), involving an identification with the king's person rather than with Prussia as a

M. Füssel
University of Göttingen, Göttingen, Germany

© The Author(s) 2016

E. Kuijpers, C. van der Haven (eds.), *Battlefield Emotions 1500–1800*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-56490-0_8

territorial power, spread primarily over the German territories but soon attracted followers in countries all over Europe.[4]

New patterns of articulation emerged that widened the spectrum of battlefield emotions by connecting them to proto-nationalist pathos and to an emotional regime that included religious, patriotic but also epistemic components.[5] People increasingly reflected on the conditions of their experience itself: they were concerned not only with *what* they saw, felt or suffered but also *how* they did, and to what extent this could be articulated. Many soldiers and veterans also wanted to participate in a larger discourse of military memory that was no longer fully controlled by the authorities. The social and cultural conditions of new emotional practices originated in the diversification and increase of media and the growing production and marketing of memorabilia that fuelled the rise of charismatic figures like Frederick II or Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. This raises the question of how battlefield experiences in their turn were shaped by contemporary discourses in poetry, propagandistic visual arts and new memory practices. Linking the war with the media- and consumer-revolutions of the eighteenth century might uncover new practices of participation in public discourse and medialisation and new chances for market-driven commerce.[6]

Not only the modes of expression and representation changed but also the faces of battle itself.[7] Battles increased in numbers: first, in numbers of incidence (Europe saw more than 20 major land battles during the Seven Years' War), second, in numbers of soldiers involved, and third, in numbers of dead and wounded.[8] The increase in casualties was primarily a result of improvements in field artillery, which is reflected in many of the eyewitness accounts. Battles were eruptions of extreme violence, and sometimes many thousands of men died within a single day.[9] But the increase in public interest and media did not automatically lead to a better understanding of what was happening on the battlefield itself. Rather, it confronted soldiers with a feeling of alienation due to the incompatibility between their experiences and the imagined battlefield in the media.

Battles consist of men and horses, of guns, artillery, muskets and pistols, of orders, *ordres de bataille*, signals, sounds and rhythms, shouts and cries, movements, shots, strikes, blows and cuts, of singing, pillaging and mourning. Battles are complex combinations of acts: manoeuvring, communicating, observing or making booty. All senses are affected as one hears the sounds, cries and songs, one smells the gunpowder and the burnt flesh, the commander oversees the movements, the common soldier sees

only chaos and haze, the soldiers' bodies are touched, mutilated and hurt, and their tongues taste the alcohol meant to help them handle their fear.

Battles not only produced a whole range of emotions, but can also be considered as a place where emotions are 'practised'. Emotions are not only the result of prior or expected practice; they are themselves 'emotional practices' in which an inner and an outer side, experience and expression, cannot be separated.[10] A battle cry, for example, is a way of 'doing' emotion and not only a representation of a certain ideology or an abstract attitude towards the enemy.

Battles thus were chaotic, emotional and multi-sensory experiences that were certainly not easy to recount. How did the soldiers actually manage to express themselves? How did soldiers in their writings make sense of their experience, and to what extent did (new) media help them to articulate their emotions or to communicate them to their relatives at home? To what extent did emotions in their mediated form contribute to an emotional regime that connected the experiences of the soldier to the readers and consumers at home? How were emotions and experiences shared in the public sphere? What role did material culture play in the communication, propagation and commemoration of the events of war? What were the material and medial incarnations of emotions, and how did their meanings evolve in a time of cultural and political transition?

Emotions in soldiers' accounts are shaped by the experiences on the field of battle but also by their later commemorations in the public sphere, which points towards a process of circulation rather than diffusion. The 'mediatisation' of battlefield emotions, on the one hand, affected how soldiers tended to address their emotions in battle accounts, while, on the other hand, it produced topoi and cultural patterns that framed the making of emotions. In this chapter I will reflect on different sites and actors that shaped or transformed battlefield emotions during this process: first, the conditions of individual soldiers communicating emotions from the battlefield, then the communication of emotions to the masses and, finally, how these emotions were received and perceived at home. Their appropriation at home could acquire manifold meanings depending on the particular recipients and thus further enhance processes of circulation and transformation of feelings in the public sphere. By focussing on the interplay of new media, charismatic figures, consumer practices and material practices of warfare, the specific dynamics of emotional regimes emerging during the Seven Years' War can be historicised.

Battle Narratives and the Materiality of Experience

Let us first take a look at a narrative that has become a kind of an icon of eighteenth-century battle experience, the *Diary of Ulrich Bräker* (1735–1798), the 'Poor Man of Toggenburg', first published in 1788/9.[11] Bräker's narrative provides a very detailed account of the physical experience of battle, showing the limits but also the possibilities of articulation on the individual level. The Swiss Bräker was pressed into the Prussian Army in Rottweil and engaged in the first major battle of the Seven Years' War at Lobositz on 1 October 1756. At first he sees nothing, but all of a sudden the enemy approaches.[12] The fighting begins with artillery fire.[13] Bräker realises that it is too late to escape the fighting: 'Till then I'd still had hopes of escaping before battle was engaged; now I could see no way out, whether in front or behind, to right or to left. Meanwhile we were advancing all the time'.[14] Emotions come into play. His 'courage' sank into his breeches. He wished to hide himself and witnessed similar fears on all his comrades' 'pale' faces. The emptied brandy flasks were thrown into the air and joined the raining bullets.[15] Alcohol played an important role for the maintenance of what John Lynn has called the 'culture of forbearance'.[16]

Yet the longer Bräker stayed on the field of battle the less were his fears. He stood exposed to heavy artillery-fire until about 11 o' clock. Then, he and his comrades expected to engage in storming the fieldworks of the Austrian troops. At this moment he reports that he was less frightened than at the beginning of battle although death and destruction became all too visible as the dead and wounded already extended all around the field.[17] When the order to withdraw reached his regiment around 12 o'clock, he and his comrades thought 'we'll be well out of it'.[18] Feelings of fear seemed to have entirely vanished. They stepped up towards the nearby vineyards without consideration of the dangers they faced although they could hear and see the carnage occurring on the battlefield.[19] But their situation changed quickly. While climbing a hill, they realised as they reached its summit that Austrian irregulars, the Pandours, were all over the place. Bräker enters the fighting. The ensuing clashes with the Pandours in the woods are called an 'indescribable slaughter'. After heavy casualties the Prussians finally took the heights 'stumbling over mounds of dead and wounded'.[20] But what about his own actions and feelings? He reports that he went out of control and became immune to fear: 'I slewed about all

over the place like a mad thing, and immune to the slightest fear, in *one* burst I shot off well nigh all 60 of my rounds till my musket was pretty well red-hot and I had to drag it behind me by its strap; I don't believe I hit a living soul though—it all went into the air.'[21] The German phrase 'in Jast und Hitze wie vertaumelt' (here roughly translated as 'like a mad thing') represents a moment of extreme excitement and bodily agitation like a state of fever. Fear had gone, and Bräker fires in an almost unconscious state of mind. But it is hardly credible that he hurt no one. Firing 60 shots without effect can be read as a topos quite typical for most of the contemporary common soldiers' narratives. They were never part of an active site of violence and killing but behaved passively, as victims not as culprits.[22] The reasons for this pattern are manifold. In some cases, it might reflect the soldier's religious background, for example, in pietism, but also could be the result of the practical engagement in machine-like orders firing from a distance rather than engaging in hand-to-hand combat, or it might indicate some knowledge about the lack of accuracy of the muskets. The reference to his musket shows how material conditions—the weapon was getting too hot—shaped his experience as well as his memory and narrative representation.

Another topos of battle description follows when fighting continued on the plain. The scene of battle is hard to perceive, almost invisible and a cacophony of sounds[23]; thus Bräker reaches the limits of narrative representation:

> But who shall attempt to describe it?—the smoke and fumes that now went up from Lowositz, the crashing and thundering as if heaven and earth were about to melt away, the incessant rattle of many hundreds of drums, the clangour of martial music of all kinds, rending and uplifting the heart, the shouts of so many commanders and roars of their adjutants, the moans and groans from so many thousands of wretched, mangled, half-dead victims of this day: it dazed all the senses![24]

Sound and vision stir up new emotions now in the observer.[25] But the situation of total chaos also gave him an unexpected opportunity to desert: 'that very moment it occurred to me, or rather it was my guardian angel prompting me, that it was high time I fled for safety'.[26] Bräker managed to escape the battleground and never experienced military service and the violence of a battle again in his life. His desertion gave him a bad name in the older German military historiography but made him a hero in the former GDR as well as to those who advocated a history from below.[27]

Some of Bräker's contemporaries who took part in battles reported to be affected by fear only at the end of a battle. Military chaplain Carl Daniel Küster (1727–1804) describes his feelings in the Battle of Hochkirch 1758, one of Frederick's heaviest defeats[28]: 'The so called cannon-fever or battle-shiver I felt in all its strength.'[29] But this was when he was already almost outside the fighting zone: 'All of a sudden I was overtaken by a fear that deprived me of all my courage, and a terror, which set my limbs a-trembling. A little child could have pushed me over.'[30] The complete picture of devastation opens up after the end of battle in the aftermath. Searching for survivors, Küster looks at the field: 'Brave they all still were, but also deeply saddened and the view across the battlefield seeing the army robbed of almost every baggage was horrible. Only two species of faces dominated: a sad, pensive and downcast face—and eyes threatening revenge.'[31] While searching, Küster climbs a little hill. His view gave 'great and manifold joy' as he now saw the king and some of the generals well and 'bright'. Talking to wounded soldiers Küster pledges to the meaning provided by God and king: 'Whereas they shall take these three words for their consolation and encouragement into their souls and take for a parole: (1) God lives, (2) the king lives,—(3) I will follow God and the king until I die.'[32]

The experience of battle was framed by the performance of religious practices that often produced particular soundscapes. A famous example of 'doing emotion' was the Leuthen Chorale sung collectively by the Prussian soldiers after the victory at the Battle of Leuthen in December 1757.[33] 'Now thank we all our God' is a popular Christian hymn dating from the early seventeenth century and known by all eighteenth-century soldiers. Acoustic practices could either provide relief and solace (as in case of the chorale) or raise fear by shouting at the enemy. Even at home the urban soundscape was affected by ringing the church bells or singing the 'te deum laudamus'. Sound and song helped to create emotional communities of combatants as well as civilian followers. Sounds, sights and smells entered the memories and continued to stimulate feelings in later life. The Protestant Prussian pastor Christian Täge, who was captured by Russian troops, recounts his experiences of walking into the Battle of Zorndorf (1758) on the Russian side. He hears the Prussians approaching:

> The horrible noise of the Prussian drums we already heard but their field music we could not yet differentiate. But in solemn march they approach, now we hear their *hautbois*; they play: 'Now Lord, I am in thy keeping!'

> About this music I can speak not a word of my emotions. Anyone who can feel will not consider it unbelievable that in my long later life this melody always aroused the deepest feelings of melancholy in me.[34]

With this comment in mind we must also state that certain emotions develop only over time as they are caused by trigger effects, or at least ego-documents like Täge's tell us that this is the case.

The strongest contrast between perception and its textual representation is not to be found between winners or losers, or between different nations, but between soldiers of different ranks.[35] Officers obviously had more possibilities to observe and a different attitude towards the 'spectacle' of battle. Russian officer Andrej Bolotow (1738–1833), for example, was witness to the Battle of Großjägersdorf (30 August 1757) between Prussian and Russian armies. In his autobiography he gives a lengthy report of the battle and emphasises his fascination: 'In one word, the whole offered a dismal picture that would move a squeamish heart, and we watching it all could not get enough, so curious and striking it appeared to us.'[36]

The difference in point of view and evaluation of their battlefield experiences between Bräker and Bolotow, between lower-ranking soldier and officer, points to the crucial importance of distance. Distance is a key parameter in the way the battlefield is experienced or perceived, framed, remembered and communicated: the actual spatial distance to the battlefield, the temporal distance of an account written afterwards, and finally the social distance between actor and observer or between one observer and another.

When we compare letters and diaries written during the war with testimonies written long after the war a mechanism that Pierre Bourdieu has called the 'biographical illusion' comes into play.[37] Everything is ordered within the narrative as if it were naturally leading towards the present state of affairs.[38] In the matter of the narration of battlefield experiences this is an important factor because the writer knows what the contemporaries did not: he knows how the struggle ended and which events and actors have become memorable. So everything can be ordered accordingly in his narrative. For example, the *Memoirs* of James Campbell of Ardkinglass (1745–1831) written in the late 1820s describe the events of the Seven Years' War from the perspective of the age of Romanticism.[39] His baptism of fire in the Battle of Minden is told from great distance but contains heavy emotional markers:

> Two circumstances occurred in this my first engagement, which shocked me beyond expression; and even now, at the distance of seventy years, I feel as if I saw before me the individual to whom they relate: I can recall their very features, and even the passing expression on their countenances. The one was my servant; his name was Simpson: he was standing close by me, when he was dreadfully mangled by a cannon-shot across the body. The other was a young officer of my acquaintance, who stood immediately in my view, when the greater part of his face was cut off by the stroke of a sabre.[40]

70 years after the events he recalls the fate of his comrades as if they were present. Even at this huge temporal distance he uses the formula 'beyond expression' not because he cannot recollect the actions but to leave the emotions to imagination of the reader and to save the reader from unsettling detail.

An important factor to enhance the memory and representation of battlefield experiences was to link them to material artefacts like weapons and uniforms. The object could turn into the material incarnation of certain practices and the feelings involved, like the threat of enemy fire. After a skirmish around Bielefeld in 1757, Brunswick soldier Johann Heinrich Ludewig Grotehenn (1734–1786) writes to his father:

> My musket was hit by a grape-shot bullet and cut off a quarter of it at its end. And I send you the end of the iron barrel and ask you to keep it for remembrance; by this we can see how the benevolence of God has led it away from me, because the bullet came close to my head but smashed iron instead of bones.[41]

The shot came as a shock to Grotehenn, and he wants the material evidence of his salvation to be memorialised. Episodes like this can be found in many ego-documents. In his diary the musketeer Johann Jacob Dominicus (1731–1775) writes that 'God had saved him' during a skirmish near Zülichau 1759 as revealed by four 'signs': one bullet was shot through the top of his hat, one through the fold of his uniform, one through the butt of his rifle, and another through the cover of his ammunition pocket without injuring him: 'And while I stood and loaded a bullet came above my hand and bent my ramrod like a fiddlestick.'[42] The Prussian officer Ernst Friedrich Rudolf von Barsewisch (1737–1801) reports in his diary on the Battle of Liegnitz in 1760:

> For my part I had much reason to thank humbly and from the heart the almighty God for the saving of my life under the most evident and greatest

> dangers. How close had danger and death come again and again. The sergeant behind me in the rank was shot, the spontoon on his shoulder was hit by a cannon ball, the squad to my left either was struck down by a cannon ball and at the time I reached the front line to give the order to cease fire two squads were all shot down simultaneously.[43]

Another telling narrative about the impact of things on the experience of battle is provided by Lieutenant Hugh Montgomery writing home to his mother after surviving the Battle of Minden on 1 August 1759:

> and as perhaps you may be desirous to know any little risk that I might have run, I will mention those of which I was sensible. At the beginning of the action I was almost knocked off my legs by my three right hand men, who were killed and drove against me by a cannon ball, the same ball also killed two men close to Ward, whose post was in the rear of my platoon, and in this place I will assure you that he behaved with the greatest bravery, which I suppose you will make known to his father and friends. Some time after I received from a spent ball just such a rap on my collar-bone as I had frequently from that one most dreadful weapon, your crooked-headed stick; it just swelled and grew red enough to convince the neighbours that I was not fibbing when I mentioned it. I got another of these also on one of my legs, which gave me about as much pain, as would a tap of Miss Mathews's fan. The last and greatest misfortune of all fell to the share of my poor old coat for a musket ball entered into the right skirt of it and made three holes. I had almost forgotten to tell you that my spontoon was shot through a little below my hand; this disabled it, but a French one now does duty in its place.[44]

Montgomery trivialises his experience under fire by comparing the hits to the ones of his mother's stick and Miss Mathew's fan. His coat is damaged by bullets, and the exchange of the spontoon shows how quickly things could be re-appropriated on the battlefield.

The ego-documents show that emotions like fear were a bodily experience that had a strong material dimension. A closer look also reveals differences both in experience and its representation. Emotional conditions and status had different names at different times, for example 'heat' (*Hitze*) signified a situation of strong affection close to a kind of fever. On the other hand, emotions like fear or happiness often were not directly expressed by the narrating subject but via the collective ('us' vs. 'them') or the situation itself ('fierce fighting'). The case of Bräker shows that the impact of emotions depended very much on the different phases of battle, as they caused feelings of differing intensity. Officers like Bolotow

or Ardkinglass often showed more distance, self-control and sometimes euphemism in their narratives than did the rank-and-file soldier more concerned with physical integrity and using topoi of the unutterable. Social status thus played a role in determining one's personal emotional repertoire and its textual articulation. But we should not take the social boundaries of articulation too strictly. In some cases the patterns of representing emotion varied between actors and genres (letters, autobiographies), which brings us to the public dimension of representing emotions.

Representing Emotion for the Masses: From Intertextuality to Intermediality

As complex combinations of sayings, doings and materialities, battles were neither easy to plan nor to oversee. Battles are contingent and battles are out of sight for most of their participants. They are in some way invisible, which determines the way events are represented.[45] Representations of battles in word, image or sound involve a wide range of media and thereby affect the production and perception of meaning.[46] Content and effect of the message communicated could be affected by its materiality.[47] From an original perception in the field, images and messages of battle were transformed into the writing of ego-documents like letters and diaries or the official journals and messages sent to the high command and published in the newspapers some days later. From eyewitness reports, narratives were converted into etchings and paintings, into songs and poems and into literature and historiography, but also into mugs, tobacco boxes, celebratory ribbons ('*Vivat-Bänder*') or pub signs. Many years after the battles, engravings continued to be used as models for statues and memorials that attract thanatourists who write travel narratives documenting what they felt at what had become the place of remembrance, the former battlefield.[48]

Following Claude Lévi-Strauss's famous sentence that things 'are good to think with', we could thus also say things 'are good to feel with' or, more precisely, 'things are good to express emotions with'.[49] This maxim applies to the things in battle as well as the things by which battles are communicated and remembered.[50] Many battles were represented in the popular media of contemporary artisanry (examples of early modern battle merchandise so to speak). One special medium for representing a battle can be seen in the famous tobacco boxes mostly made in the small German town of Iserlohn (Fig. 8.1). These little boxes were stamped with military motifs and achieved their heyday during the Seven Years' War.

Fig. 8.1 Tobacco box with bust of Frederick II, battle scenes of Roßbach 1757 and Lissa (Leuthen) 1757, brass with copper sides, embossed, around 1757. © Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin

They appeared on the market decorated with battle motifs soon after the events they recorded.[51] The tobacco boxes took up the etchings currently available from broadsheets and books and transformed them into another medium.

Another group of relics that one can hardly term as pictures of battle but which are nevertheless of some importance due to the degree of contemporary reception and distribution are 'celebratory ribbons' (*Vivat-Bänder*) (Fig. 8.2).[52] Like the tobacco boxes these silken victory ribbons or stripes were not unique to the Seven Years' War but experienced an unprecedented boom at that time. They were advertised in newspapers and sold like hot cakes. People wore them in public tied to their clothes or on their epees to express their patriotic or 'fritzian' opinion. They carry emotional calls like 'Great Frederick's picture stirs up friends' enchantment and terrifies the enemy more than thunder and lightning' or 'He has no Prussian blood who is not stirred by this picture, he is no patriot whose breast it does not decorate.'[53] The first slogan, associated with the Battle of Leuthen (1757), ascribes power stronger than nature to the Prussian king, while the second, from the Battle of Zorndorf (1758), demands a clear-cut patriotic commitment. Frederick the Great as the *roi*

Fig. 8.2 Vivat ribbon with victories at Zorndorf and Louisbourg 1758, silk ribbon, around 1758. © Schloss Neu-Augustusburg, Weißenfels

connétable (that is a king and general in one, who leads his men personally into battle) attracted an emotional following not only among his own soldiers but throughout Europe.[54] This marked a clear divide between the casual consumption of news about battle in the aristocratic culture of the ancien régime and the encompassing myth of Frederick who became an emblem of military virtue even to his enemies. Due to a lack of space, the ribbons rarely carried more complex depictions of battle, but their

mottos, allegories or portraits would, however, have contributed to the communication and discussion of victories in a broader and more intensified way than would have the tobacco boxes. We have reports from neutral spaces like the old imperial cities of Nuremberg, Augsburg or Regensburg but also Hamburg—all with a high level of media distribution—that people started pub brawls over their 'political' affiliation or the lamenting or praise of military victories and defeats.[55] A kind of patriotic hooliganism emerged that was enforced by practices of consumption. Artefacts made the battle a kind of label, reducing the historical evidence of the event to a text-image formula stirring emotions. When we leave the physical fields of battle and turn towards the reception of battles in the enlightened public sphere, the printed media clearly dominate.[56] As media events, battles were first reported in broadsheets, newspapers and sermons, only later in the artefacts of popular merchandising.[57]

The Feeling of Reading: Emotions at Home

The news of battles inflamed emotions among members of all parties—the pro-Prussian side as well as those in favour of the anti-Prussian coalition—and it drew people into the issues of war: an effect we can compare with today's mega-events in sport. People who are not normally interested in football may become rabid fans during the three weeks of the World Cup. Similar processes apply to battle emotions of the temporary armchair soldiers at home. Let us take a closer look inside a German home using what has become an icon for the contemporary reception of media, the letters of Meta Klopstock (1728–1758) the wife of the German poet Friedrich Gottlob Klopstock (1724–1803).[58] Mrs. Klopstock complains on 16 October 1756 in a letter to her sister in Hamburg about the avid curiosity for news of battle. Everyone gathers when a messenger approaches, and the whole household is hungry for news: 'What might have happened? What in Bohemia, what in Saxony? Klopstock always argues about what Browne should do or what he wishes that he does not. The Saxons who form the biggest party over here chasten themselves about what their nation *might* do, but probably *will* not do.'[59] Instead of debating she wants to read her sister's letters quietly and undisturbed.

> But now there are shouts: Prussia! Browne! Lobositz! and so on, what do I know what is shouted in confusion and what disturbs me, maybe while reading you telling me something about your kids! [...] Last post day I

> was angry with Klopstock because as I wanted to read him out the message about your [Hamburg] flood he said: Oh! Oh! Let me read about the battle first. […] By this you see which side Klopstock is on. But to be honest, I did not like it myself when the King of Prussia lost a battle.[60]

Now it's not the battle itself that cannot be described but the curiosity for battle news. The Klopstocks become virtual participants in the battle and get excited about single manoeuvres by Maximilian Ulysses Browne (1705–1757), an Austrian field marshal of Irish antecedents, and Frederick II during the Battle of Lobositz.

The dissemination of news was accompanied by the production of war songs and poetry, which had great impact on the stimulation of feelings at home. Newspapers and songs dealt with the same actions and persons, but the songs turned winners into heroes, enemies into villains, threats into fears, and victories into triumph and relief. The more vivid the description—and here songs and newspapers share another characteristic—the greater potential they had to whip up emotions. When a poet like Karl Wilhelm Ramler (1725–1798) wrote in 1756 to Johann Wilhelm Gleim (1719–1803) that he is nowadays more concerned about the deeds of monarchs and not as half-hearted as before, his remark shows how the war of the princes had reached the bourgeois public sphere.[61] This shift in attention was crucial for new emotional practices relating to battles, not only because it widened the circle of people concerned well beyond the ones physically engaged in actual combat, but also because it raised the level of aesthetic orchestration. A complex case of battle narrative transferred across genres is that of Gleim's notorious Prussian War Songs (*Grenadierlieder*).[62] In German literary studies they have become the standard reference for an emerging nationalism and the glorification of military violence.[63] As sources of evidence of emotions, the different modes of information-gathering that Gleim pursued tend to complicate matters. One involved contact with his friend Ewald von Kleist (1715–1759), a poet and soldier, with whom Gleim exchanged letters. Another was a fictional correspondence with a fellow grenadier whom he treated as a real person but who existed only in his mind. A third is a volume of real soldiers' letters provided by count Cristian Ernst of Wernigerode (1691–1771).[64] The count had had copies made of letters by sergeants of the Anhalt-Dessau and Hülsen regiments, and he is presumed to have allowed Gleim open access to them. So Gleim knew how common soldiers and officers actually wrote and was quite eager to make his songs to appear

as 'real' as possible, an important feature in making them popular amongst the soldiers themselves. For example, he refers to details of combat such as the lack of cartridges in the Battle of Lobositz: 'Ha! Father Bevern we shouted, give us more fuse quick, because your poor grenadiers pockets are already empty.'[65] To understand this striving for eyewitness accounts one has to bear in mind that none of the ego-documents available to us today had been published during or even shortly after the war but only many decades later: Bräker's *Life* first appeared in 1788/89, field chaplain Küster's *Fragments* a year later in 1790, and many more followed only in the nineteenth century.

Although the Grenadiers' songs were pure fiction, they nonetheless helped to establish a certain image of battle. The songs contained strong emotional ascriptions to the enemy that strengthened the claim for victory with moral supremacy. 'And brothers, Browne, the clever, gave way, full of envy towards the hero, and left us and our Frederick the field of battle' or 'But who has through his power, set you Browne, and you Pandour in fear, made you flee? It was God driving the clouds.'[66] The enemy is envious and leaves the field in fear while God helped the Prussians.

If the transfer of soldiers' letters into Gleim's verses is hard to prove but still imaginable, the other way round raises even more doubts. German Philosopher Thomas Abbt (1738–1766) writes in his treatise *On Merit* (1765): 'If Gleim had managed matters so that the Prussian war songs reached the hands of the common soldier, he would have attained a top place among the poets in the Prussian territories, ranked immediately after the edifying ones.'[67] But an impact on 'the whole of Germany' Abbt can certify only for the poetry of Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715–1769). Other practices of intertextual reference include paratextual links to soldiers killed or wounded in battle. Most prominently this is the case in Voltaire's *Candide*, but also in Friedrich Nicolai's and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's review journal *Briefe*, *die neueste Literatur betreffend* (*Letters on new literature*). *Candide*'*s* English title reads: 'Candide, or Optimism, Translated from the German of Dr. Ralph. With the additions found in the Doctor's pocket when he died at Minden, in the Year of Grace 1759'.[68] That obviously tricked the Vatican who banned the piece under the name of Docteur Ralph, but more importantly it linked the 1761 edition with the Battle of Minden, one of the heaviest defeats the French suffered on the German front during the whole Seven Years' War.[69] Lessing's letters on literature start with a fictional letter by a 'merited officer' wounded in the Battle of Zorndorf (1758) between the Prussian and Russian armies.[70]

While recovering from the battle, the officer asks for information on the recent literature he had missed during the war. His interest in the 'muses' originates from a 'certain military disgust against political news'. Both battle references contained a certain amount of critique, while they also triggered emotional practices. Where Voltaire links the French defeat with a general critique of contemporary French society, Lessing carefully tries to express a certain tiredness with the horrors of war. Both battles were very bloody events well known to any contemporary; their names alone could have evoked feelings of compassion as well as triumph.

Conclusion: Historicising the Change of Emotional Regimes

The mechanisms through which battles were memorised, memorialised or broadly spoken transformed into cultural representations confront us with the complex task of historicising battlefield emotions. Emotional practices transformed over time and changed as the culture in which they were embedded evolved. Or as Monique Scheer has recently put it: 'Emotions change over time not only because norms, expectations, words and concepts that shape experience are modified, but also because practices in which they are embodied, and bodies themselves, undergo transformation.'[71] Emotions themselves are historical products—at least in the ways they are expressed, represented and communicated—because they always depend on the historical context of articulation. And not all was new, of course: classical topoi of the limits of representation, divine intervention and determination and references to antiquity joined new questions of the evidence of experience, proto-nationalist pathos and technologies of war, and thus made the Seven Years' War a laboratory of emotional regimes in the making. Calling the war a 'laboratory' to avoid a teleological model of historical change nevertheless suggests a certain limit in space and time. In this case the results of that laboratory life took a long time to develop and emerge. Hence we should reflect on the co-evolution of the phenomena we reconstruct and the categories we use for their description. On the one hand, we have to take into account how the languages of emotions shifted, on the other, how social status, confession, media and genres of expression influenced the emotional message. The material evidence of experience clearly enhanced the evidence of emotion. Objects played an important role in representing battles, making them vivid. They served to help people memorise events or to identify with them. Media Revolution

and Consumer Revolution went hand in hand. Through the cross-medial interplay of certain phrases, scenes, actors and actions their meaning was amplified, reaching not only greater audiences but also with an enhanced 'memo value'. Battles transformed into *lieux de memoire*. The names of battles like Leuthen or Rossbach turned into individual labels with a cultural imaginary of their own. The medial constitution of emotions is far more than just a way of representation. The way emotions are presented and communicated affects their meaning as well as their power. And their power is the reason why we write the history of emotions: not because they were meaningless or even absent but because they were always present and influenced history.

Notes

1. Marian Füssel, *Der Siebenjährige Krieg: Ein Weltkrieg im 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Beck, 2010), 109–116.
2. On the global entanglements, see Daniel Baugh, *The Global Seven Years War 1754–1763* (Harlow: Pearson 2011); on patriotism, see M. John Cardwell, *Arts and Arms: Literature, Politics and Patriotism during the Seven Years War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 2004); Hans-Martin Blitz, *Aus Liebe zum Vaterland: Die deutsche Nation im 18. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2000), 145–280; David A. Bell, 'Jumonville's Death: War Propaganda and National Identity in Eighteenth-Century France,' in *The Age of Cultural Revolutions: Britain and France, 1750–1820*, ed. Colin Jones and Dror Wahrman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 33–61.
3. Ute Frevert, *Gefühlspolitik: Friedrich II. als Herr über die Herzen?* (Göttingen: Wallstein 2012).
4. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Werke*, vol. 1, *Autobiographische Schriften*, ed. Erich Trunz (Munich: Beck, 1981), 47.
5. On 'emotional regimes', see William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
6. Cf. the approach in Eva Giloi, *Monarchy, Myth, and Material Culture in Germany 1750–1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
7. On the changes in articulating battlefield experiences see Yuval Noah Harari, *The ultimate Experience: Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture, 1450–2000* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008).
8. Füssel, *Weltkrieg*, 117–119.

9. On numbers, see Boris Zesarewitsch Urlanis, *Bilanz der Kriege*: *Die Menschenverluste Europas vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zu Gegenwart* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1965).
10. Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (And Is That What Makes Them Have a History)?: A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion,' *History and Theory* 51 (2012): 193–220.
11. For the state-of-the-art modern edition, see Ulrich Bräker, *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 4, *Lebensgeschichte und Vermischte Schriften*, ed. Claudia Holliger-Wiesmann and Heinz Graber (Munich: Beck, 2000); English Translation Ulrich Bräker, *The Life Story and Real Adventures of the Poor Man of Toggenburg* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, [1970?]); for contextualisation, see Jürgen Kloosterhuis, 'Donner, Blitz und Bräker. Der Soldatendienst des "armen Mannes im Tockenburg" aus der Sicht des preußischen Militärsystems,' in *Schreibsucht*: *Autobiographische Schriften des Pietisten Ulrich Bräker*, ed. Alfred Messerli and Adolf Muschg (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 129–187.
12. Bräker, *Life*, 138. 'Vor dem dicken Nebel konnten wir nicht weit sehen. Als wir aber vollends in die Plaine hinunterkamen, und zur grossen Armee stiessen, rückten wir in drey Treffen weiter vor, und erblickten von Ferne durch den Nebel, wie durch einen Flor, feindliche Truppen auf einer Ebene, oberhalb dem Böhmischen Städtchen Lowositz.' Bräker, *Lebensgeschichte*, 460.
13. Bräker, *Life*, 138. 'Um 6. Uhr gieng schon das Donnern der Artillerie sowohl aus unserm Vordertreffen als aus den Kaiserlichen Batterien so gewaltig an, daß die Kanonenkugeln bis zu unserm Regiment (das im mittlern Treffen stuhnd) durchschnurrten.' Bräker, *Lebensgeschichte*, 460.
14. Bräker, *Life*, 138. 'Bisher hatt' ich immer noch Hoffnung, vor einer Bataille zu entwischen; jetzt sah' ich keine Ausflucht mehr weder vor noch hinter mir, weder zur Rechten noch zur Linken. Wir rückten inzwischen immer vorwärts.' Bräker, *Lebensgeschichte*, 460.
15. 'Da fiel mir vollends aller Muth in die Hosen; in den Bauch der Erde hätt' ich mich verkriechen mögen, und eine ähnliche Angst, ja Todesblässe, las' man bald auf allen Gesichtern, selbst deren, die sonst noch so viel' Herzhaftigkeit gleichsneten. Die gelärten Branzfläschgen (wie jeder Soldat eines hat) flogen untern den Kugeln durch die Lüfte, die meisten soffen ihren kleinen Vorrath bis auf den Grund aus, denn da hieß es: Heute braucht es Courage, und Morgens vielleicht keinen Fusel mehr!' Bräker, *Lebensgeschicht*e, 460–1.
16. See John A. Lynn, *Battle*: *A History of Combat and Culture* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2003), 128–9.
17. Bräker, *Life*, 139. 'Inzwischen stuhnden wir noch immer im feindlichen Kanonenfeuer bis gegen 11 Uhr, ohne dass unser linke Flügel mit dem

kleinen Gewehr zusammentraf, obschon es bereits auf dem rechten sehr hitzig zugieng. Viele meinten wir müßten noch auf die Kaiserlichen Schanzen sturmlaufen. Mir war`s schon nicht mehr so bange, wie anfangs, obgleich die Feldschlangen Mannschaft zu beyden Seiten neben mir wegrafften, und der Wallplatz bereits mit Todten und Verwundeten übersäet war.' Bräker, *Lebensgeschichte*, 461.

18. Bräker, *Life*, 139.
19. Bräker, *Life*, 139.
20. Bräker., 140. 'Nun setzte es ein unbeschreibliches Blutbad ab, ehe man die Panduren aus jenem Gehölz vertreiben konnte. Unsere Vordertruppen litten stark; allein die hintern drangen ebenfalls über Kopf und Hals nach, bis zuletzt alle die Höhe gewonnen hatten. Da mussten wir über Hügel von Todten und Verwundeten hinstolpern. Alsdann gieng's Hudri, Hudri, mit den Panduren die Weinberge herunter, sprungweise über eine Mauer nach der andern herab, in die Ebene. Unsre geborne Preussen und Brandenburger packten die Panduren wie Furien.' Bräker, *Lebensgeschichte*, 462.
21. 'Ich selber war in Jast und Hitze wie vertaumelt, und, mir weder Furcht noch Schreckens bewusst, schoß ich eines Schiessens fast alle meine 60 Patronen loß, bis meine Flinte halb glühend war, und ich sie am Riemen nachschleppen musste; indessen glaub' ich nicht, dass ich eine lebendige Seele traf, sondern alles gieng in die freye Luft.' Bräker, *Lebensgeschichte*, 462.
22. See Martin Dinges, 'Soldatenkörper in der Frühen Neuzeit. Erfahrungen mit einem unzureichend geschützten, formierten und verletzten Körper in Selbstzeugnissen,' in *Körper-Geschichten*, ed. Richard van Dülmen (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer, 1996), 71–98: 90ff.
23. On the invisibility of battle, see Carlo Ginzburg, 'Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It,' *Critical Inquiry* 20 (1993): 10–35, 24–6.
24. Bräker, *Life*, 140. 'Aber wer wird das beschreiben wollen, wo jetzt Rauch und Dampf von Lowositz ausgieng; wo es krachte und donnerte, als ob Himmel und Erde hätten zergehen wollen; wo das unaufhörliche Rumpeln vieler hundert Trommeln, das herzzerschneidende und herzerhebende Ertönen aller Art Feldmusick, das Rufen so vieler Commandeurs und das Brüllen ihrer Adjutanten, das Zetter und Mordiogeheul so vieler tausend elenden, zerquetschten, halbtodten Opfer dieses Tages alle Sinnen betäubte!' Bräker, *Lebensgeschichte*, 462–3.
25. On the sound of battle, see Marian Füssel, 'Zwischen Schlachtenlärm und Siegesklang. Zur akustischen Repräsentation von militärischer Gewalt im Siebenjährigen Krieg (1756–1763),' in *Krieg und Frieden im 18. Jahrhundert: Kulturgeschichtliche Studien*, ed. Stefanie Stockhorst (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2015), 149–166.

26. Bräker, *Life*, 140. 'in diesem Augenblick deucht' es mich Zeit, oder vielmehr mahnte mich mein Schutzengel, mich mit der Flucht zu retten.' Bräker, *Lebensgeschichte*, 463.
27. Kloosterhuis, 'Donner, Blitz und Bräker'.
28. Marian Füssel, 'Die Kultur der Niederlage: Wahrnehmung und Repräsentation einer Schlacht des Siebenjährigen Krieges am Beispiel Hochkirch 1758,' in *Der Siebenjährige Krieg (1756–1763). Ein europäischer Weltkrieg im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, ed. Sven Externbrink (Berlin, Akademie, 2011), 261–273.
29. [Carl Daniel Küster?], *Bruchstück seines Campagne-Lebens im siebenjährigen Kriege* [...] (Berlin: Matzdorff, 1791, 2nd edn), 60: 'Das sogenannte Kanonenfieber oder Schlachtschauer, habe ich auch in seiner ganzen Stärke empfunden.'
30. [Küster?], *Bruchstück*, 60. Translation in: Duffy, *Experience*, 253. 'und schnell überfiel mich eine so entmannende Furcht, und ein mit Zittern der Glieder begleitender Schreck, daß mich ein schwaches Kind hätte umstoßen können'.
31. [Küster?], *Bruchstück*, 63. 'Muthig war alles noch, aber gleichwohl sehr betrübt, und der Hinblick auf das Schlachtfeld und auf die fast aller Bagage, alles Proviantes und so vieler Artillerie beraubten Armee, war schauervoll. Nur zwey Gattungen der Gesichter waren herrschend; betrübtes, nachdenkendes und niedergebeugtes Gesicht—und Rache drohende Augen.'
32. [Küster?], *Bruchstück.*, 74. '(1) Gott lebt, (2) der König lebt,—(3) ich will Gott und dem König bis in den Todt treu seyn.'
33. Bernhard R. Kroener, 'Der Choral von Leuthen und Friedrich der Große als protestantischer Held. Die Produktion politischer Mythen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert,' in '*Gott mit uns*': *Religion, Nation und Gewalt im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann and Gerd Krumeich (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 105–134.
34. [August Samuel Gerber?], ed., *Christian Täge's ehemaligen russischen Feldpredigers Lebensgeschichte* (Königsberg: Degen, 1804), 181. 'Das entsetzliche Lermen der preussischen Trommeln hörten wir schon, ihre Feldmusik konnten wir noch nicht unterscheiden. Aber in feierlichem Marsche kommen sie immer näher, jetzt hören wir ihre Hautboisten, sie spielen: Ich bin ja Herr in deiner Macht! Hier bei dieser Musik kein Wort von meinen Empfindungen. Wer fühlen kann, wird es nicht unglaublich finden, dass in meinem nachherigen langen Leben diese Melodie stets die innigsten Regungen der Wehmuth in mir hervorgebracht hat.'
35. On French officers, see Sven Externbrink, '"Que l'homme est cruel et méchant!" Wahrnehmung von Krieg und Gewalt durch französische Offiziere im Siebenjährigen Krieg,' *Historische Mitteilungen* 18 (2005): 44–57; on the Prussians, see Sascha Möbius, '"Von Jast und Hitze wie

vertaumelt": Überlegungen zur Wahrnehmung von Gewalt durch preußische Soldaten im Siebenjährigen Krieg,' *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preußischen Geschichte* 12 (2002), 1–34, on the British, see Marian Füssel, 'Der Siebenjährige Krieg in Nordwestdeutschland. Kulturelle Interaktion, Kriegserfahrung und –erinnerung zwischen Reich und Empire,' in *Hannover*, *Großbritannien und Europa*: *Erfahrungsraum Personalunion 1714–1837*, ed. Ronald Asch (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2014), 289–309.

36. Andrej Bolotow, *Leben und Abenteuer des Andrej Bolotow von ihm selbst für seine Nachkommen aufgeschrieben*, 2 vols (Munich: Beck, 1990), vol. 1, 238. 'Mit einem Wort alles bot ein jammervolles, zartbesaitete Herzen bewegendes Bild, und die wir dies alles sahen, konnten uns nicht satt sehen, so kurios und frappierend war es für uns.'
37. Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Biographical Illusion,' trans. Yves Winkin and Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz, in *Identity*: *A Reader*, ed. Paul du Gay, Jessica Evans and Peter Redman (London: Sage Publications, 2004), 297–303.
38. See Harari, *Experience*.
39. Neil Ramsey, *The Military Memoir and Romantic Literary Culture*, *1780–1835* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011).
40. Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglass, *Memoirs*, 2 vols (London: Colburn and Bentley, 1832), vol. 1, 28.
41. Johann Heinrich Ludewig Grotehenn, *Briefe aus dem Siebenjährigen Krieg*: *Lebensbeschreibung und Tagebuch*, eds Marian Füssel, Sven Petersen and Gerald Scholz (Potsdam: MGFA, 2012), 37. 'Mein Gewehr wurde mir oben ¼tel von Ende mit einer Cartetschen kugel gantz abgeschoßen. Und übersende Hiebey das Ende von dem Eysern lauf und bitte selbigen zum andenken aufzuheben, Hiebey ist zu sehen, wie die gühte gottes es von mir gewendet, indem solche kugel mir sehr Nahe an Kopf gewesen, statt knochen aber Eysen zerschmettern müßen.'
42. Dietrich Kerler, *Aus dem siebenjährigen Krieg*: *Tagebuch des preußischen Musketiers Dominicus* (Munich: Beck, 1891; repr. Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1972), 63. 'Wie ich stund und ladete, kam eine Kugel obig meiner Hand und bigte mir den Ladestock wie einen Fiedelbogen.'
43. Ernst Friedrich Rudolf von Barsewisch, *Von Rossbach bis Freiberg 1757–1763*: *Tagebuchblätter eines friderizianischen Fahnenjunkers und Offiziers. Nach dem wortgetreuen Erstabdruck von 1863 neu herausgegeben*, *kommentiert und bearbeitet von Jürgen Olmes* (Krefeld; Hermann Rühl, 1959), 116. 'Ich hatte für meinen Teil wiederum viel Ursache, dem allmächtigen GOtt für die gütige Erhaltung meines Lebens unter den augenscheinlichsten und größten Gefahren demütigst und von Herzen zu danken. Wie nahe war zu wiederholten Malen die Gefahr und der Tod an mich herangetreten! Es war dem Unter *Officier* hinter mir im Gliede das

Kurzgewehr von der Schulter durch eine *Canonen* Kugel, die Rotte linkerhand neben mir gleichfalls durch eine *Canonen* Kugel niedergerissen, und zwei Rotten wurden zu der Zeit, da ich vor die *Fronte* trat, um den Befehl zum Einhalten des Feuers zu geben, auf einmal niedergeschossen.'

44. Thomas Charles-Edwards and Brian Richardson, eds, *They Saw It Happen*: *An Anthology of Eyewitness's Accounts Of Events in British History 1689–1897* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), 68–69.
45. See Marian Füssel and Michael Sikora, eds, *Kulturgeschichte der Schlacht* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2014), on the 'invisible', see Ginzburg, *Microhistory*.
46. On early modern cross- or intermedialities, see Birgit Emich, 'Bildlichkeit und Intermedialität in der Frühen Neuzeit. Eine interdisziplinäre Spurensuche,' *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 35 (2008), 31–56.
47. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht and Ludwig Pfeiffer, eds, *Materialities of Communication* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).
48. See Marian Füssel, 'Auf der Suche nach Erinnerung. Zur Intermedialität des Schlachtengedenkens an den Siebenjährigen Krieg im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert,' in *Militärische Erinnerungskulturen vom 14. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*: *Träger—Medien—Deutungskonkurrenzen*, ed. Horst Carl and Ute Planert (Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2012), 185–207.
49. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Totemism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), 62, 89.
50. Marian Füssel, 'Der Wert der Dinge: Materielle Kultur in soldatischen Selbstzeugnissen des Siebenjährigen Krieges,' *Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit* 13 (2009): 104–121.
51. Wolf-Dieter Könenkamp, *Iserlohner Tabaksdosen*: *Bilder einer Kriegszeit* (Münster: Schnellsche Buchhandlung, 1982).
52. Konrad Vanja, ed., *Vivat—Vivat—Vivat*!: *Widmungs- und Gedenkbänder aus drei Jahrhunderten* (Berlin: Reiter-Druck, 1985), 48–51.
53. Paul Seidel, 'Vivatbänder oder Seidenbänder im Hohenzollern-Museum,' *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch* 16 (1912): 128–153. 'Des großen Friedrich Bild, das Freunden Lust erweckt und seine Feinde mehr als Blitz und Donner schreckt.' (p. 129), 'Der hat kein Preußisch Blut, den dieses Bild nicht rührt. Der ist kein Patriot, dem es die Brust nicht ziert.' (p. 140).
54. Marian Füssel, 'Der roi-connétable und die Öffentlichkeit,' in *Friedrich der Große in Europa*: *Geschichte einer wechselvollen Beziehung*, ed. Bernd Sösemann and Gregor Vogt-Spira, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2012), 2: 199–215.
55. Manfred Schort, *Politik und Propaganda*: *Der Siebenjährige Krieg in den zeitgenössischen Flugschriften* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), 110–128.
56. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*: *An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989).

57. Wolfgang Adam and Holger Dainat eds, '*Krieg ist mein Lied*': *Der Siebenjährige Krieg in den zeitgenössischen Medien* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007).
58. See Martin Welke, 'Die Legende vom "unpolitischen Deutschen". Zeitungslesen im 18. Jahrhundert als Spiegel des politischen Interesses,' *Jahrbuch der Wittheit zu Bremen* 25 (1981): 161–188, 176ff.
59. Meta Klopstock-Moller, *Briefwechsel mit Klopstock ihren Verwandten und Freunden*, ed. Hermann Tiemann, 3 vols (Hamburg: Maximilian-Gesellschaft, 1956), vol. 2, 529–531, here 529f. 'Was wird wohl vorgefallen seyn? Was in Böhmen, was in Sachsen? Kl.[opstock] sinnet immer aus, was Broune thun sollte, u[nd] was er doch wünscht, dass er nicht thut. Die Sachsen (welche die gröste Parti hier ausmachen) casteien sich, was ihre Nation thun könnte, was sie vermutlich doch nicht thun wird.'
60. Klopstock-Moller, *Briefwechsel*, 529f. 'Aber nun schreit sichs: Preussen! Broune! Lobositz! u[nd] was weis ich, was man alles durch einander schreit, u[nd] wodurch man mich, vielleicht gar eben in einer Erzählung von euern Kindern stört!. […] Vorigen Posttag war ich Kl.[opstock] böse, dass, wie ich ihm die Nachricht eurer [Hamburger] Flut lesen wollte, er sagte: o!o! Laß mich erst die Schlacht lesen. […] Du siehst hieraus auf welcher Seite Kl.[opstock] ist. Die Wahrheit zu sagen, ich könnte es auch nicht gut leiden, wenn der König v. Pr.[eussen] eine Schlacht verlöre.'
61. Carl Schüddekopf, ed., *Briefwechsel zwischen Gleim und Ramler*, 2 vols (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein in Stuttgart, 1907), vol. 2, 257.
62. Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim, *Preussische Kriegslieder von einem Grenadier*, ed. August Sauer (Heilbronn: Henninger, 1882).
63. Jörg Schönert, 'Schlachtgesänge vom Kanapee: Oder: "Gott donnerte bei Lowositz". Zu den "Preußischen Kriegsliedern in den Feldzügen 1756 und 1757" des Kanonikus Gleim,' in *Gedichte und Interpretationen*, vol. 2, *Aufklärung und Sturm und Drang*, ed. Karl Richter (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1983), 126–139; Uwe-K. Ketelsen, 'Ein Ossian der Hohenzollern. Gleims "Preußische Kriegslieder von einem Grenadier" zwischen Nationalismus und Absolutismus,' in *Exile and Enlightenment*: *Studies in German and comparative literature in honor of Guy Stern*, ed. Uwe Faulhaber, Jerry Glenn, Edward P. Harris, Hans-Georg Richert (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 39–46; Johannes Birgfeld, *Krieg und Aufklärung*: *Studien zum Kriegsdiskurs in der deutschsprachigen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2012), vol. 2, 559–582.
64. Karl Schwarze, 'Gleims "Preußische Kriegslieder von einem Grenadier" und Soldatenbriefe als ihre Quelle,' *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift* 25 (1937): 313–317.
65. Gleim, *Preussische Kriegslieder*, 11.
66. Gleim, *Preussische Kriegslieder*, 12.

67. 'Wenn Gleim es hätte dahin bringen können, daß die Kriegeslieder des preußischen Grenadiers in des gemeinen Soldaten Hände gekommen wären; so müßte er, in den preußischen Staaten, unter den Dichtern den ersten Rang nach den erbaulichen erhalten.' Thomas Abbt, *Vom Verdienste* (Goslar and Leipzig: Erdman Hechtel, 1766), 300.
68. See Gerd Voswinkel, 'Der nicht verstandene Vorsatz von Voltaires 'Candide' und die Schlacht bei Minden,' in *Die Kunst des Vernetzens*: *Festschrift für Wolfgang Hempel*, ed. Botho Brachmann (Berlin: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2006), 211–22.
69. Martin Steffen, ed., *Die Schlacht bei Minden*: *Weltpolitik und Lokalgeschichte* (Minden: Bruns, 2008).
70. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, 'Einleitung,' in *Briefe*, *die Neueste Litteratur betreffend*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Nicolai, 1759), vol. 1, 3.
71. Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice,' 220.

CHAPTER 9

Mediated Battlefields of the French Revolution and Emotives at Work

Ian Germani

The French Revolution was marked by a significant intensification both of warfare and of the battlefield experience. Indeed, some historians have insisted that the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars represented the first experience of 'total war', as the combatants accepted a dynamic which drove toward 'a condition of total engagement and the abandonment of restraints'.[1] Whether or not one agrees with the appropriateness of this designation, it is evident that the experience of the battlefield was an increasingly common one during this period. Tim Blanning points out that there were 713 battles between 1792 and 1815, which contrasts with the 2639 fought during the entire preceding period of 300 years.[2] Battles were not only more frequent, but also larger, involving armies of unprecedented scale. They were also qualitatively different. The *levée en masse* and the *amalgame* put into the field an army of citizen-soldiers infused with a patriotic spirit of self-sacrifice. More flexible tactics, dynamic strategies and improvised logistics revolutionised the art of warfare, making the decisive battle the culmination of any military campaign. The relative importance of these factors in giving the armies of the French Revolution an advantage over their enemies remains controversial. Until Napoleon

I. Germani
University of Regina, Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada

© The Author(s) 2016

E. Kuijpers, C. van der Haven (eds.), *Battlefield Emotions 1500–1800*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-56490-0_9

united political and military leadership in his own hands, the superiority of the revolutionary armies over their ancien régime opponents was qualified rather than absolute.[3]

Discovering the emotional realities of the battlefield experience during the period of the French Revolution presents significant challenges for the historian. Positively, there is an abundance of contemporary sources which represent that experience. The printed press, theatrical plays and civic festivals, popular songs, academic painting and commercial engravings all diffused images of battle on an unprecedented scale. There is also an abundance of testimony on the part of soldiers themselves, whose letters, *carnets de route* and memoirs bear witness to their own experiences and perceptions.[4] The public representations of battle were at once descriptive and prescriptive, recounting the recent exploits of revolutionary soldiers as well as defining expectations with respect to both their sentiments and their conduct. These representations themselves changed as the Revolution progressed. During the most radical phase of the Revolution, the focus was upon the self-sacrifice of ordinary soldiers, stoically accepting death and mutilation for the sake of *la patrie*. Subsequently, more traditional notions of military honour returned to the fore, and it was the heroic deaths of generals, achieving glory on the battlefield through a warrior's demise, that took precedence. Soldiers' writings reveal that they were deeply influenced by revolutionary ideology. Their accounts of battle echo the official discourse. Nevertheless, close scrutiny of the sources reveals that the battlefield held terrors and pleasures that did not fit easily with the public discourse at any particular moment. The soldiers of liberty did not always live up to the prescribed standards of 'virtue' or 'honour'. At times, it is the incidental details of soldiers' stories and of propagandistic narratives that provide the best insight into battlefield emotions during the French revolutionary wars. Although traditional in many respects, revolutionary representations of battle, through their imagination of the battlefield as the site of a moral contest between natural man and the regenerated citizen, evolved a new, essentially Romantic, understanding of battlefield emotions.

A potential tool for conceptualising this tension between public representations and soldiers' personal reflections and one which may help expose the emotional dimension of the revolutionary battlefield experience, is William Reddy's theory of 'emotives'. According to Reddy, an emotive is a speech act which is both descriptive and transformative, facilitating the identification and intensification of the emotions to which it gives expression.[5] Illustrating

his point through case studies, Reddy persuasively argues that the constant repetition or rehearsal of emotives promotes emotional change in individuals. All polities, he goes on to say, constitute 'emotional regimes' which encourage normative emotions and discourage deviant ones by modelling emotives in official ceremonies and art. In a strict emotional regime, those who refuse to echo the prescribed emotives—'whether of respect for a father, love for a god or a king, or loyalty to an army'—are subjected to severe punishments. The intense 'goal conflict' and 'emotional suffering' which the threat of punishment induces increase the likelihood that the individual will conform to—and even take pleasure in—the normative emotive utterances.[6] Reddy goes on to demonstrate how this theory of emotions helps to illuminate the history of the French Revolution. The Terror, he argues, stemmed from the infusion of politics by the eighteenth-century cult of sentimentalism: the repressive laws which defined it were all about the policing of emotions.

Reddy's work is at the forefront of a number of important recent studies that have explored the emotional experience of the French Revolution.[7] A work which exemplifies this concern with 'experience' and which applies it specifically to the battlefields of the French Revolution is Marie-Cécile Thoral's *From Valmy to Waterloo*: *France at War*, *1792–1815*.[8] It is important to acknowledge at the outset, however, that earlier historians of France's revolutionary armies and the soldiers who fought in them were as cognisant of the affective dimensions of the soldier's experience as they were of its material ones. Of particular relevance to the subject of battlefield emotions is John Lynn's interpretation of the motivation of revolutionary soldiers. Lynn distinguished between the initial motivation which inspired soldiers to serve in the first place, the sustaining motivation which kept them in service despite its hardships, and the combat motivation which made them fight. Lynn insisted that on the battlefield it was primary group loyalty, rather than ideology, that provided the essential inspiration.[9] Nevertheless, the barriers between these motivational contexts were not rigid. It is the contention of this essay that William Reddy's ideas may help to illuminate further the battlefield experience of revolutionary soldiers. It seems a fair assumption that the emotional suffering which Reddy argues was induced by the Terror in both supporters and opponents of the Revolution was particularly extreme for the soldiers who served in the revolutionary armies. What Reddy refers to as 'goal conflict' is presumably intense for soldiers on any battlefield, as the rival imperatives of self-preservation and duty collide. By raising its expectations of soldiers to new levels, revolutionary ideology may be presumed to have intensified such goal conflict, as well as the emotional suffering experienced

by soldiers in battle. Soldiers were a particular target for official propaganda as well as participants in official festivals which rehearsed the pertinent emotives of self-sacrifice and devotion to the homeland.[10] The revolutionaries' own assumptions about human psychology made them particularly aware of the emotional potency of such messages. In the words of a report to the National Convention in 1797, 'Who will be able to read the history of our heroes, without feeling his heart beat and his soul expand, without absorbing the ardour which spawned such prodigies?'[11] While the Revolution provided positive incentives to the soldier by according him unprecedented marks of respect and opportunities for advancement, it also established a severe code of military justice to ensure his conformity to officially prescribed utterances and behaviours.[12] A decree issued on 19 June 1794 by the Representatives on Mission attached to the Army of the North announcing the punishment of officers who had failed to prevent the flight of their battalion in a battle fought three days earlier gives a good idea of how normative emotions were enforced in the army during the Terror.

> Considering that this crime cannot be that of the whole battalion, because bravery and hatred of tyrants exist in the heart of every Frenchmen, and that when a unit abandons its battle post the cause can only be the cowardice of the officers and their negligence in keeping discipline and instructing the soldiers under their command in the love of glory, which consists in braving the dangers of war and to vanquish or die at the post confided to them by the homeland; It is decreed that the Commander and all the captains of the Second Battalion of the Vienne will be dismissed and placed under arrest.[13]

Attached to this decree was a judgement condemning to death 13 soldiers from the Sixth Battalion of the Seine-et-Oise for having 'thrown down their arms and abandoned their post in the presence of the enemy from consideration of their own personal safety'.[14] Taken together, these documents put into stark relief how severe exemplary punishment was used to enforce normative emotions (bravery, hatred, love of glory, self-sacrifice) and to discourage deviant ones (cowardice, self-preservation).

Much changed for the French armies over the course of the revolutionary decade in terms of their composition, leadership, disciplinary codes and values. Under the Directory, they became more professional in their ethos. The authority of officers was strengthened and reinforced by a revised system of military justice. The traditional code of the warrior's honour revived in importance.[15] Despite these changes, soldiers in the revolutionary armies were consistently presented with one fundamental

value or emotive: that the greatest happiness was to die for the homeland. The sentiment was expressed in official tributes to dead heroes, which often spoke on their behalf. Thus, General Jourdan, in reporting General Marceau's death to the legislature, cited the dying general's last words: 'General, my friends, why do you shed tears? I am happy to die for my country'.[16] Significantly, this emotive was echoed in the writings of soldiers themselves, as in the case of Capitaine François, who recounted the death of Marceau in his memoirs, taking care to include a version of Marceau's final words: 'My friends, I am too well mourned, why do you pity me? I am very happy, since I die for the homeland'.[17] François's repetition of the emotive may be presumed to have intensified his own experience of the feelings which they expressed. Despite their willing articulation and reinforcement of these normative sentiments, however, soldiers' writings also bear witness to a wider range of emotions than those allowed by the public discourse. In their often unwitting testimony we can see evidence of the emotional effort required of them as they struggled to adjust their feelings and actions to the general demands of the Revolution's emotional regime as well as to the more specific ones of the revolutionary battlefield.

Public Representations

It was the newspaper press that provided the most immediate representations of battle during the French Revolution. The official press, notably the *Moniteur universel*, devoted a considerable portion of its columns to reports from the armies, frequently publishing the accounts of generals or representatives on mission in their entirety. On 2 December 1796, for example, the *Moniteur* published General Bonaparte's account of the battle of Arcola, an account that began dramatically with the words, 'I am so worn out, citizen directors, that it is not possible for me to acquaint you with all the military manoeuvres which preceded the battle of Arcola, which has decided the fate of Italy'.[18] Bonaparte's letter then went on to recount the famous action on the bridge at Arcola, describing his own role in attempting to lead his men in an ultimately unsuccessful frontal assault. The following day, General Berthier's letter also provided a narrative of the incident, adding the detail that Napoleon had been tossed into a marsh, from which he had to be rescued.[19] These narratives conveyed the drama of the battlefield with an immediacy that derived from the roles of their authors as simultaneously eyewitnesses, participants and orchestrators of the events they described. Evidently,

though, they were far from detached or objective accounts, something the opposition press, which maintained a lively presence at least up until the coup of 18 Fructidor (4 September 1797), did not hesitate to point out. The *Courrier universel* of Citizen Husson, after printing the text of General Bonaparte's letter, mocked its exaggeration in other newspapers. The *Courrier* referred to a florid account of Napoleon leading his men into action, inspiring them with Latin quotations and galloping alone on horseback, flag in hand, in an attack on enemy entrenchments. 'Buonaparte [*sic.*] is not so badly advised as to speak Latin to soldiers who understand it no better than Hebrew', said the paper. Furthermore, he would only have got himself killed by charging alone at enemy positions on horseback. For the anecdote to be plausible, it said, it was necessary to suppress the General's Latin expressions and to have his horse advance at no more than a fast trot. Of the three versions of the battle, concluded the *Courrier*, 'It seems more natural to hold to Buonaparte's [sic] own version, which contains nothing gigantic, extraordinary, nor even very remarkable'.[20]

The reports of the battle of Arcola exemplified the propensity of public media to simplify the battlefield experience, transforming its complexity, variety and shifting fortunes into a single, instantaneous event or inspirational anecdote. Paintings and engravings were particularly effective vehicles for compressing the battlefield experience in this way. (Fig. 9.1) The reports also typified the emphasis placed under the Directory upon the role of military leadership and of the generals. Civic festivals and visual images paid tribute to generals who lost their lives while on campaign: Marceau, Hoche and Joubert. In presenting a portrait of General Marceau to the legislature, a deputy affirmed that images of such heroes, displayed in schools, would be a 'text for the lessons of patriotism'. Young people, he said, would be drawn to them by the 'sympathy of age' and by the presentation of 'valour and virtue under such an attractive image [...]. More than one young pupil of the motherland, in seeing this portrait', he said, 'will cry in a spirit of martial zeal: *And me too, I can become a Marceau*'.[21]

Earlier in the Revolution, the radicals had consciously declined to pay such tribute to the generals. 'Under the frightful reign of despotism', declared *Le Père Duchesne*, kings and aristocrats reaped all the honour and paid none of the price, stealing from the sans-culottes 'the glory of their exploits'.[22] In opposition to the perceived injustice of the past, *Le Père Duchesne* celebrated the heroism and self-sacrifice of the ordinary soldier. 'Glory' and 'honour' were

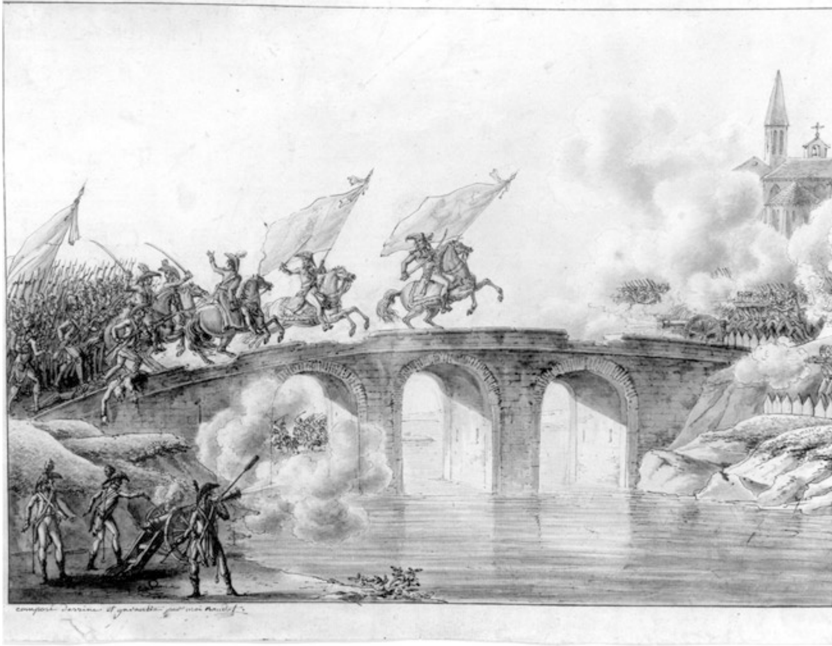

Fig. 9.1 Thomas Charles Naudet, *La Charge du Pont d'Arcole*, ink drawing, around 1796. © Coll. Musée de la Révolution Française/Domaine de Vizille

by definition false attributes, achieved through usurpation. 'The only reward for a fine action in the eyes of a true republican', the newspaper insisted, 'is the respect of his fellow citizens'.[23] It cited examples of republican self-sacrifice from the Army of the North, naming each individual, his place of origin and his military unit. Typically, it cited the example of soldiers who, despite the loss of limbs, continued to affirm their commitment to the Republic. One, Denis Siboul, having lost both feet to a cannon ball, continued to call out 'vive la liberté', 'vive la république', even as the surgeon operated on him.[24]

This focus on the heroic anecdote effectively obscured the broader significance of battles. They were all, large or small, victories or defeats, equally useful for didactic purposes. The *Courrier de Strasbourg* was a newspaper that specialised in such reports during the early years of the revolutionary wars. Its issue of 7 August 1792 reported on the heroic action of a 16-year-old

drummer from Strasbourg whose hand was severed by Austrian ulans but who nevertheless continued to sound the alarm by beating his drum with his remaining hand. The anecdote effectively contrasted French heroism with Austrian barbarity.[25] The same issue of the paper printed a report of an attack by 1000 Austrian light cavalry on 200 French dragoons at Damm, near Landau. The French cavalry 'fought like heroes', said the report, and 'like the whole army breathing only the sentiments of the purest patriotism, felled these unhappy slaves of Austrian despotism on every side'. Over 100 enemy soldiers were killed, it concluded, for the cost of only six French lives.[26] Reports like these, contrasting the patriotism, courage and invincibility of French soldiers with the cowardly barbarity of the 'slaves of despots', typical of the *Courrier de Strasbourg*'s fare, defined both the sentiments and the actions expected of revolutionary soldiers. In the language of William Reddy, they constituted an expression of emotives which served to define a normative emotional regime.

Heroic anecdotes giving expression to such emotives proliferated from the very beginning of the war. The celebration of soldiers who expressed their willing endurance of wounds and mutilation, however, reached its high point during the Terror. The *Feuille du salut public* recounted the story of a Citizen Rocher, who, 'calm and serene', endured the amputation of his arm surrounded by his tearful family: 'I owed this arm to my motherland', he said. 'I would like, at the cost of the other, to restore its [the motherland's] tranquility and to save it'.[27] Many of these heroic exploits were compiled and publicised by means of the *Recueil des Actions héroïques et civiques des républicains français* published by the Committee of Public Instruction. The *Recueil* provides a good example of how easily revolutionary publicists made the transition from anecdote to allegory. The first issue included an account of a blacksmith who had fought the enemy with his hammer. 'After the victory, he brought his hammer back stained with blood [...] He was Hercules carrying his club still dripping from the blood of the monsters he had destroyed'.[28] Two sentences take the reader from a specific military incident to an allegorical representation of war that is very close to one depicted in the *Révolutions de Paris* in the autumn of 1793, wherein a Herculean figure wielding a club leads an army of sans-culottes, all bearing pikes, the symbolic weapon of the free man, as they defend the Constitution. (Fig. 9.2) This image of the Republic at war evoked not the realities of battle but the myth of the nation-in-arms.

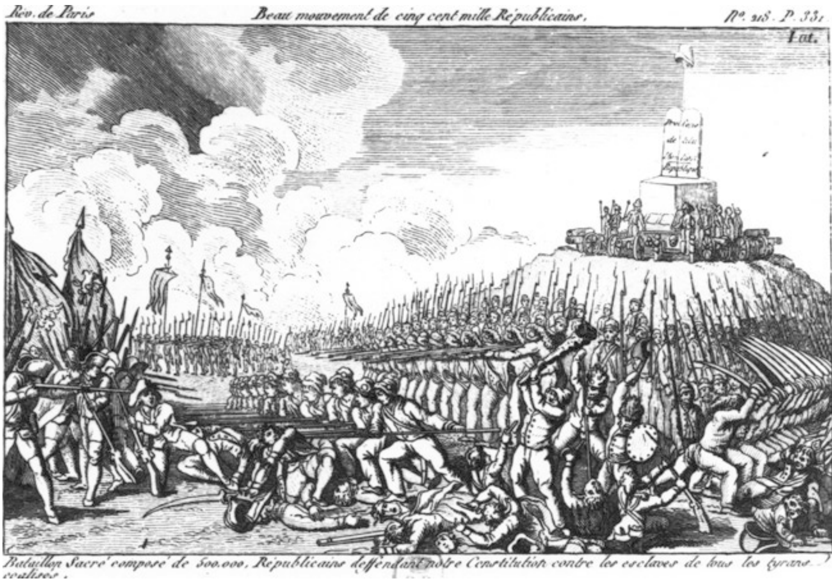

Fig. 9.2 Anon, *Beau mouvement de cinq cent mille Républicains*, engraving, 9.5 × 15 cm, 1793, published by *Revolutions de Paris*. © Bibliothèque Nationale de France/BNF

Soldiers' Stories

Allegory may have been an effective vehicle for revolutionary propaganda, but it was clearly far removed from the realities of the battlefield experience. The public media, including the press, theatre, popular songs and visual images, provided normative emotional utterances for the emulation of soldiers serving in the revolutionary armies. The letters, *carnets de route* and memoirs of soldiers echoed those utterances. This is hardly surprising, given that soldiers were primary targets for, and consumers of, revolutionary propaganda. A letter from Etienne Vidal, a volunteer of the Year Two (1793–1794) from Riom, provides a good example.

> My dear Father:
>
> You recommend watchfulness and energy to me in my duty[.] This is necessary, especially against a vigilant and experienced enemy. The defenders of liberty are not wanting in these [qualities] and show themselves to be

> superior in everything to the slaves, both by their good conduct and by their valour. We fight them always with success. As Drum-Major, I terrorise them by waving my baton; this sign itself is harmful and deadly to them. We beat the order to charge, we cross bayonets, we immolate to liberty thousands upon thousands of slaves[.] The others, seeing themselves pressed, flee in haste from the battlefield.[29]

Another soldier from Riom, serving in the Army of the Alps, described with similar republican relish how he and his comrades had defeated the Piedmontese: 'They fled like the devil at the sight of 300 men from the Ariège battalion […] They prefer to abandon strongholds than to dance the Carmagnole to the sound of the cannon'.[30] Clearly these letters are no more realistic in their representation of battle than other media, although they may well describe the authentic sentiments of the soldiers who wrote them. The reaffirmation of their invincibility is hardly surprising. Soldiers were the primary targets and consumers of a revolutionary message that many of them desperately wanted to believe. We may also presume that the rehearsal of normative emotions was also a type of emotional management, which helped soldiers to keep negative emotions at bay. Their descriptions of fighting were therefore, as Alan Forrest states, 'almost surreal'.[31] The following account of the battle of Jemappes is one more example:

> Every soldier feels tears of joy roll down his cheeks, a heroic courage overcomes him[;] he falls upon his enemy to the sound of gunfire and the clash of arms, and only withdraws from the fight covered with the blood of his enemy. I myself saw a *chasseur* retire from the combat with fifteen sword cuts and, giving up his last breath in the arms of his comrade, he cried, '*Vive la Nation!*' and asked if the French were still free. Finally, this paper, although voluminous, could hardly suffice to detail all the heroic actions of this battle.[32]

These expressions of feeling—tears of joy, heroic courage and above all, the expression of devotion to the nation in a dying breath—constituted in themselves emotives whose very articulation served to intensify those feelings in both writer and reader. All the same, accounts such as this, by insisting upon the universality of the sentiments expressed, were clearly exaggerated. No doubt the writer's patriotic enthusiasm was real and there were indeed many valorous deeds, but the notion that every Frenchman rose heroically to the occasion is no more plausible than Napoleon inspiring his men with Latin quotations.

Soldiers' letters did not always faithfully echo official representations of battle and the normative emotives to which these gave expression. At times their writings give glimpses of sentiments that had little to do with those prescribed by official representations. Some spoke frankly of the pleasures of combat. Pierre Girardon wrote to his brother of his satisfaction in killing three Austrians in a single day, excusing his apparent immodesty: 'I am persuaded that you will applaud my frankness; to others I would not say as much'. In the same letter, he compared the experience of battle to hunting boar in the forest, saying of the cries of French and enemy soldiers: 'It is a pleasure to hear all these confused noises'.[33] Other soldiers found such sentiments dishonourable. Gabriel Noël wrote of his repugnance at setting ambushes for enemy patrols: 'it is hunting men the way one does wild animals'.[34]

Girardon, like many soldiers, insisted that battle held no terrors for him. Some letters, however, betray at least some evidence of anxiety. Jean Baptiste Favre, although he insisted upon his own and his comrades' readiness for battle—'death does not intimidate us'—made no attempt to conceal from his wife the risks of battle, nor his relief at surviving them. In one letter, he recounted seeing a soldier killed at his side and another wounded in the leg by a gunshot: 'Happily for me, a bullet knocked off my hat and happily I was untouched'.[35] In another, he confessed that the fighting had been so fierce and losses so heavy that 'I believed I would never see you again'.[36] René-Philippe Girault admitted to being 'not too reassured', in experiencing his baptism of fire, at Valmy: 'Happily I got out of it with just my clothes plastered by the brains of an officer who was killed a few paces in front of me'.[37]

Soldiers also commented on the distress they felt upon the death of comrades. Canonnier Bricard recounted in his memoirs desperately searching the battlefield for his brother following a defeat during the retreat from Belgium in March 1793, weeping as he did so for the death of another comrade. He learned subsequently that his brother had also been killed. Overcome by grief and the effects of three days without food or sleep, Bricard was loaded onto an artillery wagon to continue the retreat. 'Existence was hateful to me', he wrote of its aftermath, 'separated forever from a brother, from a friend; reduced to the most extreme misery, half naked, having no change of shirt and covered in vermin'.[38]

Other soldiers were equally frank about the deleterious effects of the hardships which they endured upon their combat effectiveness. Afflicted by the cold and soaked through by the rain, wrote Louis Valeyre, 'it is not

possible to have the same courage one would have when not overcome by bad weather'.[39] Furthermore, there were times when courage, not to mention discipline, failed altogether. Bricard wrote of the army during the retreat from Belgium that 'most of the soldiers were no longer willing to obey'.[40] Evidently the motivating force of patriotic enthusiasm had its limits.

Battlefield Emotions: Hondschoote, 1793

It is, perhaps, the unwitting testimony of both soldiers' writings and official representations of war that is most valuable in helping us glimpse the reality—and the emotional suffering—of the battlefields of the French Revolution. It is the incidental detail of heroic anecdotes as well as the admission of sentiments and behaviours that did not fit the mould of republican heroism that seem particularly authentic. An example is provided by an anecdote pertaining to the battle of Hondschoote, in 1793. The anecdote, related in the *Recueil des Actions héroïques et civiques des républicains français*, tells the story of a trooper in the 6th cavalry regiment, by the name of Mandement. Assigned to bring replacement cartridges for infantry in the firing line, Mandement mistook a group of enemy soldiers on the other side of a thick hedge for French troops. Realising his error only when they were about to take him prisoner, he threw down his cartridges and, striking left and right, made a dash for freedom, seizing an enemy flag as he did so. Breaking through the hedge, he found himself surrounded once again. This time the enemy, seized by 'a fearful panic' at finding itself apparently under attack from French cavalry, was put to flight. Mandement took advantage of the opportunity to take the Austrian colonel prisoner, abandoning the flag.[41] (Fig. 9.3)

The anecdote is very typical in its portrayal of republican heroism. The battle of Hondschoote provided other examples, cited in the reports of generals and of representatives on mission: the grenadier Georges, who despite losing an arm, continued to follow his comrades, singing the Carmagnole and offering his other arm to the Republic[42]; a young female soldier, Quatresous, who had two horses killed under her[43]; and another cavalry trooper who wrested a flag from 12 English soldiers.[44] Its incidental details, however, tell us more about the battlefield at Hondschoote. They tell us about the terrain, which was broken and made it difficult to manoeuvre, particularly for cavalry. General Barthélemy wrote: 'This country is abominable for war; it is criss-crossed with hedges, woods and ditches; one cannot see beyond four paces ahead; we don't fight, we stab one another,

Fig. 9.3 Anon, *Action héroïque du Citoyen Mandement* (Battle of Hondschoote), around 1793. Private Collection

that's the word, it is easy to imagine that, in such a country, the advantage lies with the defence'.[45] In such circumstances, it was often difficult to see the enemy until one was in their midst. Battle consequently often resolved itself into desperate skirmishes between small units of men. It also put a premium on the courage of individual soldiers like Mandement.

But not all troops were possessed of such courage. The hedgerows and forests provided a temptation to go to ground for soldiers whose courage failed them. The Austrians were not the only ones seized with panic at the first sign of the enemy in their midst and who, faced with the choice between fight and flight, chose to flee. Two days before Hondschoote, muddy roads, rain and darkness had created unimaginable confusion as the French army advanced on Rexpoëde. Xavier Vernère, a soldier of the 36th regiment, described the chaos as French and English soldiers,

scarcely able to identify one another in the dark and the rain, fought from house to house: 'Battles fought with bayonets and blows from musket butts, often hand-to-hand, occurred on every side; to the point where there were almost as many battles as there were houses in the village'.[46] At one point, stated Vernère, he and a companion took shelter from the rain (and the bullets?) in a building already filled with soldiers, 'perhaps from both nations, but all so silent that it would have been impossible to tell for sure'.[47] Vernère recounted how, surprised by a sudden encounter with English cavalry, he dived unheroically for the safety of a ditch, receiving a bayonet wound in the ankle as his comrades piled on top of him.[48] The French finally abandoned the village, but retreat, as General Houchard explained, became a rout: 'I waited for dawn', he wrote. 'I tried to see if it was possible to return the troops to battle. Never has anything been more impossible'.[49] Nor was that an end to Houchard's troubles. At the battle of Hondschoote itself, he admitted, 'a considerable number of bad soldiers left the battle, hid in the ditches and fled across the hedgerows; even the cavalry we put on all the roads to stop them could not bring them back to the fight; this terrible disorder was apparent in all the engagements'.[50]

In these circumstances, as Houchard went on to explain, men had to be forced to fight. In this respect, the role of the cavalry, blocking avenues of escape to the rear, was essential. The deputy Delbrel confirmed this in his notes on the battle. He credited General Jourdan with the plan for the final charge of the day, for which he mobilised the remaining infantry reserve of 600 or 700 men, who had been guarding the flags, meanwhile putting the available cavalry squadrons 'at the heels of our fugitives to stop them and make them advance'.[51] In other words, the essential role of the cavalry at Hondschoote was not, as the story of Mandement implies, logistical or inspirational, but coercive. Ironically, in the aftermath of the battle, Houchard himself was accused by one of the representatives on mission of hiding behind a hedge.[52] He would, of course, be tried by the Revolutionary Tribunal and executed for his failure to exploit the victory at Hondschoote. His own view, however, was very clear: 'There was no way to pursue the enemy over broken terrain where you cannot see two paces in front of you'.[53]

Close analysis of the anecdote of Citizen Mandement is revealing of both the physical and emotional realities of the battlefield at Hondschoote. The heroic narrative inadvertently exposed the difficulties of negotiating the ground and identifying the enemy, as well as the confusion and sudden terror these circumstances occasioned. It failed, of course, to acknowledge

that heroism was not all on one side, nor terror all on the other. Accounts by volunteers like Vernère reveal a much wider array of emotions than those acknowledged by the public discourse: including such dissident emotions as fear or cowardice and, if not sympathy, at least a willingness temporarily to suspend feelings of hostility toward the enemy. Soldiers understandably were more ready to attribute such unorthodox sentiments to their comrades than to themselves. All the same, their acknowledgement that such feelings existed provides evidence of the intense 'goal conflict' and 'emotional suffering' experienced by revolutionary soldiers. This inner conflict was above all between the contradictory imperatives of self-preservation and self-sacrifice. Its resolution, as the eye-witness testimony reveals, was uncertain.

Feelings at War: Nature and Patriotism

Few soldiers were willing to confess to the emotional suffering occasioned by the conflicting impulses experienced in battle. Although this period has been identified with the emergence of a new sensibility, which emphasised the experience of war as a revelatory experience, most soldiers' stories described their battlefield experience in a very laconic, matter-of-fact manner, with little commentary on their personal sensations.[54] War was certainly perceived as a test of individual courage and honour, but less often as a transformational experience. There is, however, evidence of the emergent cult of sensibility in republican propaganda. In one sense the anecdotes representing revolutionary heroism were representative of a traditional view of the soldier's experience whereby mind triumphed over matter.[55] In another, they represented something new: the idea that revolutionary patriotism enabled the individual to triumph over his natural impulses, whether the base instincts of self-preservation or nobler ones of filial or spousal affection. William Reddy, in explaining the importance of the cult of sentimentalism to the emotional regime of the Revolution, insists upon the far-reaching implications of the revolutionaries' assumption that nature was the well-spring of authentic, patriotic emotion.[56] The revolutionaries made an important distinction, however, between nature as a blind, natural force and nature as a moral imperative. Rousseau, one of the prime movers of the cult of sensibility, explains in *The Social Contract* that it is only by means of the social contract that natural man, by becoming a citizen, can rise above nature to become a moral being. The heroism of revolutionary soldiers represented the triumph of the moral individual over natural man, a triumph made possible only because of a regenerative

revolution. Heroic anecdotes were often explicit about this triumph of patriotic virtue over natural instinct. In a 'touching scene' from the battle of Valmy a young man was granted permission to leave the ranks to embrace the body of his brother, who had been killed. 'After this fraternal tribute to nature,' the story concluded, the soldier, 'wiping away his tears,' returned to his post.[57] Female military heroism, in particular, was represented as a triumph of patriotism over nature. One such heroine was Rose 'Liberty' Barrau, who followed her husband to war and who continued to fight after he had fallen, returning only after victory was achieved to provide him with 'the ministrations of conjugal tenderness'. Barrau's warlike priorities were interpreted as evidence that 'republican virtue triumphs over love as it had triumphed over nature'.[58] Although in a more limited sense than that intended by Harari,[59] this representation of 'virtue' and 'nature' as powerful impulses at war with one another may be seen as evidence of a new, Romantic, way of imagining the battlefield experience.

Conclusion

Many factors potentially affect the motivation of soldiers. The modelling of emotives expressing the spirit of patriotic self-sacrifice in the official media and rituals of the French Revolution and the rehearsing of those emotives by soldiers themselves in their writings or through participation in revolutionary festivals was only one factor—though a prominent and relatively constant one—conditioning the latter's behaviour. The inspiration of these messages was sustained by rewards and inducements in the form of battlefield honours and promotions, as well as by sanctions in the form of field punishments and exemplary executions. The balance between these factors varied considerably, however, both from one army to another and according to the changing military and political contexts of the Revolution. The Terror imposed at the behest of representatives on mission like Saint-Just was relatively short lived, for example; furthermore, even at its height soldiers were far more likely to be punished for crimes away from the battlefield (for desertion or pillage) than for their failures in combat.[60]

In the final analysis, one cannot help but be impressed by the emotional resilience of revolutionary soldiers, particularly in view of their often desperate material circumstances. A letter from a soldier named Saint-Amour, serving in a battalion from the Indre, gives some sense of this resilience. He had spent the previous six months, he told his parents in February

1794, sleeping on the ground, in close proximity to the enemy, 'soaked up to the knees in mud'. As his litany of sufferings continues, however, it makes a remarkable about face:

> Finally, I don't know how I survive. Taken prisoner again by the Prussians, my previous rank lost, my booty lost, I suffered two sword cuts in exiting the Palatinate. I say to you, at last, that I only have left my eyes to cry, my legs to march and my arms to uphold my homeland. This is the true measure of a Republican, such as I am and will remain[;] so long as I have a drop of blood in my veins I will serve the motherland and the Republic. There is nothing more dear to me than my homeland and my Republic [...]. They have taken my booty, but one day I will take from them something worth much more; either I will die beneath their blows or I will kill them rather than fall into their hands.[61]

No doubt the revolutionary cult of sentimentalism itself prompted such inflated declarations, as did the need to impress friends and relatives at home. All the same, they are striking evidence of fierce patriotic feeling. It does not seem unlikely that the repetition of utterances such as this, echoing those in revolutionary propaganda, was both cause and effect of the battlefield emotions of the soldiers of the French Revolution.

Notes

1. David Bell, *The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Modern Warfare* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), 8; Jean-Yves Guiomar, *L'Invention de la guerre totale, XVIIIe–XXe siècle* (Paris: éditions du Félin, 2004).
2. Tim Blanning, *The Pursuit of Glory: Europe, 1648–1815* (London: Allen Lane, 2007), 643.
3. Peter Paret, 'Napoleon and the Revolution in War,' in *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*, ed. Peter Paret (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 123–42: 126.
4. For an authoritative discussion of these sources, see Alan Forrest, *Napoleon's Men: The Soldiers of the Revolution and Empire* (London and New York: Hambledon and London, 2002), 21–78.
5. For William Reddy's definitions of emotions and emotives see William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 128.
6. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 125.
7. For a thoughtful review of these works see Sophia Rosenfeld, 'Thinking about Feeling, 1789–1799,' in *French Historical Studies* 32 (2009): 697–706.

8. Marie-Cécile Thoral, *From Valmy to Waterloo*: *France at War*, *1792–1813*, trans. Godfrey Rogers (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 13–44.
9. John A. Lynn, *Bayonets of the Republic*: *Motivation and Tactics in the Army of Revolutionary France*, *1791–1794* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 26–36, 163–82; Alan Forrest, *Soldiers of the French Revolution* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990); Alan Forrest, *Napoleon*'*s Men*: *The Soldiers of the Revolution and the Empire* (London and New York: Hambledon and London, 2002); Jean-Paul Bertaud, *La Révolution Armée*: *Les Soldats-Citoyens et la Révolution française* (Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1979); an important recent study is Michael J. Hughes, *Forging Napoleon*'*s Grande Armée*: *Motivation*, *Military Culture*, *and Masculinity in the French Army*, *1800–1808* (New York: New York University Press, 2012). See also Hervé Drévillon, *L'Individu et la Guerre*: *Du chevalier Bayard au Soldat inconnu* (Paris: Editions Belin, 2013), 195–8.
10. On the use of propaganda to 'revolutionise' the soldiers of the Revolution, see Alan Forrest, *The Soldiers of the French Revolution* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990), 89–124.
11. 'Qui lira l'histoire de nos héros, sans sentir son coeur palpiter et son ame s'agrandir, sans être pénétré de l'ardeur qui enfanta tant de prodiges?' Mortier-Duparc, *Rapport Fait au nom de la Commission d*'*Instruction Publique*, *Sur la distribution proposée du portrait du général Marceau* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, Year 6 [1796–97]), 2.
12. On military justice see Georges Michon, *La Justice Militaire Sous la Révolution* (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1922); Ian Germani, '"The most striking and the most terrible examples": the experience of military justice in the armies of the French Revolution,' in *Experiencing the French Revolution*, ed. David Andress (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2013), 113–33.
13. 'Considérant que ce crime ne peut être celui du bataillon entier, parce que la bravoure et la haine des tyrans existent dans tous les coeurs des Français, et que lorsqu'un corps quitte son poste de bataille la cause en est dans la lâcheté des officiers et dans la négligence qu'ils ont mise à maintenir la discipline et à former les soldats qu'ils commandent à l'amour de la gloire, qui consiste à braver les dangers de la guerre et à vaincre ou à mourir au poste que la patrie leur a confié; Arrêtent que le chef de bataillon et tous les capitaines du second bataillon de la Vienne seront destitués et mis en état d'arrestation.' H. Coutanceau, *La Campagne de 1794 á l*'*Armée du Nord*, vol. 1, *Organisation* (Paris: Librairie Militaire R. Chapelot et Cie., 1903), 78.
14. 'd'avoir jeté leurs armes et abandonné leurs postes en présence de l'ennemi pour songer à leur propre sûreté personnelle'. Coutanceau, *La Campagne*, 78.

15. The classic statement on the evolution of French military culture is provided by John A. Lynn, 'Toward and Army of Honor: The Moral Evolution of the French Army, 1789–1815,' in *French Historical Studies* 16 (1989): 152–82. See also Jean-Paul Bertaud, *La Révolution Armée*: *Les soldats-citoyens et la Révolution française* (Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1979); Rafe Blaufarb, *The French Army*, *1750–1820*: *Careers*, *Talent*, *Merit* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); Hervé Drévillon, *L'Individu et la Guerre*: *Du chevalier Bayard au Soldat Inconnu* (Paris: Belin, 2013), 145–76; and Michael J. Hughes, *Forging Napoleon's Grande Armée*: *Motivation*, *Military Culture*, *and Masculinity in the French Army*, *1800–1808* (New York: New York University Press), 80–3.
16. Jourdan, *Discours de Jourdan* (*de la Haute-Vienne*), *Sur la Pétition de la Mère du général Marceau. Séance du 4 fructidor an V* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, Year 5 [1796–97]), 3–4.
17. 'Mes amis, je suis trop regretté, pourquoi me plaindre? Je suis bien heureux, puisque j'expire pour la patrie.' Charles François, *Journal du Capitaine François*, 2 vols (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1903), vol. 1, 142.
18. 'Je suis si harassé de fatigue, citoyens directeurs, qu'il ne m'est pas possible de vous faire connaître tous les mouvemens militaires qui ont précédé la bataille d'Arcole, qui vient de décider du sort de l'Italie.' *Gazette Nationale ou le Moniteur universel*, 12 Frimaire, Year 5 (2 December 1796).
19. *Gazette Nationale*, 13 Frimaire, Year 5 (3 December 1796).
20. 'Buonaparte n'est pas assez mal avisé pour aller parler latin à des soldats qui ne l'entendent pas plus que l'hébreu…. Il paroît plus naturel de s'en tenir à celle de Buonaparte qui ne renferme rien de gigantesque, d'extraordinaire, ni même de bien remarquable.' *Le Courrier universel*, 2 December 1796.
21. 'de texte à des leçons de patriotisme […] sympathie d'âge […]. La valeur et la vertu sous une image aussi attrayante […]. Plus d'un jeune élève de la patrie, en voyant ce portrait, s'écriera dans un élan de zèle martial: *Et moi aussi*, *je puis devenir un Marceau*.' Mortier-Duparc, *Rapport Fait*, 9.
22. 'Sous le règne affreux du despotisme […] la gloire de leurs exploits.' *Le Père Duchesne*, no. 321.
23. 'La seule récompense d'une bonne action aux yeux d'un véritable républicain, c'est l'estime de ses concitoyens.' *Le Père Duchesne*, no. 321.
24. *Le Père Duchesne*, no. 321.
25. *Courrier de Strasbourg*, 7 August 1792.
26. 'En héros ils combattoient […] et ne respirant comme toute l'armée que des sentimens d'un patriotisme pur, firent tomber de tous côtés ces malheureux esclaves du despotisme autrichien.' *Courrier de Strasbourg*, 7 August 1792.
27. 'calme et serein […]. Je devois ce bras à ma patrie; je voudrois, au prix du second, lui rendre la tranquilité et la sauver.' *Feuille du Salut public*, 14 July 1793.

28. 'Après la victoire, il a rapporté son marteau teint de sang […]: c'étoit Hercule portant sa massue fumante encore du sang des monstres qu'il venoit d'écraser.' Anon., *Recueil des Actions héroïques et civiques des républicains français*, no. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, Year 2 [1793–94]), 18.
29. 'Vous me recommandez de la surveillance et de l'activité dans le service; cela est nécessaire surtout contre un ennemi vigilant et aguerri. Les défenseurs de la liberté n'en manquent pas et se montrent supérieurs en tout aux esclaves, soit par leur bonne conduite, soit par leur valeur. Nous les combattons toujours avec succès. Comme tambour-major, je fais porter la terreur chez eux en levant cette canne; ce signal leur devient funeste et fatal. On bat le pas de charge, on croise la baïonette, on immole à la liberté mille et mille esclaves; les autres se voyant pressés, fuient à grand pas le champ de bataille.' Letter from Etienne Vidal, Luxembourg, 6 January 1795. Cited in *Cent Lettres de Soldats de l'an II*, ed. René Bouscayrol (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1987), 72.
30. 'ils ont fui comme des diables à l'aspect de 300 hommes du bataillon de l'Ariège […]. Ils aiment mieux abandonner les places fortes que de danser la Carmagnole au son du canon.' Letter from Paderno, Orelle, 8 April 1794. Cited in *Cent Lettres*, 156.
31. Alan Forrest, *Napoleon's Men*, 77.
32. 'Chaque soldat sent des larmes de joie se répandre sur ses joues, un courage héroïque s'empare de lui, tombe sur son ennemi au bruit du feu et du frottement des armes, et ne se retire du combat qu'après s'être couvert du sang de son ennemi. J'ai vu moi-même un chasseur se retirer du combat avec 15 coups de sabre, et, en rendant le derneir soupir entre les bras de son camarade, il criait: 'Vive la Nation!' et s'informait si les Français étaient toujours libres.' Letter from Huret, Mons, 16 October [*sic* November], 1792. Cited in Ernest Picard, *Au Service de la Nation*: *Lettres de Volontaires, 1792–1798* (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1914), 127.
33. 'à d'autres je n'en dirais pas tant […]. C'est un plaisir d'entendre tous ces bruits confus.' Louis Morin, ed., *Lettres de Pierre Girardon*, *Officier barsuraubois pendant les guerres de la Révolution*, *1791–1799* (Bar-Sur-Aube, 1898), 40–1.
34. 'c'est faire la chasse à l'homme comme on la fait aux bêtes fauves'. Gabriel Noël, *Au Temps des Volontaires*, *1792*: *Lettres d'un volontaire de 1792* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1912), 175.
35. 'La mort ne nous intimide pas […] Heureusement pour moi, un boulet m'a tombé mon chapeau, et je n'ai rien eu heureusement.' Letter from Jean Baptiste Favre, Luxembourg, 4 Jan., 1795. Cited in *Cent Lettres*, by René Bouscayrol, 76.
36. 'Je croyais jamais plus te revoir.' Letter from Jean Baptiste Favre, before Mainz, 8 March 1795. Cited in *Cent Lettres*, by René Bouscayrol, 78.

37. 'Je n'étais pas trop rassuré […] Heureusement j'en fus quitte pour avoir mon habit tout emplâtré de la cervelle d'un officier qui fut tué à quelques pas devant moi.' Philippe-René Girault, *Mes Campagnes sous la Révolution et l'Empire* (Paris: Le Sycomore, 1983), 17.
38. 'L'existence m'était odieuse, séparé pour jamais d'un frère, d'un ami; réduit à la dernière des misères, à moitié nu, n'ayant pas de chemise à mettre et rempli de vermine.' Louis-Joseph Bricard, *Journal du Canonnier Bricard*, *1792–1802* (Paris: Ch. Delagrave, 1891), 48.
39. 'Il n'est pas possible d'avoir le même courage que l'on aurait n'étant pas surpris du mauvais temps.' Letter from Louis Valeyre, Frickenfeld, near Wissembourg, 18 June 1793. Cited in *Cent Lettres*, 107.
40. 'La plupart des soldats ne voulaient plus obéir.' Bricard, *Journal du Canonnier Bricard*, 33.
41. 'Une terreur panique.' Anon., *Recueil des Actions héroïques*, no. 3, 20–2.
42. 'Ce pays ci est abominable pour la guerre; il est coupé de hayes, de bois et de fossés; on ne voit pas à 4 pas devant soi; on ne se bat pas, on se poignarde, c'est le mot, il est aisé d'imaginer que l'avantage est, dans un tel pays, pour celui qui attend.' [S]ervice [H]istorique de la [D]éfense, [A]rchives de [G]uerre: B1 18 Letter from Barthélemy, 8 September 1793.
43. *Le Moniteur*, 5 Floréal, Year 2 (24 April 1794).
44. SHD AG: B1 18: Armée du Nord: Correspondence: Letter from Delbrel, 13 Sept., 1793.
45. SHD AG: B1 18: Armée du Nord: Correspondence: Letter from Barthélemy, 8 Sept. 1793.
46. 'Des luttes à coups de baïonnette, à coups de crosse de fusil, souvent corps à corps s'engagèrent de toute part; au point qu'il ne tarda pas à y avoir presque autant de combats partiels qu'il y avait de maisons dans le village'. Vernère, *Cahiers d'un volontaire*, 64.
47. 'peut-être des deux nations, mais tous tellement silencieux qu'il eût été difficile de pouvoir s'en assurer'. Vernère, *Cahiers d'un volontaire*, 62.
48. Vernère, *Cahiers d'un volontaire*, 61.
49. 'J'attendis le jour. J'examinai s'il étoit possible de faire remarcher les troupes au combat. Jamais chose n'a été plus impossible.' SHD AG: B1 18: Armée du Nord: Correspondence: Letter of Houchard, 11 Sept., 1793.
50. SHD AG: B1 18: Armée du Nord: Correspondence: Letter of Houchard, 11 Sept. 1793.
51. 'aux trousses de nos fuyards pour les arrêter et les faire avancer'. F.A. Aulard, ed., *Notes historiques du Conventionnel Delbrel* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1893), 53.
52. René Levasseur, *Mémoires*, ed. Christine Peyrard (Paris: Editions Sociales Fercé, 1989), 298.
53. 'Il n'y eût pas moien de poursuivre les ennemis dans un pays couppé et ou on ne voit pas deux pas de soi.' SHD AG: B1 18: Armée du Nord: Correspondence: Letter of Houchard, 11 Sept. 1793.

54. On the emergence of this revelatory interpretation of war, see Yuval Noah Harari, *The Ultimate Experience*: *Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture*, *1450–2000* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 197–213.
55. For an exploration of this theme in early modern soldiers' memoirs, see Harari, *The Ultimate Experience*, 95–125.
56. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 179–80, 182–99.
57. 'Après ce tribut fraternel payé à la nature […], tout en essuyant ses larmes.' Anon., *Fastes de la République française* (Paris: Louis, 1793), vol. 2, 121–2.
58. Anon., *Recueil des Actions héroïques*, no. 5, 32.
59. Harari, *The Ultimate Experience*, 22.
60. Ian Germani, 'Terror in the Army: Representatives on Mission and Military Justice in the Armies of the French Revolution,' *The Journal of Military History* 75 (2011): 733–68.
61. 'toujours mouillé dans la boue jusqu'aux genoux. ' 'Enfin je ne sais comment je vis. Encore pris prisonnier par les prussiens, perdu le grade que j'avais au corps, perdu mon butin, avoir souffert deux coups de sabre que l'ennemi m'a donné en sortant du Palantin [sic]. Enfin je vous dirai qu'il ne me reste les yeux pour pleurer et les jambes pour marcher, mes bras pour soutenir ma patrie. C'est le vrai gage d'un vrai Républicain, tel que je le suis et serai[;] tant que j'aurai une goutte de sang dans mes veines je soutiendrai la patrie et la République. Rien de plus cher au monde que ma patrie et ma République […]. Ils m'ont pris mon butin, mais je leur prendrai un jour autre chose qui le vaudra bien; ou je mourerai sous leurs coups ou je les tuerai plutôt que de rester entre leurs mains.' SHD AG:, Xw 49,Volontaires Nationaux, Indre: letter from Saint-Amour, Lille, 1 Feb., 1794.

Reflections II

CHAPTER 10

Whose Battlefield Emotion?

Mary A. Favret

In a remarkable exchange of body parts and emotion, a French soldier displays great calm in offering his arms to the motherland. He offers so that France, too, will experience calm. In his chapter, Ian Germani introduces an article from a 1793 issue of *La Feuille du Salut Public* (a newssheet published by the French Revolutionary Committee of Public Safety) that tells of a Citizen Rocher who, watching as his arm is amputated without benefit of anaesthesia, serenely announces, 'I owed this arm to my motherland. [...] I would like, at the cost of the other, to restore its [France's] tranquility and to save it' (page **180**). In the odd economy of this anecdote (note the language of 'owe' and 'cost'), the soldier affirms that he is willing to pay (back) both arms if, in doing so, he can transfer his feeling of calm to France. As Germani implies, the macabre tableau strains to push incident into allegory: the soldier's arms will restore peace to France. His dismissal of physical pain and adoption of a 'calm and serene' manner is meant to forecast for the nation a more general overcoming of its suffering as it moves toward future tranquility. Asked to take that amputated arm as the currency of tranquility, now circulating apart from the soldier to whom it was once attached even as it circulates in the pages

M.A. Favret
John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, USA

© The Author(s) 2016

E. Kuijpers, C. van der Haven (eds.), *Battlefield Emotions 1500–1800*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-56490-0_10

of the *Feuille du salut public*, we are also called to question the provenance of the feeling it instantiates: to whom do this arm and the emotion of tranquility belong?

The anecdote of Citizen Rocher, which distils so many depictions of Western European wartime culture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, cuts emotion loose from the body of the individual. Like the phenomenon of war itself in this period, it moves on a large and broad scale: not just on the scale of the military unit (Napoleon's vaunted *l'esprit de corps*) but, as the *Feuille du salut public* testifies, to the reading public and beyond, to the imaginary entity of the Nation. Something we might call 'public' or 'national feeling' is being constructed from the representation of battlefield emotion, where the donation of so many literal arms, legs, head and hearts that no longer feel feed a larger, more general and impersonal feeling.[1] That transfer is crystallised in the repeated scene of the dying citizen-soldier crying out, 'Vive La Republique!' or 'Vive La Nation!' Pulsing feeling—be it love or agony or mere sensation—leaves him so as to bolster a living, feeling, yet abstracted being.[2]

How that construction of national feeling occurs, its successes and setbacks, are documented in the pages that follow. The chapters in the second and third parts of this volume analyse various attempts to bridge the gap, epistemological and emotional, between battles and the distant publics whose safety and tranquility were increasingly bound to military outcome. Through the course of these two centuries in Europe, and facilitated by the increasing use of print technology and growing literacy, the network of communication between battlefield and home front grew in density and efficiency, so much so that by the time of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars at century's end, war correspondence directly fuelled the proliferation of newspapers and newssheets. The public was primed to learn about distant warfare and increasingly, to learn how to feel about distant warfare. In painting and news reports, spectacle and memoir, even in siege maps, as Lisa De Boer contends in Chap. 11, battlefield emotions were organised, packaged, brought home—but also let loose. The mediation of war moved in gradually increasing arcs, through high culture and low, with local and mass audiences.

The transfer of feeling from armies to their publics was torqued of course by the distorting effects of distance and mediation, but also by the pull of opposing demands. On the one hand, demand for the accurate depiction of the truth of the battlefield experience aligned itself with the dominant empiricism of the age to encourage eye-witness accounts that featured

detailed particulars and 'on the spot' fidelity. The demand for accuracy meshed with an aesthetic of mimesis that sought to reproduce in the home audience the feelings of their countrymen on the battlefield: if the soldier depicted felt fear, courage, fury, desolation, and so on, you would share with him that same emotion, though to a lesser degree. As Marian Füssel noted in Chap. 8, the Media Revolution which brought home battle reports to an expanding public 'went hand in hand' with a Consumer Revolution (page **165**). The consumer culture of the eighteenth century especially sought to materialise eye-witnesses' accounts via tangible, sensible things: in Füssel's account, by the mid-eighteenth-century eyewitness reports from the battlefield 'were converted into etchings and paintings, into songs and poems and into literature and historiography, but also into mugs, tobacco boxes, celebratory ribbons (*Vivat-Bänder*) or pub signs' (page **158**). These objects served as vessels of memory and reservoirs of feeling: emotion made concrete, externalised. As commodities, they could be shared and circulated or displayed in domestic settings. Yet even as increasing distribution 'amplified' their cultural significance, these objects enshrined feeling apart from the human body (page **165**).

The demand for empirical fidelity thus worked its own changes upon emotions emanating from the European battlefield. Alternatively, representations of emotional responses on the battlefield were asked to perform a rhetorical rather than a mimetic function. In their own way, such performances severed the feelings depicted from the feelings to be elicited. Here the passions observed and recorded by an artist were not similar in kind to those evoked in the viewer: a soldier's fury might trigger your sense of security, his courage your admiration, his suffering your gratitude, and so on, depending on the rhetorical situation. As several of the following chapters point out, moreover, the desired emotional regime of the late seventeenth and eighteenth century in particular followed a neoclassical, stoic and masculine logic that valued 'purifying, idealising abstractions' over the violent passions associated with warfare in earlier ages (Mainz, Chap. 12, page **230**). In line with the increasing regimentation of troop movements (via constant drilling), public discourse in the eighteenth-century rehearsed disciplined emotional responses to warfare which Ian Germani and Philip Shaw, both borrowing from William Reddy, identify as 'emotives': ways in which culture will elicit, practice, reinforce and thereby feed prescribed feelings back into the emotional experience of individuals. In such instances, again, 'the prized emotion' of *tranquillitas* stands as the desired rhetorical and emotional outcome (De Boer, Chap. 11). But whereas the soldiers in

Lisa De Boer's seventeenth-century images convey a tranquility that speaks of the 'mastery of one's heart and mind', Philip Shaw's study of late eighteenth-century battle scenes suggests the powerful external machinery—in state-supported art—at work to enforce a more collective sense of calm, or what the Duke of York referred to as 'sentiments […] suited to the public tranquility' (Shaw, Chap. 13). In other words, and as with the soldier's arm, in this first age of propaganda, *tranquillitas* teetered between an individual and a public state of mind. Whether these rhetorically produced emotions were 'authentic' or not seems beside the point: they circulated in public discourse and infiltrated even the most personal forms of writing, such as letters and diaries.

Navigating the channel between battlefield and home front, then, emotions encountered powerful cross-currents which alternately damped and amplified their force. Still other difficulties attended each of these modes, the mimetic and the rhetorical. For instance, the eye-witness account was obviously limited to what one person might see, hear, smell or touch. Battles were 'in some way invisible', Füssel reminds us in his survey of emotions during the period of the Seven Years' War: gunpowder smoke, distance, noise, weather and ground could all conspire to impede perception. The eye-witness might provide an authentic emotional anchor for the audience reading, say, a letter from the front; the audience would gain information as well as a sense of what it was to be present at the fighting. But the scale of battle and the terrain it consumed mushroomed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, until warfare took on the full-blown global dimensions of the Napoleonic contest. Under these changing circumstances, it became increasingly obvious that the eyes and ears of one witness, no matter how sensitive and accurate, could convey but a limited truth. Confusion and doubt threatened to overwhelm any other emotion. Thus the 'trope of the unutterable' increasingly peppered first-hand accounts, so much so that it might have appeared *de rigeur*, the very sign of authenticity:

> But who shall attempt to describe it?—the smoke and fumes that now went up from Lowositz, the crashing and thundering as if heaven and earth were about to melt away, the incessant rattle of many hundreds of drums, the clangour of martial music of all kinds, rending and uplifting the heart, the shouts of so many commanders and roars of their adjutants, the moans and groans from so many thousands of wretched, mangled, half-dead victims of this day: it dazed all the senses![3]

The passage offers a conventional version of this trope: the battle defies one man's powers of expression. Yet at the same time the battle *is* represented in an escalation of scale that leaves the individual behind. Cosmic abstraction (heaven and earth) wipes out the actual site of the battle as multitudinous nouns pile up (by 'many hundreds', 'so many', 'so many thousands'). While 'all the senses' are dazed, a single heart is both rent and uplifted: to whom does this feeling heart belong?

In its utter impersonality, the heart that appears in Private Bräker's account tilts between the individual and the multitude, the writer and his readers, and between the mimetic (rent?) and rhetorical (uplifted?) modes. Here we see the mimetic function of the eye-witness surrendering to the rhetorical mode, which is better equipped to represent the new scale of warfare. In this shift, too, we detect an alternative to the regulatory emotional regime of *tranquillitas*: a different regulatory regime enlists the newly popular dynamics of the sublime.[4] The evocation of the sublime, with its transcendent force, suggests the possibility of a vantage point lifted past the mortal limits of the body, indeed past the limits of the natural world (where heaven and earth 'melt away'). In this sense, the sublime aesthetic sets up with the ideology of warfare Germani finds in the later years of the French Revolution, where soldiers were expected to put aside their natural inclinations (for self-preservation) in favour of a higher, moral calling (the transcendent idea of the State). In doing so, however, the sublime alters one's relationship to the battlefield and the men fighting there. As Edmund Burke proposed in his *Philosophical Inquiry*, the sublime is the aesthetic category 'fitted [...] to excite ideas of pain, and danger' which in turn excite 'the passions of self-preservation'—only then to reassure the audience of their relative safety from harm.[5] For Burke, pain and danger terrify when their causes immediately affect us but:

> they are delightful when we have an idea of pain and danger, without being actually in such circumstances [that is in representational forms such as paintings, plays, written works, MF]; this delight I have not called pleasure, because it turns on pain, and because it is different enough from any idea of positive pleasure. Whatever excites this delight, I call sublime.[6]

A sublime representation of the pain and danger of the battlefield, Burke explains, would have the effect of producing if not pleasure, then a certain 'delight' in the viewer. Any terror felt on the ground of battle, and depicted for the audience at home, would serve this 'delight'.

In his chapter on the spectacular effects cultivated by battle illustration in the 1790s, Philip Shaw pursues precisely this question: the extent to which sublime depictions of warfare served to construct a public whose emotional response to the fighting conducted in their name harboured more delight than concern. Here, too, feeling moves away from the human body: as Shaw surveys the officially recognised illustrations and popular panoramas, he sees in the chiaroscuro of gunpowder explosion and billowing smoke, in the ruins of buildings and the diminution of individual humans to markers of scale, repeated gestures of de-humanisation. Under its sublime aspect, where 'size is all and all-abstracting', warfare does not play out on the level of the human body. It is scaled up, global and colossal, and therefore far beyond what any single human can register.

Even as the aesthetics of the sublime presses the demand for truth toward a demand for effect, both are pulled beneath the rising sway of scale as the nature of warfare in this period moves from dynastic and civil wars toward the confrontations of imperial rivals on multiple continents and oceans. It's important to recognise, though, that the figure of the individual soldier and his emotional experience discussed in Part II does not disappear as battlefield emotion but rather becomes an object of mass mediation, as the chapters of Part III will further illustrate. Indeed, the period saw the emergence in print of the common soldier's memoirs and letters, the numbers of which grew to such proportions that historians still have not reckoned with all of them. Still, as the trope of the unutterable shows, what counts as personal emotion recedes further from reach, even as public interest in emotion rises in the Age of Sensibility. Already in the early paintings of Gerard ter Borch, the figure of a solitary, unnamed soldier holds the artist's interest. Lisa De Boer in Chap. 11 finds that ter Borch's prescient *Man on Horseback* (ca. 1633) allows a viewer to 'register, emotionally, the gap between [her] sense of his singular, individual presence, and an equally palpable sense of his psychological privacy' (page **209**). The dynamic established by the painting, where the viewer attends to a soldier whose face is turned away, attending to an unseen scene beyond depiction, may 'attribute to [individual] soldiers the same subjective, individual, emotional life attributed to ordinary citizens' (page **209**). It may, that is, create that sense of interiority one associates with the modern subject. At the same time, that interiority is produced as precisely private and impenetrable. The face hidden from view, the inaccessibility, and that sense of 'gap' compel the viewer to feel that the soldier is feeling, and to know equally that she cannot know what he feels.

To some degree, as De Boer illustrates for us, the unknowable privacy of the soldier's feeling, corresponding to and reinforcing the unknowable privacy of the viewer's feeling, can be understood as the flip side of the rational abstraction of war, visible for instance in the information-laden seventeenth-century siege maps. For the siege maps bind soldier and citizen together in an emotional community delineated by an orderly, bird's-eye perspective and representing the successful military defence of the nation. Nothing appears hidden from sight. The map's 'wide-angle' presentation helped give access to and simultaneously 'naturalise' the 'military point of view' (page **214**). In either case—the deeply personalised soldier or the impersonalised military vantage—actual emotion falls into an epistemological gap. The experience of the battlefield becomes less felt than subject to powerful engines of speculation.

Perhaps then it is not surprising that the aesthetics of the sublime proposed to fill that gap by supplying emotional experiences that required no exact knowledge at all. Or, as Shaw remarks in his analysis of Loutherbourg's immense painting, *The Grand Attack on Valenciennes* (1793), aspects of the sublime—the 'state of Conflagration and Ruin, as well as the vast scale of the composition—'unintentional[ly] undermin[ed] [...] the composition's claims to historical accuracy' (page **260**). Detailed information, along with the meticulous portraits of dozens of officers, bowed to the force of sublime aesthetics.[7] As did truth: Shaw argues that the depiction of Valenciennes supported the government's translation of a botched siege into a 'signal confirmation of the right of the nation to wage war against French republicanism' (page **263**). At the same time the experience of *The Grand Attack of Valenciennes* and productions like it, made themselves available to hordes of visitors at a time: viewing was a collective, public experience, shared with a crowd of fellow-viewers. If the aesthetics of the sublime could replace the demand for truth with the demand for effect, it could also achieve that effect—shock and awe—in such a way that it did not touch its large audience. Instead, through a leap of imagination that crossed the epistemological gap and transcended the obscurity and immensity of the scene of war, the audience would come to appreciate together the terror of warfare as 'delight'.

In his treatise on the aesthetics of the sublime, Burke stops short of associating this delight with ecstasy, an out-of-body sensation. Nevertheless, and even before the sublime began to dominate cultural expression, we begin to see in the representation of emotions in war a gradual displacement of emotion from the living body of discrete persons and toward a

more free-floating, general and generalisable sentiment, be it calm and a sense of security or terror and a sense of delight. No single hand—or arm—controlled its circulation or dictated its characteristics, but the emotion that derived from and attached to the experience of the battlefield was cut loose from its home in mortal flesh.

Notes

1. On the structure of national feeling, see James Chandler, *An Archaeology of Sympathy*: *The Sentimental Mode in Literature and Cinema* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).
2. Elaine Scarry makes a similar point in *The Body in Pain*: *The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 63–81.
3. Bräker, *Lebensgeschichte*, 462–3 (see Füssel, page **153**).
4. In *The Discourse of the Sublime*: *Readings in History*, *Aesthetics and the Subject* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), Peter de Bolla argues that Western European interest in the sublime coincided with the Seven Years' War, and the new techniques of fighting and knowledge that inter-continental warfare occasioned.
5. Edmund Burke, *The Works of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke*, vol. 1, *Philosophical Inquiry into the Sublime and the Beautiful*: *With an Introductory Dicourse Concerning Taste* (London: John C. Nimmo, 1887), 110.
6. Burke, *Philosophical Inquiry*, 111–12 ('Of the Passions Which Belong to Society').
7. These remarks align with the arguments of Stephen Knapp, *Personification and the Sublime*: *Milton to Coleridge* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 2–4 and Alex Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal*: *Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), 4 and 113–38.

PART III

The Public: Emotional Re-Creation

CHAPTER 11

The Sidelong Glance: Tracing Battlefield Emotions in Dutch Art of the Golden Age

Lisa De Boer

In the early 1630s, a young artist in Zwolle painted a most unusual panel (Fig. 11.1). Its dimensions 21 by 16 inches, it features a single figure, a mounted cavalry man, seen from the back. The low horizon line and equally low view point create the impression that the cavalryman is ascending a rise in the landscape and we are following behind. Long shadows angling from left to right, the glint of highlights falling low on the left side of the figure's armour and the muted, even blue-grey of the sky give the impression of evening. The cavalryman is not moving at speed. He may even be stationary. He leans forward in the saddle, his left hand braced on his knee. We cannot see his face, but the angle of his hat indicates he's looking ahead, off to the right. It is a simple, arresting image that manages to convey a tangled mix of complex sensibilities: individuality but also anonymity, strength and vulnerability, vigilance and weariness.

Evidently this early panel by Gerard ter Borch (1617–1681)—the earliest we have from his hand, done when he was 16 or 17 years of age—was popular. Ter Borch painted two other versions of the subject.[1] Yet even with two copies, the image remains entirely atypical within the body of early modern Dutch painting as a whole, and thus will function as an

L. De Boer
Westmont College, Santa Barbara, CA, USA

© The Author(s) 2016

E. Kuijpers, C. van der Haven (eds.), *Battlefield Emotions 1500–1800*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-56490-0_11

Fig. 11.1 Gerard ter Borch, *Man on horseback*, oil on panel, 54.9 × 41 cm, 1634. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Juliana Cheney Edwards Collection

appropriately elusive and allusive introduction to this discussion of the representation of battlefield emotions in seventeenth-century imagery from the Dutch Republic.

Inquiries into battlefield emotions have concentrated thus far on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and have played out primarily in the realm of texts—in examination of poems, plays and novels, and especially in careful exegesis of military treatises and soldiers' memoirs and letters. These sources

have called our attention to the apparent absence of battlefield emotions in first-person narratives before the mid-eighteenth century, and their proliferation in later first-person accounts. The challenge of this chapter, then, is twofold: what methodological issues arise when mining images for evidence of battlefield emotions? And, given the apparent dearth of representations of such emotions in texts prior to the mid-eighteenth century, is there even anything to discover?

In both its subject and its handling, ter Borch's *Man on Horseback* signals three concerns of note for this exploration. First, ter Borch's soldier acts as a 'flesh-witness' to the scene he surveys. He is there; we are not. We, as viewers of the picture, by way of contrast, are cast as 'eye-witnesses' to the visual statement made in the image. I will begin, then, with a methodological excursus, considering the flesh-witness/eye-witness distinction drawn by Yuval Noah Harari in his ground-breaking book, *The Ultimate Experience*: *Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture*, *1450–2000*, and discussing the implications of this distinction for understanding visual representations of battlefield emotions in the early modern Dutch Republic.[2]

Second, with these methodological reflections in mind, ter Borch's *Man on Horseback* next invites us to consider the possible emotional valence represented by the view from that rise. Though we don't know, of course, what lies beyond that rise, we might imagine it as the sort of military panorama represented by printed siege maps. The gap between what we can see, and what the privileged witness sees on our behalf will allow us to consider siege maps as a possible site for the construction of battlefield emotions in the early modern Dutch Republic. Third, ter Borch's *Man on Horseback*, with its uncanny ability to portray this soldier in such a way that we register, emotionally, the gap between our sense of his singular, individual presence, and an equally palpable sense of his psychological privacy, will allow us to consider a small group of images, also by Gerard ter Borch, that attribute to soldiers the same subjective, individual, emotional life attributed to ordinary citizens.

Flesh-Witnessing and Eye-Witnessing

In *The Ultimate Experience* Yuval Noah Harari develops a provocative distinction between eye-witness and flesh-witness narratives. Early modern military memoirs, he states, are characterised by eye-witness narratives where transformative, emotional responses to war are rare if not entirely

absent. He traces the rise of the flesh-witness narrative to the long century between 1740 and 1865, keying its appearance not only to a growing appreciation for 'sensibility' and for the 'sublime', but also more concretely to developments in military technology, training and culture. The primary difference between the eye-witness and flesh-witness account, for Harari, is one of transparency versus opacity. 'The knowledge gained through eye-witnessing,' he writes, 'is factual, and can be quite easily transmitted to other people […] In contrast, a flesh-witness can never really transmit her knowledge to other people—she cannot really describe what she witnessed, and the audience cannot really understand.'[3] Battlefield emotions, as defined by Harari, belong to a category of transformative experiences that can't be merely seen, but have to be affectively, corporeally experienced to be shared.

Though Harari does not make the connection, the distinction he has drawn between eye- and flesh-witnessing can be mapped quite intriguingly onto a long-standing discussion in the historiography of early modern Netherlandish art. Flesh-witnessing, as an emotionally driven, transformative, first-hand experience, is very close to the goal of history painting as articulated most succinctly in the mid-seventeenth century by the theoreticians and artists of the French Academy. History painting, the depiction of morally formative narratives drawn from the classical or Christian past, was meant to persuade viewers—just like the art of rhetoric, from which most of its basic tenets were borrowed. History painting demonstrated that art was an intellectually demanding, socially meaningful activity, requiring mastery of geometry, perspective, anatomy, poetry, history, and, in the words of Frerart de Chambray, 'assiduous observation of […] the passions and emotions of the soul'.[4] It's no surprise that the leading theoretician of the French Academy, Charles le Brun, dedicated a famous treatise to the representation of the passions.[5] Representing the passions was at the heart of effective history painting, whose aim, in turn, was 'to produce passions in the soul of the viewer'.[6] An effective history painting created a flesh-witness encounter: moving and transformative, and ultimately opaque to those not there in the moment, standing before the image themselves—hence the rise of ekphrastic literature where viewers attempted to translate their visual encounter into words, much like later memoirists attempted to describe the impact of their first-hand battlefield experiences.

The familiar 'hierarchy of genres' that emerged from the French Academy in the 1660s reflected the fundamental distinction between history painting,

and everything else. Though purportedly a 'hierarchy' of descending value from history, through portraiture and scenes of everyday life, to landscape and finally ending at still life, in truth the system operated as a dualism: there was history painting, which aimed at a transformative flesh-witness experience, and everything else, imagined as mere mechanical copying, recording what was in front of you, in other words: eye-witness.[7] To register the difference in these modes of address as defined by the academy, just call to mind a contrast like that between Rembrandt's 1654 *Bathsheba at her Bath* in the Louvre, and Jan Steen's ca. 1670 treatment of the theme at the Getty. Whereas Rembrandt's portrayal asks the viewer to imaginatively identify with Bathsheba's conflicted emotional state via her posture, gesture and expression, Steen's depiction encourages the eye to roam over dozens of telling details, among which we would have to count Bathsheba's rather lasciviously exposed breasts and thighs.

Variations of eye-witness theories explaining the style and subjects of Dutch early modern art have been around since the eighteenth century. But they emerged anew, and with more complexity, 30 years ago with Svetlana Alpers' *The Art of Describing* which claimed the eye-witness mode not as a lack of intellectual rigour and moral seriousness, but as a positive value.[8] As Harari does, Alpers aligned the eye-witness mode with facts, empirical sensibilities, and a nascent scientific method. Since the appearance of Alpers's book, the complexities of what we have come to call the 'eye-witness effect' have been thoroughly probed, such that we would not today, with any confidence, claim as Harari does, that 'the knowledge gained through eye-witnessing is factual and can be quite easily transmitted'.[9] The eye-witness effect is rather an alternative representational mode whose particular power lies in claiming that there is no re-presentation, no mediation, in fact, no distance at all from what is depicted.[10] It is the singular accomplishment of much Dutch seventeenth-century imagery that for many, many decades it *was* taken, more-or-less, at face value, as fact.

This excursus on history painting and 'not-history painting' and the provocative parallel between these two representational modes and Harari's flesh-witness/eye-witness distinction underscores two points. First, when it comes to representational codes for the visual arts, particularly in the Low Countries, there is no development or decisive shift from eye-witness to flesh-witness as Harari argues exists in his first-person textual sources. The two modes exist in the visual arts in tandem in Europe, and especially

in the Low Countries, as complex rhetorical systems that mediate experience in different ways for different purposes.[11]

This realisation leads to a further and more telling issue. In her short essay, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', Barbara Rosenwein reminds us that emotions (or more precisely, for the seventeenth century, at least, passions and affections) looked different, were categorised differently, and functioned differently in the past.[12] Perhaps the shift from eye-witness to flesh-witness that Harari notes is not so much a shift of newly manifested 'battlefield emotions', but rather a shift in the understanding of what counts as a battlefield emotion. If Rosenwein can excavate a rich range of emotional experience in such apparently fact-based sources as medieval business correspondence and legal charters, who is to say that with different eyes and ears, early modern military treatises and memoirs might not similarly yield a harvest of battlefield emotions? And more to our point, might not the seemingly laconic eye-witness mode in Dutch art yield at least a sidelong glance into early modern battlefield emotions?

Battlefield Emotions in Pictures: Wide-Angle and Close-up

When it comes to battlefield pictures, there is no dearth of imagery in early modern Dutch art. Though our conventional idea of Dutch seventeenth-century art leans decidedly toward the domestic, one only need start looking for martial images to find them everywhere—not entirely surprising for a Republic born out of war, actively engaged in warfare for all but a few years between 1568 and 1700, and the originator of a number of improvements and reforms in the conduct of war that drew men from all over Europe to service in the States Army.[13]

Some of the popular military images that flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century include cavalry skirmishes and convoy ambushes (for example those by Esias van de Velde, Jan Maarten de Jonge and Jan Asselyn), plunder scenes (for example those by Cornelis Droochsloot, Sebastian Vrancx, Jacob Duck, Simon Kick and Willem Duyster), and guardroom scenes (for example those by Pieter Codde, Duyster, Kick and Anthonie Palamedesz). These subjects are unique to the Low Countries, and were popular enough to provide bread-and-butter work for a number of artists.[14] Also unique to the Low Countries, though technically not 'battlefield' scenes, we should mention the hundreds of civic militia portraits attesting to the conflation of martial virtues with masculine civility. We sometimes

forget that the most famous seventeenth-century painting from the Dutch Republic, Rembrandt's *Nightwatch*, is a martial picture. In the realm of print, illustrated news accounts of battles and the ubiquitous and aesthetically stunning siege maps displayed the momentous undertakings characteristic of the second phase of the revolt. Siege maps were produced and reproduced in myriad formats throughout the century, and long afterward.[15]

In searching amongst this bounty for visual traces of battlefield emotions, I have chosen to interpret the phrase fairly narrowly. That is, we are interested in visual representations of the emotional impact of battle and war on soldiers. We are not looking for representations of the emotional impact of war on the population in general—unless, importantly, it purports to be consonant with that of the soldier. In those cases, the coincidence of military and civil battlefield emotions helps create a shared emotional community that encompasses both soldier and citizen. Furthermore, unlike Harari, I'm interpreting 'battlefield' more broadly to include siege-warfare and garrison life, where soldiers were very much on duty but not necessarily in direct, violent confrontation. Working with these limits, we can rule out the many scenes of pillage and plunder and general, all-around bad behaviour that were so popular in the early part of the seventeenth century. Though certainly worthy of study, for our purposes, they reflect much less the soldier's experience than the public's perception of the soldier, filtered through a variety of interpretive lenses. With these parameters in mind, I would like to focus on two bodies of material. The first—siege maps—represent a wide-angle view on the question, the view enjoyed by ter Borch's lone soldier as a privileged witness to the scene on the other side of that rise. As a large body of imagery generated by expert eye-witnesses, and viewed by military and civilian audiences alike, siege maps bound soldier and citizen together in an emotional community delineated by the orderly, rational format that represented the successful military defence of the nation. The second group of pictures—a handful of genre scenes by Gerard ter Borch—zoom in, and provide intimate close-ups that, like *Man on Horseback*, provide an unusual but no less informative image of the soldier as an individual, as a person imbued with subjectivity, and with socially embedded emotional experiences. Both early modern siege maps and ter Borch's soldiers represent the production and negotiation of battlefield emotions in the early modern Dutch Republic. Moreover, such images represent the integration of these emotions into the emotional community of the body politic, thereby integrating the soldier into civil society at large.

Siege Maps and the Love of Knowledge

News prints and siege maps are unique among Dutch seventeenth-century military images. If any early modern images give a military point of view, battle prints and siege maps would be top candidates. Whether elaborate and commissioned, like Jacques (II) de Gheyn's elegant engraving of the siege of Geertruidenberg from the spring of 1593 (Fig. 11.2) or simple and anonymous like the woodcut showing the siege of Groningen during the summer of 1594 (Fig. 11.3), such prints and their accompanying verbal accounts not only fed the public's desire for news of the war, they helped naturalise a military perspective on that war.[16] Though no less formulaic than paintings of cavalry skirmishes and guardroom scenes, the verbal and visual formulae of news prints appeal less to cultural or literary topoi than to the need assure viewers of the truthfulness of the account. Titles helped underscore veracity: *Waerachtig verhael* (True Account), *Waerachtig afbeelding* (True Depiction) and *Waerachtig beschrijving* (True Description) are common opening words for news print titles. The woodcut of the siege of Groningen is titled '*Waerachtige Conterfeytinge*' claiming transparent exactitude for the image. After asserting their trustworthiness in the title, news prints and siege maps often describe their origins as stemming from first-hand witnesses whose social status or expertise underscored their trustworthiness. Pictorial accounts were often accompanied by reprinted letters from commanders or admirals to governmental bodies like the States of Holland or the Admiralty of Zeeland. In the case of reprinted letters, the word 'Copie', set off in a larger, contrasting typeface, signalled the intent to present unadulterated, first-hand information. Short of reproducing a letter or official report, sources for news accounts were often described as 'a nobleman who was present at the scene', or 'an engineer involved in building the siege works'.[17] Both the woodcut of Geertruidenberg and the engraving of Groningen can be linked to extant maps of the siege works drawn by engineers in the employ of the army.[18] The topographical format used for these prints is itself a strong claim for authority, positing as it does an omniscient eye, untethered to any one particular viewpoint and providing a strong sense of unmediated access to the scene before the viewer. Maps, it was thought, were not drawn according to individual fancy but according to the rules of geometry, or as the text of one print reads, 'after life, according to geometrical measure, and naturally depicted and drawn to the points of the compass'.[19]

Fig. 11.2 Jacques de Gheyn II, *Siege of Geertruidenberg*, engraving and letterpress, 70 × 55 cm, 1593. © University Library of Amsterdam

In her detailed study of a series of news prints representing the military career of Prince Maurice of Nassau between 1590 and 1600, Christi Klinkert has underscored publishers' genuine desire to be as accurate as possible within the very real constraints of their task. While geographic details here and there might be incorrect due to the use of an outdated city plan as the basis for a siege map, or specific moments in the course of a siege might be 'misplaced' in order to aid visual comprehension,[20] 'the most basic information over the who, what and where was typically on the mark'.[21] Aside from questions of actual facticity, however, it is clear these images communicated convincingly, widely and effectively across all social strata. Though the vast majority of siege maps and news prints were uncommissioned and published for the open market, their afterlife was

Fig. 11.3 Anon, *Waerachtige Conterfeytinge der wytberoembden Stadt Gronninge* (Siege of Groningen), woodcut and letterpress, 1594. © Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam

impressive. They were hung on walls and collected in albums.[22] Artists drew on them for aristocratic commissions.[23] Magistrates commissioned elaborate editions of them.[24] Even soldiers on the ground trusted them. In one case, 18 hand-drawn sketches of noteworthy military actions from the 1574 notebook of Walter Morgan, an English soldier in States' service, long thought to be a rare instance of first-hand war-imagery from the pen

of an early modern soldier, were found in fact to be almost entirely copied from military prints published in Antwerp by Arnoud Nicolai.[25] In their production and re-production, over and over in broadsheets, pamphlets, in booklets lauding the House of Nassau, in historical texts, and even occasionally in tapestry, stained glass or silver, the verbal and visual strategies of siege maps bound first- and second-hand witnesses together into one viewing community, and into one emotional community.[26]

But, we would be right to ask, don't siege maps parallel exactly the terse, unemotional, fact-bound, first-hand, eye-witness narratives that Harari sees as characteristic of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? What, then, if anything, are we to glean from them regarding battlefield emotions? Pursuing this question requires that we attend not only to the rhetorical strategy of the 'eye-witness effect' in play in these images, but also to the possibility that the emotions represented might differ from our modern perceptions. Perhaps the answer to this question depends on what we allow to count as an emotion. Returning to Barbara Rosenwein's concerns about the 'history of emotions' project, could it be the case, that we're overlooking the possible emotional content of such images? Though seventeenth-century sources vary quite a bit in how they describe and analyse emotion, the distinction between 'passions' and 'affections' was common. The long chapter on emotion in Karel van Mander's 1604 *Schilder-boek*, for example, which is the founding art theory manual for Netherlandish artists, is titled: 'Wtbeeldinghe der Affecten, passien, begeerlijckheden, en lijdens der Menschen' (Depiction of affections, passions, desires and sufferings of mankind). Passions were imagined as disturbances that engaged the body's sensual appetites; affections as more akin to inner dispositions and desires aimed at virtue and learning, and thus open to discipline and nurture.[27] The training and shaping of those inner dispositions may be exactly what's at stake. According to Amy Schmitter, it is 'easy to overlook the role early modern philosophy gives to 'calm' emotions if we concentrate on the current notion of passions as violent, turbulent and overwhelming. In general, early modern philosophers tended to prefer their emotions calm, but took turbulence to mark only certain kinds of passions.'[28]

Similarly, Ann Jensen Adams argues that we miss the point of many seventeenth-century Dutch portraits when we deem them 'conservative' or 'timid' in style, when in fact the point of those stylistic choices was *tranquillitas*—a prized emotional state achieved when one gained mastery of one's heart and mind.[29]

'Love of truth', Schmitter points out, was included by many early modern thinkers in their lists of what we, today, might call 'emotions'.[30] Certainly, the 'truth' represented in a siege map is a carefully constructed one that begs to be deconstructed in any number of directions. Yet, is it not part of their appeal, that in their calm, rational address, siege maps are in fact manifestations of desired battlefield emotions? David Kunzle has argued that siege maps, with their clean engraved lines, crisp black and white contrast, dispassionate, omniscient, topographical perspective, and accompanying textual detail, represent war as rational, sober, and orderly.[31] As images aimed at a broad audience, made, read, perused, collected by civilian and soldier alike, siege maps provide one sidelong glimpse into early modern battlefield emotions—idealised emotions, to be sure, and hardly politically innocent, but relevant for the construction of a shared emotional community nonetheless.

Witnessing the Citizen Soldier

Siege maps also demonstrate the changing face of the revolt from its tumultuous early phase, to a more static set of affairs after 1585. From that point on, very little actual fighting took place on Dutch soil, and that which did was limited to the landward provinces to the east and south, dotted with heavily fortified garrison cities. The experience of siege warfare, and of soldierly life in garrison towns was quite different from the experience of the common soldier during the early phase of the revolt. Jonathan Israel described it as a new, 'sedentary military life-style with infrequent bouts of fighting'.[32] Maurice's celebrated reforms were actually key to making sedentary warfare successful: stricter military discipline, closely aligned with civil law, brought soldierly and civil behaviour closer together; regular drill not only improved soldiers' skill with their weapons, but proved an essential way to occupy otherwise uneventful days; above all, regular pay brought soldiering closer to a career than an adventure. Whereas in the early years of the revolt, many States soldiers were foreign, in the years after 1621, increasing numbers of Dutchmen joined the army. The Venetian ambassador, visiting the Republic in 1620, was astonished to discover that Dutch border towns actually petitioned for garrisons, finding that the economic benefits of hosting the army far outweighed the social consequences.[33] In this sense, siege warfare, just like the siege maps discussed above, helped effect a *rapprochement* between the military and the citizenry.

Moving from the wide-angle view to the extreme close-up, then, let us turn to a handful of paintings by Gerard ter Borch, who worked in two of those garrison towns. Ter Borch (1617–1681) was born in Zwolle, but spent the latter part of his career in Deventer. Zwolle and Deventer were both part of the line of defensive fortified cities that ran along the eastern edge of the Republic. While the vast majority of Dutch Golden Age painters hailed from Holland, very few came from, let alone remained in, the less prosperous and more vulnerable landward provinces. Long-term residence in these garrison cities renders ter Borch unique among Dutch artists in his close, extended contact with the actual army, setting his work apart from the skirmishes, ambushes, and guardroom scenes so popular in Amsterdam, Haarlem, and The Hague. Residents of the urbanised westward provinces, as Alison Kettering puts it, 'had a perfectly good idea of what *generic* soldiers looked like and how they behaved'. The generic soldier '[…] was an archetype of incivility, expressed in his involvement with games of domination, his quarrelsomeness and his flouting of convention in dress. […] For an audience with no first-hand contact with war, and relatively little experience with professional troops, the contradictions, distortions and exaggerations of actuality evident in these works probably mattered little.'[34] Not so for ter Borch.[35]

Ter Borch's earliest drawings from his childhood in Zwolle give evidence of his familiarity with the military: a figure on horseback drawn at age eight, a standing officer at age nine, and at age 14 a drawing of a mounted cavalryman relieving himself without bothering to dismount.[36] His first documented painting, with which I opened this essay, is without precedent in the history of Dutch art. Ter Borch depicted soldiers in many of his genre paintings, and in addition to adding gravity and depth to the image of the soldier, ter Borch added another activity—unique, once again, to him: soldiers writing letters.[37]

Letter-writing became a popular theme in Dutch seventeenth-century art in the 1630s and was a flourishing genre by the 1650s and 60s when ter Borch's pictures were painted. The increasing prevalence of reading and writing personal letters over the course of seventeenth century, like the growth in confessional literature, the practice of keeping a journal or diary (and eventually, recording military memoirs of the sort that Harari has studied), has been understood as an important marker of changing early modern concepts of selfhood. Literary scholars have tied interiority, privacy, subjectivity, individuality, autonomy—a nest of related concepts—to the practice of reading and writing letters.[38] *Pictures* of people reading

letters thematise these concepts. Frustrating the viewer's desire to know exactly what's in the letter, such pictures instantiate the privacy of the represented writer and open up for the viewer an interior realm of sympathetic, subjective speculation that will never be entirely satisfied.

A typical letter painting is situated in a domestic interior and often involves not just a letter reader or writer but also a servant who has either just delivered the letter, or waits to receive the letter being written. Sometimes the servant waits patiently and unobtrusively; sometimes she peers over the reader/writer's shoulder. Artists often include a dog whose sleeping or barking points toward the purported content of the letter. A pair of letter paintings by Dirck Hals famously includes 'paintings within paintings'—one a calm seascape and the other a stormy scene—that similarly allude to the letters' content. But among all the letter-writers depicted in Dutch art, ter Borch's letter-writing soldiers stand out on two counts: first, almost all the letter-writers in Dutch seventeenth-century paintings are female while ter Borch's soldiers are, of course, male; second, those rare male letter-writers are typically men of business, and judging by the maps and globes that surround them, are generally engaged in official correspondence whereas ter Borch's soldiers, judging by the visual clues in the pictures, are writing love letters, just like the majority of female letter-writers.

In his ca. 1658 *Officer Writing a Letter* (Fig. 11.4) in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, ter Borch plays with the standard elements of the genre.[39] Our letter-writer is a well-groomed young officer sitting in front of an unlit fireplace and behind a table covered in a red cloth. He bows to his work, writing with quiet attention and apparent ease. The servant, in this case, an official messenger complete with flashy coat and trumpet waits quietly, hat in hand. Interestingly, his head is turned toward us, acknowledging our curiosity about the scene. An elegant brown and white hound stands alert in front of him, equally curious about the newcomer. Behind the hound on the floor lies one playing card, face up: an ace of hearts. Filling out the rear of the room against the buff-coloured walls, we can see a canopy bed with its heavy green curtains pulled shut. Though the ace of hearts, according to the established iconography of romance, signals that this letter concerns affairs of the heart rather than affairs of state, there is nothing else in the image to disclose the content of the letter. The fireplace is unlit, the bed curtains drawn. Has the relationship gone cold and stands in need of re-kindling? Yet nothing about the letter-writer's posture or expression conveys any sort of emotional distress. We like the dog, look to the messenger for a clue—but he only acknowledges our curiosity and does not indulge it.

Fig. 11.4 Gerard ter Borch, *Officer Writing a Letter, with a Trumpeter*, oil on canvas, 56.8 × 43.8 cm, c. 1658–1659. Philadelphia Museum of Art. © The William L. Elkins Collection

As exceptions to the rule, ter Borch's letter-writing soldiers have attracted a lot of attention. Richard Helgerson proposed they are images of anxiety—the army has insinuated itself into the most intimate spheres of Dutch home life, representing fears about the possible militarisation and attendant Orangification of the Republic during the *stadhouder*-less period.[40] Alison Kettering, discussing ter Borch's letter-writers as feminised,

sees them as examples of the 'gentling' of the soldier.[41] Similarly, David Kunzle saw these letter-writers as instances of the newly gallant soldier who blurs the boundary between soldier and civilian, between manners and morals, between the professional and domestic spheres.[42] Each of these interpretations shares the conviction that the civil–martial relationship is at the heart of what's going on here. And certainly, in the literature on battlefield emotions, the gentrification of the military over the course of the late-seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is relevant here.

Yet because of ter Borch's unique exposure to garrison life, and because he is the *only* painter to have rendered this theme, we might go a little farther, and say that in their singularity, in ter Borch's willingness to connect the theme of letter writing, with all its valences of interiority, privacy and subjectivity, to the soldier, we may here have a glimpse into the emotional experience of soldiers on duty in a garrison town. Imagining that soldiers *have* an individual emotional life is, after all, a necessary step toward making the soldier a credible witness to his own emotional experience in a journal or memoir. Though ter Borch only gives the general outlines of what that experience might be, his portrayal credits the military man with his own private, subjective emotional realm.

The Sidelong Glance

If siege maps offer a wide angle view on the question of battlefield emotions and ter Borch's letter-writing soldiers offer an intimate close-up, what conclusions might we draw from this analysis? Noting that these images exploit the rhetoric of the eye-witness effect rather than the morally transformative flesh-witness effect of history paintings, we must note that too ready an acceptance of Harari's flesh-witness/eye-witness distinction could lead us to dismiss altogether the possibility that eye-witness-type representations might actually mediate battlefield emotions. Rather, we need to probe how the eye-witness effect works, and to what end. Second, with respect to that end, we need to recall with Barbara Rosenwein that what gets to count as an emotion can change over time. 'Love of truth' and *tranquillitas*, though not considered emotions today, are among the early modern emotions represented in and through the rhetorical, eye-witness truth claims made by siege maps. Finally, in the hands of a skilful master like ter Borch, an artist who undoubtedly spent time among soldiers in his garrison towns, the 'not-history', eye-witness mode cleverly deployed can even unite viewers and viewed in a shared sense of emotional interiority and subjectivity, creating sympathy between soldiers and civilians.

To return to our opening image, ter Borch's *Man on Horseback* is a kind of parable of the representation of battlefield emotions in early modern Dutch images. The lone figure on the rise above us is anything but the stirring, morally formative subject of a flesh-witness history painting. Ter Borch's cavalryman is shown to us as a simple visual fact—a single figure in a landscape. And yet, there are emotional depths to be plumbed. Positioned as he is, above us on a rise, we can imagine him as the authoritative flesh-witness of the panorama on the far side of that rise. It's a view we cannot see first-hand ourselves, but can witness vicariously by means of a siege map, carefully constructed to create an eye-witness effect that gratifies our love for truth and desire for *tranquillitas*. Then again, positioned as he is, face hidden and back toward us, ter Borch's lone cavalryman also invites our imaginative identification with the figure, evoking the individualised interiority of ter Borch's letter-writing soldiers, who remind us that these soldiers, at least, can love, and lose and suffer, just like the rest of us.

Notes

1. Arthur K. Wheelock, *Gerard ter Borch* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2004), 44–5; Wheelock also argues the work is from 1633, before ter Borch traveled to Haarlem (in 1634) to train with Peter Molijn.
2. Yuval Harari, *The Ultimate Experience*: *Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture*: *1450–2000* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
3. Harari, *Ultimate Experience*, 7.
4. Roland Freart de Chambray, *An Idea of the Perfection of Painting*, trans. John Evelyn ([London]: H. Herringman, 1668), Preface, Fol. A3r.
5. Delivered initially as lectures in 1668, the work was published posthumously as *Conference de Monsieur Le Brun*, *premier peintre du Roy de France*, *Chancelier et directeur de l'academie de peinture et sculpture*, *sur l'expression generale et particuliere* (Amsterdam: J.I. De Lorme, 1698). It was not uncontroversial, as other academicians, André Félibien and Roger de Piles in particular, objected to Le Brun's attempt to objectify the emotional power of art. For this debate, see Line Cottegnies, 'Codifying the Passions in the Classical Age: A Few Reflections on Charles Le Brun's Scheme and its Influence in France and England,' *Etudes Epistèmé* 1 (2002): 141–158.
6. Amy M. Schmitter, 'Representation and the Body of Power in French Academic Painting,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 63 (2002): 399–424, 403.
7. Wolfgang Stechow and Christopher Comer, 'The History of the term "Genre",' *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* 33 (1975–76): 89–94, 89. Prize monies as well, were much, much larger for history painters than for any

other kind of artist. Well into the eighteenth century, 70 per cent of prize monies went to history painters, who constituted only a small percent of academy members. See the *Procés-verbaux de l'Academie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, 1648–1793* (Paris: J. Baur, 1875) vol 10, 24 September 1791 and 3 December 1791.

8. Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).
9. Harari, *Ultimate Experience*, 7.
10. Philips Angel's *Lof der Schilderkonst* (Leiden: Willem Christiaens, 1642) makes extremely telling claims for the eye-witness style when he argues that the goal of the artist is to imitate nature so closely that individual style, the trace of an artist's hand, disappears entirely. Such a style-less style makes the ultimate eye-witness statement.
11. Albert Blankert tabulated the relative proportion of different kinds of paintings in Delft inventories from 1610–79 which demonstrates the gradual wane in interest in history painting among Delft patrons. From 1610–9, history paintings make up 46 per cent of the works inventoried; by 1640–9 it is 34 per cent, and by 1670–9 it is just under 17 per cent. See his *Gods, Saints and Heroes: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt* (Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, 1980), 23.
12. Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History,' *American Historical Review* 107 (2002): 821–45; See also Rosenwein's 'Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions,' *Passions in Context* 1 (2010), accessed 13 May 2015, http://www.passionsincontext.de/index.php?id=557; and Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). For a discussion of Rosenwein's method, see Jan Plamper, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns,' *History and Theory* 49 (2010): 237–56.
13. The literature on the military revolution of the early modern era is vast. J.A de Moor provides a helpful summative overview of the issues and the key texts in 'Experience and Experiment: Some Reflections upon the Military developments in 16th and 17th century Western Europe,' in *Exercise of Arms: Warfare in the Netherlands 1568–1648*, ed. Marco van der Hoeven (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1997), 17–32.
14. These types of images emerged first in the Southern Netherlands, then migrated north with the many Flemish artists who settled in the Northern provinces. See Johannes Briels, 'De Zuidnederlandse immigratie in Amsterdam en Haarlem omstreeks 1572–1630: Met een keuze van archivalische gegevens betreffende de kunstschilders' (PhD diss., Utrecht University, 1976).

15. See Lisa DeBoer, 'Hogenberg and History,' in *The Arts*, *Community and Cultural* Democracy, ed. Lambert Zuidervaart and Henry Luttikhuizen (New York: St. Martins Press, 2000), 214–232.
16. For detailed and extended analysis of these prints within the context of all other available sources on the sieges of Geertruidenberg and Groningen, see Christi Klinkert's *Nassau in het Nieuws*: *Nieuwsprenten van Maurits van Nassaus militaire ondernemingen uit de periode 1590–1600* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2005). The images of and sources on and images of the siege of Geertruidenberg are discussed on page 141–157, and those for the siege of Groningen on page 158–169.
17. The information in this paragraph is discussed at more length in Lisa De Boer, 'Martial Arts: Military Themes and Images in Dutch Art of the Golden Age' (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1996), 43–9. See also Klinkert, *Nassaeu in het nieuws*, 35–56.
18. The link between John Batpist Boazio's mapmaking skills and de Gheyn's siege map of Groningen is quite clear as his name is mentioned on the print itself (Klinkert, *Nassaeu in het nieuws*, 143). The link between the hand-drawn maps by the English engineer, Josias Bodley, and the woodcut of the siege of Geertruidenberg is less direct. Klinkert examines all possible sources, concluding, on the basis of shared details in the representation of the States army camp: 'Misschien bezat [...] ook de maker van de houtsnede van het beleg een exemplaar van de Groninger schets [...].' (Klinkert, *Nassaeu in het nieuws*, 166).
19. 'alles naer 't leven op de Geometrische mate, end opt Compas ende Wintstrecken natuerlijck afghebeeldet ende gheteeckent'. Frederik Muller, *Beredeneerde beschrijving van Nederlandse historieplaten*, *zinneprenten en historische kaarten* (Amsterdam: Israel, 1863), no. 1200. For further discussion see De Boer, 'Martial Arts,' 46–7.
20. Klinkert, *Nassau in het nieuws*, 46.
21. '[...] maar de meest basale informatie over het wie, wat en waar klopte doorgaans wel'. Klinkert, *Nassau in het nieuws*, 51.
22. Klinkert, *Nassau in het Nieuws*, 47.
23. The most famous example is Velazquez' use of Callot's map (itself based on earlier siege maps) in the background of his famous *Surrender at Breda*. More recently, Leen Kelchtermans has examined the uses of topography in a series of commissioned battle paintings by the Flemish artist, Peter Snayers in 'Geschilderde gevechten, gekleurde verslagen. Een contextuele analyse van Peter Snayers' (1592–1667) topografische strijdtaferelen voor de Habsburgse elite tussen herinnering en verheerlijking' (PhD diss., University of Leuven, 2013).
24. Klinkert, *Nassau in het Nieuws*, 47.

25. Simon Groenveld, 'Het Engelse kroniekje van Walter Morgan en een onbekende reeks historieprenten (1572–1574),' *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 98 (1983): 19–74.
26. De Boer, 'Martial Arts,' 57–78 and David Kunzle, 'The Soldier Redeemed: Siege Maps,' in *From Criminal to Courtier: The Soldier in Netherlandish Art 1550–1672*, ed. David Kunzle (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 441–506.
27. Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions.*
28. Amy M. Schmitter, '17th and 18th Century Theories of Emotions,' *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, accessed 13 May 2015, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2010/entries/emotions-17th18th.
29. Ann Jensen Adams, 'The Three-Quarter Length Life-Sized Portrait in Seventeenth-Century Holland: The Cultural Functions of *Tranquillitas*,' in *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art*, *Realism Reconsidered*, ed. Wayne Franits (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 175–186. Adams deepens her analysis in Chap. 2 of her book on portraiture: *Public Faces and Private Identities in Seventeenth-Century Holland: Portraiture and the Production of Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
30. Schmitter, '17th and 18th Century Theories of Emotions'.
31. Kunzle, *Criminal to Courtier*, 441–52.
32. Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477–1806* (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1995), 267.
33. These strategic areas had been reinforced with a ring of fortified cities between 1590 and 1609, supplied with garrisons of States troops, paid for by the prosperous, protected seaward provinces. Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 267–8.
34. Alison McNeil Kettering, 'Gerard ter Borch's Military Men: Masculinity Transformed,' in *The Public and Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age*, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock and Adele Seeff (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2000), 100–19: 108–10.
35. He also had a younger half-brother, Moses who joined the navy in 1664 and died in battle at sea in 1667. Wheelock, *Gerard ter Borch*, 4, 168.
36. Wheelock, *Gerard ter Borch*, 4; Kettering, *Military Men*, 113.
37. Kettering, *Military Men*, 110. For a nation with a high literacy rate (for the early modern period, at least), engaged in military and commercial exploits around the world, letter-writing was a fundamental tool for success. Peter Sutton cites estimates of 10 per cent of the male population away from home at any given point in the seventeenth century in his *Love Letters: Dutch Genre Painting in the Age of Vermeer* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2003), 27.
38. For discussions of writing, subjectivity and identity in general, see Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); John Lyons, 'Subjecthood

and Subjectivity,' in *Subjecthood and Subjectivity*: *Proceedings of the Colloquium* '*The Status of the Subject in Linguistic Theory*,' ed. Marina Yaguello (London and Paris: Orphys, 1994), 9–17; Niklas Luhmann, *Love as Passion*: *The Codification of Intimacy* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1986); Jonathan Sawday, 'Self-reflection and the Self,' in *Rewriting the Self*: *Histories from the Renaissance to the Present*, ed. Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1997), 29–48.

39. This painting has a likely pendant, the *Woman Sealing a Letter* of similar dimensions and date, in a private collection. Wheelock, *Gerard ter Borch*, 129–34.
40. Helgerson, Richard, 'Soldiers and Enigmatic Girls: The Politics of Dutch Domestic Realism, 1650–1672,' *Representations* 58 (1997): 49–87.
41. Kettering, *Military Men*, 100–19.
42. Kunzle, 'The Gallant Soldier: Gerard ter Borch in Deventer,' *From Criminal to Courtier*: *The Soldier in Netherlandish Art 1550–1672*, ed. David Kunzle (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002), 589–621.

CHAPTER 12

Deflecting the Fire of Eighteenth-Century French Battle Painting

Valerie Mainz

Writing in December 1798 to the jury of a competition set up to obtain state funding for individual artists, the French Minister of the Interior, François de Neufchâteau, singled out the painting of battles for special consideration. The Minister justified his recommendation by explaining that: 'Strictly defined, this genre fits within what is called History: the innumerable moments of national valour will be the lesson and the surprise of posterity.'[1] Continuing in this vein, de Neufchâteau took battles to be the most beautiful pages in the history of French glory whose memory the government needed and wanted to fix. The encouragement was necessary for there were few artists practising the genre.[2] Given that France was waging war beyond the nation's borders and on several of her frontiers at this time, it is, perhaps, not surprising that there should be a call for more paintings with overtly militaristic and patriotic appeal in the choice and treatment of subject matter. During the seventeenth century, the French state had, indeed, been a major patron of large-scale battle painting. So this chapter in a volume devoted to battlefield emotions questions why battle painting was considered a neglected category of painting before

V. Mainz
School of Fine Art, History of Art and Cultural Studies, University of Leeds, Leeds, UK

© The Author(s) 2016

E. Kuijpers, C. van der Haven (eds.), *Battlefield Emotions 1500–1800*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-56490-0_12

General Bonaparte's seizure of power as First Consul and, in so doing, locates the place of the passions within battle painting in both theory and practice.

The expression of furious passions had been a feature of battle paintings since the Renaissance. Following on from the recommendations for the *istoria* by Leon Battista Alberti in his manuscript *Della Pittura* of 1436, early modern theorists and practitioners of painting engaged with a visual tradition that mapped inner passion and emotion on to external physical appearance.[3] During the eighteenth century, the expression of the strong passions entailed in the fury, anger and fear of physical combat came, however, to contradict the purifying, idealising abstractions of neoclassicism, with a concomitant turning away from what was considered to be an overemphatic, histrionic use of grimace. Whilst leading Enlightenment thinkers such as Voltaire and Diderot certainly recommended that an emotional response to a given topic should be fostered, even when experienced from a distance, they also condemned the horrific effects of warfare as destructive and harmful to the beneficial, civilising effects of peace.

There were also institutional reasons for the neglect of battle painting. The *Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture* had attached comparatively little value to the painting of battles in its training procedures, administrative structures and theoretical premises. The genre was placed low down in a hierarchy of subject matter that had history painting at its apex. Conjoining these authoritative premises for the training of the top French painters with the evolving stylistic trends and the changing emotional regimes of the period helps to account for the appeal for a reinvigoration of the genre of battle painting made by François de Neufchâteau in 1798.

The Institutional Premises

The *Académie royale*, which had been founded in Paris in 1648, became, under the ancien régime, the foremost representative body for the promotion of the fine arts in France until its abolition in 1793 during the French Revolution.[4] In recording the make-up of this institution, the writer and historian André Félibien set down an admissions procedure for painters that accorded with a coded hierarchy of subject matter.[5] Those who worked on history painting belonged to the highest, most ennobling category of artists because history painting required knowledge of pre-existent texts—whether of sacred or secular history, or those of myth. Only history painters and sculptors were entitled to hold the highest offices and become teachers or *Professeurs* at the *Académie royale*.

When the specialist Flemish battle painter Adam Frans van der Meulen (1632–1690) was admitted as an academician in 1673, a year after acquiring rights of French citizenship, and probably on the instigation of the Director and First Painter to the King, Charles le Brun (1619–1690), his admission category was, quite exceptionally, not stated.[6] Also exceptional and against the rules was the fact that van der Meulen did not present the institution with a reception piece. Given that this artist had collaborated with the history painter and painter of battle scenes le Brun on a series of major works for the king that showed the monarch's military campaigns in a positive light, it was probably deemed necessary that he belong as a full academician to the official body responsible for ennobling the fine arts in France. The practice of battle painting, exercised albeit in a sanitised format, could not, though, be admitted as being on a par with the inventions of the history painter.

Although van der Meulen had followed Louis XIV on campaign, his scenes of military engagements were always composed in the studio according to well-established artistic conventions for the painting of landscapes.[7] The composition of *La Prise de Leewe* (*The Taking of Leewe*, Versailles, musée de Versailles), an event that had taken place on 4 May 1768, is a typical product of this tradition with its birds-eye view showing, in command, the finely costumed king on horseback alongside his military leaders. Behind, in the middle distance of a vast panorama stretching out to a distant horizon, well ordered but quite static troop formations are lined up within the well-tamed territories, demonstrating a besieging and a conquering without the obvious spilling of blood. Alongside this formal, stately tradition of battle painting, more animated, self-evidently fantastical, scenes of men and animals entangled together in furious combat, in the manner of works by Aniello Falcone (1600–1656) and Salvator Rosa (1615–1673), continued to be produced during the eighteenth century.[8] Such scenes did not focus on an individual's heroic action and had little intentionally moralising import.

What exactly constituted a battle painting or, indeed, a history painting, was never officially categorised in any definitive way. In practice, the boundaries in the treatment of subject matter between genres were often quite fluid. The historiated portraits produced by such as Sir Joshua Reynolds in the eighteenth century served, for instance, to aggrandize portrait painting with reference to history painting.[9] When painters dealt with military subjects in what were considered to be history paintings, the scenes did not focus on the fighting and conflicts of armed com-

bat; rather, moments of the before or the after of battle tended to be shown. Through the revelation of non-martial qualities prompted by the hero's acts of compassion and generosity, these moments were of primary concern because they had the potential to be morally improving. The continence of Scipio, for instance, was a narrative culled from ancient Roman history that was often treated in eighteenth-century French history paintings.[10] The subject is of Scipio refusing a beautiful prisoner, returning her to her betrothed, an enemy chieftain, along with the treasure the bride's parents had offered as a ransom. In this story, the celebration of the victor takes the form of a disinterested act of magnanimity. The gesture has nothing of the military triumph or of a hero's military prowess about it.

This turning away from the depiction of scenes of armed conflict even received official approval from the secretary to the *Académie royale*, Charles-Nicolas Cochin, when drawing up a series of moralising subjects for a programme of history painting commissioned in 1764 for the Château de Choisy in the aftermath of the heavy defeats France sustained during the Seven Years' War. These paintings had subjects culled from the histories of Imperial Rome and they were to provide models of munificence and compassion in line with evolving concepts of *gloire* which placed a premium on service in the interests of the public good. Writing to the Director of the Kings' Buildings, the Marquis de Marigny, Cochin stated: 'We have so many celebrated martial actions which only go to the destruction of humanity; is it not reasonable sometimes to represent generous actions full of humanity which during the time of good kings have brought happiness to their peoples […].'[11]

Yet the decline in the number and quality of battle painters during the eighteenth century was still of some concern to the authorities, the French state having been a major patron of battle painting in the preceding century.[12] Cochin had, in fact, earlier been tasked with the revival of battle painting after the death of Charles Parrocel (1688–1752), who had taken on the mantle of most favoured French battle painter from Joseph Parrocel (1646–1704), his father.[13] Cochin's efforts met with relatively little success although the genre was still practised and favoured by some artists such as François Casanova (1727–1803), Charles Cozette (1713–1797) and Jacques Gamelin (1738–1803).

Whilst the officially appointed post of war artist did not yet exist, some painters followed military campaigns so as to sketch relevant troop positions, fortifications and armed engagements. These painters were attached to the

army's corps of Engineer Geographers and employed as skilled technicians by the Ministry of War, rather than as inventively creative fine artists retained by the royal household.[14] Constructed in the studio, battle paintings dealt with the fire, smoke, passions, tumult and turmoil of armed combat but they were also consciously imaginative recreations. They did not function as reportage of what had taken place and were not understood as records of what might have taken place in a conflict. Some print imagery might well have functioned as memorabilia in claiming to be communicating a true-to-life veracity about a particular battle scene, site or view and in terms of the experience of an eye-witness, but the production of such print imagery arose from the use of different materials, practices and processes, was disseminated in different forms and operated with fundamentally different visual conventions than the devices and constructions that pertained to the painting of battles.[15]

In a lecture of 7 February 1750 to the *Académie royale* on the life of the sculptor Simon Guillain, the Comte de Caylus had actually warned the students there against the profession of arms as a career choice: '[…] it is very good to be brave because of the advantageous qualities with which courage is ordinarily accompanied, but you must never use your body except to defend it, especially as an artist for whom this virtue is basically as futile as sketching can be for a soldier'.[16] Whilst the arts elevated genius, the young artists were not to get carried away by romantic ideas when representing heroes. The arts of war and the arts of peace were generally seen in relation to each other, but the mutual dependence was that of polarised opposites. At Versailles, for instance, the Salon de la Guerre and the Salon de la Paix are located at either end of the Galerie des Glaces.

The Emotional Charge of Battle Painting

In spite of the Comte de Caylus's admonition to trainee artists within the *Académie royale* to avoid the profession of arms, the absence of a personal eye-witness experience of the battlefield became a cause for concern in critical responses to battle painting. For instance, Denis Diderot, the *philosophe* editor of the *Encyclopédie* and writer on art, considered that without such eye-witness experience, painters could not be true to nature and thus were unable to depict a battle scene convincingly.[17] Under the entry *Peintre de batailles* (*Peint.mod.*) in the *Encyclopédie*, a distinction is made between those battle painters who had had personal experience of military service and those who had had no such experience.[18] Jacques Courtois (1621–1676?) is particularly

marked out here for having had three years' army experience, enabling him to sketch the encampments, sieges, marches and fighting he had witnessed.

The drive towards a more believable verisimilitude entailed, furthermore, a move away from the theoretically proscribed formulations of the passions as outlined by Charles le Brun in the seventeenth century. Le Brun had been First Painter to the King and director of both the Gobelins manufactory and the *Académie royale*, but he was still known for his painting of battles, particularly for his four vast canvases showing the battles of Alexander.[19] These works are fully baroque in the grandiosity of their style and conception, incorporating as they do the external effects of such extreme passions as fury, fear, anger and aggression. The dynamic configurations of these compositions fuse struggling, fighting men with beasts in a variety of acts of violence, tangled bodies and weapons, with the hero, Alexander, in the thick of the action.

Le Brun had delivered a lecture on passions to the *Académie royale* in Paris on 17 April 1668 which was published with corresponding illustrations ten years later.[20] This lecture was an attempt to formulate rational precepts for the painting of the passions following on from the mechanistic definitions given by Descartes. These conceptually conceived models then came to serve as appropriate, authorised versions for those wishing to learn the arts of painting and sculpture. Later on, during the eighteenth century, the concern to configure outward expression in line with its suitable and appropriate inner passion or affect was to result in a special competition prize for expression, the Prix Caylus, for which aspiring trainees sketched or drew from a live model that one of the teachers at the *Académie royale* had posed to represent a named passion.[21]

Johann Joachim Winckelmann's writings on ancient art were in the forefront of the turning away from the types of coded models that le Brun had supplied. The German antiquarian scholar was preoccupied with setting up a Greek ideal of noble simplicity and calm grandeur that went against the extremes of passions with which the battlefield scenes in the high baroque style were embellished.[22] The influential *Geschichte der Kunst des Altherthums*, first published in 1764 and then translated into French in 1766, has a section criticising modern artists for an excess of expression when compared to the wise discretion of the artists of antiquity.[23] In castigating modern artists for using mannered, over-emphatic facial expression so as to indicate little of substance, Winckelmann compared them to actors who exaggerated the truth of their facial gestures to make themselves understood in the back rows of the theatre. Le Brun's treatise on the passions was singled out for giving those learning to be artists exaggerated

models of excessive passions like fury. Given the tumult, disorder and fury of the battlefield scene, and of the experiences of witnessing the thick of battle, the painter of battle pictures faced almost impossible challenges in having to be convincing and true to nature on the one hand, whilst also providing something that was carefully constructed to be morally improving, ennobling, generalising and quite abstract.

Citing Horace's celebrated epithet, *Si vis me flere, dolendum est/Primum ipsi tibi*, in his critical review of the Paris Salon exhibition of 1767, Diderot develops an acting theory in a digression, which was to be more fully articulated in *Paradoxe sur le comédien* of 1770.[24] In these earlier comments Diderot proposes that, taking on the role of the tragedienne Adrienne Lecouvreur, he shakes and suffers but that, at the same time, remaining just himself, he experiences pleasure. Such pleasure is too weak if the other self cannot be taken on; what has to be striven for is a just temperament which allows for the shedding of delicious tears. These observations belong to discussions about the emerging culture of sensibility and derive in part from the acting theory of Aaron Hill in which a more controlled approach to expression is advocated.[25] Rooted in the language of neoclassical tragedy, the comments also have Edmund Burke on the sublime as a source; they help, too, to account for the pleasurable sensations of pity and fear Diderot applied to his own experience of witnessing battle paintings in the Salon of 1767, at a safe distance from the battlefield.[26]

Philippe-Jacques de Loutherbourg's reception piece to the *Académie royale*, was shown under the title *Une bataille* (Fig. 12.1). Trained in the studio of the battle painter François Casanova, de Loutherbourg (1740–1812) had been approved for admission to the *Académie royale* on 22 June 1763 as a landscape painter and not as a specialist battle painter.[27] Later, when in England, this artist's many and various activities included the production of set designs for the London theatre, the invention of a light show called the Eidophusikon and the painting of British naval victories on a monumental scale.[28]

Diderot's comments about this particular battle scene begin, as one would expect, with a description of the figurative contents of the composition: men lay siege to a distant castle and there is a foreground tangle of assailants, the dead and dying and their horses. The atmosphere, suffused with the smoke and reddened light of cannon shot is noted, as is the composition's central mass where the white cavalryman is seen from the horse's rear end.[29] This observation about the showing of the principal group from the rear implicitly goes against the grain of history painting, for it negates the making of potential heroes, of personal characterisations,

Fig. 12.1 Philippe-Jacques de Loutherbourg, *Une Bataille*, oil on canvas, 97 × 129 cm, 1767. © Collection Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Cholet, Dépôt du Musée du Louvre, Cliché Mathilde

of the potential to impute motivation, cause and/or effect. Similarly, the outcome of the conflict is one that remains essentially unknown.

Diderot then broadens his perspective to discuss the issue of the genre of painting—meaning the genre of battle painting—which he considers has no proper unity of time, action or place. This is the language of the seventeenth-century French theatre, adapted from classical theories of invention culled from antique treatises on rhetoric, drama and poetry, applied to contemporary precepts for the composition of history paintings.[30] What is being implied here is, once again, the failure of battle painting in being precisely not history painting. This was not, however, a matter of dismissing the genre of battle painting out of hand. Whilst implicitly acknowledging its lowly status, Diderot was still enthusiastic about the emotional benefit the viewer might gain from seeing such scenes.

What Diderot praised in the painting of battles was the spectacle, verve, *fougue*, fire, spirit, passions it could offer up to the viewer. The

expressive potentialities of, say, the atmosphere suffused with red light had distinctive aesthetic value. The beholder's experience of the battle painting might additionally undergo a moment of sublimity, of extraordinary feeling and of sensation: 'All the fear and commiseration must leap at me from all points of the canvas'.[31] The fact that the eye-witnessing experience that the artist has prompted was doubly distant from any actual battle in both time and in space might be turned to positive effect, for it was through the mediations of the canvas that Diderot's feelings about a battle scene could have positive value. Such value was, however, compromised when the picture had a routine arrangement of uniform incidents.[32] The condemnation of de Loutherbourg's work because of its routine incident marks the composition out as not being from nature, not being true to life and not being grounded in personal observation. Given that the need to be convincing required, in this account, direct experience of the battlefield, but that the tumult and real dangers of the battlefield precluded such a direct experience for the artist, the painter of battles faced an irreconcilable dilemma.

Diderot's review ends with a description of what he wished to see in a battle painting: he would prefer something more edifying, and to this end he imagines his own battle scene for his readers.[33] It consists of a military general, calm in the midst of the fracas, who forgets the danger of his surroundings to ensure the glory of a great day, who oversees everything with his head held high and who gives orders on the battlefield as in his palace. His principal officers form a shield around him with their bodies. Diderot rejects the mere skirmishes of anonymous hussars and pandours in favour of a more conceptual and potentially more ennobling moment.[34] This greater idea still belongs, of course, to the province of history painting.

A dictionary of the arts of painting, sculpture and engraving, first published in 1792 from material compiled by Claude-Henri Watelet before his death in 1786 and then completed by Pierre-Charles Levesque, went further than Diderot in condemning battle painting for its inclusion of fantastic elements and concomitant lack of verisimilitude.[35] With a tinge of revolutionary fervour, the entry on *Bataille* states that there would be very few battle painters if they devoted themselves to making the necessary studies from nature, just as the number of warrior-conquering kings would be severely reduced if they were forced to fight personally in one-to-one combat against each other.[36] The entry criticizes the search for ever more extraordinary, chimerical, unbelievable effects: '[…] painters who have never even seen one skirmish, please themselves in overstimulating

the desires of their art lovers and exaggerate so much actions, movements, expressions that they dislocate limbs and maim their combatants before being hit or experiencing the merest tumble'.[37] By bringing out the exaggerated nature of the actions and expressions of these scenes of combat, this criticism marks out battle painting not merely for a lack of convincing verisimilitude, but also for the tendency to be, in practice, sensationalist and histrionic.

Battle Painting Versus History Painting

That battle painting was out of official favour for institutional, theoretical and aesthetic reasons in France in the decades before the emergence of the military scenes of the Napoleonic era is borne out by the life, work and career trajectory of Jacques Gamelin (1738–1803). Gamelin first studied at the *Académie royale de peinture* of Toulouse before joining the studio of Jean-Baptiste Deshays in (1729–1765) Paris.[38] He was admitted as a battle painter, not as a history or landscape painter, to the Academy of St Luke in Rome in 1771.[39] Gamelin never returned to Paris but went back home to the south-west of France in 1774 where, with his assistants he worked on a publication, *Nouveau Recueil d'Ostéologie et de Myologie*.[40]

This collection of anatomical plates was for the use of both anatomists and artists. Accompanied by verbal descriptions in both French and Latin, most of the dissection diagrams delineate the bones and muscles of the body, but interspersed within these illustrations are other, imagined, scenes, such as pictures of people mixing with animated skeletons, and battle scenes, reminiscent of the etchings of Francisco Goya (1746–1828). The frontispiece to the collection shows skeletal death riding over the dead and fallen in the midst of a battle. So the study of anatomy is fused here with expressive acts and gestures of fighting to the death. The macabre dance of the animated skeletons is suggestive of *vanitas*, the vanity of life's brief span, with the horrors of warfare being seen as inimical to life.

Gamelin's publishing enterprise was not a commercial success and he had, thereafter, to take up teaching posts first in Montpellier, then in Narbonne and later on back in his birthplace of Carcassonne.[41] During the Revolution, he made an application to become a captain in the Engineering Corps after he had been engaged, along with his pupil Pierre Maurin and his eldest son Jacques-François Gamelin, by the newly created Republican State to draw on-site the most interesting viewpoints of the Battle of Perpignan that had taken place on 27 July 1793.[42] The victories

of the Army of the Eastern Pyrenees were to be recorded in paint. The battlefield panorama showing the Battle of Boulou (Béziers, Musée Hotel Fabrégat) has topographically distinctive landscape features and includes, in the foreground, two people's representatives to the army alongside the military leader of the French forces, General Dugommier. These political deputies were sent out from Paris during the period of Jacobin rule to oversee the army and maintain law and order. They are marked out here by their revolutionary tricolour sashes and cockades.

On 3 July 1795, after the downfall of the Jacobins, the Commission for the Organisation of Troop Movements refused Gamelin's appointment as a Captain of the Engineers on the grounds that he had not received the proper training and had insufficient experience as a soldier.[43] In fact, Gamelin had already been sporting an officer's uniform to ensure good treatment in case of capture by the enemy. The correspondence was followed up a year later when Gamelin was refused recompense for his work sketching and painting memorable actions, battles and victories.[44] The reason given for this non-payment was that no decision on a mode of distribution had, as yet, been made. It could well be that the rapidly mutating political fortunes of the period as well as the financially straitened circumstances of the newly forged nation militated against making a commitment to fostering this type of work at this particular time.

By 1799, and with the rise to power of General Bonaparte, the political circumstances had changed again and the government began to put into effect an active policy of promoting military imagery. Susan Siegfried has noted that around this time the new political ideology of battle painting produced a concomitant shift in the visual rhetorics of the genre with a move towards a more documentary mode.[45] History painting still had a higher status and enjoyed far greater prestige than the painting of battles but there were now calls to do away with the painting of ancient myth and ancient heroes in favour of addressing more contemporary subject matter.[46] After a public meeting of the newly formed *Institut national de France* on 4 April 1798 (15 germinal an 6), Bonaparte had apparently approached David, the preeminent history painter of the day, and addressed him with the interrogatory words '*Eh, bien*?' In response David made a polite, acknowledging, but negative, nod of the head to which the general replied 'Poussin does not want to be Parrocel too.'[47] The Parrocels, as has been noted above, were a dynasty of battle painters, whilst Poussin, even though he had worked for most of his life in Rome, had come to be celebrated as the preeminent French history painter of the seventeenth century.[48] A journalist then asked David for an explanation of this exchange.

The artist gave a somewhat equivocal justification for his conduct: Bonaparte had wanted David to accompany him on his intended expedition to England where the events of the war might be an opportunity for the exercise of the painter's brush. David burned to follow him but his family and friends were against him going there because of his weak health; and, furthermore, he had not wanted to go to England only to fight there.

Between 1789 and 1799 David's activities as both an artist and a politician included the painting of portraits, such as one of his most famous works, *Marat à son dernier soupir* (Brussels, Musée royaux des Beaux-Arts), the organising of public festivals, the design of new national costumes and the production of prints attacking the English enemy—although these caricatures were unsigned and only attributed to David in the twentieth century.[49] David did not, however, produce a major history painting when the Revolution was at its most intense. He only returned to history painting during and after a period in prison following the fall of the Jacobins and the execution of Robespierre, completing the painting of *Les Sabines* (Fig. 12.2) in 1799 and showing it in his own private exhibition that was, nonetheless, held in the Louvre.[50]

The subject of this work is taken from the early history of Rome and is recalled by, amongst others, Plutarch, Titus Livy and Ovid, but the artist's approach to the narrative is certainly not one of mere illustration. Given the mute, static nature of the oil painting on canvas, David used his powers of invention to select a single, significant pivotal moment in the action. The moment chosen here is the key instant of ceasefire when the fighting stops. Roman men had abducted the Sabine women and made them their wives; some of the Sabine men were the women's fathers and brothers. The women are thus shown to be intervening to stop the fighting between these two enemy nations and also to stop the fighting between their loved ones. This is a work that is, therefore, precisely not a battle painting. On the contrary, it is a work about the cessation of a battle, of fighting and conflict. Romulus is posed like a Greek statue, arrested in the movement of launching his metal spear or pike. The women intervene with their children and, in their gestures of separation, submission, despair, grief, horror and entreaty they bear the emotional load of the piece in a manner that does not conform to the usual conventions of battle painting. This is a work that is stridently pacifist in its stance; it is about bringing an end to the killing, death and destruction of warfare for the sake of future generations. When it was first exhibited, it was, indeed, recognised as a plea for reconciliation in France after the upheavals of the Revolution.[51]

Fig. 12.2 Jacques-Louis David, *Les Sabines*, oil on canvas, 385cm x 522cm, 1799. Paris, Louvre Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre)/René-Gabriel Ojéda

Two quite fully worked up preliminary drawings (Paris, Louvre) for the monumental work indicate a major late change in the composition of the painting.[52] David's usual working practice had been to draw his figures in the nude first and then, subsequently, paint them clothed. Yet the two compositional drawings show the principal combatants clothed in tunics whereas in the completed painting they are naked. From his studies in Rome and his knowledge of, for instance, Trajan's Column, David would have known that the ancient Romans did not go to war in the nude.[53] In answer to complaints about this anachronism that had already been made to him, David felt the need to include a note on the nudity of his heroes at the end of the free catalogue included in the entry fee to the exhibition and which the artist could, therefore, use to justify himself.[54] The painter reasoned that the painters, sculptors and poets of Antiquity had depicted the gods, heroes and all kinds of men, including philosophers, in the nude and that he had wanted to be true to the mores (*mœurs*) of Antiquity. The artist cites authorities for this practice including the works of Phidias and Praxiteles and the Achilles at the Villa Borghese. His list ends with just

one example taken from Rome rather than from Greece: a medal with the figure of Romulus carrying trophies on his shoulder as the first instance of the spoils of war. In the reviews of the painting, the nudity of the warriors did, indeed, come in for a great deal of mockery. One wag even composed a ditty: 'In clothing as nature intended/Both Tatius and Romulus/And young beauties with neither *fichus* nor petticoats/David tells us nothing that we did not know/Paris has for some time proclaimed him/The Raphael of the sans-culottes.'[55]

The challenges facing the genre of battle painting in eighteenth-century France were partly institutional ones, as is demonstrated by the differing fortunes of the battle painter Gamelin when compared to those of the history painter David. The emotional charge of the battle piece was, furthermore, at odds with contemporary concerns about the need to be true to nature whilst also improving on nature so as to provoke beneficial actions and activate elevating sensibilities. The engagements of the battlefield were precisely not ones that were intimate or that could easily be envisaged as having virtuous connotations. Yet, when viewed at a safe distance, the extremes of emotion, of pity and of fear, that the battle scene might prompt by its views of larger-than-life actions, gestures, movements and expressions, also had the potential to arouse feelings of pleasurable awe and delight.

In his monumental biography of the artist, David's grandson, Jacques-Louis Jules David, includes an account of a visit to the studio of David by Bonaparte whilst the artist was completing this major painting of *Les Sabines*.[56] On seeing the work, Bonaparte had apparently complained that it did not adequately resemble true fighting in battle and he had then reputedly demonstrated the art of soldiery by imitating a bayonet charge. David's oblique reply was that he had not wanted to paint French soldiers, but the heroes of Antiquity. The first Consul then advised David to make the appropriate changes as his warriors lacked passion, movement, enthusiasm. When the first Consul had left, David is then said to have remarked: 'These generals don't know the first thing about painting.'[57]

Notes

1. 'En definition rigoureuse, ce Genre rentre dans ce qu'on appelle l'Histoire: les innombrables Monumens de la valeur nationale seront la leçon et l'étonnement de la Postérité.' *Recueil de différentes pieces, extradites des procès-verbaux du jury qui a été nommé pour le jugement des ouvrages exposés aux Salons, qui ont eu lieu depuis l'an II, jusques et compris l'an VI* (Paris: Gayant fils, 1800), 17.

2. For an overview of battle painting in this period, particularly in Italy, see Giancarlo Sestieri, *I Pittori di Battaglie*: *Maestri italiani e stranieri del XVII e XVIII secolo* (Rome: Edizioni de Luca, 2000).
3. For the background to this visual tradition of matching inner passion and emotion with outward appearance, see in particular Jennifer Montagu, *The Expression of the Passions*: *Charles le Brun's 'Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière'* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994).
4. For the history of this institution, see Christian Michel, *L'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture 1648–1793*: *La naissance de l'Ecole française* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2012).
5. 'Quand l'Académie reçoit quelqu'un, il est admis dans la Compagnie pour Peintre ou pour Sculpteur. Et les Peintres sont receus selon le talent qu'ils ont dans la peinture; Distinguant par les Lettres qu'elle donne, ceux qui travaillent à l'Histoire, d'avec ceux qui ne font que des portraits, ou des batailles, ou des païsages, ou des animaux, ou des fleurs, ou des fruits […].' André Félibien, *Noms des peintres les plus célèbres et les plus connus*, *anciens et modernes* (Paris, 1679), 58.
6. 'l'Académie, cognoissant la capasité extraordinaire dud.sieur Van der Meulen et les emplois continuelz qu'il a pour les ouvrages du Roy, sens s'arrester aux formalitez d'usage acouttumés, l'a rescue en calité d'académicien […].' *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture 1648–1793*, 10 vols., ed. Anatole de Montaiglon (Paris: J. Baur, 1880–1892), vol. 2, 6. For van de Meulen, see Cat. *A la Gloire du Roi*: *Van de Meulen*, *peintre des conquêtes de Louis XIV* (Dijon, Imprimerie nationale Éditions, 1998); Isabelle Richefort, *Adam-François Van der Meulen* (*1632–1690*): *Peintre Flamand au Service du Louis XIV* (Paris: Mercator, 2004).
7. Richefort, *Adam-François van de Meulen*, 19–20.
8. For the emergence of this type of battle painting, see Fritz Saxl, 'The Battle Scene without a Hero: Aniello Falcone and His Patrons,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 3 (1939–40): 70–87.
9. See further Mark Hallett, *Joshua Reynolds*: *portraiture in action* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2014).
10. Eighteenth-century French paintings on this topic include works by François Lemoyne (Nancy, Musée des beaux-arts, 1727), Jean Restout (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, 1728), Joseph-Marie Vien (Warsaw Castle, c. 1767), Nicolas-Guy Brenet (Strasbourg, Musée des beaux-arts, 1788).
11. 'On a tant célébré les actions guerrières qui ne vont qu'à la destruction du genre humain; n'est-il pas raisonnable de représenter, quelquefois, les actions généreuses et pleines d'humanité qui chez les bons rois, ont fait le bonheur de leur peuples […].' Marc Furcy-Raynaud, ed., 'Correspondance de M de Marigny avec Coypel, Lépicié et Cochin,' *Revue de l'art français ancien et moderne*, 19–20 (1904–5): 324–5.

12. For the patronage of battle painting during the reign of Louis XIV, see Thomas Kirchner, *Der epische Held*: *Historienmalerei und Kunstpolitik in Frankreich des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Fink, 2001).
13. See Christian Michel, *Charles-Nicolas Cochin et l'Art des Lumières* (Rome, École française de Rome, 1993), 509–10. For the cycle of battle paintings produced in the 1770s for the École Militaire by the former dragoon, Jean-Baptiste Le Paon, see *L'école militaire et l'axe Breteuil-Trocadero*, ed. Yoann Bruault, Frédéric Jiméno and Daniel Rabreaux (Paris: Action artistique de la ville de Paris, 2002), 147–54.
14. Marguerite Jallut, 'Les Peintres de Batailles des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles,' *Archives de l'art français* 22 (1959): 115–39.
15. For further on such print imagery, see Chap. 8 above by Marian Füssel.
16. '[…] il est très bon d'être brave à cause des qualités avantageuses dont le courage est ordinairement accompagné, mais il ne faut jamais l'employer qu'à son corps défendant, surtout pour un artiste à qui dans le fond cette vertu est aussi inutile que le dessein peut l'être à un soldat.' *Vie de Simon Guillain*, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, ms. 1152, BNF Est. Yb 18, ENSBA, ms. 13. I thank Tomas Macsotay Bunt for this reference.
17. Denis Diderot, 'Salon de 1767,' *Œuvres*, ed. Laurent Versini, 5 vols (Paris, Robert Laffont, 1996–2000), vol. 4, 662. For more on Diderot and battle painting, see Jean Ehrard, 'Diderot, L'Encyclopédie et la peinture de bataille,' *L'Encyclopédie et Diderot* (Cologne: dme-Verlag, 1985), 27–42.
18. *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences*, *des arts et des metiers*, 28 vols (Geneva [etc.], 1754–1772), vol. 12, 266.
19. For these works, see Thomas Kirchner, *Der epische Held*.
20. Charles Le Brun, *L'Expression des passions et autres conferences*; *Correspondance*, ed. Julien Philippe ([Paris]: Éditions Dédale Maisonneuve et Larose, 1994).
21. See further Thomas Kirchner, *L'expression des passions*: *Ausdruck als Darstellungsproblem in der französischen Kunst und Kunsttheorie des 17. Und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Mainz, P. von Zabern, 1991); Melissa Percival, *The Appearance of Character*: *Physiognomy and Facial Expression in eighteenth-century France* (London: Maney, 1999).
22. For further on Winckelmann, see Edouard Pommier, *Winckelmann*, *inventeur de l'histoire de l'art* ([Paris]: Gallimard, 2003); Alex Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal*: *Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994).
23. Johann Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 2 vols (Dresden: Walther, 1764), vol. 1, 171–2.
24. Diderot, 'Salon de 1767,' 610: 'If you want me to shed tears, you must first shed them yourself.'

25. For this acting theory and the expression of the passions with reference to the British theatre and the culture of politeness, see Paul Goring, *The Rhetoric of Sensibility in Eighteenth-century Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 114–41.
26. See in particular, Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: R-J Dodsley, 1757), section VII, 13–14.
27. *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie royale*, vol. 7, 222.
28. For de Loutherbourg, see Olivier Lefeuvre, *Philippe-Jacques de Loutherbourg 1740–1812* (Paris: Arthena, 2012). See also Chap. 13 above by Philip Shaw. For the development of battle painting towards a more documentary mode, it is surely significant that the artist came to visit the actual site of the engagement in fulfilling the latter commission of The Grand Attack on Valenciennes.
29. Diderot, 'Salon de 1767,' 4: 735.
30. The seminal work on this art theory is Rensselaer Lee, '*Ut Pictura Poesis*': *The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York: Norton, 1967).
31. 'Il faut que l'effroi et la commiseration s'élancent à moi de tous les points de la toile.' Diderot, 'Salon de 1767,' vol. 4, 735. I acknowledge here the work of Yuval Noah Harari, *The Ultimate Experience*: *Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture 1450–2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). Harari ties in the developing culture of sensibility to more modern notions of eye-witnessing warfare, see especially 150–6. The nature of the medium of representation—the specific conventions, devices, constructions that foster such an experience—needs, however, to be explored further. See Valerie Mainz, *Days of Glory? Imaging Military Recruitment and the French Revolution* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
32. Diderot, 'Salon de 1767,' 4: 736.
33. The evocation of a phantom 'other' painting is a recurring device in Diderot's art criticism, see further Thomas Baldwin, *The Picture as Spectre in Diderot*, *Proust*, *and Deleuze* (Oxford: Legenda, 2011), 34–66. I thank Russell Goulbourne for this reference.
34. Diderot, 'Salon de 1767,' 4: 736.
35. Claude Henri Watelet and Pierre Charles Levesque, *Dictionnaire des Arts de Peinture*, *Sculpture et Gravure* (Paris: Proult l'ainé, 1792).
36. Watelet and Levesque, *Dictionnaire des Arts*, 186.
37. '[…] les Peintres, qui n'ont pas vu seulement une escarmouche, s'excitent à renchérir sur les désirs de leurs Amateurs, et exagèrent tellement les actions, les mouvemens, les expressions, qu'ils déboîtent les membres et estropient leurs combattans avant qu'ils soient frappés, ou qu'ils ayent éprouvé la moindre chute.' Watelet and Levesque, *Dictionnaire des Arts*, 187.

38. For Gamelin, see *Gamelin, peintre de batailles* (*1738–1803*), ed. Marie-Noëlle Maynard (Carcassonne: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2003).
39. *Gamelin*, 20 from *Roma*, *Archivo storico dell'Accademia di San Lucca*, *52*, *Libro de decreti 1760–1771*, Fol. 175.77.
40. Jacques Gamelin, *Nouveau Recueil d'Ostéologie et de Myologie* (Toulouse, J. F. Desclassan, 1779).
41. Cat. *French Painting 1774–1830*: *The Age of Revolution* (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Art and the Metropolitan Museum of Arts, 1975), 425.
42. See further Olivier Michel, 'Gamelin, peintre de batailles,' in *Gamelin*, 20–7.
43. Michel, 'Gamelin, peintre de batailles'. The information is taken from: Paris, Archives du Service historique du Ministère de la Guerre, Carton 1508, série 2YE.
44. Michel, 'Gamelin, peintre de batailles'. Paris, Archives Nationales, Série F 17, liasse 1242, pièce 42.
45. Susan Locke Siegfried, 'Naked History: The Rhetoric of Military Painting in Postrevolutionary France,' *The Art Bulletin* 75 (1993): 235–58.
46. See further Philippe Bordes, *Représenter la Révolution*: *Les* '*Dix-Août*' *de Jacques Bertaux et de François Gérard* (Vizille: Musée de la Révolution française, 2010), especially 106–19.
47. 'Le Poussin ne veut donc point être aussi Parrocel.' *La Clef du Cabinet des Souverains*, 3 floréal an VI (22 April 1798), 458, 4061.
48. For the celebration of Poussin in France during the eighteenth Century, see Richard Verdi, 'Poussin's *Eudamidas*: Eighteenth-century Criticism and Copies,' *Burlington Magazine* 113 (1971): 513–24.
49. For further on these caricatures, see Albert Boime, 'Jacques-Louis David, Scatological Discourse in the French Revolution and the Art of Caricature,' in *French Caricature and the French Revolution*, *1789–1799* (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, University of California, 1988), 67–82.
50. The literature on this work is vast. For a summary, see *Jacques-Louis David 1748–1825* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1989), 323–53; see also Valerie Mainz, 'David's *Les Sabines* and the Colouring of History Painting post-Thermidor,' *Interfaces* 10 (1996): 45–59.
51. Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Chaussard, 'Tableau des Sabines par David,' *Journal des débats*, 13 ventôse an 8 (4 March 1800), 2–3.
52. For these drawings, see *Jacques-Louis David*, 340–8 (nos. 147 and 152).
53. In his unfinished autobiography of after 1808, David recalled the importance of Trajan's column to his studies in Rome, see Daniel and Georges Wildenstein, *Documents complémentaires au catalogue de l'œuvre de Louis David* (Paris: Fondation Wildenstein, 1973), 157 (no. 1368), from École des Beaux-Arts, MS 316, 51–4.

54. *Le Tableau des Sabines exposé publiquement au Palais national des sciences et des arts*, *salle de la ci-devant Académie d'architecture par le Cen. David* (Paris: P. Didot l'aîné: an 8), 15–16.
55. *Documents complémentaires*, no. 1329, 150: 'En habillant, in naturalibus,/ Et Tatius et Romulus,/Et de jeunes beautés, sans fichus, ni sans cottes,/ David ne nous apprend que ce que l'on savait;/Depuis longtemps Paris le proclamait/Le Raphël des sans-culottes.'
56. Jacques-Louis Jules David, *Le Peintre Louis David*, *1748–1825*: *Souvenirs et documents inédits* (Paris: Victor Havard, 1880), 363.
57. 'Ces généraux n'entendent rien à la peinture.' David, *Le Peintre Louis David*, 363.

CHAPTER 13

Picturing Valenciennes: Philippe-Jacques de Loutherbourg and the Emotional Regulation of British Military Art in the 1790s

Philip Shaw

In January 1795 two 'MAGNIFICENT PICTURES […] Elucidating the Effects of Peace, and the Consequences of War' went on display in an inferior, unheated, and largely unvisited room at Orme's Gallery, London.[1] On 3 February, the landscape artist and diarist Joseph Farington noted that the painter of these pieces, William Hodges, was 'very low spirited in consequence of having heard the Duke of York was at his Exhibition & that his having chosen for subjects Peace & War it is supposed proceeded from Democratic principles.' Farington observed further that the royal visitor 'abused his pictures as being of a political tendency expressing their surprise that such pictures should be exhibited.'[2] A few years later the painter and critic Edward Edwards recalled that the duke:

P. Shaw
University of Leicester, Leicester, UK

© The Author(s) 2016

E. Kuijpers, C. van der Haven (eds.), *Battlefield Emotions 1500–1800*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-56490-0_13

> […] thought no artist should employ himself on works of that kind, the effects of which might tend to impress the mind of the inferior class of society with sentiments not suited to the public tranquillity; that the effects of war were at all times to be deplored, and therefore need not be exemplified in a way which could only serve to increase public clamour without redressing the evil.[3]

What the duke perceived in Hodges's 'Democratic' paintings, with their unstinting attention to the brutalities of war both on and off the battlefield, was a source of dissident sentiment, at odds with those feelings of enthusiasm for victories and stoicism in the face of defeats that art ought, ideally, to arouse in 'inferior' subjects.

As this chapter goes on to explore, the regulation of emotional responses to artistic representations of war was a key concern of the British ruling classes, often involving high-ranking members of the royal family in uneasy collaborations with those very inferiors—painters, print-makers and critics—from whom they sought to distinguish themselves. Influenced, on the one hand, by Adam Smith's emphasis on the 'impartial' spectator's moderation of the effects of over-identification with the sufferings of others and, on the other, by Edmund Burke's prioritising of spatial and emotional 'distance' in apprehending the sensation of the sublime,[4] in Britain during the opening years of the war against revolutionary France painters and print makers, incentivised by lucrative commissions from government supporters, and with an eye to the burgeoning popularity of panoramic displays and other spectacular entertainments, were thus encouraged to produce large-scale battle paintings highlighting the effects of the sublime—fire, smoke, and grand, imposing vistas—over those intimate, all-too-human, displays of sentiment and suffering that had preoccupied artists in the previous decade.[5] With all eyes focussed on the image of the conquering hero, the maimed and disfigured presence of the ordinary soldier was rendered subsidiary to the prospect of the greater good. The resulting 'emotional habitus', with its emphasis on scale over detail, on sensation over reflection, on noble sacrifice rather than on common suffering, and on comprehension of abstract information rather than understanding of personal experience, helped impart the requisite physical and mental dispositions needed for the mobilization of pro-war sentiment.[6]

Habitus is the appropriate conceptual term here, as the grand scale of these paintings, often displayed in imposing architectural settings, were designed to instil bodily sensations conducive to feelings of awe and

admiration. Operating on non-conscious as well as conscious levels, and informed by spatial as well as socio-cultural codes, such paintings, this chapter will argue, were conceived as tools of emotional conditioning, working in tandem with journalism, literature, theatre, music and popular entertainments to foster support for the British war effort. The emotions aroused by these works were, however, by no means uniform, and what this essay will go on to show, by way of a reading of the circumstances surrounding the production and reception of Philippe-Jacques de Loutherbourg's large-scale battle painting *The Grand Attack on Valenciennes* (1793), are those moments when the dominant emotional habitus is weakened, traversed by those unruly forms of affect—melancholy and anxiety, as well as ridicule and contempt—that the discourses of sentiment and the sublime often failed to contain.

Visualising War: *The Grand Attack on Valenciennes*

In February 1793 the dispatch of an expeditionary force to Flanders, led by Frederick, Duke of York, marked Britain's entry into the war against France. Yet, despite the fact that the early months of the campaign resulted in a string of Allied successes, the Duke of York, with only a few British regiments to command, and these comprised mainly of raw, ill-disciplined recruits, together with a motley alliance of Dutch, Austrian and Hanoverian troops, struggled to accomplish the dramatic displays of unqualified triumph or heroic defeat that establishment artists so cravenly desired. The prevailing mood towards the war was one of scepticism and, at best, indifference. One event, however, did manage to capture the public imagination. In May 1793, following their defeat at Corbés, the French forces, under the command of Dampierre's replacement General Custine, established a defensive line running through the town of Valenciennes. On 23 May the Allies attacked the camp at Famars to the south of the town. Although largely unsuccessful, the assault forced the French to retreat from this exposed position leaving the Allies free to besiege Valenciennes. Under the leadership of the Duke of York, Allied troops brought about the surrender of the town's garrison on 28 July. News of the Allied victory was broadly welcomed in the British press, although it is worth noting that calls for a general illumination met with only limited support from the public. As the anti-government *Morning Chronicle* reported:

> […] unfortunately the war in which the folly of Ministers has involved the country is of such a nature, that the victories achieved by the valour of our troops excite but little joy among the people, who feel that they have no interest in them. Although the surrender of Valenciennes was announced by firing the Tower and Park guns, not a window was lighted up on the occasion.[7]

The *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* commented sourly that only one householder in Charing Cross 'thought proper to illuminate, and so popular is the war that [he] had his windows broken in consequence'.[8]

Apparent indifference to the Allied victory was, however, converted swiftly into outright enthusiasm as, by August, crowds began flocking to Vauxhall pleasure gardens, Sadler's Wells theatre and Westminster Bridge to enjoy a range of Valenciennes-related entertainments. An 'Historical Piece, intermixed with Songs and Spectacles' called 'THE HONOURS OF WAR; Or, The SIEGE of VALENCIENNES' at Sadler's Wells promised to give a 'comprehensive idea of whatever is most striking in the progress and termination of a siege […] The whole founded on well-known facts, and respectfully offered to the public as some illustration of the military movements on the great theatre of war.'[9] Meanwhile, at Astley's Amphitheatre, attendees were treated to a 'new grand Military Spectacle in three parts,' interspersed with comic 'songs, duets, choruses, and various striking and interesting war operations,' based on 'plans taken on the spot' by Philip Astley, father of the owner of the amphitheatre, 'at this time in actual service on the continent'.[10] A year later, Astley's *Siege of Valenciennes* was described by the *World* as 'the small talk of the day' along with the 'Valenciennes helmet:' '*Seventeen* of these pretty ornaments trembled over the faces of our fair countrywomen last night at the Royal Saloon, which bids to increase its celebrity, from having give [*sic.*] birth to this fashionable bonnet.'[11]

While the victory at Valenciennes took shape as a fashionable spectacle, enthusiasm for which was apparent even in female clothing, print-makers and painters, for their part, began the process of transforming the event into an object of sublime admiration. An extract from Joseph Farington's diary, dating from the beginning of August 1793, gives an indication of how politicians paved the way for this process: 'Marchant called in the evening with a proposal relative to Valenciennes. Mr. Windham has today described the very picturesque & extraordinary appearance of that place since the siege.'[12]

William Windham, who within the year would be appointed Secretary at War, was among the first parliamentarians to visit the scene of the battle. Through Nathaniel Marchant, the gem-engraver and medallist, he proposed to Farington that he should visit Valenciennes to record 'some of the Scenes, which have done so much honour to the combined Armies'.[13] The print firm of John Boydell appears also to have had a stake in the excursion, intending that engravings be taken from the sketches.

Acting, in effect, as an official war artist, Farington, armed with letters of support from Windham and General George Ainslie, set out for the Netherlands on 11 August. Arriving in Valenciennes on the evening of the seventeenth, Farington spent the following morning walking among the ruins of the town, finding them 'much more extensive' than he had expected: 'whole streets were crushed as it were to pieces, unlike anything we had ever seen'.[14] Seemingly unaffected by these scenes, the artist goes on to express admiration for the drilling of the Austrian troops: 'I never saw exercise performed like it, it was with an exactness like a well made machine.' Distracted by neo-Cartesian displays of affectless precision, Farington goes on to sketch dispassionate views of 'Le Damen de Beaumont, and some of the buildings near it, as specimens of the destructive effects of a bombardment.'[15] During the course of the next two weeks Farington drew numerous views of the town, focussing on ruined churches, street scenes and siege architecture—in sum, providing precisely the sorts of 'picturesque' and 'extraordinary' views that were required of him.

Although the artist records towards the end of his notebook that 'habit reconciles Men to situations in which danger is not a consideration,' before going on to state how for soldiers the 'daily loss of comrades, and companions, does not appear to be received with more than indifference,' his account does, nevertheless, provide a glimpse of the sufferings of those for whom war is something other than mere 'business'.[16] Whilst sketching the ruins of a convent, for example, Farington was approached by two women who had lost their husbands during the siege: 'One of them said she had nine Children. In return for something given they willingly sat to me for figures, to put in my drawings.' In exchange for charity, the women appear in Farington's drawings as bit-part players, inserted amidst the ruins to provide a sense of scale and local colour; by his own admission, the artist's observations on 'suffering […] extend only to property'.[17] It is only by deduction that an occasional insight is gleaned into the feelings of those human figures behind the ruined façade, as in the following extract:

> One cannot remain in any street long, witht. seeing a Funeral pass. It appears from the manner in which they are generally attended, as if the poorer sort of people were most affected. Several causes have contributed to produce the diseases which are so fatal. Long confinement in Cellars &c under ground, where numbers were crowded together and fed upon a scanty allowance, and the Air of the place may reasonably be supposed to be affected when it is considered what a vast body of stagnant water with which the Country was inundated, must have corrupted and caused infection.[18]

Tellingly, Farington ends his account by noting the 'weather today very fine'.[19]

The impressions of Valenciennes sketched by Farington are determinedly anti-theatrical, avoiding heightened depictions of military glory in exchange for refined depictions of elegiac ruin; what the category of the picturesque offered, with its easy-going management of pleasure and pain, was a way to avoid the fraught emotions of war.[20] Although Boydell's scheme to produce engravings based on the sketches was not realised, as national fervour intensified, spurred on by the popularity of dramatic military displays, competing publishers began to perceive an opening in the market. Within days of the announcement of victory the *World* announced proposals for a print of the 'SURRENDER of VALENCIENNES' to be engraved by subscription from a painting by the scenic artist Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg (Fig. 13.1). Commissioned by the mezzotint engraver and publisher Valentine Green, his son Rupert, and the print dealer Christian von Mechel, potential subscribers were assured in the advertisement that the print would introduce accurate 'portraits of His Royal Highness the Duke of YORK, and the Principal Officers of the Combined Armies' whilst conveying a sense of the 'magnitude of its object'. The 'size of the picture,' the advertisement concluded, would be '12 feet wide, by 8 feet high. The size of the Print will be about 30 inches wide, by 20 inches high.'[21] In the call for subscriptions, emphasis is also placed on the importance of royal patronage. 'Dedicated, by permission, to his Majesty,' the proposals seek to assure subscribers of the authenticity and authority of the resulting print. As final confirmation of the print's artistic and historical significance an emphasis on compositional scale, accuracy of portraiture and speed of production is used to offset 'Objections that may be made to that Mode of conducting great Works of Art.' Here, the backers of the project, mindful of the vogue for terrifying spectacles and with an eye on the desire for visual 'Information', as well as for the enforcement of state-sponsored notions of British valour, can

Fig. 13.1 William Bromley (after Philip James de Loutherbourg), *The Grand Attack on Valenciennes by the Combined Armies Under the Command of His Royal Highness, the Duke of York on the 25th July, 1793*, 1801, hand-coloured engraving on paper. 60.5 x 83.3 cm, published by V&R, Green and Christian von Mechel. © The Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection

be seen endeavouring to maintain a sense of artistic worth distinct from purely commercial considerations.[22]

No stranger to the popularisation of the aesthetics of the sublime, Loutherbourg was an ideal choice for a vision of the siege that would capitalise on its potential for shock and awe whilst emphasising the executive role of the Duke of York. Loutherbourg, for his part, must undoubtedly have been enticed by the generous terms of the commission, which promised over 750 guineas, excluding expenses. 'Sanctioned by royal patronage and approbation,' as the *British Magazine* later confirmed, 'the outset of this bold speculation, supported by a liberal subscription, promised the most flattering issue to all concerned, and was very properly considered as a national object, arising from the first classes of the British arts, emulous to raise an honourable memorial of the glory acquired by the military and naval prowess of the British arms'.[23]

Loutherbourg accepted the commission and, on 30 August set out for Flanders, arriving at Valenciennes in the first week of September. As an indication of the emergence of emotional counter-currents to the prevailing mood it is worth noting the response of the opposition newspaper the *Morning Post*, which, following its announcement of Loutherbourg's 'intention of painting a Picture of Valenciennes, at the *moment* of its surrender,' joked that the siege would most likely be 'performed all over again' for the 'amusement and instruction of the artist'.[24] Alert to the transformation of war into theatrical spectacle, in the same issue the paper carried a report on an attack by militia officers at Brighton Theatre on the Anglican minister and anti-war campaigner Vicesimus Knox, which gives an indication of the dynamic and always variable condition of the reigning 'emotional habitus'.[25] Knox's sermon the previous Sunday, based on Luke 2.14 'Glory be to God the Highest, and on earth peace and good will to all men,' had been taken as a criticism of the government and of the conduct of the local militia. Keen to debunk the aggrandisement of the Allied campaign, the paper observed of this attack that it 'is really a pity that those *brave heroes* who distinguished themselves at Brighton, in subduing the Rev. Mr. Knox, his *wife* and children, are not sent to the Continent. In this *manly* action there were not more than six officers concerned, who bravely achieved this *wondrous exploit*'. In the same issue the paper noted, with characteristic sardonicism, that charging with 'wooden bayonets' has become the most 'fashionable manoeuvre' at the Brighton camp.[26]

Loutherbourg's commission may thus be seen as an attempt on the part of the establishment to curb the spread of radical and Whig dissent, which aimed to puncture assertions of awe and admiration through bathos and scorn. By contrasting the purported gallantry of the expeditionary force with the disreputable behaviour of local Militiamen, papers like the *Morning Post* sought to remind their audiences of the social tensions underlying state-sponsored visions of glory and stability, thus giving voice to the idea that the instilling of emotional unanimity in a populace involves ongoing and diverse efforts of coercion, rather than a single and straightforward act of will. In light of this satirical challenge to the government's portrayal of the war, Loutherbourg's decision to employ the services of the caricaturist James Gillray for providing portraits, character studies and details of military dress, seems, on the face of things, to be somewhat quixotic, not least when the element of royal sanction and patronage is taken into account.[27] Just a few months earlier Gillray had portrayed the Duke of York in *Fatigues of the Campaign in Flanders* (20 May 1793; Fig. 13.2) as

a corpulent gourmand presiding over an opulent feast—a pointed rejoinder to the national day of humiliation, fasting and prayer that took place on 19 April—his rubicund face and well-turned calves in stark contrast to the gaunt and pallid ranks of British infantry serving punch and wine. In addition, the duke is shown raising a cup of wine while a large Flemish woman, seated on his knee, suggestively handles his sheathed sword. Beneath the duke's left foot a ragged and torn Union Jack serves as a reminder of the parlous state of the army and, by extension, of the nation that it represents. Gillray, whose father had lost an arm at the Battle of Fontenoy, was well aware of the terrible transformations wreaked by war on ordinary human beings and in *John Bull's Progress* (Fig. 13.3), a print published two weeks after *Fatigues*, he underscores, with caustic irony, the synecdochal relationship between personal and collective injury. In the final frame John Bull, returned from overseas, is portrayed as a sallow, one-eyed, emaciated amputee, hobbling towards his impoverished dependants.[28]

Fig. 13.2 James Gillray, *Fatigues of the Campaign in Flanders*, 1793, hand-coloured etching on paper, 25.2 x 50.5 cm, published by Hannah Humphrey. British Museum, London © Trustees of the British Museum

Fig. 13.3 James Gillray, *John Bull's Progress*, 1793, hand-coloured etching on paper, 30 x 38.5 cm, published by Hannah Humphrey. British Museum, London © Trustees of the British Museum

As rumours of the contrasts between the luxurious conditions enjoyed by the duke and his entourage and the hardships endured by his troops circulated throughout the country in the early months of the war, graphic portrayals of starving and disabled servicemen and their families may well have lent support to anti-war campaigners seeking to capitalize on the hypocrisy of the king's proclamation of a general day of fasting and humiliation. Such images, with their appeal to feelings of dissatisfaction with the ruinous effects of the war, attest to the presence of alternative emotional currents to those encouraged by the dominant habitus. Unlike large-scale battle paintings, which, even in reproduction, utilized codes of deference and awe drawn from the discourse of the sublime, graphic satires encouraged viewers to dwell on aberrant details and to respond to the representation of political contradictions with contempt and derision. Loutherbourg, however, would most likely have disregarded any worries he might have

had concerning Gillray's political reliability on account of his admiration for the caricaturist's observational and technical abilities. In the *Fatigues* print, for instance, the duke's head is finely drawn, not exaggerated, and the sketches contained in an album in the British Museum confirm that on the Flanders trip Gillray confined himself, for the most part, to providing precisely the sorts of details—of clothing, flags and weaponry—that Loutherbourg required of him.[29] On their return to London both artists were presented to George III, and whilst the king appears to have been unimpressed by Gillray's efforts the fact that the meeting even took place adds weight to the sense in which the endeavour to convey British martial accomplishment was directed by royal as well as commercial interests.[30]

War Displayed: Valenciennes and the Royal Gaze

As Olivier Lefeuvre notes in his definitive account of Loutherbourg's career, the resulting picture of *The Grand Attack on Valenciennes* went on display on the ground floor of Bowyer's Historic Gallery, Pall Mall, on 21 April 1794, following a private viewing by the king and his entourage at Buckingham House a few days earlier.[31] With its large, imposing scale, and carefully manipulated contrasts between scenes of activity and repose, together with affecting images of billowing smoke and eye-catching ruin, the painting was intended to arouse sentiments of esteem for the achievements of the British commanders represented in the foreground. The sensational aspects of the picture, designed to deflect attention from images of suffering that might otherwise subvert the dominant mood of jubilation, were complemented by a related emphasis on verisimilitude. Echoing the prospectus's emphasis on authenticity and accuracy, *The Grand Attack on Valenciennes* was celebrated by the *Oracle and Public Advertiser* as 'the first, and only instance, that has occurred in which the Artist has followed the progress of that army it was his design to represent […] We may venture to anticipate the public voice, in pronouncing Mr. LOUTHERBOURG to be the first military painter in this or any other country, his information as an Engineer being equal to his ability as an Artist.'[32] *The Times* laid similar stress on the painting's authenticity, announcing that 'the fashionable world have now established their morning lounge at the Historic Gallery, Pall Mall, where Loutherbourg's celebrated picture […] attracts all who are anxious to behold an exact representation of the remarkable siege'.[33] What the emphasis on royal sanction and representational accuracy, together with the heightening of contrasts

between light and shade and the near-total avoidance of images of human suffering, sought, therefore, to ensure was an emotional response to war centred on deference and the regulation of unruly affects.

Loutherbourg, however, was not averse to allowing royal prerogative to supervene over verisimilitude. After viewing the painting on 25 July 1798 the radical dramatist Thomas Holcroft observed that the Duke of York is represented as 'the supposed conqueror' while 'the Austrian General, who actually directed the siege, is placed in a group, where, far from attracting attention, he is but just seen'.[34] Holcroft concludes that the work 'has great merit' and is 'picturesque' yet his point about the fatuous stage-managing of the duke as the siege's presiding deity directs attention to the fact that the composition lacks a credible and commanding central presence.[35] In this sense, the wish to assure connoisseurs of the sublime that the 'Smoke arising from the tremendous Bombardment […] blending with the Clouds, and contrasted with the setting Sun' would form, 'by their combined Effects, a most impressive and awful Sky, and naturally heightened in its appearance by the dreadful situation of the Town, in a state of Conflagration and Ruins' results in an unintentional undermining of the composition's claims to historical accuracy as well as its ideological ambitions.[36] For the wreaths of smoke sent up from the ruins of Valenciennes dominate a middle ground that ought, strictly speaking, to be occupied by the officer heroes huddled to the left and right of the picture. The marks of authenticity and of sublimity are thus qualified by a compositional indeterminacy born out of the tension between the vagueness of the scenes on the horizon and the exactitude of the figures on the margins. Regarding the painting in March 1795 Farington noted witheringly that 'the picture of Valenciennes appeared to me much worse than I thought it the last year.—When the novelty is over these pictures appear very deficient.'[37]

Notwithstanding such damaging assessments on the part of connoisseurs the pro-government press continued to boast of the 'universal attention' granted the work by 'the Fashion and Beauty of the Metropolis'.[38] Emphasising the links forged in the painting's *Description* between artistic worth and commercial success, the same journalist affirmed that the 'great number of Subscriptions already received for the Print […] fully prove the confidence of the Public in the Proprietors, and the excellence of the Picture itself'.[39] The press thus worked in tandem with the print sellers and with the artist to forge a climate of enthusiasm that would validate the artistic quality of the endeavour and ensure sales while encouraging support for Britain's involvement in the war against France.

Competing Visions: Brown, Loutherbourg and Royal Patronage

Loutherbourg was, however, not the only artist to paint a large-scale representation of the attack on Valenciennes. Within a few days of the appearance on 1 August 1793 in the *World* of the advertisement for the print based on *The Grand Attack on Valenciennes*, the *Morning Post* carried an advertisement for a print of the 'CAPTURE OF VALENCIENNES,' taken from a picture 'now painting from official information,' by the American artist Mather Brown.[40] The resulting canvas, entitled *The Memorable Attack upon the French Camp on the Hills of Famars near Valenciennes by the Hanoverian Corp de Garde & Combined Armies under the Command of His Royal Highness on the 23rd of May 1793*, was exhibited in an unfinished state at Orme's Gallery several weeks before the public unveiling of Loutherbourg's painting. Measuring a massive 17 feet in length, the sheer scale of *The Attack on Famars*, together with the peremptory timing of its exhibition, suggests that Brown, spurred on by his business partner, the engraver and gallery owner Daniel Orme, may well have conceived the painting out of a spirit of competitiveness with his rival Loutherbourg. Although the Swiss-born artist had enjoyed royal patronage, and could reasonably claim, with the possible exception of Farington, to be the first artist to have 'followed the progress' of the army, Brown, following the success of his 1788 portrait of the Duke in the uniform of Colonel of the Coldstream Guards, boasted the official title of History and Portrait Painter to the Prince of Wales. Moreover, Brown had himself experienced the deprivations of war as a resident of Boston during the siege of 1775. Advertisements for Brown's canvas and its accompanying print derived authenticating capital from both of these claims.[41] Taking up this theme, Peter Harrington, in his assessment of *The Attack on Famars*, observes that the 'picture was as authentic as Loutherbourg's and many of the portraits were taken from life, but whereas the former picture was more panoramic in aspect, Brown focused on a close-up view of the battle in order to introduce portraits; it was more narrative and theatrical with its concentration on the human element'.[42] In other words, by concentrating solely on the commanding figure of the duke and his aides, Brown could successfully avoid the visual lacunae that emerged in Loutherbourg's innovative yet technically flawed composition.

Brown's picture was joined at Orme's Gallery on 1 January 1795 by a no-less-imposing companion-piece: *Lord Howe on the Deck of the* '*Queen Charlotte*', *1 June 1794*. Together, the two paintings, the first represent-

ing a questionably momentous victory on land, the second an ambiguous triumph at sea, provided gallery-goers with a lesson in the political applications of artistic magnitude. Size alone, it seemed, could be a sufficient means to efface dissenting visions of Britain's martial progress. Undeterred, within two months of Brown's canvas going on display, Loutherbourg presented the public with an equally sublime impression of the British naval victory, painted on a massive scale like Brown's to counter the spread of anti-war feeling. Commissioned by Green and Mechel to capitalize on the success of *The Grand Attack on Valenciennes*, Loutherbourg's painting, entitled *Lord Howe's Action*, *or the Glorious First of June*, joined its companion piece at the Historic Gallery, Pall Mall on 2 March. For this exhibition Loutherbourg, in cahoots with the printmakers, worked tirelessly to promote the paintings as works conceived and directed by the supervening authority of no less a figure than George III. Thus, on 28 February, the *Oracle* advertised 'LOUTHERBOURG'S PICTURES Under the gracious Patronage of His Majesty'—a claim that eclipsed Brown's status as official painter to the Duke of York, and indeed that of the advertisement below in which two competing images of Lord Howe's victory, then on display at Poggi's Room, New Bond Street, were presented as the work of 'Mr. ROBERT CLEVELEY, of the Royal Navy, Principal Marine Painter to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.'[43]

The extent to which Loutherbourg's pictures had won favour with the king, and had thus come to be perceived as royally sanctioned works, is indicated by newspaper reports in March 1796 of a private viewing at Buckingham Palace of *Lord Howe's Action* at which the artist and the printmakers were honoured to be present. The report in the *Sun* noted that the royal family were 'pleased to express the highest approbation of that justly celebrated production'.[44] A few weeks later Loutherbourg and his colleagues were again summoned to the Palace, this time to a showing of *The Grand Attack on Valenciennes* at which the king and his entourage were again pleased to express their approval. Significantly, these viewings coincided with renewed parliamentary calls for a cessation of hostilities with France. In the House of Lords the Earl of Guildford, echoing Fox's address to the Commons, appealed to the house to 'consider the dreadful state to which the Country was reduced by the present ruinous war'. In the course of his critique of the war Guildford singled out for particular attention the government's failure after the victory at Valenciennes to enter into negotiations with France. Speaking in response Lord Grenville 'denied that Ministers deserved any blame for not offering terms, or endeavouring to negotiate after taking Valenciennes' on the grounds that

France had, at that time, no Government or Constitution with which to negotiate. In the end the opposition's motion was defeated by 100 votes to 10.[45] Neither parliament nor the crown, it seemed, was eager to regard Valenciennes or, indeed, the 'glorious' 1st of June as anything other than signal confirmations of the right of the nation to wage war against French republicanism. With the gaze of the king shown to be focussed approvingly on Loutherbourg's painting, the conditions for a favourable emotional response from the public to the war against France were thus secured.

Conclusion

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, Mather Brown's paintings of British victories were not the only pictures on display in Orme's Gallery in January 1795. In William Hodges's pendant paintings, *The Effects of Peace* and *The Consequences of War*, viewers were able to visualise precisely those kinds of horrors that state-sponsored battle paintings sought to deny. When augmented by Gillray's satirical images of royal indulgence and suffering soldiers it was shame that had the potential to emerge as the predominant emotional response to war. Shame, however, was not an emotion that the Duke of York, recently returned from a series of defeats in Flanders and now seeking to defend his reputation, wished to support. More suited to the royal temper were those visions of war that instilled feelings of affection for noble leaders while deflecting attention from scenes of ruin 'not suited to the public tranquillity.' Accordingly, at Orme's Gallery it was Brown's picture, with its focus on York's executive command that won the day. But while Brown's representations of war were generally admired, with due deference paid to their various claims to topographical and historical accuracy, it was Loutherbourg, apparently operating under the guidance of George III, who managed to sustain the interest of the public by keeping his works on display at the Historic Gallery for over three years. Although publication of the prints of *Lord Howe's Action* and *The Grand Attack on Valenciennes* was delayed for some years, the enormous popularity of these large-scale depictions of British victories demonstrate the extent to which emotional responses to war in the 1790s were shaped by the collaborative efforts of painters and print makers, princes and kings.[46]

Notes

1. 'Classified ads,' *Morning Chronicle*, 9 Jan. 1795, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database*, accessed via University of Leicester, 2 October 2014, http://galenet.galegroup.com. For further commentary on Hodges's paintings, see Harriet Guest, *Empire, Barbarism, and Civilisation: James Cook, William Hodges, and the Return to the Pacific* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 169–98, and Philip Shaw, *Suffering and Sentiment in Romantic Military Art* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 107–11.
2. Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, ed. Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre, 16 vols (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978–84), vol. 2, 301–2.
3. Edward Edwards, *Anecdotes of Painters Who Have Resided or Been Born in England* […] (London: Hanford & Sons, 1808), 251.
4. See Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, ed. Ryan Patrick Hanley (London: Penguin, 2009), 168–70 and Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, ed. David Womersley (London: Penguin, 1998), 85–6.
5. See, for example, Joseph Wright's *The Dead Soldier* (1789), discussed in Shaw, *Suffering and Sentiment*, 79–106.
6. This concept is developed by Monique Scheer in 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (And Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion,' *History and Theory* 51 (2012): 193–220.
7. 'News,' *Morning Chronicle*, 3 August 1793, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database*, accessed via University of Leicester, 2 October 2014, http://galenet.galegroup.com.
8. 'News,' *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 1 August 1793, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database*, accessed via University of Leicester, 2 October 2014, http://galenet.galegroup.com.
9. 'Classified ads,' *World* (*1787*), 14 August 1793, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database*, accessed via University of Leicester, 2 October 2014, http://galenet.galegroup.com.
10. 'Classified ads,' *Sun*, 17 September 1793, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database*, accessed via University of Leicester, 2 October 2014, http://galenet.galegroup.com.
11. 'Arts & Entertainment,' *World* (*1787*), 20 September 1793, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database*, accessed via University of Leicester, 2 October 2014, http://galenet.galegroup.com.
12. William Windham to General George Ainslie, Saturday, 10 August 1793; cited in *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, vol. 1, xxii.

13. *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, vol. 1, 9.
14. *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, vol. 1, 37.
15. *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, vol. 1, 38–9.
16. *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, vol. 1, 48.
17. *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, vol. 1, 44.
18. *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, vol. 1, 44.
19. *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, vol. 1, 44.
20. Whereas the sublime draws attention to the emotional impact of a grand, overwhelming object, the picturesque, as Raimonda Modiano has argued, presents 'a dazzling multiplicity of objects which renders attachment to any one of them impossible'. A battlescape conceived in terms of the picturesque thus prevents the viewer from fixating on images of destruction. See Raimonda Modiano, 'The Legacy of the Picturesque: Landscape, Property and the Ruin,' in *The Politics of the Picturesque*: *Literature*, *Landscape and Aesthetics Since 1770*, ed. Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 196–219: 198.
21. 'Classified ads,' *World* (*1787*), [London, England] 1 Aug. 1793, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database*, accessed via University of Leicester, 2 October 2014, http://galenet.galegroup.com.
22. *Prosposals* […] *for publishing by subscription*, *A Print*, *Dedicated*, *by Permission*, *to his Majesty* […] *from the Picture Representing The Grand Attack on Valenciennes* […]. Reproduced in Olivier Lefeuvre, *Philippe-Jacques de Loutherbourg*, *1740–1812* (Paris: Arthena, 2012), 374. See also Anthony Griffiths, 'The Contract for *The Grand Attack on Valenciennes*,' *Print Quarterly* 20 (2003): 374–9.
23. *British Magazine* (May 1800), 1: 467–8. Cited in Nicholas Tracy, *Britannia*'*s Palatte*: *The Arts of Naval Victory* (Québec: McGill's University Press, 2007), 48–9.
24. 'News,' *Morning Post*, 30 August 1793, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database*, accessed via University of Leicester, 2 October 2014, http://galenet.galegroup.com.
25. As Scheer emphasises, 'the habitus […] leaves space for behaviors not entirely and always predictable, which can also instantiate change and resistance rather than preprogrammed reproduction'. 'Are Emotions A Kind of Practice,' 204.
26. Vicesimus Knox, 'On the Folly and Wickedness of War,' in Vicesimus Knox, *Essays Moral and Literary* (London: Charles Dilly, 1785), vol. 2, 74–84. For an account of the incident see the *Morning Post* for 24 August 1793. Popular prejudice against the Officers of the Sussex militia (the '*Malicious* Officers') is recorded in the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* for 26 August. See: 'News,' *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 26 August 1793, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database*,

accessed via University of Leicester, 2 October 2014, http://galenet.galegroup.com. The *World*, taking a loyalist view, argued that 'Mr Knox's discourses 'breathe nothing but the most violent doctrines.' See 'News,' *World* (*1787*), 27 August 1793, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database*, accessed via University of Leicester, 2 October 2014, http://galenet.galegroup.com.

27. For an account of Gillray's involvement in the Valenciennes expedition see Tracy, *Britannia's Palatte*, 48–50. See also Richard Godfrey, *James Gillray: The Art of Caricature* (London: Tate Publishing, 2001), 16–17; 109–11.
28. In 'He would be a Soldier, or the History of John Bulls warlike Expedition,' London, 1 July 1793, George Cruikshank had offered a similarly dire warning of the likely impact of war on ordinary men, women, and children.
29. A selection of Gillray's Flanders sketches are reproduced in Godfrey, *James Gillray*, 110–11.
30. See Godfrey, *James Gillray*, 16–17.
31. The painting, in the collection of Lord Hesketh at Easton Neston, is currently deposited in the Naval and Military Club, London. For discussion of the painting's production, provenance and reception see Lefeuvre, *Philippe-Jacques de Loutherbourg*, 287–89.
32. 'News,' *Oracle and Public Advertiser*, 3 April 1794, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database*, accessed via University of Leicester, 2 October 2014, http://galenet.galegroup.com.
33. 'News,' *Times*, 8 May 1794, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database*, accessed via University of Leicester, 2 October 2014, http://galenet.galegroup.com.
34. Thomas Holcroft, *Memoirs of the Late Thomas Holcroft* (London: Longman, 1816), vol. 3, 10–12 (11). See also Tracy, *Britannia's Palatte*, 49.
35. Holcroft, *Memoirs*, vol. 3, 11. The prospectus defends the compositional focus on York on the grounds that the moment when the British commander gave his final orders to his officers prior to the final assault on the night of 27 July was 'the only one in which so many Illustrious Personages might be assembled, with propriety, on one Spot' and that it 'was also the only Time in which a great Variety of Movements of the different Troops could be introduced'. From *Description of the Picture, Painted by P. J. De Loutherbourg, Esq R. A. Representing the Grand Attack on Valenciennes*. Reproduced in Lefeuvre, *Philippe-Jacques de Loutherbourg*, 374.
36. From *Description of the Picture*. See Lefeuvre, *Philippe-Jacques de Loutherbourg*, 374.
37. *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, vol. 3, 312.

38. *Press Cuttings*, National Library of Art, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. PP.17.G, 3.fol.680. Cited in Lefeuvre, *Philippe-Jacques de Loutherbourg*, 289.
39. Lefeuvre, *Philippe-Jacques de Loutherbourg*, 289.
40. 'Classified ads,' *Morning Post*, 7 August 1793, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database*, accessed via University of Leicester, 2 October 2014, http://galenet.galegroup.com. See also the advertisement in the *World* for a 'Most CAPITAL PLATE, (from a drawing taken on the Spot, by an experienced Engineer) of the Besieging, Storming, and Taking of VALENCIENNES.' The print is said to describe 'His Royal Highness giving his Orders—The Explosion of the Bomb, by which he narrowly escaped […] and the true British courage of the Grenadiers, in mounting the Breach and storming the Town.' See 'Classified ads,' *World* (*1787*), 12 August 1793, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database*, accessed via University of Leicester, 2 October 2014, http://galenet.galegroup.com.
41. For an account of Brown's *The Attack on Famars* see Dorinda Evans, *Mather Brown*: *Early American Artist in England* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1982), 124–6.
42. Peter Harrington, *British Artists and War*: *The Face of Battle in Paintings and Prints*, *1700–1914* (London: Greenhill Books, 1993), 70.
43. 'Classified ads,' *Oracle and Public Advertiser*, 28 February 1795, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database*, accessed via University of Leicester, 2 October 2014, http://galenet.galegroup.com. For detailed discussion of Cleveley's works see Tracy, *Britannia's Palatte*, 72–6.
44. 'News,' *Sun*, 18 March 1796, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database*, accessed via University of Leicester, 2 October 2014, http://galenet.galegroup.com.
45. 'News,' *Evening Mail*, 9 & 11 May 1796, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database*, accessed via University of Leicester, 2 October 2014, http://galenet.galegroup.com.
46. Richard Godfrey notes that Joseph Farington recorded in his diary for 24 September 1797 that the engravers were each paid £1,200, a vast sum that gives an indication of the importance attached to these royally approved representations of war. See Godfrey, *James Gillray*: *The Art of Caricature*, 109.

Conclusions and Perspectives

CHAPTER 14

Battlefield Emotions in Early Modern Europe: Trends, Key Issues and Blind Spots

Dorothee Sturkenboom

'Emotional Turns' in Military History?

In the 1980s when I studied history at a Dutch university, students expressing an interest in military history were rare. The few with such an interest were for the most part boys with a militarist streak who seemed not fully grown up. Today, one can still come across those boys with their one-track fascination for weapons, violence and great generals in history—some of those boys being females or 50-year-old men. No longer, however, are they the only ones interested in the history of warfare. The field has come of age—in more than one sense of the word. While military history and political history have moved in tandem since their beginnings and the 'war and society' approach entered the sub-discipline a couple of decades ago, more recently questions and methodologies from social, cultural and gender history have been introduced into the field.[1] This volume on early modern battlefield emotions is testimony to this latest trend in the 'New Military History'.

D. Sturkenboom
Independent scholar, The Netherlands

© The Author(s) 2016

E. Kuijpers, C. van der Haven (eds.), *Battlefield Emotions 1500–1800*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-56490-0_14

The publication of this volume, moreover, testifies to still another trend—the 'emotional turn' that academic history is said to have taken in the early twenty-first century.[2] Originally developed as part of the *histoire de mentalité* by the French Annales School and for a long time the exclusive field of kindred social and cultural historians, today historical research into 'emotions'[3] has started to pique the interest of other historians as well. Whether one should label this development as yet another historiographical 'turn' is open for discussion.[4] In military history the proclaimed emotional turn is clearly not yet in full swing—the authors in this volume are in majority social and cultural historians, not military historians. We may indeed wonder whether such an emotional turn will ever fully materialise in the history of warfare, despite the work of Yuval Noah Harari who is recognised as one of the most influential military historians today. In that sense *Battlefield Emotions, 1500–1800* is a book at a crossroads: we do not know where military historians will turn from here.[5]

Meanwhile, no reader of *Battlefield Emotions* can have missed the many references to *The Ultimate Experience*, Harari's book of 2008 that postulated an emotional turn in military representations of battlefield experiences in the eighteenth century. Emotions would have been practically absent from medieval and Renaissance martial combat memoirs; instead memoirs offered mostly factual descriptions of battlefield actions, dispassionate in nature even when they were believed to be serving a greater end. Only in the late seventeenth century would military men have begun to discuss their personal feelings. In the long century between 1740 and 1865 they even described their combat experiences increasingly as revelatory transformative moments that profoundly changed their lives and self-perceptions.[6] It is precisely this idea of an emotional turn in the eighteenth century that is questioned, or at the very least put into a broader perspective in this book on early modern battlefield emotions. In the historical landscape of emotional experiences, practices, and imagination sketched by the contributors to this volume, what are the trends or developments to be noticed—if not Harari's 'emotional turn'?

Long-term Trends in Early Modern Battlefield Emotions

Perhaps one of the first long-term trends that draws our attention is the gradual secularisation of soldiers' emotions in the West. Even in early modern wars that were not religiously motivated, Providence had an overbearing presence on the battleground. We learn from Cornelis

van der Haven, Bettina Noak, Marian Füssel and Ilya Berkovich in their chapters on the emotional practices existing in early modern armies that praying rituals served to prepare for combat, and singing hymns helped soldiers to resign themselves to their fate when marching to the field. In the ideal of the *miles christianus*, moreover, the soldier's fear of his supreme commander in Heaven encouraged him to act courageously, Andreas Bähr explains in his chapter on the different kinds of fear and fearlessness in the seventeenth-century wars of religion. Hazardous audacity that led to self-destruction, however, was considered to be godless and thus strongly rejected. Other soldierly feelings were also habitually interpreted in such a religious frame, as Brian Sandberg amply shows in his chapter on French Catholic siege narratives from the early seventeenth century.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, God appears to have lost part of his influence. Soldiers became increasingly motivated by a newly promoted love for the fatherland, they sang (proto-)nationalistic songs next to hymns and derived their courage from other ideals, such as their families at home in need of protection. This trend was further strengthened by the introduction of mass conscription, replacing the largely foreign and itinerant mercenaries of the ancien régime by young citizen-soldiers from one's own country. God certainly did not disappear from the battlefields but in Europe his presence and divine interventions carried less weight than before.

Representations of battlefield emotions in European public media underwent a similar process of gradual secularisation.[7] From the late seventeenth and eighteenth century onwards this process seems to have split into two different directions: on the one hand a trend of rejecting human aggression and ferocious passions in leading theories on art and in the writings of important Enlightenment thinkers, as we saw discussed mainly by Valerie Mainz; and on the other, a further romanticising of martial emotions by a wider audience, as described by Marian Füssel, Philip Shaw and most elaborately by Ian Germani, who argues that revolutionary ideologies of patriotic self-sacrifice fostered an essentially romantic understanding of battlefield emotions at the end of the eighteenth century—an understanding that continued well into the next.[8] This trend has also been characterised as a 'sentimentalising' of warfare in public imagery, linking this development to the unfolding culture of sensibility and sublimity which Harari believed to be at the roots of the revelatory experiences of his military memoirists.

Hand in hand with this trend of romanticising went a further marketing of martial emotions and heroism for the wider public in the eighteenth century. To be sure, the feelings and experiences of the military had moved and appealed to civilians from much earlier on, even in the 'iron' seventeenth century, as we read in the chapters by Sandberg on printed siege narratives and by Lisa De Boer who teases out the emotional layers of Dutch siege maps and genre scenes of soldiers made by the Dutch painter Gerard ter Borch. Siege maps and narratives were mass-printed in myriad formats and they functioned as emotive objects for soldiers and citizens alike. Some siege maps even had a material afterlife on expensive tapestry, stained glassware and silver.

Thanks to the ongoing consumer revolution in Western Europe, however, eighteenth-century businessmen and women could further capitalise on these kind of emotions by bringing an endless stream of war memorabilia on the market, affordable for a broader segment of the population. In his chapter on the Seven Years' War, Füssel tells us how celebratory ribbons, mugs and snuffboxes allowed for a further identification with and romanticising of battles and sieges. Shaw informs us of the 'Valenciennes helmets', fashionable bonnets designed for British women to celebrate the victory of Valenciennes in 1793.

The public's affective responses to warfare and battles were thus far from spontaneous. Politicians and government officials frequently attempted to create an 'emotional ancien régime'[9] in favour of war, and they enlisted the help of artists, art critics, theatre- and print-makers, as Shaw records in his chapter on British military art in the 1790s. In France in the same period, according to Germani, journalists, painters and engravers likewise glamorised and sentimentalised soldiers' war experiences. Both authors, however, underline that such a bellicose emotional ancien régime was not entirely overpowering: its emotional standards did not completely suppress dissident views nor contrary affective experiences raised by the war such as shame, melancholy, anxiety, fear or sympathy for the enemy. The British cartoons displaying anti-war sentiments reproduced in Shaw's contribution remind us that a pacifist tendency to reject war and human suffering was equally present in the public sphere of the time, as is also argued by Mainz.

A last relevant trend to take note of transpired in the historical development of warfare strategies and theories in Europe. There we can observe an increasingly professional approach to the chaos of the battlefield and the emotions of the military, starting with the introduction of a rational drill system by Maurice of Nassau in the late sixteenth century and

eventually leading to the emergence of a military science of the mind in the modern era.[10] In the opening chapter van der Haven suggests that military drill—usually considered as a rationalised performative practice suppressing the individual soldier's emotions—should be recognised as an emotional practice, meant to set an army in motion, not only physically but also emotionally. Sandberg describes how a famous French commander in the early seventeenth century—despite the rise of neo-stoic ideals in French military culture of the time—frequently put his emotions on display, precisely at moments when they would strengthen the exercise of his military command. What we can learn from these chapters is that the Western pursuit of military professionality, rationality and efficiency did not exclude the strategic and performative use of emotions—to the contrary, one might perhaps say. In her chapter on seventeenth-century Dutch art De Boer develops a similar thesis about the emotional appeal of the rational, orderly format of siege maps, emphasising that some early modern emotions may have looked (and possibly felt) different than today's.

For military theorists, meanwhile, it has been very difficult to get a handle on battlefield emotions. During the early modern period many of them consciously neglected this human element in their predominantly prescriptive treatises on scientific warfare, or advocated detachment as superior way to deal with the emotions of warfare. Still, later military theorists developed a renewed interest in battlefield emotions. This was pointed out in the two papers on rationalised warfare around 1800 which, though not included in this volume, were presented by Ben Schoenmaker and Cornelis van der Haven at the international workshop on Battlefield Emotions in Ghent in February 2014. Though still struggling to combine rational analysis and the way emotions manifested themselves on battlegrounds, military thinkers such as Carl von Clausewitz (1780–1831) and Georg Heinrich von Berenhorst (1733–1814) realised that in order to understand what happened during battles, a rational 'science of warfare' could no longer ignore the combatants' psyche.

The Affective Hard Core of Military Culture

Yet, when reading these chapters on early modern battlefield emotions in Europe, an attentive observer might not only perceive these trends but also be struck by the continuities in the military's emotional experiences, standards and practices over the centuries. Even with the radically changing material reality of the battlefield during this period, readers cannot fail

to notice the prolonged presence of particular key emotions and feelings which were imposed, performed, and experienced in European ancien régime armies—such as courage, comradeship, compassion, devotion, calmness, and the desire for honour.

Honour was not only a crucial asset for aristocratic officers who sometimes claimed a monopoly on this quality but also for more ordinary men (and women) who cherished their own notions of honour, as social historians have come to realise over the last decades. This is amplified by Berkovich's argument that fear of losing the respect of one's peers and thus one's honour was an important combat motivation among the common soldiers of the eighteenth century. Towards the end of that century, the age-old emphasis on glory and honour may have been temporarily pushed aside by a new emphasis on patriotic devotion, as Germani suggests in his chapter on the French revolutionary armies, but honour and glory re-emerged as combat motivations after the Thermidor in 1794. Honour and respect still play important roles in modern-day armies. Today's Western psychology and society, however, no longer recognises that the longing for honour is essentially an 'emotion'. Yet, the desire for honour belonged to the early modern category of the 'passions' and its importance as an emotional drive has been uncovered again due to the work of Ute Frevert.[11]

As De Boer argues in her chapter, the same can be said of the 'love of truth' and the feeling state of *tranquillitas*, a stoic calmness of the mind, which nowadays are no longer identified as emotions or feelings but still occupied a place among the 'calmer passions' in psychological treatises of the early modern period. Tranquility, which according to moral philosophers of the time amounted to a great courage of the mind, as van der Haven explains in his chapter, was a critical feeling for any fighter throughout the early modern period. Berkovich's chapter shows that, though usually associated with officers and commanders, tranquility was important as an emotional standard for eighteenth-century infantrymen, who were not allowed to break formation when coming under heavy fire. In the revolutionary period, Germani tells us, the citizen-soldier lived with the expectation (to a large part internalised) that he would not only sacrifice himself for the sake of *la patrie* but do this in an utterly stoic manner as well.

Devotion is another feeling state that does not customarily connote the military. It nonetheless formed a steady presence in the army camps and battles of the early modern period. Its object could range from God to king to family, from beloved commanders to true comrades, from a beleaguered

home town to a precious fatherland, and in some cases it would be named loyalty rather than devotion. The emotional experience itself may have differed when the label and the object differed, but for many a soldier—whether living in the sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth century—devotion was the emotion that kept him going, made him courageous, and helped him through the gruesome experience of the battle or siege. Combat required hard emotional labour, as was explained in the Introduction to this volume. Devotion functioned as an emotional coping strategy, comparable to honour and tranquility, both for officers and the rank and file in early modern armies.

If devotion to the army could lead to courage at crucial moments, it could also lead to compassion for heavily injured comrades-in-arms and even, paradoxically perhaps, to compassion for deadly wounded adversaries. Noak recounts the sixteenth-century story of an elderly soldier who, with one bold cut across the throat, gently helped the incurably wounded to their end when the battle was over and the army surgeon had given up on them—an act of mercy rather than of cruelty. One of the insights we can gain from Noak's chapter on field surgery in the sixteenth and seventeenth century is that boldness and compassion do not exclude each other. Compassion and manly tears became trending topics in eighteenth-century literature and arts, as is also mentioned by Mainz in her chapter on the art of battle painting, but what the above and other stories indicate is that these emotional experiences may have been steady companions to battlefield actions from much earlier on.[12]

Historians should be careful not to ascribe a trans-historical essence to battlefields and be equally wary of projecting trans-historical emotions on to historical actors—after all, the final word is still out on whether emotions are hard-wired in the human brain or not. What the preceding chapters in *Battlefield Emotions* nevertheless suggest is that in Europe in the early modern period—even with the secularising trend mentioned above—changes in military emotional cultures may not have been all that drastic or fundamental: for centuries a small number of soldierly emotions and feelings continued to form the affective hard core of military culture. Armies used 'emotional practices' to grind certain affects into the men's minds and bodies, and thus make them part of their 'emotional habitus'—to borrow a phrase from Monique Scheer and Pierre Bourdieu.[13] The chapter by van der Haven teaches us that this is a fruitful angle for research, worthwhile exploring for other historians who are writing about emotions in the army. This is also true of other concepts from the history of emotions, such as the concept of 'emotional community'.

Emotional Communities in the Army

As brought up in the Introduction, the military living in army camps and garrisons could be seen as 'emotional communities' whose members, following Barbara Rosenwein who coined the phrase, shared the same 'systems of feeling': the men had the same assessments of what was valuable or harmful to them, they evaluated other's emotions in identical ways, their ideas about the nature of affective bonds between people were very much alike, and they had a similar attitude towards modes of emotional expression that were to be expected, encouraged, tolerated or deplored.[14] This observation, however, raises questions about the coherence of these emotional communities to which the research presented in this volume does not offer entirely satisfactory answers.

One question to pursue in the future would concern the social, spatial and possibly emotional gap between the officers and the rank and file in early modern armies. In the previous paragraph I concluded that men in the army basically shared the same ideas about soldierly emotions and performances even when these men were of different background and status. They all valued, for instance, bravery, honour, loyalty, composure, toughness. Yet ideas about appropriate expressions of toughness, to name one example, or notions of whose loss was to be mourned, or what was to be feared, may not have entirely corresponded between the ranks.

Seventeenth-century siege narratives studied by Sandberg suggest that the loss of ordinary soldiers struck officers as less tragic than the loss of noble officers. It is a fair guess, however, that common soldiers would have been more affected by the death of their comrades. Füssel contends that eighteenth-century commanding officers had different perceptions and afterward different memories of the fighting than the lower-ranked soldiers because of their overall spatial distance from the battlefield. We may expect that their assessments of what was harmful or valuable at the battlefield, and the resulting emotions, would also have differed considerably because of this. Still, not all eighteenth-century officers remained at the same distance from the battlefield, as Berkovich explains in his chapter. Officers headed the infantry lines when they marched forward to the enemy and they were exposed to the same hostile fire as their troops. What is more, in that front position officers also ran the risk of being shot by their own men, accidentally or intentionally as a retaliation for previous disciplinary actions taken against them. In consequence, Berkovich argues, ancien régime military discipline in Europe may well have been less brutal than is usually depicted.

Moreover, officers may have feared their subordinates more than subordinates allegedly feared their officers. Class differences, military hierarchy, and the 'politics of emotions' enforced on soldiers in the ranks indisputably affected the social and psychological reality of battles and camp lives, making questions about the coherence of emotional communities in early modern armies all the more pertinent: should we consider an army as essentially one emotional community sharing the same emotional codes and habitus, or did the military form sub-groups with distinct emotional sub-cultures whose intricacies we still have to explore?

Other questions are raised by the observation that early modern army camps in Europe were not only populated by men but also by women. I am not referring here to the female soldiers who dressed, acted and passed for men until exposed (which for some of them may never have happened), but to the wives, washerwomen, *vivandières* and other camp followers.[15] These women were not an official group within the armed forces but they formed a presence nonetheless. How did their involvement bear on the emotional communities of the men? And what about other civilians, for instance the ones who lodged officers in their homes for extended lengths of time, or the ones living and working in the vicinity of guardrooms in garrison cities? Perhaps we should reconsider the assumption that the European military and citizenry formed separate emotional communities. In some early modern settings their worlds may not have been as far apart—spatially, socially, mentally—as is often assumed.

Germani, Füssel and Shaw all describe the increasing affective links between combatants and civilian followers for the eighteenth century. Such links existed in the preceding centuries as well. De Boer argues that siege warfare in the landward provinces of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic favoured a sedentary military lifestyle in garrison cities which 'helped effect a *rapprochement* between the military and the citizenry'. Painter Gerard ter Borch, for instance, was on such intimate terms with the soldiers billeted in his town that he endowed them with the same individual emotional life as ordinary citizens. In that very same period Dutch civilian playwrights engaged with emotional practices in the army, testimony to the civic desire to better understand and get closer to the military, as we learn from van der Haven in his chapter on the similarities between civic poetry and military treatises. Noak furthermore describes how medical case histories stemming from battlefields stimulated the production of medical knowledge about the influence of emotions on a person's healing—knowledge that was subsequently used by physicians to treat the 'motions of the soul' of patients outside the army.

These links do not necessarily make citizens and soldiers into members of one coherent emotional community as defined by Rosenwein, sharing the same appraisals of good and evil, and having the same ideas about emotions, affective bonds, and modes of expression that should be encouraged or rejected. In other places, moreover, the military may not have been integrated into the civic public sphere in a similar way that early on. Nevertheless, the Dutch examples mentioned here caution us not to assume that military emotional communities in Europe were socially isolated from other social networks. If we want to study the armed forces as emotional communities, we should take the manifold exchanges between the men-at-arms and citizens into account.[16]

Blind Spots

Emotional communities and the relationship between the military and citizenry are issues that could be more seriously examined in future research on early modern military emotions, but they were not entirely overlooked in this collection of essays. Still, like every other academic project this book too does have its blind spots and in this final section I should like to address two of them.

One such unmarked issue that is accepted all too easily as something natural not in need of any discussion, is the presence and influence of masculinity as a standard for military emotions.[17] Presumed rather than articulated, the near-absence of the term in this volume is striking. Yet, notions of masculinity clearly played a role in military emotional cultures and military emotional communities, and thus in the experience of battlefield emotions. One does not have to be a historian of gender to see that the stoic warrior, the loyal comrade, the fatherly captain, the chivalric officer, and the virtuous commander were all ideal types of masculinity, and as such emulated by men in the military. Acknowledging this, however, is not enough. We should start analysing how for different groups within the armed forces the rhetoric and vocabulary of masculinity changed over time, and how this influenced their self-perceptions, combat motivations, and experiences as military. In many ways, the notion of military manhood may strike us as rather fixed and therefore self-explanatory, but it was not fixed in all respects. The elements of masculinity that were called upon (or rejected) to construct, perform and identify the military self, varied from context to context.[18]

In a similar way the age-old archetypes mentioned above may have inspired the authors, artists and politicians discussed in this book, but each selected and adjusted the models for his own purposes: thus pious commanders were transformed into brilliant generals, and ordinary foot-soldiers reshaped into patriotic citizen-soldiers. The enemy changed form accordingly. What we have to realise is that the underlying notions of military masculinity were quite different and their deployment to legitimise conflict or consolidate existing power relations—in and outside the army—as diverse. This deserves more serious study than offered in this volume. Masculinity is not merely a biological category but a cultural category as well. Its versatile discourse is relevant for the meanings ascribed to military emotional experiences in the past—by the military itself and by others.[19]

This brings me to a second near-absence in this volume, that is, a discussion of the way in which battles transform men into killers by evoking emotions that in other contexts would be considered abject. In the previous chapters early modern battlefields were mostly conceived as sites which—in reality or in imagination—created heroes and victims, a perspective which tends to highlight courage, comradeship, fear and suffering as the accompanying key emotions. Much less discussed, however, were the more ugly emotions such as hatred, vengefulness, rage, the thirst for blood, the rapture of killing, the greed for riches—needed perhaps for satisfactory combat performances but also leading to the wild chase of fleeing adversaries, the rape of conquered cities, and the mutilation of dead enemies' bodies. Is it our modern, civilised perspective that prevents us from poring over these more aggressive and darker emotions? We know they are not absent from the sources—Sandberg's chapter on siege narratives proves differently and a couple of other authors in *Battlefield Emotions* also touch upon these emotions in the passing when they cite contemporary sources.[20] So far, however, this book has only scraped the surface of those and other morally problematic battlefield emotions.

I believe we still have some serious thinking to do about the implications of what might not be entirely blind spots here but definitely dark spots in need of further illumination. When we as academics are neglecting these darker emotions, are we unconsciously sanitising the experiences of (early modern) battlefields? When we as academics remain inarticulate about the gendering of military experiences, are we consenting to a vague and rather indeterminate notion of manliness as natural standard for the military, in the past as well as the future? The history of warfare has a great potential for historical research into emotions but if we wish to give the field a decisive sweep in this new direction, we should start thinking about these issues.

Notes

1. See e.g. Kevin Linch and Matthew McCormack, 'Defining Soldiers: Britain's Military, c.1740–1815,' *War in History* 20, no.2 (2013): 144–59.
2. Rob Boddice, 'The Affective Turn: Historicising the Emotions,' in *Psychology and History: Interdisciplinary Explorations*, eds Christian Tileagă and Jovan Byford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 147–50. See also the 'AHR Conversation: The Historical Study of Emotions,' *American Historical Review* 117 (2012): 1487–1531 and Jan Plamper, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns,' *History and Theory* 49 (2010): 237–65.
3. In this article I generally use the word 'emotion' in the familiar broad sense of the word, that is, emotion as a catch-all term for all kinds of affective phenomena, not only emotions in the strict psychological sense of the word but also feelings, moods, passions, and sentiments. See for this broader use of the term Nico H. Frijda, *The Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
4. See the 'AHR Forum: Historiographic 'Turns' in Critical Perspective,' *American Historical Review* 117 (2012): 698–813.
5. If it is anything to go by: of the handful of papers presented by young military historians at the conference of the International Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Rotterdam in July 2015, one-third had emotions as topic.
6. Yuval Noah Harari, *Ultimate Experience: Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture, 1450–2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
7. This trend is shown at its clearest when one follows the changes in one particular battlefield story over several centuries as Kati Parppei did in her paper 'Heroic tears: 15th–19th-century Russian narratives of the Battle of Kulikovo (1380),' presented at the international workshop *Battlefield Emotions, 1550–1850*, Ghent University, 13–15 February 2014. On the changing imagery concerning this battle, see Parppei's book, '*The First National Effort*'? *The Battle of Kulikovo Refought* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).
8. Mary A. Favret, *War at a Distance. Romanticism and the Making of Modern Wartime* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).
9. The term was introduced by William M. Reddy in *The Navigation of Feeling. A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 124–30.
10. Catherine Lutz, 'Epistemology of the Bunker: The Brainwashed and Other New Subjects of Permanent War,' in *Inventing the Psychological. Toward a Cultural History of Emotional Life in America*, eds Joel Pfister and Nancy Schnog (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 245–67.
11. Ute Frevert, *Emotions in History—Lost and Found* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011), 40–65, based on her early work

Ehrenmänner. Das Duell in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft (Munich: Beck, 1991).

12. Parppei, 'Heroic Tears'; Stephanie Downes, Andrew Lynch, and Katrina O'Loughlin, 'Introduction—War as Emotion: Cultural Fields of Conflict and Feeling,' in *Emotions and War*: *Medieval to Romantic Literature*, eds Stephanie Downes, Andrew Lynch, and Katrina O'Loughlin (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 14.
13. Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (And Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion,' *History and Theory* 51 (2012): 193–220.
14. Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History,' *The American Historical Review* 107 (2002): 821–845, 842.
15. Rudolf M. Dekker and Lotte C. van de Pol were among the first to draw attention to these female soldiers in their *The Tradition of Female Transvestism in Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989).
16. An example for the modern period is Michael Roper, *The Secret Battle. Emotional Survival in the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), discussing trench and home front together.
17. See for the unmarked cultural status of masculinity in general Todd W. Reeser, *Masculinities in Theory. An Introduction* (Malden and Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 10–15.
18. See e.g. Josephine Hoegaerts, 'Benevolent Fathers and Virile Brothers. Metaphors of Kinship and the Construction of Masculinity and Age in the Nineteenth-Century Belgian Army,' *BMGN—Low Countries Historical Journal* 127 (2012): 72–100.
19. Useful introductions to the subject are offered in Part 1 of *Masculinities in Politics and War. Gendering Modern History*, eds Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 3–58, and also by Stefan Dudink, 'Multipurpose Masculinities. Gender and Power in Low Countries Histories of Masculinity,' *BMGN—Low Countries Historical Journal* 127 (2012): 5–18.
20. See furthermore examples mentioned by Downes, Lynch, and O'Loughlin, 'Introduction,' 2, 6–7.

Index

A
Abbt, Thomas, 163
On Merit, 163
Abel. *See* Bible
Académie Royale. *See* French Academy
actor, 15, 36, 151, 155, 158, 165, 234, 277
Adams, Ann Jensen, 217
Adolphus, Gustavus II, 49–53, 60–1
Aesculapius, 79
aesthetics, 15, 29, 162, 199, 201–3, 213, 237–8, 255
affectus, 52. *See also* emotions
affectus animi, 82
Age of Sensibility, 202
agony. *See* emotions
Ainslie, George (General), 253
Aix en Provence, 50
Alberti, Leon Battista, 230
alcohol, 103, 151–2
allegory, 42, 161, 180–1, 197
allocution. *See* military speech
Alpers, Svetlana, 211
Alps, 96, 182
Panixer pass, 96
American War of Independence, 98
amphitheatre. *See* theatre
Amsterdam, 34, 42, 219
anatomy, 78, 80, 210, 238
Ancell, Simon, 104
ancien régime, 149, 160, 230, 273
anger. *See* emotions
Anhalt-Bernburg, 97
Anhalt-Dessau, 162
Annales School, 272
Antiquity, 114, 119–20, 164, 234, 241–2
Antwerp, 217
anxiety. *See* emotions
apocalypse, 58
apotropaic. *See* magic
architecture, 250
Arcola, 177. *See also* Battle of Arcola
Ardkinglass, James Campbell of, 155, 158
Memoirs, 155

© The Author(s) 2016

E. Kuijpers, C. van der Haven (eds.), *Battlefield Emotions 1500–1800*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-56490-0

aristocracy, aristocratic, 26–7, 29, 134, 160, 214, 216, 276
Aristotle, 35
ars moriendi, 55
art. *See also* literature
  battle painting, 15–16, 231–2, 235–40, 242, 258, 263, 277
  drawing, 55, 80, 219, 232, 241, 253
  engraving, etching, 15, 29, 51–2, 158–9, 174, 178, 199, 214, 237–8, 253–4 (*see also* print)
  frontispiece, 238
  gobelins, 234
  hierarchy of genres, 210
  history painting, 231, 235–7, 239–40, 242
  landscape painting, 211, 235, 238
  painting, 14, 16, 158, 174, 178, 198–9, 201–3, 207, 210–11, 213–14, 219–20, 222–3, 229–8, 242, 250–1, 254, 256, 259–63 (*see also* painter)
  portrait painting, 136, 161, 184, 203, 211–12, 217, 222, 231, 240, 254, 256, 258, 261
  print, 6, 16, 34, 117–18, 128–9, 131–3, 161, 174, 178, 180, 198, 202, 209, 213–14, 233, 250, 252–4, 257, 259–61, 263, 274
  sculpture, 234, 237 (*see also* sculptor)
  seascape painting, 220
  siege map, 198, 203, 209, 213–15, 217–18, 222–3, 225n18, 274–5
  still-life, 211
artefact, 156, 161
artillery, 58, 94, 98, 100, 102, 120, 129–31, 150, 152, 183, 276. *See also* weapon
Astley, Philip, 252
astrology, 49–50
astronomy, 78, 83
atheism, 55
Atlantic, the, 117
attachment. *See* emotions
audacity, 52, 56, 58, 60, 115, 130, 273. *See also* emotions
  audax, 52
audience, 6, 14–15, 35–6, 114, 131, 135, 199–201, 203, 210, 218–19, 273
Augsburg, 161
Austrian War of Succession, 149
authorship, 132–3, 142, 147n54
autobiography, 10, 59, 155, 158

B
baroque, 234
Barrau, Rose 'Liberty'. *See* heroine, female warrior
Barthélemy, Louis Joseph Schérer (General), 184
battle cry, 103, 120, 150–1
battle narrative, 152
Battle of
  Arcola, 177–8
  Boulou, 239
  Camden, 98
  Culloden, 104
  Fontenoy, 5, 257
  Großjägersdorf, 155
  Hochkirch, 154
  Hondschoote, 184, 186
  Jemappes, 182
  Leuthen, 97, 154, 159, 165
  Liegnitz, 97, 156
  Lobositz, 17, 100, 103, 152–3, 161–3, 200
  Long Island, 103
  Lützen, 49, 51
  Minden, 95, 155, 157, 163
  Monongahela, 102

Perpignan, 238
Prague, 103
Quebec, 101
Rhode Island, 98
Rossbach, 165
Saint Foy, 102
Saint Gotthard-Mogersdorf, 59
Valmy, 188
Vienna (*see* Siege of Vienna)
Zorndorf, 103, 154, 159, 163
Belgium, 183–4
Belgrade, recapture of, 53
Berthier, Louis Alexandre (General), 177
Bible, 55, 72, 79, 85, 103
Abel, 79, 85
Bingham, John, 32
Binn, Nicholas, 104
Bishop, Matthew, 100–1
Blannnig, Tim, 95, 173
body, 7, 9, 17, 25–9, 31–2, 34–6, 39, 41, 55, 57, 73–8, 80, 82–5, 94, 114, 121, 128, 131, 135, 151, 153, 156–7, 164, 188, 197–9, 201–3, 207, 213, 217, 230–1, 233–4, 237–8, 250, 254, 277, 281. *See also* muscular bonding
corps docile, 26, 27
embodiment, 7, 12–13, 41, 137, 164
physicality, 3, 7–8, 26, 28–9, 73–5, 82, 94, 121, 152, 158, 161, 186, 197, 230, 250
Bohemia, 161
Bolotow, Andrej, 155, 157
B(u)onaparte. *See* Napoleon Bonaparte
Borch, Gerard ter, 202, 207, 209, 213, 219–23, 274, 279
Man on Horseback, 202, 209, 213, 223
Officer Writing a Letter, 220
Boulou. *See* Battle of Boulou
Bourdieu, Pierre, 155, 277
biographical illusion, 155
Boydell, John, 253–4
Bräker, Ulrich, 13, 17, 103, 152–5, 157, 163
bravery. *See* emotions
Brighton, 256
Brighton Theatre, 256
British Magazine. *See* newspaper
British Museum, 259
broadsheet, newsprint, 159, 161, 217
Broomhall, Susan, 134
Browne, Maximilian Ulysses, 162–3
Brown, Mather, 261–3
Brun, Charles le, 210, 231, 234
Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. *See* Ferdinand, Duke of
Buckingham, 259, 262
Bull, John, 257
Burgoyne, John (General), 98
Burke, Edmund, 201, 203, 235, 250
Philosophical Inquiry, 201

C

calmness. *See* emotions
Calvinism, 120, 128, 134–6, 141
Camden. *See* Battle of Camden
Canada, 100
captain. *See* military ranks
Captain Cholmley, Robert, 102
Captain St. Arbin, story of, 77
Carcassonne, 238
carnets de route, 174, 181
Cartesian automaton, 31
Casanova, François, 232, 235
casualties, 14, 51, 53, 71, 94, 104, 129–30, 135, 138, 140–1, 150, 152, 174, 177, 232, 237. *See also* death
catharsis, 35
Catholicism, 52, 55, 59–60, 117, 128, 130, 134–9, 141–2, 273

cavalry, 95, 97, 138, 180, 184, 186, 207, 212, 214. *See also* military ranks
cavalryman, 207, 219, 223, 235
Celsus, Cornelius, 79–80
chamber of rhetoric (Amsterdam), 34
Champagne (region), 139
Charing Cross, 252
Charron, Pierre, 31–2
De la Sagesse, 31
Château de Choisy, 232
chevalier. *See* military ranks
Christ, 7, 51, 85
Christian soldier. *See* miles christianus
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, 61
citizenship, 3–4, 9, 15–16, 40, 57, 60–1, 173–4, 177, 179, 187, 198, 202–3, 209, 213, 218, 273–4, 276, 279–81
Clements, William, 100
close-up (painting), 213, 219, 222, 261
Cochin, Charles-Nicolas, 232
combat, fighting, 4, 15, 29, 31, 53, 80, 98, 100–1, 103, 130–1, 157, 177, 179, 216, 231, 239, 256, 272, 277
combativeness. *See* emotions
comic. *See* humour
commander. *See* military ranks
commands, 6, 11, 25–35, 39–40, 42–4, 45n13, 57, 61, 82, 95–6, 98, 100, 102, 120, 128, 136–8, 140, 142, 150, 152–3, 157–8, 176, 182, 231, 237, 239, 251, 263, 275
commemoration of war, 151
commerce, 150
commercial, 174, 238, 255, 259–60
Committee of Public Instruction, 180
Commonwealth, 59
community. *See* emotional community
companion. *See* comradeship
compassion. *See* emotions
comradeship, 3, 7, 9, 29, 32–3, 36, 43, 53, 59, 95, 99–102, 135, 137, 139, 152, 156, 182–4, 186–7, 253, 276–8, 280
concentration. *See* emotions
confidence. *See* emotions
confusion, 34, 54, 141, 161, 185–6, 200
conscience, 32, 56–8
consciousness, 7, 13, 251
conscription, 4, 173, 273
consumer revolution, 150, 165, 199, 274
contemplation. *See* emotions
Coornhert, Dirck Volckertsz, 82
Zedekunst dat is Wellevenskunste, 82
Copernicus, Nicolaas, 83
Cornwallis, 98
corporal. *See* military ranks
coup of 18 Fructidor, the, 178
courage. *See* emotions
Courrier de Strasbourg. *See* newspaper
Courrier universel. *See* newspaper
Courtois, Jacques, 233
coward, 95, 98–9, 101, 104
cowardice. *See* emotions
Cozette, Charles, 232
Crouzet, Denis, 130
Culloden. *See* Battle of Culloden
Custine, Adam Philippe, Comte de (General), 251

D

Danube, 53
David, Jacques Louis, 16, 218, 222, 239–42
Les Sabines, 16, 240, 242
Marat à son dernier soupir, 240
Deane, John Marshall, 100
death, 3, 13, 51, 54–7, 60–1, 77, 82–3, 100, 104, 130, 135, 139,

152, 157, 174, 176, 183, 238, 240, 278. *See also* casualties
mors improvisa, 57
de Bassompierre, François, 130
debauchery, 118
de Billon, Jean, 28–9, 32
Les Principes de l'Art Militaire, 28
de Caylus, Comte. *See* Guillain, Simon
de Chambray, Frerart, 210
dedication. *See* emotions
de Gheyn, Jacques II, 25–6, 29–31, 214, 225n18
de-humanization, 202
de Loutherbourg, Philippe-Jacques, 15–16, 203, 235, 237, 249, 251, 254–6, 258–63
The Grand Attack on Valenciennes, 203, 251, 259, 261–2
Lord Howe on the Deck of the 'Queen Charlotte,' 1 June 1794, 261
Une bataille, 235
Delrio, Martin Anton, 84
Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex, 84
de Luynes, Monsieur le Connétable, 140
de Maine, Louis, 134–6, 142
de Marigny, Marquis. *See* de Vandières, Abel-François Poisson
demon, 50, 61
demonic, 55
de Monluc, Blaise, 131
de Montaigne, Michel, 54
de Montcalm, Louis-Joseph, Marquis, 98
Den Bosch. *See* Siege of Den Bosch
de Neufchâteau, François, 229–30
de Paillez, Baron, 135
de Pontis, Louis, 134, 138–42
de Portes, Antoine Hercule de Budos, Marquis, 138
Descartes, René, 234
de Schomberg, Maréchal, 140
desertion, 54, 153, 188
Deshays, Jean-Baptiste, 238
despair. *See* emotions
de Vandières, Abel-François Poisson, 232
Deventer (Northern Netherlands), 219
devil, 57, 118, 182. *See also* demon
devotion. *See* emotions
Diderot, Denis, 15–16, 230, 233, 235–7
Encyclopédie, 233
Peintre de batailles, 233
Diefendorf, Barbara, 130
Digby, Kenelm, 84
discipline. *See* military discipline
discourage. *See* emotions
discourse, 8, 27–8, 97, 114, 134, 150, 174, 177, 187, 199–200, 251, 258, 281
disease, 75–6, 254
disgust. *See* emotions
dishonour. *See* emotions
dissatisfaction. *See* emotions
divine, 11, 55, 58, 103–4, 129, 135, 164, 273. *See also* God; providence, divine
Döhla, Johann Conrad, 98
Dominicus, Johann Jacob, 103, 156
Dorlan, France, 77
doubt. *See* emotions
drama. *See* theatre
drawing. *See* art
Dresden. *See* Siege of Dresden
drill, 4, 6–8, 25–9, 31, 33–5, 39, 42–4, 120, 218, 274–5. *See also* military discipline
Dubica, fortress of, 103
Dublin, 100
Duffy, Christopher, 10, 96
Dugommier, Jacques François (General), 239

du Praissac, 39
Discours militaires, 39
Dutch Republic, the, 8, 25, 40, 179–80, 184, 189, 208–9, 212–13, 218–19, 221, 279
Dutch Revolt. *See* Eighty Years' War
Dutch States Army, 28, 38–40, 212

E

Edwards, Edward, 249
ego-documents, 13, 155–8, 163
diary, 52–3, 61, 115, 133, 155–6, 158, 200, 219, 249, 252
journal, 6, 97, 132–3, 158
letter-writing, 219
livres de raison, 133
memoir, 3, 6, 10–13, 97, 132–4, 136, 138, 141, 147, 174, 177, 181, 183, 198, 202, 208–9, 212, 219, 222, 272, n. 54
personal (siege) narrative, 128, 133–4, 141–2
soldierly writings, 11, 13, 97, 101, 134, 151, 174, 177, 184, 188
Eighty Years' War, 25, 40
Einbeck, Germany, 53
emblem, 115, 160
embodiment. *See* body
emotional community, 6, 9, 15, 117, 154, 203, 213, 217–18
emotional habitus, 7, 16, 250, 251, 256, 277
emotional practice, 6–9, 12, 27, 29, 32, 34–6, 43–4, 73, 117, 120–1, 150–1, 162, 164, 273, 275, 277, 279
emotional regime, 4, 11, 16, 52, 150–1, 175, 177, 180, 187, 194, 201, 274
emotional suffering, 83, 175, 184, 187
emotional turn, 272
emotions
affectus, 52
agony, 3, 17, 85, 198
anger, 55, 75, 132, 136–7, 230, 234
anxiety, 52–3, 55, 57–60, 114, 117–21, 183, 221, 251, 274
attachment, 26, 114, 121
audacity, 52, 56, 58, 60, 115, 130, 273
braveness, 8–9, 29, 36–7, 49–51, 54–6, 59–60, 95, 100, 102, 104, 120, 131, 139, 157, 176, 233, 256, 278
calmness, 31–2, 42–4, 180, 197, 200, 204, 217–18, 220, 234, 237, 276
combativeness, 35, 114, 119
compassion, 7, 71–2, 82, 84, 121, 164, 232, 276–7
concentration, 31, 33, 35, 261
confidence, 8, 28–9, 33, 43, 98, 141, 211, 260
contemplation, 8, 37–8
courage, 4, 8, 11–12, 14, 26, 29, 31–2, 34–40, 43, 53–4, 56–7, 72, 99, 101–2, 104, 114, 117, 120, 127, 131–2, 137, 141, 152, 154, 180, 182, 184–5, 187, 199, 233, 273, 276–7, 281
cowardice, 14, 52, 56, 58, 60, 113, 115, 117, 119, 176, 187
dedication, 28, 35
despair, 7, 16, 36, 39, 82, 240
devotion, 8, 31, 34, 38, 40, 43–4, 176, 182, 276–7
discourage, 175–6
disgust, 12, 17, 132, 164
dishonour, 9, 102, 105
dissatisfaction, 258
doubt, 60, 78, 83, 119, 182, 189, 200
enthusiasm, 35, 42, 182, 184, 242, 250, 252, 260

faithfulness, 39
fatalism, 104
fear, 3–9, 11–12, 14–15, 17, 26, 29, 33, 35, 42, 49, 51–61, 75–7, 82, 85, 93, 95–6, 99, 102–5, 114–15, 117–18, 127, 130–2, 137, 151–4, 157, 162–3, 184, 187, 199, 221, 230, 234–5, 237, 242, 273–4, 276, 281
fearlessness, 9, 11, 52–4, 56–7, 59–61, 113–14, 118, 273
fidelity, 39, 199
fury, 28, 129, 137, 199, 230–1, 234–5
gratitude, 60, 199
grief, 12, 16, 75, 183, 240
happiness, 36, 104, 157, 177, 232
hatred, 35–6, 176, 281
honour, 7, 9, 11, 13–14, 26–7, 54, 57, 93, 95, 97–9, 102, 104–5, 119, 128, 131, 133, 137, 139–42, 174, 176, 178, 187, 253, 276–8
horror, 15–16, 61, 71, 129, 240
impenitence, 57
indifference, 251–3
joy, 82, 134, 154, 182, 252
love, 4, 9, 11–14, 37, 54, 56, 78, 138, 175–6, 188, 198, 220, 223, 273, 276
loyalty, 7, 39, 114, 128, 134–6, 142, 175, 277–8, 280
melancholy, 8, 76–7, 88n27, 117, 155, 251, 274
morale, 4, 14, 98, 103
obedience, 6, 8, 28–9, 32, 34, 85
outrage, 56, 132, 136–7
passion, 34, 36, 72, 75–7, 82, 84, 120, 130, 199, 201, 210, 212, 217, 230, 233–6, 242, 273, 276
passivity, 31, 102
pathos, 150, 164
pride, 4, 7, 11, 13–14, 29, 99
revenge, 35–7, 154
sadness, 132, 134, 136–7
satisfaction, 183
sensibility, 4, 14, 25, 187, 210, 235, 273
sentiment, 16, 155, 174, 177, 180, 182–4, 187, 200, 204, 250–1, 259, 274
shame, 3, 14, 50, 95, 99–100, 102, 105, 127, 130, 137, 263, 274
sympathy, 83–4, 132, 178, 187, 222, 274
terror, 14, 53–4, 56–61, 76–7, 85, 132, 154, 186–7, 201, 203–4
timidness, 32, 49, 56, 59, 217
togetherness (feeling of), 28, 32–3, 35 (*see also* muscular bonding)
toughness, 95, 131, 278
tranquillity, 8, 16, 31–2, 43, 120, 180, 197–201, 217, 222–3, 250, 263, 276–7
vanity, 56, 238
vengefulness, 36, 281
vigour, 129
enemy, 5, 8, 28–9, 35–8, 40, 45n13, 53–9, 61, 77, 94–100, 102–4, 113, 115, 117–18, 120, 130–2, 135, 137, 151–2, 154, 156, 159–60, 162–3, 173, 176, 178, 180–9, 232, 239–40, 274, 278, 281
England, 100, 235, 240
engraving. *See* art
Enlightenment, 5, 230, 273
enthusiasm. *See* emotions
epistemology, 282n10
epistemological, 198, 203
Ernst Casimir I of Nassau-Dietz, 39
etching. *See* art
ethos, 103, 119, 136, 176
exemplum, 26, 35, 40

eye-witness, 13, 187, 198, 200–1, 209–12, 217, 222–3, 233, 237. *See also* flesh-witness

F

faithfulness. *See* emotions
Falcone, Aniello, 231
Famars (France), 251
fantasy, 76. *See also* imagination
Farington, Joseph, 249, 252–4, 260–1
fatalism. *See* emotions
fate, 50, 58, 60, 104, 117, 149, 156, 177, 272
fatherland, 9, 12, 14, 37–8, 40, 57, 83, 149, 273, 277. *See also* homeland; motherland
  la patrie, 13, 174, 276
Favre, Jean Baptiste, 183
fear. *See* emotions
fearlessness. *See* emotions
Febris Hungarica. *See* illness, soldiers' illness
Félibien, André, 230
female, 184, 220, 252, 279
  feminisation, 221
Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick–Wolfenbütte, 150
fidelity. *See* emotions
field-marshal. *See* military ranks
field-surgeon. *See* military ranks
fierceness, 14, 84, 157, 183, 189. *See also* furiousness; fury
Flanders, 101, 115, 251, 256, 259, 263. *See also* Low Countries
flesh-witness, 13, 209–12, 222–3. *See also* eye-witness
Flohr, Georg Daniel, 102
Fludd, Robert, 84
foe. *See* enemy
Fontenoy, 5, 104, 257. *See also* Battle of Fontenoy
formation. *See* troop formation
Forrest, Alan, 182
Foucault, Michel, 26, 114
France, 15, 98, 115, 121, 128–9, 134, 136, 138, 140, 197, 229–32, 238, 240, 242, 250–1, 260, 262, 274
François, Capitaine, 177
frankness, 183
Fraser Highlanders, 101
freedom, 5, 184
French Academy, 210, 230, 232–5
Professeurs, 230
French Revolution, 13, 105, 173–8, 184, 187–9, 201, 230, 238, 240
  Revolutionary Committee of Public Safety, 197
  revolutionary Tribunal, 186
  revolutionary wars, 105, 173, 198
  Révolutions de Paris, 180
  Thermidor, 276
Frevert, Ute, 149, 276
Friedmeyer, Damian, 104
furiousness, 129, 230, 231
fury, 28, 199, 230, 234, 235. *See also* emotions

G

Galen, Claudius, 73–4
Gamelin, Jacques, 232, 238–9, 242
Garrison, 5, 99, 103, 115, 140, 213, 218–19, 222, 251, 278, 279
Garzoni, Thomas, 82
Geertruidenberg. *See* Siege of Geertruidenberg
Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott, 163
genealogy, family history, 133
general. *See* military ranks
George III of England, 259, 262–3
gesture, 29, 202, 234, 238, 240, 242
Gibraltar, 101, 104, 110. *See also* Siege of Gibraltar
Gillray, James, 256–7, 259, 263

Girardon, Pierre, 183
Girault, René-Philippe, 183
Glafey, Adam Friedrich, 50–1, 60–1
Gleim, Johann Wilhelm Ludwig, 162–3
Grenadierlieder, 162
glory, 13, 16, 98, 128, 131, 139, 174, 176, 178, 229, 237, 254–6, 276
God, 8, 31, 33, 50–1, 54–61, 72–3, 78, 83–5, 104, 115, 117–19, 121, 130–1, 135, 137, 139, 141, 149, 154, 156, 163, 241, 256, 273, 276
deus absconditus, 58
godlessness, 53, 56, 117, 273
Goya, Francisco, 238
Granada, 119
gratitude. *See* emotions
Great, Alexander the, 74, 96, 234
Greece, 32–5, 37–8, 80, 114, 234, 240, 242
Greengrass, Mark, 134
Green, Valentine, 254
grenadier. *See* military ranks
grief. *See* emotions
Groenlo. *See* Siege of Groenlo
Groningen. *See* Siege of Groningen
Großjägersdorf. *See* Battle of Großjägersdorf
Grotehenn, Johann Heinrich Ludewig, 156
Grotius, Hugo, 61
Guardsman. *See* military ranks
Guildford, George August North, 3rd Earl of, 262
Guillain, Simon, 233

H

Haarlem, 219
habitus. *See* emotional habitus
Habsburg, house of, 55
Hagendorf, Peter, 53
The Hague, 219
Haime, John, 100
Hals, Dirck, 220
Hamburg, 161–2
happiness. *See* emotions
harangue. *See* military speech
Harari, Yuval Noah, 10–12, 31, 72, 133–4, 139, 142, 188, 209–13, 217, 219, 222, 272–3
Harrington, Peter, 261
hatred. *See* emotions
healing, 72–3, 76–80, 121, 279, 824
health, 6, 73–4, 76, 121, 240
heaven, 54, 57, 104, 153, 200–1
Helgerson, Richard, 221
hell, 5, 57
Hercules, 40, 180
hero, 4, 14, 16, 26, 35, 38, 51, 73, 80, 104, 153, 162, 163, 176–8, 180, 232–5, 239, 241–2, 250, 256, 260, 281. *See also* heroine, female warrior
Herodotus, 77–8
heroine, female warrior, 188. *See also* hero
heroism, 4, 7–11, 14, 25–6, 29, 41, 133, 136, 138, 140, 149, 174, 178–80, 182, 184, 186–8, 231, 251, 274
Heyns, Zacharias, 39
Hill, Aaron, 235
Hippocrates, 73–4, 79–80
historian, 6, 10, 134, 139, 173, 175, 202, 272, 276–7
historiography, 158, 199, 210
cultural history, 271–2
history of emotions, 6, 10, 52, 128, 134, 165, 217, 277
military history, 6, 52, 93, 127, 153, 271–2, 281
'New Military History', 271

political history, 271
social history, 271–2
Hochkirch, 96. *See also* Battle of Hochkirch
Hodges, William, 249–50, 263
Hoefnagel, Joris, 115
Holcroft, Thomas, 260
Holland, province of, 25, 214, 219
Holy Roman Empire (of the German Nation), 50
homeland, 51, 176–7, 189. *See also* fatherland; motherland
Homer, 73, 79
Iliad, 73
Hondschoote, 184–6. *See also* Battle of Hondschoote
honour. *See* emotions
Hooft, Pieter Corneliszoon, 26, 34–6, 38, 40
Horace, 235
horror. *See* emotions
horse, 11, 17, 39, 41–2, 44, 71, 150, 178, 184, 219, 231, 235
chariot, 42
horseman, 41–2
hospital, 100
Houchard, Jean Nicolas (General), 186
Huguenots, 128, 134–7, 140–1
humanism, 50, 79, 113–14, 117
humanity, 61, 232
humour, 114–15, 117–20, 252. *See also* jest; joke
humours, theory of the four, 73–7
Hungarian fever. *See* illness
Hungary, 58
hymn, 154. *See also* song

I

ideology, 13, 151, 174–5, 201, 239
illness, 58, 74, 767
sickness, 82, 84, 100
soldiers' illness, 58
imagination, 3, 6, 14–16, 58–9, 71, 73–4, 76–8, 84, 115, 138, 156, 174, 203, 251, 272, 281. *See also* fantasy
Imperial Rome. *See* Roman Empire
Indians, 102
indifference. *See* emotions
individualisation, individualism, 29
individuality, 207, 219
infantry men. *See* military ranks
injury. *See* wound
injustice, 56, 60, 178
Institut National de France, 239
intermediality, 158
intertextuality, 158
Iserlohn, 158
Israel, Jonathan, 218
Italy, 177
ius in bello. *See* justice

J

Jacobite, Jacobins, 104, 239–40
Jäger, Georg Beß, 102, 104
Jemappes. *See* Battle of Jemappes
Jerusalem, 129
jest, 114–15. *See also* humour
jestbook, 117–19, 121
Johnson, John, 98
joke, 113–14, 118–21. *See also* humour; jest
Jourdan, Jean-Baptiste (General), 177, 186
journal. *See* ego-documents
journalism, 16, 251
joy. *See* emotions
justice, 176
ius in bello, 57

K

Kettering, Alison, 219, 221
Kircher, Athanasius, 50, 84

Klöden, Karl Friedrich, 101
Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlob, 161–2
Klopstock, Meta, 161
knowledge
  knowledge of anatomy, 79–80 (*see also* anatomy)
  medical knowledge, 72, 74–5, 78–9, 84, 121, 279 (*see also* medicine)
  military knowledge, 6, 25, 54, 79, 84, 128, 275
Knox, Vicesimus, 256
Kunersdorf, 104
Kunzle, David, 218, 222
Küster, Carl Daniel, 154, 163

L

Lamb, Roger, 98, 100, 104
Landau, 180
Languedoc, 138
Languedoc, governor of. *See* Montmorency, house of
laughter, 113–14, 137. *See also* humour
law, 57, 61, 218, 239. *See also* justice
Lecouvreur, Adrienne, 235
Lefeuvre, Olivier, 259
Leipzig, 50
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim, 163–4
letter, 12, 97, 104, 132, 155, 158, 161–3, 174, 177–8, 181–3, 188, 198, 200, 202, 208, 214, 219–23, 253. *See also* ego-documents
Leuthen. *See* Battle of Leuthen
levée en masse. *See* conscription
Levesque, Pierre-Charles, 237
Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 158
liberty, 52, 174, 181–2. *See also* freedom
Liege, 102
Liegnitz. *See* Battle of Liegnitz
lieutenant. *See* military ranks
lieutenant-colonel. *See* military ranks
Linck, Barthel, 103
Linn, Edward, 104
Lipsius, Justus, 54
literacy, 198
literature
  laudatory poetry, 34, 39
  novel, 208
  poetry, 8, 26–7, 34, 38–44, 150, 158, 162–3, 199, 208, 210, 236, 279
liveliness, 75, 82, 102, 129, 178
livres de raison. *See* ego-documents
Livy, Titus, 240
Lobositz. *See* Battle of Lobositz
Löffler, Johann Friedrich, 103
London, 235, 249, 259
Long Island. *See* Battle of Long Island
Lord Grenville, 262
Louis XIII, 134, 137, 139
Louis XIV, 139, 231
Louis XVI, 99
Louvain, 113
Louvre, Musée du, 211, 240–1
love. *See* emotions
Low Countries, 211–12. *See also* Dutch Republic, the; Flanders
Lowositz. *See* Battle of Lobositz
loyalty. *See* emotions
Lunel. *See* Siege of Lunel
Lutheranism, 56
Luther, Martin, 56, 83
Lützen, 51, 61. *See also* Battle of Lützen
Lynn, John, 94, 152, 175

M

Machiavelli, Niccolò, 27–9, 33, 43, 57
magic, 8, 49–50, 52, 55–6, 58, 60–1, 83
  apotropaic, 49–50, 55

Mainz, 15, 199, 273–4, 277
major. *See* military ranks
Marceau, François-Severin (General), 177–8
Marchant, Nathaniel, 253
Mars, 50
Marshall, S.L.A., 102
masculinity, 4, 9, 11, 95, 199, 212, 280–1
material culture, 6, 151
Maurin, Pierre, 238
Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor, 50, 83
McBane, Donald, 102
McNeill, William H., 25, 33, 43
media revolution, 150, 164, 199. *See also* newspaper; public media
medicine, 58, 72–4, 76–9, 83–5, 88n27, 121, 137, 279. *See also* surgeon; wound
  doctor, 52, 58, 72–4, 76–7, 79–80, 83–4, 141
  medical science, 72–3, 76, 78–9
  medical treatment, 55, 72, 74, 76–7, 79–80, 82–4, 137
melancholy. *See* emotions
Melville, Andrew, 59
memoir. *See* ego-documents
memory, 4, 7, 51, 79, 97, 114, 134, 150, 153–4, 156, 158, 199, 229, 278
Mengering, Arnold, 56–8
messenger. *See* military ranks
mestre de camp. *See* military ranks
metaphor, 41, 44, 74, 79, 99, 103
Middle Ages, 272
miles christianus, 57, 273
military discipline, 4–5, 9, 26, 28–9, 32, 95, 99, 103, 115, 118, 176, 184, 217–18, 278. *See also* drill
military hierarchy, 9, 210–11, 230, 279
military leadership, 26, 34–5, 38, 40–1, 134, 174, 178
military ranks
  captain, 25, 135–6, 138, 176, 238, 280
  chevalier, 53, 59
  commander, 5, 25–7, 29–32, 34, 38–40, 42, 44, 52, 54, 57, 60, 98, 115, 117–18, 121, 130, 132–3, 136–8, 150, 153, 200, 214, 259, 273, 275–6, 280–1
  corporal, 104
  field marshal, 162
  field-surgeon, 8, 71–80, 82, 84–5, 120–1, 179, 277
  general, 6, 10, 15, 25, 35–6, 38–44, 55, 79, 98–100, 140, 154, 160, 164, 174, 177–8, 184, 197, 198, 204, 213, 222, 237, 239, 242, 251, 260, 271, 281
  grenadier, 162, 184
  guardsman, 98, 100
  infantry men, 32, 94–7, 102, 129–30, 134, 138–9, 184, 186, 257, 278
  lieutenant, 157
  lieutenant-colonel, 59
  major, 96
  messenger, 161, 220
  mestre de camp, 140–1
  non-commissioned officer, 96–7, 99
  officer, 9, 13, 29, 39, 52, 54–5, 95–7, 99, 102, 105, 117, 127–42, 155–6, 162–4, 176, 183, 203, 219–20, 237, 239, 256, 260, 276–80
  sergeant, 98, 101, 104, 162
  sergeant-major, 99
military regiment, 9, 96–7, 100–3, 135–6, 141, 152, 184, 185
military report, 53, 60, 120, 132–3, 156, 158, 161, 177–9, 184, 198–9
military speech, 27, 36
  allocutio, 8, 25, 27, 34–5, 39, 43–4

harangue, 27, 36, 44n6
military strategy, 15, 26, 28, 34, 118
military theory, 4, 6, 8, 32, 39, 52–4, 59, 275
military treatise, 25–9, 31–2, 35–6, 59, 72, 82, 113–14, 121, 163, 203, 208, 210, 212, 234, 236, 275–6, 279
Miller, James, 98
mimesis, 199–201
mind, 4–8, 10, 15, 26–9, 31–2, 35–7, 40, 43, 53, 57, 61, 73–6, 78, 82, 85, 95, 120, 153, 155, 162–3, 187, 200, 209, 211, 213, 217, 250, 275–7, 279
Minden. *See* Battle of Minden
Ministry of War, 233
modernity, 149
monarchy, 149
Monheur. *See* Siege of Monheur
Monongahela. *See* Battle of Monongahela
Montauban, 140. *See also* Siege of Montauban
Montecuccoli, Raimondo, 55
Montejan, Duke of, 71
Montgomery, Hugh, 157
Montmorency, house of, 136–8, 142
  de Montmorency, Henri II, 134, 136–8, 142
Montpellier, 137, 141, 238. *See also* Siege of Montpellier
morale. *See* emotions
morality, 210, 222–3, 232, 235, 281
Morgan, Walter, 216
motherland, 178, 180, 189, 197. *See also* fatherland; homeland
muscular bonding, 32–3, 43
music, 45n30, 74, 77, 102, 150, 153–5, 200, 251. *See also* song
myth, 127, 160, 180, 230, 239
mythology, 72, 80

N

Napoleon Bonaparte, 6, 173, 177–8, 182, 198, 230, 239–40, 242
Napoleonic Wars, 105, 173, 198, 200
Narbonne, house of, 238
Nassau, Ernst Casimir I of, 39
Nassau, house of, 217
Nassau, Maurice of. *See* Orange, Maurice of
nation, 98, 105, 149, 155, 161, 180, 182, 186, 197–8, 203, 213, 229, 239–40, 254–5, 257, 263
National Convention of 1797, 176
nationalism, 14, 98, 149, 150, 159, 161–2, 164, 173, 178, 180, 182, 184, 187–9, 198, 229, 273, 276, 281
nature, 74, 78, 84, 90n47, 159, 187–8, 233, 235, 237, 242, 252, 272
  human nature, 78, 82, 85
  natural man, 187
NCO. *See* military ranks
Nègrepelisse. *See* Siege of Nègrepelisse
neo-Cartesian, 253
neoclassicism, 15, 199, 230, 235
neostoicism, 136, 138, 275
newspaper, 158–9, 161–2, 177–9, 198, 214–15, 256, 262
  British Magazine, 255
  Courrier de Strasbourg, 179–80
  Courrier universel, 178
  Feuille du salut public, La, 180, 197–8
  Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, 252
  Moniteur universel, 177
  Morning Chronicle, 251
  Morning Post, 256, 261
  Oracle and Public Advertiser, 259, 262
  Sun, 262
  The Times, 259

news prints. *See* newspaper
Nicolai, Arnoud, 217
Nicolai, Friedrich, 163
nobleman. *See* aristocracy, aristocratic
Noël, Gabriel, 183
novel. *See* literature
Nuremberg, 161

O

obedience. *See* emotions
Odysseus, 80
officer. *See* military ranks
old regime. *See* ancien régime
Orange, Frederick Henry of, 26, 38–44
Orange, Maurice of, 25–6, 33, 40, 114, 120, 215, 218, 274
order. *See* commands
ordres de bataille, 150
Orient, 60
Orme, Daniel, 261
Orme's Gallery of London, 249, 261, 263
Ottoman Empire, Ottomans, 58–60
Our Blessed Lady. *See* Virgin Maria
outrage. *See* emotions
Ovid, 240

P

pacifism, 16, 240, 274
pain, 6, 16, 55, 77, 82–3, 137, 157, 197, 201, 254. *See also* phantom pain
painter, 15–16, 219, 230–3, 237, 239, 241, 250, 252, 263, 274. *See also* art
Pall Mall, 259, 262
pamphlet, 131–3, 217. *See also* broadsheet, newsprint
pandours, the, 152, 163, 237
Panixer Pass. *See* Alps
Paracelsus, Theophrastus, 58, 83
Paré, Ambroise, 71–8, 80, 83–5, 121
Paris, 51, 71, 129–30, 234–5, 238–9, 241
Paris (Troy), 242
parliament, 253
Parrocel, Charles, 232
Parrocel, Joseph, 232
passion. *See* emotions
pathos. *See* emotions
patient, 72, 74–8, 80, 82–3, 279
patriotism. *See* nationalism
peace, 249
perlocution, 27
Perpignan. *See* Battle of Perpignan
phalanx. *See* troop formation
phantom pain, 76–7
philosopher, 31, 52, 78, 82, 114, 136, 163, 217, 241, 276
philosophy, 79, 217
  moral philosophy, 31, 276
  philosophical treaty, 6, 78, 121
physician. *See* medicine, doctor
Picardie, 140
Piedmonte, 182
piety, 37, 51–2, 56–7, 60–1, 115, 117, 121, 135–6, 141, 153, 281
Plato, 42, 78
Plutarch, 240
poet, 79, 163, 241
poetry. *See* literature
polemic, 132–3, 139, 141
politics, 26–7, 34, 41, 79, 93, 97, 132, 136, 141, 149, 151, 161, 164, 174–5, 188, 239, 249, 258–9, 262, 271, 279
  politician, 240, 252, 274, 281
Polyphemus, 80
Pontis, Arc of, 140
potestas, 53
Poussin, Nicolas, 239
practice. *See* emotional practice

Prague. *See* Battle of Prague
prayer, 8, 9, 32, 85, 139, 257
preacher, 56, 100
pride. *See* emotions
print maker, 16, 250, 252, 262–3, 274
Privas, 136–8. *See also* Siege of Privas
  château de Privas, 136
propaganda, 149–50, 174, 176, 181, 187, 189, 200
Protestantism, 49–52, 55, 58–9, 103, 117, 128, 154
providence, divine, 60, 104. *See also* divine; God
Prudentius, 32
Prussia, 104, 149, 161
Prussia, Frederick the Great, or II, of, 54, 95, 97, 149–50, 154, 159, 162–3
Prussian Army, 96, 100, 103–4, 152, 200
psychology, 6, 176, 202, 209, 276, 279
  cognitive psychology, 7, 52
public media, 5, 14, 178, 181, 273. *See also* broadsheet, newsprint; newspaper
public opinion, 132
public sphere, 16, 149, 151, 161–2, 274, 280
bourgeois, 149, 162
punishment, 7, 58–9, 95, 97, 100–1, 129, 175–6
Puteanus, Erycius, 113–14, 118
Pythagoras, 78

Q

Quebec, 98, 101, 106n11, 108n18, 265n23. *See also* Battle of Quebec; Siege of Quebec
Quintilian, Marcus Fabius, 61

R

Ramler, Karl Wilhelm, 162
reader, 15, 26, 75, 83, 119, 131–2, 139, 151, 156, 180, 182, 201, 220, 237, 272, 275
  readership, 131, 133
Reddy, William, 12, 14, 52, 174–5, 180, 187, 199
Regensburg, 161
regime. *See* emotional regime
religiosity. *See* piety
religious war. *See* wars of religion
Rembrandt, 211, 213
remedy. *See* medicine, medical treatment
remembrance. *See* commemoration; memory
Renaissance, 11–12, 34, 133, 230, 272
republicanism, 40, 179, 182, 184, 187–8, 203, 263
revenge. *See* emotions
revolt, 115
Revolution. *See* French Revolution
Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 231
rhetoric, 73–4, 78, 80, 82, 98, 128, 133–4, 142, 199–201, 210, 212, 217, 222, 236, 239, 280
Rhode Island. *See* Battle of Rhode Island
rhythm. *See* music
Riom, 181–2
ritual, 9, 27, 33, 35, 188, 272
Robespierre, 240
roi de guerre, 131
Roman Empire, 232
  Roman, 34–5, 79, 113, 232, 240
romanticism, 155, 174, 188
Rome, 238–42
  Romans, 241
  Romulus, 240, 242

Rosenwein, Barbara, 212, 217, 222, 278, 280
Rossbach. *See* Battle of Rossbach
Rossignol, Jean, 99
Rottweil, 152
Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 187
Royal Academy of Toulouse, 238
Royal Welch Fusiliers, 101
Rüdiger, Johann Christoph, 56
Russian army, 155, 163

S

sacrifice, 13, 56, 100, 117, 149, 250, 276
  self-sacrifice, 173–4, 176, 178–9, 187–8, 273
Sadler's Wells Theatre, 252
sadness. *See* emotions
Saint-Amour, 188
Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre, 128, 134
Saint Foy. *See* Battle of Saint Foy
Saint Gotthard-Mogersdorf. *See* Battle of Saint Gotthard-Mogersdorf
Saint-Jean-d'Angély, 140. *See also* Siege of Saint-Jean-d'Angély
Salvator, Rosa, 231
satan. *See* devil
satisfaction. *See* emotions
Saturnalia, 114
Saxony, 161
Scheer, Monique, 7, 12, 27, 35, 43, 164, 277
Schmitter, Amy, 217
Schwarzwald, 118
Scipio, 79, 232
sculptor, 230, 241
sculpture. *See* art
Second Battalion of the Vienne, 176
self-control, 34
self-fashioning, 120, 133
semantics, 52, 61
Seneca, 78
Sennert, Daniel, 84
senses, 26, 80, 150, 153, 200–1
sensibility. *See* emotions
sentiment. *See* emotions
sentimentalism, 4, 9, 11, 175, 187, 189
sergeant. *See* military ranks
sergeant-major. *See* military ranks
Seven Years' War, 104, 149–52, 155, 158–9, 163–4, 200, 232, 274
shame. *See* emotions
Siboul, Denis, 179
siege account. *See* siege narrative
siege map. *See* art
siege narrative, 128–33, 136, 138, 141–2, 273–4, 278, 281
  personal siege narratives (*see* (ego-documents))
Siege of
  Den Bosch, 40
  Dresden, 97
  Geertruidenberg, 214
  Gibraltar, 101, 104
  Groenlo, 26, 38–9
  Groningen, 214
  Lunel, 130
  Monheur, 129
  Montauban, 129
  Montpellier, 129, 137, 139, 141
  Nègrepelisse, 135
  Privas, 138
  Quebec, 98
  Saint-Jean-d' Angély, 139
  Sommières, 129
  Suze, 71
  Vienna, 54, 59
  Yorktown, 102
siege warfare, 5, 127–30, 134–6, 138–9, 218, 279
Siegfried, Susan, 239
Sixth Battalion of the Seine-et-Oise, 176

Smith, Adam, 250
soldier-author, 103
soldierly writings. *See* ego-documents
Sommières, 141. *See also* Siege of Sommières
song, 14, 33–4, 150, 154, 158, 162–3, 174, 181, 199, 252, 273
  Carmagnole, 182, 184
  hymn, 103, 272–3
  Leuthen Chorale, 154
soul, 4, 39, 42, 52, 55, 73–4, 78, 82–3, 104, 153, 176, 210, 279
Spain, 38, 42, 77, 114–5, 119–20
Spanish-Habsburgs, 38
Sparta, 33, 113–14, 118
  Spartans, 113
spectacle, 15–16, 42, 71, 132, 155, 198, 236, 252, 256
spectator, 14–15, 26, 53
speech act, 14, 27, 43
spirituality, 7, 55, 83, 139–40, 142
  spiritual science, 83
stadtholder, 26, 38–40, 42–3
Staniforth, Sampson, 101
Steen, Jan, 211
Steube, Johann Casper, 99
Stevin, Simon, 25
stoicism, 13, 31, 34–5, 43, 90n47, 199, 250, 276, 280. *See also* emotions; neostoicism
Strasbourg, 180
sublime (the), 201–3, 210, 235, 250–2, 255, 258, 260, 262
surgeon, 8, 71–80, 82, 84, 85, 86n2, 89n30, 120, 121, 135, 179, 277. *See also* military ranks
surgery, 71–4, 78–80, 82–4. *See also* medicine
Suze. *See* Siege of Suze
Sweden, 49, 51–2
  Stockholm, 51
  Swedish army, 51, 53
symbol, 49–50
sympathy. *See* emotions

T

tactic. *See* military strategy
Täge, Christian, 103, 154–5
Teitt, Jöns Månsson, 53
terror. *See also* emotions
  terror futuri, 54
  terror praesens, 54
Terror, the, 175–6, 180, 188. *See also* French Revolution
theatre, 6–8, 15, 17n4, 26–7, 34–6, 38, 43–4, 80, 151–2, 154–5, 174, 177, 181, 201–2, 208, 217, 220, 234–6, 251–2, 274, 276
  amphitheatre, 252
  anti-theatrical, 254
  performance, 15, 35, 199
  siege plays, 26, 34
  theatricality, 15, 129, 174, 256, 261
  tragedy, 34–5, 138, 235
theology, 52–3, 56
Thermidor. *See* French Revolution
Thirty Years' War, 52–3, 57–9
Thompson, James, 101
Thoral, Marie-Cécile, 175
timidness. *See* emotions
togetherness (feeling of). *See* emotions
Tory, John, 98
toughness. *See* emotions
Toulouse. *See* Royal Academy of Toulouse
tranquilitas. *See* emotions
trauma, 3, 120–1, 131, 133–4
Trismegistos, Hermes, 78
Trojan War, 26, 34–5, 44, 79, 85
troop formation, 32–4, 39, 94–6, 231
trope, 118, 200–2
Turkey, 52, 57–61, 103, 120–1
Turkish wars, 52

U
unconsciousness, 7, 153, 251
Union Jack, 257

V
Valenciennes, 16, 203, 249, 251–4, 256, 259–3, 274
Valeyre, Louis, 183
Valmy, 175, 183. *See also* Battle of Valmy
van Beverwijck, Johan, 71, 73–4, 76–80, 82–5
  Heel-konste, 73, 79, 85
  Schat der gesontheyt, 73, 78
  Schat der ongesontheyt, 73
van den Vondel, Joost, 26, 38–43
  Verovering van Grol, 26
van der Meulen, Adam Frans, 231
Vanguard, 40, 96
vanity. *See* emotions
van Mander, Karel, 217
van Paffenrode, Johan, 34–6, 43
Vatican, 163
Vauxhall, 252
vengefulness. *See* emotions
Vergil, 49
  Audaces fortuna iuvat, timidosque repellit, 49
Vernère, Xavier, 185–7
Versailles, 231, 233
  Salon de la Guerre, 233
  Salon de la Paix, 233
veteran, 3, 6, 12, 98, 101, 150
victim, 4, 115, 153, 200, 281
victory, 5, 49, 55–7, 93–4, 104, 120, 131, 133, 154, 159, 161–3, 179–80, 186, 188, 235, 239, 250–2, 254, 262–3, 274
  victorious, 36, 56, 71, 96
Vidal, Etienne, 181
Vienna, 59–60. *See also* Siege of Vienna
vigilance, 207
Vigo, John of, 82
vigour. *See* emotions
  violence, 4, 6, 50, 53–4, 57–60, 75, 79, 115, 133–4, 150, 153, 162, 199, 213, 217, 234, 271
  violentia, 53
Virgin Mary, 50, 60, 115
virtue, 29, 31, 36, 51, 105, 113, 121, 128, 136, 138–9, 142, 160, 174, 178, 188, 212, 217, 233, 242, 280
  military virtue, 8, 9, 14, 26
Vivarais, 136
Voltaire, 163–4, 230
  Candide, 163
von Barsewisch, Ernst Friedrich Rudolf, 156
von Cochem, Capuchin Martin, 85
  Soldaten-Büchlein, 85
von Fleming, Hans Friedrich, 54–5, 57–8
von Kleist, Ewald, 162
von Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, 54
von Mechel, Christian, 254
vulnerability, 207

W
Walker, Suzanne, 29, 31
Wallin, Georg, 50, 60
Wallonia, 120
war correspondence. *See* letter
War of the Spanish Succession, 94, 100
Wars of Religion, 127–36, 139, 141–2
Watelet, Claude-Henri, 237
weapon, 9, 50, 58, 60–1, 79–80, 83–4, 94, 129, 153, 156–7, 180, 218, 234, 271
  bayonet, 94, 96–7, 186, 242
  cannon, 14, 94, 100, 129, 156–7, 179, 182, 235
  firearm, 4, 5, 80, 85, 130

grenade, 136
gun, 14, 100, 129, 150, 252
gunpowder, 71, 94, 129–30, 139, 150, 200, 202
gunpowder mine, 129, 139
musket, 4, 26, 94, 96, 129, 135, 137, 150, 153, 156–7, 186
pétard, 129
pistol, 150
rifle, 26, 156
spear, 240
sword, 8, 49–52, 60–1, 97, 100, 182, 189, 257
Wernigerode, Cristian Ernst of, 162
Westminster, 252
wide-angle view (painting), 213, 219
Winckelmann, Johann Joachim, 234
Windham, William, 252–3
Wolfe, James, 98, 100
World War I, 105
World War II, 33
wound, 5, 11, 14, 17, 53, 71–3, 77, 79–80, 82–5, 100, 104, 114–15, 118, 120–1, 135–7, 139, 141, 150–2, 154, 163, 180, 183, 186, 257, 277

Y

York town. *See* Siege of Yorktown
York and Albany, Prince Frederick, Duke of, 200, 249, 251, 255–6, 260, 262–3

Z

Zamet, Jean, 140–1
Zedler's Univeral Lexicon, 55
Zorndorf. *See* Battle of Zorndorf
Zoroaster, 78
Zülichau, 156
Zwolle, 207, 219