"there I, Paul Dohnstein, Saw Action." The Sketchbook Of A Warrior Artisan In The German Renaissance

Danielle Mead Skjelver

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“THERE I, PAUL DOLNSTEIN, SAW ACTION.”
THE SKETCHBOOK OF A WARRIOR ARTISAN IN THE GERMAN RENAISSANCE

by

Danielle Mead Skjelver
Bachelor of Arts, University of North Dakota, 2010

A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

Grand Forks, North Dakota
May
2012
This thesis, submitted by Danielle Mead Skjelver in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

____________________________________
Chairperson, Dr. Hans Peter Broedel

____________________________________
Dr. Ty Reese

____________________________________
Dr. Olaf Berwald

____________________________________
Dr. Michelle M. Sauer

This thesis meets the standard for appearance, conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.

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Degree    Master of Arts

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Danielle Mead Skjelver
April 25, 2012
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To Joan Elizabeth Wilson

My Mother, My Foundation
This thesis provides analysis, transcription, and translation of Paul Dohnstein’s early sixteenth century annotated sketchbook. The study offers insight into one ‘type’ of German Renaissance mercenary, the sedentary type. Known as Landsknechts, German Renaissance mercenaries were prized for their discipline on the field and for their commanders’ ability to provide well equipped and well trained armies for the battlefields of Europe. As opposed to roving Landsknechts who followed the drums of war year in and year out, the sedentary Landsknecht retained his roots and returned to civilian work in his town of origin between campaigns. He might serve in only a few military campaigns, or he might serve in several. In all his warring, the sedentary Landsknecht maintained his ties to a particular locale and occupation, often that of an artisan.

This study argues that at least one such sedentary Landsknecht, Paul Dohnstein, saw his world through the lenses of both warrior and artisan. His experience as both master craftsman and mercenary shines through his sketches and accompanying commentary. In support of this argument, the thesis analyzes Paul Dohnstein's military sketchbook in the context of his civilian role as a highly regarded master craftsman, concluding that even as he is a warrior on the march, he sees military engagements through the eyes of master builder. Further, the very existence of this sketchbook demonstrates that the warrior in the artisan who has seen battle never ceases to exist. The soldier in this craftsman lived on in his memory, scars, and stories.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Five hundred years ago, an early Landsknecht and master bridge builder named Paul Dohnstein captured his wartime experience in image and text. This document, housed at the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar, provides what appear to be first hand accounts of four sieges, a skirmish, instructions for a pike formation, and depictions of men and women who appear to be Dohnstein's comrades. Dohnstein's sketchbook has captured the imagination of military history enthusiasts in the trade press and in digital communities. Yet, it has received little attention from scholars, and it has never been published in its entirety. The fascination among military history enthusiasts is not surprising, given the drawings' ability to draw in anyone with even a passing interest in the era. Thus, the limited scholarly attention is puzzling. The one hundred ten lines of text in Early New High German have never been translated into English, nor have they been fully translated into modern German. Perhaps the text's brevity has caused scholars to pass it over in favor of meatier works. Brief though it is, the sketchbook's personal nature, the author's artisan background, and his first hand perspective merit academic attention. This thesis provides the first English language academic interpretation of the work. Each of the nineteen sketches receives transcription, translation, and commentary with an aim toward understanding the document's purpose and its illumination of the dual lenses through which German Renaissance warrior artisans observed their world.

The notebook holds value for scholars in what it suggests about the people who served as Landsknechts and why they joined. His sketches are also important for their bridging of two eras, the Renaissance and the Middle Ages. Dolnstein sets human subjects drawn with a Renaissance preference for natural detail against landscapes drawn in the medieval style. He offers historians the opportunity to see the Renaissance as it was happening, through the eyes of one who was not a professional artist. His drawings also demonstrate the impact of early artistic depictions of Landsknechts on mercenaries themselves. Further, Dolnstein’s drawings and language demonstrate his dual identity as warrior and master artisan. The term 'identity' in this thesis applies to roles and occupations as among the means by which people defined themselves. He emphasizes his martial experiences. Indeed, they seem to be the very purpose of his sketchbook, and yet his artisan identity is apparent both in overt signs, such as the builder’s mark on the title page, and in his attention to the kinds of structural detail a master builder would notice. Whether the sketchbook is an intentional expression of warrior artisan identity, or whether its purpose was to emphasize only his military adventures, Dolnstein’s dual identity shines throughout the work.

The examination of Paul Dolnstein's sketchbook is an examination of the man, for while the events of his life may not have been exceptional, his sketchbook is certainly unusual among surviving artifacts from warrior artisans. In this thesis, I focus on the historical rather than linguistic significance of the work. Hence, while Dolnstein’s sketchbook is the center piece of this essay, this is not a linguistics or philology paper. It is a history paper. As such, it begins with a historiographical survey followed by descriptions of the sketchbook and an overview of Paul Dolnstein's life. Second, there
will be historiographical surveys of the Landsknecht's origin and the meaning of the term, of the Landsknecht in art, and of the Landsknecht in social history. Third, the body of the study will comprise nineteen brief essays, one for each sketch. Each essay will include a reproduction of the sketch itself, transcription, translation, and commentary. Finally, a conclusion will follow, emphasizing the importance of Dohnstein's work to the fields of military, social, and art history. The conclusion will also suggest areas for further research.

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE SKETCHBOOK

Two scholars have examined Paul Dolnstein's sketchbook in depth. In a 1929 article entitled, "Das Kriegstagebuch eines Deutschen Landsknechts um die Wende des 15. Jahrhunderts," Helene Dihle explores what the sketchbook might offer historians of clothing and weaponry. She also suggests the notebook's value to "the precise dating and location of events," depicted in Dohnstein's sketches. Drawing on the records the Saxon princely court, Dihle uncovers some of Paul Dohnstein's background. She also includes copies of twelve of the nineteen sketches for which she provides historical context. Dihle's 1930 article, "Zur Belagerung von Elfsborg i. J. 1502," takes a closer look at Dohnstein's sketches of events in Sweden. Her primary focus in both articles is the clothing and weaponry of Dohnstein's comrades and opponents. She transcribes much of the text, translating it into modern German. It is on Dihle's work that all other research has depended. The other scholar to explore this sketchbook in detail is Lars-Olof Larsson. His 1982 article, "Paul Dohnsteins Dagbok," expands on Dihle's work, expanding

particularly on the historical context of Dölnstein's sketches of the 1502 Danish suppression of a Swedish revolt. With some variations from Dihle's interpretation, Larsson transcribes portions of the sketchbook and translates them into modern Swedish.

Both scholars describe the sketchbook as a war diary or war journal. Larsson calls it "the oldest known written German war diary." The term 'diary' does not seem fitting. The name Meister Heinrich on the first page suggests that the sketches are a gift or are dedicated to a fellow master artisan. Diaries are generally private affairs. Further, this collection of sketches covers a period of between nine and fourteen years, depending on when they were made. Given only nineteen sketches in so long a time span, the term 'diary' seems wanting. The German Tagebuch and the Swedish dagbok can also be translated as 'journal'. The German can also mean 'log book'. If one views the terms 'journal' and 'logbook' as meaning 'regularly kept records of events,' they too fall short of defining what this sketchbook is, for there are lengthy and irregular gaps of time between events in the document. The terms 'sketchbook,' 'illustrated notebook,' or 'annotated sketchbook' seem the most reasonable, and I use them interchangeably in this thesis.

There are also brief mentions of Dölnstein in works about clothing and military history, and in annotated bibliographies. Typically these entries consist of reprints of a few of Dölnstein's sketches and one or two lines, or perhaps a few paragraphs. Christian

4 Larsson, 71-90.
5 Dihle and Closs, 1; Larsson, 71; Dihle, 71. I take ‘diary’ to mean a daily or near daily personal log, whereas a ‘journal’ or ‘log book’ may receive entries only as important events occur.
6 Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 1r.
Lovén draws on Dolnstein's sketches in his archaeological work on Swedish fortifications in the Middle Ages. He devotes several paragraphs to narrations of Dolnstein's images as they relate to the Swedish castles Älvsborg and Öresten. In a footnote, he suggests the possibility that Dolnstein might have created his sketchbook with the intention that it could serve as a foundation for woodcuts.

It is worth mentioning that a number of popular press military history books have quoted Dolnstein or depicted his sketches. At least two popular press works erroneously attribute a statement by Sebastien Schertlin to Paul Dolnstein. The Osprey series, however, have relied on the three existing scholarly articles in their exploration of Dolnstein's sketches and have made some of his sketches available to military history enthusiasts. Among the Osprey books, John Richards' 2002 book, *Landsknecht Soldier, 1486-1560*, gives Dolnstein the most space. Richards draws on Dihle's and Larsson's articles, shedding light on the costume of the Landsknecht and translating brief portions

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9 Lovén, 119, note 2. This is a reasonable idea, particularly given the artistic climate of Frederick the Wise's Saxony.
of Dihle's modern German rendering of Dohnstein's battle commentary. In their 2007 work, *The Scandinavian Baltic Crusades, 1100-1500*, David Lindholm and David Nicole refer to the sketches as "Paul Dohnstein's famous drawings." These few sources round out the historiography of Paul Dohnstein's illustrated notebook.

**CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SKETCHBOOK**

The notebook consists of nineteen sketches with about one hundred ten lines of legible text as captions on coarse cloth paper. One sketch is missing, but it does appear in this study as a black and white copy extracted from Dihle’s articles. According to Dagmar Blaha of the Weimar Archive, the notebook was bound in a form of protective cardboard at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Weimar Archive provided me with digital images of the sketchbook of such excellent quality that even the finest details are sharp and clear. The digital images are of such quality that some text that Helene Dihle and Lars-Olof Larsson seem unable to discern with the naked eye is now clear, though there are still portions that remain illegible. Because I did not hold the document in my hands, I rely on Dihle's description for its physical characteristics:

The notebook has nineteen ink drawings made with a quill pen, of which five are siege and battle scenes. The remaining fourteen depict all kinds of war folk, especially Landsknechts. The notebook's bound double pages, parts of which are empty, consist of coarse paper of yellow-reddish tone; every page measures 22x32 centimeters [8.661 x 12.598 inches]. In addition to the drawings that reveal a lack of practice, there are often commentary and names, all of which are of the same handwriting. Some parts are illegible because they cover the margins of the papers, but the margins were apparently once damp and frayed.

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12 Richards, 2, 6, 9-10, 23, 29, 44, 51-52, 54, 59, 61-62
14 The texture is visible in the high quality scanned images from the archive.
15 Larsson notes eleven blank pages from 13v-18v. He does not provide a citation for this particular comment, but he does state generally that the images in the article follow the originals in the Weimar archive. Larsson, 73-74. According to the archive, the sketchbook comprises only pages 1r-13v. Dagmar Blaha via electronic correspondence, 30 March, 2012. The sketch appearing in a black and white copy seems to have been lost in World War II. Dagmar Blaha via electronic correspondence. March 4, 2011.
16 Correspondence from Dagmar Blaha, Weimar Archives. August 10, 2011.
Undoubtedly the drawings were first finished after the pages were bound together. Apart from the fact that even the slightest rearrangement of these drawings that stretch over two pages would tear apart the image, there are small indicators such as printed ink stains, and again drawings that stretch across, as evidence.

The captions clearly prove that the drawings were produced in the first decade of the 16th century. Already in a Repertorium\textsuperscript{17} from the end of the sixteenth century, which can be found in the Weimar Archive this notebook is mentioned with the description: "Paul Dohnstein's collected summaries of numerous Landsknechts in their armor; it is also described how the attack and defeat of the Swedish people at Elfsborg in Norway happened, also how another house three miles away from Elfsborg was captured by means of combustibles\textsuperscript{18} set ablaze. And also the village of Arenschwangk, 1 mile from Kams that Herr Hans Weigsdorff of Schamburg captured."

The drawings of which only a part could be reproduced due to their lack of clarity, are all from the same hand save one, which could be in doubt. This drawing depicts a pacing Landsknecht in a waving cloak with shouldered lance, whose original model can perhaps be found in a 1505 woodcut.\textsuperscript{19}

The object of Dihle's doubt is the tenth sketch, which pictures a Junker on the march.\textsuperscript{20} Seeing a strong resemblance to artist Mattäus Zasinger’s work, she searched a Berlin art gallery for this woodcut’s potential model.\textsuperscript{21} However, she did not find such a model and concludes that Dohnstein was picturing his comrades and experiences from his immediate observation or memory rather than by copying of woodcuts.\textsuperscript{22}

Dihle makes the statement that Dohnstein’s drawings reveal a lack of practice. She describes them as being of "obviously amateurish character." Elsewhere she adds that they have "no artistic goal," or artistic value.\textsuperscript{23} Her point that he was obviously not a

\textsuperscript{17} A Repertorium is an archival finding aid. With regard to the dating of the Repertorium, Dihle gives as her source, "According to the friendly information from the Archives Director Dr. Pischel, Weimar." Dihle, 1, n. 2.
\textsuperscript{18} The word here is Feuerwerk. Dihle, 1.
\textsuperscript{19} Dihle, 1.
\textsuperscript{20} ThHS\textsuperscript{AW}, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 6r.
\textsuperscript{21} The museum where she searched for a model among Zasinger’s works is "Berlin, Kupferstichkabinette. Deutsche Schule. 16. Jahrh." Dihle and Closs, 1, n. 3.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{23} Dihle, 1-2.
professional artist is accurate. Even so, his work exhibits the artistic climate of his period when medieval style was giving way to the classical. His melding of medieval landscapes with Renaissance attention to detail in individual faces, weaponry, and attire might in fact be of artistic value. He is clearly a man living on the cusp of a new concept of what it means to depict human subjects and landscape.

Facial details throughout his illustrations demonstrate that Dolnstein was drawing from personal memory of specific individuals if not from immediate observation of them. She also believes that the battle and siege scenes must come from his own first-hand experience, and that at least some of them were written shortly after battle while the images were still fresh in his mind. Neither she, nor Larsson, nor I doubt the authenticity of Dolnstein's claims to have been present at the events he captures in image.

Lars-Olof Larsson restates Dihle's physical description and her conclusion that the images were completed after the pages were bound. However, he finds all the writing to be in the same hand whereas Dihle does not. For, Dihle notes that the handwriting in the upper right hand corner of the last page, the page now missing, is not in Dolnstein's handwriting and is a later addition. In my own observation, this appears to be the case, and there are a number of other places where the handwriting looks different, possibly as a result of a poor writing surface.

To these descriptions, I can add that the coarse paper is a rag paper and that there are occasionally faint pencil images visible. These are particularly striking in the fifth sketch where one can see two faces in the background, and on the eighteenth where a

---

24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
26 Larsson, 71-90, especially 71-73.
27 Dihle and Closs, 3.
penciled symbol may represent the cardinal directions, a builder's mark, or something else entirely.28 Another observation is that some time before Helene Dihle did her research, each page of the notebook was stamped with a number in the bottom right corner of the facing or recto side of each page. These numbers appear in the copies of sketches in Dihle's articles. The nineteenth sketch, however, has no stamp in Dihle's copy. This drawing may have been loose when Dihle saw it, which might have contributed to its loss. The stamps run from 1 to 13, skipping the number 12, at least in my copies from the archive. Lars-Olof Larsson observes one empty portion of the notebook, which would explain the lack of a number 12 in my copies.29 The empty page appears to be immediately after the seventeenth sketch.30

WHO WAS PAUL DOLNSTEIN?

As was common at the time, the author of this illustrated notebook wrote his name as he wrote most words, with variation. He wrote his name "dolnstain,"31 "pawl vom dolnstain,"32 "pawlß von dolnstain,"33 "pawl dolnstain,"34 and "paws von tolnstain."35 In the court records of Frederick the Wise, Dolnstein appears as "Dolenstein"36 and "Tolnstaynn."37 Dihle replaces the 'a' with an 'e' in an orthographical adjustment to modern spelling. Most writers have followed her lead, writing the name

28 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 3r; Bl. 12v-13r.
29 Larsson, 71-90, especially 71-73.
30 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 11v.
31 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 8v.
32 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 9v-10r.
33 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 10v-11r.
34 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 11v, 12v-13r.
36 The name appears as "Paul Dolenstein Baumeister," "Paull Dolenstein," and as "Paul von Dolenstein" in Robert Bruck, Friederich der Weise als Förderer der Kunst (Straßburg: Heitz & Mündel, 1903), 31, 254, 255.
37 The name appears as "Der Baumeister Tolnstaynn" in Bruck, 255.
"Dolstein," "Tolnstein," and "Dolnstein." Larsson and Dihle both spell it "Dolnstein." This change provides an association with the Bavarian town of Dollnstein, which appears as “Dolnstein” within the last two centuries in both German and English. According to Christopher Mackay, orthographically, the modern word would be Dohlenstein, which is the name of a mountain in Thuringia. Whatever the origin of his name, Paul Dolnstein has amassed enough of a following under this particular modern spelling of his name to justify its continued use.

Dihle asserts that Dolnstein likely came from Torgau. This is plausible, although he could have come from anywhere, including the Bavarian town of Dollnstein. We first encounter Paul Dolnstein at the 1491 Siege of Montfort, Holland. He places himself there in his sketchbook but gives no date for the event. According to Dihle's research, from 1496 to 1498, Paul Dolnstein served the elector Prince Frederick the Wise of Saxony in his rebuilding of the bridge at Torgau. Below is the Torgau Bridge as it appeared in 1544. One can see that it is a wooden structure consisting of several piers.

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38 Richards, 2, 6, 9-10, 23, 29, 44, 51-52, 54, 59, 61-62; Regan, 109; Grant, 110; McNab, 167.
39 Dihle, 108.
40 Dihle and Closs, 2; Larsson, 71-89.
42 Per electronic mail communication with Christopher S. Mackay, University of Alberta, July 15, 2011.
43 Dihle and Closs, 2.
44 Dihle and Closs, 2.
45 This project was begun in 1494. Ibid.
Figure 1. Lucas Cranach the Younger, 1544, Torgau Bridge across the Elbe.\textsuperscript{46}

Dolnstein served as both \textit{Baurechnungsführer}, an overseer of accounting matters related to building, and as master bridge builder for this project.\textsuperscript{47} In 1499, he ran low on money for the bridge project. He wrote to the electoral governor protesting that if he did not receive any funds, he would not be able to continue building, and that what he had built so far would be destroyed.\textsuperscript{48} The problem seems to have been solved by the prince's designation of funds for the bridge.\textsuperscript{49} However, the potential to run low on funds must have been frustrating and may have contributed to his return to mercenary activities. We find him again in his sketches in 1502-1503. The King of Denmark has knighted him and his fellow Germans for crushing Sten Sture the Elder’s Rebellion in Sweden. He states

\begin{itemize}
  \item Dihle, 108; Dihle and Closs, 2. I associate the term \textit{Baurechnungsführer} with accounting or financial reckoning as does Shawn Boyd, University of North Dakota. Olaf Berwald, University of North Dakota, sees this word as being akin to a general contractor. Dihle observes that Dolnstein had finished two bridge piers in 1498. Dihle and Closs, 2. Robert Bruck states that one pier was finished in 1499 but later that two were finished in 1498. Bruck, 31, 254. Ingetraut Ludolphy also states that the first pier was finished in 1499, saying that this bridge was very difficult to build. Ingetraut Ludolphy, \textit{Friedrich der Weise: Kurfürst von Sachsen, 1463-1525} (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 127.
  \item The passage reads: “falls er kein Geld erhalte, konne er nicht weiterbauen und musse befürchten, das bis jetzt Errichtete ginge dann zugrunde.” Bruck, 31.
  \item The funds came from \textit{Buttergeld}, which Bruck notes was the name given to money set aside officially for building a small chapel to St. Anne but in reality was used for bridge construction. Bruck, 30-31, 255; Ingetraut Ludolphy, \textit{Friedrich der Weise: Kurfürst von Sachsen, 1463-1525} (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 127.
\end{itemize}
that he made camp for the besieging army. In 1504, his sketches place him in the Landshut War fighting against the Count of Palatinate. 1509 and 1511 see him again in Saxon court records. In both years, he received from the Saxon court English cloth for Italian, French, or Swiss style clothing. In 1513, he receives more English cloth, this time for French style clothing. In the winter of the same year, he again received English fabric, some of which was specifically for hose and a doublet. Dihle notes that each of these were gifts for court vestments, made as they were of imported cloth and for a cosmopolitan style. Describing his receipt of such gifts as irregular, she speculates that he was not normally at court but rather a craftsman who enjoyed some favor. For, these vestments were the sort of clothing worn by noblemen. The term “französischer” is even more unusual than the general gift of court garments. In this year, only Dohnstein and an important painter, Lucas Cranach the Elder, received this particular gift. From these gifts and his seeming association with Lucas Cranach, Dihle speculates that Dohnstein enjoyed favor. He then disappears from the records and is not mentioned in reference to the bridge's 1517 completion.

50 The entry reads: “ländisches Tuch zum welschen Rock auf Befehl des Herzogs Hans.” Dihle and Closs, 2. ‘Welsch’ could be Italian, French, Swiss, or simply foreign. There was a distinctive Swiss style, and the nobility copied it. The Venetian ambassador wrote of Henry VIII, “His doublet was in the Swiss fashion, striped alternately with white and crimson satin, and his hose were scarlet, and all slashed from the knee upwards.” J.S. Brewer, ed. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, vol. 1 (London: Longman, Green, and Roberts, 1862), xxix. It could also be French.


52 Dihle and Closs, 2.

53 Dihle and Closs, 2.

54 Dihle and Closs, 2.

55 Dihle and Closs, 2.

56 Dihle and Closs, 2. In this year Lucas Cranach the Elder began work on his painting, Adam and Eve. Peter Moser, Lucas Cranach: Sein Leben, seine Welt und seine Bilder (Bamberg: Babenberg Verlag, 2004), 77.

57 Dihle and Closs, 2.

58 Ibid.
Dihle describes Dohnstein as "an almost unknown man."\textsuperscript{59} She also describes him as being “without importance,” but it is probably wise to infer here that she means that he was not a nobleman or a burgher.\textsuperscript{60} Certainly, he was an artisan and a man whose name would mean little were it not for his illustrated notebook, but Dihle notes the association of Dohnstein with the likes of Lucas Cranach. Larsson sees Dohnstein as a man of at least military importance. Referring to Dohnstein's caption in which he states that he made camp, Larsson notes that erecting a military camp would not have been entrusted to just any Landsknecht.\textsuperscript{61} He is confident that Dohnstein was an officer of sorts within an early form of an engineer corps.\textsuperscript{62} Larsson's view seems plausible. Dohnstein's drawings exhibit his awareness of the structure of fortifications and defensive positioning. There is evidence that Paul Dohnstein moved among the higher ranks: his remarkable (but sadly not fully legible) instructions for arraying four hundred men, his appearance in full armor and on horseback, and his having received such fine quality fabric as to be on par at least in appearance with the likes of an artisan like Lucas Cranach. All of this evidence suggests that Dohnstein at least moved among the head men. The question, quite possibly unanswerable, is then whether Dohnstein was an engineer with the Landsknechts, or a Landsknecht with a valuable ancillary skill.

Dohnstein appears to have risen in the world, but this is a conclusion I draw based on an assumption. In this thesis, I make the assumption that when we first meet Paul Dohnstein at Montfort, he is a relatively young man and likely a journeyman.\textsuperscript{63} There is,

\textsuperscript{59} Dihle, 108.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{61} Larsson, 89.
\textsuperscript{62} Larsson, 89; Dihle, 108.
\textsuperscript{63} The length of time spent as journeymen varied widely from two to seven years with some holding this status for life. Given such variation, I use thirty as a rough estimate of the age by which Dohnstein would have become a master. S.R Epstein, and Maarten Prak, eds., * Guilds, Innovation, and the European
in fact, no way of knowing that this is the case. His age requires guess work. It is very easy to imagine that commanders in need of skilled but not terribly expensive men to make siege works would have hired journeyman builders for such work. Based on the abundance of artisans in mercenary service, I also make the assumption that he is a Landsknecht. Again, there is no way of knowing that this is the case. He could have been a civilian auxiliary for a portion or the entirety of his martial life. His claim to have been wounded by an arrow, and his claims to have seen action or to have participated in military engagement do not limit him to the role of Landsknecht. Civilian auxiliaries would have been in harm’s way and certainly could have claimed participation in any engagement. Based on these tentative assumptions that he was a journeyman and a Landsknecht at Montfort, it does appear from the Saxon court records and from Dornstein’s self-portrait in Sketch 16 that he has risen in the world.

One wonders if he required court clothing for his role as Baurechnungsführer, or if he was simply an interesting person whom the prince wanted at his court at least occasionally. Though it is the only evidence, the sketchbook is enough to set Dornstein apart from his contemporary artisans. Dornstein has been knighted, and he is expressive enough, at least with a stylus, to presume that his experiences are worthy of preservation. He is also daring enough to try his hand at the artist’s game, particularly in the illustrations on the title page, and also in depicting himself. Dihle sees the gifts of fabric

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64 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 8v, 11v, 12v-13r; Dihle, Figure 36, unnumbered page.
as evidence of Dohnstein's strong reputation. She notes that fabric for French style clothing seldom appears.\textsuperscript{65}

Based on her research in the Saxon records, Dihle assumes that Dohnstein practiced his trade only sporadically.\textsuperscript{66} It seems possible, however that Dohnstein was working in another's employ as \textit{Baurechnungsführer} or master builder. This is an area for further research. It would also seem that Dohnstein would have depicted more of his military experiences if there had been an abundance of them over several years. Perhaps Dihle is correct though. Perhaps he preferred military service and simply did not find all of his experiences memorable enough to record them, or perhaps he did record them and those sketches are missing. I would argue that Dohnstein did not practice his trade sporadically. Rather, he practiced his artisan trade while serving as a Landsknecht. In the service of Albert the Bold and the King of Denmark, his pay was certainly no less reliable and was quite possibly more reliable than in civilian service to Frederick the Wise. Dohnstein erected camp, an absolutely necessary task. As long as there was war, there would be the opportunity to use his skills as a master builder.

Paul Dohnstein was at once an artisan and a warrior. He memorializes his martial experiences because they are important to him or to his audience or to both. Were one to examine this sketchbook without the benefit of Dihle's research, one would still detect Dohnstein's artisan background. While he does not directly mention his experience as a master bridge builder, his title page or cover page would provide indicators of such a background. Dohnstein has drawn a builder's mark squarely in the center of the page. Here, he has also written the name of a fellow artisan, \textit{Meister Heinrich}. A peasant or

\textsuperscript{65} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{66} Dihle and Closs, 2; Larsson, 71.
bridge worker with his implement appears next to a Landsknecht with his sword. The tool and sword cross neatly. Finally, two sets of initials, possibly for a guild motto, appear on the right hand side of the page. In other sketches, one might detect his artisan background through the manner in which he depicts fortifications and siege works. In other words, he does not ignore his artisan identity as he displays for his audience a second aspect of who he is, a Landsknecht. His audience may never have seen this martial side of Dолнstein in action. His audience may have found it fascinating and may have asked Dолнstein to describe his years at war. Perhaps he recorded similar experiences from his artisanal work, but if he did, we do not know it. All we know is that this, the martial side of the man, was singular enough to Dолнstein or to his intended audience for him to go to some length to preserve it.

**HISTORIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY**

The Landsknecht has long fascinated historians. Bernard Guenée characterizes Dолнstein’s period as, "between the age of the feudal army and that of the standing army . . . the era of the contract army." These military contractors came onto the scene in Germany by 1470, and after contracting themselves to a prince, recruited men to fight under their own command. There were also commanders who recruited first and then sold the services of the unit "to the highest bidder." These men, the German Landsknecht whose style was based on the Swiss Reisläufer, fought in phalanxes of pike. They were among the best foot soldiers in Europe. In his 1971 article, "The Landsknecht:

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68 Ibid.
69 Ibid.
His Recruitment and Organization, with Some Reference to the Reign of Henry VIII."

John Millar credits their success to having:

done something which no other infantry in Europe could do; they had combined
shock with mobility. In these troops were united the attributes which had made
the mounted knight the prince of medieval battlefields. The compact mass and
serried pikes of the landsknecht regiment gave it the solidity and weight
heretofore only enjoyed by men-at-arms. Coupled with this was rapidity of
movement, the ability to execute maneuvers coolly, and discipline, which
medieval horsemen lacked. The pikeman's competence in meeting and defeating
heavy horse had in fact established his reputation, and it was this singular skill
which first brought him into favor with the paymasters of Europe.⁷⁰

Millar's assertions are in line with scholarly consensus. David Parrott's 2010, "War, State,
and Society in Western Europe, 1600-1700," discusses the matter as well. Parrott
emphasizes the "weight of impact" from a solid mass of troops, the "steam-roller" effect
of Swiss tactics in transforming, "mercenaries from secondary force-enhancers such as
Genoese crossbowmen, into the dominant weapons-system of the early sixteenth
century."⁷¹ In his 1920 work, History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century, Hans
Delbrück argues that German soldiers had been "held in low regard" in the 1470s and
rose to prominence in the sixteenth century.⁷² John Lynn describes the Landsknecht in his
1995 article, "Recalculating French Army Growth During the Grand siècle, 1610-1715."
One of their greatest selling points was that they arrived in units already, "fully armed
and fully trained, ready to put in the line."⁷³ Delbrück observes something else the
Landsknecht possessed: a confidence and warrior ethos new to the common infantryman.

⁷⁰ John Gilbert Millar, "The Landsknecht: His Recruitment and Organization, with Some Reference to the
⁷¹ David Parrott, "War, State, and Society in Western Europe, 1600-1700," in European Warfare, 1350-
⁷² Hans Delbrück, History of the Art of War, vol. 4. Translated by Walter J. Renfroe, Jr. (Lincoln:
University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 5.
⁷³ John A. Lynn II, "Recalculating French Army Growth During the Grand siècle, 1610-1715," in The
This came in no small measure from the actions of their founder, Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I. At Guinegate in 1479, then Duke Maximilian, "himself took spear in hand and obliged his nobles to join the unit of foot soldiers in order by this camaraderie to heighten the soldiers' self-confidence and to inspire them with a touch of the warrior spirit carried over from knighthood."\textsuperscript{74} Keith Moxey's 1989 study, \textit{Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation}, also affirms the rise of the infantry who became, "the primary instrument of warfare."\textsuperscript{75}

While the term ‘Landsknecht’ existed before Maximilian, he is almost universally seen as the father of the Landsknecht.\textsuperscript{76} Their creation arose out of what Charles Oman calls Maximilian's "disastrous acquaintance with the Swiss phalanx."\textsuperscript{77} Hans Delbrück agrees that the, "first battle in which the Swiss combat methods appear in use by other than Swiss warriors is the battle of Guinegate, two and a half years after the battle of Nancy."\textsuperscript{78} The Burgundians had lost at Nancy in January of 1477, and Maximilian's father-in-law, Charles the Bold had been killed.

One scholar does not see Maximilian as the founder of the Landsknechts, though he does see him as their developer and patron.\textsuperscript{79} Max Laux argues in his 1901 work, "Der Ursprung der Landsknecht," that the Landsknechts evolved slowly, and that it was inconceivable that the young Maximilian so harried with political troubles had the time to

\textsuperscript{77} Charles Oman, \textit{A History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century} (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1937), 73.
\textsuperscript{78} Delbrück, 4.
create such an institution. However, he seems to have done exactly that. Constantly at war throughout his rule, facing the Turks and uprisings in the Netherlands as well as his Swiss lands, Maximilian recruited help from among the Swiss in creating the German mercenary units of what would come to be called the Landsknechts. Laux is correct in noting the relatively limited usage of the word in Maximilian's reign, and that the term came into prolific use in the sixteenth century. Rather, the terms *Knecht, Fußknecht* and *Dienstknecht* appear more commonly in Maximilian's era. Paul Dohnstein also uses *Knecht, Deutscher*, and *Mann* instead of Landsknecht.

The origin of the term Landsknecht is much debated. Most scholars agree that the term appeared in the early fifteenth century in administrative or military functions, but it did not assume its precise meaning of the disciplined pikeman fighting within a massive square of pike and halberd until the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century. Disagreement also arises over the term's meaning. Variations in spelling add to the debate. One point on which modern scholars agree is Max Laux's assertion that the term has nothing to do with the lance. Laux rejects this because these footsoldiers used spears, not lances, and in the writings of the era, the term *Spieß* is used with regard to pikemen. Hence, the *lanzknecht* is not a 'lance servant' but rather *lanz* is a spelling of *lands*, as are *lants* and *lant*. Laux concludes therefore that the term Landsknecht means 'servant of the land'. Martin Nell argues in his 1915 work, *Die Landsknechte: Entstehung der ersten deutschen Infanterie*, that the *Land* in question is specifically German land. The

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80 Ibid., 20.
81 Ibid., 22.
82 Ibid., 17; Oman, 74-75; Laux, 17; Delbrück, 7-8, 10; Franz, 87.
83 Laux, 17.
84 Ibid.
85 Nell, 273, 282.
Landsknecht for Nell is a German-national footsoldier. Günther Franz in his 1953 article, "Von Ursprung und Brauchtum der Landsknechte," agrees that the term was intended to distinguish these mercenaries as servants of the German land, as opposed to Bohemian and Swiss soldiers. Delbrück disagrees that the term has anything to do with distinguishing these men as distinctly German because Germans were not the only troops to fight as Landsknechts; Swiss in particular fought as early Landsknechts. He also rejects other common meanings such as, "soldiers for the defense of the country" and "soldiers who serve the country." Oman affirms Delbrück's view that the term does not indicate "men of their own land," or "men for the defence of the land," or "men not raised by the towns but by the countryside." Oman insists that the term was vague in its meaning when Maximilian chose to use it, "perhaps to disguise the fact that he was raising a permanent standing army, for whose appearance the Diet of the Empire had no particular enthusiasm." Larry Silver enters the discussion in his 2002 work, "Shining Armor: Emperor Maximilian, Chivalry, and War." Silver observes, "It is significant that [Maximilian] uses the same term, Knecht, for his stable-hand as he uses for his infantry land forces in battle, the Landsknechte. There is little consensus on what the term meant, but there is abundant criticism of the notion that the term applied specifically to German regions.
Combating nationalistic ideas of the Landsknecht as "the first German infantry," as defined by Martin Nell is Charles Oman. Oman observes, "The most extraordinary fact about the landsknechts is that, unlike the Swiss, they seem to have been singularly indifferent about their nationality. Except in their normal civil wars between canton and canton, the Confederates would not fight each other." For the Landsknechts, doing battle against one another posed little problem. As their fame spread and they were more readily available than the Swiss, thousands of Landsknechts even fought against their own emperor. John Millar agrees that they were true mercenaries and "frequently took service with the enemies of their country." However, it would seem that the term Landsknecht could indeed refer to German lands. Simply because Germans were indifferent about their masters does not mean that the term could not have arisen out of a hope to raise troops who did indeed serve the land of one master, specifically Maximilian. Their early period from 1480-1520 was a period in which Landsknechts were depicted heroically, as representing imperial power, and as distinct from the Swiss Reisläufer. Hence, "servants of the land" seems a plausible if naively hopeful meaning. Regardless of the connotation behind the term at the turn of the sixteenth century, its meaning for our purposes is the highly prized German mercenary trained to fight in pike formation. Two areas of Landsknecht historiography provide helpful context for the exploration of Paul Dohnstein's sketchbook: the Landsknecht in social history and the Landsknecht in art. A theme of the ensuing discussion will be the reasons that a career among the Landsknechts might have appealed to Dohnstein.

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93 Nell, 282.
94 Oman, 77.
95 Ibid.
96 Ibid., 79.
97 Millar, 95.
THE LANDSKNECHT IN SOCIAL HISTORY

There is scholarly consensus that Landsknechts were primarily men like Paul Dolnstein, artisans, and peasants.\(^98\) Hence, the study of Landsknechts, as a study largely of common men, is a kind of social history. Scholars have explored the reasons why such men joined and have found Landsknecht culture and social cohesion among the reasons. Social cohesion within military units played an unquestionably important role in the success of the Swiss and its near replication among the Landsknechts.\(^99\) The Landsknechts did in fact come close to duplicating Swiss cohesion because they shared similar culture and customs. This is in part because, as scholars agree, the early Landsknechts came primarily from those German areas bordering Swiss lands, and early German units often contained Swiss troops.\(^100\) Bert Hall argues in his 1997 work, *Weapons and Warfare in Renaissance Europe: Gunpowder, Technology, and Tactics* that Germans coming from these regions, "had much the same sort of esprit de corps as the Swiss had, the same devotion to themselves first, and the same professional indifference to the politics of their employers."\(^101\) Following the Swabian War of 1499, and as Landsknecht armies began to emulate their Swiss models with a little too much success, a savage rivalry ensued.\(^102\) Bernhard Kroener's 2006 work, "Antichrist, Archenemy, Disturber of the Peace - Forms and Means of Violent Conflict in the Early Modern

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\(^98\) Delbrück, 8; Fritz Redlich, *The German Military Enterpriser and His Work Force: A Study in European Economic and Social History*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1965), 456-457.

\(^99\) Franz, 80, 89; Delbrück, 588.


\(^101\) Hall, 225.

\(^102\) Potter, 128-132. Gunther Franz notes the chopping up of an enemy flag and eating it in a salad at Marignano. At this same battle, Landsknechts rubbed their pikes and boots with the belly fat of an enemy commander. They then poured oats into his belly and let their horses eat oats out of the enemy commander’s stomach. Franz, 90-91.
Ages," discusses the rivalry between Swiss and Germans. As with other scholars, he finds it ferocious in the extreme. However, he does not see their rivalry as springing primarily from proto-nationalistic pride or from the Swiss drive for independence as do other scholars. Instead, Kroener argues that their brutality was economically driven, "this was a conscious war of annihilation between two professional formations organized on a business basis, whose market value was calculated according to their willingness to pursue the battle to the ultimate extreme."\(^{103}\) Regardless of the motivations behind Swiss-German rivalry, its intensity added to unit cohesion. This cohesion came not solely from rivalry or the culture of their geographic origins but also from the culture within Landsknecht units.\(^{104}\)

Larry Silver notes the influence of military musicians as "the rise of drummers, fifers, and trumpeters as instruments of military cohesion."\(^{105}\) Dolnstein finds fifers and drummers important enough to depict and name them. David Potter's 2008 work, *Renaissance France at War: Armies, Culture and Society, c.1480-1560*, asserts that Landsknechts were independent in thinking and "were apt to form committees and intimidate royal commissioners. Even their own commanders were wary of them."\(^{106}\) In a 1993 work entitled, "Caste, Skill, and Training: The Evolution of Cohesion in European Armies from the Middle Ages to the Sixteenth Century," Dennis Showalter insists that

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\(^{105}\) Silver, 81.

\(^{106}\) Potter, 132.
there was a supplanting of "the community with the regiment." He also finds group cohesion to be, "both a survival mechanism and a career facilitator for the common Landsknecht." The draw of belonging to a distinct and bonded group may have been quite strong for many potential soldiers. Certainly, for all the hardships of military life, such an atmosphere would have been inviting.

Launching oneself on a military path was not solely a matter of appeal, however. There were also factors driving men into mercenary service. Showalter insists as does Fritz Redlich in his 1965 *The German Military Enterpriser and His Workforce* that underemployment and a population explosion pushed men into the ranks. Redlich argues that at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Landsknecht wage was much higher in terms of purchasing power than at the end of the century. Hence, even though recruits typically had to provide their own weapons, the real cost of weapons was not as prohibitive as later in the century. Further, the Landsknecht’s bargaining power was stronger in this early period. Redlich also notes the comparatively higher status of the Landsknecht in the final decades of the fifteenth and early decades of the sixteenth century than in the second half of the sixteenth century. In this early period between 1480 and 1520, the period of Dölnstein’s activity, there seem to have been comparatively more attractions drawing men to mercenary service than necessities pushing them into the ranks.

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107 Showalter, 72.
108 Ibid., 74.
109 Showalter, 71-72; Redlich, 73, 140.
111 Redlich, 121.
112 Redlich, 120-121.
Landsknechts reveled in their status outside civilian society, a status that freed them from many moral constraints. Showalter describes military life in this era as "an affirmation of the soldiers’ personal freedom -- their right to drink and gamble, to defend their honor in duels, to wear outrageous clothing, and to swagger at will among the women." Discussing Landsknecht units, Showalter observes, “Landsknechte were not a sworn egalitarian brotherhood. Their complex internal structure of rights and privileges reflected the order of civil society as much as any independent group dynamic.”

Showalter's view would seem to temper that of Franz, who asserts that there was almost no regard for birth as he emphasizes the emperor's dramatic moment of shouldering the pike himself. Indeed, Franz sees Maximilian as giving knightly honor to the Landsknecht. Redlich argues that there was a different kind of class structure among these warriors than in civilian society, going so far as to call the creators of early Landsknecht units, "unusually outrageous innovators," and "deviants." He explains, "In this way some of the spirit of knighthood was transmitted to the new infantry whose battle morale thus reached a level unknown to the rabble of the foot soldiery of the Middle Ages." Such a spirit of knighthood, such a bold blurring of class lines, as well as the resulting bravado in bearing would have appealed to potential recruits. Hans Delbrück agrees, arguing that Maximilian endowed these foot soldiers with honor unlike anything they had ever experienced in the Middle Ages. They "were no longer regarded as a simple supporting arm but developed a warlike esprit de corps which caused them to

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113 Showalter, 72.
114 Ibid., 74.
115 Franz, 89.
116 Redlich, 16-17.
117 Ibid.
118 Ibid., 462-463.
They carried themselves with a boldness indicative of this new status and of their status as being outside the moral constraints of civilian society.

In his 2010 study, "The Transformation of Army Organization in Early-Modern Western Europe, c. 1500-1789," Olaf Nimwegen describes the Landsknechts' separateness from civilians even when among them. He emphasizes their discipline on the field as contrasted with their utter lack of discipline off the field. They "themselves elected some of their officers and were directly involved in the administration of military justice." Nimwegen suggests that this made Landsknechts more difficult to control than most mercenaries, possessing, as it were, almost a class counter-culture. Similarly, Hale argues that men were attracted by, "women, drink, dice, finery." Hale also suggests that German soldier songs may have made military life alluring, as they conveyed, "the holiday mood of the military alternative society. Buttressed by the conviction that their bravery and stamina made them 'ritterlich', knightly, the songs celebrate the joys of the open road: a dog, a woman, a boy servant, wine, cash, freedom to roam to the exhilarating sound of fife and drum." Many of these elements of Landsknecht life appear in Dolnstein’s sketches.

John Lynn's 2008 work, Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe, supports the view of the army and its train as constituting an alternative society, particularly for women. Lynn asserts that women were an integral part of armies. They appear as something new."

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119 Delbrück, 8.
121 Nimwegen, 164-165.
followed armies as wives, sutlers, laundresses, sometimes soldiers, and as occasional or full-time prostitutes. So-called May Marriages may have offered one of the most appealing options for both men and women. In such an arrangement, a woman and a soldier would pair off for a single campaign. Women were drawn to the adventure, to opportunities for collecting booty, and to the wild life of tagging along with a military man. Men enjoyed companionship and the benefits of having someone to protect his booty, do his laundry, and tend him if he should be wounded or fall ill.

Keith Moxey asserts that clothing, too, may have been an attraction. Attire separated soldiers from civilians and identified them with the aristocratic warrior class. This conscious, outward identification with noblemen made sense because Maximilian had endowed the Landsknecht with an unofficial ennoblement. Silver notes that, "nobles had become career soldiers, and professional soldiers ennobled." One sees this ennoblement in the Landsknecht's appearance in art as well.

THE LANDSKNECHT IN ART

At the same time that the Landsknechts were coming into being, we see for the first time since the classical period, the individual soldier becoming an object worthy of artistic depiction. Dolnstein’s depictions of his fellow Landsknechts, while not in the realm of fine art, follow the patterns of artists like Albrecht Dürer and Urs Graf, who was himself a mercenary. As do professional artists, Dolnstein emphasizes clothing, weaponry, the natural features of individuals, and conveys a sense of martial glory. If

125 Ibid., 76-77.
127 Moxey, 72.
128 Silver, 79.
129 Hale, Artists and Warfare, viii.
only for his limited audience, Dolnstein injects his comrades and himself into the visual conversation about the common soldier. The prevailing view among scholars is that the emergence of the Landsknecht in art is related to his personification of imperial power. Maximilian himself was a patron of artistic depictions of mercenaries as representatives of his might. Hence, the common soldier appeared in a becoming light, and this is yet another reason why Dolnstein may have inclined toward mercenary service. As a result of their association with the emperor, depictions of the Landsknecht in their early period were overwhelmingly positive and heroic. 

Keith Moxey's 1989 study, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation*, acknowledges that later images of Landsknechts were frequently negative, mocking or chastising mercenaries for drunkenness, gambling, lechery, and irreverence. However, this early period between 1480 and 1520 witnessed primarily heroic depictions of Landsknechts often standing alone and "accompanied by flattering texts." Such positive, glorious depictions reflected the identification of mercenaries with imperial power and with a burgeoning German cultural and linguistic identity evident in German humanist writings, "The fighting ability of the German people, a quality they discovered in reading a newly found and recently published Roman work, the *Germania* of Tacitus, was much stressed in their support of Maximilian's projected crusade against the Turks." In this distinctly German light, Landsknechts were even depicted as virtues personified; poems, too, appeared praising their prowess.

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130 Moxey, 71.
131 Ibid., 67-100, especially 69, 72.
132 Ibid., 72, 80-95.
133 Ibid., 72.
134 Ibid., 72-73.
As to the audience for such images, Moxey suggests that perhaps they were used as interior decorations for homes and may have appealed to members of any class. Focusing his study on Nuremberg, an imperial free city, Moxey asserts that Nuremberger, “would have viewed the image of the heroic imperial mercenary as an attractive sign of the vitality and power of a new civilization.”

Further, for many artisans:

the swashbuckling gestures and splendid costumes would have combined with the descriptions of high pay and plunder to make the mercenary's life appear highly attractive. Such images may well have encouraged them to disregard the miseries of war, thus contributing to their decisions to abandon their trades.

For Moxey, the soldier appears as a legitimate object of art because of his representation of imperial power and because of the artists' ability to produce for a larger market outside the traditional aristocratic patron. For John Hale as well, new markets were a factor, but so was the new art of war.

In his 1990 work, *Artists and Warfare in the Renaissance*, John Hale argues that representations of the common infantryman in art followed changes in the art of war. As the infantry began to take the place of cavalry as the decisive arm of the military, so too were works of art acquiring "an unprecedented command over description and expressiveness." Further, "a novel market" owing at least partially to pro-German cultural sentiment allowed artists "to choose their own subjects and express their own attitudes outside the normal constraints of patronage." This pro-German cultural sentiment produced a demand in local markets for images of successful German warriors.

136 Moxey, 100.
137 Moxey, 100.
139 Ibid.
140 Ibid., viii, 46-48, 55.
Further, artists could now create images for cheaply produced woodcuts, allowing artists more latitude than work for a patron might provide. Hale sees the allure for artists to study the soldier as coming partly from the soldier's status as an outsider, not unlike gypsies, criminals, and witches, and also as "the most interesting of wayfarers." Artists depicted soldiers in scenes of daily life in camp, women cooking, soldiers chatting. Hale further argues that, free to explore their own themes, artists had little reason to depict knights. As urban artisans, artists probably did not personally know well or relate to knights who were often, "natural predators on townsmen." They could, however, abundantly identify with their fellow artisans who became Landsknechts. Further, the world of a Landsknecht was interesting in a way that a knight's world may not have been. The common soldier's business, and that of the women who followed him, offered fascinating moments to portray visually: "serving a cannon, gossiping away the time on the march, pitching camp, lolling within the opening of a tent, looting." Artists were interested in these figures beyond hard and fast matters like siege works, artillery, and logistics; they wanted to tap social interactions and day-to-day life among common soldiers.

Guy Wilson also sees art following the art of war. In his 2002 work, "Military Science, History, and Art," he argues that images of the common foot soldier changed with new information, "Bruni's De militia (1421) . . . broke through the medieval interpretation of Roman authors by demonstrating that the Roman miles was an armored
foot soldier of common origin and not a mounted, heavily armored knight." Further, "Where the earlier generation was most interested in the outcome of battles or the glory of war, the new generation . . . were interested in the battles themselves -- how they were fought and in what bred victory or defeat." War moved from stylized practice and depiction of war to a greater "emphasis on detail, military units, terrain, and the things unique to a given battle," consistent with general tendencies toward natural depiction in the Renaissance. He is careful, however, not to overstate military influence on changes in the depiction of war. For Wilson, the Renaissance was a time of tremendous cultural, societal, political, and artistic change, and changes in the art of war were certainly reflected in artistic depictions of war.

Larry Silver emphasizes Maximilian's impact on the emergence of the common foot soldier as an object worthy of artistic depiction. Through Maximilian's commissioned works of art, specifically The Triumphal Procession, the Landsknecht comes to embody imperial strength. Silver observes that Landsknechts began to wear armor, albeit in a less sophisticated style, and much of this armor came from the foundries of Maximilian's Innsbruck. As have other scholars, Silver attributes to their clothing a, "particular pride and visibility." Also in the path of other scholars, he finds that military glory and honor were newly accessible to commoners, "the common trait of valor linked both infantry soldiers and noblemen . . . Nobles had become career soldiers,

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148 Ibid., 13.
149 Ibid., 30.
150 Ibid., 13, 29-30, 32.
151 Ibid., 30-33.
152 Silver, 61-86.
153 Ibid., 62, 72.
154 Ibid., 73.
155 Ibid.
and professional soldiers ennobled.¹⁵⁶ This ennoblement, albeit intangible and unofficial, came in large part from Maximilian and from a new kinship with the noble warrior.¹⁵⁷ Through the medium of the Landsknecht, Maximilian put military glory and honor within the grasp of the artisans who filled his pike squares.

DOLNSTEIN AS WARRIOR ARTISAN

The warrior artisan identity was not uncommon among the Landsknecht at the turn of the sixteenth century. Fritz Redlich describes two varieties of mercenaries in this period: sedentary and roving. The roving variety, "if not already pulled up, were uprooted as soon as they began to follow the colors."¹⁵⁸ Redlich finds this type to comprise "roving folk" who "made war their profession."¹⁵⁹ When not employed at war, these soldiers spent their days in, "inns and taverns where recruiting agents could find them."¹⁶⁰ They included all ranks of society including the nobility, and particularly artisans.¹⁶¹ Often these tavern haunters included criminals, debtors, and political exiles. Their nearly universally shared characteristic was need, whether a financial need or a need to be on the run.¹⁶² Having lost their homes and livelihoods, if they ever had them, these men found a brotherhood in mercenary companies which often stayed together when commanders disbanded the troops for the winter or at the end of a war.¹⁶³ Staying together offered Landsknechts both bargaining power in negotiation for pay, and a sense of security in

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 79.
¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 80.
¹⁵⁸ Redlich, 115.
¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 117.
¹⁶⁰ Ibid.
¹⁶¹ Ibid., 117-118.
¹⁶² Ibid., 118.
¹⁶³ Ibid. In his discussion of English troops, John Hale describes mercenaries as not adjusting well to life after years of soldiering. One wonders how many of those found themselves marred physically and psychologically, unfit for any work but military service even when opportunity awaited them at home. For Dohnstein and at least one of his comrades, this seems not to have been the case. They returned to their civilian work, and Dohnstein appears to have done well. Hale, 44.
numbers.\textsuperscript{164} Often these troupes of disbanded mercenaries, "formed robber bands, until hired by another war lord or perhaps annihilated by an army of knights raised for that purpose or by other means."\textsuperscript{165} They posed a dangerous nuisance from the turn of the sixteenth century through the Thirty Years' War as they harassed peasants and begged or robbed for their sustenance.\textsuperscript{166}

Redlich describes the second kind of mercenary, the sedentary lot, as maintaining their local ties while serving as mercenaries.\textsuperscript{167} Their contemporary, Sebastian Franck, noted that they served as, "the subjects of a prince, who in need has ordered them to do military service, return to their work once the war has come to an end."\textsuperscript{168} German princes had "the right to call up for military service a certain proportion of the male inhabitants of their realms."\textsuperscript{169} This was Paul Dолnstein's type. Like the Swiss Reisläufer, the sedentary Landsknechts had work to which to return in their home communities. Their behavior on the battlefield was also noted in their home communities, for better or for worse. It could very well have been Dолnstein's military performance away from home that put him in a position to be placed on par with Lucas Cranach the Elder if only in terms of payment in cloth for a particular style of gown. Dолnstein could occupy this space on par with Cranach because of the particular kind of artisan he was. Dолnstein occupied a singular Renaissance ground between artisans like bakers and brewers and those who made stained glass, painted altar pieces, and printed books. He was among those skilled craftsmen on the fringes of the artistic world who combined technological

\begin{itemize}
  \item[\textsuperscript{164}] Redlich 119.
  \item[\textsuperscript{165}] Ibid.
  \item[\textsuperscript{166}] Ibid.
  \item[\textsuperscript{167}] Ibid., 115.
  \item[\textsuperscript{168}] Sebastien Franck in Redlich, 115.
  \item[\textsuperscript{169}] Redlich, 116.
\end{itemize}
expertise with artistic expertise. When I use the term ‘artisan’ in this sketchbook, these are people to whom I refer.

Some sedentary troops would "come close to being professional soldiers" if they found the martial life to their liking. In other words, these sedentary soldiers would not need to be summoned a second time but would rather volunteer for service. That Dolnstein found his martial experience important enough to record it and that he disappears from Saxon records of civilian work for a decade, perhaps suggests that Dolnstein was among this latter type of sedentary mercenary, welcoming military work.

For the sedentary Landsknecht, at least in Dolnstein's case, it appears that there were inducements both for and against military service. Among the attractions of military service was the comparatively high status of the Landsknecht in the final decades of the fifteenth and early decades of the sixteenth century. Their numbers were comparatively low, and the demand was high. One might expect, therefore, that Dolnstein could have earned more as a Landsknecht than as a master builder, or at least earned more consistently. It is strange to think of a mercenary, so frequently unpaid, as having greater financial security than an artisan employed by a prince, but this may have been the case. Mercenaries could also supplement their income with authorized (or, with some risk, unauthorized) looting and the capture of burghers and wealthy peasants for ransom. Even if they had to turn some of these captives over to military authorities, Landsknechts

\[^{170}\text{Ibid.}\]
\[^{171}\text{For example, "Nevertheless he might still remain rooted in his village or town. We know for certain that when the Schmalkalden War was threatening, Schertlin recruited Alpine miners who took part in other wars too and of whom some had joined the peasant uprisings of the 1520's. These men surely returned home when the war was over, since mining was flourishing at the time and carried prestige." Ibid.}\]
\[^{172}\text{Ibid., 120.}\]
\[^{173}\text{Ibid.}\]
received some form of compensation.\(^{174}\) Further, unpaid Landsknechts in the first half of the sixteenth century were not without recourse. Rioting, refusing to fight, or threatening to force battle prematurely would often produce the demanded payment.\(^{175}\)

Necessity may have been one of Paul Dohnstein’s motivations for serving, perhaps even the primary motivation. Although Dohnstein was gainfully employed by Prince Frederick the Wise, he may not have had financial security. As noted above, Paul Dohnstein wrote to the electoral governor complaining about a lack of money for the Torgau Bridge project. That Paul Dohnstein could not be certain of a steady income for himself and his crew; that by erecting camp, he could practice his trade in military service; and that Landsknechts in this period had considerable bargaining power and were held in fairly high regard, all suggest a combination of push and pull factors leading to Dohnstein's years of military service. He seems an excellent example of Redlich’s sedentary mercenary serving as needed, likely crossing over into a professional soldier for a few years, and returning to the community in which he had remained rooted.

Thanks to Maximilian, to artists, and to the success of Landsknechts and Reisläufer on the battlefield, honor was now available to common infantrymen. The Landsknecht, by his very existence as a successful copy of the Swiss Reisläufer, glorified Maximilian, his creator. By association with Maximilian who has shouldered the pike himself, the Landsknecht is ennobled. In art, he is lionized. In his garish version of aristocratic attire; in his new role as the primary weapon of war; in his ability to take down knights; in the democratic elements of Landsknecht governance; in all these ways,

\(^{174}\) Ibid., 131.
\(^{175}\) Ibid., 132.
he is elevated to a new and very appealing status. In crafting his sketchbook, Dolnstein entwines himself in this subset of his society.

In all of the six war scenes, Dolnstein places himself at the scene of action, occasionally with the words, “There I, Paul Dolnstein, saw action.” Scholars agree that the writers of Renaissance military memoirs were primarily noblemen who focused on individual feats of valor. Unlike noble memoirs, Dolnstein’s collection of memories does not focus on individual valor. It does not even focus on Dolnstein. Rather, he celebrates collective action. Perhaps this is because Dolnstein did little in his own right that he thought worthy of note. Or, perhaps the emphasis on his comrades and the body of men as whole suggest the esprit de corps of the Landsknecht pike square in which all worked as a single body, sacrificing individual honor for that of the whole. Dolnstein was not noble, but he may have come to see himself as quasi-noble, having been knighted - albeit by a foreign king - and being apparently welcome in the Saxon court. And yet, his sketchbook is that of an artisan. His observation of structures, the individuals he pictures and names, and the complex set of images on the title page all suggest a man who is at once a master craftsman and a soldier. Though we do not know his intended audience, he appears to have had one. This is not a work for himself; it is not a document in which he preserves memories for his own future recollection. His language is explanatory, not reflective. At times, it is even instructional, as in Sketch 12. His comments are not lines one would write to oneself. Though we do not know for whom he composed this

176 He writes variations of, “do pin ich pawl vom dolnstain pey gewest.” This might be read a number of ways, such as “There I, Paul von Dolnstein, participated,” or, “Then I, Paul von Dolnstein, was there.”
178 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 7v-8r.
illustrated notebook, he did have an audience in mind, and it may have been Meister Heinrich.

Paul Dohnstein's notebook allows scholars the opportunity to examine what one Landsknecht found important enough to preserve. Of interest to social historians, Dohnstein’s sketchbook combined with other records of his life, suggests both practical and intangible reasons why people joined or followed mercenary armies. For scholars in the field of art history, his sketches allow a glimpse into the Renaissance as it was unfolding through the eyes of one who was neither an artist nor a scholar. Dohnstein illustrates people as individuals and takes care to represent their natural features, a development of the Renaissance. At times, however, his foregrounding and use of scale with structures and human beings is decidedly medieval. His depictions of sieges and battle, and his commentary on how to array four hundred men, which is among the earliest known depictions of a sleeve of shot, add to the discourse on military history. Precisely who the audience was, how many unrecorded military events filled Dohnstein’s arsenal of memories, where he was born and apprenticed, and what ultimately became of him all remain a mystery. Despite these facts, the images of his comrades and scenes of action offer scholars a unique opportunity to see the world through the eyes a Renaissance warrior artisan.

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179 In the sketch from the missing page, Dohnstein draws people, ships, and buildings in a manner reflecting an integration of Renaissance ideals of natural scale. Dihle, Figure 36, unnumbered page.
CHAPTER II
THE SKETCHES
Figure 2. Sketch 1, *Title Page*.\(^{180}\)

\(^{180}\) ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 1r. Blatt or Blätter, recto and verso. This page is stamped with a 1.
Paul Dolnstein's sketchbook opens with what appears to be a title page. Given that the pages were bound together before Dolnstein made his sketches, it is likely that this is the intended first page. In its subject matter and in the employment of artistic images such as the sun and a hand holding a stylus, it is different from all the others. Dolnstein's other pages depict named individuals, fortifications, and battles. They convey a practical message of what his comrades looked like, what kind of fortifications and weapons appeared in various settings, and what Dolnstein experienced or observed in specific sieges or battles. On this first page, however, the sun and hand seem to serve a more fanciful purpose. Even the human figures seem like characters in a story. Central on the page is a symbol surrounded by the words *Maister Heinrich: Ein Hunderd* and what appears to be a cast of characters. Looking down over all is a medieval sun wearing a hat.

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181 This could also be *SLW*.
182 Baufeld: *suw* is *sau*. This would probably not be a suitable reading.
in a rakish fashion characteristic of the Landsknechts. A woman, halberdier, worker, and writing hand ring the page. Unique from the other pages though this title page may be, if I may call it a title page, it shares with the rest of the contents of the sketchbook an attention to detail and display of Dohnstein's dual identity as Landsknecht and craftsman.

Though Dohnstein's sketchbook is devoted to his martial experiences, clearly his identity as a master builder matters to him. This is evident in the object Paul Dohnstein places in a focal point, the craftsman’s mark just below the blade of the halberd.

Figure 3. Sample Mason’s Marks\textsuperscript{183}

Above are several examples of mason’s marks, which are one form of artisan’s marks. Used as a form of quality control and a way to claim credit for one's work, marks appear on the work of craftsmen dating back to antiquity. It is possible that the particular mark on Dohnstein’s title page, if I may call it that, is Meister Heinrich’s. Indeed, it stands

\textsuperscript{183} W. S. Geddie, Mr R Johnstone. W. S. Geddie was once Provost of Fortrose. Groam House Museum Photograph Collection.
in the middle of his name. Because builders' marks took both responsibility and credit for the craftsmanship of the object on which they appeared, it seems equally likely that the mark emblazoned on the page is Dolnstein’s, claiming the sketchbook as his own work. Dolnstein may be demonstrating to Meister Heinrich the mastery of a set of skills Heinrich taught to Dolnstein, or he may be illustrating stories he has shared with Meister Heinrich. Craftsmen may also have used builders' marks as a form of graffiti in artisanal haunts, perhaps as a way to say, "I was here." Below is a mid-sixteenth century scene from a tavern that suggests such informal use.

![Figure 4. Brunswick Monogrammist, *Tavern Scene*, ca. 1540.](image-url)

Note the upper right section of the painting where several builders' marks appear around the door frame. Perhaps some tavern owners encouraged the leaving of one's mark as a way to identify themselves with master craftsmen, especially those of some renown. It is

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184 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
185 I must disagree with Keith Moxey's description of these markings as "sexual drawings." These appear to be builder's marks. Moxey, 93.
worth noting that throughout Europe many people, not solely craftsmen, used marks. For example, in Scandinavia *bumerker* were used to mark ownership.

Figure 5. *Bumerker*.¹⁸⁶

A *bumerke* was an identifying mark associating objects with, for example, a person, family, or farm.¹⁸⁷ There is a bewildering array of such marks. The marks above are complex whereas some are simpler. Note that mark 13 bears a resemblance to the mark on the Title Page of Dohnstein’s sketchbook. Given that he devoted four sketches spanning six pages to his experiences in Sweden, it is not out of the realm of possibility that the mark on the Title Page is a *bumerke*. Even so, this is an artisan’s sketchbook, and the most probable interpretation of this mark is that it is a builder’s mark, and likely his own.

On either side of the mark on Dohnstein’s title page is "Maister Heinrich." The name does not seem to belong to any of the people depicted later in the work, although it

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¹⁸⁷ Ibid.
is possible that his is among the illegible names. Were the sketchbook about Meister Heinrich, his name would probably appear more than once. Rather, Paul Dolnstein seems to have dedicated the sketchbook to him or to have given it to him as a gift. Covering the lines of other images as they do, it appears that *Meister Heinrich*, the builder's mark, and *Ein Hunderd* were written on top of the drawings. Perhaps giving the book to or dedicating it to Meister Heinrich was an afterthought. This fellow master artisan could be a friend whom Dolnstein had regaled with stories of his days as a soldier, or a master from Paul Dolnstein's days as a journeyman. It is possible that this sketchbook was an exercise as part of a foray into learning a new level of drawing beyond architectural drafting. Such an exchange of skills would have been possible in the culturally rich environment of Frederick the Wise’s Saxony.

There are a number of Meisters Heinrich mentioned in the building projects of Saxony. Torgau is where we place Dolnstein with certainty, and though there are Meisters Heinrich in Torgau before and after Dolnstein's time, I find no certainty of a Meister Heinrich in Torgau when Dolnstein was there.\(^{188}\) One interesting figure appears in the list of artisans working on the goblins and ornamentation for Prince Frederick's church in Torgau in 1487, a Meister Heinrich Krebs.\(^{189}\) Certainly, this Meister Heinrich’s work was artistic. He would have known how to draw in order to create models for his carvings. This is the sort of person Dolnstein may have known from his days as a journeyman when his name would not have appeared in the records of Prince Frederick’s projects. Such a Meister Heinrich could have been teaching Dolnstein to draw beyond the

\(^{188}\) Bruck, 241-242, 244-245, 318.

\(^{189}\) Ibid., 318.
architectural drafting he would have known as a builder. Enticing as this particular Meister Heinrich may be, we simply do not know who Dohnstein's Meister Heinrich is.

Another mystery is the reference to "One Hundred." There is not another mention of a hundred in Dohnstein’s illustrated notebook, though there are certainly references to hundreds of men, but not specifically one hundred or a hundred. Nor do there seem to be one hundred of anything in the sketchbook. "Ein Hundred" may suggest that the notebook is not a complete work. Perhaps Paul Dohnstein had intended to depict one hundred events or one hundred people. There is also the possibility that Ein Hunderd refers to the German Hundred as a political unit. Perhaps the most likely answer at present is that Paul Dohnstein campaigned over the years with a nucleus of one hundred artisans. One might further focus this by proposing that these artisans were his peers and perhaps his own journeymen or workers. Indeed, they may have come from either ducal or electoral Saxon lands. This would mesh well with the value Dohnstein places on people. Eleven of nineteen sketches depict specific individuals with one other sketch being a self-portrait. Perhaps Dohnstein's subjects were people Meister Heinrich knew. For these individuals, Dohnstein records only their names. Perhaps Dohnstein needed to write no more description than names because Meister Heinrich knew them or knew them from hearing Dohnstein's stories.

Dohnstein may have told scores of adventure tales and perhaps talked about women. The faded image of a woman may suggest one of the attractions of the march, the libertine lifestyle associated with camp life and with the women who followed mercenaries. Wearing the head dress of an upper class woman, she follows the

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190 For the hundred as a political unit, see Edward Jenks, "The Problem of the Hundred," The English Historical Review, 11, no. 43 (July, 1896): 510-514.
conventions of Landsknecht adoption of aristocratic attire. One of three women in this sketchbook, she may represent a companion. She could also represent the work camp followers did that kept an army going. Though it is difficult to determine whether or not she is a finished sketch, she is clearly not an afterthought. 'Maister' covers the lines that make up her figure, rather than vice versa, meaning that she was drawn before Dolnstein wrote ‘Maister.’ As with the two other human subjects, she appears to be an individual rather than a type, and she does not resemble any of the named figures in the illustrated notebook.

Below the woman is a halberdier in light armor, typical of that worn by other halberdiers in the sketchbook. He is at once carefully and carelessly clad. His shirt collar gathers neatly above his breast plate while the tail of his shirt hangs down through his pant leg. His thigh appears to be bare. There are no feathers in his cap. The fabric of his clothing is plain, unlike the striped and slashed attire elsewhere in the sketchbook. Sporting a short beard, he has unique features. Of the eleven sketches of individuals, eight include or depict exclusively halberdiers, suggesting their importance to Dolnstein or simply the age and experience of his comrades. Halberdiers tended to be drawn from the more experienced soldiers. Hence Dolnstein’s companions may have served on a number of campaigns. The idea that Dolnstein’s comrades were experienced soldiers fits well with the span of events from the Siege of Montfort through the Bavarian War.

Next to the halberdier is a peasant, laborer, or possibly a journeyman. Looking less concerned with his appearance, the worker's attire seems suited solely to functionality. He also appears to be barefoot. To the right of this central figure is the faded remnant of something circular. It is tempting to see this remnant as a drum. There
also appears to be part of a foot under the object. The worker is central on the page, but
given that part of the page has been covered in repairs, it is difficult to say whether or not
he is Dohnstein’s intended focal point of the page. The worker too has unique features but
does not resemble any of the named figures. This worker, journeyman, or peasant is the
largest of the figures on this page, and he is the most perplexing. Larsson describes him
as a "man with a pickaxe,” while Dihle says he is, "apparently a worker, holding in his
right hand a pickaxe with two prongs." She suggests that Dohnstein may be depicting
one of his bridge building workers. Perhaps he is indeed one of Dohnstein's workers or
a journeyman. His implement resembles a two-pronged hoe more than a pickaxe. Despite
the ink blotch, there is no extension on the other side of the tool as there would be on a
pickaxe. The tool therefore seems at first glance to be that of a peasant. However, there
are no other German peasants in the sketchbook, and the tool closely resembles siege
defense building tools from Sketch 13. If the central figure is a journeyman or a laborer
and his tool was used in building, he fits perfectly within the context of the sketchbook. It
may be inferring a step too far, but these two men seem to represent the two halves of
Dohnstein’s identity. The crossing of the halberdier's sword and this man’s implement
suggests the dual identity of the sedentary Landsknecht, the crossing of two roles in one
life.

Next to the peasant, on the far right of the page is the striking image of a hand
holding a stylus and writing, "SIW," or "SLW" above the letters, "SWW." The letters are
not precisely clear, and their meaning is a puzzle. It is possible that they are builder’s

\[191\] Larsson, 74; Dihle and Closs, 8.
\[192\] Dihle and Closs, 8.
\[193\] ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 8v.
marks. Turning the page 180 degrees, the letters resemble builder’s marks.\textsuperscript{194} When viewed as depicted above in Figure 2, they do appear to be letters. In this era before middle names were common, it seems the three letters are not the initials of people. They could, however, represent the first letters of the words in a guild motto. The hand itself is nearly identical to another drawn within a few years of Dohnstein’s sketchbook.

![Figure 6](image)

Figure 6. Hans Holbein the Younger, \textit{Erasmus’ Hands}, 1523.\textsuperscript{195}

Above, we see Hans Holbein’s hand holding a stylus. This hand, believed to be drawn after the other two, is part of Holbein's study of Erasmus' hands.\textsuperscript{196} One wonders if drawing a hand holding a stylus was a common exercise for builders learning the art of drafting. Or, perhaps Paul Dohnstein had seen an artist make such a drawing. Perhaps he was learning in person from such an artist, or perhaps this was an exercise suggested by Meister Heinrich. There are other images of hands holding a stylus, including Albrecht

\textsuperscript{194} Per electronic correspondence, Ineke Justitz, North Dakota State University, February 24, 2012.
\textsuperscript{195} Paris, Musée de Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Inv. 18.698.
Dürer's image of Erasmus writing. However, these hands are not disembodied like Dohnstein's and Holbein's. Dohnstein could have come up with the idea himself, but given the efflorescence and copying of art, it is wise to consider that Dohnstein may have been copying an image of a hand holding a stylus. That Dohnstein saw this particular drawing seems unlikely, given that there is no reason to think it was ever near Saxony and that the last event in Dohnstein’s sketchbook occurred in 1504 and Holbein’s hand was drawn after 1523. While Dohnstein, who clearly had exposure to lands beyond Saxony, may have seen Holbein's drawing, it is more likely that he saw a similar image by a different artist in the artistic clime of Prince Frederick’s Saxony. He may have observed this motif in time spent in the presence of master artists known to be in Saxony. We have already seen that Dohnstein and Lucas Cranach received the same gifts of cloth in the same year, both for court clothing. It is likely that Cranach and Dohnstein knew each other to some degree. Dohnstein may well have spent time with other artists in the pay of Frederick the Wise. Through discussion or observation with any of these artists, Dohnstein may have come across a hand holding a stylus.

Indeed, Dohnstein’s world in the Saxony of Frederick the Wise was a richly artistic place. At least one author places Albrecht Dürer in the princely court at Wittenberg in 1503. Jacopo de’ Barbari also worked in the princely court at Wittenberg, and more importantly he worked in Torgau. The purpose of this is not to suggest that Dohnstein learned to draw from these masters. His wanting to draw has no need of explanation. Rather, the purpose is to illustrate that Paul Dohnstein came from a

197 Ibid.
198 Cranach worked in both Wittenberg and Torgau, as for instance for four weeks in 1513. Peter Moser, Lucas Cranach: Sein Leben, seine Welt und seine Bilder (Bamberg: Babenberg Verlag, 2004), 75.
199 Bruck, 165.
200 Luigi Servolini, Jacopo de’ Barbari: oevre katalog (Padua: Le Tre Venezie, 1944), 59-60.
heavily artistic environment in the Saxon court. Robert Bruck called Wittenberg the birthplace of the German Renaissance. This was, of course, roundly disputed by Berthold Daun, for pride of place goes unquestionably to Nuremberg. But Bruck had reason for seeing Wittenberg in Saxony as highly influential in the German Renaissance. Dohnstein’s prince, Frederick the Wise was a great supporter of the visual arts. It must be remembered that artists were artisans. Dohnstein may have met these artists and may even have seen them at work. At the very least, Dohnstein saw those of Dürer's works which Prince Frederick had commissioned for his church in Torgau. Frederick the Wise was a great patron of Dürer. Indeed, the prince met Dürer in Nuremberg in April of 1496 and as, "the first notable German prince to recognize the young Nuremberger's talents commissioned a half-length portrait."

Figure 7. Albrecht Dürer, Detail: The Apocalypse: Breaking of the Sixth Seal, 1498.

Equally interesting as the hand is the sun, set in the clouds and shining benevolently down on all. The rays extending around the sun in Dohnstein's depiction are similar to

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202 Daun, 156.


those in Dürer's sun above. The stylized image on the title page is Dohnstein's own
interpretation of the personified sun, a common image in both medieval and Renaissance
art. The eyelashes of Dohnstein's sun are themselves rays. With the addition of the jaunty
hat, this common motif takes on a unique quality, becoming a Landsknecht’s sun. The
orb is content and warm, perhaps suggesting the intangible appeal of the freedom of life
in Landsknecht service. The sun taken together with the hand suggests Dohnstein's
attempt to display his artistic skill or new training, perhaps specifically for Meister
Heinrich.

Each of the images on this page suggests either Dohnstein’s mercenary or master
craftsman identity. The woman faces the same direction as the halberdier who is
seemingly setting off on the march. The worker, peasant, or journeyman too is in motion,
perhaps following the mercenary. This journeyman figure taken with the Landsknecht
may represent the two halves of the warrior artisan identity of the sedentary Landsknecht.
The mercenary’s sword and the central figure’s implement cross, suggesting that the two
meet in some fashion, perhaps in the same person. The hand inscribing what may relate
to a craftsman’s guild demonstrates Dohnstein’s potential exposure to great artists. With
the exception of this hand, his drawing shows no more skill than a builder would be
expected to possess. This hand, however, is different, suggesting that he received some
insight from one of the many artists in his world. The sun draws on artistic themes as it
claims the Landsknecht persona. The dedication to Meister Heinrich and the craftsman’s
sign suggest an artisan audience. Taken as a whole, this page with its complex set of
images demonstrates that even as Paul Dohnstein stepped out of one world, into another,
and back again, he remained rooted in both the civilian and military worlds.
Figure 8. Sketch 2, *Two Halberdiers*.  

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205 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 1v.
Commentary

In this and the following sketches, we see Dohnstein’s dual identity as master builder and warrior. On this page, Dohnstein expresses his military identity as he does throughout the sketchbook, in the very act of drawing armed Landsknechts. He expresses his craftsman’s identity in the attention he gives to details, a trait that a master craftsman of Dohnstein’s caliber would possess, and in his portrayal of the appeal of being part of the Landsknecht world. Here he depicts two comrades in typically outlandish Landsknecht garb. As discussed in the Introduction, their attire marked these men as

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206 Top Left:

wo... ...erk or wu... ...erk von
...en...burg

Translation:

..... ..... von
.....burg
possibly Wolf ...erk von Renkburg

Top right:

Glatt Jorg pau... [The ‘p’ is unclear.]

Translation:

Glatt Jorg ......

Glatt, meaning “smooth,” could be a playful commentary on his the other man’s choice in facial hair. Glatt is also the name of a tributary to the Rhine River and of the Glatt Valley in modern Switzerland. Glatt or Glatten is also the name of a site in Baden-Württemberg.

On Chest:

PAVLS

W

Translation:

Paulus

W or simply a design

Bottom Right:

pang... or paug... [The last letter could be an ‘o’, ‘e’, ‘a’.] glugen or glogen or gligen [The stroke at the end is likely an abbreviation for “-en.” Per January 17, 2012, electronic correspondence, Christopher S. Mackay, University of Alberta.] gip or gyp or gifyn or gisn

Translation:

There are so many possibilities that it is unwise to venture very far here. I would cautiously suggest that this line might refer to banquet attire as pange could refer to Panget, which is Bancket, or "banquet." Gipn could be gippen, which is joppen for Jacken, meaning "jacket."

207 Dihle and Closs, 2.
belonging to a separate group, in this case a group of men Dohnstein portrays as militarily quite successful. All of the event sketches are of victories. Taken together, the drawings of Dohnstein’s comrades and of military scenes present a very appealing picture of Landsknecht life. These images are evidence that Dohnstein the guildsman never left behind his military persona. Whether he crafted this sketchbook years after the events had taken place or whether he made the sketches from present observation, he did so in the interest of maintaining the connection to his martial side as he re-entered the civilian world. Sketch 2 is the first of what I loosely term the Comrade Sketches. I include in this category sketches 2 – 11, and 14. In this essay on Sketch 2, I will first discuss the above men as halberdiers, and then I will move from left to right across the page, exploring the sketch.

On this and subsequent pages, Dohnstein depicts named individuals from his military world. Their names appear at the top of the page as is the tendency throughout the Comrade Sketches. Here, he also provides an annotation on the bottom right side. Unfortunately, most of the words on this page are illegible. This page is typical of the other pages depicting Dohnstein's comrades in another way -- the men’s weaponry. Most of Dohnstein’s Comrade Sketches portray a pair, at least one of whom is a halberdier. The halberd, a weapon much used by the Swiss typically measured eight feet and included a sharp point on the top. John Millar characterizes the weapon as a "combination short pike and battle-axe" with an "iron hook attached to the blade . . . to drag armored horsemen

208 I group the sketches into Comrade and Event Sketches by the order in which Paul Dohnstein presents them and by their content. For instance, Sketch 4, an illustration from the Swedish campaign, could have fallen under either the Comrade Sketch or Event Sketch category. Dohnstein does not name either of the figures in this sketch, and it is from a specific event, which he depicts in Sketch 15. However, he presents it with the sketches of his comrades. Likewise, Sketch 14 could fall under the Event Sketches because he presents it with them. However, there are only two figures in the sketch, as is the case with many of the Comrade Sketches, including Sketch 4, and Dohnstein does not attach it to any particular event either with text or imagery.
from their saddles. Charles Oman describes its usefulness in support of pikemen, "If the enemy succeed in checking the onset of the pikemen, it was [the halberdier's] duty to pass between the front ranks and throw themselves into the fray." The Feldweibel, or sergeant, used a halberd to keep troops in line. Halberdiers also used the flat of their weapons to maintain the shape of the pike square. Halberdiers were typically experienced soldiers, and typically therefore a little older than the average troops. The fact that there are so many halberdiers in Dohnstein's sketches suggests that his comrades were older and were veterans.

Moving from left to right, we see first a halberdier with a slashed sleeve and multicolored stocks with apparently matching codpiece. It is impossible to determine whether hose adorn his calves and lower thighs, or whether his legs are bare from the stocks down. One hand rests on the hilt of his sword while the other grasps his halberd. On this page note Dohnstein’s attention to detail, for instance the manner in which he defines the blade edge of the halberd, its decorative inner circle, and finely crafted hook. The languet pins and grip here are visible as well. He carefully draws the fine lines of the gathers in the fabric at his neck and of his single plume. Assuming that his halberd is of standard height, his feather reaches nearly eight feet in the air. This adornment, nearly half his own height, combines with the fertile mole on his right cheek to lend him a potentially comic appearance. Humor may not be the intent, for Dohnstein is not playful elsewhere, and he illustrates a nearly identical patch of facial hair on a man in Sketch 5. However, if glatt in the name of the second man is a nickname for "Smooth," the word could be a wry comment on the decidedly non-smooth cheek of the first man.

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209 Millar, 98.
An interesting feature this sketch shares with Sketch 8 is an inscription across the chest. Dohnstein has written *PAVLS* across this man’s breast. *Paulus* could mean that this mercenary was in the more or less permanent service of a lord named Paul. In *The Triumph of Maximilian I* crafted between 1516 and 1519, one sees a soldier with 'MA' appearing clearly on his chest in the same location as PAVLS in the sketch above.

![Figure 9](image)

Figure 9. Albrecht Dürer et al, Detail, *Triumph of Maximilian I*, Plate 31, 1516-1519.211

There appear to be more letters on the other side of his weapon, but these letters are illegible. These letters are probably part of Emperor Maximilian’s name, or 'MA' alone could stand for the emperor’s daughter Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands. Women, too, wore names or initials across the breast.

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In Dürer's portrait of Elsbeth Tucher, we see the initials 'N T' of her husband, Nicolaus Tucher, as part of her clasp. This symbol of ownership by or loyalty to a lord was not uncommon in military and civilian circles. Another possible explanation is that Dohnstein was signing his work, so to speak. Artists used their initials or a monogram to sign their work, and Dohnstein may have been mimicking the practice.

Rather than the bold monograms of Albrecht Dürer and Urs Graf, some artists used their initials to sign in a simple fashion. Here, we see the letters 'H' and 'B' on the breast collar of a horse. Hans Burgkmair signed his work with this simple monogram in The Triumph. These are two of the more likely explanations for the lettering: that PAVLS represents this man’s lord or that Paul Dolnstein is signing his work. It is important to remember that Landsknechts stole clothing as part of booty, so this could be a stolen garment, that PAVLS meant something for the original owner but not for this man. Ultimately, we do not know the meaning of these letters, but they further demonstrate Dolnstein’s attention detail.

214 Alfred Aspland, ed. Triumph of the Emperor Maximilian I (London: Wyman and Sons, 1875), 131; Appelbaum, 39, 41, 48, etc.
215 While it is not directly relevant to the discussion of an individual name on clothing, it is perhaps worth mentioning that artists also used words on clothing, banners, and weapons as a means of communicating the point they were trying to convey with their images. See for example, Christiane Anderson, Dirnen, Krieger, Naren: Ausgewählte Zeichnungen von Urs Graf (Basel: GS-Verlag, 1978), 26, 31, 39.
216 A less likely possibility, though one worth mentioning, is that Paul Dolnstein is depicting himself as this halberdier with the unusual set of whiskers and soaring plume. Though the face here does not closely resemble the face in Dolnstein's self-portrait in Sketch 16, it is a possibility.
Moving to the right, we see an even more abundantly feathered cap, which also reaches nearly to the top of its owner’s halberd. This second man’s halberd is similar to that of the first man. The two weapons may be identical, but the top of the hook in the halberd on the right is obscured in the man’s plumage. This man wears a sword as well, and there are bands at the bottom of the scabbard. He wears a fashionable cloak, and his attire may be the topic of the largely illegible line at the bottom of the page. The last two words of the largely illegible line at the bottom of the page may refer to the man’s outer garment. The first word seems to refer to a banquet, so the caption may suggest appropriate feasting attire. His shoes, resembling the peasant Bundschuh, are unique in the sketchbook. The rest of the men’s footgear are the typical Kuhmaul or cow-mouth shoes worn by Landsknechts and the nobility. These shoes appear out of place with the balance of this man’s garb; however, Landsknechts made modified rules of fashion as they pleased.

Landsknechts did not have uniforms, a fact which Dohnstein's sketches bear out in the variety of attire, headgear, footwear, and armor. Redlich estimates that in the second half of the sixteenth century, each suit of clothes would cost about one month's wages. Landsknechts’ wages rose from three to four florin per month by 1503. In the late sixteenth century, a halberd cost approximately 45 kreuzers. A sword cost 1.5 to 4 florin. Pikes cost 36 kreuzers. Armor cost 10 to 12 florin, and typically only those

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217 Neither Dihle nor Larsson questions the continuity of authorship on these pages, but the handwriting seems different if only because of the writing instrument or surface. The handwriting at the bottom resembles the handwriting on Sketch 17.
218 Redlich, 129.
219 Ibid.
220 Ibid., 122.
221 1 florin in these examples is equal to 60 kreuzers. Ibid.
222 Ibid.
223 Ibid.
Landsknechts on the outer edges of the pike square wore armor; they also received double pay and were hence called Doppelsöldner. Redlich theorizes that weapon and armor prices were "probably much lower" than these in the early sixteenth century. Soldiers had to purchase their own attire and weapons except in unusual situations such as Duke Albrecht of Saxony's 1495 requirement of Emperor Maximilian that the emperor provide Albrecht’s men with two suits of cloth per year or the funds to pay for them.

Dolnstein seems to relish in the clothing his fellow Landsknechts wore and the weapons they wielded. Here, he captures fine clothing with lavish feathers, abundant even by Landsknecht standards. Later in the sketchbook he illustrates the audacity of bared thighs and intentionally tattered finery. Dolnstein takes care to note the details of weapons, finding halberds of particular interest. Halberds commanded attention as signs of experience in warcraft but also in their aesthetics. Swordsmith Peter Johnsson notes the flash of light that the details on a halberd could produce:

On the halberd of the landsknecht at this time, nails and rivet heads were used as ‘bling’ factor. They were among many such details that made the equipment of the landsknecht look impressive: lots of little details to catch light and glitter, file work and cross hatching to render the weapon sharp and expensive looking. This was also a canvas for the weapon smith to show his professionalism and skill.

Dolnstein clearly admired the canvas on which craftsmen of weapons demonstrated their skill. In both clothing and weaponry, the Landsknecht’s style appealed to Dolnstein. He found the details of their attire and weaponry worthy of recollection, and thus he preserved them. With the craftsman’s eye for detail, Dolnstein draws either from present observation for future recollection, or from memory of a part of his life of which he was

224 Ibid., 122, 124.
225 Ibid., 130.
226 Ibid., 129.
quite fond and proud. There are fragments of pencil lines still visible on this page. For instance, under the left shoe of the second man, we can make out the penciled draft of the shoe. Pencil markings appear throughout the sketchbook, suggesting that Dohnstein made drafts of his images before setting them down in ink. Dohnstein also recorded the names of his subjects. Whether or not he wrote them to accompany the stories he might have shared orally with Meister Heinrich or other companions, Dohnstein found these men worthy of remembrance. Clearly, Dohnstein the builder valued the experiences and the people he knew as Dohnstein the Landsknecht.
Figure 12. Sketch 3, *Standard Bearer and Halberdier in the Field.*

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228 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 2r.
Text

As with the preceding sketch, most of the text on this page is illegible. 229

Commentary

In this Comrade Sketch, Döhnstein provides the first of two sketches of a standard bearer and a halberdier. The second is Sketch 5. This is a logical pairing, given that in pike squares halberdiers surrounded the standard bearers for protection of the colors. Standard bearers were highly important, and the role was one of honor. As with halberdiers, standard bearers were veteran soldiers and were older than the average raw recruit. Again, this demonstrates Döhnstein’s set of peers. His comrades are elite infantrymen, for standard bearers and the halberdiers who protected them were known for their courage. Döhnstein does not depict his leaders. There is no named image of Sigmund List, Hans Weihsdorf, or Duke Albrecht. Döhnstein seems therefore not to be highlighting the head men but his own comrades, thereby associating himself with the best of the Landsknechts in his unit. This makes Döhnstein the builder not just any Landsknecht, as the company he kept was exceptional. 230 This essay will explore the role of the standard bearer and then discuss the specific figures in the sketch.

The importance of the standard is evident in the language of military organization. A Fähnlein was a unit of approximately four hundred Landsknechts. The term Fähnlein literally means “little flag.” 231 Moxey notes that, “Soldiers chosen to bear the standard

229 Top Left: pwrfl or pwrtß? f...yssch jn veld
Translation: ..... ..... in the field

230 Again, it is possible that he was not a Landsknecht at all but a civilian auxiliary of sorts.

231 Moxey, 71.
were paid five or six times the ordinary rate and were provided with bodyguards and substitutes to take their place should they fall in battle.\textsuperscript{232} He goes on to describe how standard bearers were depicted and why, asserting that these figures represented, "an idealized image of a member of a military elite."\textsuperscript{233} Depending on when Dohnstein crafted his sketchbook, he may have seen any number of artistic depictions of Landsknechts, and perhaps he saw the oft repeated image of the standard bearer.

![Figure 13. Urs Graf, Standard Bearer, 1514.\textsuperscript{234}]

Above is a typical example of a standard bearer in art. Fully celebrating the glory of his role, the uncommon warrior takes a long stride and runs his hand behind the colors with which he has been entrusted. Though Dohnstein may not have seen this particular image by Swiss Reisläufer and goldsmith, Urs Graf, the image is representative of the way

\textsuperscript{232} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{233} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{234} Anderson, 32.
standard bearers appeared in art. Artists’ singling out of those Landsknechts entrusted with the colors was warranted. John Millar notes that after new recruits took an oath to obey the letter of articles that had been read to them, “the company standards [were] entrusted to the ensign-bearers, the latter swearing a special oath to defend their flags unto death.”\textsuperscript{235} Such was the ferocious defense of the standard expected of the ensign. “Seldom shown wearing armor, he was expected to die with the standard wrapped around him so that it would not be borne away as a trophy by the enemy.”\textsuperscript{236} Yet, crucial though the colors were to each unit, in the thick of battle, a standard bearer had little ability to defend the flag if he came under attack. Armed with a sword, he could hardly wield it effectively in one hand while holding the standard pole in the other. Thus, halberdiers accompanied the standard bearer to do for the colors what the standard bearer could not.

This pair, unlike their counterparts in Sketch 5, strides with aggressive purpose. Their manner, the fluttering of the banner, and the facial expression on the standard bearer suggest swift movement. While the text has faded into almost complete illegibility, the words \textit{in velt}, “in the field,” are still visible above the standard bearer. Relying on words to place the pair in the field, this page conveys a sense of movement and direction absent in the preceding sketches. Dollstein seems to be taking his audience progressively into the world of battle. This is a scene of action.

As ever, Dollstein’s picture offers detail. The flag bears the St. Andrew's cross and appears swallow-tailed as one point extends beyond the top of the page and the other sweeps up behind the halberdier’s head, almost seeming to brush his weapon. From the top of the image downward, Dollstein provides shading on the banner, on the standard

\textsuperscript{235} Millar, 97.
\textsuperscript{236} Hale, “Soldiers in German Art,” 87.
bearer’s cap, along his back, at the waists of both of the men, and along their buttocks, thighs, and calves. He details as well the tapes connecting the sleeves to the doublet and the upper and lower sleeves around the elbow on both men. He also draws thin lines to demonstrate the presence of fabric underneath these tapes. Likewise, the tapes connecting the stocks and hose are visible exposing what he suggests with shading is bare skin on one thigh for each warrior. Both men employ chin straps to secure their caps. The plain headgear of the standard bearer contrasts with the ruffles, feathers, and what appear to be ribbons in the cap of the halberdier. The halberdier seems generally more unbound as the slashes of his sleeves have gone to the extreme, setting the strips of fabric free to flow from his arm. There is another significant difference between the ensign and the halberdier: armor. The halberdier wears both breast and back plates.

The ensign, however, does not. Dohnstein includes a point on each of the standard bearer’s shoulders. These points could be the upper edges of a breast plate. However, Dohnstein shows no leather straps securing it to the ensign’s body. This is not the sort omission Dohnstein would make, for he represents with care the fabric on the ensign’s back. Note the eyelets and tapes. Dohnstein takes his time with this, drawing twelve distinct eyelets on the standard bearer’s shoulders. Dohnstein may simply be depicting clothing with his usual attention to detail, or he could be emphasizing the bravery of the ensign. For, though the man grasps his sword, everyone knows he cannot use it without dropping the colors, something he is unwilling to do. His vulnerability, his lack of armor, illustrate both the ensign’s dependence on others to protect him as he bears the flag, and the ensign’s valor in his willingness to live and die with the colors.
These are the men with whom Dohnstein wants his reader to know he keeps company. Whether his sketchbook is a collection of memorable people and engagements as a gift for Meister Heinrich or another party, Dohnstein the artisan wants to be seen as the companion of men of valor. In this image, we see Dohnstein’s attempt to capture the essence of the ensign in the field. He associates himself with this highly important figure in the martial community. He knows this man’s name; he knows the name of the halberdier chosen to assist him in guarding the colors. These are his comrades. Both men bare their skin, and the halberdier has the characteristic Landsknecht's audacity to walk erect with pride while his clothes hang in tatters. Their clothing marked them as part of the Landsknecht world, and their roles within that community marked them as among the elite warriors within that community.
Figure 14. Sketch 4, *This is a Swede.*

237 There is no stamp. The image is on the recto side of the page. ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 2v.
In Sketch 4, Baumeister Paul Dohnstein captures the memory of a significant wartime experience. This sketch is an illustration from the Swedish campaign, an event so important to Dohnstein that he devotes four sketches comprising six pages to it. These sketches (4, 15, 17, and 19) depict battle and siege scenes on what is today the west coast of Sweden. Dohnstein refers to the area as Norway. This region of Sweden was part of Norway at the time and fell under a frequently contested Danish rule. In 1502, King Hans and his son Prince Christian of Denmark hired German and Scottish mercenaries to suppress a rebellion in western Sweden. This sketch and its three related sketches depict a series of events in which Dohnstein seems proud to have participated. Placing himself at the scene of action with the phrase, “There I, Paul Dohnstein, saw action,” he clearly wants to demonstrate his active military involvement in an event that he may have seen as one of the most important of his life. That he would want to commemorate this action is of little wonder, for he and his countrymen were victorious against what was

238 By using *das*, ‘that,’ Dohnstein seems to suggest a degree of separation between himself as the deictic center of this statement and the Swede.

239 Larsson, 76; ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 9v-10r; 11v; Dihle, Figure 36, unnumbered page. The events of the suppression are discussed further with Sketches 15, 17, and 19.


241 Larsson, 75-77; Dihle and Closs, 4.
according to him, an enormous majority of 14,000 Swedes to 1800 Germans.\textsuperscript{242} The Danish force prevailed in putting down the rebellion, and Dohnstein relates in Sketch 15 that the Danish king knighted Dohnstein and at least some of his comrades. He says “us,” likely comprising all 1800 Germans he mentioned nine lines earlier.\textsuperscript{243} For an artisan, such a victory, such honor must have constituted the experience of a lifetime. This essay will explore the way Dohnstein represents the fundamental differences between the opponent and Dohnstein’s fellow Landsknecht. Those differences are professionalism in Renaissance warcraft, and the lines of class that Landsknechts were able to transcend on campaign.

In this sketch, Dohnstein pictures a Swede and a German. While we cannot be certain, Dohnstein seems to mock the Swedish peasant. The overburdened peasant seems to stare blankly as though he is totally unprepared to meet the challenge before him. Yet mocking him too strongly would render the German victory less remarkable. Thus Dohnstein represents the Swede as a well armed, though ill prepared, foe, whom the professional German dispatches with a dismissive jab to the crotch, a dismissal of his very manhood. It bears noting that this move may have been common. Sketch 6 portrays a pikeman directing the point of his weapon into the buttocks of his opponent. Had the man turned to face the front, the pike would have hit the same target as the halberd in this sketch. Dohnstein may not intend this move as a dismissal specifically of the Swede, or an attack on his particular masculinity, but an attack on an opponent’s manhood it was, no matter how common the maneuver.

\textsuperscript{242} ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 9v-10r.
\textsuperscript{243} Ibid.
The Swede, burdened with an ill-fitting helmet, a pack on his back, wooden canteen, and not one but two very large weapons seems at a great disadvantage in meeting the lightly clad halberdier. Both men have breastplates, the peasant’s being about a generation out of fashion. The peasant’s breastplate is secured across his shoulders by leather straps. While the Landsknecht wears no head protection, the Swede wears a helmet that seems to obstruct his vision as much as it protects his skull. Dölnstein may be representing what a disinterested third party might have seen, or he may be intentionally mocking the Swedish peasant as naïvely unprepared to meet a professional German soldier.

The Swede is unprepared not only in training but in his overburdened state. Swedish peasants are the only foes Dölnstein depicts as wearing canteens. Both the canteen here and in Sketch 15 bear an inscription. The perhaps hastily drawn inscription on Sketch 15 is an X, probably marking the place of an inscription rather than an actual X. The inscription here is drawn with care, and Larsson explains that this was a bumerke. Returning to the canteen itself, this man had to carry his water with him because he had no one to carry it for him. Landsknechts had servants either in reality or after a fashion. Women and boys followed Landsknecht armies and carried their equipment and booty. This Swede certainly had no such servant. Both men wear swords. The German’s is a Katzbalger, a short sword for close combat favored by the Landsknecht; in contrast, the Swede wears an extremely long sword, so long as to be almost useless in close combat. From surviving swords of this era, swordsmith Peter

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244 Per electronic correspondence, swordsmith Peter Johnsson, Albion Europe, January 27, 2012.
245 Larsson 78.
Johnsson finds the length of the sword exaggerated in Dohnstein’s depiction.\textsuperscript{247} Indeed the weapon looks likely to trip the man if he were to take a step backward. It is important to note that if this sword’s size is exaggerated, this particular mockery may have its roots in the mockery of peasants in Dohnstein’s own culture. B. Ann Tlusty observes the laments of noblemen against peasants who wore swords, “so long that they ‘rang out against the heels.’”\textsuperscript{248} The modern viewer of Dohnstein’s sketches must bear in mind how little is known about the context for this illustrated notebook. This particular image seems ideal for regaling one’s friends at the tavern. The seeming exaggeration of the Swede’s hampered state combined with the German’s thrust to the genitalia belittle this man, dispatching his prowess together with his virility.

Yet the most prominent object on this page, both in its imposing size and the winding band running the length of the shaft, is the Swedish peasant’s staff sword. The staff is thicker than that of the halberd, and the massive S-guard creates a striking appearance. Dohnstein does not depict languets or languet pins on the staff sword here or on the staff swords in Sketch 15.\textsuperscript{249} One reason Dohnstein may not have depicted the languets or pins on the staff sword could be that they did not reflect light in the same way as did perhaps the grooves in both breastplates or the pins on halberds. Unlike the decorated pins on the halberds of the Landsknecht, these pins would have been simple, flat objects.\textsuperscript{250}

\textsuperscript{247} Per electronic correspondence, swordsmithe Peter Johnsson, Albion Europe, January 27, 2012.
\textsuperscript{248} Tlusty, 171.
\textsuperscript{249} Johnsson theorizes: “I am not sure lack of pins in the drawing means there were none. Of the remains of staff swords that I have seen, all had nails or holes for nails. Nails were used to secure the blade in the haft, and to secure languets to the haft. It is not an exact science, but it is definitely a trend. Many of those nails I’ve seen from hafts of pole arms and spikes from spiked clubs show this feature. My impression is that nails would have been as common on staff swords as on halberds. Per electronic correspondence from swordsmith Peter Johnsson, Albion Europe, January 27, 2012.
\textsuperscript{250} Ibid.
As with the peasant's sword, Johnsson finds the staff sword to be drawn out of proportion.\textsuperscript{251} It seems to me, however, that Dolnstein is not mocking this weapon. The weapon is quite long as evident in Sketch 15. In Sketch 15, he describes these instruments of war as, “good pikes made of swords.”\textsuperscript{252} And indeed they were. Johnsson describes their construction:

The construction is not fundamentally different from that of a halberd, other than that the staff sword has a short broad tang secured into a slot cut in the top of the haft. Of those that I have seen, the tang is not very long, perhaps 15-20 cm. It is the width of the haft, or slightly narrower.

At the top of the haft is a short tube-like socket. This holds the top of the haft together and also serves to further secure the blade. One of the nails goes through this socket/tube. The arms of the guard are also formed on this tube. The tube is driven on from below after the blade is inserted (a haft that swells slightly at the very end) or from the top at that same as the blade. In this case the haft is perhaps slightly tapered at the end to make the tube/socket sit more securely the more it is driven down over the haft.

Pins, rivets or nails could be used to name these little fastening devices. Perhaps tacks? They are like small nails, formed so the stem curves inside the wood as they are driven in. The point of the stem is slightly asymmetrical and parts the wood unevenly. This makes the nail bend. This is good, since it makes the small nail sit better.\textsuperscript{253}

It is probable that Dolnstein genuinely admired the craftsmanship of these unusual weapons, that he was not mocking them, for it seems that their craftsmanship was worthy of admiration. One can see from the image below that languets were not always enough to secure the blade of a weapon to its shaft.

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{251} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{252} ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 9v-10r.
\textsuperscript{253} Per electronic correspondence, swordsmith Peter Johnsson, Albion Europe, January 27, 2012.
In the center of the image, near the foreground is a halberd head that has come off in battle. The broken tools of war -- human, animal, metal, and wooden -- lie scattered on the battlefield. This alternative representation of armed conflict from Urs Graf’s experience vividly captures the ferocity of Renaissance combat and demonstrates the force weapons had to withstand. Hence, an additional measure to secure the edged part of a staff weapon would be useful. Below is an example of such a solution, the spiral languet.

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The spiral languet winds around the shaft in addition to the standard languets running straight down the shaft. Johnsson describes the spiral languet as, “a narrow and pretty thin strip of iron that is shaped around the haft and secured with small nails. The purpose is to reinforce the wood and stop cuts.”

Though the staff sword may not have been the place for exhibiting fine, decorative grooves to catch the light the way a halberd was, Dohnstein admired these weapons. He makes the Swede’s pole arm the most prominent

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255 Board of Trustees of the Armouries, “Foot Combat Armour of King Henry VIII. English, Southwark, 1520,” Royal Armouries Collections Online.
object in this sketch, and in Sketch 15, he calls the weapon “good.” One must note, however, that though Dolnstein may or may not mock the weapon itself by exaggerating its size, he does seem to depict the Swede as handling it with incompetence. The Swede appears not even to have launched his attack when the halberd is already embedded in his genitalia.

In contrast to the Swede, the Landsknecht is professional, compact, and agile in Dolnstein’s depiction. Unencumbered by any pack or canteen, bearing a short sword and a halberd, he strikes first and effectively. His armor is more up to date, and his halberd is different from many of the others in this sketchbook. Dolnstein illustrates it with a capped end bearing a spike, and the fluke is more decorative than most. It resembles the halberd in Sketch 14, though it is not as elaborate as that in Sketch 7. The pair of men in this sketch contrast as starkly as men from different classes and different lands might be expected to contrast. The separation between these two combatants is cultural and linguistic to be sure. Helene Dihle refers to the pointed, wooden shoes and wide, baggy pants of the Swede, the latter of which she argues were unusual in German lands. The German’s attire was both distinctly German and distinctly noble. In 1540, Henry Worton observed of the ‘Almain’ or German style that it, “must needs be a good sight, to see a lantzknecht, his cap full of feathers, his doublet and hosen cut and jagged, his sword by his side…” Though this halberdier’s attire is not as jagged as many of his peers in this sketchbook, he still possesses the distinct appearance of Landsknecht. Further, that his hose and doublet are not as jagged as those of his fellows imparts to him a certain

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257 Ibid.
258 Dihle, 111.
259 Maria Hayward, ed., Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII (Leeds, UK: Maney, 2007), 15-16.
restraint that elevates his style. Landsknecht style was gaudy, garish, and intentionally ragged. This halberdier like Wilhelm von Strasburg in Sketch 7 keeps a more restrained and thus a more noble appearance.\textsuperscript{261} This illustrates another separation, that of class, whether actual or only in the world apart that Landsknechts inhabited. This Landsknecht may indeed have been noble. More likely, however, he was an artisan or even a peasant like his opponent. Artisan and peasant were different, and yet not as different as artisan and noble or peasant and noble. This Landsknecht could be any of these things, and yet he appears noble in his attire, in his access to servants, and in his military association with the nobility through his Landsknecht identity. The ability of the Landsknecht to inhabit two worlds is striking here. For whatever he is or was in his civilian life, he is here something altogether different. He is akin to nobility. He outclasses this peasant in appearance and skill to a degree he may not in his other life.

The ability to outclass another human being, another male, to such a degree must have been among the attractions of the military life for an artisan. It must have been especially so for those who had work and lives awaiting their return to the civilian world, meaning that they could return home between campaigns. Among their artisan colleagues who may not have gone off to war, Dölnstein would have had stories to tell. In the instance of the Swedish revolt, he returned home an authoritative witness of something exotic. Further, he was now part of a body of warriors who had done something remarkable. If his report is accurate -- and he does not exaggerate elsewhere in the sketchbook -- 1,800 Germans defeated 14,000 Swedes. Defeating a single man in combat was a badge of honor. For Dölnstein’s comrades to have defeated 14,000 would have been an extraordinary event, the sort of story an old warrior might tell over and over.

\textsuperscript{261} ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 4v.
Devoting four sketches to the Swedish campaign, Dolnstein demonstrates the significance of this event in his life. The craftsman who left Saxony, trekking all the way to Sweden where he witnessed such a profound difference between the men with whom he fought and the men against whom he fought, must have been extremely proud to have been part of this small group of victors. Indeed, the Swedish campaign may have been one of the most significant events of this craftsman’s life.
Figure 17. Sketch 5, *Michael von Coburg and Wolf von Zwickau.*

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262 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 3r. Stamped with a 3.
Text
Top Left:

michel\textsuperscript{263} von koberg

Translation:

Michael von Coburg

Top Right:

wolf von zwickaw

Translation:

Wolf von Zwickau

Commentary

Here again Paul Dohnstein, Baumeister, makes known the sort of fellows with whom he passed time on campaign. Another ensign and halberdier pair greet the viewer in this sketch. With less damage than other pages, this sketch offers legible names and the penciled images of two faces Dohnstein drafted onto the page. This page also offers evidence that Dohnstein fought with men he knew as craftsmen. Here, Dohnstein has preserved the image of the only figure besides Dohnstein himself whose name has been found outside the sketchbook. This master craftsman, Wolf von Zwickau, also worked for Frederick the Wise. It remains unknown how many others, if any, in this sketchbook were craftsmen working on the building projects of Dohnstein's prince. Dohnstein and Zwickau, however, seem to have fit the definition of Redlich's sedentary Landsknecht. For Zwickau to have been a halberdier, he would have been a veteran of some experience. Thus, it seems that we can safely say that both men went on campaign more than once and both men returned to their civilian work, exactly as Redlich describes the

\textsuperscript{263} Dihle sees Michel.
sedentary Landsknecht's pattern. Artisans who took pride in having fought would have embraced their military side long after their campaign experiences were over. Such a pride would be natural in a “culture of arms” as that of early modern German towns. In this essay, I will further discuss the standard bearer as the sort of man with whom Dohnstein would want to associate himself. I will also briefly address the “weapons culture” that existed in early modern German towns. This “weapons culture” tied masculine and cultural identity to weaponry, shedding light on the rights and responsibilities Dohnstein likely already had as a citizen of a German town. I will argue that for men like Zwickau and Dohnstein, mercenary service may have been a natural extension of their responsibility as guildsmen to bear arms. Following these discussions, I will address the sketch itself.

In the essay on Sketch 3, I discussed the status standard bearers enjoyed as a result of the bravery for which they were known. In this sketch, I will address another role they enjoyed, that of a glorified figure of masculinity. Artists in this period often characterized masculinity as threatened by women. Artists achieved this by employing images of women winning physical battles over which mate was to wear the pants, images of Phyllis riding Aristotle and carrying a whip, and images of men performing feminine gendered tasks such as washing diapers or spinning. Visual art offered heroes of gendered roles as well such as the ensign, so often depicted as an idealized form of masculinity.

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264 Tlusty, 6.
265 Ibid., 9.
266 Ibid., 8-9.
267 Ibid., 6-9, 16.
268 Andersson, 63-65; Moxey, 108; Koegler, 60, 72; Lynn, 100-103.
The standard bearer in Figure 18 is not solely an idealized masculine type. While not all images of standard bearers explicitly represent an idealized masculinity, this image does. The ensign here typifies a form of virility and serves as a champion of masculinity under threat as he raises high a flag bearing a pair of pants. A woman clings adoringly to his arm. Together they demonstrate a pair fitting into their gendered roles perfectly. He is strong, virile, and protective. She is adoring, submissive, and supportive. Further, one could make the assumption that she is no prostitute, that he is a prized male and does not have to pay for sex. This man and the woman at his side have no quarrel over position.

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269 Appelbaum, 135.
270 Moxey, 82.
He is the master in their relationship. He represents the man who has successfully won the battle for the pants, carrying the banner for his gender.

From the Urs Graf image of the standard bearer (Figure 13) and from the one above, it is clear that the ensign was an important figure. That soldiers cut up and ate an enemy banner as a salad at the Battle of Marignano in 1515 illustrates that the colors were infused with enormous meaning for each unit. Ensigns earned the honor of carrying the colors through demonstrated bravery. As Moxey states, these men were an ideal type of elite within the Landsknecht world. The standard bearer was something of an apogee among early modern masculine types. Soldiering offered one way to express virility. Certainly, the standard bearer was elite among soldiers. But there were many ways to express one's masculinity, not solely in war. Scholars and clerics used force of language and skillful argument as evidence of their virility. Miners were masculine, and peasants typified a kind masculinity that was mockable but always with the potential to sow disaster. Peasants were seen as prone to violent disorder at festivals and to rebellion, particularly in Germany. Guildsmen like Dohnstein and Zwickau, with or without military experience, also represented a form of virility.

In fact, B. Ann Tlusty argues that in many towns, “By the end of the Middle Ages, for all but the most elite members of society, the right to be a tax-paying citizen

271 Franz, 90-91.
272 Moxey, 71.
274 Danielle Skjelver, “German Hercules: The Impact of Scatology on the Image of Martin Luther as a Man, 1483-1546,” Pittsburgh Undergraduate Review, 14, no. 1 (Summer 2009), 55-68.
required membership in a guild.\textsuperscript{276} Membership in guilds was carefully guarded and regulated, carrying with it a sense of honor and obligation.\textsuperscript{277} These medieval and early modern organizations were more than merely associations of craftsmen. They trained generations of young people for skilled trades; they protected product quality, prices, and trade secrets; they provided for members and their dependents to varying degrees in sickness or death; and they often served as gatekeepers to offices of civic government, and as stated above to citizenship itself.\textsuperscript{278} Citizens were the defenders of towns, and thus played a masculine role.\textsuperscript{279} In early modern German towns, there was a culture of weapons in which most townsmen were armed when they went out on the streets.\textsuperscript{280} Adult men identified mature masculinity with wearing weapons.\textsuperscript{281} Journeymen, shopkeepers, students, and men of all ranks openly carried at least a knife.\textsuperscript{282} The sword, which Tlusty describes as a "symbol of civic freedom for townsmen, came to equal 'academic freedom' for students."\textsuperscript{283} Indeed, Martin Luther carried a sword as a student,

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\textsuperscript{276} Tlusty, 16.
\textsuperscript{277} Further, James R. Farr observes of the exclusivity of guilds, “Would-be masters with insufficient quantities of either capital or goodwill from existing masters found themselves confronting exclusionary-minded masters who were interested in bringing only enough young men into the charmed circle of mastership as were minimally necessary to continue the community. … Masters keen on restricting access to mastership and governments … demand exorbitantly expensive banquets hosted by the prospective entrant, or require increasingly difficult and expensive masterpieces of the candidate for mastership.” James R. Farr, \textit{Artisans in Europe, 1300-1914} (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 35, 33-37; Alfred Kieser, “Organizational, Institutional, and Societal Evolution: Medieval Craft Guilds and the Genesis of Formal Organizations.” \textit{Administrative Science Quarterly}, 34 (1989): 559.
\textsuperscript{279} Tlusty, 3.
\textsuperscript{280} Ibid., 174.
\textsuperscript{281} Ibid., 63.
\textsuperscript{282} Ibid., 70-71, 174.
\textsuperscript{283} Ibid., 168.
\end{flushright}
professor, and renegade monk.\textsuperscript{284} The culture of arms of early modern towns was also a culture of disorder.\textsuperscript{285} Lyndal Roper asserts that masculinity was expressed in unruly behavior and was viewed as something difficult if not impossible to control:

What first strikes the historian of the early modern town about masculinity is its sheer disruptiveness. Men posed a serious public order problem, young bloods endangering the safety of the streets at night, drunken husbands beating their wives to within an inch of their lives, guilds fostering a male brotherhood which might even foment political unrest.\textsuperscript{286}

Though craftsmen typically far outnumbered their fellow townspeople in arrests for violence with weapons, it fell to men like Dohnstein and Zwickau to keep order.\textsuperscript{287} The right to bear arms was tied to the responsibility to use those weapons to prevent and stop disorder.\textsuperscript{288} Guilds were required to see that their members fulfilled their responsibility to the town by standing watch. Indeed, guild members were required to be armed in order to protect their towns from external and internal threats.\textsuperscript{289}

Tlusty asserts that "the requirements of local defense systems socialized all townsmen to identify with the sword."\textsuperscript{290} It seems then that serving one's prince or his allies in his wider realm, or even beyond his realm, was a natural extension of a craftsman's right and responsibility to bear arms. More than responsibility, the allure of honor played a role in drawing men to the recruiter's drum. According to Tlusty, “For citizen soldiers...demonstrating courage by seeking danger on the battlefield and verifying physical prowess through close combat were the paths to honor, status, and

\textsuperscript{285} Tlusty, 6-9.
\textsuperscript{287} Tlusty, 160.
\textsuperscript{288} Ibid., 2, 160.
\textsuperscript{289} Ibid., 16, 171-173.
\textsuperscript{290} Ibid., 91.
material reward.” It seems then that joining a Landsknecht army, particularly one called up by one’s own lord, would merely be an extension of one’s existing duties as an arms bearing townsman. The two men in this sketch, Michael von Coburg and Wolf von Zwickau are now veterans of the battlefield. As standard bearer and the halberdier selected to protect him, they represent the successful demonstration of prowess through close combat that Tlusty describes.

In this sketch, both names are legible. The ensign is Michael von Coburg, and the halberdier is Wolf von Zwickau. Though at present, none of the other names have been connected to records outside this sketchbook, Wolf von Zwickau's name appears in Otto Wanckel and Cornelius Gurlitt's study, *Die Albrechtsburg zu Meißen*. This source names a Wolf von Zwickau as a stone mason working on the castle in Wittenberg in 1515. This suggests the possibility that some of the other named people in Dolnstein's sketches are his professional peers in the civilian world even as they are his comrades in the military world. Many of Dolnstein’s subjects seem to have come from Saxony and Bavaria as is the case with this ensign and halberdier. Coburg is in Bavaria, and Zwickau is in Saxony. This would fit with both the ideas that sedentary Landsknechts returned to their work when military service for their prince was done, as seems to have been the case with Wolf von Zwickau, and that most of the early Landsknechts came from the south as would be the case with Michael von Coburg.

The standard bearers in both Sketch 3 and Sketch 5 project their status in their posture. They do so in different ways, however. While the man in Sketch 3 marches forward with aggressive focus, this ensign takes a courtly pose. Adopting the ‘proto-

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291 Ibid.
balletic’ stance of nobility, this ensign reminds Dölnstein’s viewer of the association of the Landsknecht with the nobility. In stepping into this mercenary corps endowed by Maximilian with imperial glory, the artisan took on an air of nobility. Because of his status as ensign, it seems strange that Dölnstein would draw him with a mole growing a thick patch of hair a few inches long. The crop of facial hair seems most out of place. This may, however, not be a mole, but rather a fashion in whiskers. For two men to have a hairy mole in the same spot on the same cheek would be extraordinary.

![Figure 19. Detail, Sketches 5 and 2.](image)

Here is the same sort of facial hair that Dölnstein depicts in Sketch 2. Assuming that Dölnstein would not likely have mocked a standard bearer, one begins to wonder if this was a beard of sorts, a mark of fashion. In other words, perhaps what appears to be a mole is simply a dot Dölnstein drew as a point from which an unusual beard would extend. Will Fisher argues that, “in the Renaissance, facial hair often conferred

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293 ‘Proto-balletic’ is my term for the elegant manner and pose which the nobility, leading citizens of German towns, and Landsknechts often adopted in visual representation from this period. Hayward, 16; Moxey, 48-50, 90. 126, 139; Jane S. Peters, ed, The Illustrated Bartsch, vol. 19 (Part 1) [Formerly Volume 9 (part 2)] (New York: Abaris Books, 1987), Pl. 260 (275), 284 (281), 285 (281); Maximilian I, Die Abenteuer des Ritters Theuerdank: Kolorierter Nachdruck der Gesamtausgabe von 1517, ed. Stephan Füssel (Köln: Taschen, 2003), Plates 113-115, 118.

294 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 3r, 1v.
masculinity; the beard made the man.”\textsuperscript{295} He notes a bewildering array of beard styles.\textsuperscript{296} Yet, I find no evidence of this as a style in this period.\textsuperscript{297} Perhaps it was a patch of beard these men did not shave for the duration of a campaign.\textsuperscript{298} It is also possible that these two men are the same man at different stages in life. The names on Sketch 2 are illegible. Those letters that do appear are not certain. Thus, there is a remote possibility that these two are both Michael von Coburg.\textsuperscript{299}

Also striking in von Coburg’s appearance are his bare legs and codpiece. From the middle of the thigh to the shoes, both men sport this daring style. In the above image from \textit{The Triumph}, (Figure 18) the same fashion appears on the ensign, a pikeman, and boy. In \textit{The Triumph}, however, the hose hang down over a tied band holding them in place below the knee. Coburg and Zwickau dispense with both the band and the hose. Their clothing reflects a conscious attempt to self-identify as Landsknechts. Moxey says of Landsknecht appearance:

This style of clothing, which echoes northern Italian fashions of the late fifteenth century, was popular in aristocratic and wealthy burgher circles in southern Germany between 1500 and 1520. . . . Whereas the fashion for slit clothing was a passing whim among the upper classes, it was appropriated by the mercenaries, and they retained it long after it had been abandoned by other social groups. A short-lived aristocratic fashion thus became a lasting identifying characteristic of the military profession.\textsuperscript{300}

\textsuperscript{296} Ibid., 159-162.
\textsuperscript{298} Reynolds notes that men have at times taken oaths not to cut their beards until they saw the victory of their side in a conflict. Reynolds, 240-241.
\textsuperscript{299} It seems a stretch to make this name fit what text in Sketch 2 is visible.
\textsuperscript{300} Moxey, 72.
This style is not precisely noble. It goes beyond the neat slashing of the nobility and is precisely Landsknecht. Both men also wear pronounced codpieces as do the other figures in the sketchbook. Some more modest sixteenth century writers blasted such attired as obscene.\footnote{Thomas Lüttenberg, “The Cod-piece — A Renaissance Fashion between Sign and Artefact,” \textit{The Medieval History Journal} 8, no. 1 (2005), 50-63.} Their clothing, specifically their hose, were symbols of a loose life.\footnote{Gerhard Quaas, \textit{Das Handwerk der Landsknechte: Waffen und Bewaffnung zwischen 1500 und 1600} (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1997), 64-65.} So unusual and striking was this clothing to the early Landsknechts' contemporaries that Quaas argues that no other kind of clothing received so much attention from artists as that of the soldier.\footnote{Ibid., 65.} J.R. Hale likewise comments that soldiers dressed in ways that reflected their libertine and often cruel lifestyle outside the rules of civilian society:

> In those countries where artists… recorded soldiers with some degree of realism, they showed the sexually aggressive strut, the bulging codpiece, the suggestive sword-hilt, the mixture of tousled peasant hairstyle with flamboyant costume that marked them as defying civilian morals and the everyman-in-his-place social restrictions of the sumptuary laws.\footnote{Hale, \textit{War and Society in Renaissance Europe}, 1450 - 1620, 127.}

Though taboo, it may have also been implicitly sanctioned when one's own prince calls for your service. In other words, sedentary Landsknechts experienced periodic freedom from the restraints of town life when they went on campaign. Among Landsknechts, craftsmen like Dölnstein and Zwickau could behave in ways that would meet with opprobrium or criminal charges in civic life. They could dress in a carefree and outlandish manner. For awhile they stepped into another world, never leaving behind the artisan background to which they returned, but temporarily setting aside its strictures.

The penciled faces to the left of Michael von Coburg and between the ensign and Wolf von Zwickau pose questions. As with other pencil images in the sketchbook, the
face on the left appears to have been drawn before the ink images. The face in the middle, however, may have been drafted into the ink sketch. The lines on the forehead and right eye do not extend through Michael von Coburg’s feather. Perhaps Dornstein considered making this page a scene of several men on the march. Perhaps this central figure was to have been a woman.

The halberdier accompanying the ensign wears similar attire, though not as thoroughly slit. Their breastplates and shoes are of like design. Zwickau's headgear, while lacking the plume is equally sumptuous. What is most interesting about the halberdier is his bent sword. Perhaps the bend indicates nothing more than Dornstein's attempt to fit it entirely on the page after finding that he had not planned for enough space. Perhaps it is a wry attempt at humor. Regardless, this Wolf von Zwickau is among the most fascinating men in Dornstein's illustrated notebook. His is one of the first two names that have not disappeared in damp or torn edges. Indeed, his name has been located in another record, giving the Landsknecht another identity, that of stone mason. Equally important is the location of his work. That Zwickau worked for Dornstein's prince raises the possibility that others of these men did as well. It is possible that many of these men were Dornstein's colleagues from the realm of Prince Frederick the Wise. At least one of these men shared Dornstein's life of two worlds. Wolf von Zwickau was simultaneously master craftsman and mercenary. He returned to his civilian life and took part in the building of his prince's castle.

That these men are ensign and halberdier suggests that they have marched on several campaigns. That at least Wolf von Zwickau is a fellow master from Saxony’s building trades suggests that Dornstein may have known the men in his sketchbook from
years of campaigning together, not necessarily from isolated events. Dohnstein may have campaigned with them since Montfort in 1491 or before. One wonders if there was a warrior artisan culture in Wittenberg and Torgau. It would seem that such a culture might exist in any town from which commanders recruited the sedentary variety of Landsknecht. Such men would come from their artisan worlds, join the martial world for a time, and return to the craftsman’s world where they would likely maintain ties to local comrades from the march.
Figure 20. Sketch 6, *Two Pikemen.*\(^{305}\)

\(^{305}\) ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 3v-4r. Stamped with a 4 on the recto page.
Text

Top Left:

jost jag den tewffl von gretz\textsuperscript{306}

Translation:

Jost “Hunt the Devil”\textsuperscript{307} of Graz\textsuperscript{308}

Top Right:

stein jeglein\textsuperscript{309} von eÿstet

Translation:

Stein Jeglein of Eichstätt

Commentary

This is the first sketch of pikemen. These men, like the preceding pairs, are the sort of men with whom an artisan would want to associate himself in his martial memories, because they represent a masculine ideal. Coming as Paul Dohnstein does from the weapons culture of early modern German towns, he chooses to keep company with men who are masters of their arms. Presenting a tidier appearance more akin to the men in Sketch 2, these two pikemen have at each other. There seems to be the continuing geographic connection, if not from Dohnstein to each person, then from one person to another. The geographic connections support the view that most Landsknechts came from the south, and many joined together and stayed together. In a brief exploration of Sketch 6, this essay will address the names and then discuss the men themselves.

\textsuperscript{306} This could also be greiz.
\textsuperscript{307} This could be “Give ‘em Hell.” It may also be a “sentence name.” Bahlow, 504. One such sentence name might be “Jost chases the devil out of Graz.” Electronic correspondence, Ineke Justitz, North Dakota State University, February 24, 2012.
\textsuperscript{308} This could also be Greiz. See below.
\textsuperscript{309} Jeglein could be a nickname of sorts or a surname. Bahlow does not list this precise spelling but provides a few starting points. Bahlow, 248-249.
Here we have a peculiar name, Jost “Hunt the Devil” von Graz. Among the legible captions, this is the only name that appears to be something akin to a *nom de guerre* or a nickname. Fritz Redlich describes among the roving type of Landsknecht men who, “would hang around inns and taverns where recruiting agents could find them. Impoverished noblemen were numerous among them. These were the men who dropped their names and assumed *nom de guerre*, often nicknames, often names boasting symbolically of all sorts of horrible and devilish activities or more or less unacceptable character traits.”

Certainly this man could have been a roving Landsknecht leading a life of warring and waiting for war. It is equally plausible that men also earned and gave nicknames among sedentary Landsknechts. Just as in Sketch 2 where *glatt* could be a sideways comment on the strange whiskers of a man, it seems that Dolnstein has added a commentary about Jost’s aggression. The nickname would be literally, “Hunt the Devil” and may be understood in an admiring “Give ‘em Hell” sense, or it could be "Jost chases the devil out of Graz." In the transcription, the name is quite clearly *von gretz*. Gretz is indeed a Germanic surname. It is possible that this name could also be a place name such as Graz just as are so many of the other names in this Sketchbook.

Immediately below Stein’s name, we can make out the pencil draft of headgear that is nothing like the helmet on which Dolnstein settled before making his ink drawing.

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310 Redlich, 117.
311 The latter comes from Ineke Justitz, North Dakota State University, via electronic correspondence, February 24, 2012.
312 Because it is difficult to determine whether this is Gretz or Greiz, it should be noted that there is a town called Greiz within a one or two day walk of modern Zwickau. In other words, if this man is Jost von Greiz, he may have had a connection to Wolf von Zwickau before and/or after their military experiences. Another potential geographic connection presents itself in the name Stein Jeglein of Eichstätt. As mentioned above, Paul Dolnstein or his family may have come from the town of Dollnstein in Bavaria. Dollnstein was so near the Bavarian town of Eichstätt in the sixteenth century that today it lies within the Eichstätt district. There may have been comfort in or enthusiasm for traveling and fighting next to one’s own countrymen if indeed many of the men in this sketchbook came from Saxony and the surrounding regions.
The penciled hat is of a style similar to that of the halberdier in Sketch 3. The chin strap reaches nearly to the top of the helmet Dolnstein drew in place of the hat. Instead of the drafted flamboyant headgear, Dolnstein has depicted Stein in a helmet and breast plate, skirt of tassets, and a pair of what appear to be cuisses over his thighs. Though Dolnstein does not make it clear, it is hard to imagine that Stein is not also wearing monochromatic hose as opposed to nothing at all under these cuisses. In typical Landsknecht style seen in innumerable representations from the period, his sword rests on his cod piece. Stein wears two crosses of seemingly identical style, one on his breastplate and one of his scabbard. This cross is similar to the cross over Albert the

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313 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 3v-4r.
315 Andersson, 32, 35, 39, 44-45, 49; Peters, 121; Koegler, 2, 20, 26, 28-29, 45, 48-49, 53, 62, 70.
Bold’s name in Sketch 13 and to that on the Swedish banner in Sketch 15. As he engages Jost, Stein is well armed and better armored than had he been wearing the proposed cap.

Jost, in contrast, does indeed wear a feathered cap and no armor at all. Jost too bears the marks of plans that Dohnstein changed in the final product. The stripes on his doublet were sketched horizontally at first, as one can see along the shoulders. Jost’s sword was originally drawn lower and longer, extending down over the calf. There are three X’s on Jost’s scabbard. These markings look similar to those on the scabbards of Wolf von Zwickau in Sketch 5, Balthasar Strauss in Sketch 8, and Jorg in Sketch 11. It is tempting to see these as crosses, given that Stein’s scabbard so clearly bears a cross. Further, he displays a St. Andrew’s cross of Maximilian on his right buttock.\textsuperscript{316} The scabbard markings may be St. Andrew’s crosses, but the are most likely cords criss-crossing and binding the scabbard.\textsuperscript{317} Jost’s presumably quite colorful attire offers him no protection, as was common. These men, like other men in the sketchbook, represent the widely varying degrees of armor Landsknecht wore. Jost thus engages his opponent equally well armed but without any armor whatsoever.

Aiming his pike at Stein’s neck, Jost seems likely to succeed, but at a cost, for Stein’s pike is about to find its mark in Jost’s buttocks. The maneuvering of weapons is strikingly similar to the combat image between the Swede and the halberdier in Sketch 4. Compared to the Swede, Jost is facing the opposing direction with his shoulders turned to the left, and his pike is positioned to deliver a more effective result than the Swede seems likely to achieve. Nevertheless, it is similar, for the opponent on the left aims upward while the opponent on the right aims below the belt. A striking difference between the

\textsuperscript{316} Moxey, 70.
\textsuperscript{317} Per electronic correspondence with swordsmit Peter Johnsson, Albion Europe, February 3, 2012.
pairs is that these two make eye contact. Perhaps the drawing is simply clearer than Sketch 4, but it is obvious here that these two are engaging eye to eye, as equals. Though Stein is aiming at Jost’s buttocks, there is nothing dismissive in his manner. While Dölnstein seems to portray the Swede as almost bumbling, these two men are on par.

In this sketch Dölnstein continues to position himself as the military colleague, if not companion, of men worth knowing. In their sparring, presumably in training, these pikemen exhibit intensity, skill, courage, and aggression. Aggression is a key trait here. While unrestrained aggression could wreak havoc in a military formation, aggression brought properly to heel could heighten one’s willingness to hold the line, and could mean the difference between a timid and effective thrust of the pike. In Lyndal Roper’s discussion of masculinity in early modern German towns, physical aggression is a mark of virility. A world where aggression is rewarded with financial gain, plunder, and honor would be an appealing environment for an early modern artisan. That one might enter this world and leave it after only a short stay would add to its appeal. Though it is a dangerous world where one might die of disease or wounds, the sedentary Landsknecht would enter it knowing that if he survived, he would not have to stay long if he did not wish it.

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Roper, 108-120.
Figure 22. Sketch 7, *Halberdier, Wilhelm von Straßburg*.\(^{319}\)

\(^{319}\) ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 4v.
Text
Top:

wilhelm von straspürg

Translation:

Wilhelm von Strasburg

Commentary

In Wilhelm von Strasburg’s name, dress, and weaponry, many of the more attractive aspects of Renaissance mercenary warfare coalesce. The Landsknecht had the singular opportunity to play at being noble and to rub shoulders, quite literally in the pike square, with his superiors. As with all other names containing ‘von’ in Dohnstein’s sketchbook Wilhelm von Strasburg’s name could be a place name, could indicate nobility, or could serve as a means of pretending to nobility. There are a number of locations that might match Dohnstein’s straspürg. Among the possibilities are Straßberg in modern Baden-Württemberg, Strasbourg in modern Alsace, and Straßburg in modern Austria. His appearance in manner and selective use of extravagance suggests that von Strasburg is more than a place name and that he is more than a pretender to a class that is not his own. If he is not noble, he plays the part well in this image.

In contrast to the extreme slashing and bare legs of the carefully crafted image of carelessness in Sketches 1, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 14, Wilhelm von Strasburg presents himself not as a Landsknecht putting on and destroying the dress of nobility, but rather as a nobleman. He shows no intentional indifference to his doublet or gown, none of the extreme slashing or tattered hose of the Landsknecht. Wilhelm’s gown is like that of
noblemen in the late fifteenth century Tudor court. Such gowns were common among the nobility across western Europe.

Figure 23. *Die Abenteuer des Ritters Theuerdank*, Plate 81.

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320 Hayward, 74.
321 Maximilian I, *Die Abenteuer des Ritters Theuerdank: Kolorierter Nachdruck der Gesamtausgabe von 1517*, ed. Stephan Füssel (Köln: Taschen, 2003), Plate 81. By way of explanation, Campbell Dodgson’s description of *Theuerdank* is concise and helpful. “*Theuerdank*, printed at Nuremberg in 1517, is a disguised autobiography of the Emperor Maximilian I in the form of a rhymed romance, illustrated with
The above image of Emperor Maximilian as Theuerdank displays both the epitome of noble battle attire and examples of the wide variety of clothing among the Landsknecht and Reisläufer. The soldiers opposing Maximilian wear clothing similar to many of Dohnstein’s comrades. Wilhelm’s attire, however, is not that of his fellow Landsknechts but of the nobility among these men. Wilhelm’s gown is of Maximilian’s style. His sleeves are intact, and he appears to wear a breastplate with Maximilian’s St. Andrew’s cross across his torso. His headgear is modest, and he gestures in a manner common to depictions of nobility. Wilhelm thus demonstrates a difference between those Landsknechts who convincingly marked themselves as noble and those who appropriated the attire of the nobility with intentional indifference.

Wilhelm’s weaponry also projects genuine origins in the noble class. The quality of his sword and exceptional quality of his halberd suggest that he is not only of the nobility but also that he has means. The fine detail on the scabbard, the caps on the ends of the S-guard on his sword hilt, and the detail on these caps all suggest painstaking and time consuming craftsmanship. His halberd is among the most exquisite in Dohnstein’s sketches. There seems to be a butt spike as on another elaborate halberd in Sketch 4. The St. Andrew’s cross adorns a large and detailed fluke.

118 woodcuts by Beck, Burgkmair, Schäuflein and others, which depict Maximilian’s prowess in the chase, exploits in war, and various adventures in his travels...” Campbell Dodgson, “Some Undescribed States of Theuerdank Illustrations,” The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs, 84, no. 491 (Feb., 1944): 47.
Dolnstein illustrates the edge of Wilhelm's axe blade more precisely than in other drawings. The above halberd heads from Sketches 7, 2, and 5 offer a representative sample of those halberds Dolnstein drew in detail. Moving from left to right, the amount of detail decreases. Johnsson describes details in the pins and on the heads of halberds as providing detail to designed to impress. These are the details that Johnsson stated earlier would, "catch light and glitter — file work and cross hatching — sharp looking and expensive looking. This was also a canvas for the weapon smith to show his professionalism and skill." The comparative level of detail on the halberd in this image, Sketch 7, would have expressed both wealth and status. The same can be said for the sword. Wilhelm von Strasburg's weapons were designed to impress and to reflect that he comes from the nobility.

Tied together with his tasteful clothing, Wilhelm von Strasburg's weaponry and name project high social status. Marching with men of this class and fighting alongside them with the freedom to copy their attire to the desired and feasible degree must have

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322 See Sketch 7. ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 4v, 1v, 3r.
been among the appealing factors for artisans who chose to join the ranks of Landsknechts. Dölnstein himself may have had an appearance very much like this, if not on campaign then in the civilian world. What Wilhelm is wearing is likely the fashion meant by "English cloth for a French style gown" in the references to items Dölnstein received from the Saxon court. Though Dölnstein’s origins were probably not humble for him to have become a master of his craft, a process requiring such support as was normally not available to the poor, he was not a nobleman. Yet he, like Lucas Cranach, enjoyed at least some of the accoutrements of nobility. One can only speculate as to whether social connections or a positive reputation from years of campaigning aided him in his civilian pursuits. It is a worthwhile consideration, speculative though it may be, that the opportunity to march with, fight with, and perhaps drink with members of the nobility might have contributed to his success and might have been among the attractions for fighting in more than one or two campaigns.
Figure 25. Sketch 8, *Woman, Man, and Child on the March*.\textsuperscript{324}

\textsuperscript{324} ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 5r. Stamped with a 5.
Else, Balthasar, and Nigl. Next in a more corporate view of the trio, I will discuss the
roles that women and boys played in Landsknecht armies. Here the attractions of the march for an artisan become clear: in particular, women, servants after a kind, and freedom from moralizing oversight. While the connections are unclear, Balthasar appears to share Nigl’s family name. It is only clear that they march together, however permanently or temporarily. The women of Landsknecht armies adhered to a different set of norms than women in civilian life. While occasionally acting as warriors themselves, camp following women enjoyed a great deal more freedom and experienced a more flexible set of gendered roles. Far from the eyes of their families, these women were both more vulnerable to assault and free to indulge in their own sexuality. The opportunity to socialize and carouse in the company of such women would have been attractive to many men, but sexuality was not the only domain in which women saw less restriction. They assumed many physical roles assigned to men in the civilian world. These women had to be exceptionally strong and tough. For some men, the physicality of camp following women may have been attractive. For others, it may have been something to overlook. Regardless, the presence of women who were free from moral oversight was extremely attractive.\(^\text{332}\)

Else von Winn's name may indicate nobility, pretension to nobility, or a location. There are a number of possible locations for Winn. As with so many other figures in the sketchbook, she may have come from Bavaria; there is today a small village called Winn outside Geisenhausen in Bavaria. Else von Winn resembles many representations of women with Landsknechts. Her skirts are hitched up to facilitate walking; she is dressed in at least some finery; and she carries a load. She also does not appear to have a weapon. In images of camp followers, women do appear with weapons, whether a dagger or the

\(^{332}\) Hale, “The Soldier in Germanic Graphic Art of the Renaissance,” 96.
occasional sword, and Else could very well have a small blade hidden in her skirts. Although Dihle refers to Else as a sutlerin -- a purveyor of goods to soldiers on the march -- her modest burden suggests that she is more likely a companion. Else carries on her head a bundle of provisions looking to be sufficient for no more than herself or, at most, for the three of them. She strikes me therefore as a companion rather than a sutler. Further exploring Else's burden, unlike the Swedes' bundles in Sketches 4 and 15, Else's is bound in the middle rather than at the ends. The left hand with which she balances it bears a dark band across the wrist. Possibly a piece of jewelry or a band of cloth, this could also be a slip of Dohnstein's stylus. Curiously, Dohnstein draws her right hand in such a manner that it is difficult to determine whether he draws four fingertips on a deformed hand, or if, more likely, her hand reaches into a purse with gathers or bells at the bottom. Else wears a hat similar to those of the male musicians in Sketch 9, although her hat appears to have bells or another form of bauble. These are visible on the strips of fabric around her face. The hats of the musicians in Sketch 9 bear no such decoration. Around her neck is a collar or necklace with a tab or pendant extending downward.

What is particularly striking about Else von Winn are the letters across her chest. Beneath abundant breasts which Dohnstein has drawn both above and below Balthasar's halberd staff, are the letters ALM. Like the letters PAVLS in Sketch 2, these letters presumably are a form of identification with another person. Though it is not possible to determine what the letters indicate, it is worth a little space at least to offer some possibilities. The letters do not match the initials of anyone else in the sketchbook, nor do they match what Dohnstein calls her, Else von Winn. 'A' could be for another spelling of

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333 Dihle and Closs, 8.
Else, but none of the other letters match Dohnsteins name for her.\textsuperscript{334} Hence, the letters probably do not refer to her own name. The letters might refer to a husband who has died, to a husband she has forsaken, or even to her father. A likely explanation, given her presence among Landsknechts, is that her clothing is stolen, that she or Balthasar looted it. Ultimately, we do not know what these letters mean.

Balthasar strides next to and behind Else. At their feet are sprigs of grass and in the shape of what appear to be eyes and a line for a mouth. As with the dark area on Else's wrist it is difficult to determine whether Balthasar sports a particularly generous mustache or if Dohnstein's stylus had a little more ink than he intended in this area. Balthasar carries his halberd in a relaxed manner, differently from Dohnstein's other halberdiers who hold their weapons in more crisp fashion. Balthasar drapes his arm over his halberd as it rests on his shoulder for the march. His Katzbalger scabbard has the same criss-crossing as in Sketches 5, 6, and 11. As do other warriors in this sketchbook, Balthasar Strauss Gutt sports a bare thigh. The hose on his right thigh gather over a band tied at the knee, leaving his thigh only partially covered by ragged fabric. The rest of his clothing appears to be tidily maintained. His hat billowing with feathers hangs over his back, which is covered in a doublet similar to the one Jost von Gretz wears in Sketch 6.

Following Balthasar Strauss Gutt and wearing a hat full of feathers himself is Nigl Gutt. One must note that though this figure appears to be a child, Dohnstein may be foreshortening Nigl. He is behind and above Balthasar as one would portray a person in the distance. However, Else is also behind and above, and she is not foreshortened. Also, the dog on Nigl's tether is clearly a lap dog and as such, serves as a good point of reference. Dohnstein draws the dog in proportion to Balthasar and Else as the dog would

\textsuperscript{334} This does not appear to be the case from a perusal of Bahlow.
appear in comparison to adult humans. The dog’s size is also proportionate to how a lap
dog would appear in comparison to a human child. It seems safe then to call Nigl a boy.

Nigl seems to be the son or at least a relative of Balthasar. The only child in the
sketchbook, Nigl wears none of the slashes of Balthasar’s clothing, although it is possible
that the object hanging from the top of his thigh is ragged material. It is difficult to
determine if Dohnstein was drawing the scalloped edges of a pouch or the characteristic
tattered fabric over the thigh. There are two lines running across the top of the pouch or
hose and extending under the buttock. These lines suggest the bottom of stocks. Hence,
this may be the intentional display of fashionable (among the Landsknecht) tatters rather
than a pouch. The portion of Nigl's doublet covering his chest is nearly identical to
Balthasar’s. His shoes are the same as well, and he even wears a codpiece and a small
sword. He looks the very picture of a miniature mercenary. Hale asserts that both soldiers
and camp followers, "aroused curiosity, part fearful, part admiring or envious..."335 This
boy on the march -- walking through villages where other boys could see him sporting a
codpiece, feathers, a colorful doublet, and a sword -- may have been the envy of many
little boys. Nigl holds in his right hand a lead attached to the collar of a little dog. This
dog with bells on its collar seems a mark of some extravagance, for it can offer only
companionship and entertainment. Prostitutes as well as noblewomen are frequently
depicted with lapdogs. The boy holds in his left hand a canteen or flask of sorts.

Above is a slightly enhanced detail of the canteen. This container bears a mark like that on the Swede’s wooden canteen in Sketch 4. Again we see the use of one in a myriad of symbols to mark an object. This symbol could be a decorative design, a hallmark, a personal mark, or any other among the myriad symbols used to mark objects in this period. It would seem wise to have some sort of identifying mark on anything that would be out of one’s hands for any length of time.

These three individuals appear to the reader as a group. Like the ensign and halberdier pairs, this trio functions together and for each other’s benefit. They are an example of, if not a family unit in the strictest sense, a set of people who have migrated toward one another for mutual support and security. Else von Winn may or may not be biologically connected to Nigl Gutt, but it seems that Balthasar and Nigl are related. With Else walking at the head of this trio, it is Balthasar not Nigl who immediately follows her.

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336 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 5r.
Balthasar is the common factor in the trio, not Nigl. I am inclined to think that Dönnstein is depicting a relationship between Else and Balthasar that is of a long term and sexual nature. Both she and Balthasar are to some degree sexualized. Dönnstein takes care to draw her torso facing his audience, allowing him to give Else a narrow waist and abundant, though awkwardly drawn, breasts. Balthasar’s codpiece is particularly prominent, and he wears his sword in a suggestive manner. Hence, they appear to share physical companionship. Dönnstein knows her name and remembers her. She was part of the community of mercenaries in this sketchbook. However briefly or permanently she was attached to Balthasar and Nigl, she completes the trio as Balthasar’s companion, and unlike any other woman in the sketchbook, she was memorable enough to Dönnstein for him to remember her name.

Critical members of the army train, Else and Nigl provide support for Balthasar. Balthasar carries only weapons. Referring back to the Swede in Sketch 4, the peasant was burdened while he fought. He carried his own gear, all of it. He carried it everywhere, including into battle. Such a burden must have put him at a tremendous disadvantage against the Landsknechts who carried only their weapons into combat. The Landsknecht’s ability to go into battle unencumbered was not solely a tactical advantage, but also another means of copying the nobility. He had, in effect, servants. Else and Nigl likely march with Balthasar because of familial and/or romantic ties to him rather than as paid servants. Yet, regardless of why they march with him, they function as servants at least in some measure. Dönnstein depicts in this sketch one of their roles, carrying things.

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The unencumbered Landsknecht accompanied by a woman or boy carrying his things was a common motif in art. Above we see both a woman and a boy carrying all the gear their soldier requires, whether as his kin or employee. In other words, Balthasar copies the nobility not only in dress, but also in having servants. Unlike the peasant soldier in Sketch 4, the Landsknecht is a professional requiring support just as would a knight. Though neither Else nor Nigl are as heavily burdened as the woman and boy depicted in the Hopfer and Graf images, they are nonetheless carrying gear while Balthasar carries only his weapons. Landsknechts appear in formal works of art and in

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338 Ibid., 161; Andersson, 33.
340 It should be noted that in sixteenth century Germany, even modest artisans, bakers, tavern keepers, millers, would have had at least a girl servant to help with cooking and cleaning. The point remains however, that servants are not merely functional but are a mark of status as well, particularly in a moving army.
Dolnstein’s sketches as similar to the warrior class in their unburdened state on the march. In other words, when the Landsknecht comes face to face with a Swede or any other opponent lacking the sort of support Landsknechts had, the free physical movement afforded the Landsknecht is another mark of his ability to suspend class distinctions in this martial world.

Quass explores the roles of women as they cooked for Landsknechts and served as nurses when Landsknechts fell ill. It was a dangerous life. They were subject to the *Hurenweibel* or Whore Sergeant, who was to provide both disciplinary supervision and some level of protection for women and children in the train. Lynn finds women playing crucial roles in armies not merely as companions or prostitutes but also as nurses, sutlers, laundresses, cooks, trench diggers, and transporters of ammunition in the heat of battle. This is where Lynn sees women in the military world crossing boundaries of gender roles while men did not:

Camp women were to comport themselves as women and choose male sexual partners, defer to their male companions or husbands, perform certain gender-defined tasks, and concern themselves with their children, if they had any. Camp women could fight [with one another], but they had to refrain from the deadly violence employed by men -- feminine women poked, punched, and pulled, but they did not draw swords as a rule.

… this overlap was essentially one-sided. Women were expected to display masculine hardiness and to perform certain hard physical work such as digging trenches and mounting cannon. Not only were these forms of masculinity accepted, but a woman who fell short in performing hard camp labor could be beaten by military authorities. However, a man who performed characteristically feminine tasks such as washing clothes risked ridicule. The military environment of the camp required women to take on some mannish ways, but would not allow men to compromise their own masculinity.

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341 Quaas, 57.
342 Ibid., 57-58.
So, as Else was probably expected to perform female-defined tasks such as cooking, laundering, and nursing, she was also probably expected to assume the role of supervising Nigl to whatever degree needed at his age. A few images from the period depict mothering on the march.

Figure 28. Vigil Solis, *A Boy and a Woman of the Baggage Train.*

Here, a woman walks smilingly forward, walking stick in hand, a dog tied presumably to her belt, a canteen in her hand, and a heavy wooden cradle on her back. The physical strength required to mother young children in an army train must have been extraordinary. In light of such necessary fortitude and stamina, it is perfectly logical that

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the *Hurenweibel* would find them capable of demanding physical labor, even those tasks normally assigned to men in the civilian world.

Among women's tasks were mothering, pillaging, and acting as custodian of resources. The woman above may be mothering more than the infant on her back. With this woman is a boy, perhaps a servant, perhaps her son. Lynn surmises that the boy is carrying “the sword and armor of his master.”345 It is also likely that he is her son or the son of the soldier she is presumably following.346 Lynn notes the rooster hanging from the boy’s belt as “a characteristic image of pillage.”347 Pillage was what Lynn calls “the ultimate family economy of the campaign community” and was characteristic of following an army train.348 Pillage, Lynn explains, “was a nearly universal occupation involving the entire campaign community before 1650…”349 Hence, it was not only men who pillaged. Women played an active role in the capture of booty, pillaging “alongside their men or entirely on their own.”350 Women both procured booty and protected it, often trading it for more portable wealth like money.351 Thereafter, women protected their mate’s wealth.

This last role, that of custodian of family resources, had parallels in the civilian world where the artisan managed production and his wife tended the market end of the business.352 Guilds recognized the competence of women in running financial affairs for

346 She may not be following a particular soldier. She may be a prostitute carrying her bastard child. Olaf van Nimwegen, “The Transformation of Army Organization in Early-Modern Western Europe, c. 1500-1789,” in *European Warfare, 1350-1750* ed. Frank Tallett and D.J.B. Trim (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 159-180.
348 Ibid., 63, 145.
349 Ibid., 145.
350 Ibid., 147-148.
their spouses to the degree that many guilds allowed widows to maintain their deceased husband’s shop. On campaign, women appear to have been responsible for watching over the pay and loot of their soldiers. In Sketch 8, Dohnstein provides no purse for Balthasar. Hence, if Else’s hand is indeed inside a purse as it appears to be, she is playing precisely the role she would play in the civilian world. Further, she and Balthasar match the type of so-called team Lynn discusses, “in woodcuts showing partnered teams of Landsknechts and women, the men carry their weapons as if ready for battle, but they have no visible purse; women are usually drawn with fat purses.” Daniel Hopfer’s illustration, Figure 28, is exemplary of this. Hanging from the woman’s belt is a large purse while her soldier carries nothing but his weapons. Lynn concludes that women in the world of warriors acted in the same capacity as women in the world of artisans, as custodians of money.

It appears that there was a great deal of cross-over in female roles between the military and civilian worlds. This cross-over meant that women did considerable physical labor on the march, but it also afforded them many of the same freedoms men enjoyed as they stepped into the martial sphere. Women were among the appealing aspects of army life. Perhaps the presence of children in the train was also an attraction for both men and women. That children, too, accompanied armies meant that having a family did not necessarily preclude one from going on campaign. Certainly artisans went to war to

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353 Ibid.
354 Ibid.
355 Ibid.
support their families, but having to leave them behind may have been terribly difficult. Knowing that their wives and children could accompany them on the march might have encouraged otherwise reluctant men.

Else and Nigl provide examples of what even young wives or children may have found exciting in the idea of going off to war. Else wears what is presumably rather fine attire and has the freedom to wear what she likes on her head, for the cap resembles men's attire more than women's. Nigl is dressed like a miniature warrior complete with sword and feathers. Some of those women and children seeing them walking through villages may have found their lives enviable in spite of its dangers and hardships. The potential enthusiasm of young families to go on what they saw as an adventure may also have encouraged fathers to go on campaign. The presence of children also meant that one could hire them as servants. It also may have mitigated the concerns of men who did not want to leave their families behind. The presence of women also offered the opportunity to bring a sweetheart or wife or to hire women to do what the soldier did not want to do. Likely the strongest draw women provided was the opportunity for sexual encounters.

As artisans stepped out of the civilian world into the military one, women came with them. In the midst of the obvious dangers of disease, rape, and violence, women enjoyed a similar kind of moral freedom on the march as men did. Away from the watchful eyes of parents and townsfolk, women experienced independence, freedom to drink, to carouse, to behave unchastely, and the opportunity to acquire and flaunt extravagant clothing, whether by their own pillaging or as gifts from the men to whom

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358 Lynn, 34-35.
they attached themselves. These women had to possess physical strength as they performed masculine labor along with their exclusively female tasks. Their independence, position far from home, and physicality may have drawn out more vibrant personalities in otherwise retiring women. The army train was a hyper-masculine world where women were expected to defer to men. And yet, outside civilian society in a world where women could cultivate a different identity from that of peasant or maidservant, these women may have been more vibrant and daring in their gait, attire, and behavior. The march represented a life that was a world apart for men, women, and children.

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359 Redlich, 462-463.
Figure 29. Sketch 9, *Fife and Drum*.360

360 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 5v.
Text

Top Left:

jan flemýng

Translation:

Jan Fleming

Top Right:

fritz$^{361}$ von wu$^{362}$rmeß

Translation:

Fritz von Würmess$^{363}$

Commentary

Baumeister Paul Dohnstein here depicts two musicians. His intention with their inclusion may have been to illustrate the excitement of his life as mercenary or to continue his catalog of ‘types’ that he encountered in Landsknecht armies. Dohnstein may not have been communicating that these two men were his peers but that they provided atmosphere and had an important function in the army. Music called men to mercenary life and continued throughout their time in military service. This essay will follow my now familiar method of discussing the named individuals moving across the page from left to right. Because I have already discussed many of the aspects of their appearance that are common to other individuals in the sketchbook, I will keep observations to a minimum. After this discussion, I will briefly explore music as an integral part of Dohnstein’s military world, specifically addressing the status of musicians, their roles in recruitment, morale, and on the battlefield.

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$^{361}$ The ‘i’ is not dotted; it could be a ‘v.’
$^{362}$ This could be any number of things including mürnieß.
$^{363}$ No locations readily appear to match this. Dihle sees this as “Wurmik.” Dihle and Closs, 7.
Fully bearded Jan Fleming and clean shaven Fritz von Würmess appear to wear a livery, a uniform of sorts that marked men as retainers. Their attire closely resembles that of Jost, “Hunt the Devil,” von Gretz in Sketch 6. Even their hats are similar to Jost’s, though the tabs appear to be wider on Jost than on Jan and Fritz. This headwear is also similar to Else von Winn’s, though Jan Fleming’s is more abundantly frilled on top, and none of the men wear the bells that appear to adorn Else’s cap. Jan’s and Fritz’s sleeves and doublets match one another as they also match Jost’s. All three men’s upper stocks or hose match on their left sides. Their footwear, so similar to most of the men’s, is identical to Jost’s. They wear the same Katzbalgers though not necessarily with the same binding on the scabbard. They all wear St. Andrew’s crosses, Jan and Fritz on their right thighs, Jost on his right buttock. It is possible that all three wear St. Andrew’s crosses in the same places on the front and the back. It may also be that the left side of the upper stocks match Jost as well. The similarities seem to end here. The left leg from the buttock down does not match Jost whose leg is covered by monochromatic hose. Jan and Fritz drop the left hose over the band below the knee, leaving their left thigh bare but for a tattered flap of fabric. It is impossible to be certain of the degree to which their attire is of a kind because we can not see the front of Jost or the back of Jan and Fritz, and they may all be of different colors. Thus, they may not appear alike at all in color. It should be noted that what they wear may be a livery of sorts, for if they are of the same colors, they are certainly of similar pattern.

These two men as pipers and drummers were not of the same standing as the other men Dolfstein includes in his notebook. Trumpeters enjoyed a standing more akin to

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364 Hayward, 244-248.
standard bearers than did their fellow musicians such as pipers and drummers. This is in spite of the fact that pipers and drummers were to remain close by the colors and standard bearer whether in camp or on the march. Raymond Monelle argues, “Military and court trumpeters were musicians of high standing, and would not wish to lower themselves to playing with the infantry.” Note that the trumpeter in Sketch 12 is astride a horse and rides with the heavy cavalry. Monelle asserts that there was a class distinction between trumpeters and other musicians. His argument holds with artistic representations of military musicians where pipers and drummers are depicted together and with the infantry, while trumpeters are notably absent from their company.

Musicians like these were crucial to the infantry. Before men even joined the march, drums called them to recruitment. Millar describes the role of musicians in calling men to commanders, summoning them to recruitment: “After the countryside had been informed in advance, they set off with fife and drum and copies of their commissions in search of volunteers.” The sound of drums echoing through a town or across fields called men to a life of excitement and honor. Though the life of a soldier was harsh, open to disease, hunger, heat, cold, and thirst, the thrill of the drums must have quickened the blood and drowned out whatever awareness a recruit had of such difficulties. Music not only drew attention to the recruiting commander’s presence but

367 Monelle, 116.
368 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 7v-8r.
369 Monelle, 116-117.
371 Potter, 297.
372 Millar, 95.
encouraged men to join through the exciting and lively summons. Artisans like Dohnstein would have joined with veterans, peasants, nobles as well as the rootless and unemployed.\textsuperscript{373}

Musicians were also important in lifting spirits, creating group cohesion, and possibly in keeping time on the march, though Monelle would argue against any modern notions of men marching in time on the campaign trail.\textsuperscript{374} Musicians were important to military cohesion because they created group cohesion.\textsuperscript{375} On the march, pipes and drums kept time and built cohesion if only in physical movement.\textsuperscript{376} Landsknechts sang in camp as people sang in taverns, creating bonds and memories together.\textsuperscript{377} Musicians added to camaraderie by accompanying men and women as they reveled. Commanders used music to calm men who needed to maintain composure.\textsuperscript{378} Music accompanied victory in, “the swagger and celebration by which music was used to amplify the grandeur of victories, treaties and formal entries into conquered cities.”\textsuperscript{379}

Music was an integral part of communication as well. Pipes and drums marked the trials of Landsknechts and their punishments.\textsuperscript{380} Men knew what various rhythms indicated, and they sounded advance and retreat.\textsuperscript{381} They also communicated troop movement, and Landsknechts had to learn what each sound signified.\textsuperscript{382} Musicians were crucial to keeping pike squares together as they changed position in a body of men that

\textsuperscript{373}Millar, 95; Redlich, 118.
\textsuperscript{374}Franz, 98.
\textsuperscript{375}Silver, 81.
\textsuperscript{376}Monelle argues that Landsknecht armies did not march with the same leg on the same beat. Monelle views the meaning of the term “march” as “maneuver” and sees Romantic era collections of Landsknecht marches as dubious in authenticity. Monelle, 113-115.
\textsuperscript{377}Peter Burke, \textit{Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe}, 3rd ed. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 73.
\textsuperscript{378}Potter, 287.
\textsuperscript{379}Ibid., 290.
\textsuperscript{380}Franz, 94.
\textsuperscript{381}Potter, 290.
\textsuperscript{382}Ibid., 287-288.
could not break formation.\textsuperscript{383} Each man had to know what each sound meant in order to keep the square intact. In the heat of battle, drums were the primary instruments used to transmit commands for maneuvers.\textsuperscript{384} In preparation for battle as in battle itself, fifes, drums, and trumpets encouraged men, building their will to combat, and communicating orders for troop movement. Over the massive noise of battle, musicians were indispensable in communicating orders. It is almost impossible to overstate their value in maintaining the integrity of troop formations as pike squares numbering in the hundreds and thousands maneuvered across the battlefield.

Potter argues that music could bolster men’s aggression and that, “It was widely thought that no army was complete without the din of wind instruments.”\textsuperscript{385} Weapons contributed to a symphony of battle as “cannonades, volleys of arquebus, trumpets and drums” combined for a powerful, thrilling, heartening storm of sound.\textsuperscript{386} Violent sounds of booming guns, of men and horses crashing together, of trumpets shouting orders and rallying troops, are impossible to recreate in the mind. These sounds must have made an enormous impression on men, one they would have remembered the rest of their lives.

Musicians played an integral part in military life. Naturally Paul Dohnstei would want to include musicians in a sketchbook about his wartime experiences. Dohnstein here presents for his reader what he seems to view as a happy constant in his military life - music and musicians. Throughout a man’s military experience, from beginning to end, musicians played a role. They called men to the march, kept time on the march, lifted morale, and communicated orders. Musicians were integral to an army’s tactical and

\textsuperscript{383} Ibid., 288.
\textsuperscript{384} Monelle, 113, 115-117; Redlich, 118.
\textsuperscript{385} Potter, 290.
\textsuperscript{386} Ibid., 287, 286-297.
psychological success. Further, in creating a celebratory atmosphere in camp and infusing the sounds of battle with strains of glory, they provided an atmosphere that likely rivaled anything civilian society had to offer.\footnote{Monelle, 113, 115-117; Redlich, 118.} These two men, Jan and Fritz, performed a crucial service on the battlefield and provided an exciting element to Dohnstein’s military experience.
Figure 30. Sketch 10, *Junker on the March*.\(^{388}\)

\(^{388}\) ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 6r. Stamped with a 6.
In Sketch 10, Paul Dölnstein presents an intriguing military figure as his comrade. Junker Trausnig looks ragged even by comparison to Landsknechts. Junker Trausnig’s exaggerated disheveled state may be a matter of Dölnstein’s attempt to convey age. Dölnstein is also drawing fur rather than fabric for the first time in the sketchbook here as well, and this, too, may contribute to the ragged look. Junkers were landed nobility among the lower aristocracy in north-eastern Germany. They do not seem to have been more prone to poverty in this period than earlier, but Landsknecht armies were a haven for impoverished noblemen seeking a means to earn their bread. Hence, Trausnig could be either a genuinely impoverished Junker, or he may have simply adopted the Landsknecht’s cultivated look of indifference. Dölnstein created this illustration using quavering lines. The Junker’s clothing has none of the clean, tight lines of Wilhelm von Strasburg (Sketch 7) or that of the many other figures in the sketchbook.

Indeed, Junker Trausnig’s appearance is more akin to that of Balthasar Strauss (Sketch 8) than to anyone else. The lines here are very similar to those in Balthasar’s

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389 Dihle sees Trausing or Treusing. Dihle and Closs, 7. This is a difficult name. Nothing appears a likely match in Bahlow, and the text is unclear.
391 Carsten, 145-171; Redlich, 117.
sleeves. However, the lines on Balthasar’s hose are clean and crisp whereas Junker Trausnig’s hose appear loose. His hat sags, and he has a generally unkempt appearance. The fabric hanging over his bare right thigh is more tattered than that on any other subject in the sketchbook. Like many other Landsknechts in this illustrated notebook, the Junker’s weapons are what appear to be a Katzbalger and a halberd. It is difficult to make out either weapon. Junker Trausnig’s cloak covers most of his sword, and the halberd head is faded.

![Image](image_url)

Figure 31. Detail, Sketch 10. Halberd Head.³⁹²

Alterating the contrast as above, however, one can make out the head of a halberd.

Returning to the comparison to Balthasar, Junker Trausnig holds his weapon with the same relaxed manner with which Balthasar holds his halberd. His left arm draped over the shaft of the weapon, Junker Trausnig balances his halberd on his shoulder as he walks. As does Balthasar, Junker Trausning walks with purpose.

³⁹² ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 6r.
His cloak appears expensive and is unique in the sketchbook. Dohnstein draws it with jagged lines to indicate either fur or wear. His face bears the marks of age or disease. The curving line above and to the right of his mustache indicates the wrinkled cheeks of age, severely pockmarked skin, or a scar from a wound. If the Junker is an aged warrior, he may not be serving out of an inclination for the lifestyle, but rather because he has no other means of support. However, he could be serving out of both. Whether his face is marked from disease, a wound, or age, Junker Teusnig has survived and has survived well. He moves with vigor, taking a long stride, and hailing someone in the distance, someone whom he is eager to see. The image is a particularly happy one. So, whether the Junker fights from necessity or not, Dohnstein characterizes him as enjoying his life on the march.

There seems to be a fondness in this sketch of the ragged Junker. Dohnstein portrays him differently from anyone else. His shabbiness does not reflect negatively on the man. He is is hearty and virile. His waving hand gives him a gregarious appearance, and his clothes would not set him apart from the ranks of the Landsknechts. Though he is a junker, he appears to be one of the men. This figure represents one of the attractions for artisans, the opportunity to play at being a nobleman while rubbing shoulders with them in the pike square. As with Wilhelm von Strasburg, Junker Trausnig’s presence in Dohnstein’s sketchbook suggests that some of Dohnstein’s companions were men of rank.
Figure 32. Sketch 11, *Four Pikemen*.\(^{393}\)

\(^{393}\) ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 6v-7r. Stamped with a 7.
Some of the text on this page is illegible. Dihle names a Hans von Ulm in the sketchbook but does not indicate the page on which she finds him. Larsson places Hans von Ulm on this page.

Top Center Left:

claß freŷ vom atten wald

Translation:

Klaus Frei von Attenwald

Top Center Right:

palethain

Translation:

Palatine

Top Center Left:

jorg .....  

Translation:

Jorg .....  

Commentary

The men in the sketch add the same intensity and controlled aggression to Dohnstein’s identity as the pikemen in Sketch 6, the halberdier in Sketch 4, and the halberdier and standard bearer in Sketch 5. As with Sketch 6, this drawing shows pikemen engaged in practice or possibly combat. The pike is an unwieldy weapon for
individual combat. Its length and single, small point make it ideal for squares of men
defending against or attacking a cavalry charge but an unlikely choice for hand to hand
combat. Hence, practice seems the most likely description for the activity in which the
men are engaged. This essay will explore the image briefly and then discuss the meaning
of the term “Palatine” and its potential interpretations for Dolnstein’s sketch.

The man on the left edge of the paper is wearing something similar to the attire of
the musicians in Sketch 9 and Jost in Sketch 6.\textsuperscript{398} The doublet appears to be identical to
the doublets of Jost and the musicians. The hose are similar as well. Hanging from this
man’s waist is a sword with a plain scabbard. On the left is a man who wears wears his
hose connected to the stocks, revealing no bare skin. The stocks and headwear are
different from those in the other sketches. The headwear seems to be unique in the
sketchbook, and the stocks have intricate slashing as opposed to stripes. The stocks of
Klaus Frei are similarly slashed. Excepting the trademark tatters, he bares his right thigh.
Klaus’ doublet is abundantly colored and slashed, and he wears a unique cap full of
feathers. He seems to have shaped his beard in an angular fashion coming to a point
below his chin. His scabbard has narrow horizontal bands along the length. All of the
pikemen on this page hold their pikes across the front of their bodies with the left hand
behind the right, as do the two pikemen in Sketch 6. Most interesting here are the
interlocking legs of these pikemen. Both pairs of men appear to have the back leg of the
forwardmost man behind the front leg of the rear man. The back leg of the forward man
appears to be supporting the front leg of the rear man and vice versa. Dolnstein does not
appear to have drawn this method of support elsewhere. In the pike squares of Sketches

\textsuperscript{398} ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 3v-4r, 5v.
12 and 15, he does not make a point of depicting this maneuver. If it is occurring, it is not readily apparent.

The pikeman next to the word "Palatine" appears to wear a doublet, hose, and stocks of the same style as the man on the far left. Though covered by a breastplate bearing a St. Andrew's cross, the stripes of his doublet are apparent over the top of his armor. The sleeves are like those of the man on the left, and the hose match his style as well. Colors, of course, may have been wildly different as Landsknechts were known for their flamboyance.\(^{399}\) The man by the word "Palatine" appears to be wearing a plumed helmet, and he sports a closely trimmed beard. He wears a Katzbalger with a dark scabbard. Also wearing a Katzbalger is Jorg on the far right. His scabbard bears the criss-crossing wires or leather bands like those in Sketches 5, 6, and 8.\(^{400}\) Jorg’s hat is lavishly plumed, and he sports a full mustache. He wears a breastplate and bares a thigh in similar fashion to the standard bearer in Sketch 5.\(^{401}\) Rather than tatters hanging over the thigh, Jorg seems to have secured loose fabric from the stock of his right thigh with some sort of tacking. The hose on his right thigh hang down over the band at his knee. Faintly visible on his his left thigh is a St. Andrew's cross, which likewise appears on his breastplate. Jorg's cross seems to be made of strips of cloth running diagonally across his breastplate from shoulder to waist in the same manner as Wilhelm von Strausburg has marked himself with the St. Andrew's cross. Jorg’s breastplate bears similar stylish embellishments to those of the men in Sketches 1, 4, 5, and 12.\(^{402}\) Some of the plates bear a single line of engraving while others such as Jorg's have two.

\(^{399}\) Moxey, 87.
\(^{400}\) ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 3r, 3v-4r, 5r.
\(^{401}\) ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 3r.
\(^{402}\) ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 1r, 2v, 3r, 7v-8r.
The St. Andrew's crosses are particularly interesting in this image because Dolnstein associates them with the word "Palatine." Since Maximilian took sides against the Count Palatine in the Bavarian war, his crosses seem out of place on men of the Palatinate. Perhaps by placing the word 'Palatine' near the center of this sketch, Dolnstein intends to communicate that these men are from his experiences in the Bavarian War. They could be either his comrades or enemy troops. Dolnstein’s use of the word ‘Palatine’ requires the consideration of the possibility that he is depicting combat with the enemy. In the Landshut War of 1503 – 1505, Dolnstein fought against the Count Palatine. In Sketch 17, he mentions encountering the count’s watch and coming away without harm.405 In other words, this would imply that the men on the right hand side of the image would have been on the opposing side in the Bavarian War. It suggests that actual combat is what Dolnstein is depicting: a glimpse of battle, a moment when pike squares clashed, just a slice of the melée. Given that the sketch following this one pictures a pike square about to come into contact with a cavalry charge, a micro-picture of two pike squares clashing seems plausible.

Another possibility is that these men fought for the Count Palatine, were captured, and fought now against him. Though mercenaries might have had preferences for which commanders they followed, as a general rule, they followed the money. As stated in the Introduction, Oman observes, "The most extraordinary fact about the landsknechts is that, unlike the Swiss, they seem to have been singularly indifferent about their nationality."404 Captives were often placed in the unit that captured them.405 Hence, the men on the right side of this sketch may have been prisoners of war, freed in order to fight against their

403 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 11v.
404 Oman, 77.
405 Redlich, 470-472.
former employer. Or they may simply be Dohnstein's comrades from the Bavarian War. Because Landsknechts fought for virtually anyone who would pay them, either scenario is likely. In either of these latter two scenarios, this sketch would be a sparring or training scene. That these men were his comrades or fought with him after being captured would explain how Dohnstein knew at least one of their names. It is worth noting, however, that Dohnstein may very well have known the names of men in enemy units if he had served alongside them in another campaign.

In this image, Dohnstein associates himself with four skilled warriors. In depicting and naming these men, he informs his reader that he knows these men and that he understand what they are doing. By his assertions elsewhere in the text that he was there at the scene of action and that he himself saw action, he also implies that he is one of their kind, that he can do what they do.\textsuperscript{406} Landsknechts’ training made them highly prized mercenaries on Europe's battlefields.\textsuperscript{407} To be one of these warriors, often glorified in art from this period, fighting side by side with nobles, being truly skilled in the art of war was something of which to be proud. Dohnstein captures several characteristics of Landsknechts in this image: their glamorous devil-may-care attire, their brashness in intentionally baring skin and doing so with pride, their courage, aggression, and skill. In attaching these characteristics to men he clearly knows, Dohnstein associates himself with these characteristics. Without overtly claiming that he is courageous, aggressive, and skilled, or that he wore similar flamboyant clothing, he implies these things through his choice of comrades for inclusion in his sketchbook.

\textsuperscript{406} ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 9v-10r, 11v, 12v-13r,

\textsuperscript{407} Hall, 225.
Figure 33. Sketch 12, *A Field Array of Men.*

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408 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 7v-8r. Stamped with an 8 on the recto page.
Text

Zy 400 man kr... & ..... 409 zu ein veld ornung
xi jn ainglid von 198 spiess 18 glid410
pleibn 42 spieß damit dech das veld... 411
vff paidi sain mit 3 Item nym 75
halbartn mach do man acht glid v jn
ein glid pleibn 35 dy orn zwisch
di spiess412 Item 75 hantbüxn
schütezn 3 jn ain glid wirt
25 glid neben dy ornung
so wirt dj ornung 29 glid lanck
vnd 14 man jn eyn glid inyg413 6 man
se da an [crossed out word] stat zus414 7 in i glid 37 glid spieß
xj glid hilbarn
xi glid schutz
..... 415 4 man

Translation

409 Faintly one can almost see “c spie...” which may refer to 100 pike.
410 My thanks to Christopher S. Mackay, University of Alberta, for clarifying this difficult word. Electronic correspondence, July 14, 2011.
411 Illegible. There may be something tacked on to the end of veld, or it may be something that changes the word from veld to another word.
412 Possibly spieß.
413 Possibly inyg for innig. This word is not clear. It may be the same word that begins line 15. However, this word appears to have a ‘y’ before the ‘g’, and the word in line 15 does not.
414 zuerst.
415 Possibly inyg for innig. This word is unclear and may be the same as the possible word inyg in line 11. However, this word does not seem to have a ‘y’ before the ‘g’ and the word in line 11 does.
Because not all of the text on this page is legible, possibly leaving out 100 pike in the first line, I leave the translation below in literal form and offer other possible interpretations in the notes. This will allow readers as many options as possible in interpreting Dohnstein.

There are 400 men ..... & .. .....\(^{416}\) for a field array. 1

11 to a rank from 198 pikes, 18 ranks. 2

There remain 42 pikes. With that cover the field… 3

on the sides with 3. Item, take 75 4

halbards, as makes 8 ranks 5

per rank.\(^{417}\) There remain 35, the ranks among 6

the pikes. New item, 75 handgun 7

soldiers, 3 per rank, make\(^{418}\) 8

25 ranks beside the array. 9

And so the array becomes 29 ranks long 10

and 14 men per rank including\(^{419}\) 6 men. 11

They then\(^{420}\) instead\(^{421}\) at first 7 in one rank. 37 ranks [of] pikes 12

11 ranks [of] halberds 13

11 ranks [of] handguns 14

.....\(^{422}\) 4 men.\(^{423}\) 15

\(^{416}\) There may be another 100 pike here. See note above.

\(^{417}\) This could be a separate unit of 40 halberdiers.

\(^{418}\) Literally, "is made." Electronic correspondence with Christopher S. Mackay, University of Alberta, August 2, 2011.

\(^{419}\) Though this could also mean ‘encompassing’ or ‘in the middle,’ ‘including’ is a suitable interpretation per Shawn Boyd, University of North Dakota, electronic correspondence, February 25, 2012.

\(^{420}\) Or ‘there.’

\(^{421}\) Or ‘in place.’

\(^{422}\) Possibly ‘encompassing’ or ‘in the middle.’ It seems to mean with 6 more than 400.
Commentary

In this sketch, Dölnstein explains for his reader how to array four hundred men for a pike square. Such an explanation seems an exercise he would not undertake for himself, but rather something he might do for a friend, presumably Meister Heinrich, who wanted to understand how these pike formations came together. Indeed, this friend could have fought inside a pike square at some point in his life without knowing how exactly it was laid out. Dölnstein’s understanding of this process indicates that he was not always within the square in his work as a mercenary. In this image, Dölnstein continues to attend to details, and his years of training as a builder shine through the fine lines in roofing, windows, and walls. His attention to detail appears in his drafting of human subjects as well. Five and even six rows deep into the pike square, faces are visible. Dölnstein clarifies the standards six rows deep to the degree that one can see the point at the top of the standard pole. He differentiates among weapons far into the square as well. The castles, fanciful though they may be, exhibit an awareness of how structures work. This appears to be a setting from his imagination as he offers no location, at least not in the legible text. In this essay, I will first discuss pike squares themselves and how Dölnstein's knowledge of their assembly suggests that he drew on his craftsman’s background in his capacity as a mercenary. Second, I will address the sleeve of shot on the right hand side of the square as one stands in the square and will very briefly touch on possible interpretations of the text here. The Appendix provides further exploration of the text. Third, I will discuss the sketch itself, following the pattern of moving generally from left to right across the image.

423 Or: In the middle there are 4 men in ranks.
To provide the reader with a context for Dohnstein’s array, it is worth taking a moment to explore the idea of the pike square as a military formation. In Dohnstein's instructions and image, we see something like the pike square David Eltis describes:

Sixteenth-century pike-squares were made up of several layers. In the exact centre of the pike-square stood the ensign. Around him men with halberds formed an inner square, protecting him against attack from all four directions. Outside this central box of halberdiers stood the pikemen, who lacked defensive armour, then came a layer of pikemen with corslets of armour plate and finally the outer coating of muskets and arquebusiers, whose job it was to shelter under the pikes of their companions ready to discharge when the time came. The unarmoured pikemen were called *piche secche* in Italian military parlance. Their job in battle was to push on the backs of the *picche armate* in front and push forwards into their places if they were killed. If there was a shortage of corslets *picche armate* were paced [*sic*] only on the front and rear of the pike-square and not on the sides.424

Though Eltis’ description is of pike squares from a few decades later, Dohnstein’s image reflects many of Eltis’ observations. Dohnstein portrays the men in the outer rows and columns in armor. It does appear that the man fourth from the right as one looks at the square may not be wearing a breastplate. His upper body seems to be clad in something like the style of Jost “Hunt the Devil” von Gretz, Jan Fleming, Fritz von Würmess, and two of the men in Sketch 11.425 However, what appears to be fabric could also be heavily decorated armor. The band across the top resembles the band across the top of breast plates far more than it does the plain, single line Dohnstein uses to mark the top of a doublet.

Looking closely at Dohnstein’s drawing, one can see the ensign if not in the center of the square, at least several rows deep. As Eltis describes, halberdiers surround him, though not with an inner square as Eltis discusses. In Dohnstein’s image, halberdiers

425 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 6v-7r.
comprise the third row with two ranks of pike between them and the standards. On either side of the standards in Dohnstein’s drawing are halberdiers. One cannot be certain whether Dohnstein is drawing this square as accurately as he can rank by rank, or if he is drawing something representative of the square. In order to depict the standards clearly, in order that they not be lost to the viewer in the sea of heads in the pike square, he may have drawn the standards closer to the front than they actually stood. However, they may actually be close to the front. The image below illustrates that standards were placed in the center of formations but not exclusively in the center.

Figure 34. Jost Amman, *An Army on the March. 1573.*

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426 *Illustrations to Fronsperger’s ‘Kriegsbuch,’* British Museum, German XVIc Mounted Roy.
In the image above, we see standards in a variety of positions within pike formations. In formation G, they are near the front. This image also demonstrates that pike formations came in a variety of shapes. Above, we see squares and rectangles as well as a formation marching in a protective body around what appears to be ammunition. For the sake of simplicity, I will follow convention and refer to pike formations as pike squares regardless of their shapes unless shape is specifically relevant.

Returning to Eltis’ description of a pike square, it is important to note that Eltis is describing the pike square of the middle of the century. Two particularly important differences between the pike squares of Dölnstein's era and those of later decades are the sizes of these squares and the integration of gunpowder technology into the square. First, the number of men in pike squares grew dramatically over the course of the sixteenth century.\footnote{Eltis, 52-53.} In Dölnstein's era, squares comprised numbers well under a thousand, whereas later in the sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth centuries, squares numbered in the thousands.\footnote{Redlich, 39, 75-78.} Dölnstein's array of four hundred reflects the range of size in his era.\footnote{Redlich, 39, 75-78.} The other difference was in the integration of gunpowder technology, specifically handguns or as Dölnstein calls them *hantbüxen* with pike squares.

The current scholarship agrees that the use of arquebusiers with pike squares emerged sometime in the third or fourth decade of the sixteenth century. Paul Dölnstein's sketchbook seems to place this development before 1505. Geoffrey Parker describes the years after Ravenna (1512), Marignano (1515), and Bicocca (1522): "within a few years, most nations had added files of 'firelocks' to defend their pike squares, although at first

\footnote{Eltis, 52-53.}
\footnote{Redlich, 39, 75-78.}
\footnote{Redlich, 39, 75-78. For numbers specifically matching Dölnstein’s 400 see Millar, 96-97.}
the ratio was only about one to three."\textsuperscript{430} Parker describes files of gunners like those on the far end of the pike square Dolnstein has drawn.\textsuperscript{431} Bert Hall likewise notes:

One tactical innovation since Pavia [1525] had been to intermingle arquebuses (the term probably referred to muskets as well, at least on the imperial side) and pikemen in modified versions of the square formations pioneered by the Swiss pike companies. Ideally, once battle was decided upon, an officer known as the sergeant major would dispose of the troops in balanced formations, making squares of his troops according to equipment and experience. (This is one reason why printed tables of square roots become a staple of the publishing industry during this period.) To each square of pikemen a complement of arquebusiers would be assigned; they were expected to fire at advancing enemy formations and then retire within the squares for protection."\textsuperscript{432}

Hall refers here to an intermingling of firearms, and to a complement of gunners that would retreat into the pike square after firing. This is similar to what Dolnstein draws, though gunners are not intermingled but stand in a sleeve along one side. Paul Dolnstein’s gunners hold their ground with the pikemen. They are supplied with reloaded weapons by the man and woman just below the text.

The man is tamping down the powder and shot into the barrel of the weapon while the woman walks toward the rear of the pike square, carrying two guns presumably loaded and ready for use. It appears thus that after firing, Dolnstein’s gunners would retire into the square for protection as Hall describes. The front three probably shouldered their weapons, with the gunner closest to the pikemen turning ninety degrees and slipping between the pikes and the files of guns, followed by the other two gunners. Staying between the gun and pike columns, they would side-step their way to the rear of the square. There they would exchange their expended weapons for fresh ones from the woman and man Dolnstein pictures readying guns. The second rank of gunners would

\textsuperscript{431} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{432} Hall, 186-187.
step forward to take their place, fire, move to the rear in like manner, and the process would continue.

Though we do not know when Dölnstein created his sketchbook, and he could have made these sketches later, he disappears from the records after 1513. It seems safe to place the dating in the first two decades of the sixteenth century. Further, Dölnstein is typically correct in his depiction of period details, and the last event in his sketchbook takes place in 1504. Hence, we have good evidence here for very early integration of sleeves of shot into pike squares, as early as the first half of the first decade of the sixteenth century.

Dölnstein draws this formation as a man of experience. His awareness of how to array men suggests that he was not always inside the pike square during battle. Dölnstein is standing outside the square here, presumably with men in command. If he does not have experience actually assembling 400 men under his own command, then he has observed others making the commands, and has watched men fall in at the precise spot where they are supposed to be. Through his Comrade Sketches, Dölnstein has identified himself with the warriors on the field of battle, men standing inside the pike square. In possessing the knowledge of how to place men in the right order for battle, Dölnstein now identifies himself with a specific kind of warrior, the experienced sergeant, halberdier, or their superiors, who would have understood how to assemble a pike square.433

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433 Millar, 97-99.
While some of the rank and file pikemen may have had a general understanding of how the whole square was arrayed, the sort of instruction Dolnstein gives illustrates his association with men of the middling and higher ranks.\footnote{It also illustrates his comfort with mathematics. Mathematics is something he would have had to have known for his work in bridge construction. Eltis, 54; Even today when troops receive intense training and have at least some mathematical education, few privates could describe a 400 man formation, a general battalion sized formation, in detail. Per Jeffrey D. Skjelver, USMC RET, on infantry training, 2 February, 2012. Mathematical knowledge in the German Renaissance was far more limited, and thus one cannot expect the rank and file to have understood large unit formations in much detail.} Eltis observes that:

To form such a complex body out of a multiplicity of individual companies in line of march, each with a share of the several types of men, was a difficult task not lightly undertaken. It required a good understanding of mathematics and systematic records. Knowledge of multiplication and division and square roots were essential. Yet these skills were far from widespread in early modern Europe. This is an as yet little-charted field.\footnote{Eltis, 54.}

A master builder would have possessed such knowledge, and it is possible that Dolnstein held a leadership role requiring him to array men for battle. We know that he was a \textit{Baurechnungsführer}, a leadership role involving financial and organizational figures, for the Torgau Bridge building project. Hence, he would have possessed a good understanding of both mathematics and systematic records. In Sketch 19, Dolnstein claims to have been responsible for making camp. His skills as a master craftsman seem to have made him useful in roles beyond the interior of a pike square.

Dolnstein’s background as a builder is apparent in the attention he pays to structures whether they are real or imagined. We can see this scene as an actual event, as depicting a physical location. Sven Ekdahl views this scene as a battle between Swedish knights and German Landsknechts, because he interprets the cross on the flag born by the mounted knights as the blue and yellow royal Swedish cross.\footnote{Ekdahl, “Die Bewaffnung der Schwedischen Bauern im Mittelalter,” 24-25.} One can reasonably view this sketch from either perspective. Dolnstein provides roads for each of these castles, all
seeming to lead loosely toward one another. With the three castles even a few miles from one another, Dolnstein could depict them as part of the same landscape. It is certainly possible that Dolnstein is depicting a moment from his Swedish experiences as exemplary of the moment when a pike square was a split second away from engaging heavy cavalry. However, we might also see this sketch as a fictional location conjured for the display of this tense moment. The cross here is not an uncommon cross. Dolnstein draws the same cross over Albrecht of Saxony's name in Sketch 13 on the Siege of Montfort, Holland. Unlike in the following event sketches, Dolnstein offers no location or date in this sketch as he does in other Event Sketches. He also uses only the present tense in this sketch whereas in the other Event Sketches, he uses the past tense. Further, the sketch has a dramatic geography with three castles in close proximity. This seems more in keeping with a medieval motif than a physical location.

Fictional or not, these castles are replete with detail. Dolnstein has included flags, turrets, roof tiles, square paneled windows, arrow slits, a gate on the rightmost tower as well as a main gate, and a curtain wall on the castle on the left. A road leads out from the gate facing the reader and winds down the mountain, splitting in two directions just above the lance points of the third rank of knights. Another road leads into a forest of lances just behind and to the right of the castle as the reader sees the page. This road may extend from a gate on the other side of the castle or may be a continuation of the road we see in front of the castle. This road seems to lead to the central castle which likewise exhibits roof tiles on one tower. Each of the three front towers has eight visible and symmetrically placed arrow slits in two rows. The supports under the alcove jutting out

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437 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 8v.
from a wall, the supports under the wall walk and the top of the central tower or turret likewise show attention to the sort of detail a builder would notice.

The castle on the right side of the image combines the elements of both of the other castles. A road leads to it from some point hidden from view in the center of the image. One of the lines making up the road extends through the bodies of the woman carrying guns and the man loading a firearm and just beyond the gun itself. Like the first castle, this one has a curtain wall, and like the second castle, it appears to have a wall walk around the left most part of the wall. Dohnstein illustrates this castle’s gate with fine horizontal lines rather than a simple darkened area. Like the first castle, this structure has square paned windows and roof tiles on a turret, on the main building, on the small structure atop the far left segment of the curtain wall, and on the walkway stretched between the main structure and the tower on the right. The roof of the central tower has a unique appearance with bands across the top. This tower also has arrow slits running the length of the stairway inside the tower. There are two diagonal rows of three arrow slits each stretching across the tower following this inner set of stairs. There are faintly visible two arrow slits in the square tower to the left of the main structure. There also appear to be arrow slits in the right most tower and either windows or arrow slits in the walkway suspended between the main structure and this tower.

Like the windows of the castle on the left, the three windows on the left side of this structure appear to be square paned. The windows on the right hand side of the main structure appear to be in two parts. The upper third of the windows is divided in half, and Dohnstein has drawn the lower two thirds with diagonal lines going in only one direction. Finally, this castle exhibits supports under the turret and wall walk. These supports could
represent the presence of machicolations if the floor is open between the supports. In these structural details, Dohnstein’s identity as a builder emerges from the sketch.

Dohnstein’s attention to detail continues elsewhere in the image such as in the terrain around the bases of structures as well as in beards on faces, styles of weaponry, and details of armor. Note the knight in the foreground. The mail beneath his armor is visible on his thigh. The details of his saddle and rivets on his horse’s armor and his own, his spurs, as well as the varying styles of helmets on the knights and mounted crossbowmen, the trumpeter with his gown and the girth strap on his horse, the docking of his horse’s tail, and the tassels at the tips of lances Dohnstein takes care to draw on nearly every lance are just a few of the many elements Dohnstein includes in this rich illustration.

He also shows the angles of the lances at a particular stage in a charge. It is interesting to note that both of the front two ranks of knights in the foreground couch their lances straight ahead, while the third rank still holds their lances vertically. Directing our attention to the body of knights behind the rock near the trumpeter, however, we see that the second rank holds theirs at a 45 degree angle, and the following ranks hold theirs vertically. This may reflect a different point in the approach to engaging the enemy. Between these two bodies of knights, there is a formation of mounted crossbowmen set off from the knights by hills on either side. There appear to be three lances in the center, flanked by crossbows on each side and followed by crossbows.

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439 Ekdahl describes these crossbowmen as “Fußvolk mit Armbrüsten.” Ekdahl, 24. He may not have had a clear copy of the image, unless by Fußvolk, he means ‘common troops,’ who happen to be mounted. Rather, these are mounted crossbowmen. The manes of their horses are visible below their crossbows. They also ride with knights carrying lances.
Looking across at the pike square about to engage the mounted force, one can not tell where the sleeve of shot is firing: at the knights or at the mounted crossbowmen.

Again, we can not determine whether this is a drawing of a general scene or of a specific moment. If it is a general depiction from Dohnstein’s imagination, the numbers in the image may be irrelevant. It may be that he is only trying to convey that there were knights and mounted crossbowmen in many engagements, and that they sometimes approached in three formations. If it is a specific moment, perhaps Dohnstein skewed the square in order to make room for the text and for the individuals responsible for readying guns. At least for the cavalry side, there seems to be no reason to think this is anything but a general depiction. In the front rank, there are five knights. There appear to be eleven behind them if one counts their lance tips. Among the crossbow formation, there is similar irregularity in number within ranks.

In the pike square, however, Dohnstein’s drawing matches his verbal description, at least as far deep into the square as he is able to clarify weapon types. Dohnstein’s commentary seems to cover two different formations. I address only the lines discussing the first formation here, and only briefly. I expand on this formation and on the second formation in the Appendix. We see here similarities in the commentary and the image.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line Description</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There are 400 men ..... &amp; .. ..... for a field array.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 to a rank from 198 pikes, 18 ranks.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There remain 42 pikes. With that cover the field… on the sides with 3. Item, take 75 halbard, as makes 8 ranks</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per rank. There remain 35, the ranks among the pikes. New item, 75 handgun soldiers, 3 per rank, make</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 ranks beside the array.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

440 There are six apparent with four lances visible among the knights approaching in the background, five in the rank behind them. So, for the mounted formation, there seems to be no consistency, suggesting that the mounted formations are representative of an idea not of an actuality.
And so the array becomes 29 ranks long and 14 men per rank including 6 men.

Note that Dolnstein says in line 2 that for a formation of one hundred ninety-eight pikes, there will be eighteen ranks of eleven men to a rank. True to this description, he draws eleven men in the first rank quite clearly. Counting helmets forward from the rear, one can also make out at least eighteen of these ranks. Dolnstein also illustrates ranks of handguns next to the square. These gun ranks each have three men. Adding these to the eleven in the standard ranks gives the reader fourteen per rank. It is not entirely clear what Dolnstein intends for the remaining forty-two pikes as one covers the field. They are not in the drawing. There are other puzzles such as how to place thirty-five halberds in “ranks among the pikes,” and how best to incorporate lines 12-15 into a plausible set of formations. The Appendix provides further discussion of possible interpretations.

Dolnstein uses this image to convey not only how to array four hundred men but also the intensity of this moment. Pikes and lances have already crossed. Foot soldiers brace themselves. In the blink of an eye, pikes will encounter horseflesh. The sheer force these men are about to receive is almost inconceivable. War horses were enormous animals, often weighing in excess of 1,200 pounds. Bedecked in armor as they were, bearing mounted warriors also covered in armor, a single war horse carrying a knight would have been an intimidating sight. The men in the front ranks were veterans for a reason. Commanders had to know that these men would stand their ground. Though facing down a mass of charging cavalry was undoubtedly a terrifying experience, the

square could not break.\textsuperscript{442} Courage then came from the mass of men behind and around a soldier having second thoughts. One could not escape a pike square if one were not near the edges, and this is why commanders placed veterans who would not break on the perimeter. Halberdiers were there to keep order, and pikemen deep in the square pressed forward on the backs of the men in front of them.\textsuperscript{443} Hence, if one did not have the courage to get through his first military experiences, chances were high that someone would be there to supply the courage for him until he could muster it on his own. Millar asserts that Hapsburg armies had been, “the laughing stock of Germany and of Europe.”\textsuperscript{444} This is no longer the case in Dornstein’s years as a fighting man. In this sketch, common men ennobled by the ranks of noblemen standing with them in the front ranks, are about to take on knights and hold their own against them. The battlefields of Europe no longer belong to the knight, to the nobleman, and the common German Landsknecht can take much of the credit for that. Just as important to the honor of the Landsknecht is that he can not only take down the knight, but that he can do so face to face with an edged weapon.

Commoners had brought down many a knight with crossbows and longbows long before the advent of the pike square. But this was not the means to honor. Hall notes that for the medieval knight, close combat with edged weapons was the true source of honor.\textsuperscript{445} Dying by missile fire was not an honorable end either. Dornstein seems to share this view. In Sketch 13, Dornstein suggests that dying by arrow fire would leave much to

\textsuperscript{442} Franz, 97-98; Hall, 158; Hans Delbrück, History of the Art of War, vol. 3. Translated by Walter J. Renfroe, Jr. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 588.
\textsuperscript{443} Eltis, 54.
\textsuperscript{444} Millar, 95.
\textsuperscript{445} Hall, 15-17.
be desired.\textsuperscript{446} He also chooses not to depict gunners among his comrades. One wonders if this was because pikes and halberds were where the honor was.\textsuperscript{447} In other words, Dolnstein may not have held gunners in the same esteem in which he held his halberd and pike wielding comrades. He reserves his Comrade Sketches for men who fight with weapons of honor.

It is easy to see why Paul Dolnstein would want to associate himself specifically with pikemen, halberdiers, and ensigns. They, not gunners, typified the reputation that Landsknechts had for courage and discipline. To refresh the reader’s memory, I repeat Millar’s description of the remarkable discipline and professionalism of Landsknechts:

\begin{quote}
who, with the Swiss, ranked as the finest foot soldiers. They had done something which no other infantry in Europe could do; they had combined shock with mobility. In these troops were united the attributes which had made the mounted knight the prince of medieval battlefields. The compact mass and serried pikes of the landsknecht regiment gave it the solidity and weight heretofore only enjoyed by men-at-arms. Coupled with this was rapidity of movement, the ability to execute maneuvers coolly, and discipline, which medieval horsemen lacked. The pikeman's competence in meeting and defeating heavy horse had in fact established his reputation, and it was this singular skill which first brought him into favor with the paymasters of Europe.\textsuperscript{448}
\end{quote}

This was not the warfare where commoners fired crossbows and longbows from afar. Nor was this the warfare of gunners hitting their targets at a distance.\textsuperscript{449} Commoners as Landsknechts now fought knights up close and with honor. Further, they often excelled knights in coolness and discipline.

It would have been natural for Dolnstein, coming as he did from a “culture of arms,” to want to be part of a body of foot soldiers renowned for possessing the courage,

\begin{footnotes}
\item[446] The passage reads, “In front [of the fortress] was I, Dolnstein, shot with an arrow under the right arm. With such foolishness, may one end in some braver way.” ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 8v.
\item[447] While they were not a sword or a lance, these were edged weapons designed for close combat.
\item[448] Millar, 98. This quote also appears in the Introduction.
\item[449] It is important to note that handgunners were not shooting from a great distance across the battlefield, but they were still not fighting in close combat. Rather, they fired and retreated to the rear of the formation.
\end{footnotes}
discipline, and skill required to face down a cavalry charge. From his perspective in viewing the field and his perspective in knowing numerically how to array these men, Dolnstein demonstrates that he was not a warrior with a single role as a fighter. Dolnstein stood in a place where he could see the pike square from the same perspective as those who gave the orders that assembled the square. Dolnstein may have been one of these men to assemble squares. His experience as Baurechnungsführer gave him the skills to be useful to a commander requiring a man who could think systematically and mathematically. Whether or not he actually gave the orders to assemble, Dolnstein demonstrates that he served at least on occasion in a capacity outside the square, with commanders, and thus demonstrates his competence in both the civilian and military worlds.

\footnote{Tlustly, 6.}
Figure 35. Sketch 13, *The Siege of Montfort, Holland.*\(^4\)

\(^4\)ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 8v.
In front of Montfort in Holland, Duke Albrecht of Saxony dug under a strong bastion, and with violence forced [the enemy] out. In front [of the fortress] was I, Dohnstein, shot with an arrow under the right arm. With such foolishness, may one end in some braver way.

Commentary

452 There is a cross over his name, presumably indicating that he has died. He died in 1500, dating this sketch or at least this notation after 1500.
453 Dihle sees this as drabn.
454 Dihle does not transcribe this, nor does Larsson.
455 The downstroke after a final 'd' indicates an 'n' per electronic mail correspondence, Christopher S. Mackay, University of Alberta, August 24, 2011.
456 Duke Albrecht of Saxony is also known as Duke Albert the Bold, Herzog Albrecht der Behertzte.
457 I thank Shawn Boyd, University of North Dakota, for this interpretation.
In this sketch, Dohnstein illustrates the Siege of Montfort, paying close attention to the details of siege apparatus, tools, wicker baskets, and wooden screen, as well as guns in action and his wounding. As with all of Dohnstein's sketches, he seems uninterested in the reasons why he is there. What matters to him is the immediate moment, the action itself rather than the reasons for it. In this essay, I will provide a brief background to the event Dohnstein pictures for his audience. Then, I will follow the same approach I have used in preceding essays. Moving left to right across the sketch, I will discuss the image and Dohnstein's text as they relate to his craftsman and warrior backgrounds. Because of the way Dohnstein sets the scene with tools and siege works on the left and the opponents' stronghold and cannon on the right, this familiar pattern of moving left to right across the image lends itself to a two part discussion. First, I will explore the evidence Dohnstein leaves of his background as a builder in the defenses he draws for the besieger, in his interest in the peculiarities of weapons, and in the tools he illustrates. Second, I will examine how Dohnstein exhibits his martial identity, not solely in the setting but also in his apparent preference for a braver death than one by missile fire.

The scene of action is the 1491 siege of Montfort, Holland, in the modern day Netherlands.\(^458\) Maximilian I had sent Duke Albrecht of Saxony to suppress yet one more in a long succession of rebellions that had consumed Maximilian's Burgundian holdings and had even resulted in the captivity of both Maximilian's son Philip the Fair, and

\(^{458}\) There seems to be some disagreement about the year of this siege with numbers ranging from 1490 – 1493. Dihle and Closs, 3; Adelbert von Keller, ed. *Die Geschichten und Taten Wilwolts von Schaumburg* (Stuttgart: Literarischen Verein, 1859), 102-103; C.M. Davies, *History of Holland From the Beginning of the Tenth to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 1 (London: John W. Parker, 1841), 310-311.
Maximilian himself in Bruges in 1482 and 1488 respectively. The inhabitants of his Burgundian territories had resisted Maximilian's rule since he acquired their lands through his 1477 marriage to Mary of Burgundy. Among the revolts in the Netherlands in this period was the Cheese and Bread Folk rebellion of peasants and day-laboring townsfolk against the ruitergeld. This ruitergeld was an additional tax on an already burdened population in the depths of an economic recession. Its purpose was to pay for Maximilian’s suppression of a revolt against his authority in Flanders. In spite of the fact that Maximilian stopped collecting the ruitergeld, the rebellion gained steam. Nobles joined the cause as well, and delegates from nearly all the Northern Quarter towns helped in organizing the opposition to Maximilian. Duke Albert of Saxony was Maximilian’s right arm in the Netherlands as he succeeded in crushing the rebellions by the end of 1492. The castle at Montfort comes into this discussion through its role as one of the last refuges for the rebels. Dohnstein’s contemporary, Ludwig van Eyb, notes four thousand men and many horsemen in Albrecht’s force. Eyb recalls that Albrecht created earthworks and ditches, using catapult and canon to lay siege to the stronghold.


460 Cuneo, “Images of Warfare as Political Legitimization,” 98-99; Edmundson, 12; Davies, 305.

461 Van Nierop, 24. The Cheese and Bread Folk were so called because the combatants painted cheese and bread on their banners and wore bits of bread and cheese secured to their clothing to broadcast that this was what they wanted. Their aim was to have something to eat. Davies, 314-316.


463 Van Nierop, 24.25; Von Keller, 102; C.M. Davies, History of Holland From the Beginning of the Tenth to the End of the Eighteenth Century, vol. 1 (London: John W. Parker, 1841), 297- 325.


465 Davies, 310. Von Keller, 102.

466 Von Keller, 102.
for sixteen weeks from April to August.\textsuperscript{467} A farmer from the area crafted a mill for Albrecht which drained the moat around Montfort in three days.\textsuperscript{468} The loss of the moat combined with the bombardment of the castle walls to put the rebels in a frame of mind to surrender when they heard of the crushing naval defeat of their fellow insurgents.\textsuperscript{469} Before and after the siege of Montfort, Albrecht methodically addressed location after location until he had suppressed the revolt. The ruitergeld was reinstated with exacting severity; further fines were imposed; all active participants in the rebellion were executed; citizens were required to tear down protective walls around several towns which also lost privileges; town governments were replaced; and Maximilian's authority was firmly established in the person of Albrecht of Saxony.\textsuperscript{470} It was under the command of this brutal, effective leader that Dolnstein participated in the capture of Montfort. To what degree or in what capacity he participated we do not know, for only this page recording his time at Montfort survives of anything he wrote or sketched about his experiences in the Netherlands.

Moving from left to right across the page, the first things that greet the viewer are tools, cannon, a protective carriage equipped with wooden screen for a cannon, and three types of siege defenses. All of these things illustrate a coupling of Dolnstein’s background in the building trades and his experience as a mercenary. Dolnstein does not mention whatever active role he may have played in the following:

In front of Montfort in Holland, Duke Albrecht of Saxony dug under a strong bastion, [and] with violence forced [the enemy] out. In front [of the fortress] was I

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{467} Ibid., 102-103. It is intriguing that Dolnstein does not bother to draw catapults. One would think that these would be fascinating to him.
\item \textsuperscript{468} Ibid. I thank Shawn Boyd, University of North Dakota, for guidance with this text.
\item \textsuperscript{469} Ludwig von Eyb describes the event as destroying walls and the negotiations required that the castle not be rebuilt for nine. Von Keller, 103; Dihle & Closs, 3. Davies, 311.
\item \textsuperscript{470} Davies, 312-316.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Dolnstein shot with an arrow under the right arm. With such foolishness, may one end in some braver way.

Rather than clearly stating his function, Dolnstein emphasizes Duke Albrecht’s digging or mining under the bastion. Dolnstein limits commentary on his own role to a passive receipt of an arrow wound. Further, Dolnstein describes the victory as entirely that of forcing the rebels out, and thus demonstrates one of two things. Either contrary to Ey’s account, the rebels within Montfort were on the verge of surrender regardless of the naval defeat their fellow rebels suffered, or Dolnstein was not privy to the extenuating circumstance that drove the enemy to surrender. It also possible that Dolnstein’s observation was thoroughly accurate, that the naval battle was incidental, and was stressed by those who may have wished to diminish Albrecht’s achievement.

Dolnstein’s illustrations may tell the reader more about his role than do his words. Eyb mentions a master builder who was instrumental in Albrecht’s victory, but Dolnstein neither names another builder, nor suggests in words that he was this man.\(^{471}\) Dolnstein may have been only a journeyman at the time of this event. Whether this Baumeister, whom Eyb mentions but does not name, oversaw the role Dolnstein played here, or whether Dolnstein was this Baumeister himself is unknown. Whether Dolnstein played an active role in this siege or was simply displaying an interest in the tools of siegecraft, it is clear that he remembers this as a builder’s event. Tools lie on the ground, carefully drawn in the mix of weapons and protective apparatus. A large wooden mallet lies next to a barrel. In the foreground is a large shallow basin. An ax with a cross on its head lies with a saw before the earthwork and wicker basket. All of these are tools a craftsman in the building trades would use in both civilian and military roles.

\(^{471}\) Von Keller, 102-3.
Barrels of what are probably gunpowder and stone shot stand behind three cannons. For mobility, the two cannons in the foreground are mounted on gun carriages with trails. The third cannon appears to be lying on the ground. It has handles in the center though it appears to be quite heavy. This cannon’s vehicle for movement may be the wooden apparatus directly behind it. Resting on rolling timbers, this object has a hinged panel with a rope or cord attached to it. A gun mounted beneath the pivoting door would allow artillery men to reload under cover by pulling the wooden cover up to expose the barrel of the gun for firing, and lowering it over the barrel again for reloading.⁴⁷² Though the mobility must have been limited by the primitive board and rolling timbers, this protective carriage was mobile. The three dark lines along each of the timbers under the carriage box were probably slats into which a thin board or iron blade could be inserted to move the carriage. Protecting this apparatus, the cannon, the builders, and the artillerymen are a tall wooden palisade wall, an earthwork in the foreground, and protective wicker baskets filled with earth to absorb artillery fire.⁴⁷³ All of these things, the earthwork, the wicker baskets, and the wooden palisade required construction.⁴⁷⁴ By depicting these things so prominently, Dohnstein may be communicating his role either in support as a journeyman or as a master builder.

The presence of tools among constructed wooden objects demonstrates the role that building played in besieging a place. Note these tools lying at the base of the wooden wall.

⁴⁷² I am grateful to John A. Lynn II, Northwestern University, for the suggestion of what this might be. Electronic mail correspondence, March 5, 2012.
⁴⁷⁴ Rogers, 67-68.
Figure 36. Detail, Sketch 13.\textsuperscript{475}

Here we see two tools that are similar to the implement the worker holds in the first sketch. The above detail from Sketch 13 includes a shovel and what seems to be a two-pronged hoe. The shortest of these implements is a hoe or a pickaxe of some sort. Both the two-pronged hoe and pickaxe-like instrument resemble the tool the worker in Sketch 1 holds.

\textsuperscript{475} ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 8v.
Although the points on this implement are finer than those in Sketch 13, the tools resemble one another. This resemblance strengthens the idea that the man on the first page is not a peasant but a laborer or a journeyman. To what degree and in what roles Dölnstein participated in the actual digging under of the bastion or building of defensive works for the besieging position, Dölnstein does not explain on paper. What he does make abundantly clear is that builders were valuable in war and that he was wounded.

In the center foreground lies a fallen standard bearer. His flag bears the St. Andrew’s cross of Maximilian, representing his authority over the rebels in the castle. His standard pole is broken, and he has apparently been hit with artillery fire. Unless there are more casualties lost to water damage underneath the twentieth century tape, this

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476 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 1r.
lone casualty seems to represent the general violence of the scene. Two gunners take cover behind a mound as they fire at the siege position. Projectiles fly from their weapons through the air toward the siege position and the fallen standard bearer. Behind the men at the rear of the image is a bridge across a moat. The bridge leads to a gatehouse and a curtain wall protecting smaller structures within the walls. Extending off the top of the gatehouse is a link between this sketch and Sketch 14. The precise nature of this object is unclear. In front of, and presumably protecting, this gatehouse is a semi-circular wooden structure known as a demilune. Detached from the castle itself and standing in front of the curtain wall, the demilune, as its name would indicate, was a half moon shaped outwork often constructed of earth or wood. It was designed to protect entrances like this gatehouse that bastions left exposed. Foregrounded to depict its distance behind the artillerymen, it is a substantial structure boasting what appears to be a covered wall walk and arrow slits. The viewer catches a glimpse of large doorways in the interior.

At the rear of the demilune and toward the foreground of the image is probably the bastion of which Dolnstein speaks. He recalls, “In front of Montfort in Holland, Duke Albrecht of Saxony dug under a strong bastion, [and] with violence forced [the enemy] out.” This is not “the ‘proper’ bastion,” the *trace Italien*, of the early modern era but the medieval bastion of stone or masonry. The bastion of Dolnstein’s era was a}

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477 Eyb attests that that many nobles and soldiers were killed. Von Keller, 102-3.
478 Dennis Hart Mahan, *A Treatise on Field Fortification Containing Instructions on the Methods of Laying Out, Constructing, Defending, and Attacking Intrenchments, with the General Outlines also of the Arrangement, the Attack and Defence of Permanent Fortification*, 3rd ed. (New York: John Wiley, 1856), 138-141.
479 Ibid.
480 Ibid.
tower that projected outward from the exterior wall of a fortress in order to give improved fields of fire. The very purpose of the demilune may have been to protect this bastion, thus accounting for Dohnstein's description of it as a "strong bastion." The most difficult and hazardous part of the fight may have been the struggle to clear the approach so that mining could begin. Hence, Dohnstein's image captures the peril of the moment. Behind the siege screen, presumably out of range of the defenders' fire, all is quiet. Just on the other side of the earthwork, however, lies danger.

Throughout the sketch, Dohnstein expresses what is important to him: the danger of these sixteen weeks as illustrated by the fallen standard bearer, a man who would have been well protected, the defenses of the object under attack as illustrated by the artillerymen with their castle and wooden structure, the siege guns of his own army, and the craftsman's role in building and maintaining protective siege structures. It is also clearly important to him that he was wounded with an arrow. "In front [of the fortress] was I, Dohnstein, shot with an arrow under the right arm. With such foolishness, may one end in some braver way." His comment seems a kind of laconic humor at his own expense, suggesting that he may not have been particularly careful. Though he does not depict his own wounding, he tells us with what and in what part of his body he was wounded.

He also expresses what seems like disgust at the potentiality of dying in this manner. He does not tell us what he was doing when he was wounded. He does not tell us if the area under his right arm was unprotected, or if he was close enough to enemy fire for the arrow to pierce whatever armor he may have been wearing. He does not tell us if he was in combat, if he was firing artillery, or if he was reinforcing defenses. But he does...
express that he finds this manner of death less than desirable. This view is in keeping with views of close combat as carrying more honor than fighting from a distance with missiles. Curiously, given that an arrow pierced him, Dольnstein is singularly uninterested in arrows in this picture. Contrary to Sketch 15 where arrows fly thick, here he is fascinated with gunpowder weapons, depicting five of them. Close combat was the way of valor. Having chosen a military path, however temporarily, if an artisan were to die, a death in a pike square at end of a pike, halberd, sword, lance, or Katzbalger would have been active, aggressive, honorable, and fitting for a Landsknecht who to a degree thought of himself as ennobled. To die of missile fire was passive. Given Dольnstein’s emphasis on artillery in the very scene where an arrow struck him, he may have thought that to die of an arrow as opposed to a gunpowder weapon was passive and not even interesting.

The sketch illustrates two things: what interested Paul Dольnstein and the value of builders to a siege. Guns, structures, and tools fascinate him as evident in the attention he gives them. It seems that sieges generally fascinated Dольnstein, given that four of his Event Sketches depict sieges. Because Dольnstein was wounded, it is conceivable that of all that happened in the Netherlands during this campaign, Dольnstein participated only in this single event. This seems highly unlikely, however. Rather, Dольnstein may depict this event because it is a siege, and sieges involved his skills in a way that other

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482 Hall, 186-187.
483 Ibid.
484 For example, Dольnstein even demonstrates how the temporary palisade siege wall is secured. Whether these are bands or nails, he depicts by means of heavy ink where the posts are fastened together. Further, he draws what appear to be walkways on the back of this structure, and he depicts their supports. With scrawls, he depicts mounds of earth or rock behind the wall.
485 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 8v, 11v, 12v-14; Dihle, Figure 36, unnumbered page.
486 Duke Albrecht the Bold was Maximilian’s savior in the Netherlands. Redlich, 54.
engagements did not. A siege would seem to be more of a builder’s action than would a battle on the open field be. If Dölnstein was writing to an audience with a background in building, it would make sense that sieges would also be the most interesting military actions. Dölnstein captures here what any builder would find fascinating: structures, the tools to build them, and the weapons to bring them down. Sieges required the direction of a master in construction who could produce standard screens and improvise clever protection such as the cannon bed just below the text. Whether Dölnstein built this innovative object and those around it or simply found it intriguing, this sketch more than any other demonstrates the active role that a builder’s background fed into his work as a warrior.

487 Much of what Albrecht did in the Netherlands was ravaging the countryside. Perhaps Dölnstein saw sieges as more memorable or more honorable than, "exercising unbounded license and rapine, and consuming the little that was left of the exhausted resources of the country," as Davies describes the taking of the villages around Haarlem. Davies, 315.
Figure 38. Sketch 14, *Knight and Landsknecht*.\(^{488}\)

\(^{488}\) ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 9r. Stamped with a 9.
In the last sketch, Dolnstein wishes for a braver end than dying by arrow fire. Sketch 14 captures precisely the sort of moment that might result in that braver end. This moment is also one of the attractions of the Landsknecht life, fighting a knight as his equal. This is the only page without text; perhaps because Dolnstein felt that it required no text. The Landsknecht could be any man, and the knight could be any nobleman. The knight’s sword appears strange. While drawn with Dolnstein’s usual attention to detail, there is no hand holding it. The knight’s right hand is visible, but his left is not, and the sword seems almost disembodied. Where the left hand should be on the hilt, there is nothing. It is as though the knight has lost his grip on it. This, coupled with the knight’s downward gaze and doubled-over posture, makes him appear wounded or caught off guard. The Landsknecht’s halberd seems in this moment to catch the knight’s elbow. Though the knight’s sword is clearly aimed at the Landsknecht, there is no indication that the sword has made contact. In contrast to the knight’s stooping posture with face toward the ground, the Landsknecht stands erect, looking over the knight as though he has already dispatched him and is moving on. The victor here is the non-noble.

Characteristic of Dolnstein’s drawing is the detail. There appears on the lower left hand corner of the page something like a ladder. It extends just into Sketch 13. It seems a strange object to have here, and I am not at all certain what it is. The straps across the knight’s hamstrings secure his leg armor on both legs. His spur indicates that he has been unseated from his horse, perhaps by this Landsknecht, and is not a man at arms intentionally fighting on foot. Dolnstein takes care to draw rivets and styling on the knight’s armor and even the chain mail over his buttocks. His plumes are the only way in
which this noble warrior’s appearance matches that of the Landsknecht. The Landsknecht meets this knight in battle completely unprotected. This moment typifies the Landsknecht’s bravado and mobility. His face and head unprotected, we can see his beard, hair, and all of his clothing. Unless there is a breastplate for which Dohnstein gives us no evidence in the form of straps to secure it, the Landsknecht is without armor. He goes into combat completely unarmored. Armor offered protection, but it also limited mobility. The Landsknecht has total freedom of movement and unlimited vision. In this moment, he has the advantage. Wearing the typical colorful and intentionally tattered clothing, with a fully bared left leg beneath the tattered fabric on his thigh, the halberdier attacks and overcomes the knight. Given that so many Landsknechts were artisans, and given that their prowess against the knight was still a comparative novelty, it is perfectly logical that Dohnstein would memorialize this moment when his fellow Landsknecht takes down a knight. Quite possibly, his fellow artisan takes down a nobleman. It seems that words were not necessary for this sketch. It does not really matter who the men were. The fact was that any Landsknecht could hope to do the same as this one, and the possibility must have been infinitely attractive in their bellicose world.
Figure 39. Sketch 15, *Landsknechts Fend off a Swedish Assault*.\(^{489}\)

\(^{489}\) ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 9v-10r. Stamped with 10 on the recto page.
Text

jtem in [crossed out word] norweden habn wir jn a...h...w... ein vest 1
sloß gewunen daß haist ellßpurck daß hab wir490 vor491 2
prant vnser warn xviiij hundert tewtscher 3
do vber vielen vnß die schwedischen bawrn jm 4
lager xiv492 tawset starck jn solcher gestalt wie 5
hie493 ernstlich vnß an grifen gab vnß gott den sig 6
vnd er slugen sy des meisteil gar zu tott 7
wir heten all Rück vnd krebb vnd hirn494 8
hawben vnd arm schin vnd sy 9
hatn495 armbrost vnd gut spieß 10
von schwertn gemacht dar 11
nach schlug vnß der kunig 12
von tennmarck zu Ritter vnd 13
tat496 vnß groß er vnd betzalt 14
vnß wol vnd ließ vnß vber 15
die see setzen jm xv c iij jar 16
do497 pin ich pawl vom dornstain 17

490 This word is not entirely legible. Both Dihle and Larsson agree that it is wir.
491 Dihle transcribes this as ver.
492 Dihle sees xv. Larsson sees xiv.
493 Larsson sees that as hie, as do I. Dihle saw it as hier. It is a form of heir as Baufeld discusses.
494 Dihle sees hürn Larsson sees hirn, with the downstroke coming from the 'h'. I am tempted to see hýrn, but the downstroke belongs to the ‘h.’
495 Dihle sees hetz; Larson sees hetn.
496 This could be tet. Götze gives töten for this, which does not work.
497 This could be either do or da. Both Larson and Dihle see this as do. Shawn Boyd, University of North Dakota, explains that do and da were fairly interchangeable in their meanings of “then/there” in Middle and Early New High German. Electronic mail correspondence, January 29, 2012.
Translation:

Item in Norway we captured ..... a strong

castle that is called Älvsborg, which we burned.

Of us there were 18 hundred Germans.

Then the Swedish peasants, 14,000 strong, fell upon us in

the camp in such a manner as

here.\textsuperscript{498} They formidably attacked us. God gave us victory,

and he smote the greater part of them completely dead.

We all had backplates and breastplates and helmets

and arm braces. And they

had crossbows and good spears

made of swords.

Afterwards the king

of Denmark knighted us, and

he did us honor, and paid

us well and transported us over

the sea in the year 1503.

There I, Paul von Dolnstain,

saw action. Lord Sigmund

List was high commander.\textsuperscript{499}

\textsuperscript{498} Referring to the sketch.
Commentary

In Sketch 15, Dohnstein illustrates an attack by Swedish peasants on the German army in camp. For Dohnstein’s audience, presumably Meister Heinrich, a fellow artisan, that 1800 Germans had fended off an attack by 14,000 Swedish peasants would have been thrilling and would have appealed to a pride in being German. It is noteworthy that the Germans are 'Germans' while the Swedes are 'Swedish peasants.' To Dohnstein, they are not the equal of Dohnstein’s army. They are peasants. While many Landsknechts may have come from peasant origins, they stepped into another identity as Landsknechts. This essay will begin with a brief overview of the historical background of the event in this sketch. Next, I will discuss the sketch and text, generally following the pattern of moving from left to right across the page.

The events in Sketches 4, 15, 17, 19 take place on what is today the west coast of Sweden. Dohnstein refers to this area as Norway as indeed it was called at the time. This part of Sweden was within Norway’s border, and Norway was under Danish rule at the time. The 1397 Kalmar Union among the Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish kingdoms technically placed Sweden under Danish rule. But Sweden was enjoying some measure of independence under the regency of Sten Sture the Elder. From the dawn of the union and before its formation, the power relations among the three were often contentious. 500

Birgit and Peter Sawyer describe this union as, “in effect a revival of the Danish empire…with some measure of direct control in Norway but often more than an

500 Birgit and Peter Sawyer, Medieval Scandinavia from Conversion to Reformation, circa 800-1500 (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 71-72.
overlordship in Sweden.”

Though initially viewed as a means to avoid war and promote trade, over the course of the fifteenth century, a number of factors caused the Swedes to wonder about their future in the union. The Danish monarch increased taxation while debasing the coin of the union and rewarded Germans and Danes with Swedish lands. Rebellions broke out in both Norway and Sweden, but in Norway the aristocracy allied themselves with Denmark to crush such revolts while in Sweden revolts often included the aristocracy. This proved to be a trend where the aristocrats of Denmark and Norway largely supported the union, but it was never fully accepted in Sweden.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, there was a tenuous agreement that Sweden was allowed to have its own king while Denmark-Norway was under the Danish crown. Upon the death of the Swedish king, however, the union was to be restored, but when that death came, the Swedes were not prepared to submit to King Hans of Denmark. In the course of the second half of the fifteenth century, Norwegians, too, began to find Danish rule objectionable as when, for example, the Danish King mortgaged Norwegian lands to Scotland. By the turn of the sixteenth century, revolts in Norway were increasing, most notably as the Norwegian noble Knut Alvsson

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501 Unifying the three kingdoms under the Danish crown, Erik of Pomerania being king at the time, the councilors from each of the three kingdoms had rights of consultation in foreign relations. Ibid., 71-72, 93.
502 Ibid., 74-75.
503 Ibid., 75.
504 Ibid.
505 Helle, 760-761.
506 Ibid.
participated in the 1501-1502 Swedish revolt against King Hans’ rule, which this sketch depicts.\textsuperscript{508}

Sten Sture the Elder, regent of Sweden, had checked a Danish bid to reassert royal authority in 1471.\textsuperscript{509} Sweden became then under Sten Sture the Elder, “more clearly than ever before an aristocratic republic with a council of bishops and magnates presided over by a regent.”\textsuperscript{510} Sweden’s independence was not a settled matter, however, and in 1497 Hans reasserted Danish royal authority and was declared king of Sweden after defeating Sten Sture the Elder.\textsuperscript{511} Hjalmar Boyesen recounts:

Three years later, however, he suffered a terrible defeat in Ditmarsken (1500), whose inhabitants opened the dikes and called in the ocean as their ally. Four thousand Danes were here slain or drowned, and enormous treasures were lost. This was the signal for renewed risings both in Sweden and in Norway. The Norse knight, Sir Knut Alfsen, of Giske, who derived his descent from the old royal house, united with the Swedes and defeated Duke Christian, the king's son, in Vestergotland.\textsuperscript{512}

This Knut Alvsson was present at Älvsborg. He was later killed by the Danes under a false promise of safe conduct and became a martyr to a growing dream of Norwegian independence.\textsuperscript{513} In his opposition to this renewed Danish attempt to assert its royal authority, Sten Sture the Elder drew to him an army consisting in large part of peasants.\textsuperscript{514}

\textsuperscript{509} Sawyer, 77; Boyesen, 480.
\textsuperscript{510} Sawyer, 77. Helle, 759.
\textsuperscript{511} Boyesen, 480-481.
\textsuperscript{512} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{514} Larsson, 75-77.
Western Sweden was swallowed up in this conflict. Employing German mercenaries, King Hans of Denmark in the person of his son Prince Christian took Älvsborg and Öresten Castles which Dölnstein portrays in Sketches 17 and 19 respectively.\(^{515}\) Sketch 15 pictures an attack of Swedish peasants on the Landsknechts in their camp at Älvsborg. From the spring of 1502 through early June of the same year, Christian drew his army of German and Scottish mercenaries together.\(^{516}\) Frederick the Wise sent List with 500 men to aid the King of Denmark.\(^{517}\) That Frederick the Wise sent List and that List was in the ongoing employ of Frederick the Wise suggests that many of these 500 may have come directly from Saxony.

By July, Christian had this army partially in place at the mouth of the Göta River.\(^{518}\) The Danish force successfully pushed its way toward Älvsborg, one of the castles the Swedish rebels held.\(^{519}\) The Danish army arrived on the evening of Thursday, 14 July, 1503.\(^{520}\) This castle was significant to both Denmark-Norway and Sweden, and Sweden currently had 140 men stationed inside the fortress.\(^{521}\) King Hans also joined the fight and headed for Stockholm.\(^{522}\) For the Swedes under Sten Sture, Älvsborg was at this point one of its most significant strongholds in Western Sweden, in part because Sweden also held the adjoining area.\(^{523}\) It was also a well situated castle with cliffs and a water-filled moat for defenses.\(^{524}\) Knut Alvsson and Åke Hansson were not far off, offering

\(^{515}\) Ibid.
\(^{517}\) Dihle, 112; Sigfried Hoyer, *Reform, Reformation, Revolution* (Leipzig: Karl Marx University, 1980), 34, n. 10.
\(^{518}\) Larsson, 75.
\(^{519}\) Allen, 267.
\(^{520}\) Larsson, 75; Allen, 270.
\(^{521}\) Allen, 274; Lovén, 117.
\(^{522}\) Allen, 267.
\(^{523}\) Larsson, 75-77.
\(^{524}\) Ibid.
hope of relief in case of attack. The castle was under the command of Erik Eriksson, who vacillated in his loyalty, though at present he sided with Sweden. Seeing, however, the threatening proximity of Christian’s army, Eriksson surrendered the castle on Sunday, July 17, to Christian without a fight. On Monday, July 18, the Danish force occupied Älvsborg with much of Christian’s siege force remaining encamped outside the fortress. Erik Eriksson and about sixty others made their way to the nearby Swedish force, who promptly killed him. The Swedish force immediately marched to Älvsborg to retake it. They failed in this endeavor, and it is their attempt that Dölnstein captures here. The Danish force led by Prince Christian succeeded in putting down the Swedish resistance.

Dölnstein draws his fellow Landsknechts on the left side of this sketch which spans two pages. He draws the Swedish peasants on the right. The front row of Landsknechts on the left have lowered their pikes while the second and third rows hold theirs vertical. The pikes in in the first and second rows show shadows as do the bills among the Swedes and the post on which their cock is fastened. The fourth and fifth rows of Landsknechts are halberdiers and standard bearers. As Dölnstein describes, they are indeed all wearing breastplates, though we can not see the backplates. The Landsknechts wear skirts.

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525 Ibid.
526 Ibid.
527 Ibid.
528 Ibid.
529 The Swedish force heard the news on the night between Monday and Tuesday. They attacked on Wednesday. Larsson, 75-77.
530 Sawyer, 75-77. In 1523, Sweden would win its independence from Denmark, which was then under the rule of this man. As king, he was known as Christian the Tyrant. Knut Helle, The Cambridge History of Scandinavia: Prehistory to 1520 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 759-762.
531 The cock was a symbol of lust and appears frequently in images either mocking Landsknechte or associating them with death and lust. Moxey, 80-82. For images and descriptions of the bill as a weapon, see Christer Jørgensen, Michael F. Pavkovic, Rob S. Rice, Frederick C. Schneid, and Chris L. Scott, Fighting Techniques of the Early Modern World, AD 1500 - AD 1763: Equipment, Combat Skills, and Tactics (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2005), 9.
532 It appears that there is another row of halberds faintly visible behind the fifth row.
of armor and cuisses to protect their thighs. Though they are not identical, their helmets are visible and are similar to one another in style. The rearmost man in the second row and the man just in front of him both lack face guards. An arrow pierces the eye of former and the cheek of the man just in front of him. Blood streams from their wounds, but the men do not fall. Though Dölnstein writes of arm braces in his text, it is difficult to make out braces in the image. Dölnstein draws an arrow in the forearm of the man whose cheek is wounded. This man has also received an arrow just above the knee, and yet he marches stolidly forward. An arrow still flies suspended in the air, shooting directly for his hip. A broken arrow lies on the ground at the feet of the men in the front row. A Landsknecht has fallen, and an arrow point appears through the back of his head. In his hand is a faded weapon. Arrows pierce the lower thighs and shins of Landsknechts in the front row, blood streaming from their wounds. Yet, still they maintain their hold on the pikes. Incidentally, the Landsknechts do not all grasp their pikes the same way. The hands of the first and second men in the front row face the reader. Farther back, the rear hands face the reader, and the front hands face away from the reader.

In the center of the page are three Swedes, identifiable by their chest plates and baggy trousers. Two lie on the ground. The fallen man in the middle has an arrow through his calf. An arrow flies over him and toward the front rank of Landsknechts. At the foreground, a Swedish peasant is about to join him on the ground as the frontmost Landsknecht pierces the still upright Swede through the neck with his pike. The peasant warrior loses his grip on his crossbow as the pike makes contact. The front rank aims crossbows at the Landsknechts. There is a crossbowman on both ends of the second row. Neither of them yet take aim. Inside the second row are bills and a number of these “good
pikes made from swords.” The third row seems to have crossbowmen protecting their standards. Moving from the foreground into the image, the third rank has four crossbowmen. All of them still have their weapons shouldered, as they stand with an ensign, a man carrying a rooster on a post, and four more crossbowmen. The standard displays a common cross, which Sven Ekdahl sees as representing the Swedish royalty. Behind this rank, men armed with staff swords and bills seem to make up the ranks, interspersed among one another with no apparent regularity. One of the Swedes wears his bundle and canteen. Perhaps this is intended to suggest that they all wore them, but only one is drawn with these items. They wear similar breastplates, shoes, and wide-legged pants like those of the Swede in Sketch 4. Their helmets are varied and come from an earlier period. But the Swedes are well armored and well armed with bills, crossbows, and staff swords. Several of these men appear to wear swords. Though Dohnstein characterizes the Swedes as motley; they are not undisciplined. In this initial moment of collision, they hold their own. The Swedes still maintain their ranks in an orderly fashion, though given Dohnstein’s claim that 1800 Germans defeated 14,000 Swedes, disorder among the peasant army must have followed hot on the heels of this moment.

Assuming that Dohnstein describes and illustrates what is important to him or to his audience, we can assume that he wishes to communicate the details of how his German comrades and Swedish opponents were matched. Curiously, the tactical manner by which the Germans won is not of interest to him at all. God, not superior discipline and training, is why they won. That the Germans were so heavily outnumbered by an

533 Dihle and Closs, 10-11.
535 Dihle and Closs, 10.
536 Ibid., 10-11.
army that he represents as armored and well equipped interests Dohnstein. Whether it is humility or a genuine sense that God was responsible for the German victory, Dohnstein offers nothing to explain the means by which the German victory came about. In describing the enemy as well equipped and numerous and as something requiring God’s intervention to overcome, Dohnstein emphasizes the greatness of the victory. If the Swedish peasants were not armored and were not well armed, it may still be a feat for 1800 well trained, well armed, and well armored men to fend off 14,000 of them. In giving the Swedes their due, the German victory is that much more impressive. Dohnstein describes the Swedes’ converted swords as “good pikes made from swords,” portrays the peasant troops as wearing at least breastplates and helmets, and calls their attack formidable. 1800 men defeating 14,000 is impressive on its own, but if these 14,000 attacked “formidably,” were armored and well armed, then such a feat is even more impressive.

Item in Norway we captured . . . a strong castle that is called Älvsborg, which we burned. Of us there were 18 hundred Germans. Then the Swedish peasants, 14,000 strong, fell upon us in the camp in such a manner as here. They formidably attacked us. God gave us victory, and he smote the greater part of them completely dead. We all had backplates and breastplates and helmets and arm braces. And they had crossbows and good spears made of swords. Afterwards the king of Denmark knighted us, and he did us honor, and paid us well and transported us over the sea in the year 1503. There I, Paul von Dohnstain, saw action. Lord Sigmund List was chief colonel.537

Indeed, so impressive is this feat that the King of Denmark knights Dohnstein and his comrades, doing them honor, and paying them well before sending them on their way. Stories of this sort told at the tavern and in the guild hall must have been appealing to men considering a stint in mercenary service. Further, the telling and retelling of war

537 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 9v-10r.
stories is an example of how the warrior in the artisan who has seen battle never ceases to exist. The soldier in the civilian lives on in his memory, in scars, and in stories.

This is the only sketch in which Dolnstein mentions God. So surprising a victory against such overwhelming numbers must have been a terrifying and thrilling experience. That God gave them victory, that God killed most of the Swedes is interesting. Giving God the credit for an otherwise inexplicable victory was hardly uncommon, but it is also possible that Dolnstein actually thought that God was on his side. He describes how the Swedish peasants attacked “us” in camp, and he gives God the credit for the victory. Nowhere else does he do this. It seems that Dolnstein was in serious doubt of victory at this point, and that God’s intervention is the natural explanation, particularly when Dolnstein is on the side of upholding God-ordained authority against rebellion.

Mercenary though he was, Dolnstein was never on the side of rebels in his sketches. In fact, he is always in every sketch, on the side of authority. In Montfort, he fights to uphold Maximilian’s authority. In the Landshut or Bavarian War, he is on the side of Maximilian, upholding Maximilian’s ruling in an inheritance case. In Sweden, he is on the side of the King of Denmark, sent by Frederick the Wise to help the king. Dolnstein happened to live in the realm of the allied cousin of the emperor. Clearly, Frederick the Wise would not have been likely to allow commanders to recruit in his lands for campaigns that would undermine his own interests. Because Frederick was allied to the symbol of authority, nominal though Maximilian’s authority may have been at times, commanders recruiting in Frederick’s realm were apt to recruit for campaigns on the side of authority. Thus it is not peculiar that Dolnstein was always, at least in the
sketches he provides, on the side of authority.\textsuperscript{538} Indeed, he himself seems to have been that Landsknecht so lauded in art, that Landsknecht who represented Maximilian’s imperial power and the upholding of order.\textsuperscript{539}

Dolnstein illustrates his fellow Landsknechts with beards, and most of the peasants have none, raising the question of age versus style. Perhaps the peasants were younger as a rule than Dolnstein's comrades in the front few lines of the pike. There is shading on helmets, armor, clothing, and weapons. As mentioned earlier, attention to detail would have been a major part of Dolnstein's work as a master builder. As in Sketches 13, 17, 18, and 19, he mentions his commander, in this case Sigmund List.\textsuperscript{540} Dolnstein places himself with this commander at the scene of action with his phrase, “There I, Paul von Dolnstein, saw action.” Dolnstein's mention of Sigmund List, who was in the service of Frederick the Wise during the same period that Dolnstein was, 1494 - 1502, may in this instance have been a familiar, local name to Dolnstein's audience.\textsuperscript{541} Sigmund List might have been well known in Torgau and throughout Frederick’s lands. List’s name suggests the possibility of a connection between ‘A Hundred’ or ‘One Hundred’ on the title page and the men of Saxony. He worked as a military commander for Frederick the Wise from 1494 through 1502.\textsuperscript{542} He may have commanded a number of Dolnstein's forays into the military world if indeed Dolnstein fought more than he has depicted here. The ‘hundred’ could have been a group of men, perhaps even mostly

\textsuperscript{538} Further, while Maximilian was perennially wanting for funds, money was generally more readily found among authorities than rebels. Since Landsknechts followed the money, so to speak, it is natural that one would find them often on the side of authority.
\textsuperscript{539} Moxey, 100.
\textsuperscript{540} Sigfried Hoyer, Reform, Reformation, Revolution (Leipzig: Karl Marx University, 1980), 34, n. 10.
\textsuperscript{541} Dihle, 112.
\textsuperscript{542} Ibid.
Saxon craftsmen from the building trades serving intermittently under commanders like List working for Frederick the Wise.

Whether *Ein Hunderd* refers to a body of men in and out of military service or not, Dohnstein’s mention of Sigmund List brings the reader back to Saxony where Sigmund List was a local man. In naming this particular commander as in naming Albrecht of Saxony and Hans Weichsdorf in Sketch 18, Dohnstein continually demonstrates his status as a sedentary Landsknecht. He does not uproot himself in the pay of the highest bidder. He retains his ties to his home as he goes off to war. Even as he is fully warrior in this moment, he will return, if he lives, to his artisan world.
Figure 40. Sketch 16, *A Close Call Outside Landshut.*

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543 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 10v-11r. Stamped with an 11 on the recto side.
Text

dawlß von dolnstain jm pawrschn krieg 1
stieß vor lantzhut auß dj pfaltz greffysch wartt 2
kam an schadn ab 3

Translation:

Paulus von Dölnstein in the Bavarian War 1
bumped into the Count Palatine’s watch outside Landshut, 2
[and] came away without injury. 3

Commentary

In this sketch, Dölnstein demonstrates that he has achieved the means to afford a horse and armor. Perhaps he had always had the means, for instance if his father was a successful builder. It is not unreasonable, however, to propose that Dölnstein has had to earn whatever status he holds in this image. Whether economic success has come from his work in the pay of Frederick the Wise as a master builder or from his battlefield earnings of pay and booty we do not know. Dölnstein was clearly successful in his civilian work as we see his name with that of Lucas Cranach the Elder as the only two people to receive gifts of English cloth for a French style of robe in the year 1513. But we also know from his 1499 letter expressing his concern that building would have to halt, that funding was not reliable in his civilian work. Landsknechts too did not always receive the pay they were promised. They had other means of compensation, however. Booty could be lucrative, though it rarely brought the kind of wealth it was rumored to deliver. Thus, we do not know if Dölnstein obtained the means to acquire horse and

544 Note again the possibility that Dölnstein may have been a mounted civilian auxiliary for the entirety of his career.
545 Dihle and Closs, 2.
armor through military or civilian work or through both. It is likely that his success as a master builder and his presumed presence at court paved the way for his success in his martial service, particularly if he was known to his military commander and respected by him in the civilian world. Of the three commanders he names, Sigmund List and Hans Weichsdorf served Frederick the Wise. It is thus entirely possible that they knew Dolnstein in his role as a skilled civilian entrusted with the prince’s building projects. As member of a guild and a man at the princely court, however periodically, Dolnstein was a man of some favor. It is entirely possible that whatever success he achieved, whatever level of trust he enjoyed in his military and civilian worlds augmented one another. This essay will follow the pattern of providing a brief historical background to the sketch followed by an exploration of the sketch itself.

This sketch and Sketch 18 depict events from the Bavarian or Landshut War of 1504. Sparked by a failure to honor a treaty between the Dukes of Bavaria-Landshut and Bavaria-Munich, the Bavarian War brought Paul Dolnstein into conflict through his service to Hans Weichsdorf under Maximilian I. Duke Georg of Bavaria-Landshut had named his daughter Elizabeth and her husband Ruprecht Countess and Count of the Palatinate, making them his heirs to these lands. When Georg died in 1503, Ruprecht asserted his claim to the Palatinate. However, Georg’s leaving the Palatinate to his daughter and son-in-law was a violation of an agreement between the Bavaria-Landshut and Bavaria-Munich duchies. This agreement had stipulated that without a male heir, the

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547 Whaley, 78; Andrew L. Thomas, *A House Divided: Wittelsbach Confessional Court Cultures in Bavaria, the Palatinate, and Bohemia, c. 1550-1640* (Ph.D. diss., Purdue University, 2007), 30-31.
Palatinate was to go to Bavaria-Munich. Thus, after Georg’s death, his cousin Duke Albrecht of Bavaria-Munich was the legal heir.\textsuperscript{549} The disagreement turned into war when Ruprecht, in an alliance with King Jagiellon Ladislas II of Bohemia, resorted to force to assert his claim, capturing the town of Landshut.\textsuperscript{550} The event Dolnstein pictures here occurs at Landshut.\textsuperscript{551} Albrecht found support in Emperor Maximilian, who chose to assist the weaker party in this affair.\textsuperscript{552} Ruprecht died of dysentery on the 20\textsuperscript{th} of August. Elizabeth followed him on the 15\textsuperscript{th} of September.\textsuperscript{553} Already losing the war, the Palatine force withdrew.\textsuperscript{554} Maximilian’s forces with which Paul Dolnstein served succeeded in capturing the town of Landshut.\textsuperscript{555} Brief though it was, the Bavarian War was a devastating affair, laying waste to the countryside.\textsuperscript{556} Dihle also notes that this brief war was characterized by clashes exactly like the one Dolnstein almost experienced here -- violent encounters among small detachments and patrols.\textsuperscript{557}

Here Dolnstein captures the moment when he encounters the enemy watch,

"Paulus von Dolsnstein in the Bavarian War bumped into Count Palatine’s watch outside Landshut, [and] came away without injury." On the left page of this sketch are three armored riders. The hindmost and foremost carry crossbows while the middle of the three is armed with a pole arm, the top of which is not visible. This rider with the pole arm also

\textsuperscript{549} Thomas, 31; Whaley, 78.
\textsuperscript{551} Incidentally, it was here that Gotz von Berlichingen lost his hand. Stuart, H.S.M., ed. The Autobiography of Götz von Berlichingen (London: Duckworth, 1956), 24-25.
\textsuperscript{553} Wiesflecker, 191.
\textsuperscript{554} Whaley, 78.
\textsuperscript{555} It may be of interest that both Maximilian and the city of Nuremberg gained territory by assisting Albrecht in this fight. Charles Zika, Exorcising Our Demons: Magic, Witchcraft, and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 558.
\textsuperscript{556} Dihle & Closs, 7; Thomas, 31; Richard Hoffmann and Georg Hager, Die Kunstdenkmäler of Oberpfalz and Regensburg, vol. 6. (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1906), 6.
\textsuperscript{557} Dihle and Closs, 7.
wears a sword. All three wear helmets with visors of differing styles. They wear full armor on their upper bodies, though it is difficult to determine the extent of armor on their lower bodies. Their horses appear to be completely unarmored. Dohnstein draws the fetlocks of two of the horses and details the tack on them all. There is a line leading from the breast of the foremost horse down across the second page into the writing at the bottom of the second page. This line seems to indicate that the three enemy horsemen are on a hill. Were it not for this line, it would not be clear that these two pages are part of the same sketch. With the line and the text, it is clear that these three are the watch of Ruprecht, Count Palatine, to whom Dohnstein refers.

Above his text on the right page, Dohnstein portrays himself as a horseman. Here, 'von' could be taken as a claiming of his newly acquired knightly status. Though being knighted by a foreign king would not have held the same tangible benefits as having been knighted by his own prince, Dohnstein is now a knight in status if not in military rank. Note that his weapon is not a lance; it is neither as thick nor as long. Below is an example of a lance.

![Figure 41. Detail, Sketch 12.](image)

This segment from Sketch 12 is of the frontmost knight. Note how the knight's lance widens gradually from the tip to where it reaches the rider's hand. In this image from the Royal Armouries, one might see more clearly this widening.

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558 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 7v-8r.
The widening up to the abrupt cutting away for a grip is clearly evident in Figure 42 and is absent in Dohnstein's weapon. The shaft of his weapon is of even thickness and appears to be a short pike. This short pike has a point at the bottom similar to the points at the bottom of several halberds in the sketchbook, for example the halberd in Sketch 4.

Dohnstein's horse is unarmored except for a chanfron across the forehead and face. Taking care with the details, Dohnstein includes his spurs and what appear to be nails in his horse's hooves. Dohnstein draws full tack on his horse: bridle, reins, breast collar, girth strap, and crupper similar to that on the foremost horse among the Palatine watch.

Dohnstein does not include spurs on the other riders. He may have neglected to add these details, or their lack of visibility may be a matter of foregrounding. Dohnstein may be showing himself as having gotten away, as being beyond the Palatine watch, far enough that he could not see such details.

When Dohnstein says that he bumped into the Count Palatine watch, it appears that only one of the watchmen takes notice of him. The two in the rear are engaged in

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559 Board of Trustees of the Armouries, “Lances, Tapered, Fluted, Painted, English, 16th Century,” Royal Armouries Collections Online.
560 Ffoulkes, 8.
conversation, not paying attention to their surroundings at all. Only the horseman nearest Dolnstein notices him. His visor is lowered, and he aims his readied crossbow at Dolnstein. The watchman's horse looks in the other direction. It is as though the watchman only thinks he sees Dolnstein, that he is not sure and gazes in readiness. Dolnstein looks over his shoulder, keeping an eye on the watchmen as he rides away. Dolnstein either draws his horse's head toward the threat, or the horse turns of his own accord. Perhaps he has reined in his mount in order to move more quietly, but they appear to be moving away while remaining focused on the danger. Dolnstein pictures himself alone but does not explain what he was doing. He is fully armored from the hips upward and possibly on his legs as well. He appears to have cops on his knees, which must be connected to armor over his thighs, though it is difficult to determine if the lines on his knees are hose or armor. What may have been obvious to Dolnstein's audience is not clear to the modern viewer.

Even so, details are a constant in this drawing as in others, reminding us of his background as a master builder. He includes elements of the horse tack. For instance, he varies the width of girth and breast straps, and styles of breeching and reins. It is also interesting that his horse's tail hangs free while the horses of the watch have docked tails. Dolnstein leaves no doubt as to the gender of his horse or that of the rearmost horse among the Palatine watch. Perhaps he remembers these details vividly. Perhaps he adds them for variety with no clear memory of the specific style of tack on the enemies’ horses.

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Well armored and astride a horse, Dolnstein has clearly arrived at an enviable status for late medieval-early modern guildsmen and warriors. He has enough wealth to equip himself and his horse nicely. He is a man of some means. In some respects, he is a military reflection of the status of a successful master craftsman. Whether he has achieved the means to purchase horse and armor as an artisan or a warrior or both we do not know. We do not know the degree to which his mercenary service under the command of Frederick’s cousin Albrecht of Saxony, of Frederick’s commander Sigmund List, and in Sketch 18 Frederick’s commander Hans Weichsdorf augmented Dolnstein’s reputation as a master builder. His mercenary service may have had no impact at all. That seems doubtful, however. These men were all connected to Dolnstein’s prince, Frederick the Wise. Well executed military service to them at the very least cannot have hurt him in Frederick’s world.
Figure 43. Sketch 17, Siege of Castle on Western Coast of Sweden.\textsuperscript{563}

\textsuperscript{563} ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 11v.
In Norway

This castle lies 3 miles from Älvsborg.

It belonged to the Swedes. Lord Sigmund List ordered sheaves full of explosives to be taken to the gate, and burned [it and] thereby captured [it]. [We] allowed 200 soldiers to leave uncaptured with their weapons. Afterward the castle burned [on the] Thursday after St. Jacob's Day.

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564 He uses Ritter for 'knight' and knecht for soldier.
565 Larsson and Dihle see jv as in 4.
566 Both Larsson and Dihle see wag. Larsson translates this as vagnar 'wagons' or 'carts.' Christopher S. Mackay, University of Alberta, sees wer.
567 I cannot see pawl here even with the aid of photo adjustment. I must rely on Dihle's 1929 transcription. Perhaps it was less faded when she viewed it. Perhaps Larsson is relying on Dihle's transcription as well.
568 For peÿ gewest I can see enough to verify that it is probably this. It is very faded, however.
569 Larsson marks this as July 25th. Larsson, 84.
There I, Paul Dolnstein, saw action.

Commentary

In Sketch 17, Dolnstein’s thoughts return to Sweden. Although he does not use the name Öresten for this castle, the consensus is that he is probably describing the destruction of Öresten. If this is indeed the location, it is called today Slottsberget, the Castle Hill, and lies on the west coast of Sweden. Following the capture of Älvsborg (Sketches 15 and 19), Prince Christian’s army moved on to nearby Öresetan. This was another important stronghold for Sten Sture the Elder’s army. Dating to about 1365, this castle had been burned and rebuilt in the fifteenth century during another Swedish rebellion against Danish rule. Christian’s forces, in which Dolnstein was fighting, captured this castle and burned it. Afterwards, there was a mutiny in Christian’s army, requiring him to depart for Denmark. Dolnstein makes no mention of a mutiny. Instead, he expresses an interest in the structure, topography, and the means by which the structure could be captured. Once again, the appeal to artisans of belonging to a body of successful warriors is evident.

Dolnstein illustrates five towers and a curtain wall. A rectangular or square bastion stands on the far left. Extending backward is a curtain wall on which Dolnstein has drawn supports, presumably for a walk, on the interior side. Beyond that is a round

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570 Dihle, 4-5; Larsson, 83-84; Lovén, 120.
571 Lovén, 120-122. Öresten appears to be about thirty kilometers from Ålvsborg. This is within the range of distance that Dolnstein references. A medieval German mile was about 4.6 modern miles or 7.5 kilometers, though the actual distance varied widely. Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, Lanzelet, translated by Thomas Kerth (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 196, n. 147.
572 Larsson, 84-85; Dihle and Closs, 4. Allen, 275.
573 Larsson 75-77.
574 Ibid. The castle was later rebuilt, and in 1521 the peasants in the surrounding area, received permission to destroy the castle. For this freedom, so to speak, from the destructive presence of soldiers, the peasants paid 100 head of oxen to the crown annually. Lovén, 120-121.
575 Larsson, 85-86. Allen, 275.
tower that seems attached to an inner structure rather than to the curtain wall. The interior comprises at least one building equipped with arrow loops. Three windows and two dormers line the facing wall, and an interior road leads to a doorway between the tower and the front structure. Above this doorway appears to be an uncovered wall walk. There is a chimney on the front structure, and a small alcove juts out to the right on the upper floor on this building.

Behind these is what appears to be a second building with two chimneys and five visible windows. Next to and behind these buildings is a square tower with a steepled roof. Moving forward along the curtain wall, we encounter two more square towers and a gate. With the exception of the rear tower on the right, the towers have arrow loops. Dolnstein adds shading to these structures, further demonstrating his attention to detail. The sun appears to be behind and to the left of him. The gatehouse has a roof and two arrow slits. The gate itself appears not to be the strong oak door one would expect. Rather, one can see right through it. Dolnstein has drawn a portcullis with horizontal bars across only the bottom third. There are cannons of a sort perched at angles on a rise or ridge on both sides of the road leading to the gate. Dolnstein has drawn circles on either side of large boards running underneath each barrel. These circles are presumably bolts. The cannon are part of the artillery of the Danish force.576

The castle is on a short but steep rise as Dolnstein represents it. Christian Lovén provides a topographical map of the castle site:

576 The mountings are puzzling. The cannon appear to be bolted to the rock. At present, I do not have an explanation for this.
Figure 44. Topographical Map of the Öresten Castle Site.\(^{577}\)

We see the concentric rings and a varying rise of about 25-65 feet in the half mile around the highest point. This is part of an area of rolling hills, and the castle lay on a seemingly easily defensible position.

Dolnstein illustrates but one approach to this castle. A steep road leads up to a reinforced gate. Yet, under the command of Sigmund List the Germans in the Danish force were able to take it. Dolnstein pictures no men in the castle, no men on the ramparts. At Montfort, Dolnstein drew defenders outside the castle. Of the at least 200 Swedes inside this place, however, Dolnstein pictures none. He is interested in the structure and his comrades’ part in capturing it.

This castle lies 3 miles from Älvsborg. The Swedes held it. Lord Sigmund List ordered sheaves full of explosives to be taken to the gate, and burned [it and] thereby captured [it]. [We] allowed 200 soldiers to leave uncaptured with their weapons. Afterward, the castle burned [on the] Thursday after St. Jacob's Day ..................... There I, Paul Dolnstein, saw action.

\(^{577}\) Lovén, 121.
He does not show the place burning. He does not describe what the burning sounded and looked like. The effect of such a sight does not make its way into his notebook. What interests Dohnstein, what he sees as worthy of preservation, at least for his artisan audience, are primarily the structure itself and how his commander captured it.

He states the castle’s distance from Älvsborg and that it was in Norway. He notes which men held the stronghold but not their commander. He also records who his own commander was, and how his side captured the castle: by using explosives to burn the gate, which may have been a wooden portcullis. Dohnstein does not mention how many, if any, Germans were wounded in the conveyance of explosives to the gate. Such a task would have been a dangerous one. Surely the defenders did not simply allow the Germans to walk up to the gate without offering some sort of resistance. They must have fired on the Landsknechts hauling explosives to the gate. Dohnstein includes these German soldiers who carried the necessary fuel. Perhaps Dohnstein makes them a focal point them because their action was so courageous.

Though Dohnstein does not explain what *fewr bergk* are, a reasonable conclusion might be gunpowder treated kindling and firewood or a large clump of gunpowder inside the firewood. A single gunshot hitting such bundles in their arms could conceivably have ignited the powder, adding to the standard danger of facing fire. Yet he does not describe any fight at all. They burned the gate and allowed 200 Swedish soldiers to walk away with their weapons. Interestingly here, Dohnstein does not describe them as Swedish peasants. They are Swedes and soldiers. One wonders if this was the Swedish peasant army or a different class of men. Dohnstein notes the day of the castle's burning, Thursday after St. Jacob's Day. The sound and sight of this place burning must have been
extraordinary. Perhaps for a warrior, however, or for anyone in this period the mere
mention of it was enough. Dohnstein also notes that he was here; he saw action here. He
engaged in combat. These are the things that matter to him and to his audience.

Dohnstein's calm description of this event, his drawing of the structure not burning
but as it was when they captured, it is fascinating. He draws no men except those of his
own side. It is worth mentioning that the handwriting here appears different from
elsewhere in the sketchbook. It is similar to that on the bottom of Sketch 2. However,
perhaps it is merely a matter of writing surface. The next page is blank, indicating that
perhaps he left space for another drawing later.\footnote{Larsson, 74.}
Figure 45. Sketch 18, *Siege of Arnschwang.*

\[579\]

\[\text{ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 12v-13r. Stamped with 13 on recto side.}\]
Text

Left by Palisade:

Item\textsuperscript{580} Diss ast\textsuperscript{581} ein grab und wal

Translation:

Item. This is a ditch and wall.

Far Left:

Diss dorff heist arn schwangk j meil von kamb
hat her hanß weygsdorff von straw burg auß gewünen\textsuperscript{582}
Dj wer sein hultzn mit dickem claÿb vnder der erde genug\textsuperscript{583}
hie soln noch 23 slagn und falkenetth stenn da pin ich pawl dolnstain\textsuperscript{584}
peÿ gewest ist alzeýt ein r...ler eý... ...........

Translation:

This town is called Arnschwang 1 mile from Cham.

Lord Hans Weichsdorf of Straussberg captured [it].

The defenses are made of wood, the thick clay underground being sufficient.

Here 23 guns and falconets are also supposed to be standing. There I, Paul Dolnstein,

saw action. There is always a ..... ..... ...........

\textsuperscript{580} Dihle sees \textit{Ith. Itz} would be \textit{jetzt} in Baufeld.
\textsuperscript{581} Dihle: \textit{ist. Ast} is a branch.
\textsuperscript{582} Dihle: \textit{ausgenommen}.
\textsuperscript{583} Dihle: \textit{grams}.
\textsuperscript{584} \textit{da pin ich pawl dolnstain} is illegible now. This comes from Dihle's 1929 transcription. The shadows are there for these words, but I can not verify them.
In the Middle:

Der platz

Translation:

The Square

On the Outer Wall Lower Right:

pfar kirch

Translation:

parish church

Bottom Right:

dj kam\textsuperscript{585} gat\textsuperscript{586} var vber jn grabn.

Translation:

The ridge gate was over a ditch.

Commentary

This sketch returns the reader to the Landshut War of 1503 - 1504. The Bavarian town of Arnschwang is about 750 miles from Öresten Castle, and Dohnstein may have gone directly from Sweden into preparations for this war. Arnschwang was among the towns that Ruprecht and Elizabeth’s forces had siezed.\textsuperscript{587} Dohnstein was fighting on the opposing side, that of Ruprecht and Elizabeth’s cousin, Duke Albrecht of Bavaria-Munich. Hans Weichsdorf appears to have been Dohnstein’s commander, and he captured this town for Duke Albrecht of Bavaria-Munich. Weichsdorf and Dohnstein were serving

\textsuperscript{585} This seems to be a noun, not the 3rd pers. pret. of kommen. Grimm: Kamm is a noun. Baufeld offers m. Kamm for crest or ridge.

\textsuperscript{586} Götze provides gater: m. n. Gittertor, which is a paled gate.

\textsuperscript{587} Ruprecht had also siezed Cham at this time. Dihle & Closs, 7; Hoffman and Hager, 17.
among the forces Maximilian had sent to assist Duke Albrecht of Bavaria-Munich. In 1503, Weichsdorf left the office of Schultheiss of Nuremberg, and went into the service of Frederick the Wise. Here Dолнstein's background as a builder is apparent in both the sketch and text.

With the primary text inscribed along the outer edge of the left page, the sketch fills two pages. The text reads:

This town is called Arnschwang 1 mile from Cham. Lord Hans Weichsdorf of Straußberg captured [it]. The defenses are made of wood, the thick clay underground being sufficient. Here 23 guns and falconets are also supposed to be standing. There I, Paul Dолнstein, saw action. There is always a ..... As he has in every Event Sketch, Dолнstein identifies the location. He may have provided a date as well, but if he has, it is illegible now due to water damage. He identifies his commander, Hans Weichsdorf, and states that the action was successful. Weichsdorf captured the village. Dолнstein describes the defenses here as he does in Sketch 19. As a builder, he knows soil types, and he asserts that, “the thick clay underground is sufficient.” This seems to mean that the clay is thick enough to hold the wooden palisade posts in place. Having built and overseen the construction of foundations in his civilian life, particularly the building of Torgau Bridge which involved the erection of bridge piers, Dолнstein would know the varying supportive qualities of soil. Next, Dолнstein describes the weapons: “Here 23 guns and falconets are supposed to be standing.”


589 In other words, Dолнstein may be saying that he has not drawn all of the guns, that there are supposed to be 23 guns and falconets, and he did not draw them all. As noted above, because noch can also carry the meaning of ‘still,’ this could also mean that Dолнstein is writing years after this event and that the guns are still there. However, falconets are not cannon to stand outside for years on end. Hence, ‘also’ or ‘in addition to’ is a better interpretation of ‘noch.’ Shawn Boyd, University of North Dakota, per electronic correspondence, March 8, 2012.
other words, in addition to the previously mentioned defensive works, there are supposed to be 23 guns and falconets standing here. He seems to be explaining that he did draw all of the artillery that was present at this town. As in Sketch 17, Dölnstein places himself here as a warrior, not just in depicting the scene but in claiming his participation: “There I, Paul Dölnstein, saw action.” The rest of the text is illegible.

Above and to the right of the text are pencil markings. The letters “vg” also appear. The pencil drawings may be builders' marks or even doodling. They do not appear to be cardinal directions. According to Google Earth, North-South would roughly follow the street Dölnstein calls Der Platz.\(^590\) Next to the main text, Dölnstein has drawn two cannons. Above these are the words, "Item. This is a ditch and wall." He has drawn the ditch with a simple line between his text and the wooden palisade. This wall is bound together and has a look similar to the posts in Sketch 13. Beginning at the bottom of the left of the page, there is a road which the cannon overlook. The wall wraps around part of the village, extending to an area Dölnstein characterizes as mountainous or at least hilly, and indeed it is.\(^591\) The wooden wall wraps around several groups of houses: one near the road at the bottom of the sketch, another between the two leftmost towers, a group between the two towers near the top of the sketch, another group in the middle of the sketch, and two more groups near the castle.

The wall surrounds five square towers, at least the tops of which are wooden. The tops jut out from the tower walls and have no visible supports for the protrusions. All of the towers have what appear to be very small arrow loops.\(^592\) There are two square towers

\(^{591}\) Ibid.
\(^{592}\) These small marks could also be the ends of interior support beams.
outside the palisade wall as well. They are at the bottom of the sketch, one on the crease of the two pages, the other on the right page. Of particular interest is what appears to be a hay bale hanging by a thick rope from the upper part of this tower. One possible explanation for this hay bale's peculiar location is that it serves as a protective, makeshift covering for a hole in the tower wall. Dolfstein illustrates doors on these two outlying towers. He draws the door of the upper of these two towers with horizontal and diagonal lines. The lower tower door he pictures with only horizontal lines. The door on the tower along the road marked “der platz” has only horizontal lines as well. The tower at the bottom of the right page is clearly wooden as Dolfstein portrays it with horizontal boards. Around this lower tower Dolfstein has drawn curving lines, which he seems to use in other sketches such as Sketch 17 to convey steep or rugged terrain.

These towers are curious. A wooden palisade surrounds them all, except the one at the bottom of the page, and each of these towers stands on its own small rise. They are reminiscent of a collection of miniature motte-and-bailey castles, though they are not motte-and-bailey. While wooden walls would splinter into dangerous projectiles when ordinance made successful contact, stone walls would create far more deadly shrapnel. In other words, these wooden walls would do less damage to the defenders if blown apart by cannon fire. Further, Dolfstein’s portrayal of this elaborate wooden defensive complex suggests that wooden fortifications were virtually as effective against ordinance as thin stone walls.

593 Motte-and-bailey construction would have been primitive technology indeed by the time of Dolfstein’s writing. Hence, it is not at all likely that these are motte-and-bailey, but they resemble what we see here. Stephen Morillo describes the upper portion of motte-and-bailey castles as, “topped by a wooden tower and a palisade around the top rim of the mound.” Stephen Morillo, Warfare Under the Anglo-Norman Kings, 1066-1135 (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, 1994), 86. Castles like this had been widespread in western Europe, not solely in England or Normandy. Walter Janssen, “The International Background of Castle Building in Central Europe,” in Danish Medieval History New Currents, ed. Niels Skyum-Nielsen and Niels Lund (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, 1981), 195-197.
A second wall extends from the tower along the road marked “der platz” to a heavy wooden gate closing off the square or main road. Also connecting to this gate is a wall extending to the tower in the middle of the page and a wall reaching to the fortifications around the parish church. The bottom portion of the church wall on which Dölnstein has written “pfar kirch” still exists today with the stream running beneath it. A wall or bridge appears next to the church on the left side near the largest group of houses, complete with windows and doors. This may be another wooden palisade at the base of the hill on which the church stands or a wooden bridge along this hill. Thus the town seems to be divided into sections, each with varying levels of protection. Dölnstein has drawn windows and doors on the houses between the church and main road or square just as he has on a few of the houses in other parts of the town. There appear to be three roads or paths. Two of them lead to the gate protecting the main road or square called der platz. Dölnstein draws three different styles of bridge. The first connects these roads to the gate.

Figure 46. Detail, Sketch 18.

This bridge appears to be short and simple, of timber logs or planks as indicated by the circles on the edge of the bridge. Dölnstein draws no supports for this bridge. The second bridge connects three roads to the parish church.

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595 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 12v-13r.
This bridge is longer and has heavy supports underneath it. It does not display the same circles on the edge that would indicate logs. Dohnstein has written next to this bridge and under the church wall, "The ridge gate passes over a ditch." Dohnstein draws the church gatehouse door like the door of the tower with the haybale on it. He uses both horizontal and diagonal lines. The outer protective wall around the church appears to have a wall walk connecting it to the gate house and adjoining tower or bastion. The church’s protective wall also has two small wooden structures requiring supports. One is a turret, and the other is a small rectangular room. The church itself boasts a steepled square tower with windows or arrow loops. Windows adorn the church: three large windows on the facing wall, two smaller ones on the left wall, and a circular window at the top. There is also a small structure on the roof of the church.

At the back of the village across a ravine is a castle. Straddling this ravine is a wooden bridge with supports.

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596 Ibid.
This bridge appears to combine the styles of the two other bridges. It is heavily supported like the bridge at the parish church. There are circles on the edges indicating planks or logs, though these must have been smoothed for the hooves of horses. Underneath this log or plank surface, we can see a smooth board like that on the bridge of the parish church.

The bridge leads to a portcullis. Unlike the gate or door, which appears to be a partial portcullis in Sketch 17, this is a full grid all the way to the top. There are arrow loops around the base of the exterior wall of the castle. The gatehouse also has arrow loops on either side of the portcullis and above it. The house inside these walls boasts windows of varying styles. The lower two on the facing wall are of small grids, while the top three and the two on the left wall have four large panes each. Above these windows are five turrets, and behind them all is a square tower with arrow loops.

Again with his focus on structures, we see Dohnstein's identity as a master builder shining through his military memories. In the text accompanying this sketch he also displays his knowledge of the reinforcing capabilities of different soil types. It is indicative of his background as a builder that he knows that the thick clay at Arnschwang is enough to hold the palisade walls. He draws this fortified town with care. The doors, 

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597 Ibid.
portcullis, and gate are all closed. It seems that once again, Dohnstein draws a town before it has been taken. In other words, if these structures were destroyed, he illustrates them before this happened when they were still sound buildings. It seems that Dohnstein spent a good deal of time walking or riding around this town once Weichsdorf had secured it. Dohnstein seems less interested in the many houses than in the church, castle, towers, wall, and most of all, the bridges. These structures piqued his curiosity more than did the basic house. One could characterize his variation in the bridge styles, particularly their covering, or in the doors he drew with only horizontal versus horizontal and diagonal lines, as merely dashing off a drawing as quickly as he could. This may be the case. It seems, however, that just as he drew different styles of sword scabbards and halberds, here he was drawing different styles in bridge building and door construction. Of how ever many engagements Dohnstein saw, he chose to depict engagements involving buildings more often than engagements on the open field. His choice to portray this town with its complex of wooden towers and palisades reflects his civilian background as a builder. This is a man who could no more leave behind his experience as a craftsman when he went on the march than he could forget his wartime experience in the guildhall.
Figure 49. Sketch 19, *Siege of Älvsborg.*

This page was lost in World War II. However, Dihle included a copy of it in her 1930 article. The Swedish Army Museum has one of the few remaining copies of the article. While I can confirm much of Dihle's and Larsson’s work, I am entirely in their debt for transcription, because the copy to which I have access is not of sufficient quality for full transcription. Below is Larsson's 1982 transcription. Other than his adherence to the original lack of capital letters and use of ‘ß’ there are few differences between his transcription and Dihle’s. Those differences are noted.

Top Left:

das sloß heist elspurgk 1
jn [crossed out word] norweden 2
habn dj tewtschn knecht 3
ir xviij c geslagen xiiij me 4
man do was herr sigmundt 5
list ein oberster hawbtman 6
das geschach mitwoch vor 7
Jacobs tag do man schreib 8
m e iiii e ij Jar 9

Translation:
The castle is called Älvsborg 1

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599 Dihle sees tausand.
600 Dihle: da.
601 Götze, was is war.
602 Dihle: uor.
603 Dihle: Jacobb
604 Dihle: da.
605 Dihle: no iiii e ij jar.
in [crossed out word] Norway.

The German soldiers,

18 hundred of them, vanquished 14 thousand men. There Lord Sigmund List was a high commander.⁶⁰⁶

This happened on the Wednesday⁶⁰⁷ before St. Jacob's Day in the year one thousand five hundred two.

Bottom Right - Center:

adj⁶⁰⁸ 1502 jar
das sloß is hultzen vnd ist mit wasen⁶⁰⁹ gedekt
vnd leit⁶¹⁰ hoch jn aler gestalt wie hie das hat der list jn dreyn tag genommen⁶¹¹ daß lag⁶¹² hat
pawls⁶¹³ von tolnstain mit fleiß gemacht
ale venster mit donner püxen.⁶¹⁴

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⁶⁰⁶ As noted earlier, there are various ways to translate this, from the "colonel" to "captain general." Zophy, 40. I follow Fritz Redlich's lead with, "high commander." Redlich, 11, n. 15. The Oberster Hauptmann seems to be a second in command according to Friedrich Blau. Without specifically using the term Oberster Hauptmann, he describes the Hauptleute as lieutenants who acted as commander in the Obrist's absence. Perhaps Dolnstein is here suggesting that the prince was not at this location and that Sigmund List acted in the prince's capacity as commander. Die Deutschen Landsknechte: Ein Kulturbild, 3rd ed. (Vienna: Phaidon Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1985), 39-41.

⁶⁰⁷ Arrived on the 14th of July and took the castle on the 18th of July. Dihle, 109. Allen also has the Danish force arriving on the 14th of July. Allen, 270. Per Larsson, the 14th was Thursday. This would make the 18th, the day that the Danes occupied the castle, Monday. Larsson notes that the Swedes encamped nearby with Åke Hansson received the news on the night between Monday and Tuesday. Hence, the Swedish attack on Paul Dolnstein's comrades happened on Wednesday, July 20th. Larsson, 76.

⁶⁰⁸ Götze: Adi is am Tage. So this could also be more generally, "In the year 1502..." rather than adj as in anno domini.

⁶⁰⁹ Götze: wasen is Rasen, Torf; peat.

⁶¹⁰ Götze: leit is liegt.

⁶¹¹ Dihle: gewunen.

⁶¹² Dihle: lag. Larsson: lager

⁶¹³ Dihle: pawll; Larsson: paulus
Translation:

In the year of our Lord 1502

The castle is wooden and is covered with turf

and lies high in all parts as it does here. This

List took in three days. The camp

Paulus von Doltstein made with diligence.

All the windows [were equipped] with thunder guns.

Top Right:

The following is almost certainly a later addition and not Paul Doltstein’s work.

Dihle states that this text is not in Doltstein's hand. Though I cannot comment on the handwriting given the quality of my copy, I note that the language and spelling as Larsson transcribes the passage are unlike Doltstein’s. Though it is not Doltstein’s writing, the text merits a place here. According to Larsson, this is a recipe for how to cook pigeons. I have provided Larsson's cautious transcription but no translation as he provides the transcription only "with reservations." Following is Larsson's transcription:

The text reads (with reservations):

Item gommen j fl gegliëet vnnd den dawben dy fittichen do mit vorsengit flewgt eyne wekg wen man sye flitzenn lest

Item leyman clein geclopffet Salcz wasser ader pruntz wasser honig dar vnder gemülbe genommen bej den öll slahern vnnd haffer gersten adder wiß dis alleß vnder eynander gemacht donnc mit dem salcz wasser vnnd daß in daß daw

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614 Though Larsson and Dihle do not note the umlaut line, I see one above the ‘u.’
615 This can also be "position."
616 Dihle, 110.
617 This writer uses 'an' instead of 'en' for leyman seems not similar. Salcz would be unusual for Paul Doltstein. A 'cz' does not appear elsewhere in his writing. Adder instead of oder is not in Doltstein’s style. Also unlike Doltstein, this writer prefers 'c' to 'k' as in clein.
618 This is a basic recipe for pigeon involving oil, honey, salt water or urine, grain, and a kind of thistle known as Eberwurzen.
Commentary

In this final sketch, Dolnstein's warrior artisan identity is apparent in the same ways as in Sketch 18. He captures structures with care in his image, and his text exhibits the builder’s role he played as a warrior. This sketch represents the larger setting where the Swedish peasant troops attacked Dolnstein's German comrades in Sketch 15. Erik Eriksson’s surrender of this castle without a fight is what prompted the Swedish peasant army to attack. They were stunned that their stronghold had been taken so easily, and they attempted to retake it. As in Sketch 17, Dolnstein describes this area as Norway. Though this castle stood on the west coast of modern day Sweden, the area was part of Denmark-Norway. Frederick the Wise sent 500 men under Sigmund List to assist the Danish King Hans in his bid to reassert Danish royal authority over Sweden. Dolnstein notes 1800 Germans and Sigmund List as a commander. One wonders if List commanded these 1800, himself, or if he commanded only the 500 who came with him from Saxony.

As noted above, the image here is a copy made in the first few decades of the twentieth century. From the tears in the center, it appears that this page was originally stitched into Dolnstein’s sketchbook. There is no stamp on the recto page, so it must have been loose when Dihle copied it and when the archive was making repairs and marking the pages with stamps. Beginning with the left side of this image, we see three ships and what may be a boat. The leading ship has three masts and what appear to be seven guns. Dolnstein has drawn waves in front of this ship and the second ship, perhaps indicating movement. The first ship displays what may be a rudder. There is a boat to the side of

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619 Larsson, 90, n. 5.
620 Larsson, 77; Lovén, 117.
621 This sketch appears in both of Dihlle’s papers. It is not known when the copy was made.
this ship, and it almost appears to be on land. Perhaps it was a landing vessel for the
Danish forces. Älvsborg stood on a river beach, and the sources describe ships landing
men at Älvsborg. There is a single word in front of the leading ship and above a low
lying building. The text is illegible from this copy, and neither Dihle nor Larsson seems
to have transcribed it. The ships sail or anchor in a mountainous landscape. Behind the
ships are mounds suggestive of the rugged but not dramatically high topography in this
area.

Moving from the ships to the foreground, we see that Dohnstein has drawn his
camp. It is difficult to determine if the empty area next to his camp is a hill or coastline or
twentieth century repair work. He pictures tents and what appear to be men with pikes.
He has drawn pikes only in the front row. Pikes behind the first row, according to
Sketches 12 and 15, would be vertical. Dohnstein has written an explanatory note here,
but it is illegible, and neither Dihle nor Larsson has transcribed it. These men may be
Dohnstein's comrades, or they may be the Swedes attacking:

This castle is called Elfsborg in [crossed out] Norway. The German soldiers, 18
hundred of them, vanquished 14 thousand men. There Lord Sigmund List was a
high commander. This happened on the Wednesday before St. Jacob's Day in the
year one thousand five hundred two.

Given that he mentions the peasant attack again here, it may be that he is depicting their
assault in camp. Dohnstein here again provides the location and his commander, though
he qualifies List’s role as “a high commander” rather than “high commander.” It is
difficult to know precisely what List’s role was, for in Sketch 15, there is no article.
There, List "was high commander." The existence of an article in Sketch 19 suggests
that Dohnstein may be qualifying his statement in Sketch 15, and indicating that List was

622 Lovén, 119.
623 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 9v-10r.
not the overall commander here. Rather, as commander of his own unit, List may have been one of many commanders of a number of different units at this siege. However, it is clear that List was at the very least Dölnstein’s commander.

Arching over the illegible two lines of text and the men is what may be a footbridge or perhaps a set of lines indicating a hill. More men with pikes line the lower left edge of the camp. There are four tents here, an object that seems to be a barrel, and several cannon behind wicker baskets. Dölnstein has also drawn what appear to be stone cannon balls. The large circle in front of the big cannon or barrel at the bottom of the sketch is about the same size as the mouth of the cannon. There are also four cannonballs of two different sizes just to the right of the next cannon as one moves toward the middle of the sketch. The camp and armaments are all at the base of a steep rise. Below and behind the castle is a structure with at least two floors and four guns. The camp is apparently out of the range of these guns. The camp also must be out of range of the guns in the castle itself. The fact that the Germans were able to land at all seems remarkable, given the many cannons in the windows. They may have approached from two directions: the area where they made camp and the area at the lower right of the sketch.

Lovén has provided a topographical map of the fortress site:
The castle sat atop this steady rise. The lower part of this map indicates a steep rise that would have been easily defended from infantrymen. One can understand therefore why the Swedish forces would have been so angry with Erik Eriksson for surrendering so quickly. However, this was a wooden castle as Dölnstein describes below. The three masted ship appears to have seven cannon on the facing side, and once the Danish force was in place with its own cannon, some of which were very large indeed, Eriksson would have had reason to believe that his wooden structure would be blown to bits. It also appears that he only had 140 men here, and while the Swedes controlled the adjoining territories, Eriksson could not be certain of rescue.\footnote{Lovén, 118.} \footnote{Ibid., 117.}
Under the castle Dölnstein has written these words on a part of the sketch that has since been repaired:

In the year of our Lord, 1502
The castle is wooden and is covered with turf and lies high in all parts as it does here. This List took in three days.\textsuperscript{626} Paulus von Dölnstain made camp with diligence. All the windows [were equipped] with thunder guns.

Because the roof was covered with turf, it would have been less prone to flaming arrows than wooden roof. Except for the roof, this structure appears to have been entirely wooden. Even the outer walls Dölnstein has drawn as wooden.

Well equipped with large guns, the castle surely was impressive. As Dölnstein states, it stood high above the surrounding area, which would have been to its advantage. Lovén says that the castle stood on a twenty meter cliff above the beach of the Göta River, and the south end of the castle was impregnable.\textsuperscript{627} The outer walls of the castle have six or seven square towers visible. They have arrow loops and some have guns. There are several chimneys, and there seem to be three flags over the left, right, and central parts of the castle. There are a number of smaller buildings within the castle walls, and there appear to be two gates. One of them at the center of the wall is questionable as a gate. It appears to be a draw bridge that has been raised. Below it, Dölnstein has drawn either water or rocks. The other gate, on the far right with a bridge leading to it, is open and hangs askew.\textsuperscript{628}

\textsuperscript{626} This is verified in Allen, 274. Larsson notes that Erik Eriksson surrendered the castle on the 17th and that the Danes occupied the castle on the 18th. Larson, 75-77.
\textsuperscript{627} Lovén, 119.
\textsuperscript{628} Lovén sees this gate as either a temporary defense or as having been damaged in an attempt to destroy it by explosion. Lovén, 119.
Dolnstein's knowledge of and interest in bridge construction is apparent here. This bridge has the same sort of covering that the bridge leading to the church in Sketch 18 has. It has similar supporting timbers, and Dolnstein has drawn the same span of wood underneath the surface layer of cross boards. Near the bridge are two groups of men with pikes. One appears about to cross the bridge, or perhaps they are following the other group, which seems to be moving in the direction of the German camp. These could be men from the adjoining lands held by the Swedish rebels, or they could be part of the Danish force. Because part of this page has been water damaged, and part has been covered by

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629 Dihle, Figure 36, unnumbered page.
twentieth century repairs, it is difficult to determine what is between these pikemen and the camp.

Returning to the camp and to the text above, Dölnstein says, “Paulus von Dölnstain made camp with diligence.” This is the only place where Dölnstein explicitly describes his role in a Landsknecht army. Elsewhere he says that he saw action, suggesting combat, but is not clear about what that means, or what role he played. Dölnstein notes being wounded at Montfort, and he states that he bumped into the watch outside Landshut. These are all military moments. Here, he tells us that he actually used his experience as a master builder while at war. This line suggests that Dölnstein’s work as a mercenary drew upon and reinforced his skills as a master craftsman. Making camp was no easy task. It would not have been given to just anyone.630 Making camp was more like establishing a position and erecting a small town in a very short space of time. Camps had to be out of range of enemy fire and needed good drainage. Landsknecht camps required orderly layouts, typically following a predictable pattern so that no one had to wonder where the commander's tent was.631 Millar suggests that many of the ranking positions in Landsknecht armies were elected by the men. The Fourier, "assistant to the company quartermaster … among his duties was the assignment of living quarters in camp," may have been among the roles Dölnstein played.632 These soldiers were not as yet specialists, however, and served as needed. Hence, Dölnstein likely played a number of roles. His superiors and peers may have known him from Torgau or from Frederick's court, and they certainly would have come to know him over several campaigns. His

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630 For images of the complexity of military camp, see Jörgensen, 144-145.
631 Millar, 96.
632 Ibid.
leaders would have used his skills where they were needed, whether on the battlefield, in choosing the camp site, erecting siege works, or building and designing gun carriages.

On the march, Paul Dohnstein was a warrior. However, he did not leave his skills as a builder behind. These skills were of tremendous value to any commander, and they marked him as a craftsman in the eyes of these men. Someone had to erect the camp; someone had to lay out and choose the position; someone had to build siege machines; someone had to build protective walls and devices for sieges, for siege guns, and for sappers. Someone probably had to build a bridge from time to time. Someone had to know where a fortification was weak, where best to hit it. That someone would often have been Dohnstein, particularly as he came to hold roles of responsibility for Frederick the Wise. His attention to detail would have been invaluable to commanders. His care is evident when, for example, drawing the outer walls of this castle. He notes the evenly spaced vertical supports all along the wall. Here and elsewhere, he notes the building materials of structures, the surfaces on and in which they were rooted, and what it took to take them down. Noticing these things was part of the fabric of this craftsman. We do not know how frequently or to what degree Dohnstein used his skills as a builder while in the pay of military commanders. What we do know, however, is that he always saw military scenes through the eyes of a builder.
CHAPTER III
CONCLUSION

Paul Dohnstein's sketchbook illustrates not only Dohnstein's personal experiences in war but also his dual identity as a warrior artisan. As a sedentary Landsknecht entering and exiting military service over several years, Paul Dohnstein surrendered neither his craftsman nor his martial identity. While not all warrior artisans could practice their civilian trade on the march as Dohnstein did, many could. Smiths would have been useful as would have been tailors or bakers or anyone involved in the building trades. Stone masons like Wolf von Zwickau could have provided expertise, guiding sappers as to what sort of force it would take to destroy a foundation. Their expert eyes could have seen the best artillery targets in walls, spotting where there were flaws or weaknesses. Coming as artisans did from towns, they were accustomed to the possession and wearing of arms. They were enculturated to the responsibility that such a right carried with it. Master artisans defended their homes and towns and helped preserve the peace by means of these weapons. For such men to take their weapons and follow the drum of their prince or his allies would have been a natural way to earn money in lean times and to pursue adventure. Further, such men were sometimes required to respond to the call of their lords. Dohnstein appears to have done precisely this. His sketches are those of

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633 Some armies brought ovens with them, disassembling them for transportation. Parker, 76.
634 Redlich, 115-116.
adventure, and he certainly earned money.\textsuperscript{635} He responded to calls either from representatives of his own prince, Frederick the Wise, or from representatives of his prince's allies. Regardless of whether he served only when summoned or volunteered for service, he seems to have had fond memories of these episodes. His wartime experience was powerful and left a mark on his memory. Just as he could not leave behind his identity as a master craftsman when he went on the march, he could not leave behind his military identity when he had returned to his civilian world. This concluding essay will provide a brief recapitulation of the evidence for Dohnstein's dual identity and suggest areas for further research.

On the first page of his sketchbook, Dohnstein lays out two sides of his identity. He draws two men on what appears to be the title page, a Landsknecht and a man who is likely a journeyman craftsman. This journeyman gazes out at the reader while the Landsknecht marches away. These men seem to represent two parts of the sedentary Landsknecht's life. Dohnstein crosses the civilian's tool with the Landsknecht's sword, thus indicating the intersection of both worlds in his sketchbook and in these men. In this way, Dohnstein exhibits the duality of the artisan-Landsknecht's identity. This civilian tool or its like appears again in Sketch 13 at the Siege of Montfort. We see at Montfort the physical work that sieges involved. Though Landsknechts left the digging mostly to women and boys, there was still specialized work in building siege equipment and protective walls for the besieging camp. This work had to have to have been done at least partly by men, and certainly men as masters of their crafts oversaw its completion. That one of Dohnstein's comrades, Wolf von Zwickau, was a stone mason in Wittenberg demonstrates that Dohnstein was not alone as an artisan from Saxony in his martial

\textsuperscript{635} ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 9v-10r.
experiences. The rank of men he chose to depict suggests that among Landsknechts, the company he kept were men of his own rank in the civilian world. Assuming that at least some of these men were not roving Landsknechts who had made a career of following the drum, the men in Dолнstein's sketches were likely masters of their guilds just as he was.

While some of the Comrade Sketches do not display Dолнstein's background as a craftsman, they exhibit the draw of mercenary service for artisans: women, freedom from moralizing eyes, a change of scenery, adventure, a change in responsibilities, music, daring and bold clothing, the glory of being associated with Landsknechts at this time, and above all the chance to win glory by having served honorably with soldiers of high reputation. The Comrade Sketches particularly exhibit these last two appealing factors, glory and association with men of high repute. The Comrade Sketches demonstrate the kinds of men Paul Dолнstein wanted the reader to associate with him. Paul Dолнstein, master builder, chose men of high military standing - standard bearers and halberdiers -- to depict and name. Dолнstein chose these men as well as skilled and aggressive pikemen to represent his companions. Military service was an apotheosis of masculinity in the culture of arms in which Paul Dолнstein already lived, worked, and served as a master craftsman. As an artisan expected to preserve the peace and protect his town, Paul Dолнstein strengthened his masculine image by attesting to his warrior experience.

This sketchbook provides fertile ground for historians. My examination of his illustrated notebook has only scratched the surface, yielding many areas for further research. I see these areas falling under two principal categories: representation and archival study. Dолнstein represents people, events, topography, and structures. It is curious that he does not verbally relate the felt experience of the events. Verbally, he

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636 Tlusty, 6-9, 91.
offers only fragments of the scene with no indication of what it was like to be there. Pictorially, however, Dolnstein seems to try to communicate something of what it was like to experience the events in his sketchbook. Sketch 15 displays men receiving arrow wounds and falling between the two opposing formations as they collide. Sketch 13 pictures a slain standard bearer lying in the foreground. Yet, this is all there is to his attempt to take his audience to the moment of conflict. To a modern audience it may seem peculiar that while Dolnstein mentions the burning of the castle, he does not describe what it was like to experience this. The reader is left to imagine the sound of a massive wooden structure all ablaze, with ash and chips of wood soaring into the air on rising smoke.637 He says nothing of the wind and flames, how the wind carried the smoke, or of the smell, the feel of heat in the air. Perhaps these things went without saying for an early modern person for whom fire was a common tool of daily life and work. Early modern people were also likely to have witnessed large fires. So, such descriptions may simply not have required expression. But perhaps Dolnstein did not represent buildings as ablaze because buildings on fire did not interest him. Before he because a destructor, he was a constructor, and it is possible that standing structures simply interested him more than those set ablaze. It could be profitable to explore Dolnstein’s choice to represent structures as whole and intact rather than ablaze when he states in text that the buildings burned.638

638 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 7v-8r, 8v, 11v.
Along these lines, it may strike the modern reader as peculiar that Dohnstein does not mention the mêlée. While he represents the moment just before and just into conflict, he does not describe what the experience of combat was like. One expects that it must have been rather like this:

![Figure 52. Hans Holbein, Fight of Landsknechts.](image)

Note how the men are forced to expose their torsos in order to wield pole arms. What a violent, bloody brawl this is. If this is what Dohnstein experienced, he does not tell us. If

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639 The degree to which Dohnstein’s sketchbook deviates from the norm in this is the question. "Both Machiavelli and Leonardo were as concerned with stylistic and theoretical matters as were their mid-fifteenth century predecessors. Nonetheless, the earlier and the later works differ in tone. It is tempting to draw parallels between the hypothetical battle, forming the centerpiece of Machiavelli’s *Art of War* and the unfinished fresco of Leonardo. In its abstraction, and also in its frenzied action, the hypothetical battle is a close parallel to Leonardo’s surviving cartoons. It is a hyperkinetic frenzy -- a soldier’s battle in which warriors act with one will, seemingly without need of a general. The mix of the visual, the kinetic, and the aural is striking. 'Do you not hear the artillery?' Machiavelli has his narrator ask as he describes the rush of light infantry and cavalry, 'with as much speed and as much noise as possible,' to overwhelm the enemy's guns. The vignettes of rushing, fighting soldiers Leonardo sketched in his notebooks could well illustrate Machiavelli’s words." Wilson, 29.

640 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 7v-8r, 9v-10r.

this is not what the conflict with the Swedes was like, then what was it like? He
represents the violent moment just as the two formations meet, but at this point they
appear evenly matched. There do not appear to be more of either Germans or Swedes. He
tells us, however, that there were many more Swedes than Germans, so why would he
represent them as equally numbered? Further, he does not explain or illustrate why the
Germans defeated the Swedes. Did the Germans win because they maintained order,
because they held their formation in the square? Why did they win? How did they win?
Dolnstein shares nothing of this. Clearly, the peasants had not received the training that
Landsknechts received, but Dolnstein offers no explanation other than God’s
intervention.

Again, as with burning castles, the sights and sounds of the experience when
German pikes and halberds collide with Swedish staff swords and bills may not require
expression because they are obvious to his audience. Perhaps simply stating to a fellow
master artisan, a man who was familiar with weapons by virtue of being a male of
standing in a German town and who himself may have seen combat, that 1800 Germans
defeated 14,000 Swedes, most of whom God struck dead, conjures exactly the image of
what happened. In other words, perhaps the experience simply did not require explaining.
Or, perhaps, Dolnstein feels that he explains it in the sketches, for there are indeed arrows
piercing flesh and men moving forward in spite of their injuries. Yet another possible
explanation could be that this moment just as conflict is starting is the moment that
matters most to Dolnstein. Perhaps this is the poignant moment, the moment just as battle
is about to occur, just as formations meet or are about to meet that stays with him.642

642 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 7v-8r, 8v, 9v-10r, 11v, 12v-
13r; Dihle, Figure 36, unnumbered page.
Indeed, he does not picture the burning in the siege scenes; he does not picture men on the battlements. Rather he illustrates structures as they are when they are whole, before he and his comrades destroy them. Why is this? It seems to me, but it requires further research to determine, that this is peculiar to Dolnstein, that this is not the standard representation of war.

There is a great deal that Dolnstein does not depict. He does not depict drinking, gambling, or whoring. This is not surprising, for while he may have fond memories of drinking, gambling, or whoring, they made for derogatory images. In other words, when artists depicted Landsknechts with whores or at a game of dice, it was not a complimentary image. Rather, such representations mocked their subjects and often served as moralizing warnings to live better lives than these men. It is not to be expected that he would depict such memories. Nor is it surprising that he does not depict the abuse of civilians, for such images were not abundant in the general artistic discussion. Hence, Dolnstein's not depicting such things is quite normal and does not require explanation.

However, his efforts to preserve his wartime experience are such that his limiting of the clash of battle and of destruction of castles does seem peculiar. For, fully engaged battle and burning castles were frequently depicted. Returning to the discussion of areas for further research, a thorough exploration of memoirs, writings, and drawings among the artisan class, particularly those pertaining to war, might shed light on Dolnstein's selected and excluded subject matter. This study might include the work of Dolnstein's fellow warrior artisans, Urs Graf and Niklaus Manuel Deutsch. As artists, these craftsmen

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643 An exception to this could be the hay bale makeshift repair at Arnschwang. ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 12v-13r.
644 Moxey, 72, 80-95.
used the visual image to record war. Something akin to Yuval Harari's exploration of military memoirs among noblemen would be most useful for deepening our understanding of the master craftsman’s experience of memoir writing and of wartime experience.645

It may be also worthwhile to explore this sketchbook from a proto-nationalist perspective. Paul Dohnstein drew his sketch of the Swede very close to the era when Ulrich von Hutten and Martin Luther were writing their own proto-nationalist literature.646 We do not know when Dohnstein made his representations of Swedes, and certainly there is no comparison between the Swedish peasants of Dohnstein’s events and the Italian clerics against whom Luther and Hutten were writing, but looking at Dohnstein’s Sketches 4 and 15 with the awareness of a growing pride in Germanic linguistic and cultural identity may be fruitful.647 It is impossible to be certain, but Dohnstein does seem to be mocking the Swede in Sketch 4. Dohnstein may mock him because he is different or because he was easily beaten, but there may be more to it than that. Paul Dohnstein is clearly proud to have been part of beating the Swedes, proud of the German professionalism and skill that dispatched so many of the Swede’s countrymen. It would be intriguing to explore these sketches with an eye to a burgeoning German cultural and linguistic identity.

Dohnstein’s representations of gender are consistent with artistic norms of masculinity with one exception, the peculiar hair growth on the cheeks of the two men in

645 See Yuval Noah Harari, Renaissance Military Memoirs: War, History, and Identity, 1450-1600 (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2004). A work similar to this but with a focus on craftsmen would be valuable.
647 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 2v, 9v-10r.
Sketches 2 and 5. Whether these men are intentionally sporting hairy moles or have shaved their bears to a tiny circle of long hairs we do not know. While it may seem a peculiar thing to research, as far as I can tell, this is the only representation of such facial hair in the visual record, and it merits exploration. My discussion of masculinity among artisans and warriors was cursory at best. This sketchbook could yield so much more. The Landsknecht was a peculiar and extreme masculine type, displaying his virility in a number of ways: jutting codpieces that drew the ire of clerics and pastors, shocking displays of bare skin, bravado, terrific bravery, extreme cruelty, and a libertine lifestyle.

Dolnstein’s representations of femininity do not follow the norm in art. Else von Winn walks in front of rather than behind her mate, and while she carries a bundle on her head, she is not heavily burdened. Her bearing is upright and proud like that of a prostitute. She is not heavily burdened like the women depicted as legitimate wives or like other women marching with a Landsknecht. Yet, she has none of the abundant feathers or lavish attire of a whore. Else is a puzzle. Further, the woman in Sketch 12 is actively engaged in moving loaded weapons to the rear of the sleeve of shot. To my knowledge, this depiction is unique. Depictions of women in such roles are few if extant at all. Dolnstein shows us a woman in distinctly military action in Sketch 12. For these reasons, this sketchbook merits a thorough examination through a gendered lens.

Dolnstein’s sketchbook also points historians to further research in archives. Continuing with the discussion of gender, Paul Dolnstein’s illustrated notebook could serve as a case study in the connection between the sedentary Landsknecht and the

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648 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 1v, 3r.
649 In discussing the difference between whores and prostitutes, John Lynn notes that, “a ‘whore’ attached herself to one man for the long haul or for a shorter, but not fleeting, period of time. … in this sense, ‘whores’ were not hired; they were possessed; and they had reciprocal claims on their men as well.” Lynn, 76.
artisan. Such a case study could add to Tlusty's discussion of the right and responsibility to bear arms. An archival exploration of Torgau and Wittenberg along the lines of Tlusty's research in other early modern German towns could deepen our understanding of how Dolnstein saw himself as a master builder and a mercenary. The guildsman's world was a world of weapons, a world in which guild members played a key role in defending and policing their own towns. Thus, a sedentary Landsknecht’s taking up arms at the urging of his own prince is not at all the same thing as a professional soldier’s roving around the region or continent in bands. One could argue that Dolnstein merely extended his responsibility as an arms bearing man outward to his lord's allies. One might search archival records to determine to what degree Frederick the Wise encouraged or facilitated recruiting for his allies’ armies. Another means of determining this extension of civilian to military responsibilities might be the possible connection of names to occupations in muster rolls. For instance, it might be fruitful to search for evidence of who could have been Eyb’s *Baumeister* at the Siege of Montfort. 650

Another area for archival research would be to narrow the window in which Paul Dolnstein could have depicted the sleeve of shot. In Sketch 12, Dolnstein appears to depict the use of sleeves of shot in the first half of the first decade of the sixteenth century as opposed to the third or fourth decade. 651 It is possible, however, that Dolnstein drew this image late in life and projected the development backward onto this period. One of the first steps in using this drawing to re-date the use of gunpowder technology would be to search for further references of Dolnstein's life beyond the Saxon court. If he lived beyond 1513, his inclusion of the sleeve of shot might be less important to the re-dating

650 Von Keller, 102-103.
651 ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 7v-8r.
of this development. Another problem for military historians is Dohnstein’s portrayal of
the fortified town of Arnschwang. His motte-and-bailey-style towers in and around the
village raise the question: How common were complexes of raised wooden towers and
palisades in the Renaissance? The Arnschwang sketch also begs the question: Were
wooden structures virtually as effective against ordinance as thin stone walls?

Further, it would be useful to determine Dohnstein’s birthplace and year, and
whether or not he married or had children. It would be fascinating and potentially fruitful
to search records for the names of all the people in this sketchbook. Results might
demonstrate the degree to which Dohnstein was normative among sedentary
Landsknechts. How many of the men in his sketchbook were like him and like Wolf von
Zwickau in returning to their civilian trades? Results might further allow scholars to
determine the degree to which bodies of artisans chose to fight together campaign after
campaign. If many of the people in the sketchbook came from the realm of Prince
Frederick the Wise, and if many of them were masters or journeymen, this sketchbook
might demonstrate that groups of sedentary Landsknechts fought together year after year.
In other words, there were not solely bands of *roving* Landsknecht bands who chose to
fight together and enlist as a body, but there may have been bodies of *sedentary*
Landsknechts as well who joined and demobilized together campaign after campaign. If
the names in this sketchbook do not appear in Saxon records, then perhaps some of them
may appear in the records of the places from which their names indicate they may have
come. Such results too would shed light on the makeup of Landsknecht armies, if only
confirming the view that many Landsknechts came from southern Germany for instance.
Such results would also illustrate the bonds that men forged with soldiers from other regions while on campaign.

Another area of research Dолнstein's sketchbook and life pose is the correlation between civilian and military success. One can only speculate that there was a connection between Dолнstein's success as a master builder and his success as a Landsknecht. The year when he and Lucas Cranach received the same gifts of cloth marks the evidence we have for Dолнstein's success as an master craftsman. His ownership of a horse and armor, and his having been knighted are the evidence we have for Dolkien's success as a warrior. There may have been for other artisans a connection between military service to the prince or his allies and a place in his court. As discussed in the Introduction, the sedentary Landsknecht, like the Swiss Reisläufer, returned to his home community. His prowess, skill, or poor showing on the battlefield was noted in his home community, for better or worse. We know that Dolkien experienced lean times, and he may have gone into military service in the hope of financial gain. He may also have joined to develop his credibility, reliability, and honor. Indeed, military service may have been a way to boost his visibility as well. If the military men in Frederick the Wise's court knew a man by name, might this not draw attention to the man? Simply by joining the Landsknechts for a short period of time, Dolkien was associating himself with something that was viewed positively. It would be worth studying the degree to which artisans were selected for special civilian service or singled out for exemplary work in relation to their having served as Landsknechts.

Perhaps the greatest puzzle this sketchbook poses is the question of precisely what it is. In the end, we do not know the sketchbook's purpose or its audience. We do not
know if it is a memoir or some sort of adventure book. We do not know if Dohnstein intended for it to serve as a foundation for a series of woodcuts as suggested by Lovén.\textsuperscript{652} My tentative conclusion is that it is a collection of memories that Dohnstein had discussed with his friends at the guild hall or tavern, and that it may have been a gift for a friend, Meister Heinrich. Indeed, Meister Heinrich may have asked Dohnstein to write some of his stories down as he was talking about them. Yet, we do not know absolutely that Meister Heinrich is the audience. Rather, Meister Heinrich could be one of the two men on the front page. Or perhaps the words "Meister Heinrich" were written by the person who dashed off a recipe for pigeon on the last page. This sketchbook could have been Dohnstein's personal diary, and his child or grandchild may have given it to a Meister Heinrich. We simply do not know. Further adding to the conundrum, we do not know if Dohnstein drew the sketches all at once or over the course of several years. We do not know if he carried this sketchbook with him on his military forays and illustrated them while they were still fresh in his mind or if he drew these a few years after the events occurred. We do not even know if the notebook is finished.

What we do know is that this sketchbook has received far too little attention. We also know that just as Paul Dohnstein could not leave behind his artisan background when he went on the march, he could not leave behind his military experiences when he had returned to the guildhall. When this master craftsman went on campaign, he took particular note of structures. Anyone would have observed structures to some degree, but aside from a visual artist, not just anyone would have drawn structures as Dohnstein did. He draws supports and bridges and roof tiles and notes the type of soil holding a palisade wall in place. Dohnstein's depiction of the siege equipment, tools, and wooden wall at

\textsuperscript{652} Lovén, 119, note 2.
Montfort combined with his observation of structures elsewhere and his claim to have made camp at Älvsborg provide convincing evidence that Dölnstein used his skills as a builder while in military service. Yet, even if he did not use these skills more than a handful times, he could not look at the landscape through which he marched with any other eyes than those of a master builder. His background being that of a builder, it is natural that structures would capture his interest when besieging a place. Of course, he gives sieges greater emphasis than other events, for sieges required builders. Naturally, these things were of more interest to him as a constructor of things than were the burning of wooden buildings or smashing of stone walls. Intentionally or not, Dölnstein conveys his craftsman’s identity throughout his warrior’s sketchbook. Certainly in the event sketches where Dölnstein offers the modern reader the most fascinating displays of his world, Dölnstein's dual identity shines. He is at once warrior and artisan. On the march, in the siege, and on the battlefield, he is Paul Dölnstein the master builder. In his return from these adventures, in his life as master builder, he is still the soldier, ever recalling his experiences.
APPENDIX

SUPPLEMENT TO SKETCH 12\textsuperscript{653}

Below is one of a number of possible interpretations of Dohmstein’s text. I have provided the first eleven lines of the translated text, followed by a visual interpretation and a brief textual explanation of this interpretation. Likewise for lines 12-14, I have provided the text, a visual aid, and brief textual explanation. Because a number of the words are illegible, no interpretation can be certain. There are flaws with the interpretation I provide below. There are necessarily flaws in any interpretation of this page because there are illegible and potentially very important words. For instance, there may be another 100 pike in the first line.

Translation:

There are 400 men ... & \textsuperscript{654} for a field array. 1
11 to a rank of 198 pikes, 18 ranks. 2
There remain 42 pikes. With that cover the field… 3
on the sides with 3. Item, take 75 4
halberds, as makes 8 ranks 5
per rank. There remain 35, the ranks among 6
the pikes. New item, 75 handgun 7
soldiers, 3 per rank, make 8
25 ranks beside the array. 9
And so the array becomes 29 ranks long 10
and 14 men per rank including 6 men. 11

\textsuperscript{653} ThHStAW, Reg. S (Bau- und Artillerieangelegenheiten) fol. 460 Nr. 6, Bl. 7v-8r.

\textsuperscript{654} Note again that faintly one can almost see “c spie…” which may refer to 100 pike.
The first six ranks follow Dölnstein’s sketch. While the men between the standards are unclear, and I marked them as 'X,' they are most likely halberdiers. In what is legible of Dölnstein’s verbal description of the first array, there are 390 men in 29 ranks of 14 men:

- 240 pikes: 198 and 42.
- 75 halberds: 40 and 35.
- 75 guns: 75.
- 390 men total.

This description leaves out ten men. The standard bearers and the two men between them add four to this total of 390. The "including 6 men" seems to add a final six men to complete the 400. These six could have men with skills in more than one weapon and who served where needed.
There are in the illustration above 18 ranks with 11 pike in each, for 198 pikes. I arrayed the 42 pikes throughout the field. As to the halberds, there are eight ranks with five halberds in them.\textsuperscript{655} To these ranks, I added halberds from the 35 "among the pikes." Hence some of these eight ranks of five halberds have more than five halberds. Following Dolnstein's sketch, there is a full rank of eleven halberds in row three. I have added a rank of halberds to the rear of the square and two ranks of three halberds behind the guns. The guns are clear. Dolnstein pictures in them in ranks of three, and 25 columns "beside the array" make 75 guns. With regard to the final statement, "including 6 men," I read this as noting that there will be six men beyond the men Dolnstein has described in the illustration and text. Hence, I have added six pikes to the 240 Dolnstein names in order to round out the 400 men.

There are obvious problems with the above interpretation. Most striking is the empty space at the back of the square. However, this could be an intentional gap where the gunners had space for their rotation as they expended their weapons and moved to the rear. Likewise "including 6 men" could mean "encompassing 6 men," where the standards form a core at the center of the square.

Moving to lines 12-15 of Dolnstein’s commentary, he appears to be suggesting another way to array 400 men or a maneuver on the field:

\begin{verbatim}
They then instead at first 7 in one rank. 37 ranks [of] pikes
11 ranks [of] halberds
11 ranks [of] handguns
..... 4 men.
\end{verbatim}

\footnote{\textsuperscript{655} Ranks 5, 8, 11, 14, 17, 20, 23, 26.}
This is a particularly difficult passage. Ranks only seven men deep could not serve as pike squares and may represent a set of columns for marching. Dolnstein may intend his audience to picture 37 ranks comprising seven pikes in each rank. This would result in 259 pikes and comes closer to the number of men needed to fill a square of 29 ranks of 14 men. Note that the diagram above uses 254 pikes. It is possible that the first part of line 12 could mean, “They then instead have at first 7,” meaning 407 men with whom to array the field. This would make mathematical sense because 407 divided by 37 is 11. Perhaps the "4 men" could refer to standard bearers and halbardiers. One approach to this second array might be that all 37 ranks would comprise either a single long formation or three discrete formations following one another for marching or for maneuvering.

I would like to reiterate that the above views are only possibilities, and they are flawed at that. With the illegible words, it is impossible to determine precisely what Dolnstein was conveying here. I offer the above thoughts in the hope that they will stimulate discussion and prompt other scholars to put forward further plausible interpretations.

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