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**A R T Y K U Ł Y**

LUKÁŠ SLÁMA

ORCID: 0000-0003-0298-2653

Univerzita Jana Evangelisty Purkyně v Ústí nad Labem, Czechy

e-mail: lukanius.slama@seznam.cz

**MILITARY ROLE OF THE ORE MOUNTAINS  
IN THIRTY YEARS' WAR\***

Keywords: Ore mountains, Thirty Years' war, military aspect, town's, northwestern Bohemia

Słowa kluczowe: Rudawy, wojna trzydziestoletnia, aspekty militarne, miasta, północno-zachodnie Czechy

The Ore Mountains, forming a massive natural border between Bohemia and Saxony was, is and will always be regarded only as a barrier between these two state formations. Only taking into consideration the period realia acquired in the regional history research of the Krušné hory (Ore Mountains in English, Erzgebirge in German) area called Podkrušnohoří and their integration into the general history of the lands belonging to the Bohemian Crown and afterwards also to Central European history, is it possible to get a completely new perspective of the period in which the mountain range undoubtedly became an internationally renowned point of interest, i.e. the period of the conflict, now known as the Thirty Years' War.

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The enormous interest on the part of commanders or other military leaders of that time in the controlled area used to appear, as a rule, only at the moments when the frontiers were threatened, or even as late as the moments of the invasion of the enemy armies. In this respect, it concerns mainly the second half of the Thirty Years' War. These are in particular the interventions on the part of both the Saxon and Swedish Armies in the years 1631–1632, 1634, 1639–1640, 1641, 1643, etc., i.e. the campaigns that were to threaten either only Praha (in English Prague), or those carrying more ambitious plans in the form of threats to Vienna itself. In these campaigns, the Ore Mountains with their local towns and fortresses created the only well-defended system (apart from the Silesian or Lusatian system) along the along the Eger (Eger in German, Ohře in Czech) and Elbe (Labe in Czech) rivers.

This specific feature has not yet been examined through any of the local military studies. In spite of this, the tracking of roads, rivers or mountain ranges offers a more pliable view of the military logistics of that historical period, and herewith also the assessment of the war-management process found in the Early Modern Period. Unfortunately, we lack the complex processing of the military aspects relevant to the countries of the Bohemian Crown. Nevertheless, in the past, a few works have emerged, which at first glance were dealing with the invisible agents of war disasters. The well-known Czech historian Josef Pekař, in addition to the micro-historical view of the Černín Demesne in the Early Modern Period, also examined, in his work titled *Kniha o Kosti* (Book of the Kost Demesne), various examples of the mutual co-existence between the Army and the local people during the Swedish occupation.<sup>1</sup> The financial burden falling upon cities at differing levels of intensity, relative to the development of the conflict, has been examined recently by Tomáš Sterneck, Marek Ďurčanský and Jan Kilián.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, it is basically to be regarded as literature depicting the history of the city within the context of the Early Modern Age. A truly groundbreaking work concerning the Czech environment is the book entitled *A Picture of Battle Landscape*,<sup>3</sup> written

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<sup>1</sup> J. Pekař, *Kniha o Kosti*, Praha 1970. However, the work was focused on the internal economic affairs of the estate. The army acted here as one of the agents of the economic burden.

<sup>2</sup> T. Sterneck, *Město, válka, daně. Brno v moravském berním systému za dlouhé války s Vysokou Portou (1593–1606)*, Praha 2008; M. Ďurčanský, *Česká města a jejich správa za třicetileté války. Zemský a lokální kontext*, Praha 2014; J. Kilián, *Město ve válce, válka ve městě. Mělník 1618–1648*, České Budějovice 2008.

<sup>3</sup> V. Matoušek, *Třebel. Obraz krajiny s bitvou*, Praha 2006 (Adapted edition: *Třebel 1647: A Battlefield of the Thirty Years' War from the Perspective of History, Archeology, Art-history*,

by the archaeologist Václav Matoušek in the Book Třebel, in which the emphasis is placed on all aspects that influenced the battle itself. The development of the surrounding countryside, the system of roads, as well as the military culture and the course of the battle itself, are devoted the same attention as the political course of events. Similarly, the Polish historian Jerzy Maroń carried forth in a similar direction when he wrote *Wojna trzydziestoletnia na Śląsku. Aspekty militarne*, in which he places the logistics of the army, its financing and organization, the network of roads or fortifications, in the uppermost interest. Only then does he devote his attention to military operations.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, German or Swedish historiography deals with the financing of the armies themselves in greater depth and applies it to the general history of the Thirty Years' War.<sup>5</sup>

Fernand Braudel in the *History of the Mediterranean Sea* wrote the following passage: "... it took many months to assemble (group together) mercenaries and troops in Lyon just to enable the King of France 'to unexpectedly cross the mountains' on one beautiful day".<sup>6</sup> Thus, he figuratively described Raimond Montecucoli's saying about 'the need for money, money, and again money for conducting a war conflict'. The intentions of this work probably correspond best with the claims of historian Geza Perjes who says/claims the following in the methodological part of *Upadek średniowiecznego królestwa Węgier: Mohacz 1526–Buda 1541*: "If we have a sufficient number of sources, we can create a model of war with great precision for each period and set the parameters of warfare

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*Geoinformatics, and Ethnology*, Prague 2017); V. Matoušek, P. Hrnčířik, Z. Šámal, *Rozvadov 1621. Výzkum bojiště třicetileté války/Research of a Battlefield of the Thirty Years' War*, České Budějovice 2018.

<sup>4</sup> J. Maroń, *Wojna trzydziestoletnia na Śląsku. Aspekty militarne*, Wrocław–Racibórz 2008. His pupil Ł. Tekielka proceeded in the same way in his work *Wojna trzydziestoletnia na Górnych Łużycach. Aspekty Militarne*, Racibórz 2010. What role for instance rivers may have in a military campaign is demonstrated on the example of the Odra River by G. Podruczny, *Militarna rola rzeki Odry w okresie nowożytnym, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem odcinka między Głogowem a Wrocławiem*, in: *Odra – warunki naturalne rzeki i jej kształtowanie przez człowieka*, Prochowice 2015, pp. 33–44. A basic book is obvious G. Parker, *The army of Flanders and the Spanish road 1567–1659*, Cambridge 1972.

<sup>5</sup> H. Salm, *Armeefinanzierung im Dreißigjährigen Krieg. Der Niederrheinisch-Westfälische Reichskreis 1635–1650*, Münster 1990; K.-R. Böhme, *Geld für die schwedischen Armeen nach 1640*, "Scandia. Tidskrift för historisk forskning" 1967, no. 33/1, pp. 54–95; P. Sörensson, *Ekonomi och krigföring under Gustaf II. Adolfs tyska fälttåg 1630–1632*, "Scandia. Tidskrift för historisk forskning" 1932, no. 5/2, pp. 295–320.

<sup>6</sup> F. Braudel, *Morze Śródziemne i świat śródziemnomorski w epoce Filipa II*, vol. II, Gdańsk 1977 (*La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen a l'époque de Philippe II*, vol. 2, Paris 1949), p. 196.

... If we know the pace of displacement of infantry, cavalry and artillery, we can indicate the distance the troop can overcome in one or more days...<sup>7</sup> In this spirit, it is necessary to examine the existence of the border mountain range of the Ore Mountains, which forms the natural border between Bohemia and Saxony.

During the course of the last years of the Thirty Years' War a monumental topographic work by Matthew Merian *Topographia Germaniae* was created, containing a total number of 16 volumes published between 1642–1659.<sup>8</sup> The eleventh volume, focused on Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, which describes in a narrow or more comprehensible manner 370 places in the Czech Kingdom, is crucial for the work in question. Martin Zeiller, the author of the texts, was the protestant and Merian's court supplier of topographic material. In the introductory chapter devoted to the general description of Bohemia, the author points out that "This country has a ring of mountains with a forest [...] which gives it a border wall." As for the waters, the reader of the period would have certainly known the following rivers from among the Czech waters – the Elbe River, the Ohře River, then the Vltava River (Moldau in German) or the Lužnice River (Lainsitz in German). It is said that in their waters, one could also find a snail's shell in which a pearl was residing. According to Merian, the rivers were also a source of various kinds of excellent fish, however, they were also an important link in trading salt. For example, to describe mountains and roads, it only shows that it is possible "to travel across the entire Czech land in the space of three days from one border to the other."<sup>9</sup>

If temporarily we lose sight of the military-logistic significance of the mountain ranges, we must not miss one fact important for the understanding of the Early Modern Period of history, that the territory between the royal towns of Ústí nad Labem, Louny and Žatec and the upper towns of Jáchymov and Přísečnice is a territory with significant political, commercial and cultural ties with the Electorate of Saxony. Therefore, the outbreak of the anti-Habsburg uprising in 1618,

<sup>7</sup> G. Perjés, *Upadek středníeviečného kráľovstva Węgiei: Mohacz 1526–Buda 1541*, Oświęcim 2014 (The fall of the medieval kingdom of Hungary: Mohács 1526–Buda 1541, Columbia 1989), pp. 25–26. For the period of the Thirty Years' War, the sources are more accessible than in the case of studying Hungary in the mid-16th century. Comp. *ibidem*, p. 22.

<sup>8</sup> M. Merian, *Topographia Bohemiae, Moraviae et Silesiae. Das ist Beschreibung und eigentliche Abbildung der Vornehmsten und bekantisten Stätten und Plätze*, Franckfurt am Mein 1650 (2nd edition, 1660). In the digital form *Topographia Bohemiae, Moraviae et Silesiae*, [https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Topographia\\_Bohemiae,\\_Moraviae\\_et\\_Silesiae](https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Topographia_Bohemiae,_Moraviae_et_Silesiae) (22.10.2017) (hereinafter only *Topographia Bohemiae*).

<sup>9</sup> *Topographia Bohemiae*, pp. 3–4.

shrouded under the guise of defending religious freedom, met with a wide reaction in this non-Catholic part of the country.<sup>10</sup> The defeat of the Bohemian resistance and subsequent confiscations also resulted in extensive property changes together with the arrival of the so-called foreign nobility, which was more dependent on the Emperor.

Specifically, in the case of some towns or cities, these foreign elements in the relations go even further since the Elbe River is one of Europe's major waterways. The port city of Hamburg enabled goods from Western and Eastern Europe, the Baltic States and Scandinavia. In principle, the Elbe allowed the North and Baltic Sea connections to the centre of the continent and Ústí nad Labem to be ranked among the largest ports on this river. The area of the Elbe River Basin, made of more than 48,000 km<sup>2</sup>, occupies more than one half of the territory of today's Czech Republic. Its length is divided into two parts: the so-called small Elbe from Krkonoše (The Giant Mountains in English, Risengebirge in German) where the river springs) to the confluence with the Vltava River in Mělník; in certain places it continues as a 320-meter wide river. The Elbe gathers its real power and mightiness at the confluence with the Saal and Havola Rivers in Saxony-Anhalt. If the flow of the river at the borders of Bohemia and Saxony is 308 m<sup>3</sup>/s, it flows into the North Sea with a flowing rate of 870 m<sup>3</sup>/s. This European major river, with a length of more than 1,000 km, has thus formed a central point of Central European history and events in the cities and countries through which it was flowing and it influenced and still influences the politics, economy and culture of other places. Boat transport on the Elbe connected the Czech lands with a Hansa-controlled North Sea trade since the Middle Ages. This also ensured the economic growth of cities such as Magdeburg or Hamburg, since the goods transported down the Elbe stream were imported not only from Northern Europe, but also from Baltic countries, England and Russia.<sup>11</sup>

Early modern man could well encounter a dense network of terrestrial long-distance trails, as well as regional trails or paths. Maximum development

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<sup>10</sup> In the Žatec area, more than 90% of the aristocracy settled there joined the resistance. Comp., *Prominentní emigrant Vilém Vchynský (Kinský) a jeho majetek v severozápadních Čechách*, in: *Víra nebo Vlast? Faith or Homeland? Exile in the Czech History of Early Modern Times*, ed. M. Hrubá, Ústí nad Labem 2001, pp. 210–221. In the Žatec area, more than 90% of the nobility settled down there, were involved in the resistance.

<sup>11</sup> P. Dollinger, *Dzieje Hanzy (XII–XVII wiek)*, Gdańsk 1975 (*La Hanse (XII–XVII siècles)*, Paris 1988), pp. 217–218. Trade in these areas, for example, was the result of imports of high-quality Russian honey (e.g., 60,000 kilograms of this honey was exported from Tallinn in 1427) or wood.

has come with new urban agglomerations, which in the case of north-west Bohemia is related to the royal towns of the Podkrušnohoří (the whole territory at the foothills of the Ore Mountains). This, for example, confirms the route of the so-called White Trail along the river of the same name from Ústí nad Labem, via Most to Kadaň. In principle, it has served as a link between the above-mentioned Serbian and Erfurt paths. It passed through Kadaň, going in one direction across Žatec, Rakovník and Beroun to Praha, and in the other via Karlovy Vary and Sokolov through the Kraslice Pass to Erfurt.

From Žatec, the real crossroads of the supra-regional trails, also some other routes/trails of a regional character were emerging. Among these are the so-called “The Eger Trail” along the Ohře river to the confluence of these rivers in Litoměřice.<sup>12</sup> As a result of the availability of reports of Fynes Moryson, we can make conclusions, for instance, about the difficulties associated with the crossing of the mountains. From Dresden he could have used the river, but at the last minute he decided to hire a cab near Bad Gottleuba. The road to Ústí (nad Labem) through Petrovice led first *through the fertile lowland of the Elbe River*, followed by rocky hills with marshy forests; on the very top of the hill they found *rocky hills without any stands and a wooden milestone*.<sup>13</sup> Also the second of the English travellers, whose name was James Taylor, had “some experience with the crossing of the land border in the Marienberg and Brandenburg area”. *The Bohemian forest* had according to his measurements approximately about 10 English miles at its depth and was hardly accessible.<sup>14</sup> As he remarked, “Of all my journeys, the journey through the dark wood was the hardest for me, because the trees here grow so thickly and are so high that they are obscuring the sun, so the day seems to be a night. In some places, two miles long together, the ridge runs along floating trunks and I, having slipped, fell into the middle of the swamp.”<sup>15</sup>

The Ore Mountains area experienced the greatest colonization activity at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, when miners were brought to this area from Saxony. The process culminated in the thirties of the 16th century (1530s) by the

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<sup>12</sup> R. Květ, *Atlas starých stezek*, Brno 2017, p. 92. This Atlas of old trails/paths showed that rather than Litoměřice, The Eger/Ohře Trail crossed the Serbian Path to Doksany; J. Klápště, *Raně středověké Mostecko a síť dálkových tras*, “Archeologické rozhledy” 1985, no. 37, p. 505 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Fynes Moryson, *John Tayler. Cesta do Čech*, ed. A. Bejblík, Praha 1977 (hereinafter only *Cesta do Čech*), p. 29.

<sup>14</sup> *Cesta do Čech*, p. 188.

<sup>15</sup> *Cesta do Čech*, pp. 188–189.

great boom of cities such as Krupka, Nejdek, Hrob or Přísečnice. There were also new big "upper cities", such as Vejprty, Boží Dar, Jáchymov or Hora sv. Kateřiny. Among the smaller ones we can rank Vysluní or Mikulov. It was only at that time that the boundary line that had settled on the summits of the Ore Mountains was refined.<sup>16</sup> Today's northwestern Bohemia is also very much affected by the area of the former Žatec region. Here the most important words were the names of the four royal cities, i.e. Most, Louny, Kadaň and Žatec. The Jesuit Bohuslav Balbín also sees the town of Přísečnice as a vital centre and compares it to Thormopylae, protecting Bohemia against Meißen and Vogtland.<sup>17</sup> The question of the strategic location of the city situated directly on the land border will be elaborated upon in the next part of the submitted thesis, nevertheless Balbín draws attention in particular to the discovery of silver stocks. A great advantage, especially in the vicinity of Žatec, is the rich supply of hops and the beer called "Male", which is brewed here. The period topographer Master Pavel Stránský sees the potential of this area predominantly in agriculture, which, according to the author, might be able to compensate for any damage caused by possible crop failure.<sup>18</sup>

Communication took place not only across the mountains, but, of course, even between the towns located at the foothills of the mountains. As has already been said, there were two categories of towns – royal and liege. But that was not a hindrance when important reports appeared about the progress of the enemy army that could do harm to its *neighbours*. On April 12, 1639, a military unit (perhaps the entire regiment) of Colonel Buchheim appeared in Krupka on the route between Komáří hůrka and the former Archbishop's castle of Kyšperk (in German Geyersberg). The report arrived in Most as early as the second day. The inhabitants of Teplice, who sent the letter containing the information, reopened with the further advancement of soldiers perhaps in the direction of Ústí nad Labem. The purpose of this correspondence was to alert our inhabitants to an unexpected

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<sup>16</sup> P. Jančárek, *Česko-saská hranice v Krušných horách do třicetileté války*, in: *Čechy a Sasko v proměnách dějiny*, ed. K. Kaiserová, Ústí nad Labem 1993, pp. 133–138. The most recent source dealing with the refinement of borders and research of this issue is V. Záborský's paper called *Česko-saská hranice a její mapování v raném novověku*, in: eds. T. Velímský, K. Kaiserová, *Region na hranici*, "Acta Universitatis Purkynianae Facultatis Philosophicae. Studia Historica" 2015, no. XVI, pp. 61–74.

<sup>17</sup> *Bohuslav Balbín. Krásy a bohatství české země*, ed. Z. Tichá, H. Businská, Praha 1986, p. 231.

<sup>18</sup> *Mistra Pavla Stránského ze Zápské Stránky popravené a rozmnožené vypsání vši obce Království českého. Respublica Bojema*, ed. E. Tonner, Praha 1893, p. 42.

border movement that could mean some trouble.<sup>19</sup> As it turned out later, it was the Swedish army of Jan Banér that was approaching, which resulted in a siege of the town of Most, which was subsequently conquered.<sup>20</sup>

During the course of the Thirty Years' War, the towns constituted major economic entities, and the resulting revenues then formed a substantial part of the wartime contributions. The towns were also made use of for the winter deposition of troops and in addition to that they functioned as fortresses. That is why they carried a substantial part of the material burden and were frequent targets of destructive invasions on the part of enemy armies.<sup>21</sup> In the following few examples we will introduce the issue of winter accommodation of troops in selected cities in northwestern Bohemia at the foot of the Ore Mountains. Winter was a critical time for municipal cash desks, but also for warehouses where summer crops were stored. In this chapter, no emphasis will be placed on the origin of the occupied sections, as the differences between the imperial army and *the enemy* became minimal in the light of the advancing conflict.

Let's first introduce the most important source of information about the manner of paying the contributions. Towns or manors created, as a rule, special registers in the form of clear tables that enabled them to register their expenditure and the sums withdrawn. Certain forms of the Contributory Register have invariably appeared in the investigated municipal archives, e.g. in the case of the Teplice country estate fund deposited in the Děčín branch of the State District Archive in Litoměřice, in which case it is a comprehensive set of registers. Admittedly,

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<sup>19</sup> SOKA Most, the Archive of the City of Most (hereinafter only SOKA Most), AM Most, Inv. no. 1536, Ch. 11.

<sup>20</sup> To the mutual contradiction of Swedish and local urban literary sources – J. Hofman, *Banérova korespondence jako pramen k válečným událostem let 1639 a 1640*, in: V. Prchal, *Mezi Martem a Memorií. Sources of a personal nature to military history, 16th–19th centuries*, Pardubice 2011, pp. 61–62. Comp. SOKA Most, AM Most, Inv. no. 1538, Ch. 11. *Rikskansleren Axel Oxenstiernas. Skrifter och brevexling VI. Johan Baners bref 1624–1641*, ed. P. Sondén, Stockholm 1883 (hereinafter only AOSOB VI.), p. 652 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Especially Václav Ledvinka contributed to the role of Czech cities in the early modern era, see the collected works *Města a šlechta ve středověku a raném novověku. Výbor statí Václava Ledvinky*, ed. K. Jišová, "Documenta Pragensia" 2016, Supplementa VII. Further also the collected works of J. Kilián, *Města, třicetiletá válka a středoevropská historiografie uplynulého čtvrtstoletí*, "Documenta Pragensia" 2013, no. XXXII/2, pp. 125–138. On the example of Mělník, see J. Kilián, *Město ve válce, válka ve městě...* For the contribution to some of the towns located in the Labe River valley see M. Ďurčanský, *Česká města a jejich správa za třicetileté války...* The city management is shown on the example of the city of Göttingen, see N. Winnige, *Wirtschaften im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Das Beispiel Göttingen*, in: *Zwischen Alltag und Katastrophe. Der Dreißigjährige Krieg aus der Nähe*, eds. B. von Krusenstjern, H. Medick, Göttingen 1999, pp. 273–306.



it is not the most popular type of source, but we can consider it to be substantial by virtue of detail. Not only does it contain references to the residence of a given unit in the city and its surroundings, but above all it gives reasons for the amount paid. From this, we can discern the final assessment of the stay, because we can compare the individual prices with other cities or periods. Although it is not the most popular type of source, we can still consider it to be essential in terms of its detail. Not only does it contain references to the residence of a given unit in the city and its surroundings, but above all it gives reasons for paying the amount. From this, we can afterwards proceed (though not completely), while preparing the final assessment of the stay of the relevant military unit in the town, as we can compare individual prices with other cities or periods. But still, expenditures can be compared with (the) Imperial War Council regulations regarding recommended allowances for individuals in the form of differently defined *portions*. In modern terminology, we would call this *a food package*, in which it is also necessary to include services in the form of, for example, candles or wood for heating. The research possibilities of this type of source differ. In the examples below, some will be examined more closely.

The Swedish invasion of Bohemia led by Johann Gustafsson Banér at the turn of 1639 and 1640 has already been dealt with many times in literature. However, fewer references are made to the role of the towns lying on the Ohře River, which provided for the connection between the troops inland (at the so-called Elbe Fortress) and the troops in Saxony. This was also the reason for establishing a special staff (headquarters) inside these agglomerations. For the following paragraphs, the town of Kadaň is important, since a comprehensive register of expenditure withdrawals has been preserved there for the functioning of the office of Hans Christoff Königsmarck and later for that of Johann Banér.<sup>22</sup> The Second Register, containing also the costs resulting from involuntary expenditures incurred for the otherwise unknown Swedish Colonel, later Freedman, Hans Wachtmeister of Björkö, is dated between December 26, 1639, and January 26, 1640.<sup>23</sup>

We are only made aware of Hans Wachtmeister from the Czech environment of this period, but his influence in Central Europe was definitely much longer.<sup>24</sup> He most probably set out on a journey to the shores of northern Germany in the

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<sup>22</sup> The State District Archive in Chomutov, based in Kadaň (hereinafter only SOkA Chomutov), The Archive of the Town of Kadaň (MA Kadaň), Inv. no. 1037/C4, Ch. 18.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, A III 57. The register without pagination.

<sup>24</sup> At least it is not mentioned in different editions of the resources.

summer of 1634, when the replacement of military units was under way. Probably he came here as the Colonel, or the “supreme” commander of the cavalry regiment, with whom he participated in the battle of Nördlingen the same year, and apparently also two years later at the Battle of Wittstock. In 1634, Axel Oxenstierna refers to him as General-Major of the Infantry.<sup>25</sup> This remarkable military career, which earned him the title of *free lord from Björkö* later, in 1651, continued even into the 1640s. At that time he was already fighting the Danes in the Lund territory. In Hallestat, in 1644, he even took vigorous (and unscrupulous) action against a group of about 300 peasants who were fortified in the city. Wachtmeister had the entire village burned, and this action was followed by the massacre of the locals, from whom only some of the elders survived and several children.<sup>26</sup>

Also, during the sudden Swedish attack of Bohemia he was not afraid to turn against the local inhabitants relentlessly, although his action turned only against financial benefits. Kadaň became the place where the contributions from many of the surrounding areas were made throughout the the whole winter period. Certainly the Ostrov Demesme, located in the then Loket region, contributed to the cost of the maintenance of the head-quarters.<sup>27</sup> The wealthy town of Jáchymov, which *had to follow an example of surrounding towns*, since it had to transfer minimal payments of 330 Imperial thalers, which amounted to the sum of 60 thalers per week.<sup>28</sup> The writers of those records were undoubtedly thinking of Přísečnice or Výsluní when mentioning the surrounding towns. However, Kadaň had suffered severe damage as early as the spring of the previous year and therefore it was very complicated for this town to hunt for financial funds for the maintenance of the sections (military units).<sup>29</sup>

Nevertheless Kadan itself (along with its inhabitants) had to carry the entire burden of all the needs, which is confirmed by the quoted Register, serving

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<sup>25</sup> *Rikskansleren Axel Oxenstiernas. Skrifter och brefvexling, Bd. 12: juni–december 1634*, ed. E. Blumfeldt, Stockholm 1977, p. 329.

<sup>26</sup> P. Englund, *Nepokojná léta*, Praha 1993, p. 328.

<sup>27</sup> *Prameny k dějinám třicetiletá války VI.*, (Ed. V. Líba), Praha 1955, p. 26. Dated 24.01.1640.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 27. Dated 31.01.1640.

<sup>29</sup> *Prameny k dějinám třicetileté války V.*, (Ed. V. Líba), Praha 1954 (hereinafter only *Prameny V.*), p. 231. The destruction is related to the lightning attack carried out in March 1639 towards Chomutov and Jirkov. A certain Swedish *lieutenant*, who lived in Annaberg, *bothered* those places as late as November of that year, even during the ongoing invasion. Nevertheless, it is difficult to judge whether it is the case of the above mentioned commander Hans Wachtmeister. *Comp. Prameny V.*, p. 339. In addition, the town of Přísečnice was damaged by the battle in the spring of 1641.

originally as a an inventory of the damage caused by the monthly residence of some 1,500 riders and 12 infantry companies under the command of Jan Wachtmeister. Above all, it was a violent penetration into the barges and barns in the city and the suburbs. The population had often been prepared for such situations, and the habitation of valuables in forests or fortified sites had become common practice. It has traditionally been expensive valuables, tools needed for livelihood, and so on.<sup>30</sup> It was only after the ravaging and calming of the situation that the time came for the regular fees and the contribution of the beaten grain that the soldiers used to infuse themselves and the horses. In addition to this loss, the townsfolk had to observe further non specific property damage.<sup>31</sup> The total sum of the damage at the end of the inventory reveals the sum of 60, 267 zl. (i.e. In German Rheinischer Gulden – the currency of the Rhineland; in Bohemia called Rýnský zlatý, hence the abbreviation “zl.”) and 53 kreutzers.<sup>32</sup> However, a total of 6,490 zl. and 30 kreutzers was allocated to the highest commander Hans Wachtmeister and his staff.<sup>33</sup>

By the same token of interest, the numbers of bushels of grain allotted to army are taken into consideration.<sup>34</sup> Assuming that one bushel is a unit of approximately 94 litres (but there are various conversions where the value varies between 90–120 litres), then 12,920 bushels levied/raised by burghers had undoubtedly a considerable impact upon the entire urban management.<sup>35</sup> Although a large part of the population in the early modern city was engaged in agriculture, the villages still remained the most important source of foodstuffs. Not to mention the possibility of better storage of grain (corn) in villages, prior to its grinding.<sup>36</sup> And it was from the surrounding villages that most of the bushels of

<sup>30</sup> In connection with this matter a number of examples can be found in *Paměti krupského měšťana Michela Stüelera (1629–1649)*, ed. J. Kilián, Teplice–Dolní Břežany 2013 [*Michel Stüeler Gedenkbuch (1629–1649). Alltagsleben in Böhmen zur Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*, Göttingen 2014] (hereinafter only *Paměti*) or in *Martina Škvoreckého, úředníka na Pacově, hospodářská korespondence z dob války třicetileté*, ed. F. Teplý, Praha 1928.

<sup>31</sup> SOKA Chomutov, AM Kadaň, Inv. no. 1037/C4, Ch. 18, A III 57, fol. 1r.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 11r.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 10v. Without specification of costs.

<sup>34</sup> The German equivalent is used in the register, i.e. *strich*.

<sup>35</sup> SOKA Chomutov, AM Kadaň, Inv. no. 1037/C4, Ch. 18, A III 57, fol. 11r.

<sup>36</sup> J. Honc, *Problémy studia mezd a cen chlebového obilí v 17. a 18. století*, “Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Studia Historica” 1997, no. XVII, pp. 51–90. For more facts about Kadaň in the 18th century see J. Křivka, *Ceny obilí a luštěnin v Kadani, Lounech, Ústěku a Podbořanech v letech 1712–1792*, “Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Studia Historica” 1997, no. XVII, pp. 91–108.

corn emanated. By means of such a list of villages falling under the category of royal city, we are able to find out the real extent of the settlement system needed to ensure that the located military units were fed. Due to the fact that it was one of the larger mounted details/battalions, we can also assume the division of their horses and riders into the nearest yards and stables.

On account of its significant position within important international trails, Kadaň became one of the nerve centres of Baner's campaign in Bohemia for the winter and spring period between 1639 and 1640. Hans Wachtmeister was to control from there the supplies delivered to the main army stationed at Brandýs nad Labem and was also to arrange for the military protection of the side of this military body by covering a great portion of the then Litoměřice region. He also worked with Field Marshal Gustav Horn and Arvid Wittenberg.<sup>37</sup> In addition to this, Kadaň later helped the Swedish troops to retreat to Saxony.

If Kadaň was an important centre for terrestrial international traffic, the same applies to shipping in Ústí nad Labem. By the end of the Thirty Years' War, like most other cities, Ústí nad Labem had also been financially and materially exhausted by several protracted stays of troops and their very demanding support for those military units.<sup>38</sup> As in other cases, even in Ústí nad Labem it does not mean that the whole military unit was staying in one place. As has already been mentioned, a member of each staff of the regiment was a Quartermaster (in German *Furrier*) who decided on a particular layout of soldiers in villages and houses. Sometime in the mid-1630s, the part of the Infantry Regiment of the Earl (Ernst Georg?) Sparr was in the vicinity of Ústí.<sup>39</sup> The entire record captures the layout and the number of portions designated for individual ranks and ordinary soldiers.

<sup>37</sup> AOSOB VI., pp. 728–729. Such trust from Baner testifies, among other things, to the position of the mentioned Wachtmeister.

<sup>38</sup> Especially K. Jahnel contributes to older history of the city in his book *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg in Aussig und Umgebung*, Prag 1903; F.J. Umlauf, *Geschichte der Deutschen Stadt Aussig*, Bayreuth 1960; idem, *Vom Dreißigjährigen kriege bis zum Jahre 1850*, "Heimatkunde des Bezirkes Aussig" 1931, no. 3. Most recently, M. Veselý contributes to military history in his work *Vojenské dějiny Ústecka*, Ústí nad Labem 2003. In June 1647, even the burghers received a Certificate of Protection from the commander of the Swedish Army Karel Gustav Wrangle. Comp. The Archive of the town of Ústí nad Labem (AM Ústí nad Labem), Inv. no. 3523, Ch. 93.

<sup>39</sup> The Archive of the City of Ústí nad Labem, abbreviated as AM Ústí nad Labem, Inv. no. 3521, Ch. 93. The archivists set the date of the document for the years 1634–1636, for the submitted work, however, this is not a substantial element. Unfortunately, we do not even know whether the author is Arnost Jiří Sparr or Otto Kryštof Sparr. In the period of time mentioned above, none of them were present there according to the available data. As the first one Arnošt Jiří appeared as early as August 40. Comp. DBBTI IV, p. 369, n. 1072.

Inside the city, the company remained with a portion of 60 servings, with most of them (15) being consumed used by Seargent (Obrister Wachmeister) Johann Werner. The ordinary soldier was entitled to only one serving, Sergeant for 5 servings and Corporal for 2.<sup>40</sup> As it appears from the list of places, parts of the regiment were deployed over much of today's district of Ústí nad Labem, for example in Petrovice or Přestanov. Of the total number of 200 men, the city and 5 villages averaged 33 soldiers per place. According to the size of the portions, it was undoubtedly just a short-term stay and comparatively unpretentious compared to the heavy quarters of the Swedish and Imperial troops in the 1640s.

The town of Chomutov became a symbol of war rampage in Northwest Bohemia. Thus, within a few years, one of the largest Czech towns became a settlement with only a few families and huge/large debts.<sup>41</sup> Local officials wrote a moratorium several times to the Emperor, asking for a cutback from paying taxes and installing sections, referring to the few burghers living inside the city, and very poor living conditions.<sup>42</sup> The turn of the 1634 and 1635 turned into a heavy blow, although it may seem that in general this period was quite peaceful. The year 1634, however, was marked by confusion associated with the fundamental reorganization of the Imperial army after the Wallenstein removal. In addition, Northwest Bohemia was attacked by the joint Swedish-Saxon-Brandenburg army in the late summer of the same year. Krupka chronicler wrote about this summer: "... it was a disconsolate, dejected, sad and miserable year ... also a very dry year".<sup>43</sup> Poor crops in the toughest times of the "little ice age" have failed to feed the farmer with his farm, let alone hundreds and thousands of soldiers.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Ibidem, fol. 1r. For more details about the sizes of servings, see the text below.

<sup>41</sup> Chomutov in the period of time before the Battle of White Mountain belonged among 10–12 Bohemian and Moravian towns with a population ranging from 5 to 8 thousand. These numbers ranked this town among the largest in the countries of the Bohemian Crown. Comp. E. Maur, *Obyvatelstvo českých zemí v raném novověku. Třicetiletá válka*, p. 99.

<sup>42</sup> SOKA Chomutov, AM Chomutov, Inv. no. 1573, Ch. 231, Moratoria. For the Moratorium see Otto Dictionary 17, p. 599.

<sup>43</sup> *Paměti*, p. 243, fol. 101.

<sup>44</sup> G. Parker, *Global Crisis. War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century*, Yale 2013.

Table 1. Monthly Expenditure of the City of Ústí nad Labem for Infantry and Cavalry in the year 1648

What the Staff of the highest Colonel of the Cavalry required per month	zl. (Czech abbreviation for German currency)	Horses
Colonel (Obrister)	450	12
Lieutenant-Colonel (Obrister Leutenant)	120	8
Seargent (Obrister Wachtmeister)	50	6
Quartermater (Quartiermeister)	40	3
Chaplain (Caplan)	20	2
Secretary (Secretario)	20	2
Wagon Master (Wagenmeister)	18	2
Purser (Proviantmeister)	18	2
Profous with his people (Profous sambt seines Leuthen)	40	5
The Emperor's Commissary of Regiment (Item des Kays. Regiment Comisario)	150	4
Total Sum	956	48
For Infantry Company (Battalion) per month (auf ein Compagnia zu fuß Monatlicher)		Kreutzers
Captain (Hauptman)	140	3
Lieutenant (Leutenant)	45	2
Colour Bearer/Standard Bearer (Fendrich)	38	2
Seargent (Feldwebel)	20	
Führer*	13	
Quartermaster (Fourhrir)	13	
Corporal (Corporal)	12	
Company Clerk (Musterschreiber)	12	
Commander (Feldherr)	12	
Musicians (Spilleleuthe)	7	30
Privats (Knechten)	6	30
Contributions to the Staff and Company cash desk (Item vor die Regiment Casa auf und Comp. Monathlich)	150	
Total	464	7

\* "Führer" can be translated as "Leader" or "Guide". In general, he is taken as the Ancient Colour Bearer representative. For problematic translation, the original German term was left in the table. Comp. T. Koch, *Vojenské hodnosti za Třicetileté války*, <http://www.mortaigne.com/vojenske-hodnosti-za-tricetilete-valky.a178.html> (9.03.2018).

Source: according to the Archive of the City of Ústí nad Labem, Inv. no. 3520.

The insertion of one half of the regiment of the General Field Officer Rudolf Morzin of the size of four companies apparently directly into the city and the remainder to the surrounding places undoubtedly took place after the New Year of

1635.<sup>45</sup> Their stay captured in the below quoted Register provides important information applicable to the logistics of the Army smaller sections/troops. It offers an insight into the economy of the military body in the mid-1630's in Bohemia, but it also allows assessment of the impact of regulations issued by the Imperial Army's Supreme Command on the supply and maintenance of these units. The Regiment at the time of the mercenary armies resembled more an organizational unit than a combat group.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, the inner structure was formed rather by individuals carrying out non-combat functions. According to the amount of financial rewards referred to/quoted in the Register, the field officer with 12 zl. had the best position immediately after the Colonel as the supreme commander of the entire regiment with a salary of 30 zl. per week.<sup>47</sup> The staff also consisted of officials, among whom we can include a Quarter Master (7 zl. per week), a Secretary (4 zl.) or a Profous (8 zl.) with his Commissioner (5 zl.). Quite apart from any struggle, the Chaplain stood in the regiment hierarchy between the Secretary and the Quarter Master.<sup>48</sup> The whole staff remained/stayed in Chomutov for a period of 22 weeks and accounts for approximately one tenth of the total money withdrawn for the army contributions, i.e. the expenditure referred to in the Register

Similar conditions were in companies (e.g. in battalions). These were often defined according to the name of their Captains and that's why we often meet Ullersdorf or Müller's Company in the register. Naturally, it was them who received the highest sums, for example, the Governor mentioned by Müller's Company lost a total of 136 zl. between 29 January and 16 June. After these followed the ranks falling in the officer corps, i.e. the Lieutenant and the Colonel, who received 60 and 50 zl. In addition, non-commissioned officers, such as the Feldwöbel (21 zl.) or the hardly identifiable rank of Führer (12 zl.).<sup>49</sup> The sums mentioned in the

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<sup>45</sup> Prameny V., p. 356. Distribution of winter quarters. Comp. Ibidem, p. 369, which shows the situation at the end of May. For the period from January to June, the record of expenditure was preserved. SOkA Chomutov, AM Chomutov, Inv. no. 1573, Ch. 231. Spezifikation und Verzeichniss ... Anno 1635.

<sup>46</sup> At this point it is possible to use a more modern Czech term "pluk" in the original text instead of the older term "regiment".

<sup>47</sup> SOkA Chomutov, AM Chomutov, Inv. no. 1573, Ch. 231, Index, fol. 1r.

<sup>48</sup> Ibidem, fol. 1r. For more details about the forming of regiments see H. Langer, *Hortus Bellicus. Der Dreißigjährige Krieg. Eine Kulturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1978, pp. 92–102.

<sup>49</sup> SOkA Chomutov, AM Chomutov, Inv. no. 1573, Ch. 231, Index, fol. 3v. For a more detailed description of military ranks in the Thirty Years' War see T. Koch, *Vojenské hodnosti za Tricetileté války I–II*, <http://www.mortaigne.com/vojenke-hodnosti-za-tricetilete-valky.a178.html>, <http://www.mortaigne.com/vojenke-hodnosti-za-tricetilete-valky-ii.a179.html> (5.09.2017).

Register, kept according to their to the settled amounts, are apparently referred to in the Colonel's patent and therefore their level in the Register of records is essentially unaltered. In contrast to this, however, are the amounts issued per weeks although they are also subject to a steady coefficient. For example, the lieutenant was entitled to 5 and 1/2 zl. every week, which after the 19th week amounted to a total sum of 104 zl. and 30 kr.<sup>50</sup>

The number of ordinary soldiers present was diverse. Because of the very frequent reporting of totally unrealistic numbers, their records were requested by the supreme command of the imperial army.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, we can assume that the figures are at least reasonable. Most soldiers stayed in Chomutov in the period between January and February, and there should have been approximately 977 men who were enrolled between 3rd January and 12th February. By the departure of approximately 340 men from three battalions and another less-known reduction in the number of enlisted men the city crew dropped to 565 soldiers. Next month, however, 80 men at arms arrived, and the status rose to 646. The least mercenaries in the city were in the spring months of April and May, when it was already possible to send soldiers, who were retreating there in order to protect themselves from cold winter weather, to smaller villages and war camps. In terms of finance, 1 zl. and 30 kr. was left per one soldier a week, without any further claims for food, beer or wine. The question remains whether these costs were tallied with the subsequent purchase of needs or whether they were already included in this amount. The second option is more likely, since, according to some reports, the town issued to this regiment, among other things, 300 pieces of bread before the Register was introduced.<sup>52</sup>

According to the prescribed nutritional rations of May 1635, it included one daily serving of 1,5 pounds of bread, the Maß (German term) of wine (or possibly even 2 Mäzen of beer) and, in case meat was not available, it should be replaced

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<sup>50</sup> SOkA Chomutov, AM Chomutov, Inv. no. 1573, Ch. 231, Index, fol. 3.

<sup>51</sup> This proposal was presented by Don Baltazar Marradas. Comp. Prameny V., p. 354. 29 XII 1634.

<sup>52</sup> The North Bohemian District Archive Chomutov (SOkA Chomutov), i.e. MA Chomutov, Inv. no. 1574, Ch. 232, 1634 Militär Verpflegung und Unkosten. A report of supplies at the order of Jakub Rentner, captain of one of the accommodated battalions. This report was attached as a single document. Comp. SOkA Chomutov, AM Chomutov, Inv. no. 1573, Ch. 231, Index, fol. 2v. Chomutov and even in the preceding regiments were supplied with hundreds of pieces of bread. The definitive layout of the Quarters occurred only after the New Year of 1635.



Table 2. Expenditure of the Town of Chomutov for the Staff of the Moorzin Regiment (from 3.01 to 16.06.1635)

Organizational unit of the regiment:	Expenditure (zl.)
To the highest Obrister for a period of 19 weeks with an amount of 30 zl. per each week	570
For one month according to the patent	120
To the Obrister Wachtmeister for a period of 19 weeks with an amount of 3 zl. per each week	228
For one month according to the patent	40
To Quartiermeister for 19 weeks with an amount of 7 zl. per each week	133
To the regimental Caplan for 23 weeks, i.e. an amount of 6 zl. per each week	138
To the regimental Secretario for a period of 19 weeks with an amount of 4 zl. per each week	76
For one whole month	24
To Profous and his staff for a period of 19 weeks with an amount of 8 zl. per each week	152
For one whole month	60
To the Proviantmaster for 19 weeks, i. e. 5 zl. per each week	95
For one whole month	40
For the Staff Wagon Master for a period of 19 weeks, i. e. 4 zl. per each week	76
For one whole month	24
In 19 weeks a lieutenant-officer received, i. e. 7 zl. per each week	158
For one whole month	60
To Stabhalter* in 23 weeks. Each week 3 zl.	69
To the judge and his assistants from 18th April until 16th June, i. e. an amount of 3 zl. per each week	51
For 19 weeks the regiment <i>consumed</i> 851 acres**	
1 zl. per each acre	851
The total sum for a half regiment	3228

\* The function related to law Unspecified function has not been specified in greater detail.

\*\* They have not specified in greater detail what has been consumed. Most frequently they referred to food for horses (fodder).

Source: SOkA Chomutov/Kadaň, AM Chomutov, Inv. no. 1573, Ch. 231, fol. 1y.

by 20 kreutzers per week.<sup>53</sup> After that date, in Chomutov, money was collected for the battalion of Count Michna (i.e. at the strength of 87 men) residing in this town between 25th April and 16th June.<sup>54</sup> According to the annex to this Reg-

<sup>53</sup> Prameny V., p. 369. Dated 28.05.1635. Regulation issued by Ferdinand III.

<sup>54</sup> SOkA Chomutov, AM Chomutov, Inv. no. 1573, kt. 231, Index, fol. 9r. It is unfortunately not specified whether Paul Michna of Vacínov (Inspector of troops reserves) or Gerog Wilhelm Michna of Vacínov (Chief Captain over royal estates in Bohemia).

ister, 106 portions totalling 888 zl. So, if the company was present for a total of 17 weeks, then one serving would go up to 1 zl. and 12 kreutzers (and a total of 1,412 zl).<sup>55</sup> However, other amounts are listed in the abovementioned Register and thus a total of 1,278 zl. were disbursed, according to this source, for the whole military unit (battalion).<sup>56</sup> There are some discrepancies in the resulting sums, probably due to a two-year delay in writing this report of 1637 on debts concerning the debts left over to this city.<sup>57</sup> The final report sent by the Czech governor to Prague reported total loss of 34,102 zl. without services, which corresponds to the total sum in the traced/monitored register.

In total, Chomutov was badly affected by this stay. Nevertheless, some other factors had contributed to this situation as well. It was especially the presence of a large number of different regiments throughout the border zone in the case of defense against sudden raids or invasions. A great number of towns had crews which controlled a considerable part of the city's walls. In the summer of 1635, for example, the town of Most had to ask the Emperor to save this town from paying contributions temporarily since the town was *totally exhausted and completely ruined*,<sup>58</sup> or Teplice, which during the first half of the 1630s turned into *a wrong quarter*.<sup>59</sup> According to a report sent from the office of Emperor Ferdinand III, the Czech Governor (or Vice-Regent) of March 1635, many cities fought against the uneven distribution of the army in Bohemia. The strongest regiments were said to be sent to the most affected areas, while the regions less damaged by the war had to feed weaker military units.<sup>60</sup> And even though the town of Chomutov appeared on the list of towns and estates that had been freed from the duty to provide quarters for the army, even as early as April several hundred soldiers were located there.<sup>61</sup> It had become almost the rule that even though cities – such as Louny – were completely impoverished and deserted, soldiers used to collect wood for heating and take it away from the remnants of burgher houses. Thus

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<sup>55</sup> Rounded. According to SOkA Chomutov, AM Chomutov, Inv. no. 1573, Ch. 231, Index, Appendix no. 2.

<sup>56</sup> SOkA Chomutov, AM Chomutov, Inv. no. 1573, Ch. 231, Index, fol. 9r.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, Index, Appendix no. 2.

<sup>58</sup> Comp. SOkA Most, Inv. no. 1533, Ch. 11. The Borri regiment was located in Most until the end of March.

<sup>59</sup> Prameny V., p. 356. The Division of Quarters (Apartments). Apparently, this is an allusion of the destruction of the city by the Lamboy regime after the Cheb events in February 1634.

<sup>60</sup> Prameny V., p. 364.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 364–365. From northwestern Bohemia, this town became probably the only one.

the town of Louny could continue to offer comfortable accommodation to senior officers or support their diplomatic negotiations. Economically, however, these cities were completely at rock bottom.<sup>62</sup>

War contributions as a means of solving the material and financial security of the armies influenced, to a great extent, the life of the whole city and its surroundings. Obtaining requisitions could take place on the basis of the Commander's orders under the threat of sanctions, or the worst scenario, in the form of looting. The financial demands were a decisive part of the city budget, which frequently led to impoverishment and indebtedness. After all, even after the end of the war, an astronomical sum of 500,000 zl. per year was returned to the army.<sup>63</sup> In 1651, Ulrich Sezim Skuhrovsky of Skuhrov, Vice-Chamberlain, refers to 19 free cities, whose total debt was 11,603,435 zl. The most indebted town was Most, which was expected to pay 2,292,906 zl. The town of Litomeřice receivables came to almost 865,000 zl.<sup>64</sup>

Nevertheless, the High Command/Headquarters may have hardly relieved the cities in northwestern Bohemia due to the constant threat from Saxony. Especially if, like Kadaň<sup>65</sup> or Teplice, they held strategically important points for international trails. The need to secure the northwest border of the Habsburg hereditary lands fell only after the signing of the so-called Prague Peace Treaty in May 1635, when Saxony returned to the side of the Emperor.<sup>66</sup> At the same time, however, in April of the same year, a co-operative agreement between France, Sweden and the Protestant princes in the Empire was signed in Compiègne, making the Thirty Years' War a definitive affair for the whole of Europe.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Louny, ed. B. Roedl, Prague 2005, pp. 133–149. Louny k Louny, specifically at the beginning of the war, were made use of by Albrecht of Wallenstein as a deterrent when pacifying Northwest Bohemia. At the same time, he took away a rich supply of high quality wine, which he then sold advantageously. Comp. SOKA Louny, the Archives of the Town of Louny (AM Louny), sign. I E 19 (1608–1621), pp. 287–288.

<sup>63</sup> J. Polišenský, *Tricetiletá válka a český národ*, Praha 1960, p. 203. However, we must bear in mind the participation of the Habsburg forces, for example in the Swedish-Polish War (1655–1660).

<sup>64</sup> Idem, *Tricetiletá válka a evropské krize 17. stol.*, p. 223.

<sup>65</sup> Commander Filip had his headquarters there.

<sup>66</sup> For the text of the so called Prague Peace of 1635 see Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte Mainz [http://www.ieg-friedensvertraege.de/treaty/1635%20V%2030%20Friedensvertrag%20von%20Prag%20\(Dresden\)/t-325-1-de.html?h=6](http://www.ieg-friedensvertraege.de/treaty/1635%20V%2030%20Friedensvertrag%20von%20Prag%20(Dresden)/t-325-1-de.html?h=6) (9.09.2017).

<sup>67</sup> C.V. Wedgwood, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg*, Hamburg 2011, p. 343. The heavy defeat at Nördlingen (September 6, 1634) meant a threat to their superhuman policy for the Swedes, and this treaty meant “the journey to Canosa” for A. Oxenstiern J.-P. Findeisen, *Axel Oxenstierna. Architekt der schwedischen Grossmacht-Ära und Sieger des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, Gernsbach

To assess the importance of this area in the whirl of the Thirty Years' War, we have to say that it assumes an exceptional place within the Habsburg states in Central Europe. Apart from its natural border with Saxony, it was one of the well-defendable positions before the enemy invasion the the countries of the Bohemian Crown, or subsequently before the campaign to Vienna. The local network of royal towns was an advantageous location for the retention of armies. When talking about the role of cities and large estates at that time, both of them became the economic base of the army's retention. We would hardly find a city that was not affected by the Thirty Years' War. However, only after comparing several entities – in this case, the cities of Chomutov, Kadaň and Teplice, we can attain an overview of the urban burden within the region. The cities were selected according to their location on the country trails, the course of which was subjected to a characteristic climb (gradient) on the peaks of the Ore Mountains. By interpreting the sources of urban origin, every city was completely destroyed or uninhabitable and impossible to provide the army with more 'quarters', and the like. Only after comparing the supra-regional interpretation, do we come to the conclusion that only Chomutov was in a situation of total disintegration and was for a few years waived the duty to carry out war obligations.

The result of the submitted thesis is a view of the area of northwestern Bohemia during the second half of the Thirty Years' War through individual characteristics of this. It is far from being a comprehensive and exhaustive description of the events in the defined space and time. On the contrary, places, people, and events have been chosen to illustrate the uniqueness or exclusivity of the Ore Mountains and the whole area of Podkrušnohoří (the territory at the foot of the the Ore Mountains) at that time. This examination of military history was not only aimed at the the spiritless description of warlike actions, but to study and examine everything that was in the background. It is possible to say, making use of the words of Fernando Braudel: it is necessary... "to investigate the few years of preparation, all the economic, scientific, technical, and social process of progress, so that an unexpected attack against the enemy might happen".<sup>68</sup>

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2007, p. 323. To learn more about the course of the Battle of Nördlingen see H.O. Lund, *Dynastia wojowników. Wojny Szwecji 1611–1721*, Poznań 2015 [*Warrior dynasty: the rise and fall of Sweden as a military superpower (1611–1721)*], Philadelphia 2014], pp. 178–179; P. Englund, *Nepokojná léta...*, pp. 134–139.

<sup>68</sup> F. Braudel, *Morze Śródziemne...*, p. 196.

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## **ROLA MILITARNA RUDAW PODCZAS WOJNY TRZYDZIESTOLETNIJ**

### **ABSTRAKT**

Rudawy Czeskie były obszarem, na którym w pełni zastosowano wczesną nowoczesną logistykę wojenną. Zebrane składki podlegały ścisłemu nadzorowi i inwentaryzacji ze strony miasta lub urzędników państwowych, na co istnieją dowody w postaci dokumentów wytwarzanych przez rozbudowywaną biurokrację wczesnego nowoczesnego państwa. W tym czasie Rudawy, jako łącznik między Saksonią a Czechami, ponosiły obciążenie wojenne w znacznym stopniu.

## **MILITARY ROLE OF THE ORE MOUNTAINS IN THIRTY YEARS' WAR**

### **ABSTRACT**

Therefore, the Czech Ore Mountains, represented an area where means of early modern wartime logistics had been fully applied. The collected contributions were subject to strict supervision and inventory on the side of the city or state officials, for which the documentary evidence is provided by the increasing bureaucratization of the early modern state. At that time the Ore Mountains as a link between Saxony and Bohemia were carrying a considerable (definitely not negligible) degree of the war load.