

## CONFERENCE PAPERS ABSTRACTS

Klára ANDRESOVÁ (Charles University Prague)

### *The Dissemination of Military Theory in the Early Modern Period: Military Handbooks of the 16th and 17th Century in Bohemian Lands and Central Europe*

Military handbooks are one of the genres of educational literature that have been produced since antiquity and are still being published today. Their dissemination started to be faster and cheaper after the invention of the printing press. In Central Europe, the first modern military manuals were printed in the 1520s. The number of new titles gradually increased, and from about the 1590s, it is possible to speak of a boom of this genre. By the 17th century, military handbooks were already included in the libraries of many noblemen and scholars and can be described as one of the means by which contemporary military theory was disseminated in society. The growth of the number of new titles was influenced by the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). Not too long after its beginning, the publication of military manuals declined as a result of the economic crisis and probably because it was easier to learn about the period warfare directly during the campaign than through theoretical literature. The post-war period was a time of the revival of the successful titles of previous decades (now often outdated) and the emergence of new books, the purpose and form of which, however, often differed from the older titles of the genre under study. The aim of this paper is to characterize the development of military handbooks in the 16th and 17th centuries, focusing mainly on their Central European printed production. Attention will be paid, among other things, to the fact that books of this genre were published only rarely in the Habsburg Monarchy. Some military writings were disseminated in manuscript form there, but mostly the people interested in military theory were saturated by the import of books from Western Europe.

Markus Friedrich JEITLER (Austrian Academy of Sciences Vienna)

### *The Manoeuvres and the "Lagerreise" of 1804 in Bohemia and Moravia*

From the end of August to the end of September 1804, large-scale military manoeuvres took place near Brno and Prague, to which Emperor Franz II/I and his wife Maria Theresa, as well as several archdukes (Ludwig, Carl, Ferdinand of Austria-Este, Maximilian of Austria-Este) and military personnel from allied countries (e.g. Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia) travelled. This great enterprise is surprisingly well documented from the point of view of both the imperial court and the military (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien, Kriegsarchiv Wien) and can therefore be examined from both these points of view. This primarily concerns extensive records of the court economy (accounts, reports) and several sets of plans depicting and describing the manoeuvres near Prague. As an intersection of both aspects, the third area can be various occasions such as court banquets or the presentation of embroidered ribbons by the empress in the course of a flag dedication (presumably of the chevauleger regiment no. 6). The preserved guest lists of the court tables can also provide an insight into the networks of the imperial-royal military at the time, in that invited persons and seating arrangements may allow conclusions to be drawn about certain party formations during a brief period of peace during the Napoleonic coalition wars. In addition, various courtly events, such as visits to the theatre in Prague, shed light on the social environment and its ceremonial requirements. All in all, the archival records on the "Lagerreise" and the manoeuvres thus offer an extremely informative source not only

for researching different aspects of the courtly-civilian and the military side, but also on the court's connections with the imperial-royal military, which will be presented in the planned lecture.

Jacek JĘDRYSIAK (University of Wrocław)

*Transport of Austrian Regiments to Moravia by railway in 1846*

The outbreak of the Polish uprising in Krakow in 1846 caused common countermeasures from the part of all three partitioning powers. They quickly turned into a serious military operation, including the mobilization and concentration of numerous troops. During the operation, Austria and Prussia used the railway to transport the army. It was perhaps the first time in history that a new means of transport was used for operational purposes. The case of Austrian transport was mentioned in the existing literature only by Burkhard Köster. Unfortunately, his presentation is very brief. This researcher stated that in the face of the order to concentrate the corps for operations in Galicia, Infantry Regiments Polombini Nr. 36, Graf Latour Nr. 28, Erzherzog Rainer Nr. 59 were transported by railway from the Czech area to Olomouc in Moravia, and Infantry Regiment Deutschmeister Nr. 4 was transported the same way from Vienna to Leipnik. Both groups arrived 16 days earlier than a classic foot march would have predicted. The purpose of this presentation is to discuss the details of this transport and to compare its aspects with the parallel activities of the Prussian army. It will also be an opportunity to present the degree of development of the railway network in Bohemia and Moravia, including their ability to handle military transports. The realization of these goals is possible thanks to the detailed reports preserved in the materials of *Hofkriegsrath* from *Kriegsarchiv* in Vienna.

Lothar HÖBELT (University of Vienna)

*"Warewolves" and their Masters: Peasant Resistance in Bohemia at the end of the Thirty Years War*

17th century conflicts have become infamous for marauding soldiers and the ensuing 'desastres de la guerre'. The other side of the coin was peasant resistance, the "Schnapphähne", celebrated in Hermann Löns' novel "Der Wehrwolf. Eine Bauernchronik" (first published in 1910). Löns' native Lower Saxony does offer a few spectacular examples of peasants who fought back quite successfully, almost raising insurgent armies in the process. Diplomatic and military correspondences provide us with a few hints about peasant resistance in Bohemia, too (quite apart from the partly religiously motivated opposition of the Vlachs in Eastern Moravia, who provided last-ditch fighters for the rebels and collaborated with the Swedes later on). Peasants sometimes ceased to work their farms, fled into the woods and attacked stray soldiers and travellers, in effect creating embryonic early modern "no go areas". The phenomenon begs the question: How did the civilian "feudal" authorities react to these instances of insubordination by their subjects – with disgust, resignation, 'Schadenfreude' or even subliminal collusion? Löns alludes to the Duke's appreciation of his subjects fighting spirits. Obviously, it will not be easy to find hard evidence for any of these hypotheses. And how did the lords of the manor manage to reassert their authority and re-establish a minimum of respect for "law & order" after the end of the Thirty Years War?

Jan PECHÁČEK (Olomouc)

### *Discipline and Renumerate: Patent Invalides from Hukvaldy and Tovačov during the Pre-March Period*

Disabled homecoming soldiers in rural society had two unique official as well as very personal relationships with the emerging modern state. First, they served in the disciplinary lab called the army. Second, their accredited injuries, if they had become outpensioners, ensured them a slight advantage in their social rights. The paper focuses on two Moravian domains, where several dozen individuals can be traced in various types of sources. Return to civilian life seems to be quite successful, considering their job opportunities, marriage rate, life expectancy and housing. Regardless of whether the state provision was sufficient for their well-being, there are still present demands for better conditions or compensations. Using personal documents and communicating even directly to the different state administration offices, patent invalids were, on this count, nearly citizens rather than subjects (serfs). According to their requests in the seignorial administration, which we can surely understand as the egodocuments of a special kind, they had reasonable insight into the bureaucratic structure supported by the awareness of their merits. In the late age of enlightenment, we should suspect them of internalizing pre-civic state identity. Comparing individual soldier's trajectories to the social reintegration patterns helps us understand how military loyalty could generate more complex adoption of the norms in the process of modernization. Rational and emotional attitudes towards the state, which is stepping into everyday life, are still uncharted territory. The army undoubtedly represents the backbone organization of all reforms in this era, yet its influence in this area has not yet been explored.

Serhiy CHOLIY (Kyiv Polytechnic Institute)

### *Military service, desertion motivation, and flight abroad in the Habsburg army, 1868-1914*

This speech is devoted to the investigation of the mechanisms and practices that allowed the population of East-Central Europe to cross the borders in an attempt to flee from their military obligations. The European Modernization of the 18th and 19th centuries was the process that changed practically all spheres of life, including the transition from agrarian to industrial societies. During the 19th century, most European regimes began to implement conscription as a modern military technology to protect against possible enemies. The idea of citizen-soldiers was also used for the shaping of nation-building, educating citizens, and the propaganda of the achievements of Modernity (literacy, education, hygiene, etc.). Modernization had its losers, not only beneficiaries. In contrast to metropolitan areas, in European peripheries, modernization was often perceived in the form of additional obligations. The process was sometimes complicated by the existence of patriarchal reservations in closed locations that, in general, were hostile to changing their centuries-old lifestyle. The case studies of locals demonstrate the often-repeated cases of flights abroad as an attempt to avoid military service. In my speech, I discuss the motivations of Habsburg soldiers to desert, the same as the mechanisms for this action. The speech grounds on several cases of persons who actually deserted and fled from their military obligation to the neighbouring Russian Empire. They originated from different crown lands of the Habsburg monarchy, including Bukovina, Galicia, Silesia, Moravia, and Bohemia. Each of these cases demonstrates different but typical reasons for desertion of the period.

Nándor Balázs VIROVECZ (Eötvös Loránd University Budapest)

### *Karel Žierotin and his Moravian Hussars in the Kingdom of Hungary during the Mid-16th century*

Karel Žierotin (Karl von Zierotin) and his Moravian Hussars were pivotal members in the armies of both Charles V and Ferdinand I, as their subunits served in several theatres of war. Besides Ferdinand I of Habsburg is well-known for his efforts in the construction of the border fortress system in Royal Hungary, he also employed captains and soldiers of different national backgrounds for the defence of Hungary in the mid-16th century. Among these mercenaries, a Moravian nobleman named Karl Žierotin (alias Carolus parvus, that is to say, „Charles the Small”) and his cavalry have been neglected to a degree by academic research. Not only did he and his units march to Royal Hungary a number of times, but they managed to win recognition owing to their military efforts and capabilities. They had arrived at Royal Hungary before the Easter of 1544, and during their first deployment, they played a key role in the victory of the Battle at Ipolyszalka (nowadays Salka, Slovakia). Their part in the military victory is attested by lay and recently uncovered contemporary correspondence. (Primary sources used in this study were uncovered from the Hungarian National Archive, the State Archive of Banská Bystrica workplace Archive Banská Štiavnica and the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv.) Following the Habsburg takeover in Transylvania, first they served once again in Royal Hungary, later to be transferred to Transylvania, where under the command of Giambattista Castaldo condottiere, they engaged in warfare around the castles of Lippa and Csanád. In 1556, they took part in the campaign of Ferdinand of Tyrol, Sforza Pallavicini and Palatine Tamás Nádasdy in the Southern Transdanubian region, which managed to end the Ottoman siege of Szigetvár. My research aims at expanding knowledge on the period Karel Žierotin and his Moravian Hussars spent in the Kingdom of Hungary based on recent findings. Besides details on their numbers and places of deployment, their role and contribution to contemporary military affairs are to be revealed as well.

István NAGY-LUTTENBERGER (Institute of Hungarian Research Budapest)

### *Bohemians in the Officer Corps of a Hungarian Infantry Regiment in the French Wars (1792–1815)*

As Gunther Rothenberg noted, the army was an important bond between the land of the Habsburg Monarchy. The units of the army were recruited from a certain territory and could have been considered the national armies of each land. Although the soldiers were mostly from the recruiting territory, the officers came from all over the Monarchy, which secured the loyalty of the unit to the emperor. If the army can be considered the most important institution of the Monarchy, the Officer Corps was the “glue” of that institution. After conducting wide-scale research on the Officer Corps of the Infantry Regiment Nr. 34, the most significant result was the multiethnicity of the 428 persons who served as senior officers in the regiment between 1792 and 1815. The origins and national background of 324 of the 428 offices were certainly ascertained, and 61 of them (18.83 per cent) and from the 43 staff officers of the regiments, 8 (18,6 per cent) came from today’s Bohemia, making the second largest group of nationality. The intended paper presents the Officer Corps of the Infantry Regiment Nr. 34 and analyses the internal composition, social background, and military performance of the officers from Bohemia in comparison with the whole Officer Corps and especially with the Hungarians.

Dimitar TASIĆ (Institute for the Recent History of Serbia Belgrade)

## *Czechs in the Serbian Army during the Great War: An Episode in Relations between two Nations*

In the course of the First World War, Serbs and Czechs were officially on opposite sides, and in some cases, as in the opening days of the war, their units fought bitter battles against each other. Despite that, relations between the two nations were amicable and remained as such until the very end of the war. Even before the war in Serbia lived a small but influential Czech community of simple labourers, skilled workers, engineers and entrepreneurs whose impact on the Serbian economy was considerable. During the first phase of the war, there was a considerable number of Czech prisoners of war in Serbia. Czechs also participated in activities of the Austro-Hungarian occupation apparatus in Serbia between 1916 and 1918. However, the closest encounter between the two nations happened during the episode of the Serbian/Yugoslav volunteer movement in Russia. One of the solutions for the recruitment crisis in the Serbian army was an invitation to Serbs and other South Slavs to join its ranks. One of the potential pools were Austro-Hungarians of South Slav origin in Russian captivity. Russians facilitated the creation of the Serbian Voluntary Division, whose ranks were joined by several hundreds of Czech volunteers who saw a unique chance to leave the camps. Their expertise and dedication had an enormous impact on the performances of the Serbian Voluntary Division in bloody battles in Dobruja in 1916 when it was sent, together with some Russian units, to assist Romanian allies overwhelmed by the offensive of the Central Powers. During the crisis of the Serbian voluntary movement in Russia most of the Czech volunteers left to join the Czechoslovak legion; however, a small number of them remained and later on participated in fierce fights and the breakthrough of Macedonian Front in 1918 laid the foundation to the mid-war military alliance between Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

Stephan Karl SANDER-FAES (University of Bergen)

### *The Bohemian Homefront during 'Austria's Wars of Emergence', 1680s-1710s*

This paper explores the intersections of military, social, and bureaucratic experiences during the period conventionally referred to by Oswald Redlich as *Das Werden einer Großmacht* (4th ed., 1962). Exemplarily focused on the Eggenberg domains of southern Bohemia and their rich, if under-used, archival holdings, I shall explore the consequences of rapidly increasing fiscal pressures and investigate the impact of the Emperor's wars around 1700 against France, the Ottomans, and the Hungarians. To this end, I am applying discursive and quantitative analysis to a large body of hand-written administrative tax records to assess the incidence of key terms, such as 'debts', 'repositions', and 'execution'. Doing so allows for an assessment of the war-induced fiscal pressures by other means, thereby allowing the historian to evaluate the impact of taxation imposed by Vienna via the Bohemian Diet on the common people of Bohemia. Doing so offers two interrelated benefits: first, to explore the suitability of such records of everyday administrative for the investigation of the intersections of army, society, and warfare (that transcends the borders of any one early modern power). Second, analysis of such fiscal-administrative records serves as a proxy—a tertium comparationis—for the established approaches explored by research on the Habsburg court and military, as well as on the Bohemian Diet. In the final analysis, the matching of sources originating 'from above' with the paper trail 'from below' (and back) allows for a more inclusive and comprehensive reconstruction of the intersections of army, society, and warfare in early modern Bohemia, thereby bringing the scene closer to life than either set of sources would provide on their own.

Michael WENZEL (Napoleonic and Local History Museum Deutsch-Wagram)

*Contribution of the Bohemian Lands to the Austrian Army at Deutsch Wagram July 5th-6th 1809*

The disproportionately high contribution of the Bohemian lands to Habsburg military power has been noted before. As shown by Christopher Duffy, during the Seven Years' War, while making one fifth of the Monarchy's lands, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia contributed forty percent of the army's recruits. Accusations that the Habsburgs are very liberal with the lives of their Bohemian subjects were common also during the First World War. This paper shows how much the Austrian army depended on Bohemian troops during the War of 1809. In particular, we are focusing on the main Austrian field army under the command of Archduke Charles, which fought the battles of Aspern-Essling and Wagram east of Vienna in May and July 1809. The statistics for Deutsch Wagram – the largest land battle fought to date – are particularly telling. Having consulted every surviving monthly manpower report for June and July 1809, we can show that about half of the Austrian infantry formations at that battle were raised in the Bohemian Lands. Two of the five army corps who fought in the battle came entirely from Bohemia, as there was a substantial presence of Bohemian infantry, cavalry, and artillery formations in the other five corps that fought in the battle. With Lower, Upper and Inner Austria overrun by the French, wartime recruitment in Bohemia not only successfully maintained their own regiment up-to-strength but also contributed men transferred into regiments whose recruitment districts were occupied by the enemy. Last but not least, one fifth of the Austrian army in the battle of Wagram were Landwehr and Freikorps formations. Sixty percent of these came from the Bohemian lands. All in all, this paper shows the crucial role played by Bohemian troops in the decisive battle of the 1809 War.

Kristýna NITSCHOVÁ (Charles University Prague)

*Using lunatic asylums for military personnel in Cisleithania during the First World War*

Before the First World War in Cisleithania, an elaborate web of lunatic asylums existed that was able to provide professional care to the majority of the population. During the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, psychology had grown to an independent and developing science and mental illnesses were already perceived as real and curable diseases. At the beginning of the First World War, some of the lunatic asylums were reserved for military personnel who got sick from mental illness. In these buildings, a selected professional staff worked, and effort was given to try to heal military personnel there. This paper focuses on differences between everyday life in lunatic asylums for military personnel before and during the First World War. Standards that were made for mentally ill civilians according to their ability to pay were adapted for military personnel according to their military rank. Further, this paper deals with the connection between lunatic asylums and what would happen to patients if one of the lunatic asylums got behind the enemy line. For example, a lunatic asylum in Pergine in Tyrol was evacuated during the First World War. Its patients were equally, according to capacities of individual institutes, split between asylums in the Habsburg monarchy. Lastly, the paper presents several of the most interesting examples of diagnoses that were detected in military personnel. This paper analyses documents from the lunatics asylums in Cisleithania (Zemský ústav pro choromyslné v Kosmonosech, Salzburger Landes-Irrenanstalt), letters from Ministry of War (k.u.k. Kriegsministerium) and data contained in professional articles by psychologists from the period and other nowadays professional literature about the topic. The analysis concludes with answers to the

points that were asked above. Ultimately, this paper aims to contribute to the presentation of more information about a not very frequent topic.

Vojtěch KESSLER/ Josef ŠRÁMEK/ Klára BRTKOVÁ (Czech Academy of Sciences/  
Charles University Prague/ Museum of Eastern Bohemia Hradec Králové)

*Personal Memoires of the War of 1866 as a Historical Source*

Although there is a broad range of sources for the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, one of the source types is constantly being omitted, which is symptomatic of this topic's state of historical research. These are sources of a memoir character. However, the absence of sources for such an approach is not the reason for their omission. Sources of this nature do, of course, exist, although, as our own experience suggests, they may still be lying unknown in the gloom of museum or archive depositories or even private house attics. Though such ego documents might not change the whole framework of the interpretation of the Austro-Prussian War, from our point of view lies their contribution in the potential broadening of the perspective through which is the "battlefield" viewed. They offer evidence of the contemporaries' experiences and emotions and thus add a human dimension to the portrayal of the campaigns and military operations, which is very often missing from it. Aside from the general summary of the so far analyzed sources and their typologies, we would like to focus on their possible use for particular research problems in this paper. Our aim is to demonstrate the potential of this source type to help with filling "white spots" in the variety of conceptual and methodological approaches and to answer corresponding questions.

Tomáš KYKAL/ Marek FIŠER (Military History Institute Prague)

*The Military Culture of Czech enlisted men in the Austro-Hungarian Army as reflected by their Military Service Memory (Scrap)books*

The first-hand personal experience of the male population of Austria-Hungary with the military was expanded after the introduction of compulsory military service in the late 1860s. From then on, the army enjoyed annual input of raw citizen recruits, and its task was to forge them into obedient and loyal soldiers – effective defenders of multinational states' interests. During two to four years of service, depending on the branch, these young men were to abandon their former civilian lives and become fully subject to military authorities. Such a radical and long-lasting change in the environment and way of life put most of them under severe psychological strain, which had to be compensated and comforted in several ways. One of the means of coping with the new reality observed, so far only among Czech-speaking soldiers, were memory (scrap)books written, drawn, and decorated during their lengthy military service. Pages of these volumes offered a sort of mental refuge and freedom of will so precious in the barracks, served as an intimate paper confidant or as a reservoir of recollections from the world within or beyond the walls. Their manifold contents provide us unique insight into values, attitudes, and sentiments held or felt by common soldiers, especially when other peacetime first-person accounts, such as diaries and correspondence, are scarce and only fragmentary. Based on an analysis of seventeen military service memory (scrap)books from two decades preceding WWI, we aim to outline specific elements of military culture as perceived and practised by Czech soldiers fulfilling their duty towards the Habsburg state and society.

Thomas SCHULTE-UMBERG (University of Vienna)

*“I can’t stand it anymore”. Reflections on the Habsburg Catholic Military Chaplains in the Great War*

The late Habsburg monarchy was a multi-ethnic, multi-confessional and multilingual empire. With the resulting, latent lines of conflict friction were bound to happen. However, the dissolution of the Monarchy in 1918 was not a foregone conclusion. Only from hindsight and especially from the perspective of the successor states the end of the monarchy seem to be inevitable. Recent research tends instead to focus on the forces that have held the monarchy together as a functioning institution. Among the forces mostly mentioned is the Catholic Church. Based on a wide array of sources, I will outline the role of the Habsburg Catholic Military Chaplains in the Great War with a special emphasis on Chaplains from the Bohemian and Moravian lands. As bellicose religious professionals, Military Chaplains operated at the interface between the systems of the military, religious institutions, and civil society. On the one hand, they had to convey meaning in the traditional way, acting as if they were fulfilling their normal pastoral duties. On the other hand, they had to make sense of a war that wasn't normal for almost none of them. From the perspective of a history of everyday life in war, many of them were more or less directly exposed to the violence to which the soldiers were subjected. How the Military Chaplains dealt with their war experiences during the Great War will add to the understanding of the endurance, but also the dissolution of the Habsburg monarchy.

Radmila ŠVARÍČKOVÁ SLABÁKOVÁ (Palacký University Olomouc)

*The War and the Senses*

The War is a multi-sensory experience; military historians, however, have only rarely produced other than the ocular-centric discourses that could allow us to picture the battlefields and the campaigns of the armies from the perspective of other senses. Indeed, wars appeared mainly as visual affairs for many years. In the era of industrialization of the warfare, the sounds of drumming and music were replaced with those of thunderous ammunition. How can the attention paid to the non-visual senses, sound, smell, touch and taste, shed light on the experiences of the war? The aim of this contribution is to discuss the benefits (and pitfalls) of sensory history, a new and burgeoning field, and of its approach to the war in the past. In the first theoretical part, the contribution will reflect upon the ways sensory historians have studied the wars from the 17th to the 20th centuries. The difference between sensory history and reenactment will be highlighted, although both areas seemingly seek to recover the sensory experience as close as possible to the past experiences. The second part will focus on the memoirs and correspondence of soldiers who fought in the Napoleonic wars (battle of Austerlitz) and will explore how romanticism and Napoleonic wars contributed to the birth of a new man who was not only highly emotional and sensible but also shaken by new sensory experiences that effaced the very notion of civility. How the senses shape the experience of the Napoleonic wars and thus its memory?

Sławomir KUŁACZ (WSB Merito University Gdańsk)

*An exploratory overview of Czech and Polish Military slang at the beginning of the 20th century*



In my paper, I intend to briefly characterize and compare Czech and Polish military slang. As a social variety of language, slang reflects trends, attitudes and values, especially those of the lower echelons of societies, sometimes still overlooked in historiography. As no speakers of I&R are still alive, my analyses will be focused on written sources, i.e. literary works and ego documents written by Czech and Polish veterans. For similarly obvious reasons, I will have to limit the scope of my analysis to the early 20th century. Both being Western Slavic languages, Polish and Czech constitute a good ground for (pioneering) comparison. Additionally, I will try to evaluate the influence of Austrian military terminology manifested in the use of German loanwords. Much attention will be devoted to creativity and humour and the linguistic resources used to express them. I will also try to look at how the German influence seen at the level of slang might have contributed to a better understanding of the multilingual Austro-Hungarian Army.

Barbora HUNČOVSKÁ (Charles University Prague)

*Language as a Means of Social Confrontation and the Soldiers' Linguistic Strategies: Austro-Hungarian Army, 1914–1918*

Austria-Hungary was a distinctly multilingual empire – soldiers of more than thirteen languages fought in its army. They were in everyday contact with fellow soldiers speaking different languages and fought alongside and against speakers of other languages on a territory inhabited by speakers of yet another language. Many misapprehensions and conflicts, both interpersonal and intergroup, resulted from the exceptional plurality of languages and communicational regimes on the Austro-Hungarian war fronts, while new linguistic strategies emerged to overcome them. Language-related experiences, especially not being able to understand each other, affected and shaped the soldiers' overall war experience. Furthermore, language became one of the most immediate symbolic markers of affiliation during the Age of Nationalism. Speakers of different languages were often perceived as the anthropological "other", which could indeed be of grave consequence in the highly nationalised war setting. To understand the ways the soldiers used language to make sense of the war, as well as their social position within the army, language must no longer be seen as a mere vehicle of communication, let alone an unambiguous expression of one's nationality. By looking through the lenses of sociology of language, sociolinguistics and historical and cultural anthropology, this paper recognises the multilingualism of the Austro-Hungarian army, its language policies and wartime communication strategies as inherently stratifying practices, and as a means of social confrontation, either subversive or affirmative of power relations, structures and ideologies. The refusal of Czech, Hungarian or other non-German-speaking soldiers to use German outside of daily duty is a prime example of this. Apart from the collective language strategies, the common soldiers' individual, intrinsic experiences of the aforementioned linguistic situation will be analysed, as well as their own everyday language strategies and conceptualisations. The egodocuments of soldiers coming primarily from the Czech and Slovene-speaking lands will serve as the main sources.

Zoltán UJJ (Eötvös Loránd University Budapest)

*The Court of Archduke Maximilian and his Czech Retinue during the Schmalkaldic War*

Archduke Maximilian (1527–1576), son and heir of Ferdinand I (1503–1564) spent the years between 1544 and 1548 in the company of his uncle, Charles V (1500–1558), the Holy Roman Emperor. This

period served as practical training for the young prince, and retrospectively from his reign, its significance is undeniable. During this time, the Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547) took place, in which Maximilian and his retinue participated, performing both in battles and in administrative duties. In the court that was installed for the Archduke, among others, young courtiers of Czech, Bohemian or Silesian origin were included. Many of these people made a career later; for them, Maximilian's court meant the first step on their journey. Analysing the activities of Maximilian's staff, we can obtain a significant amount of information regarding how an archduke's travelling court functioned and to what extent the courtiers from the Lands of the Bohemian Crown were integrated into the Habsburg Court. The research also conveys much data on the military culture and army life in mid-16th century Europe. The presentation has been conducted by using archival sources from the Viennese State Archives, the Hungarian State Archives and relevant literature in Hungarian, English and German languages.

Jiří HOFMAN (National Cultural Monument Vyšehrad Prague)

### *The Mobility of Imperial Military Engineers during the 2nd Half of the 18th Century*

The second half of the 18th century in the Habsburg Monarchy was significant because of major construction projects of new fortresses on the Ottoman and Prussian border. Huge activity requiring large numbers of engineers took place in Olomouc, Hradec Kralove, Josefov, Terezín, Temesvár, Petrovaradin, Arad and elsewhere. At the same time, we are talking about a time when the reforms of Maria Theresie led to a qualitative and quantitative development of the engineer corps. This process produced a large amount of bureaucratic material (Conduiten-Liste, etc.), which allows us to trace their mobility on a relatively limited sample of persons. Where they came from, where they served, what languages they spoke, etc.

Balázs LÁZÁR (Military History Museum and Institute Budapest)

### *The Role of the Bohemian and Hungarian Aristocracy in the Habsburg Military Elite from the Beginnings of the Standing Army to the Napoleonic Wars: A Comparative Study*

The army of the Habsburg Monarchy is often labelled aristocratic since the key positions were held by high nobles exclusively. This was undoubtedly true at the beginning of the age of the standing armies, and although this practice had been briefly restrained under the rule of Joseph II, the same dominance of aristocrats in key positions of the Habsburg army can be observed during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era. Of course, members of the Hungarian aristocracy – most of them created by the Habsburg kings of the country – held leading positions within the defence system set up against the Turks. After the expulsion of the Ottomans, many of the talented generals of the Habsburg army came from Hungarian magnate families like the Pálffy, Esterházy, and Batthyány families – especially in the wartime period of the mid-eighteenth century. However, it seemed that it was the Bohemian aristocracy (the Lichtensteins, Schwarzenbergs, and Kinskys) that held the military key positions, even more so after the Seven Years' War. During the Napoleonic period, the supremacy of the Bohemian aristocrats in the high command became overwhelming. In my paper, I intend to examine the role of and the career opportunities available for Bohemian and Hungarian aristocrats in the kaiserlich-königlich army. I will be looking for parallels while also trying to explore the reasons for the differences detectable in the positions of the Bohemian and Hungarian aristocrats within the high command of the Habsburg army.

Michal CÁP (Military History Institute Prague)

*“Unlike the old Austrian officers” - distancing from and continuities of Habsburg legacy in military culture of the interwar Czechoslovak officer corps*

After the dissolution of Austria-Hungary and the founding of Czechoslovakia, both the society and the new state found themselves in a changed position concerning their military. What used to be a relationship between the multinational empire and its army with (nominally) “anational” officer corps suddenly became an interaction of (nominal, yet still multinational) nation-state and its armed force, gradually officered from the greater part by ethnic Czechs. Ideals of loyalty to the supranational dynastic state were replaced by the idea of service in a so-called democratic army. And this new army was built not only with the know-how of proven military institutions and practices but also with the infusion of Czechoslovak revolutionary foreign armies, the Legions, whose national-liberation discourse overwhelmed the military representations of the new republic. But still, the Habsburg legacy lingered on. The goal of this paper is twofold. It aims to describe the politics and praxis of “deaustrification” (“odrakouštění”) and explicit denial of Habsburg traditions in the military discourse of the Czechoslovak officer corps. It uses both the institutional documents, disciplinary proceedings, and regulations, as well as public writings and representations. At the same time and with the same sources, it wants to show that many elements of the officer’s military culture, such as ideals of proper conduct, honour, or their place in wider society, although transformed, indicate some striking continuities of meanings and practices with the previous period. The Habsburg officer corps, as an institution, did not survive beyond the unleashed forces of nationalism and the storm of the Great War. But how much of its culture survived, although grudgingly, beyond the era of its empire?

Kevin J. HOEPER (University of North Carolina Chapel Hill)

*Uniting the Division: Divisional Affiliation and Habsburg Veterans’ Organizing in Czechoslovakia, 1918-1938*

Recently, historians of Habsburg military culture have begun focusing on how unit identities influenced soldiers’ motivation and memory. Much of this scholarship — including my own — focuses on identity-formation at the regimental level. Meanwhile, we know far less about Habsburg soldiers’ relationships to higher-level formations like brigades, divisions, and corps. To access this underexplored relationship, I examine Habsburg veterans’ organizations in Czechoslovakia that were dedicated to the former 29th Infantry Division (of northern Bohemia) and 21st Landwehr Infantry Division (western Bohemia). As I show, shared divisional affiliation encouraged veterans from different regiments to combine their associations, pool their resources, and cooperate on a variety of projects. Former divisional commanders and staff officers often helped coordinate these joint activities, just as they had coordinated battlefield operations during the war. I also show how shared divisional affiliation encouraged veterans to link unique regimental narratives together to create larger nationalist metanarratives. For example, German veterans of the 29th Infantry Division gradually transformed their old division into a broader symbol of “Sudeten-German” sacrifice during World War I. Meanwhile, Czech veterans of the 21st Landwehr Division recast their unit as a symbol of national resistance to the old empire. As Ministerstvo národní obrany records reveal, these veterans even petitioned the MNO to recognize members of the former 21st Landwehr Division as legally-sanctioned Czechoslovak Legionnaires. Ultimately, this analysis illustrates key structural differences between regimental and divisional identities while suggesting future research questions regarding the latter. It also elucidates

the vibrant associational life of Habsburg war veterans under the First Republic. The paper draws on material from my PhD dissertation — a cultural history of Habsburg infantry regiments from the Bohemian lands between 1848 and 1948 — which is based on research conducted at the Národní archiv, Národní knihovna, Vojenský historický archiv, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, and two dozen Statní okresní archivy.

Petr WOHLMUTH (Charles University Prague)

*Between Nostalgia and Counterfactual Historical Desire - Contemporary Austro-Hungarian Military Reenactment in the Czech Lands*

There are several dozen so-called military history clubs in the Czech Republic dealing with the reenactment of the Austro-Hungarian armed forces. From the War of the Austrian Succession to the First World War, which was fatal for the monarchy, military reenactors have intervened in the politics of memory and form a very specific community. The current large-scale oral history project has been recording a number of interviews with members of these organizations, with an emphasis on exploring their historical subjectivity, that is the set of diverse cultural forms and contents through which they understand themselves in history. Analyses of these interviews suggest that in their case, military reenactment can primarily be understood not as an attempt to provide a completely faithful account of past events (in the case of military reenactment, the same high level of authenticity is completely impossible - reenactors will simply not hurt and kill each other as soldiers once did on the battlefield), but rather as a specific account of the present. In this account, in this narrative, the primary role is played by different variants of the affect of nostalgia and the expression of counterfactual historical desires. In the spirit of post-positivist concepts of oral history (Portelli, Passerini, Thomson, etc.), this paper will focus on the interpretive grasp of the narratives taken and offer a preliminary typology of the historical subjectivity of selected military re-enactors.

Claudia REICHL-HAM (Museum of Military History Vienna)

*Reception of the Siege of Prague (1648) in contemporary Art and Literature*

Prague was at the centre of events both at the beginning and at the end of the Thirty Years' War. However, the omens and consequences could not have been more different. The Defenestration of Prague on May 23, 1618, and the subsequent Estates Revolt in Bohemia in an effort to bring about the defection from the House of Habsburg were the immediate triggers for the Thirty Years' War. The heroic defence of the old and new towns of Prague – especially by its inhabitants – against the fierce storms of the Swedish attackers from July to November 1648, while the peace negotiations at Münster and Osnabrück were already nearing completion, constituted the final event in this conflict and secured Prague for the House of Habsburg. It is precisely this latter event, the occupation of Prague Castle and the Lesser Town, as well as the siege of the old and new towns of Prague in the summer and fall of 1648, which is in the focus of my contribution. On July 26, 1648, the Swedish general Königsmarck took the Hradčany, Prague Castle and the Lesser Town of Prague with about 2,500 men. The imperial governor and commanding general in Bohemia, Field Marshal Count Colloredo-Waldsee, took over the defence of Prague's Old Town. Although in October, after heavy artillery fire and several storms, the Swedes succeeded in breaking into the Old Town, the citizens and students of Prague put up fierce resistance and repulsed the attackers. On November 2, Count Palatine Charles Gustav, the commander-in-chief of the Swedish troops, lifted the siege of Prague. Based on numerous

contemporary manuscripts and prints, as well as archival sources on this event, and incorporating the latest findings from recent literature, the prehistory, course and consequences of the siege of the cities of Prague in 1648 will be reviewed.

Michal VOKURKA (Czech Academy of Sciences Prague)

*Demolition? Castles in Bohemia after the Thirty Years' War*

In Bohemia, the last phase of the Thirty Years' War brought bad experiences with castles captured by the Swedish army and used as bases by the Emperor's enemy. After the war, in order to prevent similar dangers in the future, the military authorities decided that some of the castles should be demolished. From then on, the fortified towns were to be the mainstay of Bohemia's defence. This process of tearing down castles and re-evaluating the defence strategy of particular lands took place in Moravia and Silesia too. My paper aims to 1) identify the actors in the process of decision-making and the demolition itself (i.e. the central and local authorities, fortification experts, artisans, workers, etc.) and 2) to reflect the resistance against the demolition, which meant a strike against the rights of the local feudal lords. The resistance from the local elites shows that the castles played a role in the social representation of the nobility and demonstrated their noble and ancient descent. The article follows the research made by František Roubík and Vítězslav Prchal and discusses the „military“ issue (defence of Bohemia's northern border) in a broader social context, including risk prevention and perceiving of landscape (scenery). For preparing the paper, archive materials from Vienna, Prague, and local/regional archives were used.

Vítězslav PRCHAL (University of Pardubice)

*Financial Background and Land Ownership of the Bohemian/Moravian Noble Officers in Prince Eugene's Era: A Comparative Approach*

The current state of research on the imperial army in the early modern period presents a number of challenges that have long been on the margins of this academic field, constricted by factographically focused operational history with little to no interdisciplinary overlap. Missing are, for example, prosopographical investigations of the structure of the officer corps in the key periods. One of these key periods in the history of the imperial army was the era of Prince Eugene of Savoy. However, besides the obvious trends of this period, which were the rising expenses of the army, the increase in the number of armed men and the gradual professionalization of the officer corps, there are other issues that deserve attention. What was the social prestige of a career as an early modern aristocratic officer? How much land was owned by, and what was the material background of aristocrats from not solely Bohemia who served in the army? And most importantly, what was the financial attractiveness of such an army career? Is the assumption that service in the army was unprofitable and officers had to finance it from their own resources still standing? I will attempt to answer these questions through a comparative look at the property and finances of three families tied to service in the imperial army and holding estates in Bohemia and Moravia: the Raduits de Souches, the Wallis Family (Georg Olivier, 1673-1744) and the Dauns (Heinrich Joseph, (1678-1761).

**out of the programme:**

Petr VOREL (University of Pardubice)

*Preparation of the Bohemian Estates for War during the Years 1611-1618*

The impetus for the reform of the military in Bohemia was the invasion of the Passau army in 1611. The country was not at all prepared for such a military intervention. A relatively small army was able to quickly penetrate from the border with the Roman-German Empire to Prague. The Passau invasion revealed a weakness in the country's defence system. The Estates' opposition therefore began to prepare a different system of army organisation that would ensure a more effective defence of the country if necessary. Two types of troops were precisely distinguished: 1) "the native people", i.e. the land army, consisting of native conscripts, who were to be provided by the holders of landed property according to the property key; 2) "the conscripted people", i.e. the mercenary army, consisting of hired professional soldiers regardless of their origin. The Estates focused on three areas in which they introduced unprecedented innovations:

a) Start of regular military training. A training camp was set up in each region. There, twice a year, the future conscripts were trained in the use of common infantry weapons. The cost of their transport and food was borne by the holders of landed property, who also had to select suitable young men from among their subjects for this military training.

b) Establishment of a central arms depot. Modern weapons were to be procured for it through a Dutch trading company. This armoury was to store mainly weapons to equip the infantry.

Systematic provision of resources to finance mercenary troops. First, it involved the creation of a large financial reserve which was to be operationally available. The second phase was related to the creation of a new tax system in 1615. As a result of the sovereign's bankruptcy, the regular transfer of money from Bohemia to the budget of the Vienna court chamber was terminated. According to a precise schedule, the tax revenue was used to pay off older financial obligations to domestic creditors until the spring term of 1618. However, an implementing decree approved by the Land Diet allowed the entire tax revenue of the country to be used to finance the army in the event of a threat to the country. This tool was used by the Estates opposition to defend the country from the autumn tax collection deadline of 1618.