The aim of this paper is to identify and describe basic mutual and different political and administrative characteristics of the lands under the rule of imperial generalissimo Albrecht of Waldstein. This man of European importance created in the twenties of the 17th century the Duchy of Frýdlant in north-eastern part of Bohemian Kingdom, moreover he became the ruler of German Duchy of Mecklenburg, as well as Emperor’s vassal in two Silesian Principalities, Sagan (1627) and Glogow (1632). It is quite interesting to learn about his arrangements in individual domains and to see, how some general principles of his reign were combined with specific steps proceeded from older particular traditions. It also shows undoubtedly, that Waldstein was really brilliant organiser, administrator and lawgiver who deserves intensive attention of legal history.

Key words: Albrecht of Waldstein (Wallenstein), Thirty Years War, history of administration, Silesia, Bohemian Kingdom, reign on the absolutistic foundations, Duchy of Friedland, Duchy of Glogow, Principality of Sagan

Imperial generalissimo Albrecht of Waldstein (or Wallenstein) († 1634) is undoubtedly among the most significant figures of Czech history. His importance definitely goes beyond the nation’s borders. Since the 19th century, he has even been considered to be a great national figure by the Germans, thanks to Schiller’s well-known drama. Waldstein played a considerable role in the history of Poland, both as a co-creator of European politics and as a military leader, whose activities during the Thirty Years’ War had influenced the Polish Respublica. In 1627, he became Duke of Sagan, and in 1632 he was also Duke of Glogow. Thus he ruled over two countries, both of which belonged,
with other Silesian vassal principalities, to the Lands of the Bohemian Crown. However, they are part of the Polish Republic nowadays. From this perspective, he can be perceived as one of the important personalities who had mediated the interconnection between the Czech and Polish history.

European historiography shows enormous and unflagging concern for Waldstein.² Logically, what stands in the centre of attention is the personality of the Duke of Friedland as a politician, soldier and military leader/manager. What is substantially less explored and scientifically researched is the issue of Waldstein’s administration in particular countries which he gradually acquired within the expansion. An exceptional role is played by the Duchy of Friedland, a quasi-state structure, built in the era following the battle of White Mountain within the borders of the Bohemian Kingdom. It was built on the basis of confiscation of the property of those who participated in the anti-Habsburg uprising. In 1624, Waldstein reached the elevation of his possessions in northeastern Bohemia to the state of Principality, which became the Duchy three years later.³ Until Waldstein’s death, the Duchy of Friedland was the economic platform of his power. There has practically been no complex description of the history of the Friedland region, except for an antiquated publication by Fridrich Förster.⁴ More elaborate information about its administration can be found in the study of Josef Svátek, focusing on Court Chancery as one of its central offices.⁵

The Duchy of Mecklenburg in northwest Germany played another significant role in Waldstein’s military and personal ambitions. In 1628, the Emperor gave it to Waldstein as a pledge and a year later it was granted to him as a fief.⁶ Even though Waldstein had formally rose to the Prince of the Holy Roman Empire before, he endeavoured for this duchy openly for the reason that seizing control over one of the German states would strengthen his position within the Empire and would give him the right to gain a seat in the Imperial Diet in the College of Princes. But in this regard, he ran into opposition of the league of German monarchs, who refused to recognize his tenure to be legal. From the beginning, his reign was complicated by the claims from the side of the original land owners, from whom the Duchy of Mecklenburg had been confiscated. The Swedish invasion resulted in the restoration, and thus the Duchy of Mecklenburg remained a void part of the generalissimo’s abundant title holding. Nevertheless, Waldstein managed to carry

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² A lot more or less extensive bibliographic databases exist. In the most recent past, a wide choice of Wallenstein literature was published by E. Fučíková, L. Čepička, Ladislav (eds.), Valdštejn: Albrecht z Valdštejna Inter arma silent musae?, Academia, Praha 2007, p. 589–605.
³ The original copies of the Emperor’s charters are deposited in Státní Oblastní Archiv (SOA) Praha, Rodinný archiv Valdštejnů, Listiny, i.č. 26, sign. N-12, i.č. 33, sign. N-18.
⁶ The original copies of the Emperor’s charters are deposited in SOA Praha, Rodinný archiv Valdštejnů, Listiny, i.č. 39, sign. N-24; i.č. 47, sign. N-34.
out a fundamental administrative reform in Mecklenburg, and his reign got the attention of German historians.\(^7\)

When it comes to both Silesian Principalities, their significance within Waldstein’s ambitions was probably limited to the considerations of strategic planning. Both Sagan, and later Glogow could probably represent important supporting points in his military campaigns. Considering the governing and economic aspects, both duchies/principalities represented a stake in the future rather than an instant asset. They were found in a relatively devastated state, and when it was about time to prepare the handover of the Duchy of Sagan, the Silesian Chamber pronounced the duchy to be burdened by debts greatly beyond its value. A rather unconventional solution had to be accepted – Waldstein purchased the Duchy for the price that equalled its estimated value, naturally without any obligations (it was the Emperor himself who settled the compensation, although more or less theoretically).\(^8\)

The surviving written sources show that Waldstein did care for gaining Sagan and it wasn’t even possible to exclude, he himself stimulated the further action leading to its purchase in 1627, and afterwards, a year later, it was granted to him as a fief and formally elevated to Duchy.\(^9\) In addition to his implied strategic importance, the fact that the area of Lower Silesia was geographically close to the generalissimo’s dependencies in northeastern Bohemia, was of great importance. In the first upshot, the attention is drawn to the pragmatic fact that Waldstein gave credits to the emperor’s military campaigns without having a slight hope that his receivables would be settled in cash. From this point of view, wiping out these receivables by assigning individual areas seems to be a rational solution. The emperor’s options were limited in this respect, and so Waldstein had to adjust his interests to the real possibilities.

Regarding Waldstein as the Silesian Prince, the existing literature is quite poor. The Polish authors, who have the best access to the relevant sources, haven’t discovered Waldstein as an important topic yet. So, the monograph by Heinrich Arthur from the late 19th century remains the basic work on his reign in Sagan.\(^10\) Only the latest study by Jerzy Piotr Majchrzak seems to draw out a brief outline of the issues.\(^11\) The other text by Radek Fukala has even more restricted extent in spite of its promising title which is connected with the history of Glogow, however, in fact, it deals with it only in a minimalist fashion.\(^12\)

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7 Mainly small articles were published in the journal „Jahrbücher des Vereins für Meklenburgische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde“. The most significant author is Georg Christian Friedrich Lisch.

8 F.Ch. Förster, Wallenstein, Herzog zu Mecklenburg..., p. 71–73.

9 The original copy of Emperor’s charter about the elevation of the principality of Sagan to duchy is deposited in SOA Praha, Rodinný archiv Valdštejnů, Listiny, i.č. 41, sign. N-26. The charters connected to the selling and granting as a fief are not preserved, however they are known from literature and later transcriptions.


As we can see above, concerning Waldstein as a ruler and the character of his reign in the particular principalities, the historiography has still remained incomplete. But, even with this current level of knowledge, it is possible to draw some conclusions.

Above all, Waldstein was a self-confident and authoritative man who hated resistance. His extraordinary position, backed up by the emperor’s support (even though fluctuating), gave him almost unrestricted possibilities to build his reign on absolutistic foundations. In this respect, the political system of his countries was more or less identical, whether in the case of the Duchy of Friedland where he was building the state formation “on a green field”, or in the case of following older traditions and having to transform the existing status quo. Nothing can reflect his attitude better than the response to the request of the vassals from the dominion of Friedland to maintain their rights. This was the request which the emperor’s commander rejected by the disdainful, and to some extent, menacing statement that he wasn’t going to tolerate any “republic of nobility”. Similarly, the Sagan estates learned at the beginning of the Waldstein’s reign that in the future they were expected to fulfill orders of their ruler unconditionally.

The significant event is also the enactment of Land Constitution for the Friedland Duchy, according to which each successor of Waldstein should have taken the oath in front of the representatives of the estates before reigning. However, the subject of this oath shouldn’t have been the confirmation of the estates’ privileges, but the observation of Waldstein’s Order of Succession, which practically didn’t deal with the rights of estates. On the contrary, it prohibited the alienation of the parts of the Duchy, narrowing down the extent of ducal estates and releasing the privileges which would restrict some ducal prerogatives (e.g. brewing).

In this point of view, it might seem surprising that Waldstein was prepared to respect the existence of the traditional assemblies of the representatives of the estates. We must realize that these assemblies constituted a firm part of the system, even in states with strong position of the monarch. After all, the existence of Land Diet and its involvement in the management of public affairs wasn’t doubted even by Ferdinand II in Bohemia after he had defeated the local uprising of the estates. At the same time, the competencies and options of the assembly, captured in the so-called “Renewed Land Constitution” for Bohemian Kingdom from 1627, are completely distant from the role played by the Land Diet in the period before the White Mountain Battle. For the assessment of the political system, it can’t be sufficient by any means to get acquainted with the structure of institu-

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16 The proposal of Land Constitution exists in two drafts deposited in SOA Praha, Rodinný archiv Valdštejnů, Valdštejníaca, i.č. 2338, sign. I-C, fol. 175r–214v; a Národní Archiv (NA) Praha, Valdštejníaca, Spisy, kart. 26, sign. F 67/6, fol. 136r–162v. The Order of Succession was enacted on 26 May 1628, and the original copy can be found in SOA Praha, Rodinný archiv Valdštejnů, Listiny, i.č. 120, sign. N-31.
Political and administrative system of Waldstein’s Lands

It is also necessary to express their mutual relations and to assess their real participation in the exercise of this power.

In the traditional constitutional units which Waldstein gained from the Emperor, the form of land assemblies remained unchanged. In the Principality of Sagan, it consisted of three estates – clergy, nobility (lords and knights) and the city. The Land Diet of the Duchy of Glogow was structured in a similar way. In the Mecklenburg region, which had undergone intensive reformation process before, only members of the nobility and cities participated in the assemblies of the representatives of the estates. As far as the Duchy of Friedland is concerned, a similar principle applied in the Land Constitution. The Land Diet was to consist of the clergy, the nobility including non-ruling members of the sovereign family (originally, it was considered that they could have a special status, but this idea was eventually abandoned) and the representatives of the cities.

However, the role of these assemblies was purposefully suppressed. In the concept of the Land Constitution for the Duchy of Friedland, it was provided that the assembly shall meet at the initiative of the sovereign and will only approve his proposition – without the possibility of any negotiation or bidding. Moreover, the code was never released and the assembly in that (or any other) way was never formed. Also, in other countries, only the Duke could convene the assembly, but it was confirmed for the Principality of Sagan by the instruction of Waldstein from 18 November 1633. And, in this context, it is to be noted that the intensity of assemblies in the Waldstein countries was minimal. Practically, the estates had always met only to swear fealty to the new ruler. In the Principality of Sagan, according to the list processed by prof. Marian Ptak, the only Land Diet in the times of Waldstein was held in November 1627. Then the estates were gathered in February 1628, when they made homage to Waldstein after he had been granted the Principality of Sagan as fief. Similarly, the role of the Mecklenburg representatives of the estates was strictly limited to submitting to the new monarch. They first made homage to Waldstein as to the pledge holder of the country in May 1628, then to the hereditary owner in June of the following year.

The administrative system in all Waldstein countries showed several similar features. In principle, it didn’t go beyond the standards at that time, however, it was characterized by Waldstein’s personal interest in administrative matters, and achieving maximum efficiency.

19 Land Diets in the Duchy of Glogow are described minuciously M. Ptak, Zgromadzenia i urzędy stanowe księstwa głogowskiego od początku XIV w. do 1742 r., „Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis”, No 1344, Prawo CCX, 1991, p. 64–203.
21 NA Praha, Valdštejnské spisy, kart. 26, sign. F 67/6, fol. 142v. See also M. Ptak, Zgromadzenia i urzędy..., p. 52.
22 J.P. Majchrzak, Wallenstein..., p. 129. Nevertheless, Waldstein only followed an older practice. See also M. Ptak, Zgromadzenia i urzędy..., p. 37.
24 F.Ch. Förster, Wallenstein, Herzog..., p. 96–99.
The Administration was built by combining the principles of monocracy and collegiality. At the head of each country, there was the Land Captain, and in Mecklenburg, the Stadtholder. These selected noblemen represented Waldstein during his absence and as recipients of his orders. They represented a kind of “liaison officers” between the ruler and the rest of the administrative apparatus. At the same time, they stood at the head of the collegium of counsellors which discussed and resolved the issues of political administration. In the Duchy of Friedland it was a Court Chancery, also known from the sources as the Provincial Government. Alongside with the Land Captain and Chancellor, there were mostly 3–5 counsellors, who had the competent office staff close at their hands. The more modest and probably less powerful versions of these were the offices in the Principality of Sagan and the Duchy of Glogow. As far as the Duchy of Mecklenburg is concerned, here the administrative reform carried out by Waldstein created a relatively complicated system of central authorities. Also, the important role was played here by the Chancery, also known as the Government Chancery, but there were other authorities which were able to compete with it. Besides the Secret Council, it was mainly the so-called Cabinet, whose members were the Stadtholder, Chancellor and Regent, the most important administration representatives of the land.

The provisions of the proposal of the Land Constitution for the Duchy of Friedland are quite illustrative, according to which all the assembled nobles and representatives of the cities should be informed on the Land Diet, who out of them were summoned by the monarch to take the office. The selected person was supposed to accept the authority and hold it at least for a year. It is apparent that the basis was just obedience, not the partnership.

While in Friedland, the administration was closely linked with the judicial system and the Court Chancery functioned as the Land Court at the same time, in other principalities, these two areas of public authority were slightly more separated. In Sagan, according to the instructions from 1633, three courts were supposed to operate, the Court of Law, the Land Court, and the Feudal Court. In the Duchy of Mecklenburg, through his reform, Waldstein established a system with the Court of Law, the Appellate Court and the Secret Council. So the administration and judicial system were linked there, too. It is remarkable that Waldstein tried to separate both lines of application of law a lot more sharply there than in Friedland, where he was establishing the governmental system regardless of former traditions. Thus he could have built it in accordance with his ideas more easily.

The administrative system in all of Waldstein’s lands was established to serve the intention to optimise the use of their economic potential. And it was in close relation to the duke’s military activities. The economic boom, which was particularly typical for Friedland and earned it the famous name “terra felix”, was based on military

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26 More information about Court Chancery in the article focusing on this topic J. Svátek, Dvorská kancelář Valdštejnova..., p. 58–89.
28 NA Praha, Valdštejnska, Spisy, kart. 26, sign. F 67/6, fol. 142v.
30 J.P. Majchrzak, Wallenstein..., p. 128.
supplies. Waldstein stressed the importance of economic issues, although concerning entrepreneurial activities, he used older, time-proven methods of managing the economy of dominions rather than innovations. He didn’t hesitate to become involved in economic administration, even in issues of relatively minor importance.32

And it was a stress on economic aspects of the empire administration, rather than absolutist despotism, which caused that the life of land officers in some of Waldstein’s principalities was not easy. Many of them were removed from the office. Those who were less lucky were imprisoned. It is typical that even the supreme had to face Waldstein’s strictness. Even the first two Land Captains of the Duchy of Friedland, Jan of Gerstorf and the Gerhard Lord Taxis could not avoid imprisonment. Waldstein had originally informed the Court Chancery that Gerhard Taxis was imprisoned for life, and although he was later released, his estate was confiscated. Suspicion of embezzlement brought the Court Chancery secretary Pavel Prčka to prison. And there were more of them suffering the same fate.33

An independence of the economic administration is further illustrated by the fact that the Court Chamber, which was solely competent to solve such issues, was established in all of Waldstein’s lands. Its duty was to co-ordinate economic activities of particular estates, enterprises and other institutions of economic nature, to supervise captains of particular dominions and other patrimonial officers, to put them upon oath, and to issue mandatory instructions. In Friedland, the Court Chamber had the important duty to counterbalance the Court Office, and, in some cases, a question of jurisdiction between the two had to be resolved. The chamber with a president in the lead was established as an important central authority in the Duchy of Mecklenburg, where it originally had not existed.34 Regardless of the old tradition, in 1633, the Chamber with a director in the lead was established in Sagan.35 The internal structure of these authorities was more or less identical. Besides the head, chamber counsellors, a secretary, a master of the bursary and other staff members worked there. Each of the chambers had its own office dealing with its written documents.

Exactly in the area of economic administration, it is possible to notice some efforts to interconnect an administrative system which were particular in Waldstein’s countries. This was represented by the office of Regent. This title (in Bohemia, it was used for main economic administrators of great aristocratic dominions) was originally used for the head of the Court Chamber of the Duchy of Friedland. However, when Albrecht appointed Jindřich Kustoš of Zubří as the regent in 1629, his authority was extended to Sagan and the Duchy of Mecklenburg.36 The regent was supposed to represent the central authority. He was allowed to check accounting, make inspections, and, above all, to guarantee a better personnel system of the economic administration of Waldstein’s

32 Economy and economic administration of the Duchy of Friedland was analysed by A. Ernstberger in Wallenstein als Volkswirt im Herzogtum Friedland, Franz Kraus, Reichenberg in Böhmen 1929; modern overview written by M. Kovář, Albrecht z Valdštejna – hospodář a podnikatel..., „Historický Obzor” 1994, 9/V, p. 194–199.


34 G.Ch.F. Lisch, Über Wallensteins Regierungsform in Meklenburg, p. 28–29.


This interesting centralizing element was, however, limited due to the geographical distance among Waldstein’s dominions, which greatly complicated regent’s function. Furthermore, Kustoš was captured by the Swedish army in the Duchy of Mecklenburg in 1630, and was only released from prison two years later. Then he only worked in the Principality of Glogow, even though he kept a title of Regent.38

We can see another sign of centralization in the field of economic administration in the interventions of the Court Chamber of the Duchy of Friedland into internal affairs of the Duchy of Sagan. These issues, without a doubt, are worthy of further examination.

The administrative apparatus of individual lands was, up to a certain extent, interconnected from the personnel’s point of view. For instance, in 1629, the Waldstein’s vassal from the Duchy of Friedland, Ota Jindřich Stoš of Kounice, became the Land Captain of the Sagan principality, and on the contrary, two important officers who previously were stated in Sagan, Adam Neff and Filip Günther, came to Jičín, the capital of Friedland. However, these were just sporadic examples and, in general, members of local elites were given the posts. Waldstein’s low religious eagerness in this respect is remarkable – when choosing the officers, he preferred personal qualities and capabilities over religious beliefs. It proves that the duke was a pure pragmatist, far away from religious intolerance.

The institute of fief had a strong position in the local administration of all Waldstein’s lands. A part of estates was in the direct administration of the prince, the other part was left to local elite representatives. This situation in Silesian principalities and in the Duchy of Mecklenburg was given by the state in which they were taken over by Waldstein from the Emperor. It is remarkable that Waldstein adjusted the Duchy of Friedland in a similar way, even though it consisted of the estate bought either from the Emperor or from the original possessors. Many historians were surprised by Waldstein’s such fragmentation of his domain.39 But let’s say that this method was bringing many advantages – not only the prestige coming from the vassal sovereignty over the families of lords and knights.40

Apart from the possibility to reward chosen individuals according to their merits, this method gave him a chance to gain considerable funds as a larger part of the estate fiefs was sold to new possessors.41 Selling did not change anything on Waldstein’s sovereignty, which was also assured by some supreme rights, especially the obligation of taking beer from the prince’s breweries. Then lower economic returns were compensated by saving costs for the administration of these, despite the fact that many of them were really small holdings hardly able to be economically self-sufficient.

From the historical and legal point of view it should be mentioned that as a part of Waldstein’s reign, there were important instruments of his rule as law acts issues. The concept of Land Constitution for the Duchy of Friedland, the author of which was Ilgen, the Friedland chancellor educated in law, has been repeatedly mentioned. Waldstein him-

39 See also on this topic A. Ernstberger, Wallenstein als Volkswirt..., 1929, p. 3–18.
40 The prestige is accentuated e.g. by J. Janáček, Valdštejn a jeho doba, Svoboda, Praha 1978, p. 288.
self took part in its preparations. The Order of succession for the Duchy of Friedland and the Duchy of Sagan was another normative act issued in 1628. It dealt not only with the problem of succession itself, but also with some political and administrational issues. Waldstein’s instructions for the Duchy of Sagan, which were issued in 1633, can be considered as a kind of Land Constitution (of sui generis). The so called “Corpus Privilegiorum Ducatus Saganiensis” was founded a little earlier. It was a register of older privileges and other acts, the evident intention of which was to get an exact overview of the rights of estates and not to allow their further extension. Numerous instructions regulating formal procedures and functions of particular offices can be regarded as an important normative instrument. From that point of view, we should regard Waldstein as a man who was aware of the significance of law in the social system’s consolidation.

Regarding a limited extent of this contribution, the theses and reflections given above represent only an introduction to comprehensive and more complicated problems. Hopefully I have managed to demonstrate that Albrecht Waldstein was not only a commander, the generalissimo, but also a brilliant organiser and administrator, and that’s mainly why he deserves the attention of both general and legal history.

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43 SOA Praha, Rodinný archiv Valdštejnů, Listiny, i.č. 120, sign. N-31. Later it was corrected in details – see materials deposited in SOA Praha, Rodinný archiv Valdštejnů, Rukopisy, i.č. 264; Valdštejnští, i.č. 2375, sign. I-P2b. In the year 1628, a special charter on the succession was enacted for the Duchy of Meklenburg, Principality of Venden and County of Schwerin as well. SOA Praha, Rodinný archiv Valdštejnů, Listiny, sign. N-33, i.č. 122.
45 The codex is deposited in Archiwum Państwowe Wrocław, fond Księstwo Żagańskie, sign. 1 (old sign. I 7 d); see also J.P. Majchrzak, Wallenstein..., p. 125.