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**MILITARY TRAINING OF LINE INFANTRY AND BORDER  
GUARD REGIMENT OFFICERS IN THE MID-19<sup>th</sup> CENTURY:  
A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY FROM TRANSYLVANIA**

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**Abstract:** This paper argues that in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, border guard regiments were generally staffed with less qualified officers than the line regiments were, potentially because service in the former was considered to be less prestigious for a Habsburg officer during this period. This is demonstrated through a comparative case study of officers serving in 1840 in the 51<sup>st</sup> line infantry regiment and the 17<sup>th</sup> border guard regiment (or 2<sup>nd</sup> Romanian border guard regiment). The case study focuses on three quantifiable indicators: education, language abilities, and knowledge of engineering. The data were gathered from the officers' *Conduite-Listen* (personal records), which was an evaluation form that recorded a plethora of information about all the regiment's *Oberoffiziere* (subaltern officers).

**Keywords:** Austrian Military Border, *Conduite-Listen*, Habsburg army, Officers, Military training, Transylvania.

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## 1. Introduction

The Habsburg Military Frontier was a defensive military institution developed primarily to protect the empire's southern frontier against Ottoman threat. During the 1760s, the frontier was successfully expanded to Transylvania, where thousands of Romanian and Székely peasants were organized into four infantry regiments and one cavalry regiment. The Grenzer regiments' position within the structure of the Habsburg army oscillated between assimilating them into the line regiments or developing them into light infantry units. Initially, the Habsburg military almanacs numbered these troops in continuation of the line regiments, assigning them numbers between 60 and 76.<sup>1</sup> This changed in 1799 when these units were issued new numbers (1–17) and were listed as a separate army branch called the *National-Grenz-Regimenter*.<sup>2</sup> These changes also reflected the military authorities' indecision as to which kind of tactics these troops should employ:

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<sup>1</sup> Hollins 2005: 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Militär Almanach 1799*: 35–45.

skirmishing (more common for the light infantry) or closed formations.<sup>3</sup> No official distinction between Grenzer officers or officers of the line existed, and transfers between these two army branches were permitted. Nevertheless, there were certain differences between the two officer corps, stemming from the peculiarity of each unit's service.

Service in the border guard regiments was not held in high esteem among Austrian officers, with the Grenzer infantry being the least prestigious military branch of the Austrian army to serve in.<sup>4</sup> The reasons for this were manifold and ranged from the low status of these regiments within the army to strenuous cordon guard duty,<sup>5</sup> or even the sense of isolation officers must have felt living at a remote station hours away from their closest fellow officers.<sup>6</sup> Contemporary accounts also acknowledged the hard work required of the Grenzer officers. In a brief survey of the Transylvanian Military Frontier published in 1834, Benigni von Mildenberg, a civil servant working at the *k. und k.* Transylvanian General Commando, described the daunting work of an Austrian officer commissioned in one of the empire's Grenzer regiments. In his opinion, such a commission required much more responsibility, as the position "entailed supervising not just Grenzer military affairs but also those involving politics and finance."<sup>7</sup> To make matters even worse, unlike regiments in other districts within the Military Frontier, the Transylvanian Grenzer regiments had no *Verwaltungs-Offiziere* (administrative officers).<sup>8</sup>

Furthermore, as opposed to line officers, Grenzer officers rarely had the opportunity to travel beyond the limits of the Military Frontier. Andrew Paton, a British writer who traveled within the Croatian Military Frontier, considered this the main difference between Grenzer and line officers. He believed the officers of the line enjoyed the "great world," while those serving on the border "lived in a little world of their own."<sup>9</sup> Paton also saw this inability to travel as the primary reason why the Grenzer officer was not such an "attractive companion" as was his counterpart of the line.<sup>10</sup> When discussing the Grenzer officers from Transylvania, the Romanian historian George Barițiu also pointed to the monotony of the border guard service, claiming that some young officers were struggling to get a commission in a line regiment in order to be able to "see the world and the country."<sup>11</sup>

Taking all of this into account, one could argue that, given the difficulties of serving in the Grenzer regiments and the lack of prestige, well-trained Austrian officers ended up serving in the line regiments, while the Grenzer regiments were staffed with those who were less qualified. This paper will attempt to demonstrate this through a comparative case study of officers in a line regiment and those in a Grenzer regiment. For this purpose, three quantifiable indicators were analyzed. First, the levels of both military and civil education achieved by the officers in both regiments were compared. Second, the officers' language

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<sup>3</sup> Rothenberg 1966: 94-9.

<sup>4</sup> Rothenberg 1999: 15.

<sup>5</sup> Rothenberg 1966: 133.

<sup>6</sup> Paton, 1849: 155, also cited in Rothenberg 1966: 134.

<sup>7</sup> Mildenberg, 1834: 87.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Paton 1849: 112.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Barițiu 1874: 32.

capabilities were used as evidence of their level of education. Last, the article will compare the officers' technical skills.

## 2. Methodology and sources

This paper examines the officer corps serving in the 51<sup>st</sup> line infantry regiment and the 17<sup>th</sup> (or 2<sup>nd</sup> Romanian) border guard regiment from Năsăud based on cross-sectional data recorded in 1840. Both regiments were Transylvanian, in that the line regiment recruited its rank and file from the principality, and the Grenzer unit was one of the regiments that made up the Transylvanian section of the Austrian Military Border. By 1840, these two units had very distinct organizational structures: the line infantry consisted of three battalions and a grenadier division composed of two grenadier companies,<sup>12</sup> while the Grenzer regiment had only two active battalions.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, the number of officers serving in the line regiment was much higher: the 1840 officer corps of the 51<sup>st</sup> regiment numbered 80 officers (excluding field-grade officers and cadets), while that of the Grenzer regiment had only 43 (excluding field-grade officers and cadets).

The analysis relies entirely on the very impressive *Conduite-Listen*, which were highly detailed records of personal information. Introduced during Maria Theresia's reign, these military documents were used as a means of improving the promotion system. They were drafted yearly by the regiments' field-grade officers, who were required to record information about their fellow officers up to the rank of *Hauptmann* (captain). Hence the *Conduite-Listen* cover all the regiment's *Oberoffiziere* (subaltern officers) but not the regiment's field-grade officers, who had a different, more in-depth evaluation form. The information recorded by these sources included details about the officers' careers, including all the units they served in; their marital status and brief mentions about their families; their state of health; short descriptions of their conduct, including behavioral problems and vices; their language skills; and their knowledge of engineering and other subjects. Moreover, starting in 1840, these evaluation forms began recording information about officers' previous studies under the rubric *Was er war?* (*What was he?*). Interestingly, until that year, this section of the *Conduite-Listen* was reserved for details concerning the officers' social milieu, their fathers' occupation and, very rarely, details of their education.<sup>14</sup> This was the main reason for selecting officers serving in 1840 for this case study.

## 3. Education

Although a military educational system had been in development since the reign of Maria Teresia, by the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, attending one of Austria's military schools was not a requirement for an officer commission. In fact, many officers from the two regiments graduated from civil educational institutions. Out of the 80 subalterns (i.e., all the company officers from the rank of *Unterlieutenant* [second lieutenant] to that of

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<sup>12</sup> Wrede 1898: 47–48.

<sup>13</sup> Rothenberg 1966: 126.

<sup>14</sup> For more on the content of the *Conduite-Listen* see: Ianc 2021.

*Hauptmann*) serving in the 51<sup>st</sup> line regiment, 44 had attended a military school (55 percent), while 28 (35 percent) had studied at a civil educational institution.<sup>15</sup> In the case of eight officers (10 percent), no information concerning their education was recorded. In the Näsäud border guard regiment, only 19 out of the 43 subaltern officers serving in 1840 (44.18 percent) had attended a military school, while 21 (48.83 percent) came from a civil educational background. For the remaining three officers (6.97 percent), no information about their education was provided.

#### 4. Military education

At the top of the Habsburg military educational system was the Wiener Neustadt Academy. Founded in 1751, the academy trained the sons of exemplary officers or petty noble families free of charge.<sup>16</sup> Starting in 1806, the academy took in children between the ages of 10 and 12, trained them for eight years, and usually commissioned them as infantry officers.<sup>17</sup> As a rule, the vast majority of students were assigned to the line regiments and, very rarely, to the Grenzer ones. A comprehensive analysis by Leitner von Leitnertreu shows that between the year the academy was established and 1851 (also the year the Transylvanian Military Border was dismantled), only 187 out of 4,206 graduates were commissioned in a Grenzer regiment. In comparison, 3,635 received a commission in a line regiment.<sup>18</sup>

Returning to the comparative study, 18 officers (22.5 percent) from the line regiment graduated from Wiener Neustadt, Austria's most prestigious military academy. On the other hand, only one (2.32 percent) of the officers serving in 1840 in the Grenzer regiment had attended it: Ludwig Klococsán de Also-Venecze, an officer of Romanian origin, had been accepted, along with his two brothers, due to their father's achievements during the French Revolutionary Wars.<sup>19</sup> After studying there between 1807 and 1815, he was commissioned as a *Fähnrich* (ensign) in the 16<sup>th</sup> (or 1<sup>st</sup> Romanian) border guard regiment from Transylvania.<sup>20</sup>

The rank received at graduation provides a good indication of an officer's academic performance while at Wiener-Neustadt because their *Ausmusterung* (commission) depended on their academic performance. Theoretically, the four best students would be commissioned as *Unterleutnants*, the good students as *Fähnriche*, and the rest would enter

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<sup>15</sup> Österreichisches Staatsarchiv. Kriegsarchiv, Vienna, Personalunterlagen, Conduitelisten, Individualbeschreibungen, Grenze 498, Grenzinfanterieregiment Nr. 16 (1824–1849), Grenzinfanterieregiment Nr. 17 (1824–1840), year 1840 (abbreviated: AT-OeStA/KA Pers CL Grenze 498); Österreichisches Staatsarchiv. Kriegsarchiv, Vienna, Personalunterlagen, Conduitelisten, Individualbeschreibungen, IR [1823–1849] 131 Infanterieregiment Nr. 51, 1823–1849, year 1840, (abbreviated: AT-OeStA/KA Pers CL IR [1823–1849] 131). These and all the following statistics are based on the *Conduite-Listen* of the officers serving in 1840 found in these two boxes. The documents found in this box were not numbered, so the *Conduite-Listen* will be referenced according the box and the years in which they were created.

<sup>16</sup> Hochedlinger 1999: 157.

<sup>17</sup> Poten 1893: 107.

<sup>18</sup> Leitnertreu 1853: 24–26.

<sup>19</sup> Klein 1867: 107.

<sup>20</sup> Svoboda 1894: 398.

the regiments as ordinary cadets.<sup>21</sup> With one exception, all 18 line officers were commissioned as *Fähnriche*. Carl Züllich von Zülborn, who would later rise the rank of colonel in 1848,<sup>22</sup> was the only one who immediately received the rank of *Unterleutnant*.

A second academy, the Engineering Academy, trained engineering officers. Unlike Wiener Neustadt, most of the students had to cover the tuition fees from their own means.<sup>23</sup> After the first six years of study, some of the students were commissioned as *Fähnriche* in the infantry, while the high-achieving ones would go on to study for another year and then enter the army's Engineer Corps.<sup>24</sup> Three officers (3.75 percent) of the 51<sup>st</sup> regiment and only one (2.32 percent) from the 17<sup>th</sup> border guard regiment studied there.

The *Kadettenkompanien* (Cadet Companies) constituted the middle level of the Austrian military educational system. Created in 1808, these institutions trained ordinary cadets or, in some cases, regimental cadets who had not previously studied at any of the military academies.<sup>25</sup> The cadets had to be at least 16 years old and had to pass an exam that heavily emphasized knowledge of German.<sup>26</sup> The course of study lasted three years.<sup>27</sup> In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, such schools were established in Graz and Olmütz and another was opened in Milan in 1839.<sup>28</sup> Of the line regiment's officers, 18 (22.5 percent) had attended one of these. In comparison, only two officers (4.65 percent) from the border guard regiment had studied at one of them. Additionally, two officers from the line regiment (2.5 percent) had attended the *Pionierkorpsschule*, a similar institution that trained pioneer cadets. The course of study there lasted three years, and at the end of it, the students were commissioned as officers.<sup>29</sup>

The schools at the lowest level were regimental elementary military schools, or *Erziehungshäuser*. These were established in 1782 and were primarily focused on educating servicemen's sons. Almost all the line infantry regiments had such an institution. Within the Military Frontier, however, there were only two, and both were located within the Transylvanian sector of the Military Frontier (Năsăud and Târgu Secuiesc). The curriculum was divided into five classes according to the pupils' ages, with the actual military training conducted in the final year.<sup>30</sup> In places such as Năsăud where there already was a *Normalschule*, the students attended this institution for the first four years.<sup>31</sup> The good students stood a chance of becoming non-commissioned officers, or they could become ordinary cadets and go on to study at one of the Cadet Companies.<sup>32</sup> Only two officers (2.5 percent) of the line regiment had completed the program at an *Erziehungshaus* as their highest level of education, whereas nine (20.93 percent) Grenzer officers were trained at one of these

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<sup>21</sup> Poten 1893: 107.

<sup>22</sup> Svoboda 1894: 361.

<sup>23</sup> Wagner 1987: 247.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Poten 1893: 154.

<sup>26</sup> Poten 1893: 155.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Wagner 1987: 244.

<sup>29</sup> Wagner 1987: 246.

<sup>30</sup> Poten 1893: 189.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Wagner 1987: 244.

institutions, and of these more than half (6) in the one attached to the Näsäud regiment.

In the other parts of the Military Border where there were no *Erziehungshäuser*, future NCOs and officers were schooled at what were called *Mathematische Schulen* (mathematic schools). The course of study lasted three years, and much of the instruction focused on mathematics. Considering that completion of a *Normalschule* was, theoretically, a prerequisite for attending these schools,<sup>33</sup> the level of instruction must have been higher than in the *Erziehungshaus*. Only two (2.5 percent) officers of the line regiment had completed one of these, whereas five Grenzer officers (11.62 percent) had.

There were also two officers, one from each regiment, who had received military training outside the borders of the Austrian Empire. One of these, Ferdinand Lorang, who was from the small duchy of Nassau, had been trained as a cadet in the duchy's army before joining the 51<sup>st</sup> line regiment in 1824.<sup>34</sup> The other is a more intriguing case: Joseph Blaskovich, a *Hauptmann* in the Grenzer regiment, was from Szluin, located within the Croatian Military Frontier. According to his *Conduite-Listen*, he was schooled at the French Academy of La Flèche (this probably referred to the Prytanée de La Flèche).<sup>35</sup> Unfortunately, his *Conduite-Listen* do not provide any hints as to how he ended up there. Considering his year of birth, however, it is possible that an opportunity arose during the French occupation of the Croatian Military Frontier.

## 5. Civil education

Twenty-eight officers (35 percent) serving in the 51<sup>st</sup> line regiment and 21 officers (48.83 percent) serving in the Näsäud border guard regiment had studied at civil educational institutions. Their *Conduite-Listen* recorded the type of school the officer had attended and where it was located. Generally, the sources also mention the highest class they had completed or the nature of their studies. For example, a Grenzer named Titus von Mihalowski studied at the Gymnasium in Iwano-Frankiwsk/Stanyславiv up until the class of *Sintax* ("Studierte im Stanislauer Gimnasium bis zur Sintax").<sup>36</sup> In comparison, his fellow officer from the 51<sup>st</sup> regiment, Johann Rauber, had completed the *Humaniora*, which were the last two classes at the Gymnasium ("hat zu Marosvásárhely die Humaniora absolviert").<sup>37</sup> If a future officer had not completed the full course of study, this was also specified. Friedrich Melckior, who studied at the Gymnasium in Cluj/Kolozsvár is one such example ("...hat jedoch den Kurs nicht vollendet").<sup>38</sup>

For the purpose of comparing the various educational institutions from which the 49 officers graduated, the institutions were divided into two categories based on their level of instruction: elementary schools (e.g., *Normalschule*, *Hauptschule*, *Oberschule*) and secondary or higher educational institutions (e.g., *Akademie*, *Gymnasium*, *Collegium*).

Of the 21 Grenzer officers (48.83 percent) who attended a civil educational

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<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> AT-OeStA/KA Pers CL IR [1823-1849] 131, year 1840.

<sup>35</sup> AT OeStA/KA Pers CL Grenze 498, year 1840.

<sup>36</sup> AT OeStA/KA Pers CL Grenze 498, year 1840.

<sup>37</sup> AT-OeStA/KA Pers CL IR [1823-1849] 131, year 1840.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

institution, 11 (25.58 percent) had graduated from a secondary or higher school, while 10 (23.25 percent) of them only completed elementary school. Unsurprisingly, many of those from the latter category (6 officers), had attended the *Oberschule* (or *Normalhauptschule*) in Năsăud. Considering the other six officers who, as previously mentioned, had attended the local military institute, it can be stated with reasonable certainty that at least 12 officers (27.90 percent) from the Grenzer regiment had been educated locally.<sup>39</sup> The line regiment's officer corps, however, was radically different, as all the officers with civil degrees had graduated from a secondary or higher educational institution.

The fact that many of the Grenzer officers who studied at the elementary school in Năsăud did not continue their studies could be attributed to a series of factors, among which was joining the regiment at a very young age. For instance, Franz Zatzetky, whose father had served as a *Oberst* (colonel) in the regiment, joined the regiment as a cadet at only 14, immediately after he completed elementary school in Năsăud.<sup>40</sup> Another potential roadblock could have been the curriculum of the school itself, which strongly prioritized German over Latin, and which was still a highly important factor for acceptance at secondary educational institutions such as the Gymnasium. One situation perfectly illustrates this issue: In 1810, after great efforts by local intellectuals, twelve young students from the Năsăud elementary school were sent to study at the Blaj Gymnasium. After arriving in Blaj, however, they were instead enrolled at the *Normalschule* because their knowledge of Latin was not sufficient for the Gymnasium. In the end, only three of them graduated from the Gymnasium.<sup>41</sup>

## 6. Comparison of linguistic abilities

A relevant indicator of the officer's level of education was their knowledge of other languages. In a separate section of the *Conduite-Listen*, field-grade officers were required to list all the languages spoken by their subordinates and their level of proficiency. In most cases, three different levels were used to indicate officers' linguistic competence: *geläufig*, *gut* (good); *mittelmäßig* (intermediate) or *etwas* (low). Unfortunately, there is no way to know if these evaluations were based on the officers' self-assessments or on their superiors' opinions. Furthermore, it is difficult to verify the information recorded in the sources with other secondary accounts due to the scarcity of the latter. There is, however, one account confirming a non-Romanian officer's command of Romanian, which is worth mentioning. During the formal departure for Cluj of two companies from the regiment in 1848, Major Carl von Wieser addressed the soldiers of the regiment in Romanian. This solemn episode was reported by the local newspaper *Der Siebenbürger Bote*, which quoted von Wieser directly. The speech, which reminded the men of the sacrifices their forefathers had made for the monarchy, is fairly complex and would necessitate a good command of Romanian.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Because the sources only mention the highest level of education achieved, it is impossible to know if more officers (who later achieved a superior level of education) had not previously studied in Năsăud. Unfortunately, the archive of the Năsăud *Normalschule* was destroyed during the 1848–1849 revolution, and the surviving documents do not contain any information on this subject.

<sup>40</sup> AT OeStA/KA Pers CL Grenze 498, year 1840.

<sup>41</sup> Drăganu, *Șotropa* 1913: 17–18.

<sup>42</sup> *Der Siebenbürger Bote*, 16 October 1848, no. 110, apud Maendl 1899: 289–290.

Information from his *Conduite-List* of 1847 confirms his knowledge of Romanian, which the source indicates he was able to speak fairly well (*ziemlich gut*).

Frequent revisions to the *Conduite-Listen* also indicate their reliability in accurately evaluating the officer's knowledge of other languages. For instance, in 1826, when Wilhelm Binder, a Transylvanian Saxon born in Rupea/Reps, joined the Grenzer regiment as a regimental cadet, he reportedly spoke both German and Hungarian well, but spoke only a bit of Romanian (*etwas*).<sup>43</sup> Roughly ten years later, his Romanian speaking abilities were evaluated as good (*gut*).<sup>44</sup> Finally, in 1842, after 16 years in the regiment, his command of Romanian was assessed as very good (*sehr gut*).<sup>45</sup>

Language	Percentage
Romanian	76.25%
Italian	68.75%
Hungarian	57.50%
French	22.50%
Serbian/Croatian	21.25%
Polish	12.50%
Latin	10.00%
Czech/ <i>Armee Slawisch</i>	5.00%
English	2.50%

Table 1. Languages spoken by the officers of the 51st line regiment (excluding German)

Language	Percentage
Romanian	92.86%
Hungarian	40.48%
Serbian/Croatian	21.43%
Latin	14.29%
Polish	9.52%
Italian	2.38%
French	2.38%

Table 2 Languages spoken by the officers of the 17th Grenzer regiment (excluding German)

The following tables illustrate familiarity with languages (excluding German) among two officer corps in 1840. An officer was considered to be familiar with a certain language whenever his speaking ability was assessed as either intermediate or good. One notable difference between the two officer corps was command of Italian, which was not commonly spoken by the officers in the Grenzer regiment (2.38 percent); yet there was a high percentage of Italian speakers (68.76 percent) among the officers of the line. This is surprising, considering only three of them had come from the empire's Italian provinces. A plausible explanation may be that between 1815 and 1840, the line regiment was stationed

<sup>43</sup> AT OeStA/KA Pers CL Grenze 498, year 1826.

<sup>44</sup> AT OeStA/KA Pers CL Grenze 498, year 1836.

<sup>45</sup> Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Vienna, Personalunterlagen, Conduitelisten, Individualbeschreibungen, Grenze 499, Grenzinfanterieregiment Nr. 17 (1841–1849), Grenzinfanterieregiment Nr. 18 (1840–1849) (abbreviated: AT-OeStA/KA Pers CL Grenze 499), year 1842.

more or less permanently in Italian cities.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, there is reason to believe that Italian was widely spoken among the officers of the line infantry. Even in 1870, the year the first statistics for the entire army were published, Italian was the most widely spoken language, with 36.28 percent of the officers of the line infantry being able to speak it.<sup>47</sup>

Knowledge of French, a completely foreign language, however, provides the best indicator of the line infantry officers' higher level of education. Of these officers, 18 (22.5 percent) were assessed as speaking French at least at an intermediate level. Interestingly, nearly all of them had attended military educational institutions.

## 7. Comparison of engineering skills

The last indicator, knowledge of engineering, also provides insight into the officers' level of education. The *Conduite-Listen* contained a separate rubric reserved for listing officers' knowledge in this field. In nearly all cases, comments from their superiors mention the officers' ability to design or construct field or permanent fortifications. Twentyfour (28 percent) from the line regiment were competent in this, compared to only 4 (9 percent) of the Grenzers. Of the 24 line officers, 21 had graduated either from Wiener Neustadt or the Engineering Academy, one had attended the Olmütz Cadet School, and two had attended civil educational institutions. In the Grenzer regiment, each of the four officers had gone to a different educational institution: Wiener Neustadt, the Engineering Academy, the Olmütz Cadet School, and the Mathematics School in Caransebeş.

## 8. Case studies

Two individual case studies were also conducted, which focused on the careers of Grenzer officer Leontin Lucchi and one of his contemporaries from the line regiment, Cajetan Licudi. These two officers were selected because their educational background was a good representation of each of their respective officer corps.

Leontin Luchi was born in Feldru, one of the militarized villages under the authority of the 17<sup>th</sup> Grenzer regiment, in 1807.<sup>48</sup> Born into a Grenzer family, he attended the regimental military institute in Näsäud. After graduating, Luchi joined the border guard regiment at the age of eighteen as a *Gemeiner* (private). After serving eleven years in the regiment, he was commissioned as a *Fähnrich* in 1838, when he was nearly thirty years old.<sup>49</sup> While his initial *Conduite-Liste* did not record any particular background in the sciences or other interests, in 1841, Luchi's superiors acknowledged that he had some understanding of history and geography.<sup>50</sup> His German improved as well, and from 1841 onwards, his abilities

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<sup>46</sup> The only exception was between 1829 and 1831, when the 51<sup>st</sup> line regiment was stationed in Klagenfurt (Wrede 1898: 471).

<sup>47</sup> *Militär-Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Jahr 1870*: 222.

<sup>48</sup> AT-OeStA/KA Pers CL Grenze 498, year 1840.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> AT-OeStA/KA Pers CL Grenze 498, year 1841.

were evaluated as very good. This development could also be attributed to the fact that Luchi was seconded for several years to the chancellery of Archduke Ferdinand d'Este.<sup>51</sup> In 1846 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and following his successful conduct during the war of 1848–1849, he was promoted to the rank of *Hauptmann I. Classe* (captain 1st class) in 1848.<sup>52</sup> His *Conduite-Liste* from the following year, which was also his last, did not recommend him for promotion to staff officer.<sup>53</sup> After the war ended and the Grenzer regiment was disbanded, Luchi pursued a career as a public servant.

Cajetan Licudi came from a completely different social background. He was born in Rijeka in 1805, and his father was a forestry inspector.<sup>54</sup> At the age of twelve, he was admitted to the prestigious academy in Wiener Neustadt, where he spent the next eight years preparing for a future career as an officer in the Austrian army. In 1825 he was commissioned as a *Fähnrich* in the 16<sup>th</sup> line regiment, and almost three years later was transferred to the 51<sup>st</sup>.<sup>55</sup> He advanced rapidly within the regiment, reaching the rank of *Hauptmann* by 1847. His previous education at Wiener Neustadt was reflected in his *Conduite-Liste*. According to the documents, Licudi was familiar with the construction of fortifications, and had knowledge of mathematics, drafting, history, and geography. In 1828, three years after graduating from the academy, Licudi was reported as being able to speak German and Italian well and had a limited knowledge of Latin, French, Polish, and Hungarian,<sup>56</sup> the four languages he had studied at the academy.<sup>57</sup> It is telling that over the next six years, according to his *Conduite-Liste*, there were notable changes in Licudi's reported knowledge of languages. His *Conduite-Liste* from 1834 no longer mentions Polish or Hungarian, yet his knowledge of French seemed to have improved, and he now spoke Romanian, the language spoken by the rank and file, which he had most likely become familiar with during his time in the regiment. During the war of 1848–1849, just like Lucchi, he distinguished himself and was decorated for his conduct. Unlike Lucchi, Licudi's superiors recommended promotion to the rank of staff officer, citing among their reasons the good education he had received.<sup>58</sup> In 1850, he was promoted to the rank of *Major* (major), and nine years later to *Oberstleutnant* (lieutenant colonel). In 1864, after a career of nearly 40 years, he retired with the rank of *Oberst* (colonel).<sup>59</sup>

Licudi's more extensive education was most certainly an important asset for his career, and contributed to achieving a field-grade officer rank. On the other hand, even though Luchi's military career was not as successful as Licudi's, it nevertheless demonstrates the opportunities for social mobility available to those living within the Military Frontier that arose due to the establishment of educational institutions. In addition,

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<sup>51</sup> Onofreiu 2008: 138.

<sup>52</sup> Österreichisches Staatsarchiv. Kriegsarchiv, Vienna, Personalunterlagen, Conduitelisten, Individualbeschreibungen, Grenze 499, Grenzinfanterieregiment Nr. 17 (1841–1849), Grenzinfanterieregiment Nr. 18 (1840–1849) (abbreviated: AT-OeStA/KA Pers CL Grenze 499), year 1849.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> Svoboda 1894: 483.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> AT-OeStA/KA Pers CL IR [1823-1849] 131, year 1828.

<sup>57</sup> Poten 1893: 107.

<sup>58</sup> AT-OeStA/KA Pers CL IR [1823-1849] 131, year 1849.

<sup>59</sup> Svoboda 1894: 483.

these two case studies show how different levels of education were reflected in the *Conduite-Listen* and how they could eventually impact one's career.

## 9. Conclusions

When Andrew Paton scrutinized the lands of the Military Frontier in the 1840s, he noticed that the Austrian officers he met there did not make for such good “companions” as did the line infantry officers he was accustomed to. He attributed this to Grenzer officers being confined to the area under the jurisdiction of their regiments and rarely having the opportunity to travel outside their stations.

A different perspective is presented here. Given these regiments' lower status within the army and that service in the Grenzer regiments was considered the least prestigious option for an officer, the Grenzer regiments ended up being staffed with less qualified officers than the line regiments. This is demonstrated here by a comparative case study between the officer corps from 1840 of a line regiment (the 51<sup>st</sup> line infantry regiment) and a border guard regiment (the 17<sup>th</sup> border guard regiment). The study looked at three quantifiable indicators: education, languages spoken, and knowledge of engineering. In terms of education, the analysis showed that line officers had been trained at either military or civil higher educational institutions. The majority of line officers attended one of two academies (the highest level of military education) or a cadet school (the secondary level of military education), while the majority of Grenzer officers who had completed military studies had attended less prestigious military educational institutions such as the regiments' *Erziehungshäuser*. The analysis also showed that all of the 28 line officers who graduated from civil educational institutions had attended secondary or higher educational institutions, while only 11 of the 21 Grenzer officers with the same educational background had attended such institutions. Furthermore, the line officers' superior credentials were also reflected in their language abilities. Two examples supporting this were widespread knowledge of Italian and the considerable number of line officers who spoke French. Last, a comparison of technical skills also illustrates the line officers' superior education in comparison to the Grenzer officers.

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ДРАГОШ ДУМИТРУ ЈАНЦ  
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**ВОЈНА ОБУКА ОФИЦИРА ОДРЕДА  
ЛИНИЈСКЕ ПЕШАДИЈЕ И ПОГРАНИЧНЕ ГАРДЕ  
ХАБЗБУРШКЕ ВОЈСКЕ У ПРВОЈ ПОЛОВИНИ 19. ВЕКА –  
КОМПАРАТИВНИ ПРИМЕР ИЗ ТРАНСИЛВАНИЈЕ**

**Резиме**

У раду се показује да, имајући у виду нижи статус који су погранични одреди уживали унутар аустријске војске и да се служба у њима сматрала мање престижном, они су били пуни мање квалификованих официра него линијски одреди. Зарад аргументовања ове тезе спроведена је компаративна студија подређених официра (*Oberoffiziere*) који су 1840. г. служили у 51. линијском пешадијском одреду и оних који су служили у 17. одреду пограничне гарде. Размотрена су три квантификацијска индикатора: образовање, језичке способности и техничке вештине. Када је реч о образовању, анализа је показала да су линијски официри похађали више просветне установе, што је био случај и са онима који су завршили војне студије, и са онима који су били у цивилној школи. Велика већина линијских официра који су завршили војне образовне установе, похађала је или једну од две академије (Винер Нојштат или Инжењерску академију), или кадетске школе (што је био средњи ниво војног образовања), док је већина официра пограничних одреда ишла у наје престижне војне школе, попут *Erziehungshäuser*. У погледу цивилног образовања, анализа је показала да су сви од 28 линијских официра који су завршили ову врсту школа, имали средње или високо образовање, док је свега 11 од 21 пограничног официра са овим типом едукације достигао такав ниво. Друго, виши степен образовања линијских официра одражавао се и на њихове језичке способности. Учестало знање италијанског, и знатан број линијских официра који су знали француски, примери су који иду у прилог овом закључку. Коначно, упоређивање техничких вештина показало је виши образовни профил линијских у односу на пограничне официре.

**Кључне речи:** Аустријска војна граница, листе владања, Хабзбуршка војска, официри, војна обука, Трансилванија.