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**PRIVILEGES AND DUTIES. REFLECTIONS ON THE  
CIRCUMSTANCES OF LIFE OF THE NĂSĂUD BORDER  
REGIMENT DURING THE 18<sup>th</sup> CENTURY**

**Privilegii și datorii. Reflecții asupra condițiilor de viață din zona  
Regimentului Grăniceresc năsăudean pe parcursul secolului al XVIII-lea**

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**Abstract:** *In the year 1761 Adolf Nicolaus Freiherr von Buccow is given permission from by the Court in Vienna to start with establishing the military border section in Transylvania. After a violent establishing phase two Border Infantry Regiments, one Dragoon Regiment and one regiment of Hussars were formed. The present paper highlights the impact of the military administration on border guards and their families or especially households from the Second Border Regiment of Năsăud. Outlined is the interaction between privileges and duties under military supervision primarily during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century.*

**Keywords:** Military Border, Transylvania, Năsăud, Household Structure, Military Administration

In the year 1761, when the resolution to establishing the Transylvanian Military Border was passed, it needed nearly five years before the Transylvanian Border Regiments were formed, the military villages were selected and the organization of the Military Border Section was completed.<sup>1</sup> The population of Transylvania, first of all the estates, felt unjustly treated and patronized due to the resolutions of the court in Vienna.<sup>2</sup>

At this time the Habsburg Military Border System, which contemporaries perceived as a well-organized defence system, could look back on 250 years of practical experience. Since in the year 1535 the first border guards in the later referred to as Croatian-Slavonian Border section, at the

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<sup>1</sup> Highly recommended regarding the Transylvanian Military Border are the studies from Carl Göllner, *Die Siebenbürgische Militärgrenze. Ein Beitrag zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte 1762–1851*, Munich, 1974; Mathias Bernath, *Die Errichtung der siebenbürgischen Militärgrenze und die Wiener Rumänenpolitik in der frühjosephinischen Zeit*, in *Südostforschungen*, 19 (1960); Joseph Heinrich Benigni von Mildenberg, *Statistische Skizze der Siebenbürgischen Militär-Gränze*, Hermannstadt<sup>2</sup>, 1834; Gheorghe Șișeștean, „The House and the Extensive Domestic Group of the Military Border Area (Militärgrenze) from Transylvania and Banat”, in *Romanian Journal of Population Studies*, 1 (2010), pp. 119–136; Liviu Major, Nicolae Boșan, Ioan Bolovan (Ed.), *The Austrian Military Border. Its political and cultural impact*, Iași, 1994; Adrian Onofreiu, Ioan Bolovan, *Contribuții documentare privind istoria regimentului Grăniceresc năsăudean*, București, 2006; Virgil Șotropa, „Regimentul grăniceresc năsăudean”, in *Arhiva Someșană*, 2 (1925), pp. 1–12; Virgil Șotropa, „Inițierea graniței militare năsădene 1762”, in *Arhiva Someșană*, 25 (1939), pp. 261–375 and Ioan Bolovan, „Die österreichische Militärgrenze und die Siebenbürger Rumänen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Das Naßoder Gebiet”, in Ulrike Tischler-Hofer, Renate Zedinger (Ed.), *Kuppeln Korn Kanonen. Unerkannte und unbekanntes Spuren in Südosteuropa von der Aufklärung bis in die Gegenwart*, Vienna, Innsbruck, 2010, pp. 311–324.

<sup>2</sup> Mathias Bernath, *Die Errichtung der siebenbürgischen Militärgrenze*, pp. 164–192.

"Privileges and duties. Reflections on the circumstances of life of the Năsăud border regiment during the 18<sup>th</sup> century", *Astra Salvensis*, III, 5, 2015, p. 20-30

Sichelberger District, got privileges for military service, the Military Border was enlarged step by step. Concerning organization and administration the Transylvanian section underwent a decoupling development from the residual sections, but all sections shared one significant characteristic: locally recruited soldiers ensured military security by monitoring and patrolling the border area to prevent illegal crossings and in further consequence ottoman invasions. The border guards (*Grenzer*) were rewarded for their services with beneficial ownership estates, which they cultivated for their families subsistence, without being subjected to a feudal lord.<sup>3</sup> In what followed, we shall take a closer look at the circumstances of life and the interaction between privileges and duties of the Second Wallachian Border Infantry Regiment of Năsăud primarily during the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

### The border guards:

Burgeoning resistance during the establishment phase was caused primarily by the demographic makeup of the principality. The Transylvanian estates represented by Székely, Hungarian and Saxons showed no understanding that parts of the mostly unpropertied and adscript Wallachian<sup>4</sup> peasants, who constitute two-third of the Transylvanian population in the 1750ies, should become – beside parts of the Székely population – privileged border guards.<sup>5</sup>

Whereas Székely insisted on their in formerly times granted right of tax exemption for military services,<sup>6</sup> the Wallachian population was instead highly afraid concerning wartime deployments abroad. General of the Cavalry and

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<sup>3</sup> Regarding the Military Border Karl Kaser, *Freier Bauer und Soldat. Die Militarisierung der agrarwirtschaftlichen Gesellschaft an der kroatisch-slavonischen Militärgrenze 1535–1881, Zur Kunde Südosteuropas* 2/22, Vienna, Cologne, Weimar<sup>2</sup>, 1997; Kinga Xénia Havadi-Nagy, *Die Slavonische und Banater Militärgrenze. Kriegserfahrungen und räumliche Mobilität*, Cluj-Napoca, 2010; Peter Krajasich, *Die Militärgrenze in Kroatien*, Vienna, 1974; Militärwissenschaftliches Institut (Ed.), *Die k.k. Militärgrenze. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Schriften des Heeresgeschichtlichen Museums in Wien*, 6, Vienna, 1973; Jakob Amstadt, *Die k.k. Militärgrenze 1522–1881*, Vols. 1–2, Würzburg, 1969; Carl Bernhard von Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgrenze des österreichischen Kaiserthums. Ein Versuch*, Vols. 1–3, Vienna, 1817–1823 and František Vanicek, *Specialgeschichte der Militärgrenze. Aus Originalquellen und Quellenwerkengeschöpf*, Vols. 1–4, Wien, 1875.

<sup>4</sup> I will use the contemporary term „wallachian“, which is used in the archival sources as synonym for the Romanian population.

<sup>5</sup> Ladislau Gyémánt, „Ethnische und soziale Aspekte im Siedlungsraum Siebenbürgen im Lichte zweier Sammeltabellen der Steuerkonskription von 1750“, in *Berichte und Forschungen, Jahrbuch des Bundesinstituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa* 17, Munich, 2010, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph Heinrich Benigni von Mildenberg, *Pragmatische Geschichte der Siebenbürgischen MilitairGraenze*, 1 Theil, Vienna, 1811–1812 (manuskript), p. 23.

later Governor of Transylvania Adolf Nicolaus Freiherr von Buccow,<sup>7</sup> who was charged with the task of the Military Border Establishment, was confronted personally on the 9<sup>th</sup> May 1762 with the Wallachian defiance. In Salva, a prospective Military Border Village of the Second Wallachian Border Infantry Regiment, potential *Grenzer* refused swearing the oath, which was: “We swear to serve at water and land, also to go everywhere, where us our queen will command.”<sup>8</sup> It is important to apprehend that with the status as border guards, peasants were subjected to a new system and they were afraid to swap accustomed manorial subservience for military subservience.<sup>9</sup> Finally, the violent establishment phase could be brought to an end and two Wallachian and two Székely Infantry Border Regiments and one Wallachian Dragoon Regiment and one Székely Hussars Regiment were formed.<sup>10</sup>

The territory of the Second Border Infantry Regiment of Năsăud covered parts of the Comitatus of *Thorenburg* (Turda), *Klausenburg* (Cluj) and *Doboka* (Dobîca) and the District of *Rodna*, which was previously part of the District of *Bistritz* (Bistrița).<sup>11</sup> Some Saxons villages on *Königsboden*, where mainly wallachs settled, had to be released from the Community of *Bistritz*<sup>12</sup> and the so-called Rodnaer Valley became part of the Regiment.<sup>13</sup> In the year

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<sup>7</sup> Sabine Jesner, „Ein gescheiterter General? Adolf Nikolaus von Buccow und die Einrichtung der Siebenbürgischen Militärgrenze”, in Harald Heppner (Ed.), *Der verhängnisvolle Irrtum. Zur Analyse von Fehlleistungen in politisch-militärischen Kontexten*, Berlin, 2014, pp. 65–82.

<sup>8</sup> „Wir schwören zu dienen zu Wasser und zu Lande, auch überall hin zu geben, wo hin uns die Königin befehlen wird”. Cited in Friedrich I. Kramer, „Die Militarisierung des Rodnaer Tales”, in *Bistritzer Gymnasialprogramm* (1880), pp. 26–27 and in addition Mathias Bernath, *Die Errichtung der Siebenbürgischen Militärgrenze*, p. 184.

<sup>9</sup> Carl Göllner, *Die Siebenbürgische Militärgrenze*, p. 27.

<sup>10</sup> Eduard Albert Bielz, *Handbuch der Landeskunde Siebenbürgens. Eine physikalisch-statistisch-topographische Beschreibung dieses Landes*, Hermannstadt 1857, p. 24; The Wallachian Dragoon Regiment was abolished in April 1770. See also Joseph Heinrich Benigni von Mildeberg, *Pragmatische Geschichte*, 1 Theil, p. 253. The Infantry Regiments were on average 3,000 soldiers strong and the Hussar Regiment 2,000 soldiers strong. These average values were subject to considerable fluctuations. For comparison Carl Bernhard von Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgrenze*, 1823, p. 283 and for details the Conscription (*Conskriptionssummarium*) from 17 February 1774 in *Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Zentralstellen*, HKR HR A, No. 1020, 1774/41/16 or the Conscription of the year 1807 in *Serviciul Județean Sibiu al Arhivelor Naționale*, fond *Comandamentul general al armatei austriece CC din Transilvania 9/1807*, fol. 26.

<sup>11</sup> Andrei Sanda, „Der Status der rumänischen Gebiete im Bereich der siebenbürgischen Militärgrenze”, in Wolfgang Kessler (Ed.), *Gruppenautonomie in Siebenbürgen. 500 Jahre siebenbürgisch-sächsische Nationsuniversität*, Cologne, Vienna, 1990, p. 247; Joseph Heinrich Benigni von Mildeberg, *Statistische Skizze der Siebenbürgischen Militär-Gränze*, p. 13–14 and Ernst Wagner, *Historisch-statistisches Ortsnamenbuch für Siebenbürgen: mit einer Einführung in die historische Statistik des Landes*, Cologne, Vienna, 1977, pp. 411–419.

<sup>12</sup> Rolf Kutschera, *Landtag und Gubernium in Siebenbürgen 1688–1869*, Cologne, Vienna 1985, p. 231.

<sup>13</sup> 21 Military Bordervillages were involved: Maier (Maieru), Sankt Georgen (Sîngeorz-Băi), Lesch (Leșu), Ilva Mică, Biskenu (Feldru), Werare (Nepos), Rebra, Rebrîșcara, Nussendorf

"Privileges and duties. Reflections on the circumstances of life of the Năsăud border regiment during the 18<sup>th</sup> century", *Astra Salvensis*, III, 5, 2015, p. 20-30

1783 one important alternation was implemented while the territory of the Second Wallachian Infantry Border Regiment was spatially extended with the so called Borgoer Dominium, which included the villages Borgó-Prund (Prundu Bârgăului), Borgó-Tiha (Tiha-Bârgăului), Borgó-Morossény (Mureșenii Bârgăului), Borgó-Bistritz (Bistrița-Bârgăului), Borgó-Zsosény (Josenii Bârgăului), Borgó-Szuszény (Susenii Bârgăului), Borgó-Rusz (Rusu Bârgăului) und Borgó-Mislotsény (Mijlocenii Bârgăului).<sup>14</sup>

The enrolment as border guard took place by swearing the oath of allegiance. By wearing the uniform a visual distinction to the civilian sphere was automatically made. While in the other Transylvanian Border Regimentsdistricts soldiers lived together with the civilian population, the Second Wallachian Regiments district was entirely militarized. Depending on the military rank, the male inhabitant of the district was either officer, civil servant, clergyman, private or *Scheller* (unpropertied inhabitants of the Military Border).<sup>15</sup> All male members of a military border family were categorized by military service capability and economic dispensability. Concerning service capability they were classified as *Enrollierte* (field duty suitable), half-invalid (house duty suitable), invalid and military *Nachwuchs*. Enrolment was possible from the age of 18 and through the so-called *Superarbitrierung* (declaration regarding unfitness of service) the soldiers were relieved from their service capability. This was the case, if a border guard became invalid or died.<sup>16</sup> The female population – wives and daughters of the borderguards – were in the contemporary militarily oriented perception and administration more or less not present. This aspect is mirrored in the body of the source material.

### Duties and privileges:

The main duties of the border guards depended on the functions of the Military Border System: The border acted as military security outpost to defend

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(Năsăud), Salva, Coșbuc, Teltsch (Telciu), Bichigiu, Suplai, Poienile Zagrei, Alunișu, Runcu Salvei, Zagra, Makendorf (Mocod), Mititei und Rodna. Quoted by Johann Heinrich Schwicker, *Geschichte der österreichischen Militärgrenze*, 1. Teil, Vienna, 1883, p. 139 and Friedrich I. Kramer, „Militarisierung des Rodnaer Tales”, pp. 6–11. In the context of the Saxons during the establishing phase see further more Sabine Jesner, „Die siebenbürgisch-sächsische Nation und die Einrichtung der Siebenbürgischen Militärgrenze”, in *Danubiana Carpathica* 6, 53 (2012), pp. 237–254.

<sup>14</sup> Virgil Șotropa, „Militarizarea Văiei Bârgăului”, in *Arhiva Someșană* 10 (1929), pp. 1–30.

<sup>15</sup> Joseph Andreas Grimm, *Die politische Verwaltung im Großfürstenthum Siebenbürgen*, 2. Vol., Hermannstadt, 1856, p. 13 and Joseph Heinrich Benigni von Mildenberg, *Statistische Skizze der Siebenbürgischen Militär-Gränze*, pp. 86–93.

<sup>16</sup> Joseph Heinrich Benigni von Mildenberg, *Statistische Skizze der Siebenbürgischen Militär-Gränze*, pp. 99–100.

from Ottoman invasion, served as a barrier against epidemics<sup>17</sup> and played a significant role in the international commerce.

Concerning military tasks it is necessary to draw a distinction between activities abroad and inland. The service abroad was firstly focused on ensuring the border zone along the ottoman frontier toward Moldova. The *Grenzer* who monitored and patrolled the border area and were stationed in sentry posts located no more than a musket-shot apart. For their way to the sentry posts, where the borderguards had to stay for a period of 14 days, they got an allowance of four *Kreuzer*.<sup>18</sup> The vigilance, number of sentries on the cordon depended on weather conditions and the expected danger of epidemics in bordering areas.<sup>19</sup>

Table 1: Number of sentry posts (S) manned with border guards (BG) toward season (summer/winter) in accord with danger of epidemics, 1803.<sup>20</sup>

Period	SUMMER						WINTER					
	Period/danger of epidemic (I–III)						Period/danger of epidemic (I–III)					
	I		II		III		I		II		III	
	S	BG	S	BG	S	BG	S	BG	S	BG	S	BG
I. SBIR	46	281	49	307	96	697	41	219	42	244	46	391
II. SBIR	33	261	36	342	91	635	25	167	27	228	91	572
I. WBIR	95	434	110	605	133	1.142	55	270	62	369	111	702
II. WBIR	25	148	39	524	39	918	10	52	19	221	19	443
Summa	199	1,124	234	1,778	359	3,392	131	708	150	1,062	267	2,108

<sup>17</sup> During the 18<sup>th</sup> century outbreaks of bubonic plague often arose in the Ottoman Empire. Transylvania was touched several times by the disease until the first half of the 19th century. Most of the time the plague found its way into Transylvania by troops, travellers or merchants from the vassals of the High Porte Wallachia or Moldova. People and Subjects entering the Monarchy from the Danubian Principalities could be regarded as potential carriers of plague and therefore considered a possible danger. See, in this respect, the works of Erna Lesky, „Die österreichische Pestfront an der k.k. Militärgrenze”, in *Saeculum*, 8, (1957), pp. 82–106; Daniel Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets. L'Europe et la peste d'Orient (XVIIe–XXe siècles)*, Aix-en-Provence, 1986; Gunther E. Rothenberg, „The Austrian sanitary cordon and the control of bubonic plague: 1710–1871”, in *Journal of the history of medicine and allied sciences*, 28, (1973), pp. 15–23.

<sup>18</sup> Reflections about the composition of sentry posts 1765 in *OeStA, KA, ZSt, HKR, SR, Militärgrenze Akten No. 48, 1765/14*; Annotations regarding sentry posts 1768 (*Cordonspostenausweis*) in *OeStA, KA, ZSt, HKR, HR, A, No. 660, 1768/52/Dezember/605* and Ileana Bozac, Teodor Pavel, *Călătoria împăratului Iosif al II-lea în Transilvania la 1773*, 1. Vol., Cluj-Napoca, 2006, p. 731.

<sup>19</sup> Around 1770 42 days if neighbouring provinces are infected, 28 days if there is an outbreak in the Ottoman Empire and 21 days as a basic period. Furthermore entry travel bans were possible and practiced in very dangerous times.

<sup>20</sup> *Cordonspostenausweis* 1803 in SJSAN, fond *Comandamentul general al armatei austriece CC din Transilvania*, 4/1803, fol. 1–26.

"Privileges and duties. Reflections on the circumstances of life of the Năsăud border regiment during the 18<sup>th</sup> century", *Astra Salvensis*, III, 5, 2015, p. 20-30

Legend: I. Sekely Border Infantry Regiment (I. SBIR); II. Sekely Border Infantry Regiment (II. SBIR); I. Wallachian Border Infantry Regiment (I. WBIR); II. Wallachian Border Infantry Regiment (II. WBIR).

A so-called *Cordonspostenausweis*, dated 1768, give an explanation about the distance between collecting station (*Sammelstation*) and this sentry posts. The *Grenzer* of the Second Wallachian Infantry Regiment took twelve hours on average.<sup>21</sup> From their home villages the distance was much longer. Some borderguards had to march up to four days to reach their post.<sup>22</sup>

The main function of the soldiers was to reveal secret and thus illegal border crossings. §5 of the second part of the *Generale Normativum In Re Sanitatis* of the year 1770 postulates beside permanent patrol, especially watching on the morning patrol for traces of secret crossings during the night.<sup>23</sup> Because all travellers (including goods or livestock) from the Ottoman Empire had to enter the Monarchy solely through quarantine stations (*Contumazen*) and were forced to remain in seclusion in this establishments for up to six weeks. Soldiers were not allowed to leave the cordon or cross the border without permission.<sup>24</sup> Beside this cordon service, military service included war service abroad.<sup>25</sup>

Classified as inner service (*innerer Dienst*) the border guards undertook duties, which were meant to support on the one hand their own village and on the other their own regiment. This community work included for example building and maintenance of churches, school buildings, storehouses, pubs or fountains as well as road and bridge construction. If one belonged to the second category ones job was to transport the regiments money, munition and weapons or maintenance of quarantine buildings and sentry posts. Additionally activities like letter orderly, ancillaries during executions and interrogations and transport support (*Vorspann*) for the own regiment.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Cordonspostenausweis* 1768 in *OeStA, KA, ZSt, HKR, HR, A*, No. 660, 1768/52/ Dec/605.

<sup>22</sup> Detailed description about the circumstances in the Transylvanian Military Border 1797 from Lieutenant Tontsch in *OeStA, KA, ZSt, HKR, SR, Militärgrenze Akten* 32.

<sup>23</sup> „[...] besonders frühmorgens genau nachzusehen, ob nicht einige Spuren von heimlichen Herüber tretungen bemerket [...]”. In: *Generale Normativum In Re Sanitatis* 1770, which is published in *Supplementum Codicis Austriaci, oder Chronologische Sammlung*, aller vom 1<sup>ten</sup> Jänner 1759 bis letzten Dezember 1770. 6. Theil. Vienna 1777, p. 1264.

<sup>24</sup> *Supplementum Codicis Austriaci*, p. 1264.

<sup>25</sup> Carl Göllner, *Siebenbürgische Militärgrenze*, pp. 75–77; Joseph Heinrich Benigni von Mildenberg, *Statistische Skizze der Siebenbürgischen Militär-Gränze*, p. XI and Joseph Heinrich Benigni von Mildenberg, *Pragmatische Geschichte*, 2. Theil, p. 354.

<sup>26</sup> Carl Bernhard von Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgrenze*, 1823, pp. 258–262 and Joseph Heinrich Benigni von Mildenberg, *Statistische Skizze der Siebenbürgischen Militär-Gränze*, pp. 94–96.

While the mentioned duties were oriented along the lines of military security and auxiliary activities in the Principality, the *Grenzer* had to render tax payments. The published border regulation (§7) included, that soldiers had to pay *Kopfsteuer* (tax per head) and two out of three of customary contribution. The border family was exempted from paying contribution, if one male family member was in mission of war.<sup>27</sup> Carl Göllner determined an amount between two and five gulden: A municipal clerk payed five, a border guard four and a wallachian subservient peasant two Gulden.<sup>28</sup> Since 1769 all Transylvanian border guards were exempted from paying taxes per head, but instead had to pay the full amount of contribution.<sup>29</sup> After 1801 the *Grenzer* were finally exempt from all tax burdens.<sup>30</sup>

Counterbalanced against the mentioned obligations, there was a range of privileges. The most important benefit was the receipt of beneficial ownership estates, which improved the economic circumstances of the freshly conscripted Năsăud border guards. During the establishment phase the selected border villages were surveyed and in correlation with the planned number of settlements the plots were subdivided. Each unit was given to a border family and was referred to as *Session*, which means one household. This procedure was responsible for various forms of imbalance regarding family size and plot size, because the military payed no heed to the expectable family size and soil conditions were not given enough attention.<sup>31</sup>

Every border family was represented by a paterfamilias, who was off duty. The linkage of military service and beneficial ownership give rise to questions regarding hereditary right. What happened, if the paterfamilias died? §14 of the border regulations gives us the answer, here it was explicitly defined, if a border guard died, movable or immovable assets went to his lawful heirs and did not revert to the treasury.<sup>32</sup> In fact: after the death the right of

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<sup>27</sup> „Regulation for the Military Border of Transylvania (*Gränz-Regulativ*)” printed in Franz Hübler, *Militär-Ökonomie System der kaiserlich königlichen österreichischen Armee*, 9. Vol., Vienna, 1821, pp. 375–387.

<sup>28</sup> Carl Göllner, *Siebenbürgische Militärgrenze*, p. 47.

<sup>29</sup> On 19 August 1769 Maria Theresia wrote to Graf Lacy: „*Ich habe der siebenbürgischen Grenzmiliz in folge der anderweit schon derselben ertheilten Versicherung, nun mehr den Nachlaß der ganzen Taxal Capitis mit Anfang des á 1. Novembris h:a: eintretenden neure Systeme, und zwar für die nur inscribierte sowohl, als die wirklich dienende Mannschaft verwilliget, gegen denen jedoch, dass Sie von den Gründen und Fakultäten künftig die ganze Kontribution gleich andere zu entrichten gehalten sein sollen*” in *OeStA, KA, ZSt, HKR, HR, A, No. 701, 1769/47/102*.

<sup>30</sup> Carl Bernhard von Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgrenze*, 1823, p. 263; p. 265.

<sup>31</sup> Mathias Bernath, *Die Errichtung der siebenbürgischen Militärgrenze*, p. 177 and Joseph Andreas Grimm, *Politische Verwaltung*, 2. Vol., p. 14.

<sup>32</sup> „Wenn ein Gränzsoldat mit Tode abgeht, so wollen Wir keineswegs dessen hinterlassene beweg- und unbewegliche Güter Unserem Aerario zueignen, sondern solche sollen dessen hinterlassenen rechtmässigen Erben und Nachfolgern, mit der auf den unbeweglichen Gütern

"Privileges and duties. Reflections on the circumstances of life of the Năsăud border regiment during the 18<sup>th</sup> century", *Astra Salvensis*, III, 5, 2015, p. 20-30

beneficial ownership went on to a conscribed male family member.<sup>33</sup> Women were excluded from succession until the year 1808.<sup>34</sup> If the border family was not able to provide a soldier some kinds of modifications were possible to be in retain of the beneficial ownership. Variants like adoption, marriage into the family or the conscription of two households as one (*Zusammenkonskribierung*) were possible and practised.<sup>35</sup> Family division was absolutely undesirable, because in such cases an additional paterfamilias existed and a border guard was lost for the military service.

In marked contrast to often practiced secret family divisions, small and poor border families, which were just barely in the position to assure family subsistence, were encouraged to merge to one household. The source material offers one descriptive example. Stophil Warga, house number 32 in Pojény (Poienile Zagrei), located in the territory of the Second Wallachian Border Infantry Regiment, undertook the attempt of household merging with house number 48. This household consisted of, at this time already deceased, Alexander Bunkuletz and his handicapped<sup>36</sup> daughter Istenie. After the death of Bunkuletz, Warga submitted the application to the Regiments Command in Năsăud. Warga pointed out three arguments for his application: Firstly he is the son-in-law of the deceased, secondly that he is the rightful heir and at least that he nursed Bunkuletz through his illness and took care of Istenie. The application was submitted on 6 March 1811 and was allowed by the Transylvanian General Command on 20 March 1811.<sup>37</sup>

Table 2: Record of household merging from Stophil War gain the year 1811.<sup>38</sup>

Paterfamilias	Village/House No.	Personnel	Estate	Cattle
StophilWarga	PojenyNo. 32	1 Half-Invalid 2 Boys 1 Woman 2 Girls	1 House 1 Garden 10 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>4</sub> KübelSeed 4 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> FuhrenHay	4 Oxen 5 Cows 3 Pigs

haftenden Militär-Dienstbarkeit anheimfallen". See Joseph Heinrich Benigni von Mildenberg, *Statistische Skizze der Siebenbürgischen Militär-Gränze*, p. 111.

<sup>33</sup> Joseph Heinrich Benigni von Mildenberg, *Statistische Skizze der Siebenbürgischen Militär-Gränze*, p. 111.

<sup>34</sup> Karl Tritschler, „Einige Blicke in die inneren Verhältnisse der k.k. Militärgrenze in Siebenbürgen", in *Österreichische militärische Zeitschrift* 3. Vol., Vienna, 1848, p. 45 and Carl Bernhard von Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgrenze*, 1823, p. 241.

<sup>35</sup> Record of householdmerging, Stophil Warga, 1811 in SJSAN, fond *Comandamentul general al armatei austriece CC din Transilvania* 4/1811, fol. 14; Carl Bernhard von Hietzinger, *Statistik der Militärgrenze*, 1823, pp. 250–251 and Joseph Heinrich Benigni von Mildenberg, *Statistische Skizze der Siebenbürgischen Militär-Gränze*, pp. 111–112.

<sup>36</sup> *ohnbehülfliche, krippelhaft Mädcl*

<sup>37</sup> Record of householdmerging, Stophil Warga, 1811 in SJSAN, fond *Comandamentul general al armatei austriece CC din Transilvania* 4/1811, fol. 14.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*.



## PhD. Sabine JESNER

IsternieBunkuletz	PojenyNo. 48	–	1 House 1 Garden 13 <i>Kübe</i> Seed 3 <i>Fuhren</i> Hay	–
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Furthermore an application for adoption is recorded from the year 1811. Unfortunately the sources remain silent whether the application was successful. The full-invalid Dumitru Schuka, living in Ilva mika (Ilva Mică) again located in the territory of the Second Wallachian Infantry Regiment, made a request for adoption of his grandson, corporal Vasile Kirsta, who belonged to the household of Danille Kirstia. Vasille Kirstia was supposed to fulfil prospectively the position of a paterfamilias after the death of Schuka. Schuka justified his application by the fact that the household of Danille Kirsta involves two additional *Grenzer*, who were available for military service. Schuka remarked that, if the adoption would be unrealizable, the two households should be conscripted as one.<sup>39</sup>

Table 3: Record of the application of adoption from Dumitru Schuka in the year 1811.<sup>40</sup>

Paterfamilias	Village/House No.	Personnel	Estate	Cattle
DanilleKirstia	IlvamikaNo. 2	2 Enrolled 1 Half-Invalid 1 Full-Invalid 10 Boys 6 Women 1 Girl	4 Houses 2 Gardens 14 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>s</sub> <i>Kübe</i> Seed 32 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>s</sub> <i>Fuhren</i> Hay	14 Oxen 9 Cows 6 Horses 120 Sheep/Goats 8 Pigs
Dumitru Schuka	IlvamikaNo. 18	–	1 House 1 Garden 3 <sup>4</sup> / <sub>s</sub> <i>Kübe</i> Seed 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>s</sub> <i>Fuhren</i> Hay	1 Horse 4 Oxen 3 Cows 4 Pigs

It can be speculated, that this application for adoption was not successfully evaluated, because Vasille Kirstia's position as paterfamilias would have reduced the military power.

### Conclusion:

Although the functional interaction between duty and privilege seems have been an ingenious system, the daily circumstances for some parts of border guards can be assessed entirely as unfavourable. First of all they had to grapple with both the hard military service at the cordon and abroad, and they

<sup>39</sup> Adoption application of Dumitru Schuka in SJSAN, fond *Comandamentul general al armatei austriece CC din Transilvania* 4/1811, fol. 4.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*.

"Privileges and duties. Reflections on the circumstances of life of the Năsăud border regiment during the 18<sup>th</sup> century", *Astra Salvensis*, III, 5, 2015, p. 20-30

were pressured by generating their economic subsistence. An overview about the quality of fields and meadows offers following table:

Table 4: Quality and Ø of fields and meadows per household in *Joch* and percentage in four classes, 1807 (*Joch* to 1,600 *Quadratklaster*; one *Joch* = 0.575ha).<sup>41</sup>

Classes	FIELDS					MEADOWS				
	I.	II.	III.	IV.	Ø	I.	II.	III.	IV.	Ø
I. SBI R	-	-	7,136 $\frac{3}{8}$	17,84 7	5.2 0	-	-	2,445 $\frac{3}{8}$	9,025 $\frac{4}{8}$	2.3 9
	-	-	28.56 %	71.44 %		-	-	21.32 %	78.68 %	
II. SBI R	1,786 $\frac{7}{8}$	5,250	10,61 $5\frac{1}{8}$	12,20 3	6.2 1	296 $\frac{7}{8}$	785 $\frac{3}{8}$	2,015 $\frac{4}{8}$	2,466 $\frac{5}{8}$	1.1 6
	5.99 %	17.58 %	35.56 %	40.87 %		5.34 %	14.11 %	36.22 %	44.33 %	
I. WBI R	4,278 $\frac{3}{8}$	2,536 $\frac{7}{8}$	5,898 $\frac{3}{8}$	7,185 $\frac{11}{16}$	5.4 5	1,469 $\frac{23}{24}$	1,534 $\frac{9}{10}$	1,583 $\frac{1}{4}$	2,156	1.8 5
	21.5 %	12.75 %	29.64 %	36.11 %		21.8 %	22.76 %	23.48 %	31.97 %	
II. WBI R	-	11,12 $7\frac{3}{8}$	10,83 $2\frac{4}{8}$	2,795 $\frac{3}{8}$	5.5 2	-	6,351 $\frac{2}{8}$	9,364 $\frac{2}{8}$	2,816 $\frac{1}{8}$	4.1 3
	-	44.95 %	43.76 %	11.29 %		-	34.27 %	50.53 %	15.2 %	
SHR	3,876	3,304 $\frac{6}{8}$	8,482 $\frac{4}{8}$	7,751	11. 03	1,095 $\frac{4}{8}$	664	2,061	2,642 $\frac{2}{8}$	3.0 5
	16.55 %	14.11 %	36.23 %	33.10 %		16.95 %	10.27 %	31.89 %	40.88 %	

As previously mentioned the *Sessionen* differed in size and all five Transylvanian border regiments included unpropertied households. These households had no fields and meadows to support themselves, but had to

<sup>41</sup> Conscription 1807 in SJSAN, fond *Comandamentul general al armatei austriece CC din Transilvania* 9/1807, fol. 26.

enter military service like their propertied immediate neighbours.<sup>42</sup> In the year 1817 were on an average 6.28%, in the year 1821 7.39% and in the year 1830 6.57% of the households in the Military Border of Transylvania without possessions.<sup>43</sup>

Economic bottlenecks and poverty also affected land holders. The quality and condition of the soil was until the abrogation of the Transylvanian Military Border 1851 a connecting factor of numerous complaints. For the military administration mainly the strength of military power was of importance. The aim was clearly defined: The amount of border guards should be as high as possible to guarantee safety on the border cordon. Adoption or the merge of households were some elements of the measurements, which were used by the military administration to intervene in family and household structures to accomplish their objectives. Since the establishment of the Transylvanian Military Border the military authorities were faced with a lack of potential border guards. The insufficient number of soldiers made military service extraordinarily hard. The absence of the male household members due to military service, recurring bad harvests, low agricultural yields and organizational deficiencies of the administrative structure were some of the reasons why border guards deserted or pushed for abolishment of the Military Border System.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> „Journal of the *Landesvisitation* from General Hadik. September-November 1766”, in Carl Göllner, *Siebenbürgische Militärgrenze*, Document No. 27, p. 174; „Unpossessionierte Szekler haben meistens nichts, und wohnen als Innleuthe, sich mit ihrer Hand Arbeith erhaltend, oder dienen sie bey andren, und sogar bey gemeinen Szekler Hussaren, folgsam bey ihren Kameraden als Knechte um sich und ihre Familien zu erhalten, [...]” written in a letter from General Hadik addressed to the Court Council of War (Hofkriegsrat). Sibiu, 1767, in Carl Göllner, *Siebenbürgische Militärgrenze*, Document No. 30, p. 189 and in addition one report from the Regiment Command in Miercurea Ciuc to the General Command in Sibiu. 20 September 1773 in SJSAN, fond *Comandamentul general al armatei austriece CC din Transilvania 6/1773-1774*, fol. 54.

<sup>43</sup> Conscription 1816/1817 in *OeStA, KA, ZSt, HKR*, SR Militärgrenze, Akten No. 32, Abschriften, Auszüge und Notizen Hostineks; Conscription 1821 in *OeStA, KA, ZSt, HKR*, SR Militärgrenze, Akten No. 32, Abschriften, Auszüge und Notizen Hostineks and Joseph Heinrich Benigni von Mildenberg, *Statistische Skizze der Siebenbürgischen Militär-Gränze*, p. 18.

<sup>44</sup> About desertion for example Enzenberg to Siskovic. 30 May 1765 in *OeStA, KA, ZSt, HKR*, SR Militärgrenze, No. 48, 1765/ $\frac{1}{89}$ ; one note from the Transylvanian General Command to the Hofkriegsrat from 9 June 1772 and a desertion-table from May 1772 regarding the I. WBIR. 10 June 1772 in *OeStA, KA, ZSt, HKR* HR A, No. 913, 1772/41/127. With regard to legal withdrawal a consignment about *nobileslege immunes*. 9 March 1769 in *OeStA, KA, ZSt, HKR*, HR A, No. 701, 1769/47/41 and „Summarischer Ausweis derjenigen adeligen Grenzerfamilien, die sich nach einer dreifachen Klassifikation bei den siebenbürgischen Grenzregimentern vorfinden (1792)” in *OeStA, KA, ZSt, HKR*, HR A, No. 2012, 1792/23/ $\frac{66}{1}$ .