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## **The Upbringing of Competent and Patriotic Officers: Military Education at the Theresian Military Academy in Wiener Neustadt (1752-1805)**

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The Noble Military Academy at Wiener Neustadt was opened in 1752 at state expense, and the aim of the Habsburg authorities was to make it a counterpart of the Theresianum Knight Academy (founded in 1746 under the Jesuit administration). Young noblemen were trained there for work in civil service, while the academy at Wiener Neustadt was intended for officer education. Maria Theresa secured scholarships for ca. four hundred cadets from poorer noble families, as well as for sons of deserving senior officers. Boys under the age of 14 attended the so-called Preparatory Military School in Vienna before being admitted at the Wiener Neustadt Noble Military Academy. Both institutions were merged in 1769 into one Imperial and Royal Theresian Military Academy. Teachers, who were at first only secular, that is, coming from the officer class, continued the tradition of humanist and baroque knight academies and the adoption of "knightly skills and military virtues," aimed at the acquisition of physical readiness rather than the contemporary knowledge of warfare needed to professionalize the army. This paper presents the reforms and changes that took place at the Theresian Military Academy during the reign of Maria Theresa and Joseph II with the intention of modernizing officer education and developing the supra-national "Austrian patriotism" based on the Enlightenment principles as the main foundation of the future officers' loyalty. These efforts culminated during the command of the enlightened pedagogical writer, the Austrian general and Bohemian aristocrat, Count

Franz Joseph Kinsky (1779-1755), whose educational concepts and actions are here extensively presented.

*Keywords:* military academy, officer education, Wiener Neustadt, noble academy, Franz Joseph Kinsky, Austrian patriotism, Enlightenment, Habsburg army

## Introduction

The war of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) prompted the Habsburg Monarchy to consider a large and well-schooled army as the best rampart of the state. Since the Habsburg army needed to be reformed, in 1748 a decision was made to give it a standardized system of drill. Another measure was setting up new military educational institutions for the officer corps, which was still mainly recruited from the nobility ranks. The innovation was that the state started to sponsor the sons of the middle and lower-class impoverished nobility and deserving senior officers, who had the right to be ennobled after thirty years of impeccable service. Queen Maria Theresa intended to create an officer class showing absolute allegiance and loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty, as well as to the army that had given them dignity and a special social status.<sup>1</sup> In order to provide the young nobility with exclusive military education, in 1751 the Queen decided to issue a chart for establishing a noble military academy (*die Adelige Militär-Academie*) as a counterpart to the Theresian Knight Academy (*die Theresianische Ritter-Akademie, Collegium Theresianum*) (founded in 1746), whose students were also trained for civil services at state expense.

These state institutions reserved for the nobility, which bore the name “academies,” were by no means eighteenth-century inventions. Their tradition dates back to sixteenth-century Italy, where special riding schools (riding was the essential knightly skill) were named “academies.” They did not transmit only riding skills, but also provided a kind of knightly education, and this is how the term was exported to France, where such institutions were named *académies d’ équitation*. The German term “knight academies” (*Ritterakademien*), which was later imported in the Austrian lands, still meant a place for acquiring knightly riding skills, but accompanied with university-like classes and teachers. This type of school was a product of the ancient noble culture, and was widespread throughout Europe.<sup>2</sup> It could be founded by the sovereign as in the case of the Theresian

<sup>1</sup> Russian scholar Olga Khavanova has offered a very good account of the social policies and strategies used by the Habsburg authorities in the field of eighteenth-century civil elite education. Olga Khavanova, *Zaslugi otcov i talanty synovej: vengerskie dvorjane v uchebnyh zavedenijah monarhii Gabsburgov. 1746–1784*. (Fathers’ merits and sons’ talents: Hungarian nobles in the privileged schools of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1746-1784) (Saint Petersburg: Aletejja, 2006).

<sup>2</sup> Norbert Conrads, *Ritterakademien der frühen Neuzeit. Bildung als Standesprivileg im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 15-16.

Military Academy, by the estates (e.g. *Niederösterreichische landschaftliche (landständische) Akademie* in Vienna), or by a religious order such as the Jesuits (the Viennese Theresianum), the Benedictines (e. g. in Ettal in Bavaria or in the abbey of Kremsmünster), or the Piarists (*die Savoyische Ritterakademie* in Vienna).

However, it turned out that the education provided at the Noble Military Academy was not military enough, that is, in line with the latest trends in the science of warfare. After enduring several serious military defeats in the Seven Years War (1756-1763), one of Maria Theresa's greatest desires was to create an *esprit de corps* amongst her officers, to create "generals with a fatherland" rather than military adventurers and knights whose only allegiance was to the sovereign and not to the country.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, as patriotic ideals spread throughout Europe<sup>4</sup> after the Seven Years War, the authorities focused upon the need of a more patriotic education and a more specialised military-scientific knowledge, for which they needed a competent military pedagogue. The logical choice was the Austrian *Feldmarschalleutenant* and Bohemian Count Francis Joseph Kinsky (1739-1805), "popular author of the *Erinnerung über einen wichtigen Gegenstand (Memorandum of an important issue)*,"<sup>5</sup> who ran the academy from 1779 to 1805.

This paper examines the educational methods and practices at the Theresian Military Academy prior to Kinsky's arrival, as well as the attempts at reforms, followed by a survey of his novelties. Kinsky was a *Lokaldirektor* (a junior commander) from 1779 to 1785,<sup>6</sup> and in 1785 put together an *Auszug aus dem*

<sup>3</sup> Robert A. Kann, "The Social Prestige of the Officer Corps in the Habsburg Empire from the Eighteenth Century to 1918," in: *Dynasty, Politics and Culture: Selected Essays* (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1991), 227-228. "Generals with a fatherland" is my inverted paraphrasing of Kann's expression "Generals without a fatherland." Ibid., 227. Michael Hochedlinger cites the memorandum written by a certain Major Marschall, who complained about the foreign officers in the Austrian army "whose patriotic feelings seemed questionable" (*Mémoire sur ce qu'on appelle soldats de fortune, Austria* (furthermore: A) – *Kriegsarchiv* (furthermore: KA) – *Mémoires*, IX-88). Michael Hochedlinger, "Mars Ennobled. The Ascent of the Military and the Creation of a Military Nobility in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Austria," *German History* 17/2 (1999): 150.

<sup>4</sup> See more on this topic in Teodora Shek Brnardić, "Modalities of Enlightened Monarchical Patriotism in the Mid-Eighteenth Century Habsburg Monarchy," in: *Whose Love of Which Country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe*, ed. Balázs Trencsényi and Márton Zákaliczky (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 631-661.

<sup>5</sup> (Anonymous), "Von der Kayserl. Theresianischen Militär-Akademie in Wienerisch-Neustadt (Aus Schlözers *Briefwechsel*, 57ter Heft). Briefe des Freyherrn von H-t geschrieben im April, 1781," *Bellona* (1782): 82. On Kinsky's pedagogy, see Wenzel Eymmer, *Pädagogische Schriften des Grafen Franz Josef Kinsky* (Vienna: L. Seidel, 1892) and especially a detailed analysis in Ch. 4 "Count Kinsky and the Improvement of Private Noble Education" in my PhD dissertation "The Enlightened Officer at Work: The Educational Projects of the Bohemian Count Franz Joseph Kinsky (1739-1805)" (PhD diss., Central European University, 2004), 153-242.

<sup>6</sup> Kinsky first started his service at the academy as the *Localdirector* (a junior commander), who supervised the academy, when the *Oberdirector* (a senior commander) – usually a *Feldmarschall* or *Feldzeugmeister* – was not present personally on the spot. *Localdirector* was for the most part a general of junior rank (Kinsky was appointed a *General-Major* in 1773). See Article (§) 8941 in: *Militär-Oekonomie-*

*Befehlsprotokoll* (Extracts from the list of orders), which gives a special insight into the inner life at the academy. Initially published in just 60 copies, it was designed for the cadets as its only readership. In 1787, a local publisher in Wiener Neustadt published the final version titled *Allgemeine Prinzipien zur öffentlichen, und besonders Militär-Erziehung. In einem Auszuge des Befehlsprotokolls des k.k.M.K.H.* (The general principles of public, and especially military education. From an extract of the list of orders at the Imperial and Royal Military Cadet School), comprising 178 paragraphs, in which Kinsky set out his principles of public education. This was supplemented by 172 orders, listed alphabetically by keywords. Their importance lies in their derivation from local, everyday situations and their firm basis in practical experience.<sup>7</sup> Kinsky had a practice of writing his orders in a tabular form and arranging them alphabetically by keyword. The orders themselves were then put on display at various points in the school to act as an instant guide to the cadets.<sup>8</sup> It is these orders that provide a clear picture of Kinsky's *actual* expectations of the cadets and the teaching staff, as well as his *real* actions.<sup>9</sup>

### **Armis et litteris: The Military Academy at Wiener Neustadt before 1779**

In the inner courtyard of the Wiener Neustadt castle, where the Military Academy is still based today, there is a Latin inscription on a square tablet, which reads *armis et litteris* ("by arms and by letters"). It is a physical statement of the old humanist ideal: a representation of Baldesar Castiglione's noble courtier, who chooses the military profession (*arma*) because it is part of the traditions of his social status, but equally indulges in the letters (*litterae*) because it is necessary for his "human dignity."<sup>10</sup> In other words, service to the sovereign should be rendered not only "with the sword," but also "with the pen." This allusion is also directly

*System der kaiserlichen königlichen österreichischen Armee*, ed. Franz Hübler (Vienna: Verlage der I. Geister'schen Buchhandlung, 1821), 8: 290. After Colloredo's death in 1785, Kinsky was appointed as *Oberdirector* the following year (in the rank of *Feldmarschall-Leutnant*).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. (Anonymous), "Vorbericht der ersten Auflage," in: *Allgemeine Prinzipien zur öffentlichen, und besonders Militär-Erziehung. In einem Auszuge des Befehlsprotokolls des k.k.M.K.H.* (Wiener Neustadt: Holzschuh, 1806<sup>2</sup>), 2.

<sup>8</sup> Eymer, *Pädagogische Schriften*, 168.

<sup>9</sup> Additional useful sources are *Für Weltrekruten* (Vienna: Joseph Kurzbeck, 1781, 1783<sup>2</sup>, 1786<sup>3</sup>, 1797<sup>4</sup>), Kinsky's handbook of practical morality, which he aimed at the graduate cadets, as well as *Elementarbefehle von Dienstsachen* (Vienna: C.F. Wappler, 1784, 1795<sup>2</sup>), his two-volume textbook on military duty and tactics. The latter was even translated into Polish as *Elementarz służby wojskowej tłumaczony z dzieła graffa Franciszka Kińskiego generała lejtt. woysk cessar. dyrektora szkoły rycerskiej korpusu kadetów w Neiistacie, z niektórymi odmianami i pezydatkami stosownie do służby naszey. Przez A. F. B. G. A. K. officera polskiego kolegom swoim poświęcony* (Warsaw: w Drukarni XX. Missionarzów, 1787).

<sup>10</sup> August Buck, *Arma et litterae – Waffen und Bildung: zur Geschichte eines Topos* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1992), 69.

related to the institution under consideration, which opened early in 1752,<sup>11</sup> and the composition of its initial groups of students, which resembled those of the knight (noble) academies (*Ritterakademien*), such as the Viennese Theresianum founded in 1746.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the newly-founded academy was intended to complement the Theresianum, where most of the training was for the civil service (although many of the graduates later opted for a military career, including the brothers Joseph and Franz Joseph Kinsky). Maria Theresa wanted to provide the same education for her military servants,<sup>13</sup> so her *landesmütterliche* intention was to establish her own “noble military academy” (*adeliche Militär-Academie*) at state expense for the education of one hundred poor young nobles, whose fathers had provided twenty years of loyal civilian service, and one hundred sons of deserving senior officers, to instruct them in “the true principles of the knowledge (*die Wissenschaften*) required of the art of war (*Kriegs-Kunst*).” The Noble Military Academy, which was set up in a Wiener Neustadt castle donated by Maria Theresa for this purpose, admitted cadets from the age of fourteen upwards. In addition, for younger boys (again one hundred nobles and one hundred sons of officers) aged seven to thirteen, the Empress also established the Military Preparatory School (*Militär-Pflanzschule*) to provide preparatory training in the military subjects.<sup>14</sup> It was initially situated in one wing of the building in Vienna that housed the Military Engineering Academy.<sup>15</sup>

FML Count Leopold Daun was appointed to the *Oberdirektion* of both institutions and he appears to be the one to whom the Empress issued the instructions, which revealed her vision of the new ideal Austrian officer: “He will make competent officers and upright men out of them!” (*Mach’ er tüchtige*

<sup>11</sup> Before this institution was established, several military schools already existed, mainly in the Hereditary Lands. In 1717, Charles VI founded two engineering schools in Brussels and Vienna, and an Estate Engineering School was established in Prague. Bohemian Prince Joseph Wenzel Liechtenstein, the reformer and *Generaldirector* of the artillery arm, set up an Artillery Corps School (*Artillerie-Corpsschule*) with experimental ranges and laboratories near České Budějovice in 1744. On Liechtenstein, see Christopher Duffy, *The Army of Maria Theresa. The Armed Forces of Imperial Austria, 1740-1780* (Doncaster: Terence Wise, 1990), 105-106.

<sup>12</sup> On the Theresianum, see Theodor Cicalak, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Theresianums* (Vienna: Theresianische Akademie, 1872); Johann Schwarz, *Geschichte der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie von ihrer Gründung bis zum Curatorium Sr Excellenz Anton Ritter von Schmerling, 1746–1865* (Vienna: Brzezowsky, 1890); Eugen Guglia, *Das Theresianum in Wien. Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Vienna: Stiftung der Theresianischen Akademie, 1996, c1912); Khavanova, *Zaslugi otcov*.

<sup>13</sup> Theodor Ignaz Leitner von Leitentreu, *Geschichte der Wiener-Neustädter Militär-Akademie*, vol. 1 (Kronstadt: Druck und Verlag von Theodor Steinhaussen, 1853), 56.

<sup>14</sup> Maria Theresa’s order of 14 December 1751, which she sent to all her commanding generals for approval. Johann Svoboda, *Die Theresianische Militär-Akademie zu Wiener-Neustadt und ihre Zöglinge von der Gründung der Anstalt bis auf unsere Tage* (Vienna: Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1894), 1: xlii. The Noble Military Academy was also known as the *adeliches-Cadetencorps*, and the Military Preparatory School as *die Wiener Pflanzschule*. Cf. Leitner, *Geschichte*, 1: 58.

<sup>15</sup> It was founded in 1717 by Charles VI and located at the *Chaosische Stiftung* in the Leimgrube suburb of Vienna.

*Offiziere und rechtschaffene Männer daraus!*).<sup>16</sup> It is evident that the emphasis is on “competent” and “upright,” while viewing the cadets as both “officers” and “men.” “Competence” (*Tüchtigkeit*) had already been a humanist requirement for prospective civil servants (*Staatsdiener*) at the German Protestant universities such as Tübingen, which required students to have already passed state exams to show their level of competence. Previously, it had been sufficient to prove a standard of “learning” (*Gelehrsamkeit*) by graduating from certain universities to demonstrate the requisite moral qualities and specialist knowledge.<sup>17</sup> However, as Uhland puts it, this standard also became a core component of “enlightened military education,” which prescribed the education of young men as “competent officers,” an idea that had spread from the French *École militaire* (founded in 1751 by Louis XV) across the rest of Europe.<sup>18</sup>

Despite the conceptual ideas of Maria Theresa, who used to visit the Academy at least once a year with her husband,<sup>19</sup> the educational practices of the teaching staff at both institutions, which consisted only of officers, focused on acquiring “chivalrous skills and military virtues.” The intention was to produce “practical officers and energetic, bold men” to whom “the love of their profession, discipline, punctuality, the respect for their superiors and unconditional obedience was to become a second nature.” In accordance with the tradition of *arma*, the emphasis was still predominantly on physical agility and drill, which were regarded as the primary requirements for an officer.<sup>20</sup> War was still regarded predominantly as an “art” (*Kriegskunst* or *belli artes*)<sup>21</sup> rather than a “science” (*Kriegswissenschaft*).<sup>22</sup> Chivalrous skills were the physical activities of the nobility (*die adelichen Leibesübungen*), such as dancing, fencing, or riding. This part of the curriculum was complemented by language instruction in Italian, French, and Czech, later supplemented with Hungarian, English, and Latin. However, “competence” was

<sup>16</sup> Johann Jobst, *Die Neustädter Burg und die k.k. Theresianische Militärakademie. Ein Führer in militärischer und kulturgeschichtlicher Beziehung* (Vienna: Gerlach & Wiedling, 1909), 95.

<sup>17</sup> See Bernd Wunder, *Privilegierung und Disziplinierung* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1978), 67.

<sup>18</sup> Uhland, *Geschichte*, 31. Johann Christoph Allmayer-Beck points out that Maria Theresa’s concept of “competent officers” implied men “no longer tied to old aristocratic ideas of a noble occupation, but who follow the new principle of enlightened performance, which at just this time came to correspond to the even more recent bourgeois ideal of ‘competence.’” On the other hand, the training of “upright men” implied the combination of “the concepts of an enlightened humanistic ideal with the demands of a contemporary professional education.” Johann Christoph Allmayer-Beck, “The Establishment of the Theresian Military Academy in Wiener Neustadt,” in: *East Central European Society and War in the Pre-Revolutionary Eighteenth Century*, ed. Gunther E. Rothenberg et al. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1982), 119. These arguments are a commonplace in Austrian military history.

<sup>19</sup> Leitner, *Geschichte*, 1: 70.

<sup>20</sup> Leitner, *Geschichte*, 1: 63; Svoboda, *Theresianische Militär-Akademie*, xliv-xlv.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the inscription in Leitner, *Geschichte*, 1: 88.

<sup>22</sup> It should be mentioned that this language was increasingly fluid. Kinsky also used the term “the art of war” (*Kriegskunst*), although he was aware more than anybody else of the difference between the arts and sciences.

limited to the study of the specialist subject of fortifications with geometry, artillery, and arithmetic. The older cadets were taught some geography for just an hour on Sundays, while the younger ones were instructed in Christian doctrine. Although Maria Theresa's primary concern was spirituality and morality, at first there was no special religious teaching. All the teaching and supervisory staff was secular, unlike in the Theresianum, which was run by the Jesuit order, or in the Savoyard Noble Academy, where the Piarists were in charge of education. Two chaplains taught religious practices (prayers, etc.), but the engineering officers were in overall charge of training in all of the "scientific disciplines."<sup>23</sup> The boys were not divided into classes or age groups, and neither was their instruction organised that way. They would attend the Academy for six or eight years before reaching a certain age and height. Then they would be assigned to the army regiments, either as ensigns or as common soldiers, depending on their education level of attainment.

Social differences between the cadets were still maintained in this period, so that the young nobles were strictly separated from the commoners, and each belonged to their own company. In general, the cadets at the Academy lived a monastic way of life, cut off from the outside world; every violation of the order of the day, disobedience, or insubordination was severely punished, albeit not by beating, which was forbidden in the early years. Detention, in chains or not, was considered the preferred method and could last not only for days, but even for months, under a strict regime of bread and water. Disobedient boys were also made to sit at separate tables (*Diättafel*) during meals. In contrast to these starvation punishments, the cadets usually enjoyed substantial meals and good service. They had a morning soup, a five-course meal at lunch, and one course at supper with wine. Every group of five cadets had one servant (there were forty in all), whose duties included assisting them with dressing and undressing, washing and arranging their hair, which had to be powdered and tied into a pigtail.<sup>24</sup> These practices should not come as a surprise, since the Academy was primarily for the "noble youth of the fatherland"<sup>25</sup> and the intention was to produce men with polite manners.<sup>26</sup> Officers of common origins were also expected to learn the noble etiquette, as the Empress had admitted them to Court from 1751 onwards, when she made the Austrian uniform *hoffähig* and granted her officers the privilege of hunting on imperial estates.<sup>27</sup> At that time, the cadets' only entertainment was participating in or watching comedies, which was a common practice at other noble academies, and dancing at carnival balls.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Leitner, *Geschichte*, 1: 65; Svoboda, *Theresianische Militär-Akademie*, xlvi. Svoboda, however, argues that an engineer-captain was in charge of religious instruction as well. Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Svoboda, *Theresianische Militär-Akademie*, xlv-xlvi.

<sup>25</sup> Leitner, *Geschichte*, 1: 88.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 1: 80-81.

<sup>27</sup> Kann, *Social Prestige*, 229; Hochedlinger, "Mars Ennobled," 150-151.

<sup>28</sup> Leitner, *Geschichte*, 1: 70.

### Theresian Military Academy in 1769 and the Abolition of Social Distinctions

The major change in the organisation of the Academy occurred in the aftermath of the catastrophic earthquake of 27 February 1768, although the first significant reforms had begun in 1767. That year, the new *Oberdirector*, FML Count Anton Colloredo, appointed an expert history and geography teacher, a certain Captain Praat, to teach military history and national geography three times a week.<sup>29</sup> The catastrophe of 1768, however, resulted not only in a major physical rebuilding programme, but also in far-reaching internal reorganisation and reform. On 14 March 1769, for financial reasons, the Military Preparatory School was merged with the Noble Military Academy on the orders of Joseph II,<sup>30</sup> and transferred to Wiener Neustadt. The united institution was now called “The Imperial and Royal Theresian Military Academy” (*k.k. Theresianische Militär-Akademie*).<sup>31</sup> The removal of the adjective “noble” from its title was a clear sign of its accordance with the principles of Joseph II’s social policy, set out in his political *Rêveries* (Daydreams) of 1763.<sup>32</sup> The new “anti-noble” or “anti-elitist” discourse was augmented by an emphasis on merit, which is clearly visible in Colloredo’s *Reglements*, especially in §§ 77-9. “Neither birth, nor the outcomes of fate,” nor similar fortuitous events, Colloredo warns the cadets, permitted an individual to consider himself to be superior to others, “who do not possess such accidental advantages.” A man who is proud only of his birth, and otherwise has not acquired either “merits” (*Verdienste*) or “polite manners” (*angenehme Sitten*), but rather acts dishonestly, is twice as despicable from the perspective of the upright man (*der Rechtschaffene*). “The splendour of nobility” (*der Glanz der Adel*) serves only to shine a brighter light on his failings, making them more visible to the world. These reminders were also necessary to demonstrate to the cadets the absurdity of the delusion – Colloredo is making a very significant point here – that their admission to the Academy automatically implied their elevation to the noble status. This erroneous belief had prompted some of them both to adopt an inflated opinion of themselves and to treat commoners “with pride and contempt.”<sup>33</sup>

Since, at the Academy, no further nobles will be accepted, other than based on merit and upright performance, and since the cadets are assured that, aside from these, there can be no true nobility on the whole earth in which the-

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 1: 100-101.

<sup>30</sup> Max Jähns, *Geschichte der Kriegswissenschaften: vornehmlich in Deutschland*, 2 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1890), 2474.

<sup>31</sup> Svoboda, *Theresianische Militär-Akademie*, lii. In 1786, Joseph II renamed it into “The Military Cadet House” (*das Militärische Cadetenhaus*). Leitner, *Geschichte*, 1: 191.

<sup>32</sup> Archduke Joseph II, “Political Daydreams” (*Rêveries politiques*) (1763). Available on-line and accessed on 30 April 2017, [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/docpage.cfm?docpage\\_id=3693](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/docpage.cfm?docpage_id=3693).

<sup>33</sup> (Anton von Colloredo), *Reglement für die kaiserl. königl. theresianische Militärakademie zu Wienerisch Neustadt* (hereafter *Reglement*) (Vienna: Joseph Kurzböck, 1775), 61-62.

se two characteristics would not feature and be required as its most important components, everybody should constantly endeavour to make himself viewed by the wider world in that light. However, in order to be certain of acquiring this great advantage, all vain pride and arrogance must be stifled right from the start and the individual's natural disposition (*Gemütskarakter*) must be brought into the essential state (*Lage*), in which modesty (*Bescheidenheit*) towards everybody has been embraced (*im Stand gesetzt wird*), so as to be regarded and practised as one of the most important social duties.<sup>34</sup>

By stressing keywords such as “merit,” “upright(ness)” and “modesty,” Colloredo's memorandum for the cadets signifies a discursive rupture with the Academy's previous policy of producing *Kavaliersbildung*, whose ideal was “the cosmopolitan noble” or “gallant home.”<sup>35</sup> Evidently, it represents a break with the earlier elitist tradition, which in terms of social hierarchy placed the officer, just like the nobleman, above the rest of society. This objective was not a call for social equality in the sense of the abolition of social ranks, but rather for equality in a civil society, where everyone had the same civil rights. It is this “suppression of pride” that can be considered as one of the most important topics in what might be called the “anti-nobility” discourse.<sup>36</sup> Similar rhetoric was already manifest in Franz Joseph Kinsky's *Erinnerung*, where he warned against “proud fools” and advocated severe punishment of that “pride”, thus using the same language as Colloredo.<sup>37</sup> “Pride” and “self-love” were also detrimental for social relations within the Academy, particularly for the *esprit de corps*, since some cadets had established fraternities, restricting their friendship to their chosen group but thereby distancing themselves from the rest.<sup>38</sup>

### The Coming of Piarists and the Flourishing of Arts and Sciences

In 1769, the Piarists replaced the secular teachers at the Military Preparatory School. They were well-known for their pursuit of practical *Wissenschaften*, and were already teaching at the Theresianum and the Savoyard Noble Academies. The new system of instruction was almost identical to those at other public scho-

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 62-63.

<sup>35</sup> Hohrath, Daniel, *Die Bildung des Offiziers in der Aufklärung. Ferdinand Friedrich von Nicolai (1730-1814) und seine enzyklopädischen Sammlungen* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Landesbibliothek, 1990), 38 and 60. “Edelmann und Offizier, Kavalierebildung und Offiziersbildung, das sind im 18. Jhd., zumal in der ersten Hälfte desselben im Wesentlichen gleichbedeutende Gegenstände.” Jähns, *Geschichte*, 2: 1643.

<sup>36</sup> On the sources of these ideas, which were put in practice under the patronage of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, see Shek Brnardić, “The Enlightened Officer,” esp. Ch. 4 and 5, and Shek Brnardić, “Die Verbesserung der adeligen Privaterziehung in Prag. Patriotische Vorschläge des Grafen Franz Joseph Kinsky (1739-1805),” in: *Adel im “langen” 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Gabriele Haug-Moritz, Hans Peter Hye, and Marlies Raffler (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 61-72.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *Erinnerung*, §§ 49 and 55; AP, “Stolz”, 250; Leitner, *Geschichte*, 285-286; *Reglement*, 63-64.

<sup>38</sup> *Reglement*, 66-67.

ols run by the Piarists, except that the scientific curriculum was adjusted to the professional needs of the Academy. The cadets were for the first time organised into six grades, according to their age, and were labelled accordingly (see the table below), which was a standard practice in the Catholic colleges run by the religious orders (most notably, the Jesuits):<sup>39</sup>

The schedule of classes at the Academy:

| <i>Junior companies</i>         |                |  |
|---------------------------------|----------------|--|
| the first or youngest class     | 8 to 10 years  | reading and writing classes ( <i>Lese- and Schreibschule</i> ) – <i>Infima</i> |
| the second or middle class      | 10 to 12 years | <i>Parvisten</i> and <i>Principisten</i>                                       |
| the third or oldest class       | 12 to 14 years | <i>Grammatisten</i> and <i>Syntaxisten</i>                                     |
| <i>Senior companies</i>         |                |  |
| the first or the youngest class | 14 to 16 years | <i>Rhetorik</i> and <i>Poesie</i>  |
| the second or the middle class  | 16 to 18 years | <i>Philosophie</i>   |
| the third or the oldest class   | 18 to 20 years | <i>Historici</i>   |

The duties of eight Piarists were strictly academic and Colloredo warned them in the *Reglement* that they should never contemplate turning the Academy into a *Kollegium der frommen Schulen* (a Piarist college), since Her Majesty had placed the training of young military men and the financial affairs of the school in other hands – namely, the military.<sup>40</sup> Colloredo also forbade the use of pedagogical methods such as were commonly employed in the “monastery-like upbringing” (*die klösterliche Zucht*).<sup>41</sup> Two Piarists were designated as preachers and spiritual counsellors, but did not teach any classes. One took charge of the *Leseschule*, in which the youngest cadets were instructed in the rudiments of reading, while the other directed the *Schreibeschule*, where calligraphy, receiving dictation (*Dictandoschreiben*), reading practice, and the rudiments of the Latin language (*Infima*) were taught. One Piarist was in charge of the *Parvisten* and *Principisten*, a second of the *Grammatisten* and *Syntaxisten*, a third of the *Rhetorik* and *Poesie* with a fourth having charge of the *Philosophie* class. A seventh Piarist was appointed to teach experimental physics, for which a physical laboratory (*das physikalische Cabinet*), usually called *cabinet du physique*, was established.<sup>42</sup> This was an expensive investment, which shows the importance attached to the cadets’ practical scientific education.<sup>43</sup> In 1771, the first comprehensive study plan was produced,

<sup>39</sup> Leitner, *Geschichte*, 1: 124.

<sup>40</sup> *Reglement*, 101. This demand for the exclusion of Piarist Superior from the institute’s administration must have resulted from friction between Christian Fengler and the *Localdirector* FML Karl von Hannig (in service from 1766 to 1779), who at one point complained that Fengler had usurped the management of the institution. Leitner, *Geschichte*, 120.

<sup>41</sup> *Reglement*, 101-102.

<sup>42</sup> Leitner, *Geschichte*, 1: 110, 121-124, and 141.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Thomas L. Hankins, *Science and the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: CUP, 1985), 57.

which was again the result of Piarist involvement and lasted with little modification throughout Kinsky's time in office.<sup>44</sup> The Piarist Superior, Christian Fengler (1733-1802), commissioned his colleagues from the Savoyard and the Theresian noble academies to write the first textbooks for classes at the Military Academy.<sup>45</sup> This relying on Piarist teaching at the other schools should not be any surprise, since they were all members of the same network, who thus shared a common curriculum. They were all subject to the head of the province (*Pater Provinzial*), who provided expert guidance in educational matters. The Piarists, who were already known for their teaching in vernacular languages (Polish in Poland, Hungarian in Hungary, German and Czech in the Bohemian lands, German in the Austrian provinces), extended this approach to the Academy and expanded the language teaching, especially German and Czech. It should be noted that the Academy had always been viewed as the model higher academic institution, where the Czech language, which was regarded as indispensable for the military profession because of the many Slavic-speaking soldiers,<sup>46</sup> was taught *ex officio*, namely, as a necessary skill.<sup>47</sup> This was all the more important because at that time the Prague patriots, to whose circles Count Kinsky belonged, were making great efforts to promote its learning in their local area.<sup>48</sup> History teaching was altered too, because Superior Christian Fengler recommended the abandonment of the practice of teaching history from French and Italian books, since this appeared to be an

<sup>44</sup> Leitner, *Geschichte*, 1: 417.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 1: 123-124. Unfortunately, I have managed to identify only a few textbooks in German: Nikolaus Fuxtaller a S. Vito, *Anfangsgründe der Naturlehre zum Gebrauch der Vorlesungen in der k. k. Militairakademie* (Vienna: s.n., 1769); Eduard Job a S. Carolo, *Anfangsgründe der Weltweisheit zum Gebrauch der Vorlesungen in der k.k. thesianischen Militairakademie zu Neustadt* (Vienna: Joseph Kurzböck, 1769); (Anonymous), *Gebetbuch der kaiserlich königlich Theresianischen Militär-Akademie in der Wienerischen Neustadt* (Wiener Neustadt: Eben da mit Fritschischen Schriften aufgelegt, 1772); Gottfried Uhlich, *Geistliche Lieder zum Gebrauch der k.k. Militairakademie* (Vienna: s.n., 1770). Fengler is also said to have commissioned a separate history textbook in the German language. Leitner, *Geschichte*, 1: 122. Especially interesting is the attention that was paid to the teaching of the Czech language even before Kinsky's arrival. Cf. Wáclaw Wiedemann, *Neuerfasstes deutsches und böhmisches Wörterbuch* (Wiener Neustadt: s.n., 1768) and Maximilian Schimek, *Kratky weytah wsseobecne hystorye prirozenych wecy mimo prjlepku nekterych pameti hodnych prjbehu k wssevitecne potrebe ceskyho gazyka w Cysarske kralowske teresyanske wogenske akademiji w Nowem Meste nawrzeny od Maksymiliana Ssimka, radu sskol pobožnych*. (Paralleltitel: Kurzer Auszug einer allgemeinen Geschichte der natuerlichen Dinge nebst einem Anhang einiger merkwuerdigen Begebenheiten zum gemeinnuetzigen Gebrauche der boehmischen Sprache in der kais. koen. thesianischen Militairakademie zu Neustadt, entworfen von Maximilian Schimek aus dem Orden der frommen Schulen) (Vienna: s.n., 1778). On the Czech language at the Academy, see T. Burian, "Český jazyk we wojenské akademiji w Nowém Městě za Widni," *Časopis českého museum* 18/4 (1844): 515-536.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. *Erinnerung*, § 79.

<sup>47</sup> "... weil des Monarchen Wille ist, daß junge Leute, die auf Seine Unkosten für den Soldatenstand erzogen werden, dieser im Dienste so weit ausgbreiteten, und hiemit so erforderlichen Sprache kündig seyn." AP, 231 ("Sprachen").

<sup>48</sup> See Ch. 3, "The Enlightened Public Sphere in Prague in the 1770s," in: Shek Brnardić, "The Enlightened Officer."

exercise in teaching grammar rather than history. Instead, a history textbook in German was to be written, a task for which Fengler recommended employing the best authors.<sup>49</sup>

However, one of the greatest educational innovations, in my view, was the introduction of theoretical (critical logic, metaphysics, and physics) and practical philosophy (general practical philosophy, natural law, and ethics) in 1771. The Piarists started applying the critical Wolffian geometrical method in their philosophical teaching even before the Jesuits, and were thus considered to be appropriate teachers for the enlightenment of the mind.<sup>50</sup> In addition, they started to teach ethics separately from religious instruction.

Colloredo's *Reglement* of 1775 made some curricular changes, to the extent that it abolished the Latin *Rhetorik und Poesis* and *Historici* classes. The training course was then divided into eleven academic years: *Leseschule*, *Schreibschule*, *Parva*, *Prinzipia*, *Gramatik*, *Syntax*,<sup>51</sup> *Philosophen 1. Jahrgang*, *Philosophen 2. Jahrgang*, *Fortificationisten 1. Jahrgang*, *Fortificationisten 2. Jahrgang*, *Reitschule*.<sup>52</sup> In addition, in order to improve the choice of military *Berufswissenschaften*, Colloredo commissioned a Leutnant (first lieutenant) Gomez to teach the new subject of "Small Unit Tactics," also known as *kleine Tactique* or *der raisonirte Militar-Dienst*, because the regiments required the graduate cadets to have this knowledge and their previous failures in his subject were used as a basis for criticising the Academy's educational system.<sup>53</sup> Later, Kinsky himself would teach this subject, which is important evidence of his participation in the military enlightenment, and for which he wrote textbooks.<sup>54</sup>

The years 1769, 1771, and 1775 signalled the main changes in the concepts of the "physical and moral features" that needed to be developed in a cadet for his future military profession. As for the physical side, although Colloredo reduced the predominance of "noble exercises" within the framework of the whole curriculum, considerable attention was paid to the medical health of the cadets. The Academy had a doctor, a surgeon, and a dentist, and from 1768 and 1769 vaccinating the cadets against smallpox became a standard practice. From 1771, it also became

<sup>49</sup> Leitner, *Geschichte*, 122.

<sup>50</sup> On the eighteenth-century Piarist teaching see the recent study by Julia Anna Riedel, *Bildungsreform und geistliches Ordenswesen im Ungarn der Aufklärung: die Schulen der Piaristen unter Maria Theresia und Joseph II* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 2012).

<sup>51</sup> "Parva," "Prinzipia," "Gramatik" and "Syntax" correspond to the first, second, third and fourth grades of the German-Latin school. Cf. "Tabellarischer Schulen Plan. Die sechs minderen Klassen der Kaiserl. Königl. thesianischen Militar Akademie betreffend," in: *Reglement*.

<sup>52</sup> Leitner, *Geschichte*, 1: 148-152.

<sup>53</sup> (Johann Jobst), "Einführung des Unterrichtes in der Taktik an der Neustädter Militärakademie. Nach hinterlassenen Aufzeichnungen des GM. Karl von Kandelsdorfer". A – KA – Militär-Schulen, No. 648 (the personal fund of Johann Jobst).

<sup>54</sup> E. g. *Elementarbegriffen von Dienstsachen* (Vienna: Christian Friedrich Wappler, 1783).

common to send the cadets with skin diseases and lesions to the Baden spa for treatment by taking the thermal waters.<sup>55</sup> Also, the establishment of a comprehensive study plan in 1771 permitted the admission of the so-called *Frequentanten*, who were allowed to attend the classes without being provided with food and lodging at the Academy.<sup>56</sup> The boys continued to be admitted at the age of seven, and they would stay at the Academy for eleven years.

The real policy change was the acceptance of Protestant cadets, although this did not reflect complete religious tolerance, since only Catholic religious instruction was allowed.<sup>57</sup> The pedagogical principles at the Academy were thus considered to form a “military-monastic education,” its main characteristic being monastic severity, which demanded that the boys learned to “sit still and be pious”<sup>58</sup> and isolated them from the outside world, both of these being traits of Catholic educational tradition. However, on the eve of Kinsky’s appointment as the *Localdirector* in 1779, the widespread opinion was that the existing education system was still not military enough.<sup>59</sup> Besides, in his report Kinsky notes that in his view “discipline in Neustadt seems to be overly ‘seminary-like,’ and (as such), ... can restrict the mental forces of a fiery temper too much and stifle the more flexible ones.”<sup>60</sup> As will become apparent below, Kinsky could not bear any form of teaching in the formal religious (catechistic) style and especially in “catechistical (that is, formalised religious) language” (*Katechetensprache*), which was the main characteristic of a “dull lecture delivered without any feeling (*herzlehr*).”<sup>61</sup> His ideal was teaching that excites curiosity in the young minds from the start.

### Kinsky’s Concept of True Military Education

Leitner has observed that Kinsky was not a reformer, because he adhered to the 1771 organisation of the Academy and Colloredo’s 1775 *Reglement*. Seemingly,

<sup>55</sup> Leitner, *Geschichte*, 1: 155-156.

<sup>56</sup> The most famous *Frequentant* was Francesca Scanagatta (1776-1864), a woman who in disguise took her brother’s place and attended the courses at the Academy for three years. Later, she was commissioned as a lieutenant and fought in the French Revolutionary Wars. *Ibid.*, 1: 259.

<sup>57</sup> From the notes of the *Oberdirection* of 1771, when a Lutheran boy was admitted to the Academy, it can be seen that the superiors still entertained the thoughts about the methods required to convert the Protestants: “daß Obsorge getragen werde, damit demselben der *eingeflößte Irrthum* nach Erforderniß benommen, und von der Geistlichkeit ihm die Gründe *der wahren katholischen Religion* beigebracht werden mögen (my italics)” *Ibid.*, 1: 138.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 1: 81.

<sup>59</sup> “Zur Geschichte der Militär-Akademie zu Wiener-Neustadt (Aus den Aufzeichnungen des Generals Johann Mayer von Heldensfeld, 1768-1839)”, *Mittheilungen des k.k. Kriegsarchiv*, 2 (1877): 297.

<sup>60</sup> A – KA – Hofkriegsrat 1778, fasc. 53, no. 679, 3v.

<sup>61</sup> (Anonymous), “(Fortsetzung) Von der Kayserl. Theresianischen Militär-Akademie in Wienerisch-Neustadt (Aus Schlözers Briefwechsel, 57ter Heft). Briefe des Freyherrn von H-t, geschrieben im April, 1781. (Kinsky) An die Herrn Professores,” *Bellona: ein militärisches Journal* 8 (1782): 83.

he only developed the detail to flesh out the previously outlined scheme,<sup>62</sup> and his changes were only to improve the existing educational plan. However, if the curriculum can be said to have already been established, his pedagogical principles were different. Joseph II, who proposed Kinsky's appointment as director of the Academy, left him "a free hand to act according to his own principles"<sup>63</sup> and did not interfere in the internal organisation of the educational institution, unlike Carl Eugen of Württemberg or Frederick II. Soon after his appointment as the *Localdirector* of the Theresian Military Academy on 26 June 1779, Kinsky distributed a written memorandum (*Erinnerung*) to the Academy's teachers containing his "thoughts about the primary objectives," a copy of which he gave to an anonymous traveller a couple of years later, which was eventually published in August von Schlözer's *Briefwechsel meist patriotischen ... Inhalts*.<sup>64</sup> In this, he set out the principal maxims underlying his educational philosophy. The striking fact, however, is that these draft principles were to be applied both in private noble education and in public military education, which points to their universal applicability in the creation of "men and citizens," not the narrow *ständisch* ideal types.<sup>65</sup> To Kinsky, the most important thing was that the Academy's teachers, to whom his essay was addressed, should strive together (*unisuono*) for the "simple general principle of a *true military education*" (my italics), which could be described as "religion and a sense of duty" (*Religion und Pflichtgefühl*).

Religion, which the majority of people wrongly assumed were only useful for the afterlife, was actually also useful for soldiers in this world. All servicemen, who had served with honour could confirm that it was only religion to create the true spirit of the military class: "cheerfulness about the future, determination for this moment – a primary sense of duty, that devotion to the sovereign, a willingness to sacrifice oneself for the state, which no fashionable philosophy (*Modephilosophie*) can (dislodge) from our hearts (by) idle chatter, that real inner feeling of the soldier." It was only the words "God" and "sovereign" that helped the soldier expose himself to cannon fire. In Kinsky's view, "hackneyed moral sayings," "the

<sup>62</sup> Leitner, *Geschichte*, 1: 419.

<sup>63</sup> (Anonymous), "Von der Kayserl. Theresianischen Militär-Akademie in Wienerisch-Neustadt (Aus Schlözers Briefwechsel, 57ter Heft). Briefe des Freyherrn von H-t, geschrieben im April, 1781.," *Bellona: ein militärisches Journal* 7 (1782): 94.

<sup>64</sup> *Briefwechsel* 10 (1782) no. 57: 154-183.

<sup>65</sup> Christian Löper, the publisher of the Prague journal *Neue Litteratur*, is said to have plagiarised Kinsky's *Erinnerung* in a book called *Handbuch zur Erziehung der bürgerlichen Jugend in Wien* (Vienna: In der von Ghelenschen Buchhandlung, 1774). There he proposed Kinsky's principles for the education of the youth from the merchant classes and future artisans. This could also be evidence of the trans-*ständisch* nature of Kinsky's educational theory. Bedřich Slavík, *Od Dobnera k Dobrovskému* (From Dobner to Dobrovsky) (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1975), 127. Although this argument needs further analysis, it is true that in the book Löper mentions Kinsky and his work by name at §. 55., where he praises Kinsky's advice for cultivating children's taste in reading.

supposed happiness of virtue,” “proud self-satisfaction” and “pure civil virtue” were not sources of the military spirit, but of “egoism.” Therefore, it was necessary to control “enthusiasm for honour” (*Ehreneifer*) and “desire for fame” (*Ruhmbegierde*), just as a doctor makes limited use of poisons. These motivations did not encourage those less obvious deeds, which were the most important to the state, for which “duty” and “conscience” were more effective.<sup>66</sup> The main task of the institute was thus not to produce pure “know-it-alls,” but rather “men, who think about and feel, what their vocation (*Bestimmung*) requires.”

Above all, Kinsky wanted his new teachers to regard the cadets as children in an appropriate age and stage of development. His fatherly attitude towards children was another aspect of breaking away from the previous tradition. His educational treatises clearly show that he recognised childhood as a separate stage in human development and adjusted his methods accordingly when the cadets reached maturity. However, it would be wrong to assume that the majority of contemporary educators shared the same view and Kinsky was more an exception than the rule. Between 1760 and 1800 only a relatively small number of people started to demonstrate “a greater respect for the personality of the child and for his ability to pursue his own learning.” They rejected the innate evil of a child, which was a key component of the “classical-Christian approach to education.” Instead, the innovators emphasised the child’s natural “desire for knowledge”, and the teacher’s task was to stimulate and guide it. “Interesting” became the key word in the learning process,<sup>67</sup> and for Kinsky the “awakening of curiosity” was one of the three most important principles in public military education:

The aim of an education should be to form (*bilden*) the future upright (*rechtschaffen*) men, who are useful to the Fatherland, to themselves, and to others. Consequently, it is not a primary concern whether the student performs outstandingly in his education or what he does as a pupil at school, but what he should develop into. Now, whatever he might become, he must embrace religion (*Religion*), curiosity (*Wissbegierde*), and determination (*Entschlossenheit*). This is the framework, our educational plan (*Erziehungsplan*) to which all the institutions must strive. Suppose we find a student who lacks one of these three traits, then he is a failure.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>66</sup> (Anonymous), “Von der Kayserl. Theresianischen Militär-Akademie. An die Herrn Professores (2),” 83-84.

<sup>67</sup> W. A. C. Stewart and W. P. McCann, *The Educational Innovators 1750-1880* (London: Macmillan, 1967), 34-35.

<sup>68</sup> AP, § 1.

### Conclusion: Patriotism and/or Citizenship of the Imperial and Austrian Officers<sup>69</sup>

Obviously, Kinsky wanted to develop an *esprit de corps* among the young cadets, who were coming from all parts of the Habsburg Monarchy. A question may be raised about the political identity of Kinsky's cadets: where was their fatherland? Although a discussion of the complex political terminology surrounding the Austrian *Gesamtstaatsbewußtsein* is not necessary here, it is nevertheless worth noting that Kinsky uses the neutral terms "state," "society" and "fatherland" interchangeably, which points to the cameral political theory of Joseph von Sonnenfels. Built on the concept of "state citizenship" (*Staatsbürgertum*), Sonnenfelsian patriotism was encouraged at state-funded academic institutions, such as the Theresian Military Academy as well as other noble academies and colleges, not only in Vienna, but throughout the realm, where the "children of the state" were educated.<sup>70</sup> As such, it was not related to any particular nation or ethnic group, and was thus suitable for the multiethnic outlook of the state servants.<sup>71</sup>

It must be mentioned that these ideas were by no means separated from the broader context of the debate about citizenship in eighteenth-century monarchies, such as Prussia and Russia or even France. Enlightened monarchs started to re-

<sup>69</sup> That is, the social identity displaying loyalty to the imperial ruling house of Austria, which bestowed a prestigious social status and dignity on the officer candidates. I would like to emphasize that this term was originally coined by Dr. Olga Khavanova, who used it to describe the loyal service of the Hungarian nobility to the Habsburgs. She makes a distinction between the "Hungarian" and "imperial" identities. On the other hand, the term "Austrian" was in general use throughout the eighteenth century, i.e. long before the formal creation of the Austrian Empire, to describe the army and foreign policy. Cf. Charles Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618-1815* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995); Grete Klingenstein, "The Meanings of 'Austria' and 'Austrian' in the Eighteenth Century," in: *Royal and Republican Sovereignty*, ed. Robert Oresko, G. C. Gibbs, and H. M. Scott (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), 423-478. In primary sources, the term "Austrian officer" in no way refers to his ethnic origin, but rather to his political identification as the "citizen of the Austrian Monarchy" or of "the Austrian states." Helmut Reinalter has emphasized that the *Staatsidee* in the Theresian-Josephinian period had its origin in the reality of a multi-ethnic state, and promoted identification with that political entity. In his view, the new stratum of "enlightened bureaucracy" was the main representation of "Austrian national identity," which assumed the form of *Gesamtstaatsbewußtsein*. Helmut Reinalter, "Die Anfänge eines Gesamtstaatsbewußtseins in der Habsburgermonarchie im 18. Jahrhundert," *Etudes Danubiennes* 9/1 (1993): 64. However, in my view, the term "nation" was still formally used in those days as a synonym for "citizens" (cf. "the Dalmatian nation," "the nation of Tuscany," "the nation of Hungary") and predominantly lacked any ethnic (national) connotation in the modern sense.

<sup>70</sup> Aside from the Theresianum and the Savoyard Noble Academies in Vienna, similar institutions were established in Vác (Waitzen) (*Collegium Regium Theresianum Vaciense* in 1767), in Graz (*Collegium nobilium* in 1773), in Innsbruck (*Collegium nobilium* in 1775), and in Buda (*Regia Theresiana Academia* in 1777). Commoners could study politico-cameral sciences at the Economic College in Szenc (Wahrberg) and in Varaždin (Croatia) (*Studium politico-camerale* founded in 1769).

<sup>71</sup> R.J.W. Evans has also noticed Sonnenfels' avoidance of the term "Austria" in his *Über die Liebe des Vaterlandes*. This prompted Evans to raise the question: "But where, in concrete terms, was the patria of the Habsburg's own subjects?" R.J.W. Evans, "Joseph II and Nationality in the Habsburg Lands," in: *Enlightened Absolutism*, ed. H. M. Scott (London: Palgrave, 1990), 212.

present themselves publicly as “crowned citizens,” and everywhere the same questions were raised: What are the duties of citizens in the monarchies? Who is a good citizen and what are his virtues?<sup>72</sup> In the new philosophical outlook, the term “patriot” was synonymous with “good citizen”, meaning a person who fulfils his civil obligations and thereby shows his devotion to the fatherland.<sup>73</sup> The fact is often overlooked that the enlightened concept of political education had a strong social component and incorporated not only the education of a citizen, but also the integration of a man into the civil society. As is apparent above, this “human dimension” was one of the central preoccupations for Kinsky as the *Lokal-* and later *Oberdirektor* of the Academy. In addition, the policy of the Academy expressed not only the social, but also the ethnic equality of the cadets,<sup>74</sup> for whose *esprit de corps*, the maxim “one for all and all for one (*Einer für Alle und Alle für Einen*)” was supposed to be the single unifying principle. In order to strengthen this *esprit de corps*, one of Kinsky’s first acts upon his arrival at the Academy was the consecration of its flag on 23 May 1780 in the presence of Maria Theresa, intended to teach the cadets how to adopt military obedience and to inculcate a true military spirit into them. The social and cultural identity of the “Austrian officer,” who was “Austrian” primarily in view of his profession and citizenship, could obviously absorb all the ethnic differences among the members of the officer corps. In Kinsky’s own case, being a committed Bohemian patriot, a citizen of the Austrian Monarchy or of the Austrian States,<sup>75</sup> and an Austrian officer were mutually compatible.

Although Anton Colloredo had already introduced the subject of Austrian military history at the Academy, Kinsky augmented it with instruction in “Austrian-patriotic” – (*österreichisch-vaterländische*) history and geography. Its main purpose was to provide the cadets with the knowledge of their Fatherland, and was to start with the geography of Neustadt, the Academy’s immediate surrounding

<sup>72</sup> For quotations showing similar conceptions of monarchical citizenship, see *Enlightened Absolutism (1760 – 1790): A Documentary Sourcebook*, ed. A. Lentin (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Averro Publications, 1985).

<sup>73</sup> A great debate was going on in the German-speaking states, questioning whether a monarchy could be a fatherland and evoke patriotic feelings to the same extent as republics. Cf. Heinrich Bosse, “Karl Heinrich v. Zedlitz: ‘Über den Patriotismus als einen Gegenstand der Erziehung in monarchischen Staaten’ (Berlin, 1777),” in: *Staat und Erziehung in Aufklärungsphilosophie und Aufklärungszeit*, ed. Fritz-Peter Hager and Dieter Jedan (Bochum: Verlag Dr. Dieter Winkler, 1993), 19-24. See also Shek Brnardić, “Modalities of Enlightened Monarchical Patriotism.”

<sup>74</sup> Although religious tolerance was officially proclaimed at the Academy, which meant the admission of both Catholic and Greek Orthodox cadets, there were no separate religious teachers for non-Catholics. In one of the letters to the President of the *Hofkriegsrat* (Military Administration) Council, Kinsky revealed all the difficulties he was encountering with the cadets from other denominations, and his own view about dealing with this problem. As a result, the imperial orders of 1810 and 1820 allowed the admission of Catholics only. Leitner, *Geschichte*, 1: 199-203.

<sup>75</sup> Ignaz de Luca included an entry on Kinsky in his biographical lexicon *Das gelehrte Österreich* (1776), where the adjective “Austrian” covered all the “imperial and royal territories.”

area, and only then proceed further. Just like the mainstream eighteenth-century educators, Kinsky thought that the biographical method is the most appropriate for moulding a child's mind, as it could understand the peculiarities of a single area more easily than learning about the whole nation.<sup>76</sup> Likewise, Kinsky thought that images could make a great impression on the human mind and especially on youths, so he included portraits in the historical subjects. Although the portraits of 225 famous Austrian generals, which had been brought from the former Military Preparatory School, were already hanging on the Academy walls, they had been damaged, so Kinsky commissioned new head and shoulder portraits of famous Austrian generals from various historical periods dressed in Roman or Teutonic costumes. He placed these "heroes and models of the Austrian army" in the dining hall and in 1796 had their brief biographies published under the title *Biographische Skizzen jener Helden Oesterreichs, deren Bildnisse in dem k.k. militär Kadettenhaus zu sehen sind*, so that the cadets could associate the deeds of these commanders with their images.<sup>77</sup> Later on, he commissioned Friedrich Kepner, the Academy's librarian and the teacher of "the knowledge of books", to assemble a complete collection of biographies of the most famous Austrian army commanders, *Thaten und Charakterzüge berühmter österreichischen Feldherren* (Vienna, 1808), whose personal moral behaviour was to serve as a model for the cadets to emulate. In addition, he initiated a project to collect the sources for the histories of the Imperial and Royal regiments and of the "Order of Maria Theresa," which were then brought together at the Academy.<sup>78</sup>

These brief insights into the different segments of the Theresian Military Academy before and during Franz Joseph Kinsky's tenure display a whole array of social and cultural practices. Although in terms of organisation he made just a few changes, the Academy's practices and their philosophical bases were significantly changed during his mandate. Above all, Kinsky put into practice the principles of enlightened child-centred pedagogy, and built his educational strategy on the contemporary human sciences, such as psychology, which was of primary importance to him. This is the exceptional nature of his Enlightenment project, which could also be called an "experimental human project." Its innovative status in the field of public education may be inferred from the opinion of his impartial contemporaries, such as the Hungarian Count János Fekete de Galántha (1741-1803) – a former soldier and student of the Theresianum, who declared in 1787:

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<sup>76</sup> Cf. Terrence O. Moore, "The Enlightened Curriculum: Liberal Education in Eighteenth-century British Schools" (Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 1999), esp. Ch. 5 ("The Enlightened Hero: Learning Virtue Through Biography"). Cf. *Allgemeine Prinzipien zur öffentlichen, und besonders Militär-Erziehung. In einem Auszuge des Befehlsprotokolls des k.k.M.K.H.* (Wiener Neustadt: n.n., 1787), 159 (s. v. "Biographien").

<sup>77</sup> Leitner, *Geschichte*, 1: 206-207.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 1: 162.

Wouldn't it be appropriate to model some schools on one, which is worthy of serving as a model? Its head (i.e. Kinsky), already prominent for other reasons (*Belangen*) as an esteemed soldier, has succeeded in bringing the assigned institution to such a level of perfection, which is as much an honour for him as it is amazing for those who knew this Academy previously. He should be invited to establish another school, where affluent families could secure by financial payment the same education that the state offers to those whom he took under his protection in Wiener Neustadt.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Johann Graf Fekete de Galántha, *Wien im Jahre 1787. Skizze eines lebenden Bildes von Wien, entworfen von einem Weltbürger*, trans Victor Klarwill (Vienna: Rikola Verlag, 1921), 76-77.

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## **Odgaj kompetentnih i patriotskih časnika: vojno obrazovanje u Terezijanskoj vojnoj akademiji u Bečkom Novom Mjestu (1752.-1805.)**

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### **Sažetak**

Plemićka vojna akademija u Bečkom Novom Mjestu otvorena je 1752. o državnom trošku, a cilj habsburških vlasti bio je da bude komplementarna viteškoj akademiji Terezijanumu (osnovan 1746. pod isusovačkom upravom). Naime, ondje su se školovali mladi plemići za rad u civilnoj službi, dok je Bečko Novo Mjesto bilo namijenjeno obrazovanju časnika. Marija Terezija osigurala je stipendije za četrstotinjak kadeta iz siromašnijih plemićkih obitelji, kao i za sinove zaslužnih časnika koji su dokazali lojalnost u vojnoj službi. Prije Plemićke akademije dječaci mlađi od 14 godina pohađali su tzv. Pripremnu vojnu školu u Beču. Obje ustanove spojene su 1769. u c. i k. Terezijansku vojnu akademiju. Učiteljski kadar, koji je isprva bio samo svjetovni, tj. časnički, nastavljao je tradiciju humanističkih i baroknih viteških akademija te usvajanja “viteških vještina i vojnih vrlina” koje su bile usmjerene više na fizičku spremnost nego na stjecanje suvremenih znanja o ratovanju koja su bila potrebna za profesionalizaciju vojske. U radu se prikazuju reforme i promjene koje su se provodile na Akademiji za vrijeme Marije Terezije i Josipa II. u nastojanju da se osuvremeni časničko obrazovanje i da se uz pomoć prosvjetiteljskih načela razvije nadnacionalni “austrijski patriotizam” koji bi bio glavni temelj lojalnosti budućih časnika. Ta nastojanja kulminirala su za vrijeme uprave prosvjetljenog pedagoškog pisca, austrijskog generala i češkog grofa Franza Josepha Kinskog (1779.-1805.), čiji su odgajateljski koncepti i djelovanje opširnije predstavljani.

*Ključne riječi:* vojna akademija, časničko obrazovanje, Bečko Novo Mjesto, plemićka akademija, Franz Joseph Kinsky, austrijski patriotizam, prosvjetiteljstvo, habsburška vojska