

Construction of the national state and the institutionalization processes of the modern Hungarian secondary school teacher training system

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Abstract: In our paper we intend to analyse the development process of the secondary teachers' professionalization. By examining archival and secondary sources, we found that the professionalization process of the secondary teachers in Central-Eastern Europe (Austro-Hungarian Monarchy) followed the French and the German patterns. Furthermore, the political elite used different elements of these patterns in order to be able to implement the European reforms into the national level. Therefore, we would say that the implementation process in this area was a kind of «reflexion» which was necessary to adjust the modernisation influences to their social and economic conditions. However, the study also concerns developing processes of the modern science of education and pedagogy and the forming processes of modern national states. After analysing our sources, we were convinced of the need to direct our focus to these questions. Both of them played decisive role in the professionalization process. Different steps of the formation of the modern national state boosted the development of teacher professions by adopting new regulations or laws. Changes of the state and the society also facilitated the transformation of universities and teacher training institutes. These aspects clearly could be seen in the development of the Hungarian secondary teacher profession in the second half of the 19th century.

Keywords: professionalization; teacher training in Hungary; secondary teacher's professionalization in Central-Eastern-Europe; development of national states; teacher training institutes in Hungary; Eötvös József Collegium.

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1. Introduction

Two directions of special and different pedagogical knowledge and culture developed in the second half of the 19th century through the professionalization of the elementary and the secondary school teacher's profession¹. These two professions were developed in a functional way, yet, they were different in several other aspects (Cf. Németh, 2005; Németh, 2007).

These development processes were parallel to the construction of the national states, and they went through different regions of Europe from the early period of the 18th century to the turn of the 19th and 20th century. It also included the transformation of several elements of society (complex dynamics of micro and macro structural changes). Within this framework were the dual public education systems of the European national states constructed (mass education and elite training), the different pedagogical professions (secondary school teacher and different types of secondary schools, vocational training and public education) and the science of education and its part-disciplines which were separated from other academic sciences. In this time period, the training institutions of secondary and elementary school teachers came into existence, which were separated and different from each other in several fundamental aspects. In the background of this process, the two model forms of sharply different pedagogical culture and knowledge would be constructed (these were also implemented in the knowledge of the academic science of education). In our study, we intend to analyse the perspective of one part-process of the former described complex progression: the development of the Hungarian secondary school teacher profession and its national specialities, which were quite similar and parallel to the development processes in Central Europe.

From the second half of the 18th century, Central Europe had also been influenced by modernisation effects of enlightenment-inspired reforms which transformed the state and social subsystems. As in different regions of Europe, the development of the secondary school teacher profession and the process of its becoming independent were tightly related to the construction and formation of a modern Hungarian national state. The secondary school teacher profession was organised as a professional group and controlled by the state in the course of continental variants of professionalization (McClelland, 1991, pp. 14-16.). The two patterns of continental university models, the French and the German influenced the formation process of the Hungarian secondary school teacher profession during the 18th and the 19th centuries. (Garai, 2011, pp. 185-189; Garai, 2015b, pp. 37-39; McClelland, 1991, p. 98). However, one of the important consequences of the late development of the countries on Europe's periphery is that only certain elements were implemented in the national institutional system by the political elite through the reception process. But these elements were not implemented in a «chemically pure» form. By this step, they adjusted the modernisation influences to their level of development (Németh, 2004, pp. 440-441; Garai, 2015c, p. 179). Hence, in our paper, we look through the development of the Hungarian secondary school teacher

¹ This paper is based on a previous research, which was inspired by the institutional changes in teacher training system in Hungary after 2010 (Garai, 2015a).

profession from the late third of 18th century to 1924. We examine the international influences and examples that inspired the formation processes of the teacher training institutional system.

2. Educational reforms of the enlightened absolutism

The Hungarian education system followed the European developing patterns as part of the Habsburg Empire's educational affairs from the 18th century. The elementary schools' confessional-moral status progressively transformed in the countries of the continent from the enlightenment period. The main aim became the education of effective citizens in these institutions. Many countries imposed compulsory education, and the state played a decisive role in the educational affairs up to the middle of the 19th century, which inflicted serious consequences on the confessions' role in this field. From the traditional high school with Latin language, the secondary grammar school by the Prussian reformers evolved, which was neohumanism oriented. These new institutes established the basic principles of developing the rule of law, the modern bourgeois professions and the industrial economic system. The national states became more important in this phase of the transformation process (Cf. Puttkamer, 2003, p. 15; Schmale-Dodde, 1991). The Austro-Hungarian educational reforms that severely transformed the traditional forms of the late feudal social structures in both countries were based on the state reforms of Maria Theresa. By these steps, the reforms also put an end to the hegemony of the confessions in connection with «defying cultural canons». These reforms also established a framework in which the education affairs were interpreted as «politics». This new interpretation has resulted in systematic development and the supervision of school affairs by the state in the last third of the 18th century (Engelbrecht, 1984, pp. 89-91). The 1777-published *Ratio Educationis* regulated the operation of the whole Hungarian educational system. It was based on the principles of the *Allgemeine Schulordnung*, which ruled the educational system in the crown lands of the Habsburg Empire. The prescriptions of the *Ratio Educationis* were extended to Transylvania by the *Norma Regia* in 1781.

This measure that essentially contained the first state regulation of the education also implemented the «Seminarium Magistratum» and the «Collegium Repetentium» following the patterns of the University of Halle and the University of Göttingen. Completing these «seminars» was necessary for candidates who wanted to apply for a teaching position. (Ladányi, 2008, p. 9). The teacher training was relocated within the institutional frames of the university (Németh, 2004, p. 484; Németh, 2012, p. 31). The members of the educational boards of the royal court were in dispute with each other about forcing back the positions of the confessions. During their argumentation, they also emphasized that the training of «class teachers» should have been ceased; they wanted to impose the training of «subject teachers» instead. This measure would have facilitated the detachment of each discipline (Ugrai, 2010, pp. 46-47.).

Under the rule of Joseph the 2nd (1780-1790) the main university centres in the Habsburg Empire were formed (Wien, Prague, Lemberg (Lviv) and Pest)². The emperor had transformed the less important Jesuit universities to lyceums (Graz, Innsbruck, Omütz) (Németh, 2005, p. 107). However, their role would have been important in filling the lack of teachers. This crisis was based on several facts: the elimination of the Jesuit Order, the reduction of their importance in the teacher training, low numbers of secular teachers and the high ratio of changing careers among confessional teachers if they were promoted to higher ecclesiastical posts (Ugrai, 2010, p. 45).

The educational reforms of 1806 resulted in ambiguous changes in the field of teacher training. These reforms were parts of state reforms, which were launched because of the serious loss of the war against France and the humiliating conditions of the peace treaty in Bratislava, on 26th December 1805. Francis the 1st (1792-1835) reformed the training systems of the universities and lyceums. The former's training time was raised to three years, the latter's to two years. Both of them became preparatory institutes. Although the 2nd Ratio Educationis regulated the teacher certification exam in detail, the confessional teachers were given an exemption so they did not have to take the exam. Incidentally, it was a turn back to the previous higher education political trends that wanted to limit the role of the confessions in the teacher training system (Németh, 2004, p. 485; Németh, 2012, p. 31). This conservative restoration was strengthened by the termination of the training of «subject teachers» in 1815, which was imposed by *Franz Innozenz Lang* (Ugrai, 2010, p. 46).

3. Reform of the secondary school teacher training during the revolution of 1848

The expanding modernisation created a new period in the development of the education in the 19th century. By the end of the century, national educational systems had been created – as part of the modern national states' social service systems –, which were operated according to the assumptions of the public, at a new professional level and with the permissions and expectations of the state. Their essential nature was the dual characteristic of the institutions (elementary school, elite training secondary schools). Because of that the different types of schools not only articulated different types of educational goals but their governing and monitoring systems were also fairly different. Traditional maintainers of schools (individuals and confessions) also shared different proportions in the new structure but this change had an effect on the forms and frames of the training of the teaching professionals. In this period of the forming of the national states, the differentiation of the modern intellectual groups commenced, more precisely, the separation of the different professional subgroups of the teachers. So members of the ancient occupation became experts and professionals.

The Hungarian educational reforms, which reflected the impact of the European modernisation processes, had strong relations to the Hungarian cultural and political

² The university moved from Buda to Pest in 1784 (Németh, 2005, p. 109).

reform movements leading up to the establishment of the Hungarian bourgeois national state. This movement had a liberal orientation till 1848. By the peculiarities of the late development of the Hungarian society, the reformers mainly consisted of nobles (wealthy proprietaries, intellectuals with noble origins and the minority of them were only aristocrats). The Hungarian national liberalism aimed on the one hand at the national independence from Wien and the reintegration of the territories which were lost in the 16th century. On the other hand, it also wanted to eliminate the feudal structures.

The conditions of transforming the secondary school teachers into secular professionals – like in Prussia in the first half of the century – had not developed in the Habsburg Empire despite the measures of the enlightened absolutism till 1848. The Austrian intellectuals would rather have tried to keep away the philosophy of neohumanism that had protestant origins. Hermann Bonitz (1814–1888), the new classical-philological professor of the University of Wien had established the philological seminar only in 1849. Until the reform of the secondary grammar school in 1849, the 6-class high schools had not laid the foundations for studying different subjects at universities. The secondary school type that enabled people to study at universities was established by Leo Thun following the patterns of Bavarian and Württemberg institutions. This new secondary school type had 8 grades and ended with a final exam.

The *Organisationsentwurf* came into existence as an edict in 1849. This measure was used to change the Hungarian secondary school system through the implementation of the concept of the Prussian secondary school reform, which was part of the reforms of Humboldt. The Central European science of pedagogy had formed through the reception of Herbart's pedagogical views and the modernization process of the education in the Habsburg Empire from 1848. Franz Exner (1802-1835), the Austrian «apostle» of the philosophy of Herbart played a decisive role in this process. The *Entwurf der Organisation der Gymnasien und Realschulen in Oesterreich* established the modern Hungarian secondary grammar school in the summer of 1849, which granted general qualification for its students. This measure also wanted to modernize the education of the whole Empire just after the fall of the Hungarian freedom riot. The document, which is well known in the Central European pedagogical literature, contained the structure, operational rules, curriculum and instructions of using the curricular prescriptions of the secondary grammar schools and the secondary schools for sciences and modern languages (Realschule). The autonomy of Hungary ceased to exist due to the 4th March 1849-forced constitution. Hence, the government found it natural to impose this measure without a legal act but in a form of a ministerial announcement.

The professionalization of the secondary school teachers evolved and strengthened in this period. That resulted in its becoming a profession of having an own qualification route and a state-granted training certificate. Through this process, the secondary school teacher profession was separated both from the theologians and the elementary school teachers (Németh, 2007, pp. 11-12; Keller, 2010, p. 17; McClelland, 1991, p. 98)³. The structure of the University of Pest had also been

³ Developing of professional knowledge, see: Németh (2012).

changed by the publication of the No. 6798/ 1849. (IX. 30.) edict of the imperial minister of religion and public education, in addition to changing the system of the public education. According to the decree, the university became a state-supervised institution and it also ensured the opportunity to implement the reforms of Humboldt that were of neohumanist origin (Bíró, 1990, p. 7). As a result of the reform, the philosophy faculty no longer played a preparatory role, and it became equal to other faculties as of the school year of 1850/1851.

The teacher certification exam was introduced in 1856. According to the exam, the candidates could obtain a certificate after passing the final exam and proving three years of attendance of the philosophy faculty in the following special subject groups: classical philology, history-geography and maths-physics (Németh, 2004, p. 486). This exam could be completed only in Austria till 1862. By softening the political atmosphere, the notion of teacher training committees was also created in Hungary both for secondary grammar schools and secondary schools for sciences and modern language teachers. The originally separated two committees united in 1875 (Németh, 2005, pp. 212-213). It was a significant challenge in the process of the development of the modern public education system that the qualification standard was raised by implementing the certification exams. This is a specific element of the early phase of the professions' development. The professionals or the authorities try to avoid an oversupply of professionals by raising the standards of the training qualification (Jeismann, 1999, p. 62). Because of those measures, the former actors of education, the confessions that ruled the whole system, found themselves in a precarious situation. There had been a lack of teachers because of the certification exam, which was required for practicing teachers till the first half of the 1860s. After the politics had changed, the confessions got back their autonomy, which was a relief in this situation (Keller, 2010, pp. 72-75)⁴.

4. Teacher training in the Dualist era

By sanctioning the law of the Compromise on 28th July 1867, a new attempt to create the modern Hungarian national state commenced. That resulted in an unprecedented development in the Hungarian history both in the fields of economy and society. In the period after the Compromise, the Hungarian educational elite wanted to transform the educational system on the basis of both the principles of the 1848 revolution and the Austrian educational reforms. József Eötvös, who became the religion and public education minister again, succeeded in accepting the 38th Act of the Parliament (Act of Public Education), which resulted in the emergence of the state- supervised elementary school system. This new social subsystem was available and compulsory for all citizens. The legislature also prescribed the basic principles of the elementary school teacher training, which resulted in the separation of the elementary and the secondary school teacher profession (Németh, 2012, p.

⁴ There was a critical situation when the Organisationsentwurf was implemented. The revolution of 1848/1849 was a fundamental crisis for the Habsburg Empire, so the government had to attempt to make reforms on the society. The educational changes were part of this attempt. The delay of the reforms can be explained by the protestant origins of neohumanism. Because of that, the Catholic clergy opposed heavily this measure in 1850 (Németh, 2012, p. 53).

58). The Christian pedagogy, which had been used in the previous decades by the University of Pest, royal academies and confessional teacher training institutes were not proper for training new professionals for elementary schools and secondary grammar schools, nor for creating the new national literacy. The governing system of the education, which was based on liberal principles, did not require Catholic and protestant theologians, but it needed new professionals who were able to accept the ideology of a liberal government. Developing the concept of the educational philosophy of the nobiliary liberalism cannot be left to clerics or a few catholic ultra-montane secular intellectuals who were teachers in higher or secondary education. Adequate answers for the challenges were to be found in this new policy. These challenges emerged at the beginning of the formation of the modern Hungarian public and higher education system.

As a part of this process, the Hungarian secondary school teacher training also changed significantly. The plan of setting up «teacher training institutes inside the faculty of philosophy» was a part of József Eötvös's reforms of the secondary teacher training system. These institutes were created to follow the patterns of Stoy's teacher training institutes in Jena and Ziller's in Leipzig. The Hungarian teacher training institution's pedagogical division was organised by Mór Kármán in 1872. The students were prepared in this division for the special problems of the pedagogy in secondary schools. The task of learning about the general principles of the pedagogy was left to the professor of the pedagogy at the university. The students worked on «processing the knowledge of secondary schools in a pedagogical aspect and organising the proper climate of good education and consequences of good discipline». (Kármán, 1895, p. 60). 30 students of the university were enrolled through an entrance exam in the first year. The candidates could continue their studies up to two years, and within this period, they were supported with 400 forints scholarship per year by the state. The students also had to visit at least 15 courses per week, ones that related to their subjects and pedagogical practices. They also had to write several assignments, which needed to be defended in a public debate in front of their teachers and their fellows (Keller, 2010, pp. 151-152).

The teacher training institute tried to expand its influence on the university lectures in the early period of its existence. It wanted to make the university accept the aspects of teacher training. The debate between Kármán and Ágost Lubicht (Catholic oriented pedagogical professor at the University of Pest) also emphasized that the elite of the education policy had not decided yet whether the process of the teacher training should be placed at the university or in an autonomous institute (Németh, 2005, p. 208; Németh, 2012, pp. 62-63). Ágoston Trefort, minister of religion and public education had already suggested that they organise an institute which could follow the pattern of the *École Normale Supérieure* in order to improve the efficiency of teacher training. Trefort's proposal might have come from Loránd Eötvös (son of József Eötvös), who visited the French institute on his trip to France one year before (Tóth, 1995, p. 16). Eötvös also suggested eliminating the autonomy of the teacher training institute and assimilating into the university in order for the candidates to gain scientific knowledge (Németh, 2005, p. 213).

The 30th Act of Parliament in 1883 (*About secondary schools and its teachers' certification*) was an important point in the development process of the secondary

teacher profession. The legislation made the requirements of obtaining the teacher certificate clear: candidates should attend their subjects for 4 years, and after completing 1 year pedagogical exercise, they could apply for a teacher certificate exam (Németh, 2009, p. 287). However, the law did not mention the relationship between the university and the teacher training institute. Furthermore, teacher training seminars had been established from the second half of the 1880s in classical-philology, history and modern languages. Till the first half of 1890s, the seminars of geology, geo-physic, and maths had also been set up (Németh, 2005, p. 213.). So a double institutional system had been developed by the operation of the teacher training institute and the foundation of the university seminars. The different institutional structure meant a different idea about teacher training: while the autonomous teacher training institute had been focusing on the practical training, the subject-oriented scientific training was preferred at the university thanks to the idea that suggested that the teachers learn scientific elements of their subjects in order to be granted success during their operation (Németh, 2012, pp. 63-64). The period after accepting the law of the secondary schools also resulted in the lack of secondary teachers due to a raise in the qualification standards. Demand for teachers was also boosted by cultural policy's endeavour to transform 4 or 6-class secondary schools to 8-class institutes⁵. By accepting the 30th Act of Parliament in 1890, learning Greek language became optional and instead of it the pupils had to complete Greek replacement subjects. Thanks to this, the number of the parallel classes grew from 53 to 137 between 1885 and 1899, according to the data of the education ministry⁶. Officials of the ministry expected an increase in the conspicuous lack of teachers because of the retirement of individuals who became teachers in the 1860s. Their 30-year service expired in the last decades of the 19th century. By creating the 27th Act of Parliament in 1894, the opportunity was made for confessional teachers as well to achieve retirement (Cf. Tóth, 1995, p. 20)⁷.

This situation (lack of teachers), which became even more serious in the second half of the 1890s, prompted the elite of the educational policy to reform the whole teacher training system. This process went through in the course of Loránd Eötvös's and Gyula Wlassics's Ministry (1894–1903). All the politicians of education, who thought differently about it, supported the concept of the «scholar teacher»⁸.

⁵ This intention was emphasized by the 2nd paragraph of the law in which the legislation banned establishing institutes that did not have at least 4 classes. Supporting new secondary schools at least with 4 classes can be explained by György Kövér's argumentation: completing the first 4 classes might grant a kind of social status. The number of the parallel classes was reduced and the minority of the originally enrolled students finished all the 8 classes. And even fewer of them passed the final exam (Kövé, 2006, p. 176).

⁶ The growth was due to the rise of the number of the students from 43.000 to 71.000 between 1890 and 1910 (Kövé, 2006, pp. 179-180).

⁷ 25874/1898. The 5th division of the educational ministry's opinion about planned development of the Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, 18th May 1898. MDLA Box 88. Dossier 185/4.

⁸ At least, the fact that Mór Kálmán, Gusztáv Heinrich Zsolt Beöthy and Ernő Fináczy took part in the process of developing the operational rules of the Baron Eötvös József Collegium implies the validity of this statement. Budapest, 23th May 1895. MDLA 88. Box 185/1. Dossier. (Cf. Tóth, 1995, pp. 21-22.) See more about the history of the Eötvös Collegium: Garai, 2015c.

According to the proposal of Loránd Eötvös in 1878, following the French pattern, the *Baron Eötvös József Collegium* had started its operation on 21st September 1895. The experimentally-established institute wanted to solve the problems of teacher training in new ways by implementing the seminars for the chosen students⁹. Many of the members of the Collegium became scholars or well-educated teachers who raised the quality of public education (Ld. Lekli, 1995, p. 41). Eötvös also became the director of the Secondary School Teacher Training Institute and according to his previous proposal, he made a curriculum reform, which resulted in the loss of the autonomy of the institute, and he got to integrate it into the University of Budapest. The membership of the institute was compulsory for those students who wanted to get a teacher certificate (Ladányi, 2008, pp. 36-37). Hence, a new model of teacher training had been created in Budapest in 1899, which was based on three elements: first, the knowledge of the subjects was provided by the faculty of philosophy, second, this was complemented by pedagogical courses of teacher training institutes and a one-year pedagogical exercise, and finally, the chosen students could gain scientific knowledge at the Eötvös Collegium through which they could shore the unsystematic university education up. Evolving the German pattern of the teacher training system was helped by founding an institute which was received from France (Garai, 2011, p. 200; Németh, 2012, pp. 64-66).

5. Outlook – expanding the development of the Hungarian secondary school teacher profession in the law of teacher training

Short-lived new political systems, which came into existence after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, wanted to enforce reforms on the system of teacher training. The Education Ministry entrusted József Balassa with the task of working out a program for it. Balassa argued that the university could not solve tasks of scientific education and prepare students for teachers' duty at the same time. He wanted to create the autonomous Secondary School Teacher Training Institute again in order to solve this problem. The new institute's teacher staff would have been chosen from practicing secondary teachers. However, he wanted to maintain a close relationship with the faculty of philosophy. This was expressed in the accommodation of the institute, which was in the faculty of philosophy's residence. The task of a scientific preparation belonged to the faculty and the new institution would have coordinated the lecturing of didactics and methodology. Candidates should have visited the seminars of the institute and simultaneously, they also had to hold demonstration lessons and took part in visitations in secondary schools from their 3rd year¹⁰. Although Balassa's proposals wanted to restore the conditions before 1899 in the aspect of institutionalization, teacher training seminars had not been affected in his propositions.

⁹ 9/1895. Proposal of Loránd Eötvös to the Minister of Religion and Public Education about the case of opening the Collegium. Budapest, 17th September 1895. MDLA Box 88. Dossier 185/1.

¹⁰ 297/1918-1919. Report of Balassa József about the plan of the Secondary School Teacher Training Institute. Budapest, 11th August 1919. HNA K 636. Box 49., Title 25. (1919).

The new political course after 1920 was led by intentions of establishing a new national state among the given conditions, which were created by the Paris Peace Treaties. These intentions were focused on saving the Hungarian nation and somehow regaining all the lost territories. The new course was dismissive of the previous political system's measures, so all the political changes between 31st October 1918 and 6th August 1919 were annulled. The previous institutions and conditions had been restored because of this step. However, the 11th Act of Parliament in 1924 (*About secondary schools*) changed the secondary educational system significantly. During the parliamentary debate of the law, a couple of countries were mentioned as possible examples that could have been followed during the process of creating the new system. But the government adhered to century-old traditions, so it followed the German-Austrian pattern, and they created the tripartite secondary school system (Szabó, 2015, pp. 274-275).

Furthermore, the legislation extended the teacher training structure, which was created at the University of Budapest in 1899, by accepting the 27th Act of Parliament in 1924 (*About certification and training of secondary teachers*). From the 1st to the 9th paragraphs of the law contained the same institutional system and it became compulsory for all Hungarian universities. The law made the teacher training institutional system unified: secondary school teacher training institutes, secondary schools for teaching practice and teacher training boarding schools were set up¹¹ (Cf. Németh, 2007, p. 19; Németh, 2012, pp. 94-95; Ladányi, 2008, pp. 59-60)¹². The secondary teacher training institutes were able to extend their influence to the philosophy faculty and could also supervise the whole system through a strong legitimacy, which was granted by the law (Pukánszky, 2013, p. 89). This statement was underlined by the fact that the legislation had extended the institutional pattern of the Eötvös Collegium but its autonomy ceased. The Collegium was placed under the supervision of the secondary school teacher training institute both in financial and pedagogical aspects (Garai, 2015c, pp. 183-187).

It can be clearly seen in the present paper that there was a close interaction among the process of the development of the national state, the changes of education and the teacher training system. These processes in Hungary were quite similar to the development of other European countries. This progress was determined by the neohumanist scientific philosophy based on the German-Austrian university model.

¹¹ Imre Dóczy, the supervisor of secondary schools of Calvin Church in Eastern Hungary, asked for advice from Géza Bartoniek, the first director of the Eötvös Collegium to explain the principles of the operation of the Collegium. The Church also considered setting up a teacher training boarding school to make the teacher training institute's work effective at the University of Debrecen. Imre Dóczy's letter to Géza Bartoniek about the relations between the Eötvös Collegium and the Teacher Training Institute. Debrecen, 24th August 1925. MDLA Box 50. Dossier 95/2.

¹² The 9th paragraph of the 27th act of Parliament in 1924 prescribed the compulsory foundation of teacher boarding schools next to teacher training institutes. The boarding schools followed the pattern of the Eötvös Collegium, which had significant results in the field of teacher training during its 29 years of operation. However, the legislation noticed in the justification of the law that this step was a kind of social measure establishing boarding schools for poor candidates. This aspect was not completely unfamiliar with the training goals of the Collegium but its main goal was not related directly to these aspects. The ministerial justification of the 27th law of the Parliament 1924 (Mészáros, Németh & Pukánszky, 2003, p. 479).

But the late development of the Hungarian society resulted in the fact that only certain components of this university model were implemented and adjusted to particularities of the Hungarian society and economy. Moreover, the teacher training institutional system, following the German pattern, was expanded by founding an institute, which was taken from France. The progression of the national reception can only partly be explained by adjusting to national particularities. By creating an own national model of a teacher training system from the elements of European models, there emerged a «need for reflection». The Eötvös Collegium was created by the elite of the dualist monarchy, and it could extend its institutional model after 1920 because it was able to effectively fill the insufficiencies of the German university model. These insufficiencies were related to the lack of the stipulated order of studying subjects at universities. In contrast, the Collegium offered a systematic overview of the subjects for its students (Garai, 2013, pp. 380-381).

6. Referred laws, edicts

(1868). XXXVIII. törvénycikk. *A népiskolai közoktatás tárgyában.*

(1883). XXX. törvénycikk. *A középiskolákról és azok tanárainak képesítéséről.*

(1890). XXX. törvénycikk. *A középiskolákról és azok tanárainak képesítéséről szóló 1883: XXX. törvénycikk módosítása tárgyában.*

(1894). XXVII. törvénycikk. *Azon nyilvános tanintézeti igazgatók, tanárok, tanítók, igazgatónők és tanítónők nyugdíjazásáról és hozzátartozóik ellátásáról, kikről állami vagy más hasonló természetű közrendelkezéssel gondoskodva nincs.*

(1924). XXVII. törvénycikk. *A középiskolai tanárok képzéséről és képesítéséről.*

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7. Archival sources

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Boksz 88. Dossier 185/1-4. Az Eötvös Collegium 1895–1950 közötti történetére vonatkozó iratanyagok.

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