



BEYOND BORDERS: ACTORS AND CANONS OF PEDAGOGY*

Peregrinations of Transylvanian Students in the late Dual Monarchy A Case Study of Confessional Inequalities in Elite Training

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KEYWORDS

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KULCSSZAVAK

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ABSTRACT

This study concerns the places and study tracks chosen by would-be members of educated elites from Transylvania for their higher studies in the pre-1918 decades, following their confessional standing. There is indeed a strong correlation, almost an overlap, between religious and ethnic status in Transylvania (except for Orthodox Romanians and the small Serbian minority on the one hand, Uniate Romanians and Ukrainians on the other hand, as the only relatively significant exceptions to this rule). This cursory investigation is a case study in the exploration of regional specificities together with confessional inequalities in higher education. Its main results cannot be mechanically extended over other regions and even less taken as a general insight into problems of unequal modernity according to cultural-confessional background. Still, whatever 'independent variables' may be hidden behind confessional differences (like social class stratification, property distribution, degrees of urbanization, promotion from outside and sponsorship of educational mobility etc.), the fairly systematic disparities observed above attest to the relevance and legitimacy of two kinds of interrogation, which have remained hitherto far often ignored in the literature of contemporary social history. First, confessions constitute, by themselves, and at least partially independent determinants of educational attainments, which deserve to be analysed in their own right. Second, the mere structure of the institutional market of advanced learning – notably its spatial arrangement as well as the religious affiliation of its institutions – is liable to modify, sometimes substantially, the educational chances, strategies (in particular study options) and achievements of candidates to academic entitlements.

ABSZTRAKT

Az erdélyi diákság külföldi egytemjárása a kettős monarchia utolsó évtizedeiben. Esettanulmány a felekezeti egyenlőtlenségekről | Az erdélyi művelt elit leendő tagjai által felsőoktatási tanulmányaik folytatására választott helyekkel és tanulmányi irányokkal foglalkozunk az 1918 előtti évtizedekben, felekezeti hovatartozásuk alapján. Erdélyben erős összefüggés, szinte átfedés van a vallási és etnikai státusz között (kivéve egyrészt az ortodox románokat és a kis szerb kisebbséget, másrészt az uniátus románokat és ukránokat, mint az egyetlen viszonylag jelentős kivételt e szabály alól). Az esettanulmány feltárta a regionális sajátosságokat és a felsőoktatásban tapasztalható felekezeti egyenlőtlenségeket. Fő eredményeink nem terjeszthetők ki automatikusan más régiókra, és még kevésbé tekinthetők általános betekintésnek a kulturális-felekezeti háttér szerinti egyenlőtlen modernitás problémáiba. Mégis, bármilyen „független változók” is rejtőznek a felekezeti különbségek mögött (mint a társadalmi osztályok szerinti rétegződés, a vagyonmegoszlás, az urbanizáció foka, az iskolázás külső, csoport-sajátosan célzott külső támogatása stb.), a megfigyelt egyenlőtlenségek kétféle vizsgálat relevanciáját és legitimitását bizonyítják, amelyeket a kortárs társadalomtörténeti irodalom eddig gyakran figyelmen kívül hagyott. Először is, a felekezetek önmagukban legalább részben független meghatározói az iskolai mobilitásnak, amelyet érdemes önállóan elemezni. Másodszor, a felsőfokú tanulmányok intézményes piacának pusztá szerkezete – térbeli elrendezése és esetleges felekezeti kapcsolathálója – néha jelentősen módosítja az igazolt tanulmányi jogosultságokra pályázók bekerülési esélyeit az elitképzésbe, iskolázási stratégiáit (így szakválasztási opcióit) és eredményeit.

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Preliminary remarks

This study concerns the places and study tracks chosen by would-be members of educated elites from Transylvania for their higher studies in the pre-1918 decades, following their confessional standing. Some initial specification of all meaningful terms of this statement must be made before starting our investigation.

'Students from Transylvania' refers to those candidates to university graduation born in the region, independently from their residence or places of secondary education – two other definitions of regional ties usually indicated in the files of academic institutions resorted to in this survey.

¹ The scope of places of learning is limited to the student population of the three universities proper in Hungary (Universities of Budapest and Kolozsvár/Cluj as well as the Polytechnical University in Budapest), but to all kinds of institutions of advanced learning in the Austrian part of the Dual Monarchy, Germany and Switzerland – the main targets of student peregrinations from Transylvania in the period under scrutiny.² Thus, the scope of our study excludes the ten odd Hungarian Law academies, vocational (agricultural, commercial, military) colleges and the schools of theology (the Roman Catholic Theological Faculty of the University of Budapest included). The information liable to be exploited here is simply not available for these non university type institutions, where the entitlements granted with the degrees were less large than in universities, the length of study usually shorter (except in Law academies after 1874 and in some theological seminaries³) and access conditions not always demanding the completion of secondary education with *matura*, unlike in universities since the 1849 imperial grounding law on education (*Organisationsentwurf* or *Entwurf*).

The chronological scope of the study is variably restricted to the two to five decades preceding 1918, since the relevant data sets at my disposal have been elaborated for unequal periods of time. Finally, the confessional focus applied here is meant explicitly to stand for the study of the impact of ethnicity. There is indeed a strong correlation, almost an overlap, between religious and ethnic status in Transylvania (except for Orthodox Romanians and the small Serbian minority on the one hand, Uniate Romanians and Ukrainians on the other hand, as the only relatively significant exceptions to this rule). If we had based the study on ethnic data, the differences between Slavs and Romanians among students would have made not much of an impact, since the numbers of students concerned were extremely small, while other relevant distinctions – very important in educated elite groups – as between Magyarized and non Magyarized Jews, Germans and others would have been lost.

¹ If not otherwise referred to, the sources of quantified data quoted hereafter have been computed from the prosopography of students abroad in the period 1850-1919, born in Hungary, and identified by members of the research team organized and directed by László Szögi during the last decades. See the collection of relevant publications: Magyarországi diákok egyetemjárása az Újkorban.

² Over 95% of Hungarian students concerned studied in German universities of the Habsburg Empire (with Vienna and Prague as major centers), Germany (with Berlin, Jena, Leipzig and Munich as the main centers of attraction), as well as, secondarily, Switzerland (particularly Zürich). For Germany see Szögi, 2001. 29–34.

³ University faculties offered since early on 4 years of study to complete a degree, except the medical faculty with 5 years of study.





The meaning of peregrinations for Transylvanians

With these technical clarifications we have not broached as yet the very significance of *locations* or *localities* in university studies. The place of learning had always assumed considerable weight in strategies of higher education because of its investment by qualitative references and value judgements due to the historically accumulated symbolic assets of the institutions (among them their very seniority or anteriority in historic terms), the scholarly prestige of their staff, their urban or natural environment, the quality of their invested equipment – libraries, laboratories etc.). But beyond all this, the location could also matter on the strength of its ideological halo or associations outright. In the period of nation states and mounting movements of nationalist self-identification, many universities – like several other cultural institutions (academies, theatres, museums, libraries etc.) underwent a process of fundamental 'nationalization', or nationalist expropriation, not to mention the possibly confessional ties of many universities, given the fact that most ancient university foundations were made ultimately by a papal charter or, later, by princes and royalties with strong denominational persuasion. In Hungary the University of Budapest, a Catholic foundation during the later period of Counter-Reformation, has kept till late in the pre-socialist 'ancient regime' its Catholic character – let alone by the fact that – as a rule – the majority of its teaching staff had to be Roman Catholic. Ethnic and confessional minorities and majorities could have thus developed very different strategies of student peregrinations – options for places of learning – following a number of motivations as above, besides obvious considerations of costs, but also because of their acceptance or rejection of the latent ideological contents associated with the places of learning accessible to them.

In this context the very notion of peregrination (students studying abroad, or in 'foreign' institutions of higher learning) appears to be problematic by itself in socio-historical terms.

Given the absolute scarcity of universities before the last decades of the 19th century in Eastern and East-Central Europe, the majority of students had to come to their place of study anyhow from far away. In the international academic free market, which emerged in Europe after the fall of feudalism, there were hardly any legal barriers in the options for places of learning. Such choices were thus governed by a balance of factors cited hitherto. But most of these choices involved some displacement to far away regions and the ensuing experience of alienation, especially in places with a vernacular and anthropological culture different from their own. Except for those students – always a minority, to be sure, before modern times – who happened to be brought up close to the premises of their chosen place of learning. Due to their general distance during their studies from their home environment, most students of those days were temporary migrants in university cities. The distance from home could be, obviously enough, not only of geographical nature but entail a measure of what was mentioned above, as cultural or social alienation. This – one should remember – had been the lot of the quasi-totality of students before modern times, that is before the accelerated wave of urbanisation generated by the process of industrialization. It was a fairly recent development indeed, ere the first World War, that an increasing proportion of students was selected among residents in the very town of their university.⁴

⁴ As an example from my former surveys in this respect let me refer to the fact that in 1882-1899-ben 20,5% of the students of the Budapest Polytechnic were natives in the capital city-a, in 1900-1909-ben 22,6% and in 1910-1919 25,3%, as against the inhabitants of the city not exceeding 4-6 % of the national population.





Now in an uniquely multi-cultural region, like Transylvania, with a largely non Magyar population but just one Magyar language university up to 1918, a good part of the potential student clientele had to face a measure of cultural alienation – in fact a 'deculturation' of sorts – while studying in a language different from their home idiom. This applied to Jews, Romanians, Saxons, Serbians or Ukrainians – though differently following their degree of 'Magyar acculturation' (notably bilingual or multi-lingual competences).

But this implied that for non Magyar students there was no real difference in cultural terms (whatever other differences there may have been) between attending the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj or that of Vienna. Except for the travel distance, the degree of linguistic alienation was similar, there were no political frontiers to be crossed, there were no 'national associations' attached to studies in the imperial university and, moreover, the diploma to be obtained could be largely used in the whole Habsburg Empire (or even beyond, for some of them, given the prestige of the biggest academic centre in this part of the world). Thus the problem of peregrinations can be considered, for many students belonging to ethnic minorities without institutions of higher education of their own, as a general problem and not a specific one, unlike for students of the ruling majority. It will be reflected in our data via the fact that the majority of student peregrinations to the West will concern students belonging to or descending from ethnic minorities in the Carpathian Basin, not Magyars proper. This will be manifest in the extremely low proportions abroad of students of the 'Magyar religious clusters' (Calvinists and Unitarians) as against a significantly higher proportions of those from 'ethnic minorities'.⁵

One can add that for some minority students, members of the Oriental Christian Churches (to which most Romanians, Serbians and Carpatho-Ukrainians from Transylvania actually belonged), the experience of cultural alienation during studies in a Hungarian, Austrian or other Western university (in Switzerland or Germany, to name the most important places of learning for them) derived from denominational sources as well. The whole scholarly culture developed in modern universities was historically rooted in Western Christianity. In the long 19th century still most of these were actually flanked by a theological faculty, either Roman Catholic or Protestant – except some lately founded ones, like those in post-Napoleonic France or Kolozsvár/Cluj. But Oriental Christians could feel estrangement as outsiders of sorts in these universities due to the fact that most fellow students around them would be either Western Christians or Jews. Going to Kolozsvár/Cluj for them represented an experience close to going to Vienna in this respect too.

Moreover one should not forget that higher studies could be a test of resistance to social pressure for students extracted from the lower social strata, especially for peasant sons whose 'social loneliness' in an environment dominated by offspring of an educated middle classes or even high class majority was intensified by alienation in urban life proper. We know that in Transylvania Romanian and Slav student had on the average much lower social class profile than their Jewish or Western Christian counterparts – due, among other things, to the efficiency of 'sponsored mobility' attributable to Romanian Foundations (Gojdu, Nasaud etc.) supporting students (Nastasa and Karady, 2004. 142–149), so much so that an exceptionally large proportion of them originated from the peasantry.⁶

⁵ As for Transylvania qualifying Greek Orthodox or Romanians a 'minority' is a contradiction in terms. Well since the early 18th century Romanians, for one, represented the majority group in the regional population.

⁶ In the Medical Faculty of the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj in 1872–1918 over 31% of Orthodox and 18% of Uniate students came from families active in agriculture, as against a mere 4,5% of Roman Catholics, 5,4% of Lutherans, 10,2% of Calvinists and 5,2 % of Jews (Nastasa and Karady, 2004. 121–132).





To sum up, the geographical displacement primarily involved in the notion of student peregrinations was far from being the unique aspect of the estrangement while attending a foreign university. It must be complemented by its ethnic-national, denominational and social aspects. This applied especially for students of Eastern Christian background, like Romanians and Slavs in Transylvania. For the latter attending any university in the Habsburg Empire or in the whole Germanic academic market must have comprised not quite incomparable levels of alienation, however different they could appear in concrete terms.

To conclude these important but only preliminary remarks about our topical area, one more observation is in order. In such a study, the question may arise, why focus specifically on Transylvania, when all alumni of elite training in the Carpathian Basin could have been just as well concerned. The reason is offered in the very dimensions of student peregrinations from Transylvania. As for the relative size of educated elites and students born there, the region was a backwater of sorts in the Carpathian Basin, but a paragon in terms of students abroad in the Dual Monarchy. With 14,7% of the population by 1910 in the country (MSÉ, 1911. 11), the region gathered not more than 11,3% of non manual active people (MSK, 56), nor more (11,9%) of those having accomplished at least 8 secondary school classes of study (combined for the two genders).⁷ When examining various relevant categories of the educated elites, the only one with a significantly high record in Transylvania concerns religious services (22,6% and as much as 27,1% for priests and ministers proper) (MSK, 56. 686), while educational (14,8%) (MSK, 56. 690) and justice staffs (15,0%) (MSK, 56. 682) reached the level of the population average, all other 'intellectual' professional fields had much lower scores: public administration (13,6%) (MSK, 56. 678), free professions (11,5%), health care (11,2%) (MSK, 56. 694), scientific societies and agencies of public interest (8,5%) (MSK, 56. 698), literature and arts (6,6%) (MSK, 56. 702). This is a rather archaic, pre-modern socio-economic set-up, in contrast to the markedly 'modernist' Westward orientation of the student body, since over one fifth (20,5%) of all student peregrinators in every decade from 1850 up to 1919 were Transylvanian natives. Peregrinations played in a way a much more important role in the training of the emerging modern educated middle classes in Transylvania than in any other regions of the Hungarian part of the Dual Monarchy (including, unexpectedly, the capital city).⁸

Some of the collective features of Transylvanian student bodies abroad, summarily referred to hereafter may permit to specify the particular importance of peregrinations in Transylvania. First of all some 44% Transylvanian peregrinators visited several Western universities for study trips, as against 37% only for other fellow students. Thus, on the average they collected a wider range of intellectual experiences during their stay abroad. If they were fairly overrepresented among students with one or two years stays abroad (23,1%), the most usual pattern in peregrinations inside study cycles, they were also over-represented among the few, who prolonged their staying abroad for more than five years (43% of all students abroad). Among Transylvanians also a large cluster of peregrinators opted for Vienna (44,4%), but still much less than among other students (55,2%). Transylvanian preferences were directed also to Germany (36,3%) as against only 25,4% among

⁷ See our incompletely published databank on educational inequalities broken down by gender, age, cities and counties realized in a joint venture with Peter Tibor Nagy on levels of education in the Carpathian Basin in 1910. As an example for published data on Transylvania: Nagy and Karady, 2012. computed from pages 290, 296, 302, 308.

⁸ Budapest was the birthplace of 11% of students in our study, which compares favorably with 4-6% of its share in the national population (a growing proportion over time), but rather unfavorably with the much larger proportions of educated people it hosted, that is 17% of all members of the civil service and free professionals in 1910 (MSK, 56. 708).





others, but also to smaller institutions in the Habsburg Empire (8,3%) compared to others (5,5%). Paradoxically enough, though Transylvania was an over-clericalized part of the Dual Monarchy, due to its rather uniquely multi-denominational demographic set-up (with no less the six officially 'received' churches in virtual competition for the souls, disregarding smaller religious cluster), among peregrinators 10% only were Transylvanians. They belonged mostly, as demonstrated in Table 4 below, to the Saxon-Lutheran group. Transylvanian students abroad displayed the lowest proportion of Jews (2,7%), when Jews represented over one quarter (!) of all students abroad (Karady, 2018. 257). This may be explained by the orthodox majority in Transylvanian Jewry, showing mediocre interest for – if not hostility outright to – secular education. Another particularity of Transylvanian intellectual peregrinators was the exceptionally high proportion of members of the gentry (17,5%) against the rather poor nation wide average (8,3%) (Karady, 2018. 257). This may be connected, as a working hypothesis, to the possibly higher intellectual, but also economic agency of the Transylvanian nobility in the period of industrialization and modernization (Gyáni, 2001. 162–163). As to ethnic national composition (a most complex issue in Transylvania), the absolute majority (64,5%) of students abroad from the region were of German speakers as against 14,8% Romanians and 18,8% Magyars. If one tries – as we did in our project – search for ethnic background or origins via surnames, the picture would be similar, but still different due to the presence of 8,2% of 'other' names, escaping national identification. One may presume, that a good part of these 'others' belonged to the both intellectually and economically overactive Armenian cluster, most of whom would identify themselves by the late 19th century as Magyars. This is not the place to offer a detailed presentation of the social background of Transylvanian and other students abroad by their social origins. The results would indicate a relatively more 'democratic' selection of Transylvanian students abroad compared to their fellow peregrinators from other regions (Karady, 2025).

Behind the over-representation of Transylvanians among students abroad our explorations will henceforth focus on inequalities among ethnic, social or denominational clusters, which were more or less connected to basic disparities in the established structure of the emerging educated middle classes.

Confessional disparities in the intellectual professions in Transylvania

Inequalities of cultural nature in student peregrinations cannot be understood without the clarification of the general pattern of cultural inequalities in matters educational. One must though always keep in mind in that kind of investigation that cultural differences have been themselves historically dependent on other kinds of differentials typifying cultural (ethnic, denominational) clusters. Some of them are hard core 'objective' variables, like the one that was referred to above (social origins), among many others, like residence (communicational distance from university centres), family size (the number of children being correlated to basic educational investments in the education of each of them), gender ratio in the family (female children having been largely excluded from higher education during most of the period under scrutiny), the social composition of kins (the presence of intellectuals in the extended family enhancing the chances of access to advanced education), etc.





Unfortunately most of these variables are beyond empirical control at the present stage of research. But we have at our disposal a remarkably refined set of information on the confessional distribution of 'non manually active' professional groups, the average level of education of which is well attested in contemporary Hungarian censuses. Though even there, levels of education differed vastly from one category to another – and these differences have been duely demonstrated –⁹, all 'non manuals' share nevertheless a mean degree of education making them sharply distinct from the rest of the population (except for the most privileged categories of the propertied strata). Moreover, the level of education of some of these 'non manual' categories is strictly connected to their professional standing, like the liberal professionals (necessarily endowed with university degrees), priest (with theological training in academies or seminaries run by respective church authorities) etc.

	Roman Cathol.	Greek Cathol.	Greek Orthod.	Luthe- rans	Calvi- nists	Unita- rians	Jews	all
private employees (agriculture, industry, trade, banks)	20,6	4,6	63	29,3	10,4	5,9	62,0	18,6
free professionals	5,3	4,8	3,2	7,0	5,9	6,6	8,6	5,7
employees in transports	20,9	2,3	1,6	6,5	14,4	12,4	12,3	10,6
civil servants, public employees	28,0	15,0	17,5	13,5	27,7	26,8	6,0	17,9
clerics, priests	6,6	40,5	42,6	13,9	15,2	18,5	4,6	20,1
primary school teachers	14,0	36,0	37,5	24,9	34,1	25,9	6,0	24,0
higher school teachers	4,5	1,8	1,8	4,9	3,6	3,9	0,5	3,2
altogether	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
numbers	3295	2364	2012	2260	2848	541	1309	14 629
A/ % of intellectuals	22,5	16,2	13,7	15,4	19,5	3,4	8,9	100,0
B/ % of active men	13,4	28,7	30,2	8,8	14,5	2,6	1,8	100,0
representation index (=A/B)	1,68	0,56	0,45	1,75	1,34	1,31	4,94	

Table 1. The distribution of selected 'intellectual' professions
in Transylvania by denominations (1900)¹⁰

Table 1. offers for the last decade of the Dual Monarchy a detailed overview of the relative proportion of the 'non manually active' or 'intellectuals' within the professionally active Transylvanian male population (last two lines) on the one hand, the internal set-up or the quantitative distribution of various categories of these 'intellectuals' among all 'non manuals' (first eight lines) on the other hand, the categories figured being broken down by religious affiliations. 'Non manuals' are defined here exclusive of 'independents' in agriculture, industry, trade, transportation, banking and insurance.

If we compare data of the last two lines, a clear pattern of unequal representation of 'intellectuals' among confessional groups becomes already quite apparent. The most striking case of over-

⁹ For a detailed study of educational attainments of various social categories in 1910 see MSK, 56. 28–305.

¹⁰ Cf. MSK 16, 134–236 *passim*.

Women could not be distinguished in the sources from male professionals but, obviously enough, most of these 'non manuals' were men at that time for reasons related to the subsistence of the quasi-exclusion of women from most educational tracks leading to intellectual professions up to the end of the 19th century.





representation is found among Jews – acceding by a factor of five their share among active males. This is not an astonishing finding, since it is confirmed elsewhere in Central Europe wherever there are data on Jewish social stratification, that the intellectual professions were major targets of Jewish social mobility in the period of their intensive assimilation following (sometimes even preceding – like in Russia or Romania) their legal emancipation. The over-representation of Lutherans – less drastic, though very significant – comes second after that of Jews, followed closely by the Roman Catholics and – at some distance – by the other two ‘Western Christian’ clusters. The two Eastern Christian groups are in contrast poorly represented here, the Orthodox even less than the Uniates. These data designate thus a clear hierarchy of the weight of active men with at least some secondary or higher education. With the very small Jewish group on the top, the best endowed clusters are the Lutherans (Saxons for most of them) and the Roman Catholics (mostly of Magyar stock in Transylvania). The two other supposedly ‘purely Magyar’ Western Christian groups Calvinists and Unitarians) display a similar but less prominent position, while the Eastern Christians (with most of the Romanians and Slavs) fall much behind the rest.

This hierarchy of the global share of ‘intellectuals’ is clearly replicated in the internal distribution of the various other categories cited as ‘non manuals’. Here again the main oppositions and distinctions follow a pattern comparable to the global representation of ‘intellectuals’.

The Jews are here again absolutely alone with their majority in private economic employment and with a correspondingly low share among all other categories, except for the free professions (lawyers, doctors, journalists, engineers etc.) – among which the Jewish representation is the largest, compared to all other confessional clusters. Lutherans also stand out of the Western Christian groups with over two fifths of them in private economy (including the semi-private category of employees in transportation) or in the professions as well as a very strong presence among teachers (up to 30%). Roman Catholics come third in the line here too with a similarly high proportion in private or semi-private economic functions (especially in transportation) and in the free professions. But Roman Catholics are also prominent by displaying the largest share among civil servants of all other confessional groups – liable to be related to their close to majority in the population, their possible majority in the aristocracy and the gentry¹¹ their earlier status as members of the former ‘state denomination’ and that of the imperial court. Calvinists and Unitarians show a passably low representation in the private economy, but a fairly high one among civil servants, clerics and teachers. Oriental Christians are on the other extreme pole of this spectrum. The bulk of their ‘intellectuals’ were active in the clerical and teaching corps – especially in primary education –, the two being institutionally connected, since most of the teachers were engaged in schools run by the respective Churches.

Thus the internal structure of the intellectual clusters presents an even sharper confessional polarisation than the global distribution of intellectuals in the active population. Eastern Christians, with very few free professionals or high school teachers – for which a university degree was already a must in the Dual Monarchy – could be but weakly present among students of the same period, in contrast to Jews, Lutherans or Roman Catholics, whose participation in the ‘higher’ intellectual professions was visibly much more significant. Given such basic inequalities, one can also presume

¹¹ This remains to be verified. In the literature dedicated to the nobility this topic is rarely broached (Gudenus and Szentirmay, 1989. 158).





that these patterns may have left an imprint on placement and peregrination strategies of the students concerned.

Peregrination strategies

Thanks to large scale preliminary archival research we have carried out with Peter Tibor Nagy on graduates in Hungarian higher education in the pre-socialist regime, going back to the 1870s, as well as the big investigations accomplished by László Szögi and his collaborators on students from Hungary abroad before 1918, we have an almost exhaustive database at our disposal on the clientele of advanced learning born in the Carpathian Basin in the Dualist period.¹² This includes a number of personal data in form of electronic files on students and graduates, so that most (if not quite all) the places of study can be clearly identified.¹³ Table 2. shows the results for those born in Transylvania only.¹⁴

We can start our overview with the comparison of the last column of the table (population distribution) with all the others (displaying the distribution of student clusters), giving the general trends of representation of Transylvanian confessional groups among the student population in the Dual Monarchy. A very contrasting set of patterns can be thus drawn, in part quite comparable to our findings above as to the general representation of religious groups among 'intellectuals', in part significantly different from this.

The first observation here concerns the general share of Transylvanians in the various student bodies in Hungary and outside (last line of Table 2). There is no reason to be astonished that students from Transylvania gathered in Kolozsvár/Cluj and much less in Budapest. It is however more interesting to note that they were almost as rare in the Budapest Polytechnical University as in the classical university of the Hungarian capital city, though the former was an unique institution recruiting its students country wide, without any institutional competition in the kingdom, except in Austria or abroad. The scarcity of Transylvanian attendance at the Budapest Polytechnics may be attributed to the relative under-industrialization of Transylvania, its backwardness in terms of general economic development, generating less demand than elsewhere in the country for the engineering professions. As a contrast, one can see that Transylvanians were strongly over-represented among students abroad in Vienna and even more in Germany. Thus special motivations

¹² For Hungary, I have resorted here only to data on students and graduates in universities proper, excluding students of law academies and vocational higher education. The latter are included though among data on higher educational agencies abroad (Austria, Germany).

¹³ The only significant exception here concerns students in France, Belgium, Switzerland and Prague. For the first two the sources have not been explored as yet. But this may touch just a handful of students from Transylvania altogether. Contemporary statistics, published since 1881 on students from Hungary abroad, basically ignored all other countries beyond Austria, Germany and Switzerland, presumably because of the very small numbers affected. A dozen odd students start to be signalled in the years after 1900 for France. Some 179 students from Transylvania studied in Germanic Swiss universities between 1867 and 1918 and 21 other ones in French Swiss universities, but there are no indication on religion in Swiss academic files. For Prague the relevant data have not yet been processed separately for students born in Transylvania.

¹⁴ It must be reminded here too, that the place of birth is just one of the empirical definitions of regional ties in our prosopographical lists. Results could be somewhat different if we used the place of secondary studies (*Matura*) or father's residence as indicators of territorial roots.





must have operated for Transylvanians to prefer Germanic institutions of higher education to Hungarian ones, when they decided to pursue their studies outside of their region of birth.

Confession	Budapest University ¹⁵ 1870-1918	Budapest Polytechnics 1870-1918 ¹⁶	Kolozsvár University ¹⁷ 1872-1918	Germany ¹⁸ 1867-1880 1895-1914	Vienna ¹⁹ 1890-1918	Transylvanian population 1910 ²⁰
Roman Catholic	35,9	37,8	30,5	24,0	25,2	13,4
Calvinist	24,2	17,3	28,6	5,2	4,4	14,7
Lutheran	10,9	21,2	10,6	65,0	48,8	9,0
Jewish	11,4	12,8	7,8	2,5	4,2	2,1
Unitarian	3,2	7,1	7,2	0,7	0,5	2,6
Greek Catholic	9,6	2,2	9,9	0,3	6,5	27,9
Greek orthodox	5,1	2,2	5,3	2,4	11,0	30,2
All	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
% Transylvanians*	4,6%	5,7%	44,7%	26,3%	18,2%	14,9% ²¹

Table 2: The distribution of Transylvanian students in major places of higher learning compared to the population of Transylvania broken down by religious clusters

Such motivations can be easily objectified when looking at the distribution of students by religion. Vast disparities following quite similar patterns as above between Jews, Western and Eastern Christians are manifest here too. Jews were rather strongly over-represented everywhere (but much less abroad, especially in Germany, than elsewhere), while Lutherans among all the population or the students of the given university(ies) and Roman Catholics appeared also in larger percentages in every university network cited, as compared to their share in the population. The presence of Lutherans abroad proved to be spectacular indeed, since they made up close to half of all students among Transylvanians in Vienna and as much as two thirds of them in Germany. Calvinists and Unitarians were over-represented though only in Hungary, and their students showed up very rarely beyond the borders of the kingdom. Eastern Christians were underrepresented in all places of learning under scrutiny, but the distribution of students belonging to the two confessions differed significantly. Greek Orthodox displayed a relatively substantial presence in Vienna, exceeding that of Kolozsvár/Cluj, while the Uniates were more visible in the two classical Hungarian universities in Kolozsvár/Cluj and Budapest.

These flagrant inequalities can be interpreted both in the logic of cultural affinities and linguistic competence on the one hand, and following expectable national antipathies or loyalties on

¹⁵ Graduates of the Faculties of Law and Medicine only. The main data source of the Philosophical Faculty at our disposal (the files of the state exam for teacher's degree in secondary schools) lacks information on religion, so that they had to be disregarded here. As to the students of the Catholic Theological Faculty – with Roman and Greek Catholics only –, they are unfit in this multi-confessional context for a meaningful comparison.

¹⁶ Students of the Faculties of Engineering and Chemistry only.

¹⁷ All enrolled students and graduates.

¹⁸ Enrolled students and graduates in universities and vocational institutions of higher education for 1867-1880 and 1895-1914. Source : Szögi, 2001.

¹⁹ Graduates and students of most institutions of higher education (except schools of creative or performing arts) in Vienna. Source : Patyi, 2004.

²⁰ Cf. MSK, 61, 392-427.

²¹ MSK, 64, 85.





the other hand. The two could of course combine their effects for preferential options of several clusters appearing in Table 2.

The logic of cultural affinities did obviously play some role in the decisively frequent choice made by Transylvanian Lutherans (mostly Saxons) for institutions of higher education with German language tuition on the one hand and for Lutheran countries like Prussia on the other. Conversely, Calvinists and Unitarians (mostly of exclusively Magyar stock) may have avoided the same foreign universities in larger numbers because of their frequent lack of indispensable linguistic skills to pursue abroad meaningful higher studies. The same could apply, though less radically, to Roman Catholics, the vast majority of whom were of Magyar background (since 81% of them were speaking only Hungarian in 1900²²) even if there could be a few German speakers, presumably mostly Swabians from the Banat or from Transdanubia among them as well.²³ Roman Catholics were indeed also less often found abroad than in Hungarian universities. The cultural–linguistic connection between German ethnicity and the choice of Germanic universities appears to be thus well established. For Lutherans studying in German language Philosophical Faculties with teacher training programs, this option was clearly guided by an obvious market orientation. Such Lutheran-Saxon students prepared themselves to fill teaching positions available in the relatively large network of gymnasiums of the Transylvanian Universitas Saxorum and ‘philosophy’ – including both humanities, social studies, maths and natural sciences was the very stronghold of German universities.²⁴

But, incidentally, a more ideological motivation of similar choices can equally be discerned in the data of Table 2. Saxon-Lutherans could opt preferentially for Germanic places of learning, even when they spoke Hungarian, in order to avoid strongholds of Magyar cultural nationalism. This may be one of the reasons (besides modernist interest for technical studies) why they attended less often the classical universities in Hungary as compared the Budapest Polytechnics – the latter lacking or being less typical for such nationalist associations. But the same could apply even more to Greek Orthodox students of Romanian or Slav affiliation. It is indeed striking that the latter displayed the relatively highest score of presence in Viennese institutions of higher education, possibly expressing a degree of Habsburg loyalties and – perhaps more importantly – their wish to keep away from (if not properly boycott) academic institutions linked to ‘Magyar imperialism’. Such option was much less marked for Uniate students, who – however they could feel about Magyar nationalism – were linked by religious persuasion but also by the preliminary schooling experience of most of them (as alumni of Hungarian Catholic gymnasiums) to the Catholic Church, dominated in the country by a Magyar majority.

²² Cf. *MSK*, 16. 518.

²³ The 1900 census found 9741 Roman Catholics in Transylvania, speaking only German, that is, 2,9 % of all Roman Catholics in the region. Cf. *Ibid.* 518 and 584.

²⁴ Both in Hungary and in the Austrian part of the Dual Monarchy university populations were dominated by jurists (in Hungary up to some 60 %) as opposed to a relatively small size of ‘philosophy’ students. In Germany it was just the contrary with – for example in 1910 – 26 % of jurists, but over 32% of ‘philosophers’. See Bruckmüller, 2011., 121.





Options for study tracks abroad

Finally we must examine what students from Transylvania actually studied. It is alas impossible to refer in this short article to all the study options involved, including Hungarian universities. But the observation of institution of higher education outside the country offers instructive cues about the nature of 'qualitative inequalities' in advanced learning following confessional membership. For this, two sets of data are at our disposal on students in Vienna and in Germany during the outgoing decades of the Dual Monarchy. The tables demonstrate to what extent various places of learning, belonging apparently to exactly the same cultural sector of the international academic market, could lend themselves to extremely different types of usage by migrant students.

	Engineering	Humanities, Sciences	Medicine Pharmacy	Law, State Sciences	Theology	Other	total	N =
Roman Cath.	17	11	14	25	29	4	100	138
Uniates	27	6	31	27	6	2	100	48
Greek Orthod.	9	20	49	18	–	4	100	76
Calvinist, Unit.	11	22	33	33	–	–	100	9
Lutherans	19,3	10,1	40,1	14,2	8,9	7,2	100	357
Jews	18	9	62	9	–	3	100	34
All ²⁵	17,8	10,9	35,6	17,8	12,5	5,4	100	
N =	122	75	244	122	86	37		686

*Table 3. Study Tracks of Transylvanian Born Students by Religion
in the Universities of Vienna (1890-1918)²⁶*

Vienna, seat of the central educational agencies of the Dual Monarchy, attracted much less students from Transylvania, on the whole, compared to Germany (as attested by figures in the very last lines of Tables 3 and 4.)²⁷ Calvinists and Unitarians from the region were all but inexistent among students, in spite of their being clumped together in Table 3. The relative rarity of Jews appears to be also quite exceptional here, given the very strong Hungarian–Jewish presence in Vienna and in the rest of country' elite training agencies. In the imperial capital city the most frequent study option for Transylvanians was Medicine by far, followed by Law and Engineering. These privileged study choices applied to most confessional clusters except for Greek Orthodox (as for Engineering) and Roman Catholics (as for Medicine). For the latter the Viennese Faculty of Catholic Theology was the most frequent option compared to all other disciplines. This is understandable, due to the prestige of a Faculty which played a major role in the recapture of souls during the century old process of Catholic Counter-Reformation. It is less obvious though, why Vienna had not attracted more Lutheran theologians at the turn of the previous century, since there was a special Lutheran Theological Faculty operating since 1821. (It was founded by the imperial government precisely to divert would-be Lutheran ministers from studies in Prussia.) Thus, though their raw numbers differed vastly, for most confessional student groups from Transylvania Vienna was important in

²⁵ Together with those whose religious affiliation is not known, representing a mere 3,4 % of the total.

²⁶ Source : Patyi, 2004.

²⁷ Even though the time span of the indicator for Germany (23 three years) is shorter here than that for Vienna (28 years).





the Dualist period above all because of its world famous medical school and, secondarily, its Polytechnic as well as its Law school.

In all these respects the distribution of Transylvanian students in Germany constituted a counterpoint of sorts, as demonstrated on Table 4.

Medicine appears, to start with, as a quite marginal study track, even as compared to the Philosophical Faculties (combining the humanities and the sciences), Law schools or engineering, the students of all the latter being on the whole moderately represented among those from Transylvania. The main option for them was theology, with over two thirds of all students. But theology in imperial Germany, the bulk of which was Lutheran Prussia, could not be but Lutheran itself. Indeed, Lutheran students in Germany – much over half of all Transylvanian students in the *Wilhelmine Reich* (as shown on Table 2. above) – got engaged in theological faculties for a large majority of close to two-thirds of them.

	Engineering	Humanities, Sciences	Medicine Pharmacy	Law, State Sciences	Theology	Other ²⁸	total	N =
Roman Cath.	16	28	10	24	–	20	100	64
Uniates	–	54	8	38	–	–	100	13
Greek Orthod.	19	53	10	11	3	3	100	62
Calvinist, Unit.	3	30	–	12	39	12	100	66
Lutherans	10,5	11,9	7,2	9,2	63,4	2,5	100	722
Jews	44	12	8	8	4	24	100	34
All ²⁹	10,8	18,0	10,2	15,6	42,2	3,4	100	961
N ³⁰ =	263	440	250	375	1033	82		2446

Table 4: Study Tracks of Transylvanian Born Students
by Religion in German Universities and Vocational Academies (1895-1918)³¹

This overwhelming strength of Lutheran-Saxon presence among Transylvanians in German higher education automatically enhanced the representation of theology among the global study options under scrutiny. For Protestant students (including Calvinists and Unitarians as well) theology studies in the heart of the Lutheran world provided much more than purely symbolic gratifications. Since Prussian theological faculties were integral parts of universities, studies lasted four years and could lead to a doctorate, generating additional intellectual and social benefits, which were regarded as decisive for prospective candidates to membership in Protestant Church hierarchies. Such promotional profits were not secured by studies in simple Protestant divinity schools (theological academies) of the Hungarian Kingdom.

One has to remark the importance of the German Philosophical Faculties for all other religious clusters, though less for Lutherans and Jews. For the latter, studies of the humanities and the sciences were in those times always a minor (if not necessarily a negligible) study choice, because the main thrust of teaching in the Philosophical Faculties aimed at the preparation for secondary

²⁸ Mostly creative arts, agriculture and forestry.

²⁹ Together with those whose religious affiliation is not known, which was unfortunately a very high proportion in Germany – some 61 % of the total –, Prussian universities usually ignoring confessional qualities in their files.

³⁰ As in the preceding footnote.

³¹ Source: Szögi, 2001.





school teachers' degrees: the market of secondary schooling (especially the classical gymnasium network) being controlled by the state (as in Austria) or the Churches (as in Hungary), it was for most part out of reach for Jewish candidates. The secondary schools without Latin, mostly run by the Liberal state, accepted more often Jewish professors in their staff, but this remained a small sector only of the educational market concerned. It is notable that Eastern Christians together with Calvinists and Unitarians got engaged relatively much more often than others in the 'philosophical' track of German universities. For Greek Orthodox students this was true already in Vienna (as shown on Table 3.). There again, since German was one of the essential subjects in secondary education, taught throughout most of curriculum both in gymnasiums³² and Realschulen³³ (without Latin), its study at the very source of German Bildung contributed to increase the attraction of Philosophical Faculties in the Reich. But many Eastern Christians engaged in German studies could feel themselves justified to reroute their intellectual commitment to German universities, considered as 'neutral' as regards their possibly nationalist inclinations, as against an Austrian imperial academic centre, let alone a Hungarian one.

Conclusion

This cursory investigation is a case study in the exploration of regional specificities together with confessional inequalities in higher education. Its main results cannot be mechanically extended over other regions and even less taken as a general insight into problems of unequal modernity according to cultural–confessional background. Still, whatever 'independent variables' may be hidden behind confessional differences (like social class stratification, property distribution, degrees of urbanization, promotion from outside and sponsorship of educational mobility etc.), the fairly systematic disparities observed above attest to the relevance and legitimacy of two kinds of interrogation, which have remained hitherto far often ignored in the literature of contemporary social history. First, confessions constitute, by themselves, an at least partially independent determinant of educational attainments, which deserves to be analysed in its own right. Second, the mere structure of the institutional market of advanced learning – notably its spatial arrangement as well as the religious affiliation of its institutions – is liable to modify, sometimes substantially, the educational chances, strategies (in particular study options) and achievements of candidates to academic entitlements. One can add, though this lies outside the scope of the present essay, that both the confessional identity and the structure of the educational provision continue, after graduation, to affect – rather systematically and mostly in the same sense as before graduation –, the cluster specific conditions of professional orientation and success of those concerned. The division of intellectual markets between state controlled and private sectors followed, for one, closely (even if not completely) the lines of division between Christian and Jewish professionals active on these markets.

³² According to the 1899 curriculum of gymnasiums in Hungary, German was taught in the six upper classes in altogether 19 accumulated weekly hours. German was thus the fourth most important subject in the curriculum, as against 44 hours for Latin, 30 hours for Hungarian, and 26 hours for Maths. Cf. Mészáros, 1988., 103.

³³ In these secondary schools without Latin, German took the third place among the most important subjects with 24 accumulated weekly hours taught in all the eight classes, as against 31 hours for Maths and 28 hours for Hungarian. Cf. *Ibid. loc. cit.*





References, abbreviations

MSÉ = *Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv*. [Hungarian Statistical Yearbook.] KSH, Budapest.
MSK = *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények*. [Hungarian Statistical Reports.] KSH, Budapest.

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