Cultural Dimensions of Elite Formation in Transylvania (1770–1950)

Edited by
Victor Karady and Borbála Zsuzsanna Török

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Contents

III. Comparative Perspectives

Introduction

This book is the outcome of various, initially not concerted scholarly efforts to come to terms with a number of sociological, political, and otherwise historical problem areas of the formation of educated elites in Transylvania since the absolutist imperial reforms of the educational system and the professions (notably the health services) in the late eighteenth century up to the Second World War. Our project is inscribed in the recent series of scholarly efforts to apply the most advanced methods of investigation in social and political history to a regional target in East Central Europe.[1] We have attempted to bring together as many topical studies based on recent research as possible without the implementation of any strict principle of selection or preference. The only consciously adopted fundamental criterion here consisted of a full break from standard historical approaches and narratives along ethnic-nationalist lines.

At the core of our program lies the very multiethnic and multiconfessional composition of Transylvanian society, a uniquely complex societal setup in Europe (and probably in the world) as it was established following the Catholic Counter-Reformation. This historic region enjoyed, for a long time, a state-like autonomy and, later, the status of a separate province under St. Stephen's Crown up to its unification, first with Hungary, in 1867, then with Romania in 1919. It is well known that the province had a Romanian-speaking majority in modern times, but it also had a very large Hungarian, German, and other minority population; most of the latter being an especially large portion of the elite strata, whether traditional (the nobility) or newly emerging ones (Jews, Germans, and even Armenians being notably overrepresented in the entrepreneurial and the highly educated brackets). Transylvania remained nevertheless fully fragmented in a confessional mosaic without a demographically dominant faith. In 1910 the largest religious cluster, the Greek Orthodox, represented 30% of the population and the Uniates (Greek Catholics) 28%, while the others were dispersed in geographically and residentially unequal units among Calvinists (14.7%),

1 See in this context Cornel Sigmirean, ed., *Intelectualii şi societatea modernă. Repere central-Europene* [Intellectuals and modern society. Central European signposts] (Târgu-Mureş, Editura Universităţii Petru Maior, 2007); Cornel Sigmirean, *Istoria formării intelectualităţii din Transilvania şi Banat în epoca modernă* [The history of the formation of intellectuals from Transylvania and Banat] (Cluj: Editura Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2000); Lucian Nastasă, *Intelectualii şi promovarea socială în România: sec. XIX-XX* [The intellectuals and social advancement. 19-20th centuries] (Cluj-Napoca: Limes, 2004); Lucian Nastasă, *Itinerarii spre lumea savantă* [Itineraries towards the scholarly world] (Cluj-Napoca: Limes, 2006); Lucian Nastasă, *Suveranii universităţilor româneşti* [The sovereigns of the Romanian universities] (Cluj-Napoca: Limes, 2007).

Roman Catholics (13.4%), Lutherans (9%), Unitarians (2.6%) and Jews (2.1%). Ethnic relations in the age of modernizing nation states as well as competing and conflicting nationalisms regularly involved symbolic and political antagonisms, violence, and even wars on the one hand, and inequalities of all sorts on the other hand, especially with access to collective resources as different as power, authority, economic benefits, properties, chances of upwards professional mobility, and – more and more over time – education. Hence problems related to ethnic inequalities, tensions, and competition underlie most studies of the volume, all the more because some of this conflict situations were the outcome of agency specific to elite groups, notably those having to do with training, instruction, and higher learning. Hence, the key topics touched upon here concern schooling and higher education, different clusters of intellectuals (doctors, writers, and members of learned societies), as well as, unavoidably, politics – in the triple sense of state policies particularly regarding instruction and the educated strata, the political personnel itself (party politicians, cabinet members, high civil servants), and their agency, that is, ways of self-assertion, movements, institutions, ideological propensities and commitments.

The targets of these studies, of course, could not be deliberately chosen to form a coherent whole or to focus on certain intriguing questions identified beforehand by the editors. They draw exclusively on thematically dispersed and ongoing elite-related research in Transylvania and some neighboring regions, especially those which lie outside the classic trends of historiography. If the subjects of the studies have not been explicitly commissioned, we have done a careful inspection to spot the most recent and most original projects corresponding to our general agenda, whether they are due to scholars in or outside of the region, Hungarians, Romanians, or those of other nationalities (among them German and Dutch colleagues), or students engaged in passably different subdisciplines (social, political, or literary historians besides historical sociologists), which secures a multidisciplinary character to our undertaking. The studies presented here are (with one significant exception) clearly focused on Transylvania at large, with ample references to the neighboring territories of historic Partium and Banat. There are also occasional comparisons to other regions (Bukovina and Bessarabia) belonging to the provinces that were united with the Romanian Old Kingdom after 1918. One study included in the volume goes beyond the bounds of the region and is centered topically elsewhere (covering the whole Romanian ruling elite since the unification up to the end of the parliamentary regime, though comprising ample reference to the Transylvanian political class as well) and is thus justified by its intellectual scope and methodological originality.

One can add that an unavowed but self-evident purpose of ours was to escape the pitfalls of what is usually regarded as a 'politically sensitive' object and produce a set of topically not necessarily convergent, investigations which disregard, if not ignore, the persistent political controversies (often imbued with nationalist craze) around the legitimacy of Trianon and the multiple changes of sovereignty that took place in the region during the first half of the last century. One of the implicit objectives of our enterprise has been precisely to attempt – with the modest means of a collective intellectual venture – to

contribute to the historic task befalling to enlightened intellectuals of our generation in this part of the world to 'overcome' our respective 'Trianon complexes' and work side by side to clarify without any extra-scholarly bias some important points of our common history in a properly professional spirit.

It was certainly not the product of pure chance that the actual gatherings hosting the presentation of the very first versions of the studies developed in this book were sponsored by the Central European University in Budapest, a university accredited both in America and by the Hungarian Ministry of Education, with multi-national staff and student body, heavily relying upon East-Central Europeans, together with Western scholars. As an illustration, the present head of the History Department is a Romanian and, since its seventeen odd years of existence, two Hungarians, one American, and another Romanian colleague have served in the same capacity. The History Department here has an established tradition in addressing the entangled histories of Transylvania in a larger regional comparative context. Students and their professors apply innovative approaches to the complexities of the topic, combining social and intellectual history, and the synchronic perspective of sociological methods with the diachronic perspective of historiography.[2] The synergy at the History Department, the attached Nationalism Studies Program, as well as the Jewish Studies Program has led to several collaborations with other universities and research centers mostly in East-Central and South-Eastern Europe (more recently in the framework of a *Comparative History Project* of the Higher Education Support Program and the Central European University or the collaborative project hosted by Pasts, Inc. on *Shared/Entangled Histories: Comparative Perspectives on Hungary and Romania*), gradually involving partners from the larger European academe and America. Parallel to the growing demand for larger continental and global contextualization of the narrower research topic, there is an equally keen sensitivity to such microstudies as illustrated by the book on "everyday ethnicity" in a historical context[3] edited by Rogers Brubaker from the University of California, visiting professor at the Central European University. It is not astonishing thus that five of the eleven

2 Balázs Trencsényi, Dragoş Petrescu, Cristina Petrescu, Constantin Iordachi and Zoltán Kántor, eds., *Nation-Building and Contested Identities: Romanian and Hungarian Case Studies* (Budapest: Regio Books/ Iaşi: Editura Polirom, 2001); Maciej Janowski, Constantin Iordachi, and Balázs Trencsényi, "Why Bother about Historical Regions? Debates over Central Europe in Hungary, Poland and Romania", *East Central Europe / L'Europe Du Centre-est. Eine wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift* 1-2 (2005): 5-58; Sorin Antohi, Péter Apor, and Balázs Trencsényi, eds., *Narratives Unbound: Historical Studies in Post-Communist Eastern Europe* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2007); Balázs Trencsényi and Michal Kopecek, eds., *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770-1945): Texts and Commentaries*, vol. I., Late Enlightenment - The Emergence of the Modern 'National Idea' (Budapest: CEU Press, 2006); vol. II., *National Romanticism*, (Budapest: CEU Press, 2007); Dietmar Müller, Borbála Zsuzsanna Török, and Balázs Trencsényi, eds., "*Reframing the European Pasts: National Discourses and Regional Comparisons", East Central Europe* 1-2 (forthcoming, 2009).

3 Rogers Brubaker, Margit Feischmidt, Jon Fox, and Liana Grancea eds. *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

contributors to this volume are actually associated with this university as doctoral students, alumni or staff and the initiative of the publication has also been taken by members of our faculty.

In concrete terms all but one chapter of the volume emanate from discussions at two workshops specifically organized by the editors on two occasions, in May 2005 and June 2006 in Budapest thanks to the support of Pasts Inc. Center for Historical Studies at the History Department of the Central European University.

The bulk of the book is arranged for purely pragmatic reasons in three parts dedicated respectively to higher education and students, various elite clusters as actors or objects of political strategies and, finally 'comparative perspectives,' proposing two studies where Transylvanian problems crop up in the framework of interregional comparisons.

Joachim von Puttkamer, the author of an important comparative study of minority education under Hungarian rule in Slovakia and Transylvania during the nineteenth century[4], introduces in his seminal exposé a project of considerable scope, consisting in the publication of the major pieces of legislation and local regulation of schooling in Transylvania during the long period between the Josephist endeavors to reshuffle, secularize, and place under partial state control the public educational system, and the final peace years before the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy and the administration of Transylvania as part of the Hungarian Kingdom. His contribution is all the more precious that if offers an abundant bibliography of recent and less recent publications on educational matters related to Transylvania for the whole period concerned.

Sever Cristian Oancea provides here a case study of the Transylvanian Lutheran-Saxon clergy in the *Vormärz*, one of the central topics of his doctoral dissertation in progress. The focal question of the attempted upgrading of the intellectual training demanded from Protestant ministers of the time was connected to the alternative of studies at home or abroad, notably in Lutheran Prussia, an emerging rival power to the Habsburg Empire. Political competition involves cultural rivalry here between Austrian and German universities resulting in the foundation of a Faculty of Lutheran Theology in Vienna and the sometimes outlawed peregrination of students concerned in Protestant centers of learning of the German academic market. This well focused piece of research raises one of the central issues of higher education in nineteenth-century East-Central Europe, the problem of wandering students, representing the majority or indeed all of those looking for advanced training in a period of often absolute scarcity (or even absence) of specialized higher educational supply in their home region.

Zoltán Pálfy's piece is an indirect prolongation of his recently published doctoral dissertation in English[5] on the political and intellectual implications

4 Joachim von Puttkamer, *Schulalltag und nationale Integration in Ungarn. Slowaken, Rumänen und Siebenbürger Sachsen in der Auseinandersetzung mit der ungarischen Staatsidee, 1867-1914* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2003).

5 Zoltán Pálfy, *National controversy in the Transylvanian Academe. The Cluj/Kolozsvár University in the first half of the 20th century* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2005).

of the ethnic-national conflict around the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj in various historical junctures since the Hungarian era till the first Communist decade. Its specificity consists in the systematic confrontation of data, gained from the university archives, related to ethnic, confessional and social patterns of recruitment of large samples of students born in Transylvania and graduating from the Medical and the Legal Faculties of both Kolozsvár/Cluj and Budapest. This ingenious and systematic scheme of statistical comparisons sheds a harsh light on the hierarchy of global educational chances (probabilities of enrollment into a faculty), study choices (medicine compared to law and political science), and academic excellence (as measured by the age of graduation) of students, revealing a veritable gap between the intellectually best endowed (Jews, Lutherans, and Roman Catholics) and the most poorly favored (Eastern Christians), while other Protestants (Calvinists and Unitarians) were situated in between.

Victor Karady presents a shortcut to a larger scholarly enterprise covering more at length the problem area of the social inequalities of education in Transylvania under the post-1867 Dual Monarchy, when – thanks in particular to the foundation of the second Hungarian university in Kolozsvár/Cluj (1872) – Transylvania started to constitute a counterweight of sorts to the hitherto absolute hegemony of Budapest on the Hungarian educational market. Some results of this ongoing research have already been published, others are due to follow.[6] To whom did the local schooling investments benefit preferentially and why? The response to these questions comes close to Zoltán Pálfy's conclusions. The recourse to some additional statistically objectified and confession related variables (inequalities in terms of urbanization, professional stratification, number and quality of schools, etc.) permit a sociological analysis of some major sources of disparities in this field.

The essays in the second part of the book, centered on problems of political elites and elite politics, are organized in an approximately chronological order of the topics discussed, ranging from the late eighteenth-century to the 1940s.

The purpose of *Teodora Daniela Sechel* was the development of an important topic of her doctoral dissertation. Her essay is a scrupulous discussion of the impact of the imperial reforms of the 1770s on the Transylvanian medical personnel. Van Swieten's reforms, implemented by law in 1770 and applicable in the whole Habsburg Empire, targeted the reorganization of medical education, the integration of the medical personnel

6 See Lucian Nastasă, *The University of Kolozsvár/Cluj and the Students of the Medical Faculty (1872-1918)* (Cluj: Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center, Budapest-New York: Central European University Press, 2004); Lucian Nastasă, "The Social Functions of Education in a Multi-Cultural and Post-Feudal Society. The Transylvanian Paradigm", *Educational Inequalities and Denominations. Database for Transylvania, 1910* ed. Victor Karady and Peter Tibor Nagy (Budapest: John Wesley Publisher, forthcoming 2008); Victor Karady and Lucian Nastasă, *The Students of the Faculties of Arts, Sciences and Pharmacy at the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj (1872-1918)* (Cluj: Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center, Budapest-New York, Central European University Press, forthcoming); Victor Karady and Lucian Nastasă, *The Students of the Faculty of Law at the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj (1872-1918)* (Cluj: Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center, and Budapest-New York: Central European University Press, forthcoming).

in an administrative structure under central auspices and a special scheme (quarantine stations) to prevent or minimize the risks of epidemics. In Transylvania it allowed the foundation of the Medical Lyceum in Kolozsvár/Cluj and the extension of its training functions beyond physicians and surgeons to pharmacists and midwives. Moreover it helped the transformation of the staff of health care into a corporation of men with special expertise but also of enlightened learning. Doctors particularly, irrespective of their noble or common descent, would henceforth enter elite circles, often as founding members of learned societies to develop considerable agency in spreading enlightened knowledge on the region and to the interested public of the region.

Borbála Zsuzsanna Török also follows one of the topical issues of her dissertation defended years ago on the comparison of the major German and Hungarian learned societies in nineteenth-century Transylvania, dedicated to the study of the region from the viewpoint of their respective national-ethnic interests.[7] Thus the Saxon *Verein für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde,* became a major scholarly enterprise for the study of the Saxon past as well as geographical, ethnographic, philological, and socioeconomic aspects of the presence of Saxons in the province. A civil initiative, the *Verein,* was the manifestation of the intellectual sociability of Saxon urban elites maintaining strong scientific links with German scholarly circles all over Europe. Its Hungarian counterpart was a much more aristocratic foundation with similar initial objectives. Among its specific traits one remarks a membership recruited in all confessional groups with significant Hungarian participation (including Jews), its secular nature (rarity of ecclesiastics), the presence of lady members and supporters and its progressive specialization in four large disciplines (humanities, natural sciences, medicine, and law). Following the foundation of the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj (1872), there is a virtual merger under state support (and thanks to public subsidies) of the Hungarian Museum Association and the University, both becoming institutional agents of a more or less conservative type of Magyar nationalism.

Judit Pál offers a strictly centered investigation of the consequences that the political transition staged by the 1867 Austro-Hungarian Compromise entailed for the composition of the state-appointed governing body of the Transylvanian territorial units, the lord-lieutenants (*főispánok*). Her inquiry dissipates the myth of a complete 'change of the guard' after the reign of the 'Bach Hussars' during the post-1849 years of absolutism. The factual presentation of the progressive reforms of the regional administration arrived at its final conclusion in 1872 only when all the territory (the Szekler and

7 Borbála Zsuzsanna Török, "The Friends of Progress: Learned Societies and the Public Sphere in the Transylvanian Reform Era", *Austrian History Yearbook* 36 (2005): 94-120; Borbála Zsuzsanna Török, "Patriotic Scholarship: The Adaptation of State Sciences in late 18th Century Transylvania", in *The Intellectual History of Patriotism and the Legacy of Composite States in East-Central Europe* ed. Márton Zászkaliczky and Balázs Trencsényi (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming 2009); Borbála Zsuzsanna Török, "Scholarship in the Public Sphere: Competing Ethnic Traditions", "*Reframing the European Pasts: National Discourses and Regional Comparisons", East Central Europe* 34, no. 1-2 (forthcoming 2009).

Saxon districts included with their earlier elected heads of self-administration) was cut up in counties and fully integrated into the Hungarian county network. The selection of these high standing civil servants followed in part traditional principles (majority of aristocrats with strong local roots) and responded, above all, to political interests of the government, irrespective of religion if not of cultural-national ties (to the benefit of Magyars).

John Neubauer is bringing here a fascinating case study of interethnic literary relations in Transylvania, that is, contacts between authors of different languages in a period of explosive nationalism and often antagonistic cultural claims. Transylvania was a training ground of outstanding Hungarian (Endre Ady, Dezső Szabó, and Sándor Reményik), Romanian (Ioan Slavici, George Bariţiu, and Octavian Goga), as well as some original German writers since the late nineteenth century, who frequently knew, met and occasionally appreciated each other. They could sometimes reject attempts at but also foster and support drives of cultural hegemony. Each large language cluster founded cultural circles, journals and associations in support of, among other things, its literary creativity. (In the years 1877–1888 Hugo Meltzl, a professor of the Arts Faculty of Kolozsvár/Cluj, published what apparently became the first ever journal of comparative literature in Europe.) The essay follows details of the complex relationships between individuals, circles and movements belonging to different national literary traditions till the interwar years, when – especially after the mounting tide of right extremism and the appearance of the Brown Plague in the 1930s – open intercultural cooperation became more and more impossible between authors with national commitments.

The second part of the book is closed by *Gábor Egry*'s study of the Hungarian party in the 1940s. The author pursues here his ambitious research on the birth and development of "Transylvanism" since the late Dualist period and its transformations and distortions in the inter-war years under Romanian rule as well as in the 1940s during the Hungarian take over of Northern Transylvania.[8] Though the Hungarian Party and other ethnically based civic or cultural organizations (like *EME* – Transylvanian Museum Association, *EMGE* - Transylvanian Hungarian Economic Association, *EMKE* – Transylvanian Association for the Popularization of Hungarian Culture) of the erstwhile dominant minority community performed various specific – mostly cultural – functions, their role proved to be essentially political as representative bodies defending the collective interests of the Magyar community, its public self-assertion and self-presentation, but also the maintenance of its dual status as part of the Hungarian nation with a particular and presumably superior moral standing. Throughout his analysis the author stresses the personal, ideological, institutional, as well as middle-class bound continuities of the Hungarian organizations and their staff which had to reconsider its policies and commitments with regard to the 'Motherland' in the war years. This was the short historical juncture when the unification with the post-Trianon rump state was implemented – not always to the benefit of Transylvanians – and

8 Gábor Egry, *Az erdélyiség színeváltozásai* [Transfigurations of Transylvanianism] (Budapest: Napvilág Kiadó, 2008).

official nationalist politics comprised more than ever a growing measure of quasi-paranoid xenophobia and anti-Semitism.

Our last section is shorter than the two previous ones, made up of the buttress chapters of the book, but it offers hitherto neglected comparative vistas.

Marius Lazăr's important contribution exceeds Transylvania proper, since it deals with the formation of the Romanian state and its ruling elite since the unification of the two principalities and the beginning of the parliamentary regime till its very ending under the 'royal dictatorship', followed by various totalitarian experiences. Transylvania is touched upon indirectly in the last chronological part of the study. This is indeed a report of a sophisticated sociological survey confronting the Romanian high political personnel (members of government) with canonized literary authors of the times – amounting altogether to 683 individuals. These are identified by a number of characteristics relevant for their public career and constructed into sensitive statistical variables (like social class background, education, socioprofessional destiny, the type of political capital detained and membership in a generational cluster). Beyond essential but classic correlations in early periods of post-feudal political modernization qualified here as the 'social origin effect', the 'social status effect' or the 'educational effect' – stressing the fact that those better endowed with social assets have better chances to accede to positions of power and authority – some results of the study point to the concentration of political influence in the hands of less and less persons ('historical effect') and the progressive prevalence of what the author terms as 'transactional capital' as against historical status in political careers. Though the political and the cultural field appears to remain largely distinct throughout, as shown by the main social characteristics of their agents, both fields go via marked historical changes. The political field was particularly marked by instability both in form of frequently changing governments and the fragile party loyalties of their members. The study closes with a large scale historical typology of the Romanian political class.

Mariana Hausleitner continues her investigations of the territorial margins of the Romanian state, following her fundamental research on the national integration of Bukovina[9] with a concise but systematic comparison of three regions attached to Romania after the First World War, Bessarabia, Bukovina and south-western Transylvania (Banat). Both the ethnic structures and the state policies differed in these territories as well as the degree of established or newly generated conflict zones between national constituencies. A piece of still ongoing research, the article leads us to the years of the Second World War and with it the most tragic chapter of this part of the world, including the Holocaust and various forms of ethnic cleansing, in which local minorities and majorities took a heavy and often bloody share under the aegis of respective (Romanian, Soviet, and Nazi German) governments in charge.

Our book has come up to its original purpose if it succeeds to propose a significant sample of ongoing innovative research centered on complex socio-historical issues of modern Transylvania in presocialist times.

9 Mariana Hausleitner, *Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 2001).

Joachim von Puttkamer

Framework of Modernization: Government Legislation and Regulations on Schooling in Transylvania 1780–1914

In the middle of the nineteenth century, schooling became the focus of the emerging nationality conflict in Transylvania. Up to the present day, this perspective largely dominates research on the history of schooling in Transylvanian schools. The manifold Romanian literature on this subject reveals a picture of Romanian schools which were barely capable to provide an impoverished nation with at least elementary education, since they had to struggle against government control and the repressive Magyarization policies of the Hungarian government.[1] The literature on German schools of the Transylvanian Saxons shows only a slightly different picture, being somewhat more imbued with pride in a traditional system of elementary and secondary

1 I. Lazăr, *Învăţământul românesc din sud-vestul Transilvaniei (1848-1883)* [The Romanian education in south-western Transylvania, 1848-1883] (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2002); S. Retegan, "Politică şi educaţie la românii din Transilvania în epoca liberalismului austriac (1860-1867)" [Politics and education of the Transylvanian Romanians in the epoch of Austrian liberalism] *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj-Napoca* 30 (1990/91): 73-88; D. Suciu, "Date privind situaţia politică şi confesional-şcolară a românilor din Transilvania în prima decadă a dualismului" [Data concerning the political and confessional-educational situation of the Romanians in Transilvania during the first decade of Dualism] *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj-Napoca* 30 (1990/91): 89-122; L. Maior, "Politica şcolară a guvernelor maghiare faţă de români (1900-1914)" [The school politics of the Hungarian government with regard to the Romanians, 1900-1914] *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj-Napoca* 30 (1990/91): 123-138; J. M. Bogdan, "Eintritt in die Modernität. Die Rumänen und ihr Schulwesen (Banat, Siebenbürgen, Bukowina, Moldau und Walachei)", in *Revolution des Wissens? Europa und seine Schulen im Zeitalter der Aufklärung (1750-1825). Ein Handbuch zur europäischen Schulgeschichte*, ed. W. Schmale and N. L. Dodde (Bochum: Winkler, 1991), 389-431; S. Mîndruţ, "Învăţământul comunal elementar din Transilvania între anii 1867-1918" [Communal elementary education in Transylvania during the years 1867-1918] *Crisia* 19 (1989): 265-187; D. Suciu, "Aspecte ale politicii de asuprire naţională şi de maghiarizare forţată a românilor din Transilvania în timpul dualismului" [Aspects of the politics of national oppression and forced Magyarization of the Romanians of Transylvania in the era of Dualism) *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie şi Arheologie Cluj-Napoca* 28 (1987/1988): 289-310; V. Popeangă, *Şcoala românească din Transilvania în perioada 1867-1918 şi lupta sa pentru unire* [The Romanian schools of Transylvania during the period 1867-1918 and their struggle for unification] (Bucureşti: Editura didactică şi pedagogică, 1974). See also M. Păcurariu, *La politique de l'état hongrois à l'égard de l'église roumaine de Transylvanie a l'époque du dualisme austro-hongrois 1867-1918* (Bucureşti: Editura institutului biblic şi de Misiune al bisericii ortodoxe române, 1986); A. Plămădeală, *Lupta împotrivă deznaţionalizării românilor din Transilvania în timpul dualismului austro-ungar în vremea lui Miron Romanul (1874-1898)* [The struggle of Transylvanian Romanians against denationalization during the Austro-Hungarian Dualism in the times of Miron Roman, 1874-1889] (Sibiu: Tipographia Eparchială, 1986).

schools that dated back to the Middle Ages and the Protestant Reformation and then came under the attack of an increasingly repressive state.[2] Numerous articles on school and nationality legislation during the Dualist period are highly critical of the way the Hungarian government infringed upon nationality rights and discouraged education in the mother tongue.[3] Hungarian nationalism thus seems to have caused a clear breach of policy. It contrasts sharply with the previous approach of the Austrian government, which had established a modern system of state control over a quickly expanding network of elementary and secondary schools and had shown the necessary respect towards various mother languages.[4]

The amount of literature on the other ethnic groups falls behind the bulk of research on government legislation of Romanian and Saxon schools. Studies on the Jewish schools in nineteenth-century Transylvania are scarce.[5] Information on the Hungarian Catholic, Calvinist, Unitarian, and Armenian schools has to be extracted largely from the histories of the respective confessions.[6] Finally, astonishingly few attempts have been made at a

2 Carl Göllner et al eds. *Die Siebenbürger Sachsen in den Jahren 1848-1918* (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 1988); W. König, "Die Entwicklung des Schulwesens der Siebenbürger Sachsen zwischen 1867 und 1914" *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 27, 1 (1984), 45-55; Otto Folberth, "Die Auswirkungen des Ausgleichs auf Siebenbürgen" *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 11 (1968), 48-70; and most recently: Walter König, *Schola seminarium rei publicae. Aufsätze zu Geschichte und Gegenwart des Schulwesens in Siebenbürgen und Rumänien* (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2005).

3 István Dolmányos, "Kritik der Lex Apponyi (Die Schulgesetze vom Jahre 1907)", in *Die nationale Frage in der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie 1900-1918*, ed. Péter Hanák (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966), 233-304; Zoltán Szász, "Die Ziele und Möglichkeiten der ungarischen Regierungen in der Nationalitätenpolitik im 19. Jahrhundert", in *Gesellschaft, Politik und Verwaltung in der Habsburgermonarchie 1830-1918*, ed. Ferenc Glatz and R. Melville (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1987), 327-341; Béla Bellér, "Die ungarische Nationalitäten-Schulpolitik von der Ratio Educationis bis heute", in *Ethnicity and Society in Hungary. Études Historiques Hongroises 1990*, ed. Glatz, vol. 2 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), 433-454.

4 Helmut Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens. Erziehung und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreichs*, vol. 3 (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1984); Márton Horváth and Sándor Köte, eds., *A magyar nevelés története*, vol. 1 (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1988); Klaus Frommelt, *Die Sprachenfrage im österreichischen Unterrichtswesen 1848-1859* (Graz and Cologne: Böhlau, 1963); Ágnes Deák, *"Nemzeti egyenjogúsítás" 1849-1860* [Creating "national equality", 1849-1860] (Budapest: Osiris, 2000), 225-287.

5 E. Glück, "Jewish Elementary Education in Transylvania 1848-1918" *Studia Judaica* 2 (1993), 103-113. For the general framework see A. Moskovits, *Jewish Education in Hungary (1848-1948)* (Philadelphia: Bloch Publishing Company, 1964).

6 Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch eds. *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918. Band IV: Die Konfessionen*, second edition (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995); M. Bucsay, *Der Protestantismus in Ungarn 1521-1978. Ungarns Reformationskirchen in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2 vols. (Wien, Köln, Graz: Böhlau: 1977 and 1979); Kálmán Sebestyén, *Erdély református népoktatása* [Transylvania's Reformed elementary schooling], (Budapest: Püski, 1995); Cf. also György Beke, *Régi erdélyi iskolák. Barangolás térben és időben* [Old Transylvanian schools. Promenade in space and time], (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1989).

comparative synopsis or at the study of cultural interferences among the different school systems.[7]

Therefore the dominant picture of the history of Transylvanian schooling seems rather blurred, if not somewhat distorted. The main problem lies in the fact that the nationally inspired criticism of government policies takes the dominantly confessional structure of the schooling system in Transylvania more or less for granted and has therefore focused mainly on the language issue. The present paper investigates the development of this structure, which was deeply rooted in traditions of church autonomy and constituted the specific fabric of the Transylvanian school system. This research, based on an editorial project on the legal framework of schooling in nineteenth-century Transylvania, looks at the interplay between government regulation and confessional schooling.[8] It conceives the relation between government legislation and church regulations as a system of challenge and response. On this basis, I shall argue that by the middle of the nineteenth century different reactions on government regulation had developed into a well-balanced legal framework which was well adapted to the specific conditions of multiethnic Transylvania. It set the necessary incentives for a broad participation of the laity in school affairs and gave an impetus towards the dynamic development of all schools under the specific conditions of the confessionally structured multiethnic fabric of Transylvanian society. Under these conditions, national conflict over the nationalist coloring of government regulation did not hamper efficient schooling, but rather turned into a powerful incentive for the internal development of schooling in Transylvania, which by the beginning of the twentieth century was unparalleled in the region.

The reforms of Joseph II. were the starting-point. In 1781, his *Norma Regia* introduced the basic ideas of reforms, previously enacted in the hereditary lands and in Hungary, into Transylvania. From then on, schooling was defined as a public matter, as the basis of public welfare *(publicae felicitatis fundamentum)*, and therefore belonged to the foremost rights and obligations

7 Walter König ed. *Beiträge zur Siebenbürgischen Schulgeschichte* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 1996); Joachim Puttkamer, *Schulalltag und nationale Integration in Ungarn. Slowaken, Rumänen und Siebenbürger Sachsen in der Auseinandersetzung mit der ungarischen Staatsidee 1867-1914* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2003); Michael Kroner, *Der rumänische Sprachunterricht in den siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Schulen vor 1918*) (Stuttgart: Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, 1972); Carl Göllner and A. Pankratc, "Der rumänische Sprachunterricht in den siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Schulen vor 1918", in: Paul Philippi ed. *Beiträge zur Siebenbürgischen Kulturgeschichte* (Cologne, Vienna: Böhlau: 1974), 1-48.

8 For source editions in this field see S. Köte and J. Ravasz eds. *Dokumentumok a magyar nevelés történetéből, 1849-1919,* [Documents from the history of Hungarian education, 1849-1919] (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1979); Friedrich Teutsch ed. *Die siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Schulordnungen,* 2 vols. (Berlin: Hofmann, 1888 and 1892) (Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, vols. VI und XIII); Simion Retegan ed. *Satul românesc din Transilvania ctitor de şcoală (1850-1867)* [The Romanian village in Transylvania, founder of schools, 1850-1867] (Cluj-Napoca: Echinox, 1994); idem ed., *Sate şi şcoli româneşti din Transilvania la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea (1867-1875)* [Romanian villages and schools in Transylvania in the middle of the 19th century] (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1994).

of the monarch.[9] Institutions of public government had a final say in educational matters. This reform was aimed mainly at secondary schools. Their curricula were unified, and they were obliged to put their finances on a solid bureaucratic footing. In addition, elementary schooling became obligatory, including religious education as well as reading, writing, and arithmetic. Every child was to be taught in his mother tongue and, where possible, should learn German. Instruction in Latin was to be confined to schools that prepared for secondary and higher education. All schooling was to be conducted in a spirit of religious tolerance, which had its limits only by the provision that Catholic pupils were forbidden to visit any other than Catholic secondary schools.[10]

The *Norma Regia* was modeled on the *Allgemeine Schulordnung* for the Austrian hereditary lands, which had been enacted by Maria Theresa in 1774, and the *Ratio Educationis* for Royal Hungary enacted in 1777. But whereas the *Ratio Educationis* applied only to Catholic schools and left Protestant autonomy untouched, the *Norma Regia* intended to submit Protestant schools to government control as well. It established a common school council to be staffed by members of the different confessions and obliged all schools to the principles of a common curriculum.[11] As might be expected, these provisions met with serious resistance by the Protestant churches, mainly the Calvinist and the Lutheran churches.[12] In the end, Protestant autonomy prevailed, and the *Norma Regia* became applicable only to Catholic schools. The Toleration Patent of 1781 had even extended autonomy to the Orthodox Church and their schools as well.[13] Thus, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, there had developed a complementary system of state-governed Catholic schools on the one hand and various systems of autonomous non-Catholic schools on the other.

Even though the threat posed by the *Norma Regia* to confessional autonomy had been largely averted, its effects were to be felt throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. The reaction of many Hungarian schools towards compulsory German language education, which Joseph II. had introduced in 1784, is well known as well as its strong impact upon the development of Hungarian nationalism.[14] Yet, the national aspects should not be overrated. Curiously enough, it was the German Transylvanian Saxons who were the first to express their fear that the politics of government intervention constituted a

9 *Norma Regia pro scholis Magni Principatus Transilvaniae Iosephi II. Caesar. Aug. Magni Principis Trans. iussu edita* (Sibiu: Martin Hochmeister, 1781), 9.

10 *I.d.*, 22.

11 *I.d.*, 11-12 and 43-73.

12 Kelemen Gál, *A kolozsvári unitárius kollégium története* [The history of the Unitarian college at Cluj) (Budapest: Minerva Irodalmi és Nyomdai Műintézet Rt. nyomása, 1935), vol. 1, 313-318; Heinz Brandsch, *Geschichte der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Volksschule* (Schäßburg: Verlag der Markusdruckerei, 1926), 58-59.

13 Elemér Mályusz, *Iratok a türelmi rendelet történetéhez* [Documents on the history of the Toleration Patent], (Budapest: Magyar Protestáns Irodalmi Társaság, 1940), 285-290.

14 Moritz Csáky, *Von der Aufklärung zum Liberalismus. Studien zum Frühliberalismus in Ungarn* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981).

threat to their group identity.[15] Rather than language issues, it was the potential infringement on church autonomy which most worried the Protestant clergy and laity. The Saxon Lutheran Church reacted quickly by establishing elaborate regulations of their own for the Lutheran schools and thus laid the basis for the improvement of elementary education. A comprehensive plan for the far-reaching reorganization of the Transylvanian Saxon secondary schools formulated in 1823 remained a dead letter, but strongly influenced pedagogic thinking for the following decades.[16]

The Saxons were not the only ones to realize that a well-developed school system was in the best interest of their flock. But contrary to the Lutheran Church of the Transylvanian Saxons, the other confessions understood government activity in the field of education to be not so much a threat but an incentive to push for the establishment of extensive elementary and secondary schooling. Inspired by the enlightenment, public education now came to be seen as a major task. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, Unitarian and Calvinist and even more so the Orthodox and Uniate schools were similarly concerned with the wearing task to guarantee elementary schooling in every single village and to establish a system of more or less clear-cut responsibilities for regular schooling within their clerical hierarchies. The Calvinist Church already in 1786 introduced a school inspectorate for her elementary schools.[17] Calvinist Church authorities regularly reminded all parents of their obligation to send their children to school, as well as the priests to care for regular elementary schooling.[18] In 1817 and 1821, the Unitarian schools passed a similar set of regulations on elementary education.[19]

A resolution of the Uniate Synod of 1833 was typical in demanding that every parish without a regular teacher should engage a suitable person to teach the children in religious matters as well as reading and arithmetic, if necessary in his own house.[20] Under these circumstances, the Uniate and Orthodox churches strongly appreciated the financial and organizational support offered by the government to develop the Romanian schools. The upsurge of schooling activities also led to the foundation of numerous new gymnasia, among which the Armenian *Gymnasium Raphaelinum* in Erzsebetváros/Dumbrăveni, opened in 1843, the Catholic Gymnasium and the Orthodox Şaguna lyceum in Brassó/Braşov, opened in 1837 and 1850 respectively, the Calvinist gymnasium in

15 E. Josupeit-Neitzel, *Die Reformen Josephs II. in Siebenbürgen* (München: Trofenik, 1986); A. Schaser, *Josephinische Reformen und sozialer Wandel in Siebenbürgen. Die Bedeutung der Konzivilitätsreskriptes für Hermannstadt,* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1989).

16 Brandsch, *Geschichte der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Volksschule*, 67-72, 77-87; Ulrich A. Wien and Karl W. Schwarz eds. *Die Kirchenordnungen der evangelischen Kirche A. B. in Siebenbürgen (1807-1997)* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2005), 61-70.

17 Kálmán Sebestyén, *Erdély református népoktatása*, 46-48.

18 I.d., 37.

19 Gál, *A kolozsvári unitárius kollégium története*, 554-555.

20 I. M. Moldovanu, *Acte sinodale ale biserecei romane de Alb'a Julia si Fagarasiu* [Synodal resolutions of the Romanian Church of Alba Iulia and Făgăraş], vol. 2, (Blaj: Tiparia arhidiecesana, 1872), 63-68.

Sepsiszentgyörgy/Sfântu Gheorghe, opened in 1859, the Lutheran gymnasium in Szászrégen/Reghin, opened in 1861, and the Romanian frontiersmen's Uniate lyceum at Naszód/Năsăud, opened in 1863, were the most prominent. Only then, the development of schools came to be seen not just as a means of offering education to their flock, but also as an essential way to preserve one's cultural identity in a changing world.

Thus, by the middle of the century, the Transylvanian churches had in various ways taken up the challenge of government regulation and had discovered the dynamic development of schooling as a means to conform to government expectations, make use of the help which was offered and to forestall further intervention which might endanger church autonomy. This pattern was to prevail until the end of the Monarchy.

The twofold system of Catholic schools governed by the state, and non-Catholic schools that were trying to keep up the pace, underwent fundamental changes. In the wake of the Revolution of 1848/49, the so-called *Organisationsentwurf* reorganized secondary schooling along lines which became obligatory to all institutions of higher education, regardless of their confessional denomination.[21] It provided the Habsburg monarchy with the most advanced and modern system of secondary education in Europe at the time. Under neoabsolutism, comprehensive government regulation thus came to be appreciated even more strongly as a general framework and an incentive for the development of the educational system within a unified, binding, and peremptory structure. A considerable number of the newly established secondary schools mentioned above can be seen as a direct result of the *Organisationsentwurf*.

A further, even more far-reaching measure was taken by József Eötvös after the Austro-Hungarian compromise in 1867. Based on his theoretical reflections on the nationality problem in Hungary, Eötvös dismissed the notion of confessional education as being an involuntary, but necessary concession to the autonomy of the churches. He recognized rather that the system of church schools under government regulation, as it had emerged during the previous decades, could be productively developed into a legal framework, which was not only suitable to a multiconfessional and multiethnic society, but also guaranteed broad participation of the laity in local and regional school affairs. Local schools were to become not just a government issue, but a public responsibility. Consequently, in the Nationality Law (Art. 38) and the School Act (Art. 44) of 1868, Eötvös deliberately gave large weight to confessional schools. The law provided for communal and state schools only as supplementary forms in those regions where the churches proved unable to support sufficient institutions of elementary education. Following the general ideas of the *Organisationsentwurf*, elementary schools became subject to regulations which precisely spelled out the framework of modern elementary education. By assigning the main responsibility for the schooling to the different churches, Eötvös hoped to divert and confine nationality problem to

21 *Entwurf der Organisation der Gymnasien und Realschulen in Österreich* (Vienna: Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht, 1849). See also Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, 147-152.

the sphere of culture and education and thus to find an outlet, if not a compensation, for the political restrictions following from the idea of the one and indivisible Hungarian political nation.[22]

Even though Eötvös himself was a Catholic, his legislation was based on the premise of churches organized along the Protestant model. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Protestant churches did not have to go far in order to adapt to the new situation. The Transylvanian Calvinist Church had gradually reorganized lay participation along synodal lines between 1861 and 1872.[23] Its statutes partly served as model for the later comprehensive reorganization of the united Hungarian Calvinist Church in 1881.[24] The Unitarian Church could also leave its constitution of 1851 basically unchanged.[25] The Lutheran Church of the Transylvanian Saxons, which had just previously received a new constitution, in 1870 passed a new *Schulordnung* which in terms of compulsory school attendance and curricula not only conformed to government legislation, but even surpassed it in many fields.[26]

The non-Protestant churches were faced with the necessity of undergoing more comprehensive reforms. Headed by the far-sighted Metropolitan Andreiu Şaguna, the Orthodox Church already in 1868 adopted a new constitution, the *Statutul Organic,* which incorporated many elements of the Protestant consistorial model into Orthodox Church law and provided for the participation of the laity as well as a well-structured system of school authorities.[27] The reorganization of Jewish schooling turned out to be more problematic. The whole idea of a hierarchically structured church being alien to Judaism, the idea of structured autonomy along protestant lines, as it was put forth at the

22 Paul Bödy, *Joseph Eötvös and the Modernization of Hungary, 1840-1870. A Study of Ideas of Individuality and Social Pluralism in Modern Politics,* 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); Johann Weber, *Eötvös und die ungarische Nationalitätenfrage* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1966); Puttkamer, *Schulalltag und nationale Integration in Ungarn*, 75-99.

23 Mihály Zsilinszky, *A magyarhoni protestáns egyház története* [History of the Hungarian Protestant church] (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1907), 761.

24 S. Dárday, ed., *Közigazgatási törvénytár a fennálló törvények, rendeletek és döntvényekből rendszeresen összeállitotta Dárday Sándor* [Collection of administrative laws, compiled from laws, decrees and decisions by Sándor Dárday], vol. 3, 3rd ed. (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1903), 182-263.

25 Dárday ed. *Közigazgatási törvénytár*, 376-384.

26 "Schulordnung für den Volksunterricht im Umfange der evangelischen Landeskirche A. B. in Siebenbürgen" in *Verfassung der evangelischen Landeskirche Augsburger Bekenntnisses in Siebenbürgen* (Hermannstadt: Drotleff, 1871), 18-31.

27 *Protocolul congresului nationalu Bisericescu Romanu de Religiunea greco-resariteana, conchiamatu in Sabiu pe 16./28. Septembrie 1868, tiparitu din partea Presidiului* [Records of the National Congress of the Romanian Greek-Orthodox Church, convened at Sibiu 16./28. September 1868, printed on behalf of the President] (Sibiu: Tipografia archidiecesana, 1868), 234–284; Keith Hitchins, *Orthodoxy and Nationality. Andreiu Şaguna and the Rumanians of Transylvania, 1846-1873* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1977); Johann Schneider, *Der Hermannstädter Metropolit Andrei von Şaguna. Reform und Erneuerung der orthodoxen Kirche in Siebenbürgen und Ungarn nach 1848* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau 2005).

Jewish congress in 1868, was almost bound to fail.[28] Only liberal Jewish schools were governed along the lines of the regulations that had been passed by the Congress of 1868, whereas orthodox Jewish schools became subject to a special government decree passed in 1871.[29] The reorganization of Catholic schooling turned out to be even more troublesome. The idea of Catholic autonomy, as it was put forth by Eötvös, which would provide for responsible participation of the laity in church and school affairs, smacked too much of Protestantism. Whereas several approaches to Catholic autonomy failed in Hungary proper, Transylvanian Catholics could build on a specific tradition of lay participation dating back to the time of the principality during the seventeenth century.[30] By reviving the so-called *Status Catholicus*, the Catholic Church implemented a structure which secured comprehensive participation of the laity in administering the finances and the schools of the Catholic Church.[31] In the long run, only the Uniates remained aloof from the system as Eötvös had conceived it and consigned lay participation in church and school affairs to the local parishes.[32]

Thus, in contrast to developments in Hungary, the situation in Transylvania came very close to what József Eötvös had conceived. This result was due not just to the deeply ingrained traditions of confessional autonomy in Transylvania, in which Catholics also took part. One further reason is of course that religious and ethnic affiliation coincided much more closely in Transylvania than in the rest of Hungary. Even though not all Uniates were Romanian and not all Lutherans were German, it is rather easy to designate national Romanian, Hungarian, and Saxon churches in Transylvania. As a result, there was a tendency in Transylvania during the Dualist era towards the development of separate Hungarian, Romanian and Saxon ethnic school systems, which were fairly consolidated. Almost all public efforts to develop the schools in Transylvania, local initiatives even more so than government activity, were directed towards the consolidation of this ethnic structure. Whereas the government established state schools in the towns with the declared intent to secure support for the Hungarian idea of the nation, government activity in the countryside as well as the activity of the *EMKE* (Transylvanian Association for the Popularization of Hungarian Culture) by necessity concentrated on securing the ethnic identity of the Magyar and Szekler peasant population

28 Nathaniel Katzburg, "The Jewish Congress of Hungary 1868-1869", in *Hungarian-Jewish Studies*, ed. Randolph L. Braham, vol. 2 (New York: World Federation of Hungarian Jews, 1969), 1-33; Thomas Domján, "Der Kongreß der ungarischen Israeliten 1868-1869", *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 1 (1969), 139-162.

29 *Közigazgatási törvénytár*, 385-397; *Magyarországi Rendeletek Tára* [Archive of Hungarian decrees] (1871), 436-446.

30 Joachim Bahlcke, "Status catholicus und Kirchenpolitik in Siebenbürgen. Entwicklungsphasen des römisch-katholischen Klerus zwischen Reformation und Josephinismus", in Wien eds. *Siebenbürgen in der Habsburgermonarchie. Vom Leopoldinum bis zum Ausgleich (1690-1867)* ed. Zsolt K. Lengyel and Ulrich A. Wien (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 1999), 151-180.

31 Edit Szegedi, "Die Katholische Autonomie in Siebenbürgen", *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 27 (2004), 130-142.

32 *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Deutschland, Oesterreich und die Schweiz*, 56 (New Series 50) (1886), 31-38.

which was thought to be threatened by assimilation via the Romanian majority.[33] In addition, there was a high amount of competition among schools of different types which forced the government to comply with the demand for schooling in the native language.[34] This tendency towards ethnically consolidated schools markedly distinguishes Transylvania from the development in other ethnically mixed regions of Hungary proper where the tendency to merge the different schools into a comprehensive system of Hungarian schooling in Hungarian was predominant.

The nationality conflict and growing involvement of the state in school affairs came to threaten this balanced system in Transylvania. Driven by national considerations, Calvinist and Unitarian parishes tended to hand over their schools to the state or the local community. Between 1867 and 1918, more than two thirds of the Calvinist elementary schools and a considerable number of Unitarian schools thus changed their character.[35] As the nationality conflict intensified, government circles came to see the failures of Romanian village schools to provide proper Hungarian language education more and more as a political disobedience, protected by the autonomy of the Orthodox Church. Subsidies to teacher salaries thus turned into an instrument, by means of which the government tried to find a lever to discipline teachers and churches which were considered to be politically unreliable. This logic which was also underlying the disputed Lex Apponyi of 1907, was countered by both Romanian churches as well as by the Lutheran Church of the Transylvanian Saxons by intensified financial investments in order to safeguard their organizational autonomy in school affairs. Yet, by 1914 the well-balanced system of confessional schools acting freely within the framework of government standards had come to sway.

33 Puttkamer, *Schulalltag und nationale Integration in Ungarn*, 207-209.

34 I.d., 222-229, 240-251; Joachim Puttkamer, "Mehrsprachigkeit und Sprachenzwang in Oberungarn und Siebenbürgen 1867-1914. Eine statistische Untersuchung", *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 26 (2003), 7-40.

35 Sándor Bíró, Mihály Bucsay, Endre Tóth, and Zoltán Varga, *A magyar református egyház története* [History of the Hungarian Reformed Church] (Budapest: Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1949), 375-376.

Sever Cristian Oancea

The Lutheran Clergy in Transylvania during the *Vormärz:* A New Saxon Intellectual Elite

In March 1819 the notorious playwright August von Kotzebue was murdered in Mannheim by a theology student advocating German nationalism.[1] Austrian officials regarded the assassination as an outcome of the intellectual turbulence characteristic of German revolutionary youth. This historical moment resulted in a strict ban imposed on the access of students also from Transylvania to all German universities until 1830, which, in turn, complicated the severe surveillance measures undertaken by Klemens von Metternich within the borders of the Monarchy. Unhindered attendance of Transylvanians at German universities was only reestablished after 1848. In 1821, the Habsburg authorities decided to build a Protestant theological training institution (*Lehranstalt*) in Vienna in order to compensate for this interdiction.[2] Its main aim was to "undercut the study at foreign universities."[3] The outstanding implications of this political evolution cannot be ignored for the Saxons in Transylvania. On the one hand, the age-long link between Transylvanian students and the German Protestant academic world underwent a process of decadence. On the other hand, it gave rise to the first generation of Transylvanian Lutheran clergy with university degrees in theology at a Viennese institution. As to the strength of specific curricular characteristics, this generation may be divided into three distinct historical clusters, namely: 1821–1830, 1830–1840, and 1840–1848. I will call these theologians collectively the "*Vormärz* generation." Their curriculum was shaped by higher standards of education as a condition of access to clerical office according to a specific "Habsburg pattern", albeit culturally it continued to be oriented towards the German model, as it will be further argued.

Thus, my paper addresses the formation of the Saxon Lutheran clergy in Transylvania during the *Vormärz* or the Reform Era (1830–1848) – as it is customarily referred to in Central European historiography. The era represented a period of major reforms and changes encompassing a large sector of the

1 For a further investigation on this issue, see George S. Williamson, "What killed August von Kotzebue? The temptations of virtue and the political theology of German nationalism", *The Journal of Modern History* 72 (December 2000): 890–943.

2 Regarding the state policy towards the Protestant University and the idea of its foundation on a historical perspective, see Gáspár Klein, *Az állami protestáns egyetem eszméje a Habsburgok alatt a XVIII–XIX. században. Művelődéstörténeti forrástanulmány.* [The idea of the protestant state university under the Habsburgs in the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries] (Debrecen: az Országos Református Lelkész-Egyesület, 1930).

3 Herbert Rampler, *Evangelische Pfarrer und Pfarrerinen der Steiermark seit dem Toleranzpatent* (Graz: Historische Landeskommission für Steiermark, 1998), 342.

public sphere, politics, economy, society, and culture. My aim here is to display the dynamics of change which the curriculum of Saxon theologians underwent during this period. To this end, I first discuss how important university attendance remained for Lutheran ministers in Transylvania. In this sense, I mainly refer to the prevailing spirit of reform in this era and stress the distinction between academic and non-academic candidates to the ministry. My assumption in this respect is that due to the ecclesiastic authority's endeavors, the ministry was meant to represent the privilege reserved for highly trained theologians. Starting in 1837, theologians were expected to fulfill a new norm consisting of a fixed period of university attendance. Thus, theoretically, academic performance became the main criterion of eligibility for obtaining a parish. Nevertheless the clerical office did not constitute a wholly independent profession, and in Transylvania it was closely related to a teaching position.

Second, I present what characterized the *Vormärz* generation in terms of university trends and examine to what extent it underwent a process of change. An empirical study of study stracks of theology students allows the reassessment of the theory of pro-German orientation, which Transylvanian Saxons allegedly demonstrated during the *Vormärz* era. In this sense, I briefly consider the Transylvanian (Saxon) tradition of attending German universities after the Reformation. This highlights the identity dimension of this phenomenon during the entire (early) modern era. Subsequently, I analyze the individual and collective response of the Transylvanian Saxons to the Viennese policy. To this end, I briefly refer to the attitude of the Lutheran Consistory, and I focus on the attendance at the Faculties of Protestant Theology at Vienna and other German universities. In this respect, I argue that the Lutheran Church had a moderate position, however, it succeeded in obtaining some freedom for attending the German universities. By contrast, individual cases show the dynamics of development as connected to the characteristics of their education. The testimony of Georg Daniel Teutsch, the future Lutheran Bishop in Transylvania, is very expressive in this sense. I am inclined to believe that his remarks concerning the University of Vienna, represented the general attitude shared by most Saxons. Finally, resorting to statistical evidence, I underline the level of education among theologians and the extent to which they complied with the Consistory norms. Thus, I hope to sketch out the manner in which the transformation of the new clergy occurred.

A New Clergy between Tradition and Innovation: The Legislative Frame and the Selection of Aspirants

During the early period of the Reformation and even subsequently, the academic requirements for aspiring clergy in the Transylvanian Lutheran Church were only vaguely defined. According to the Synod held in 1563 in Mediasch/Mediaş, in order to be eligible for the clerical office – concerning the academic requirements – it was enough to be *mediocriter eruditi* (*von*

hinreichender Bildung).[4] During the early modern era, although *peregrinatio academica* was wide spread among theologians, there were no strict norms concerning the attendance of universities and the duration of studies. In most cases, after a short university attendance, the students returned to Transylvania and practiced as teachers. Only later were they expected to become ministers. For this reason, the clerical office was to a large degree tied up with the teaching profession, and therefore, the academic expectations for (gymnasium) teachers were in fact valid for priests as well.

The intellectual quality of the teachers and respectively, preachers and ministers, represented an outstanding issue during the Reform Era in Transylvania. Friedrich Teutsch (son of the previously mentioned Georg Daniel Teutsch) pointed out that insufficiently mature students were sent to universities from some gymnasiums, although most of the active urban clerics and preachers attended a university by that time.[5] Concerning the lower clergy, Christian Heyser mentioned the inadequate education of many preachers in the countryside: "Doch sind leider viele von ihnen zu ihrem Stande nicht gehörig vorbereitet […] Dagegen gibt es auch manche, die sich durch ihr Wissen und Betragen kaum von den bessern Bauern unterscheiden."[6] Certainly, these problems raised the attention of church authorities, who during the *Vormärz* developed a program meant to reform education and to implement higher academic standards for the entire clergy. The Upper Consistory even considered building a central institution over the gymnasiums, whose target was to prepare students for university. Due to "political, intellectual, moral and economic reasons", the project was rejected.[7] The innovation consisted in the gymnasia reform, carried out during 1823 and 1835. Nonetheless, concerning its implementation, Friedrich Teutsch refers to the lack of unity and uniformity when comparing different institutions.[8] Ultimately, in 1837 an improved norm was released for aspiring ministers. The new school plan aimed at creating a gymnasium which would also serve both for the training of incumbents of the lower positions in the church and for the formation of learned ecclesiastics. Seminary classes had been established since 1788. They functioned in the frame of the gymnasium, and besides normal curricula, students were trained for teaching professions (four hours per week).[9] According to the new school plan, the education of the lower clergy had to be accomplished in the framework of a seminary for schoolteachers (*Schullehrer-Seminarium*). Initially, it was planned as part of the gymnasium, but after the 1834 protocol it was decided that it would be separated from the gymnasium.

4 Georg Daniel Teutsch, *Zur Geschichte der Pfarrerswahlen in der evangelischen Landeskirche in Siebenbürgen*, (Hermannstadt: Drück und Verlag vn Theodor Steinhaußen), 7.

5 Friedrich Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk*, Band III (Hermannstadt: Krafft, 1910), 164.

6 Christian Heyser, *Die Kirchen-Verfassung der A.C. Verwandten in Großfürstertum Siebenbürgen* (Wien: Gedrückt bei Leopold Grund, 1836), 108.

7 Friedrich Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, 164.

8 I.d., 163.

9 Ernest Wagner, *Pfarrer und Lehrer der evangelischen Kirche A.B. in Siebenbürgen*, Band I (Köln; Weimar; Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1998), 11.

According to the school plan, only those who did not pursue the "formation to highest learning" could study at this seminary.[10] Its aim was to train students in pedagogy and rhetoric (science of preaching) for their future profession. Praxis was part of the program as well.[11] The duration of study at the seminary was eventually fixed to four years. Moreover, it was stipulated that no candidate for the position of a village preacher or teacher in *Trivialschulen* should be permitted to leave the gymnasium without having completed his studies. For employment, only the most capable were to be considered (*geschicktern*) in accordance with the consistorial norm.[12] Nevertheless, a seminary completely separated from the gymnasium only began in 1878, and centralization was completed only in 1895/96.[13]

The academic expectations were different concerning the higher positions in the church, such as parish ministers. Thus, the selection of the aspirants for the ministry during the *Vormärz* was accomplished in accordance with the 1803 *Regulation Reskript*, which was reinforced and significantly modified in 1837 with regard to the training requirements. According to the *Reskript*, all candidates had a "rank" which not only constituted a decisive factor in obtaining a ministry, but, in practice, also established the scale of preferences following the importance of the parish. Advantage was given to members of the capital city, ranked first, followed by the academic candidates teaching in a gymnasium or in the service of the town churches, and, lastly, by those academic and non-academic men who taught in "grammar schools." In 1843, one proposed to modify this criterion by situating the first two categories on the same value scale. This was approved through government decision in December of the same year.[14]

The rank of the academic candidates for theology who entered in the service of the gymnasiums was established by the Consistory after graduation from gymnasium, in accordance with the "rigorous consistorial examination." In its course, a proposal of the school board had to be presented, which the Consistory examined *pro danda informatione*, assisted by the rector. On this account, candidates received their respective rank, which would allow them to take up a first position in a town school and a preacher's office. After university attendance, the Domestic Consistory had the right to change the rank in accordance with developments observed during their studies. A new norm of high significance was the stipulation that candidates were to be reviewed for graduation after three years of study completed in Vienna (or two years at another foreign, in this case, German, university).[15] Moreover, the

10 Friedrich Teutsch, *Die siebenbürgisch-sächsische Schulordnungen* II, 287, 288

11 I.d., 270.

12 I.d., 288.

13 Ernest Wagner, *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, 13.

14 "Bei Candidationen soll Rücksicht gennomen werden auf die Capitularen sowohl, als auf die bei den Gymnasien und städtischen Kirchen angestellten Candidaten." *Handbuch*, 179.

15 "[…] so wie nach den von jedem Candidaten nach seiner Rückkehr über den richtig vollendeten dreijährigen Studien- Curs an der Wiener-Fakultät, oder aber den fleißigen zweijährigen Besuch einer auswärtigen Hochschule, vorzulegende Zeugnisse." *Handbuch*, 159.

candidates were examined by the Upper Consistory, but according to the 1818 imperial decree, poor academic candidates were allowed to take the second consistory exam in front of the Domestic Consistory. Another mention of the same norm stated that longer stays at universities for advanced scholarly training must not diminish the rank of candidates when entering office.[16]

With regard to grammar schools, in cases when an academic candidate was competing with a non-academic one "under the same circumstances", the rule was to place academics in an advantageous position. In the districts, with fewer gymnasiums or grammar schools, the candidates had to be selected from the capital city and from adjacent districts. Only "competent candidates" were to be considered. For the best parishes, besides the competent capitulars, one had to promote academic men of merit. By contrast, in minor parishes, in the absence of competent academic candidates, village preachers also could be accepted. Nonetheless, they were expected to have graduated from the seminary for teachers. After graduation they had to pass the *Maturitätsprüfung* for village teachers and only the most talented of them would be taken into consideration. However, the prerequisite for their entrance consisted obviously in competence, office diligence, and good moral record. Students from gymnasiums could be considered for clerical office only if as teachers in lower classes they had obtained the recommendation of their superiors.[17]

These norms were meant to bring about higher academic standards. Nonetheless, due to a specific professional curriculum, the candidates did not study theology alone, but were required to study other disciplines as well, as they were first expected to become teachers, and only later ministers. For this reason, university attendance represented for most of them a training pursuit for a teaching chair, and less for a clerical office. This practice encountered severe difficulties when candidates were no longer allowed to attend German universities.

New Faculty, New Identities

German universities developed a special function as regards the formation of collective identity for Saxon Lutherans in Transylvania after the Reformation. Friedrich Teutsch briefly described them as the "source of the new spirit and new life."[18] Indeed, during the entire modern era, the cultural and spiritual role played by German Protestant universities for generations of Saxon pastors was enormous. Ernst Wagner estimated that out of all Lutheran pastors, during the 16th century alone, 98.9 % of Saxons were registered at a Lutheran gymnasium or a German Protestant university.[19] Moreover, during the 16th and 17th centuries, half of the Transylvanian students stemmed from the five most

16 *Handbuch*, 159.

17 *Handbuch*, 159.

18 Friedrich Teutsch, "Die Sachsen und die deutschen Universitäten", in *Bilder aus der Kulturgeschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, vol. I, (Hermannstadt, 1928), 246.

19 Ernest Wagner, *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, 38. Concerning the later period see also the data published by Miklós Szabó and László Szőgi, *Erdélyi peregrinusok* [Transylvanian peregrini] (Marosvásárhely: Mentor Kiadó, 1998).

important Saxon towns. These quantities should not represent any surprise since the German Lutherans (in comparison with the other Transylvanian ethnic groups) were wealthier, and very often the family of wandering students could support the costs of the studies. Furthermore, they could receive stipends at German universities, and during the 18th and 19th centuries, universities such as Tübingen, Heidelberg, Jena, Halle, and Göttingen offered a "free table arrangement for needy students."[20]

At the beginning, the most often frequented universities were Wittenberg, Königsberg, Thorn, Danzig, and Elbing. Afterwards, during the 18th century, Halle, the center of Pietism, played a fundamental role. Other German universities preferentially attended by Saxon Transylvanians during the 18th century were Wittenberg, Jena, and Tübingen. By the beginning of the 19th century and until 1819, Transylvanian students were also present in high numbers at universities such as Nürnberg, Frankfurt an der Oder, Göttingen, Heidelberg, and Tübingen. Stephan Ludwig Roth, the symbol of the Saxon revolution in Transylvania, also studied at the latter university. In fact, he belonged to the "traditional" Transylvanian Saxon students' generation, formed in a totally different context from the subsequent one, the *Vormärz* generation.

The university formation of the *Vormärz* generation is analyzed here on the basis of the assumption that Lutheranism secured the main cultural and confessional liaison between the Transylvanian Saxons and the German universities. Robert Evans considers that the Lutheran confession contributed further to the sense of distance established between Saxons and Austria.[21] This confirms the statement by the interwar historian Gyula Szekfű, who maintained that the Saxon leading elite detached itself from Hungary and Austria in order to join the German intellectual realm: "L'unique exception fut les Saxons de la Transylvanie. Leurs couches dirigeantes se joignirent aux intellectuels allemands. Ils se sont détachés de l'esprit hongrois et viennois pour rejoindre l'Allemagne."[22] Resorting to Robert Evans' and Gyula Szekfű's statements, I argue that the *Vormärz* generation, despite their studies in Vienna, continued to be of pro-German orientationd. I mainly sustain my thesis on two arguments. First, the Lutheran authorities, although acting moderately, strove to obtain free attendance in German universities. Second, following the permission to attend German universities, the number of students at the faculty of Vienna constantly decreased and some of the students concerned actually succeeded in circumventing the Habsburg capital to study at German universities. It is also noticeable that many students stayed at the Vienna theological faculty (*Lehranstalt*) only a few months or even less.

20 Miklós Szabó and László Szögi, *"Az erdélyiek külföldi egyetemjárása a XVIII. században és a XIX. század első felében"* [The academic peregrination of Transylvanians in the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century] in: *Emlékönyv Jakó Zsigmond születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* [Festschrift for the eightieth anniversary of the birth of Zsigmond Jakó] (Kolozsvár: Az Erdély Múzeum Egyesület, 1996), 472.

21 Robert J. W. Evans, "Religion und Nation in Ungarn 1790–1849", in *Siebenbürgen in der Habsburgermonarchie, von Leopoldinum bis zum Ausgleich,* ed. Ulrich A. Wien and Zsolt Lengyel (Köln; Weimar; Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1999), 13–45, 25.

22 Gyula Szekfű, *État et nation* (Paris, 1945), 295.

Undoubtedly, the assassination of Kotzebue brought about a new course in the formation of the Lutheran clergy in Transylvania. The Viennese policy concerning the total ban of German universities scored a notable success. Between 1819 and 1830, no Saxon man was allowed to pursue his studies at German Protestant universities. Thus the Protestant Theology in Vienna of 1821 remained the only alternative. The high number of theology students in Vienna during its first decade may suggest that the state policy succeeded in dismantling the traditional linkage between German universities and Transylvanian Saxons. Nevertheless, it raises the question to what extent did Saxon theologians comply with the new situation. What was the reaction of both the ecclesiastic authorities and the students? The post-1830 evolution demonstrates that although Vienna represented a favorable training environment for many Saxons, it did not have the same importance as German Protestant universities.

Certainly, the Viennese policy affected to a great extent all Protestants in Transylvania. The Calvinist Consistory manifested in a submission to the Gubernium in 1837 its indignation against the university ban: "Es ist eine Sünde, wen immer in seinem heiligen Streben nach Ausbildung zu hindern."[23] The Lutheran Consistory pointed to the old 17th century approbates concerning study abroad. According to these, free allowance to study abroad was guaranteed by law: "All free commerce […] including studies, service, dwelling, undertaking peregrination are not interdicted […] nevertheless, they ought to show *salvus conductus*."[24] As a consequence of these undertakings, in 1841 the universities of Greisswald, Leipzig, Halle, Göttingen, Erlangen,

Marburg, Frankfurt, Memmingen, as well as the Dutch universities (frequented the most by Hungarian Calvinists) opened up to Protestants for study. In addition, after the request of the Transylvanian Estates in 1842, the University of Tübingen joined the list of open universities in 1844.[25]

Vienna did not actually exert much attraction for Saxon students of theology, but on the contrary, it was rejected. Besides traditional Protestant reservations, a plausible reason for the "ideological rejection" might have been the "quality" or the "prestige" of Viennese theology, which, in turn, also had repercussions on the formation of Saxon theologians. Contemporaries perceived it as an inadequate match to German imperial universities and there was much criticism addressed both to the teaching staff and the educational plan. The poet Tobias Gottfried Schröer, in a letter to Count Széchenyi, expressed his reservations about the teaching staff: "Es seien Männer, die wohl als fleißige Lehrer für Lateinische Schulen in Ungarn paßten, aber einer neu errichteten Anstalt, die die Hochschulen Deutschlands ersetzen sollte, Leben und Schwung zu geben, reichen ihre beschränckten Kräfte nicht zu."[26]

23 Richard Schuller, *Der siebenbürgisch-sächsische Pfarrer. Eine Kulturgeschichte* (Schäßburg, 1930), 40.

24 *Handbuch*, 201.

25 Richard Schuller, *Der siebenbürgisch-sächsische Pfarrer*, 40.

26 Karl Schwarz, "Eine Fakultät für den Südosten"; "Die Evangelisch-theologische Fakultät in Wien und der 'außendeutsche Protestantismus.'" *Südostdeutsches Archiv*, XXXVI–XXXVII, (1993–1994), 84–120, 85, 86.

In fact, due to the specific professional curriculum, the Viennese faculty was perceived as not offering appropriate training for the teachers. Christian Heyser, in his book describing the constitution of the Lutheran Church in Transylvania, acknowledged that the Viennese theological institute formed "brave and competent" people. However, the tendency among students to study in Germany was justified by Heyser through the specific Saxon professional curriculum; Vienna could not prepare them as future gymnasium teachers.[27] This was in fact the main argument of Georg Daniel Teutsch as well.

Thus Teutsch was among those expressing discontent with the Viennese theology. As a student at the Protestant faculty in Vienna, he considered that except for Professor Wenrich (a Saxon stemming from his native town, Schässburg, and a reputed Orientalist) there was nothing proper in that faculty. He believed that the educational plan was not suitable for his future formation as a gymnasium teacher. He manifested his sentiments of regret for being in Vienna quite explicitly, describing his sojourn there as a total waste of time and money:

> *Was unsere Vorlesungen betrifft, so sind dieselben unter aller Kritik und gar nicht geeignet, uns für unseren künftigen Stand, d. h. zu Gymnasialehrer, zu bilden. Hätte ich diesen Stand der Dinge drunten so gewußt, wie ich jetzt weiß, ich wäre nie nach Wien gekommen, da man hier nur Zeit und Geld verschwendet. [...] Wenn ich zurück denke auf die unausprechliche Armseligkeit unserer Anstalt, wenn ich erwäge, daß ich die schönsten Jahre meines Lebens fast nutzlos zubringen soll, da dünkt mir kein Opfer zu groß, da bin ich fest entschlossen, Wien zu verlassen.*[28]

In contrast to Vienna, when Georg Daniel Teutsch later arrived in Berlin, he labeled it as the "*Musenstadt*", a target of his "hopes and wishes."[29] Undoubtedly, if we consider only his particular case, and by comparing the academic facilities of the two universities, differences in the "educational curriculum" are likely the main reason for the rejection of the Viennese study track. In Vienna, the staff was recruited mainly among Lutherans and a few Calvinists of the Habsburg or German lands, but almost all had previously studied at German universities. Most of the professors had accomplished past services as gymnasium teachers or ministers. The admission requirement for the students was the *Maturitätsprüfung* certificate. The duration of studies was fixed to three years. Students were obliged to attend theology classes, but there was a certain freedom concerning the attendance of other disciplines from other faculties as well, especially philosophy. Nevertheless, state control was much extended and therefore the courses were placed under strict surveillance. By contrast to Vienna, the University of Berlin could boast of prestigious

27 Christian Heyser, *Die Kirchen-Verfassung*, 105.

28 Friedrich Teutsch, *Georg Daniel Teutsch, Geschichte seines Lebens* (Hermannstadt: Druck und Verlag vom W. Krafft, 1909), 15–17.

29 I.d., 19.

professors. Georg Daniel Teutsch had the opportunity to study with reputed scholars such as Leopold von Ranke (history) and Carl Ritter (Geography of ancient Greece). Students could, indeed, cross the borders of the theology faculty to study history and philosophy as well. Thus in Berlin, Georg Daniel Teutsch also attended the philosophy lectures of Benecke and the Old German Mythology course taught by Hagen.[30]

The numbers concerning university (theology) attendance during the selected time frame suggests to us that Teutsch's attitude towards Vienna was not unique, but rather very common among contemporary Saxon theologians. Statistics on the attendance of the Protestant Theologies between 1830 and 1848 position Berlin, on average, as the top university, followed by Vienna. Nevertheless, it may be noticed that the number of students who attended the University of Vienna gradually decreased between 1821 and 1848. Of the three distinct stages I have mentioned, the first (1821–1830) was the one when the newly established faculty still recorded a high number of Transylvanian students. This period marked the emergence of the Viennese generation. In early 1821, there were twelve Transylvanians already enrolled in Vienna and by September an additional nine. Together with these, until 1829 inclusively, approximately one hundred Transylvanians studied in Vienna.[31] The number is not surprising considering that during this decade they were only allowed to study theology there. However, this number, as compared to the subsequent stages, clearly shows that this group of theologians accepted Vienna as a solution.

For the second *Vormärz* stage (1830–1840) I used the same two lists of students from the University of Vienna, mentioned in the case of the first stage. For the other German universities, and particularly Berlin, I used only the data published by Miklós Szabó and László Szögi. This period featured new characteristics: conditionally and not without difficulties, the Saxons were given the opportunity to go and study in Berlin. The ease with which they could accomplish this was pointed out by Georg Daniel Teutsch, who had obtained the permission to attend Berlin in 1838 but only after an audience with Chancellor Metternich.[32] Nonetheless, the data presented by Miklós Szabó and László Szögi suggests that in addition to Vienna and Berlin, other imperial universities were also attended, perhaps illegally, such as Halle, Jena, and Tübingen. Thus, at the University of Halle, two students from Kronstadt/Braşov/Brassó were registered in 1830 after having previously studied at Vienna. In Jena and Tübingen there were also two (Saxon) Transylvanians at each respectively. The explanation may consist in the fact that they were allowed to go to Germany, most probably to Berlin, and subsequently they decided to change their initial destination, occasionally even against the law. However, considering the circumstances, the attendance at the Vienna

30 Friedrich Teutsch, *Georg Daniel Teutsch*, 21.

31 The numbers have been approximately established according to the data presented by Michael Taufrath and I verified it with the one furnished by Miklós Szabó and László Szögi. A few theologians were Hungarian Calvinists and they were included in the statistics carried out by me.

32 Richard Schuller, *Der siebenbürgisch-sächsische Pfarrer*, 38.

University remained still fairly high. 69 Transylvanias were registered between 1830 and 1839 in Vienna. This signifies that the future Lutheran clergy, acting during the 1848 Revolution, was to a large extent the product of the newly established Protestant faculty. Nevertheless, the competition of Berlin began to have an impact on the attendance of Vienna University. Later on, it exceeded attendance at Vienna. Between 1830 and 1839 there were 73 Transylvanias enrolled at the University of Berlin. If we take into account how many of them went directly to Berlin, thus eluding Vienna, we find surprisingly that only 17 of them had previously attended the University of Vienna. On average, they studied one year in Vienna, and then moved to Berlin. Considering this, I believe that despite the lower travel and study costs in Vienna, Berlin University was more attractive for Transylvanian Saxons. Furthermore, this assumption is ascertained by the following phase, when due to the openness towards other German universities, the number of students in Vienna showed a sudden and sharp decrease. In this new context, traditional universities became again the main formation network for future generations of Saxon theologians. This was a sign that the Metternich' policy began to decline.

The third *Vormärz* stage featured the recovery of traditional trends of theological training, entailing simultaneously the collapse of the Vienna connection. Thus, between 1840 and 1848, only 24 Transylvanians studied Protestant theology in Vienna. Furthermore, in a few cases, the students even transfered to another German university within a matter of months. As compared to the previous stage, the normal amount of difference may be noticed between Vienna and Berlin, the latter representing the main place of learning for the academic vanguard of Transylvanian Saxon theologians. There were 53 Transylvanian students registered at Berlin University in the years 1840 to 1848. The German university ranked second was Leipzig, where 46 Transylvanian students were enrolled between 1840 and 1848. Halle was another traditionally frequented university for Saxons during this period, with 26 Transylvanians. Despite the permission, universities such as Giessen, Göttingen, and Tübingen were much less attended. These numbers have a great significance. They clearly prove the importance of university attendance for Saxons during the Reform Era. Moreover, they manifest the persistent pro-German orientation of training.

Concerning the duration of studies, Michael Taufrath supplies no data on this issue because the students are mentioned only with the registration year. This can be found out only in the data collection by Szögi and Szabó who mention in many cases the period of studies or the date of return from the university concerned. Undoubtedly after the implementation of the new consistory norm (1837), most of the Saxon theologians complied with the office requirements, so that the average period of studies was indeed two years. This was the case for the majority of Saxon theology students registered at Berlin University during the post-1837 period, and it was rather exceptional when the period of studies began to last even longer. Often, students combined studies at various universities. Thus, among those who spent only one year in Berlin, one can find several ones who had previously studied in Vienna, Leipzig, or Halle. Concerning other German universities, the situation was similar to Berlin. For instance, at Halle, the majority of the students stayed for

only one year, but they had previously studied at another university, or would do so subsequently. The situation was similar in Leipzig where the majority of the students went on to Berlin.

The duration of studies can serve as an indication of how well trained the theologians were. The biographies of the *Vormärz* generation are quite conclusive in this sense. They establish to what extent we can label them as clerical elite, and more importantly, the proportion of academically trained ministers at the local level. Thus, out of all theology students during the selected time frame (including Hungarian Calvinists), over 60% became pastors, whereas many others remained in church service as teachers and preachers. The transitional period between the return from the university and employment in a parish office varied from individual to individual, but it could last even several decades. According to the statistics presented by Ernst Wagner, in 1865, out of all the ministers, 82% had academic training while 17% were only *Seminaristen*.[33] However, during the following period, the number of seminary trained ministers increased.

If we consider a particular case, such as the district of Bistritz, we may have a clear picture of the conditions of the academic formation of the clergy and, more specifically, on the changes ensuing after the introduction of the new norm. For this, I used the list of local ministers published by Gustav Arz in the *Siebenbürgische Familienforschung*[34] and completed it with the above-mentioned data on students abroad. Bistritz, similarly to the other large Saxon towns in Transylvania, represented the top choice for outstanding intellectuals having accomplished university studies and occupying important positions within the local school and church organization. If we consider every single parish, it is noticeable that only a few names do not appear on the lists of students abroad. For my report, I considered all ministers active during the post-1837 period. It is important to mention that out of all theology students during the *Vormärz*, only about 10% came from this region. Nonetheless, the parishes occupied by academic ministers appear to have amounted to over 80% in the whole district. Concerning the universities, which they attended, naturally after 1830, out of 21 students stemming from this district, 8 studied in Vienna and the other pastors at German universities.

Final Remarks

The *Vormärz* generation represented an intellectual elite. The legislation concerning entrance requirements to clerical office favored academic aspirants in their competition with the other non-academic candidates. Furthermore, for "good parishes", where the pastors were to a significant extent recruited from gymnasium teachers and town preachers, a certain period of university attendance was required, such as three years in Vienna or two years at another foreign (German) university. On average, students complied with the newly established norms. Thus, the ecclesiastical authorities succeeded in

33 Ernest Wagner, *Pfarrer und Lehrer*,14.

34 Gustav Arz, "Series Pastorum", *Siebenbürgische Familienforschung* 7, no. 2 (1990), and 12, no.2 (1995),

establishing an efficient system, which provided better training to the clergy and a higher educational profile.

The norms had to be fulfilled during a period of restrictions and censorship, when studies abroad became severely limited and controlled. The geopolitical circumstances favored the foundation of a new faculty of theology in Vienna, controlled by the imperial authorities. Despite its enormous significance for the formation of many Transylvanian Saxons, this faculty represented only a necessary compromise. This was illustrated by decreased attendance after 1830. In competition with Berlin and other German universities, in spite of restrictions, the University of Vienna lost a great part of its Saxon students. This course may be explained by the ideological rejection of Vienna, but possibly also by the higher prestige and educational quality of German universities. After 1840 this discrepancy became even more apparent. Saxon theologians reoriented themselves again towards the German Protestant world.

The policy of Vienna eventually failed to dismantle the traditional lineage between Transylvanian Saxons and Germany. Nevertheless, it determined the emergence of a new generation, characterized by both Viennese and German influence. This represented the *Vormärz* generation of Saxon-Lutheran theologians and was a group of students having undergone a process of significant cultural transformation and upgrading.

Zoltán Pálfy

Ethnoconfessional Patterns of the Choice of Study Paths among Transylvanian Students of Law and Medicine (1900–1919)

Introductory Remarks

This is an assessment of the ethnoconfessional composition of the Transylvanian student body and university graduates in the first two decades of the twentieth century. More specifically, the comparison follows two lines. One is along the alternative offered for diploma pursuers in terms of the choice of the location of study: the smaller, less famous, but closer Transylvanian university in Kolozsvár/Cluj, and the much more sizeable Budapest University. This second option was more attractive in terms of the prestige of the qualifications it offered, but also presenting the would-be Transylvanian learned elite with extra hardships reflected in expenses and geographical distance (hardships nevertheless compensated by a cosmopolitan background that diminished parochial antagonisms, ethnic or other). The other line of this comparison is on the ethnically based student contingents in the Law and Medical Faculties of the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj, more precisely on differences between Western Christian majority Hungarians, Eastern Christian minority Romanians, with Jews and Germans as a third paradigm functioning as a control element in terms of minority contingents in this case. To be sure, such a comparison implies social dimensions as well, either in the sense of intra-group differentials following social variables, or that of determinant social criteria associated with certain ethnic groups within Transylvanian student generations in the targeted twenty years. Finally, a proper presentation of this student contingent would bear but restricted meanings without a sketch of the larger academic market conditions typical for the period under scrutiny.

Under the circumstances of a relatively belated modernization, higher studies were generally thought of as not simply a path of upward social mobility, but of a means of integration into the ruling Magyar elite. Associating social elevation to ethnic assimilation in this sense led to a prolonged controversy which is not only characteristic for the later Dualist period, but leaves its biasing marks on many later nation-state based perspectives regarding the liberalism of the higher educational assets of the Monarchy. While it is the largely Transylvanian-based Magyar-Romanian antagonism that this paper focuses on, the intention behind presenting abundant statistical data is to reveal the relative gains and losses of various ethnic groups participating in higher learning. Beyond the amount of figures, it is the above-mentioned combination of factors and variables that prevail over sheer ethnic belonging.

This should ultimately redirect the edgy debate on minority and majority issues towards a more complex sociohistorical approach of students and professional clusters in Transylvania at the beginning of the 20th century. Official or perceived Hungarian formulations on ethnic assimilation had different meanings for each minority, depending on their self-perception and socio-political perspectives. Resorting to statistical data on the topic aims at the partial deconstruction of the age-old Hungarian-Romanian antagonism witnessed in higher educational affairs by referring it to not properly ethnic components and to the often contrasting behavior of the local German and Jewish brackets within the academic market.

1. Approximating the Ethnic Dimension

No statistical source of the period in focus refers directly to ethnic background proper.[1] At best, there is data on the native tongue and everyday language use of students. This data may nevertheless bear a manipulative edge in the sense that such evidence tended to conceal rather than reveal ethnic belonging in a number of borderline cases (notably for bilingual students), owing to the official expectation of the assimilation of non-Magyar clusters ('minorities' or 'nationalities' in contemporary political discourse). Nevertheless, the mixed ethnic composition of the elite groups concerned can well be read from widely available confessional data. Indeed, confessional identities fall almost always in line with ethnic divisions, hence their relevance for the definition of students' ethnic background in any source of statistics which would not otherwise be primarily illustrative on the issue of nationality. Notwithstanding exceptions which bear little statistical relevance, we can take it for granted that in Transylvania the various Christian faiths cover for all practical purposes equally ethnic groups. Virtually all Calvinists and Unitarians of Transylvania were ethnic Magyars. Roman Catholics were also primarily Magyar, with the exception of 10% who were German (Swabian). Most of the Greek Orthodox were Romanians, with a minor share of Serbians among them (more precisely those coming from the Banat). The Greek Catholic group may be assumed to have consisted virtually in its entirety of Romanians. The Jews were clearly marked by their confessional membership; all having 'Mosaic' as their confession are of Jewish origin, although many bore Magyarized names and others German-sounding surnames. The few that figure in the "without confession" category are also of this latter background. (Jews as such were technically missing from ethnic categories proper applied during the period of Liberal assimilationist politics of the Dual Monarchy, so much so that Jews

1 To point out the general tendencies regarding recruitment patterns according to ethnic background, a combination of data referring to nationality (mother tongue) and religion seems the handiest. Usually statistics produced in the Dual Monarchy did not have a 'nationality' category, but the two others mentioned above. Ethnic belonging nevertheless can be deduced from the combination of these two markers. This is especially so in the case of the Romanians, since the two religions considered to be 'Romanian' had only an insignificant percentage of non-Romanian by ethnic affiliation whose birthplace fall within the region targeted by the present scrutiny, that is, Transylvania.

with Magyar-sounding names or Magyar mother tongue would be officially classified among Hungarians).

If we take into account the ethnic distribution of urban populations[2] in the ten largest cities in Transylvania, it is clear that the Romanian segment was far less urbanized than all others. Kolozsvár/Cluj for instance had 60,808 inhabitants in 1910[3], out of which 50,704 were Hungarians, 1,676 Germans, and only 7,562 Romanians. To make the point on this indicator of inequalities regarding modernization even more clear, one can resort to data of the 1910 census: Transylvania's 794,864 Greek Orthodox together with virtually all the 749,404 Greek Catholics appear to make up the totality of the Romanian population, while the Calvinists (399,312), Catholics (375,325), and Unitarians (67,749) roughly fall together with the figure for the ethnic Hungarian population. The 229,028 Lutherans would make up for most of the Germans. There were 64,074 identified as Jews by religion, who can be divided between the Orthodox – listed among Germans as Yiddish speakers – and the Neolog, 'conservative' or 'Congress' Jews who were to be found among Hungarians (as well as those who, not quite infrequently, had converted to a Christian faith, that is, more likely to Protestantism).[4]

2. The Ethnic Stance in the Transylvanian Academe, with Special Regard to Romanians

Founded in 1872, the Royal Franz Joseph University of Kolozsvár/Cluj soon became Hungary's second largest institution of higher learning after the University of Budapest (and much ahead of the set of Legal Academies and other vocational colleges). Beyond the underlying strife for modernization, the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj was designed as a markedly Hungarian institution,

2 Interpreted as an index of modernization, there was a general increase in the number of town dwellers (82,063, 3.4% in 1880 and 133,759 in Transylvanian towns, that is, 4.5% of all Romanians). Between 1900 and 1910, there was thus an increase of slightly more than 13%. In other words, Romanians still formed only a relatively tiny minority of the urban population). In the 1900–1910 period, a little over 85% of Transylvania's Romanian population still lived in the countryside and depended mainly on agriculture (over two thirds of these being smallholders). At the same time, there was a falling death rate which largely accounts for the growth of the Romanian population, although this paralleled by a natural increase was somewhat lower than the Magyar one in the same period (that is, in 1896–1914, 8% compared to the 12.3% of the average in the Magyar population). Meanwhile, the Transylvanian Romanians were not much touched by the booming economy and the emergence of a relatively powerful (but altogether Hungarian) middle class. Their historically entrenched hatred or suspicion of the alien feudal landlord now could turn against the equally alien urban bourgeoisie, literate, civilized, and once again at a distance from 'Balkanic standards.' Keith Hitchins, *A Nation Affirmed: The Romanian National Movement in Transylvania, 1860–1914* (Bucharest: The Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1999), 112; Endre Haraszti, *The Ethnic History of Transylvania* (Astor Park, Florida: Danubian Press Inc., 1971), 104–105.

3 Contrary to expectations, if we consider the relatively weak regional center effect produced by Kolozsvár/Cluj in the period, those coming from Kolozsvár/Cluj, or the immediate vicinity of the town are roughly overrepresented among medical students. Viktor Karády, *A kolozsvári egyetem orvostanhallgatói, 1872–1918* (Manuscript) [The student body of the Kolozsvár medical school, 1872–1918 (Manuscript)], 23.

4 Data cited by Haraszti, *The Ethnic History,* 126.

presenting the local ethnic minorities with the chance of upward social mobility but at the price of a virtual change in cultural and national loyalties in favor of Magyar. Romanians were one of the nationalities of the Dual Monarchy that most successfully avoided 'Magyarization' – the assimilationist drive that official circles keenly pursued in the last decades of the 19th century. This Magyarization had been contested by the Transylvanian Romanian elite long before the chance for reshaping the balance of political forces would emerge.

It is characteristic of the prewar Hungarian Liberal era that upward social mobility paths went very often together or in parallel with cultural assimilation for members of ethnic minorities. In sketching the general context, there are two groups that should be distinctively mentioned at this early point. First, there is a sharp contrast in the share of students of Jewish background (characteristically overrepresented throughout the period) and that of the students of Orthodox and Greek Catholic confession (no less typically underrepresented) reaching a mere 4.2% in the total of the student body of the period. Both extremes are due to a large extent to the prevalent differences of the socio-professional structure and the level of urbanization of these ethno-confessional groups. Second, both of these minority clusters should be viewed in contrast to the majority Magyar student contingent – a group that is nevertheless far form being homogenous in itself in terms of career path choices and use of different educational qualifications for upward mobility.[5]

As for the main Transylvanian minority contingent (in demographic terms), the Romanians (basically all of the Greek denominations), there were no institutions of higher learning in their own language available on Hungarian territory apart from theological seminaries.[6] Romanian students would thus enroll either at the Hungarian universities in Kolozsvár/Cluj and Budapest, or at German language universities in Vienna, or even elsewhere in Western Europe. As the first decades of the new century were marked by a strengthening of national sentiments among ethnic minorities of the Monarchy in the face of the 'doom of assimilation,' as well as escalating irredentism and nationalist resentments, it was no wonder that the issue of a separate Romanian university in Transylvania came up again in 1913–14, during the Tisza reconciliatory

5 Andor Ladányi, *A magyar felsőoktatás a 20. században* [Hungarian higher education in the 20th century] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1999), 16.

6 A total of six Romanian theological institutes functioned in prewar Hungary, three Orthodox (Szeben/Sibiu, Arad/Arad, and Karánsebes/Caransebeş), and three Greek Catholic (Balázsfalva/Blaj, Nagyvárad/Oradea, and Szamosújvár/Gherla). These institutes enjoyed considerable freedom, the Hungarian state generally refraining from interference with their internal affairs, except for the introduction of Hungarian as a subject of study, an academic task nevertheless seldom taken seriously at the Romanian theological academies. (Meanwhile, with all the ardent Romanian national spirit these institutions diffused, the salaries of the Romanian professors of theology were paid out of the state treasury, and there were four stipends per year granted to exceptional students.) Sándor Bíró, *The Nationalities Problem in Transylvania, 1867–1940. A Social History of the Romanian Minority under Hungarian Rule, 1867–1918, and of the Hungarian Minority under Romanian Rule, 1918–1940* (Boulder, Colorado: Atlantic Research and Publications, 1992), 171, 271.

attempts.[7] Moreover, it was made the chief topical claim by some Romanian leaders (some, like Onisifor Ghibu, made it the prime demand). It may be said that the great majority of the Romanian intelligentsia of the Dualist period was formed in extraterritorial institutions of higher learning.[8] The negotiations, doomed to failure between István Tisza and the Romanian National Party, were not unique; quite to the contrary, they were symptomatic of the general irreconcilability between the 'master nations' of the Empire and the 'mastered' ones striving for a measure of national self-determination.[9] Also, there was a similar antagonism, that of centralism versus federalism, as well as the idea that the minority problem was no longer a matter of ordinary political give-and-take, but one of national survival proper.

Beyond the underlying strife for modernization, manifesting itself during the decades around the turn of the century, universities were conceived of as markedly Magyar institutions. This drive toward Magyarization elicited protests for several reasons. With a relatively weak middle class, the Romanian ethnic group was most acutely lacking an educated elite, selected from within its ranks. In the long run, such an elite could have been an agent of modernization and integration. Meager as it was, this perspective seems to have been nevertheless rejected by many Romanians, since, in their view, integration in the above-mentioned sense would have equaled a 'disintegration' of sorts of their ethnic community.[10] Instead, they argued for a separate institution of higher learning of their own, as stated. Beyond the strife for cultural emancipation, it was the majority share of ethnic Romanians in the population of Transylvania that appeared to vie for the entitlement to a separate university, something that the Hungarian authorities would not afford them.

7 Prime Minister István Tisza's reconciliatory attempts during 1913–1914 aimed at the reversal of the trend of alienation of Romanians and a better integration of Romanian ethnic elites into the structure of Hungarian society. Nevertheless Tisza was reluctant to discuss social matters with a party constituted on national basis. By this time, anyhow, the reconciliatory moves were viewed as belated and ineffective by Romanian leaders who already had national self-determination in mind when they argued for federalism. As the latest development, the idea of secession in favor of a Greater Romania also emerged, paralleled by further estrangement of the Romanian National Party from the government and from Hungarian society in general. Hence an agreement seemed less and less feasible right before the breakout of the Great War. Hitchins, *A Nation Affirmed*, 366.

8 Cornel Sigmirean, "The Cluj University, 1872–1918", in *University and Society: A History of Higher Education in Cluj in the 20th Century*, ed. Vasile Puşcaş (Cluj-Napoca: Cluj University Press, 1999), 36–37.

9 Hitchins, *A Nation Affirmed*, 399–400.

10 Such leaders were aware of the peculiar position that the Romanian community of Transylvania by the turn of the 20th century had: it was its isolation that made it stable and immune to assimilation. The implied political logic foreshadowed claims of territorial supremacy, issues soon to carry the day on the political agenda in the context of weakening imperial ties. It is in this sense that Hungarian state-engineered nationalization in educational matters proved counter-productive: albeit indirectly, it did but foster the movement for national emancipation with its secessionist edge sharpening over time. There was yet another side to the above mentioned logic: Lay or ecclesiastical, cultural or political, the majority of Transylvania's Romanian leaders realized that maintaining their positions would be possible only by closing ranks in front of the challenges of integration into a 'Magyarizing' society.

It was clear from the beginning that Romanians, once they chose lay life paths,[11] manifested a predilection for the free professions. This 'inclination' was obviously heavily determined by the difficulties graduates faced when applying for civil service positions controlled by the Hungarian authorities. The law and medical faculty were hence their first choices. There was no hindrance for them, in principle, as ethnic Romanians, to pursue other careers, but as doctors and lawyers they could more closely cooperate with their co-nationals in aiding them not only in cultural, financial, and social matters, but at times as agents of political mobilization as well. Unlike the obviously Romanian-minded Orthodox and, to a lesser extent, Uniate (Greek Catholic) priesthood, those seeking a career in the free professions were often viewed as likely to assimilate both by their co-nationals and Hungarian observers, while the overcrowded civil service sector – more or less monopolized by Magyar incumbents – hardly offered ethnic minority candidates (especially Jews and Romanians) any profitable perspectives.[12] At the same time, the huge size of the state sector in the middle class job market left little place for private employment; a fragment of the market which benefited from a comparatively small rank-and-file demand, due to its lesser social prestige and enhanced work load – a misbalance so characteristic to Eastern Europe in general.

3. Enrollment Patterns by Native Tongue. The Larger Context Revisited.

Overall, the overwhelming majority of the students had Hungarian as their declared native tongue.[13] In the period between 1900 and 1914, their share even

11 During the last decade of the 19th century, every second (48% in average!) Romanian secondary school graduates of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) confession chose priesthood as the target of his higher education track. Half of the average (5% as compared to the 10% in the case of other confessions) chose medicine. In the first decade of the 20th century, the pattern is still almost unchanged: 43.4% of the students graduating from the Uniate secondary schools intending to pursue further studies chose priesthood (in contrast with the average of 15.1% registered among those of other Christian confessions). In the same period, roughly every tenth graduate of Orthodox confession chose to be a medical doctor, and another tenth to be a priest. Karády: *A kolozsvári egyetem orvostanhallgatói,* 37.

12 Gyula Bisztray, Attila Szabó T., and Lajos Tamás, eds., *Erdély magyar egyeteme: Az erdélyi egyetemi gondolat és a M. Kir. Ferencz József Tudományegyetem története* [The Hungarian university of Transylvania: The Transylvanian university idea and the history of the Royal Hungarian Franz Joseph University] (Cluj-Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1941), 298.

13 "Within the new elite, there was a segment mostly made up of foreign elements and taking a large part in social and economic modernization with its acquired assets (industrial and commercial capital, educational qualifications), a segment then of non-Magyar origin lacking the 'historic' symbolic value-system of the gentry, a segment that sought the most of cultural assimilation in order to gain full admittance in the historic middle class; that is to say, nationalist education was carried out on the lower levels with the aim of strengthening the Magyar element demographically and with a considerable result in building up a sizable school system and in eradicating illiteracy, but 'Magyarization' seems to have had a responsive target on the upper level – higher education was a major path not only of upward social mobility but in the foreign ethnic elements' acceptance into the dominant nation, one of the chief social functions of

grew from 84.9% to 88.9%. The low share of nationalities[14] involved in higher education (that is, contrasted to their 48.6% among the total population in 1900 and 45.5% in 1910, as measured formally in the censuses) was partly due to the social structure of these ethnic groups, especially those of Eastern Christian faiths (most of whom were ethnic Romanians – as observed above – and a massive part of the population of Transylvania). The traditional setup, the bulk of which was composed of the peasantry, had a very thin layered urban middle class, and, consequently, a comparatively low average cultural level. The latter materialized, among other things, in a very limited propensity towards vertical social mobility through education. The control and, in part, suppression of ethno-national political movements could have also contributed to the alienation of many would-be minority intellectuals, who could nevertheless opt for studies abroad. When interpreting ethnic data based on declared mother tongue, one should also take into account many cases of active bilingualism, allowing for those concerned to qualify themselves as Magyar speakers, as well as the prevailing pressure for Magyarization, pushing many minority students of Hungarian secondary education to declare themselves as Magyars, even if their first language happened to be Romanian, Serbian, or Slovak. Interestingly enough for the minorities, Jews, and to a somewhat lesser extent, Germans managed to make the most of the chances of social elevation and middle-class type career options attainable via educational qualifications.[15]

Table 1. Distribution by religion and native tongue of all students enrolled in institutions of higher learning in Hungary, 1912–1913[16]

Confession	Absolute Numbers	%	1912–1913	Native Tongue	Absolute Numbers	%
Roman Catholic	7,619	44.5		Hungarian	13,897	81.2
Greek Catholic	792	4.6		Romanian	950	5.6
Orthodox	1,006	5.9		Serb	445	2.6
Evangelical	1,284	7.5		German	592	3.5
Calvinist	2,454	14.3		Croat	924	5.4
Unitarian	169	1.0		Ruthenian	4	0.02
Mosaic	3,747	21.9		Slovak	184	1.1
Other	41	0.2		Other	116	0.7
TOTAL	17,112	100.0		TOTAL	17,112	100.0

universities in the Liberal era." Viktor Karády, "Assimilation and schooling: National and denominational minorities in the universities of Budapest around 1900", in *Hungary and European Civilization,* ed. György Ránki and A. Pók (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 285–286.

14 As it has been pointed out elsewhere, in the Dualist period, there was no Hungarian legal terminology for what we call nationality today, so the term should be used only as a working hypothesis.

15 Ladányi, *A magyar felsőoktatás*, 16.

16 Based on Cornel Sigmirean, *Istoria formării intelectualităţii româneşti din Transilvania şi Banat în epoca modernă* [The history of the formation of the Romanian intelligentsia from Transylvania and the Banat in the modern era] (Cluj: Presa Universitară Clujeană: 2000), 147–148.

Table 2. Distribution of students involved in higher learning by ethnic background and the percentage of ethnic groups in the overall population of the Dual Monarchy, 1910[17]

Nationality %	**Share in the Population**	**Type of Institution**				***Total %***
		University	**Theology**	**Polytechnics**	**Other**	
Germans	23.6	30.0	20.0	38.2	26.8	***30.7***
Czechs and Slovaks	16.5	11.8	14.7	27.3	9.8	***14.9***
Poles	9.8	17.7	6.6	13.8	9.0	***15.2***
Ruthenes	7.9	4.0	2.8	0.6	0.9	***2.9***
Slovenes	2.5	1.4	4.0	0.8	1.5	***1.5***
Croats and Serbs	11.1	5.5	6.9	2.4	3.2	***4.8***
Hungarians	19.8	22.5	32.1	12.2	44.8	***23.4***
Romanians	6.3	2.0	8.7	0.3	1.6	***2.1***
Others	2.5	5.1	4.2	4.4	2.4	***4.5***
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	***100.0***
Of which Jewish	4.4	20.4	0.4	17.1	24.5	***17.3***

The data above is illustrative not only for a characteristically uneven overall distribution of students but also gives a hint to the general tendencies regarding predilections for large study tracks in the case of each ethno-cultural (confessional) contingent for the whole Habsburg Monarchy.

4. Features of Enrollment by Specialization, Focusing on Legal and Medical Studies

Disregarding the average student numbers per population units (according to which Romanians were quite underrepresented at the Kolozsvár/Cluj faculties, even in law and medicine), there was still a considerable number of ethnic Romanians among students pursuing legal and medical studies, their figures showing a slow but steady growth that went parallel with the increase of the general enrollment figure. There was a sizable group of Romanian intellectuals trained at the Hungarian University of Kolozsvár/Cluj in the prewar period: altogether, 646 Romanians obtained doctoral degrees there, of which 519 studied law and state science (from *Staatswissenschaft*, a forerunner of the discipline of political science today). Such degrees, obtainable after 8 semesters of study, were roughly equivalent to a licentiate of our time. They were relatively easy to obtain in Kolozsvár/Cluj as compared to Budapest. Romanians were granted only 99 doctorates in Medicine, 10 at the Faculty of Philosophy, and 8 in Mathematics and the Natural Sciences at the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj.[18]

17 Ibid., 175.

18 Bisztray, Szabó, and Tamás, eds., *Erdély magyar egyeteme*, 299; Sigmirean, "The Cluj University", 47.

In general, the available data regarding the social extraction of the student population is somewhat approximate, since the different statistics produced in the period do not always make possible an exact delimitation of the most relevant social and occupational categories from which the would-be intelligentsia was actually emanating. (As a matter of fact, such categories are always constructions, just as are all social clusters.) On the average, around 70% of the students are shown to have had a 'middle-class' background. Within this category, 17.1% had fathers listed as army officers and public servants, 20.5% came from families belonging to the educated middle class, 12.7% whose background was listed as private employee, and 19.4% belonged to families whose income derived from retail trade and small-scale industry. The share of the wealthy classes was of about 10%, that of those with peasant background was also 10% (but, among the latter, almost every second student chose theology), and the lowest share (6%) belonged to industrial and agricultural workers.[19] This is a rather classic pattern marked by the social reproduction of the ruling strata and educational mobility of some lower middle-class clusters (typical of Jews, among others). The pattern can be well illustrated in the recruitment of the medical faculty of the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj.

The 'dominant (Western) Christian' paradigm (Roman Catholic and Protestant) in the student recruitment of the turn of the century Transylvanian medical faculty (but in Budapest as well, at least as far as Transylvanian medical students were concerned) was, in a general sense, also of the self-reproducing type (in terms of combined categories of class and occupation), while in a more specific sense it served the horizontal mobility – that is, within the educated middle class - of those coming from the same class or from the economically independent brackets. A second type, that of the Jews, was closest to the average 'bourgeois' mobility pattern: the absolute majority of Jewish medical students came from the 'independent' strata, almost half of their parents (45%) were retail merchants, 14% were entrepreneurs and business owners, 11% were of lower-rank intellectual extraction while the parents of 8% were private employees. In the same period one observes the very low representation quotas of craftsmen (4%) and clerical staff (rabbis, teachers - 5%). Here too, upward mobility patterns were characteristic as against the horizontal mobility leading to middle class self-reproduction, the latter being typical of the student body with 'dominant Christian' background.[20]

The recruitment of students coming from the ethnic Romanian group is almost diametrically opposed to the above mentioned one[21]: in the case of both

19 Ladányi, *A magyar felsőoktatás*, 15.

20 Karády, *A kolozsvári egyetem orvostanhallgatói*, 36–37.

21 There is a sharp contrast between the Jews and the Romanians in terms of academic performance and age of graduation as well. While the first as a group attained the earliest average age of graduation (which is a significant indication of excellency in studies), with two-thirds attaining the Matura at the 'normal' age (18 years) or as even younger, the Romanians, especially those of the Orthodox faith displayed the highest average age of graduation, only about one quarter of them attaining the Matura at the normal age. The same contrast holds true for the marks obtained by these groups

'Romanian' confessions, a considerable part of the parents belonged to the priesthood (34% in the case of the Greek Catholics and 24% in the case of the Orthodox faith) and to the small intellectual class, that is, primary school teachers (slightly above 10%). This means that from one third to one half of the medical students had such 'petty intellectual' family backgrounds. As an apparent paradox, the peasantry had a massive representation among ethnic Romanians. Almost one third of the Orthodox students (31%) and a sixth of the Uniates (17%) originated from the peasantry. Paralleling this ethnically based pattern of recruitment, one can remark on the striking lack of representation of the Romanian petty bourgeoisie (3-4%), especially if we take into consideration the average share of around 13% among the students of the same social category in the other denominational groups. Altogether, the Uniate and Orthodox contingent offers an example of upward, vertical mobility via studies introducing them to one of the major sectors of the free professions. Of course, the educated middle class itself was relatively weak among Transylvanian Romanians, hence the extremely low figures[22] of those coming from this background. Romanians in general and, as it was demonstrated above, the Orthodox in particular, were massively underrepresented in the medical faculty, and in higher learning as such.[23]

Among medical students of the dominant Magyar ethnic group, the presence of the 'educated middle classes' was continuously important (up to 62% in the early years of the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj, reaching 69.4% by the turn of the century), that is, the self-reproduction effect clearly prevailed in this case to the detriment of a 'bourgeois' recruitment. The Romanians obviously displayed a different pattern, a majority being drawn from among rank and file petty intellectuals and the peasantry, with a slight 'embourgeoisement' of their student body emerging on the whole as time passed. In the meantime the Jewish pattern remained unchanged, dominated by bourgeois elements, with a growth of five times registered by students with parents belonging to the private employee category. It may be assumed that similar trends of social extraction in ethnically based recruitment patterns applied by and large to other branches of study as well at the Kolozsvár/Cluj University, and they continued up to the 1910s.[24]

Thus, at the beginning, those of ethnic Hungarian background strongly dominated the student body of the medical faculty in Kolozsvár/Cluj, but their positions subsequently weakened. By the turn of the century and after there was indeed a marked strengthening of ethnic minority representation, especially by Jewish, Romanian, and German students,[25] evidently to the

(another index of excellency in studies): Jews and Lutheran students had the highest average in marks at the Matura, the Romanians being at the bottom of the list in this regard. Ibid., 31.

22 To make things more complicated, they were generally less willingly following paths of embourgeoisement, since they felt it was a move away from their ethnic self.

23 Karády: *A kolozsvári egyetem orvostanhallgatói*, 36–37.

24 Ibid., 39.

25 While the determination of the Romanian background is relatively simple, that of the 'German' origin is blurred by the fact that there is always a larger or smaller segment here that actually comes from a Jewish background. All in all, it is not erroneous to

detriment of ethnic Magyars. The general tendencies at the Kolozsvár medical faculty thus included the growth in absolute numbers of the proportion of minority student contingents, especially Jews and Greek Catholic (Uniate) Romanians. The latter had an average share of around 18%, showing a marked preference for medical studies in their home region as opposed to their co-nationals of Orthodox faith, who, though a majority compared to the Uniates (both in terms of population and in the number of *Matura* –holders) seemed to be inclined to avoid medical studies in Kolozsvár/Cluj proper. The same feature of geographical orientation may be assumed to have dominated the choice patterns of other Orthodox Romanian students as well.[26]

As for the local law faculty, intraethnic Romanian enrollment patterns according to social category (estimated via fathers' occupation), especially as contrasted to those of the majority Magyar element, show noteworthy peculiarities. Most important of these is that practically every third Romanian student had his father in the category of peasants owning small or medium-size 'estates.' The following table is illustrative in this sense:

Table 3. A general view on ethnic Romanian law students enrolled in the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj, 1872–1918: distribution by fathers' occupation and the share of departments in the whole student body[27]

Faculty of Law and Political Sciences			***Average** in All Faculties (%)*	
Father's Occupation	*Absolute Numbers*	*Percentage*		
Self-employed in agriculture	508	27.60	28.6	1.
Public/state official	150	8.15	8.55	2.
Free professional	118	6.14	5.87	3.
Intellectual in public/state service	692	37.60	38.23	4.
Higher-rank public/state official	97	5.27	5.08	5.
Merchant	55	2.39	2.52	6.
Entrepreneur	24	1.30	1.15	7.
Craftsman	28	1.52	1.65	8.
Worker (skilled)	8	0.43	0.35	9.
Unskilled worker	10	0.54	0.45	10.
Higher-rank official in private businesses	11	0.59	0.60	11.
Great land-owners	150	8.15	7.48	12.
Total	1,851	100.00	100.00	
Percentage of law and political science students in the whole:			73.0%	

conclude that in the prewar period – according to name analysis – the majority of the student body at the medical faculty of Kolozsvár/Cluj was of an ethnic origin other than Hungarian. Ibid., 14.

26 Ibid., 14–15.

27 Based on Sigmirean, *Istoria formării intelectualităţii româneşti* , 225–227.

Note: The table contains only an estimated greater majority of Romanian students, that is, those cases where social origins (expressed by father's occupation) could be based on firm evidence. Beyond the 2,537 mentioned in the compilation of data referred to above, there are another 109 ethnic Romanian students registered at the Budapest Theology Department (37% had their fathers self-employed in agriculture and 47% came from families of publicly (or semi-publicly) employed intellectuals - mostly teachers and priests) and a contingent of 110 who enrolled to the Chemnitz Academy of Mining and Forestry. (Here, too, the above-mentioned two categories had a preponderance of 64 %.)

As it could be expected, students of Jewish origin presented a situation regarding fathers' occupation that did not fit either (Western and Eastern Christian) model discussed above. With the Jews, the relative majority, about 45% of fathers belonged to the petty independent (self-employed) category, one which was far less numerous in both the Hungarian and (even less) the Romanian case.[28]

5. The Regional Setup Revisited: Kolozsvár versus Budapest

Table 4. Average shares of students by native tongue and Faculties in the average of four sample years (1900–1901, 1905–1906, 1910–1911, 1913–1914) at the University of Budapest.[29]

Year	*Department*	*Hungarian*	*German*	*Slavic*	*Romanian*	*Other*	***Total*** *(average)*
1900–1914	Law and Pol. Sc.	3,417 92.00%	109 2.93%	98 2.63%	76 2.04%	55 1.48%	3,714
	Medicine	1,572 86.80%	56 3.09%	60 3.31%	45 2.48%	10 0.55%	1,811
	Philology	1,031 86.27%	81 6.77%	33 2.76%	32 2.67%	8 0.66%	1,195
	Theology	49 52.12%	8 8.51%	19 20.21%	15 15.95%	3 3.19%	94
	Total	6,609 87.63%	253 3.65%	210 3.03%	168 2.42%	76 1.09%	6,925 (100%)

Note: The 'Slavic' category includes Slovaks, Serbs, Croats, and Ruthenes. The 'missing' 2.00% in the last row is due to the lack of a separate listing of students in pharmacology (pharmacology is not included in the 'average' categories enumerated in the final section of the table, since it appears separately among the Faculties only in the first sample year).

That is to say, a very important segment of the Transylvanian student body – those of ethnic Romanians included, and in a prominent position in this respect! – was nevertheless not studying in Kolozsvár/Cluj, but in Budapest. The topmost and by far the largest academic center of the Hungarian nation

28 Viktor Karády and Nastasă Lucian, *The University of Kolozsvár/Cluj and the Students of the Medical Faculty (1872–1918)* (Budapest/Cluj: CEU Press/Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center, 2004), 130–131.

29 Based on Sigmirean, *Istoria formării intelectualităţii româneşti*, 490, 493, 495–96.

state had manifestly a much greater attraction[30] for Romanians who could afford studying there. Even the stipends coming from Romanian nongovernmental sources seem to have favored this choice. Many of those having consecrated themselves as leading figures of Transylvania's Romanian political, scientific, or ecclesiastical life had studied in Budapest. This was the case of Octavian Goga, poet and politician, Miron Cristea, Orthodox archbishop, Ioan Lupaş, Constantin Daicoviciu, and Nicolae Drăganu later to become professors at the Romanian University of Kolozsvár/Cluj, to mention but a few of the better known names.[31] The enrollment by the confession of students at the Budapest universities[32] by the turn of the century was somewhat similar to those in Kolozsvár/Cluj (with the exception of the much more significant presence of Jews in the capital, especially in the medical faculty). Thus, there was a sizable overrepresentation of Hungarians and Germans (if the national status is defined by mother tongue[33]) as against other nationalities. There was an even more striking overrepresentation of those with Jewish background. They made up one quarter of the total student population by the turn of the century, though Jews represented only 5–6% of the population,[34] (the high proportion of Jewish students with Magyar names, a sign of voluntary assimilation, is worth noting here). These trends were paralleled with a less sizable overrepresentation of Lutherans as against other Christian denominations , and consequently, a slight under-representation of Catholics

30 Paradoxically enough, while it was the Kolozsvár/Cluj University that had no theological faculty and was from the moment of its foundation a comparatively secular institution in its character, the University of Budapest, with all its Catholic theological faculty and remains of clerical traces in its policies of appointing professors, was, due to the general cosmopolitan and bourgeois surrounding of the capital, a more 'bourgeois' university in its social character than its younger but provincial counterpart. Karády, *A kolozsvári egyetem orvostanhallgatói*, 12.

31 Bisztray, Szabó, and Tamás, eds., *Erdély magyar egyeteme*, 302.

32 Besides the classical University (the one which is the reference point in the present case study) there was, and in the given period only in Budapest a Technical University as well.

33 Karády states: "The bulk of the new educated elite trained in universities came from families of non-Magyar background. Indeed, if we add the proportions of all students with alien names to those of all Jewish students, a proportion almost two-thirds of the total (65%) is formally reached." If we consider the assimilationist trends, the number may be estimated even higher, that is, to an astonishing 75–80%. [...] "the overwhelming presence of ethnically-assimilated alien members in the educated middle classes provides an essential explanatory principle to account for their social and intellectual 'openness' and innovative potential […] for the fragmented nature of the emerging Hungarian intelligentsia and professional elite, as well as for the grave tensions it has experienced […] indirect evidence suggests that high schooling frequencies were typical of mobile ethnic minorities, especially those which were not based substantially in the poor, servile peasantry. These mobile minorities were Jews, Germans, and some of the Slavs." Karády, "Assimilation and schooling", 291–292.

34 It is noteworthy that students of Jewish background, who otherwise formed a near majority in the whole of the medical study segment of the academic market of Hungary (rising at times to almost two-thirds in Budapest) had a markedly low rate of representation in Kolozsvár/Cluj. All throughout the prewar period their share did not exceed 2 to 4%. Even their highest recorded share, that around 1910 was not higher than 6% of all Hungarian Jewish medical students at that moment. Karády, *A kolozsvári egyetem orvostanhallgatói*, 9.

and Calvinists among Christians, and a strikingly scanty presence in higher education of students belonging to the Orthodox and Greek Catholic population (in terms of absolute numbers).[35]

As for the comparative share of the Budapest University in the production of Transylvanian educated elites, we have the following data for the two decades in view:

Table 5. ***Distribution of Transylvanians among graduates of the Faculties of Law and Medicine in Budapest by religion (1900–1920, selected years)*** [36]

	Roman Catholic	Calvinist	Unitarian + Other	Lutheran	Greek Catholic	Greek Orthodox	Mosaic	Other, Partium	Total
1900–1905									
Law, State Sc. and Medicine, Together	67 25 92	28 7 35	2(L) + 0	8 6 14	19 5 24	22 11 33	47 26 73	148 50 198	191 79 270
1905–1909									
Law, State Sc. and Medicine, Together	83 28 111	30 15 45	2(L) + 0	9 20 29	17 18 35	36 14 50	58 45 103	160 80 240	235 137 372
1910–1911									
Law, State Sc. and Medicine, Together	145 61 206	43 27 70	7 2*	17 34 51	26 29 55	51 45 96	102 117 219	282 212 494	391 315 706
1915–1916									
Law, State Sc. and Medicine, Together	104 58 162	49 29 78	6 +2 26*	11 15 26	19 23 42	16 30 46	46 53 99	154 167 321	249 238 487

35 Karády, "Assimilation and schooling", 294-295.

36 Data extracted by author from *Doctori nyilvántartások. Doctorok származási lapjai, 1-20. kötet, 1900-1920* [Doctors' registers. Doctors' provenience files. Volumes 1–20, 1900–1920], (Budapest: Budapest University).

Totals of the 1900–1920 period									
Law, State Sc.	399	150	11+2L 4+2M + 26*	45	81	125	253	744	1,066
Medicine	172	78		75	75	100	241	509	769
Total	571	228		120	156	225	494	1,253	1,835

*Note: *As there is but a very small number of Unitarians here, the "Other" category with only four cases proper was packed together with the former. Also, the altogether 26 cases where graduates initially registered as of the Mosaic faith but left the "Confession" category blank in 1919, are listed here among Jews. The whole contingent has four "Others" proper, an Armenian Catholic in the 1913 contingent, the three others "without confession" appearing in the last third of the period under scrutiny. Altogether, the setup shows a formidable stability in terms of confessional affiliation in the sense that the "Other" category was practically empty, and virtually all graduates of the enlarged Transylvanian contingent belonged to one of the historical faiths.*

The penultimate column contains all those graduates whose birthplace does not fall within the limits of historic or Inner Transylvania,[37] that is, it includes by approximation the regions of the Partium and the Banat.[38] Máramaros/Maramureş is also included for the same reason for which we have an enlarged Transylvania in mind, since a considerable part of it fell outside Trianon Hungary after 1920. That is to say, Larger Transylvania in this paper equals to roughly the territory that Greater Romania gained from Dualist Hungary after World War I.[39]

The twenty years within reach do not by far represent an even or homogenous period. Roughly speaking, the first five years display an

37 In the Dualist setup, historical Transylvania consisted of the following counties: Alsó-Fehér/(Alba, Beszterce-Naszód/Bistriţa-Năsăud, Brassó/Braşov, Csík/Ciuc, Fogaras/Făgăraş, Háromszék/Trei-Scaune, Hunyad/Hunedoara, Kis-Küküllő/Târnava-Mică, Kolozs/Cluj, Maros-Torda/Mureş-Turda, Nagy-Küküllő/Târnava-Mare, Szeben/Sibiu, Szolnok-Doboka/Solnoc-Dăbâca, Torda-Aranyos/Turda-Arieş, and Udvarhely/Odorhei. In contrast to the counties listed here as belonging to the Partium and the Banat, these are relatively small and less populated counties, with scarce urban concentrations. This, and the fact that they are farthest from Budapest also account for the very small number of diploma-holders born here, again, as contrasted to those originating from the North-South stripe that comes in between Inner Hungary and Inner Transylvania.

38 More precisely, the Partium, as I here refer to it includes the counties of Bihar/Bihor, Szatmár/Satu-Mare, Szilágy/Sălaj. Arad/Arad county is actually divided between the Partium and the Banat, while only two extra-Carpathian counties are included in what I take as the Banat here, Krassó-Szőrény/Caraş-Severin and Temes/Timiş, that is, the North-Eastern part of the Banat proper.

39 With the dissolution of the imperial bondage (that is, of the multinational Monarchy and its educational 'commonwealth' in 1918), the new political paradigms of successor states (all redefining themselves as nation states) reshaped the self-identifying goals of ethnic groups, both majorities and minorities, new and old alike. Among problem areas of heavily state engineered political and socioeconomic integration, cultural nationalization figures as both a means and a purpose. Meanwhile, the majority of the attempts to carry out 'modernization' in general terms also falls in line with exclusionary national goals. Together with several other universities of the region, the University of Cluj/Kolozsvár becomes an instrument of nationalist militancy and ethnic survival. With all the officially promoted ethnic 'change of the guard', it acquires a dual character, with specific and significantly different functions for local Hungarian and Romanian elites (as well as, for the matter, other ethnic middle-class clusters).

undisturbed slow-paced development, while the second five years herald the general boom in enrollment figures throughout the institutions of higher learning of the Monarchy. The tendency is most visible in the years immediately preceding the war. The last quarter of the twenty years included in this analysis bears the heavy marks of the war juncture, involving the loss of the peacetime balance, as relative as it had been, in regional, ethnic, and professional recruitment, reflected in the figures of both enrollments and graduates. Finally, the 1918–1920 period clearly reflects the dramatically altering geopolitical situation and the split-up of the Monarchy into nation states already under way even before the 1920 Paris peace settlement ratified the new status quo. All this means that the five-year totals in the table are worth considering separately, the first three revealing peacetime tendencies, while the latter five years are illustrative for what the war and the ensuing breakup of the educational 'commonwealth' altered in the habitual patterns of university recruitment.[40]

There were further regional and geographical disparities as well, since the probability of enrollment was enhanced by geographical proximity of residence[41] as demonstrated by variables such as urban origins or by place of birth and education of the student body. The most characteristic segments of city dwellers among them belonged to the mobile lower middle classes or the educated elite, their possibilities and willingness to seek higher education being much greater than those of the rural peasant masses. These factors acted irrespective of nationality. This is all the more important since – as observed above – nationality was also connected to the hierarchy of excellence attained in studies as expressed by the age of graduation. As a rule, earlier ages of graduation both from high school and from university were paralleled by greater degrees of excellence as expressed in average marks obtained by every student cluster, whatever their ethnic and denominational background. As to interregional transfers, there seems to have been relatively few of them. For instance, of the 2,541 medical students of the prewar period as many as 24% had their *Matura* from a Kolozsvár/Cluj high school, while a little more than half of them, 51–52% graduated from other Transylvanian high schools, so that only a little less than a quarter, 22–23% of the *Matura* holders came from elsewhere in Hungary, with around 1–2% from foreign countries.[42]

Before going any further into details, it must be argued why only law and medicine are included in the table above. Within the classical university setup (that is, if we do not consider polytechnic studies, available only in Budapest and so making a Budapest–Kolozsvár/Cluj comparison problematic), these two

40 As it shall be seen, most evident of these alterations is the almost complete withdrawal of Romanians from the University of Budapest, a phenomenon due to the Romanianization of the Transylvanian university effective as of May 1919.

41 The massive presence of students coming from the Partium and the Banat in the surveyed Budapest contingent is most probably due to the fact that Budapest and Kolozsvár/Cluj were at roughly the same distance, but the centrifugal absorbing power of the capital city was ever so greater (and that not only in terms of educational attractivity).

42 Karády, "Assimilation and schooling", 297–298; Karády, *A kolozsvári egyetem orvostanhallgatói*, 20-21.

tracks attracted the absolute majority of students at that time, law and state science alone accounting for an average of a little over 50% of students and graduates[43] throughout the prewar decades. Medical studies came second, accounting for about a quarter of the academic market, while the other specializations together shared the rest. As to degrees, the faculties of law and medicine issued only doctorates, which in these specializations equaled a final professional degree. The difference can be illustrated by doctorates assigned in other specializations: a doctoral degree in philology, for instance, was just one option at the Arts and Sciences Faculties, since the latter also issued a vocational degree for secondary school teachers. The fact that the great majority of degrees were in these two specializations, stands in a sense for the statistical relevance of these figures for the whole academic market.

In addition, the choice between law and medicine alone reveals very significant differentials between elite groups of various ethnic and social backgrounds. Law was the classical study path for the 'Magyar historic middle class,' for those belonging to the political, ethnic, and confessional majority (among them members of the gentry) in the elites, and, last but not least, those who were seeking to assimilate into the Magyar 'gentlemanly' ruling strata via certified higher learning. Law also secured most chances for state employment, while what is termed 'state science' here allowed to aspire for positions in the higher echelons of civil service, including political careers proper. It is understandable, hence, that, as a rule, holders of legal degrees of ethnic minority extraction were oriented towards the far narrower segment of the academically based labor market, that of the Bar and private employment. By contrast, medicine implied lesser chances for public employment, pushing most medical graduates towards the underdeveloped and undersized private segment of the intellectual labor market. While the overproduction of degrees in law, so characteristic of the period under scrutiny, on the one hand made legal graduates face the decreasing value of their degrees and the increasing risk of underemployment owing to the saturation of the market, on the other hand medical doctors had to come to terms with the relative narrowness of the public sphere of employment, that is, with severe selection mechanisms implying more competition there. The career chances offered by the two main tracks had then clear consequences on their respective recruitment patterns, following both social and ethnocultural criteria. By approximation, medical studies in the Liberal age preferentially attracted members of minority groups. Roughly speaking, if law facilitated entrance into the traditional Magyar gentry-dominated society, medicine allowed one to make headway into the more modern, bourgeois, and often non-Magyar 'new middle class.' Nevertheless, both provided thus a path of upward social mobility. Last but

43 Law habitually presented the highest rate of study abandonment among the faculties of the classical university. Nevertheless, already by the 1910s the market value of law degrees became so inflated that very few drop-out students with partial qualifications could ever get proper employment. All the while medical studies did not at all present diploma pursuers with any rewards in case of partial fulfillment. It is in this sense, too, that this latter was a steeper and narrower path of study: once begun, it could not be abandoned, unless students renounced altogether to the labor market benefits that a medical doctor degree could have rewarded them with.

not least, these were two faculties where Transylvanians could benefit from a chance to study 'at home'. The parallel existence of law and medical faculties at the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj and in the capital makes a straight comparison possible as to what could be the options open to young Transylvanians liable to rise into the academically trained elite.

The distribution of all medical students within the Dual Monarchy between Kolozsvár/Cluj and Budapest is telling about the size of the two universities in general. In between 1900 and 1918, the Budapest share of the medical training market varied from about 73% as the lowest percentage (in the former part of the period) to 86% as the highest (in the last academic year of the period). Meanwhile, the Kolozsvár/Cluj contingent never rose to more than 13% (by the middle of the period), although it never fell under 7% (and that during the most unfavorable of the war years). Some of the decrease benefited Budapest, while the segment of the market which was covered by universities abroad (especially Vienna) also registered some loss. From both directions, the students tended to be absorbed by the Budapest medical faculty. While the one provincial university of Transylvania satisfied an almost exclusively local demand , the University of Budapest forced itself into sharing even this local Transylvanian market.[44]

In the same vein, very few Transylvanians who started to study elsewhere (those affording or being compelled to choose Budapest from the beginning, for instance) transferred eventually to Kolozsvár/Cluj to continue studies there. While an average of 88.5% of Transylvanians started their studies at the Kolozsvár/Cluj Medical Faculty, only 8.6% and a mere 2.3% respectively of those who had begun medical studies in Budapest or abroad enrolled later at the Transylvanian university. Student peregrinations, even to Budapest, hardly ever attained considerable proportions, while Budapest students appeared to be more mobile in this regard. Among Transylvanian students most prone to peregrination were those of Mosaic, Lutheran, and, somewhat unexpectedly, the Greek Orthodox faith, while the least willing to peregrinate proved to be students of Roman and Greek Catholic faith, as well as Hungarian Calvinists.[45]

We may well presume that somewhat similar averages applied in this respect to law students as well. It is well known from contemporary literature that it was relatively easier to get a law degree at the Transylvanian university than in Budapest and even those enrolled in medical studies there faced lesser non-academic hardships than students in Budapest. To compensate for these difficulties, one must take into account the perspective of earning a degree from the capital city which, obviously enough, 'sold better' on the labor market. Consequently, there were probably fewer medical students from Transylvania who, once having begun studies in Budapest, would have returned to Kolozsvár/Cluj to take their final exams. Although there is very little palpable evidence on such 'strategic peregrinations' in general, we may also presume that law students would also prefer qualifications issued in Budapest whenever they could afford them. Once one began in Budapest, it was certainly easier to

44 Karády and Nastasă, *The University of Kolozsvár/Cluj*, 75.

45 Ibid., 135–137.

complete studies in the Transylvanian alma mater, but few of those concerned actually seem to have taken this chance unless they were compelled to do so (notably for financial reasons). Budapest might have been somewhat reluctant to finalize and accredit individual academic qualifications initiated in the province. There were, though, some student clusters, especially Orthodox Romanians but also Jews, who preferred Budapest for their studies for what we may call ethno-strategic reasons. At least before 1914, beyond the above-mentioned extra value of the diploma from the capital, the cosmopolitan big city and its university secured them considerably better chances to pass unobserved as 'ethnic aliens', as compared to the small, provincial university 'at home.' For such clusters, the Budapest University offered an ethnically less challenging (if not necessarily less alienating) surrounding than the Kolozsvár one. This latter would indeed tend to compensate for smaller size and less professional fame by stressing its local and Magyar character.

In a somewhat similar vein, we may well presume that it was not only medical studies as such that confronted students with higher intellectual and existential stakes (and thus made the finalization of studies more compelling than in law). Once someone chose to study 'away from home' even as 'far' as Budapest, the risks of dropping out grew proportionally with geographical and cultural distance. In this regard alone, Romanians and Jews were obliged to resort to similar strategies, since neither proved to be liable to abandon their studies, that is, compared to other ethnic clusters of students. As minorities, they both clung stubbornly to the chance they might earn in higher learning, albeit with different means and outcomes. While Romanians may have been forced by circumstances to protract their studies, Jews tended to be the most swift of all in finishing them as soon as possible. It may be said that Transylvanian Romanians who chose to study at the Budapest University found themselves on a rather steep path upward, but the coercive effect of a peculiar double-or-nothing option pushed them to make the most of their resources to complete studies successfully.

To assert the size of the Transylvanian graduate contingent who earned their diplomas at the Budapest University, let us see the total number of doctoral degrees awarded there yearly in the early 20th century.

Table 6. Doctoral degrees awarded at the University of Budapest from 1900–1920 by specialization[46]

	All doctoral degrees awarded				Shares of Transylvanian graduates				
	Philology & Theology	Law & Canon Law	State Science	Medicine and Pharmacy	All degrees, Law Faculty Budapest	% of Transylvanians in the Law Faculty Budapest	% of Transylvanians in the Faculty of Medicine	Transylvanians in Law and Medicine in Budapest	% of Transylvanians in Law and Medicine Budapest
1900/01	31+3	226+5	80	118+7	311	10.6%	15.2%	429	11.9%
1900/01	31+3	226+5	80	118+7	311	10.6%	15.2%	429	11.9%
1901/02	48+2	198+1	85	96+2	284	18.6%	14.6%	380	17.6%
1902/03	41+4	225+3	87	121+1	315	10.8%	14.9%	436	11.9%
1903/04	42+5	211+7	71	86+9	289	9.6%	11.6%	385	9.8%
1904/05	56+7	230+3	50	125+10	283	15.2%	15.2%	408	15.2%
1905/06	64+4	234+8	66	154+0	308	14.6%	14.3%	462	14.5%
1906/07	76+6	256+7	86	146+2	349	11.1%	15.0%	495	12.3%
1907/08	65+6	306+4	72	171+12	382	12.0%	19.3%	553	14.3%
1908/09	95+5	301+5	86	184+8	392	12.2%	16.3%	586	13.3%
1909/10	96+8	357+4	109	239+15	470	12.1%	13.8%	609	14.7%
1910/11	84+8	424+1	136	252+7	561	12.4%	17.8%	813	14.1%
1911/12	91+4	438+2	150	296+9	590	14.2%	17.9%	886	15.4%
1912/13	86+7	512+2	228	296+8	742	12.8%	20.9%	1,038	15.1%
1913/14	106+9	449+6	232	414+6	687	14.2%	15.4%	1,101	14.7%
1914/15	39+6	199+4	112	512+3	315	13.9%	17.7%	827	16.3%
1915/16	51+4	137+3	95	220+2	235	13.2%	15.4%	455	14.3%
1916/17	46+2	167+5	140	205+0	312	10.5%	18.0%	517	13.5%
1917/18	61+3	225+5	252	196+2	482	14.3%	21.9%	678	16.5%
1918/19	73+5	216+4	180	495+2	400	13.7%	18.4%	895	16.3%
1919/20	46+7	203+0	303	242+0	506	12.0%	13.6%	748	12.5%
TOTAL	1,297 (+107)	5,514 (+81)	2,620	4,568 (Medicine only)	8,213			12,781	
Total of Transylvanians	–	–	–	769	1,066	13.0%	16.8%	1,835	14.4%

Note: As for qualifications other than in law and medicine there is no evidence for Transylvanians in the present study.

46 Data compiled by the author from *Doctori nyilvántartások*.

Nevertheless, if we take into account the figures for Inner Transylvania separately from those of the border counties (in the Partium, the Banat, and the county of Máramaros/Maramureş), the totals of the twenty years will stand as follows: 582 graduates in the Budapest contingent with their birthplace in historic Transylvania. Of these, 322 earned a law degree and 260 a medical doctorate. Interestingly enough, within the Partium-Banat group, the law-medicine balance inclines a little more towards the former: in the twenty years observed, out of the 1,253 graduates from the region, only 509 obtained a diploma in medicine, while 744 graduated from one of the law tracks, with a predilection for law proper. The distribution of Inner Transylvanians within the law faculty was, on the contrary, more in favor of state science. In the background of these regional dissimilarities in terms of choice of study track one identifies ethnic and, to a lesser extent, social inequalities.

Beyond the split along the lines of this somewhat simplified regional setup presented above, the percentages and ratios of confessional and ethnic subgroups supply important information regarding professional preferences. These are worth considering in a temporal setup as well, that is, in each of the four five-year segments. In the 1900–1905 period, out of a total of 270 Transylvanian graduates, there were 34% Roman Catholics, 13% Calvinists, 5% Lutherans while the two Eastern Christian faiths made up 21% of the whole (with roughly two thirds of Greek Catholics among them). Jews alone constituted as much as 27%. There were only two Unitarians. Students born in Inner Transylvania represented only a small minority of 72, that is, 26.7% of the total. The intra-confessional distribution among faculties betrays the most decisive predilection for law among Calvinists, almost equaled by that of the Greek Catholics. Roman Catholics follow suit by a rough three quarters in law, while two thirds of the Greek Orthodox and the Jews are to be found in this faculty. In other words, medicine was generally much less preferred than law. While there is nothing unusual in that, it is quite surprising that three quarters of the Jewish students would also choose law, similarly to Greek Orthodox. It is also to be noted that the balance leans more pronouncedly towards law among those born in Partium-Banat as compared to Inner Transylvanian graduates. One reason for this may be that, throughout the surveyed period, the overwhelming majority of the Jews (both by percentages and in absolute numbers) came from the former subregion. One should remember that the choice of this last confessional group for law implied a marked willingness of Magyar assimilation and a quest for social integration in the ruling majority, while in the case of Greek Orthodox, especially Romanians, professional mobility may have been the main target.

Between 1905 and 1910, we have 372 Transylvanian graduates. Of them 30% were Roman Catholics, 12.1% Calvinists, 7.8% Lutherans, and 22.8% belonged to the two Greek confessions (with a slight relative majority represented this times by the Orthodox), while 27.7% Jews made up the rest of the contingent. Compared to the former temporal segment, the intra-confessional balance between the two study tracks presented the following novelties: Even less Catholics chose medical studies, which nevertheless registered some minor gains against law among Calvinists (one-third as compared to one-fifth previously) and Lutherans (two-thirds gained medical

doctor's diplomas now), the balance swinging pronouncedly in favor of medicine among Greek Catholics (more than half of the degrees earned by them in this period were in medicine), and again considerable gains among Jews. Finally, the Orthodox group of this period also shows a very slight preference for medicine. Just as earlier, the share of Inner Transylvanians amounts to only 36.3%. Most Jews and Romanians are to be found in the subgroups with birthplace in the Partium-Banat.[47] Again, there are but two Unitarian law graduates.

The 1910–1915 period betrays a spectacular leap in the absolute numbers of enrolled students generally, and, parallel to this, Transylvanian graduates as well. The bulk of the whole prewar contingent is concentrated in this period, especially in the 1911–12 and 1913–13 academic years. Though still much higher than any other pre–1910 figure, the total of Transylvanian graduates already reflects the early effects of the war juncture, and that even in the average distribution of diplomas among the study tracks under scrutiny, the number of medical degrees coming closer than ever before to those in law. The spectacular sum of 706 degrees was divided among the confessions as follows: 29.2% Roman Catholics, 9.9% Calvinists, 7.2% Lutherans, as well as 21.4% Greek Catholics and Orthodox, with an unprecedented large share of the latter against the former (almost twice as many Orthodox as Uniates). Altogether, compared to the first five years' sum, Transylvanian Eastern Christian graduates of Budapest boasted a threefold growth in absolute numbers, a clear sign of a significant opening up of the intellectual market towards this ethnic category. In the same vein, there was a great number of Jewish Transylvanians, up to 31% of the total. The quantitative basis of this general growth was to be found once again outside Inner Transylvania proper; only 216 belonged to the latter subregion in this period. Intraconfessional shares of the two study tracks among Transylvanians went as follows: roughly unchanged for the two Catholic faiths and the Lutherans in comparison with the previous period, with some further gains in the number of medical doctors from Transylvanian against co-regionals with law degrees, while among Jews the contingent of medical doctors even slightly exceeded that of the law graduates, a phenomena without a precedent before, but one that shall stay subsequently unaltered. Their reorientation is symptomatic for the end of the Liberal era, just as the drastically decreasing number of Jewish students in Hungarian universities in the dramatically altered cultural-political setup after 1919.

The last five years within reach are clearly marked by the war juncture, while the last discussed academic year is already halfway into the new geopolitical situation that divided the academic market into keenly guarded national enclaves after the 1919–1920 turnover. Symptomatic for the split-up of the market along ethno-political borderlines was that in this last year observed there were only three graduates of the Greek faiths in the University of Budapest,

47 To be sure, the bulk of the Transylvanian Jews came from the Partium (with a somewhat lesser contingent from the Banat), while comparatively most Romanians came from the Banat counties. It is also worth noting that – beyond the sheer geographical distribution of the population along ethnic lines in the subregions – it was what we may call Outer Transylvania that presented higher urbanization standards and population density than what Inner Transylvania could ever boast about.

while the previous four years had still produced more of them than any prewar period. The somewhat altered Partium-Banat to Inner Transylvania ratio (to the relative advantage of the latter within the whole) is also due to the war juncture. This visibly altered study demands and diploma-issuing priorities, conducing to a considerable increase of the demand for medical doctorates as contrasted to law degrees. Although drafting in the army affected both student contingents greatly, aspiring medical doctors were encouraged to take their degrees as early as possible, so that they could be sent to the front as military staff. On the contrary, there seems to have been much less practical use ascribed to law degrees in wartime, and would-be legal experts could be easily sent into combat without having completed their studies.

Roman Catholics made up 33.3% of this war contingent. Calvinists attained the peak of their quantitative presence with 16% in the student body, while Lutherans, on the contrary, were almost halved in absolute numbers (compared to the preceding period) yet still attaining a share of 5.4% in the decreased total. Together, graduates of the two Greek rites made up only 18.1%. What is absolutely unprecedented is that within the group, Greek Catholics nearly equaled the Orthodox in absolute numbers. The number of Jews decreased drastically, to less than half of the lowest total they had ever registered in the period under scrutiny, that of 1900–1905, with a share in the total down to 20.3%. Interestingly enough, roughly two-thirds of the Roman Catholics earned medical doctorates, almost inverting their intra-confessional distribution among the two study tracks. On the contrary, Calvinists continued to display a marked concentration along the most traditional choice; virtually all the substantial growth they boasted of in absolute numbers in this temporal segment was due to the spectacular growth of their numbers of law graduates. The Lutheran minority stayed most stable, but even here the decline in numbers can be attributed to the rarity of Transylvanian Lutheran medical students graduating in Budapest. As for Greek Catholics, they too maintained their prewar balance between the two tracks, that is, a little more than half of them chose medicine. Not so the Orthodox, who completely reversed their prewar ratios with two-thirds of them graduating from the medical faculty of Budapest. Jews went along their traditional preferences with a little more than half of them graduating in medicine. Last but not least, beyond the two Unitarian students and the two others "without a confession" there were 26 graduates listed in the present survey in the "Other" category. All appeared in the 1918–1919 contingent, all of them being medical doctors with Jewish background. One should remember here that the same applied to the few listed under the heading "without a confession" in the preceding twenty years – four only, two in law prior to 1912 and two in medicine after that time.

For reasons mentioned above, it is worth breaking further down the surveyed period into two temporal segments. The first fifteen years include degree earning patterns characteristic of the classical academic market setting in a time of peace (with the relatively minor exception of a switch towards medical degrees right in the final year of the period). Beyond a constant growth of the number of degrees granted, there was an almost unchanging average interethnic and interregional share in the body of graduates. The last five years included in the survey present evident signs of how war and the ensuing

differential ethnonational closing down of the academic market affected enrollments, applying to students of the University of Budapest in general and those from Transylvania in particular.

Thus, taking the total of the first fifteen years, that is 1348 diplomas earned by Transylvanians in the two Budapest faculties, Roman Catholics made up 30.3%, Calvinists 11.1%, Lutherans 7%, Greek Catholics 8.5%, and Greek Orthodox 13.3%. The altogether 293 graduates of the Greek rites amounted to 21.7% of the prewar total. The share of the Jews in the whole contingent was 29.3%. There were only 9 Unitarians and 2 "without a confession." All medical doctorates taken together, they represented 39.4% of all diplomas, the rest, 60.6% being degrees of the law faculties, with an evident majority in law proper as against state science.

In interregional terms, we have 932 diplomas earned by students whose birthplace was either in the Partium, the Banat, or Máramaros/Maramureş county. These together make 69.1% of the total figure of 'Transylvanians' in the two Budapest faculties observed. With them, medicine had a share of 36.7%, a bit more than in the whole observed student body, while the 416 prewar Inner Transylvanian graduates of Budapest had as many as 45.4% medicine graduates among them. Although, expressed in absolute numbers, the Inner Transylvanian graduates' predilection for medicine would supply a mere 189 as contrasted to the 354 medical degrees granted to students from the former subregion, it may be assumed that Inner Transylvanians were somewhat more inclined towards this more modern and 'bourgeois' study track than their Partium-Banat counterparts. Interestingly enough, these proved to be more conservative and/or willing to assimilate to the traditional Magyar middle class. One of the main reasons for this relative preference for law degrees lies in the fact that the bulk of the Jews in the contingent originated exactly from these regions outside Inner Transylvania. The other side of the coin is that, intraregionally, state science was somewhat more often chosen by Inner Transylvanians than by students from the other subregions, that is, once they were enrolled in the law faculty.

The average intraconfessional pattern of enrollment during the fifteen years before the war is as follows: As much as 72.1% of the Catholics chose law, while only 28.7% and 36.2% graduated in law among the Calvinists and the Lutherans respectively. Greek Catholics also betrayed a predilection for law with 63.3% of law degrees, while we have slightly fewer of these among the Greek Orthodox, 60.1%. As for Jews, only a very slight majority among them (52.4%) earned degrees from a law faculty. Nevertheless, in absolute numbers even this share went up to considerable figures, especially among those originating from the Partium-Banat subregion.

In general, war conditions were manifested by a considerable decrease in the number of diplomas, even though there was, especially during 1916–1918, an upsurge in enrollment and temporary individual student transfers to the university of the capital at the expense of the peripherally situated University of Kolozsvár/Cluj. Transylvanians earned 487 diplomas altogether in this period, which is only 68.5% of the prewar peak of 706 degrees awarded to Transylvanians. The decrease of the overall number is nevertheless paralleled by a hitherto unprecedented balance between law and medical doctorates

(only 51.12% being from the first category). This applied both to Inner Transylvanians and those from the other subregions for which the share of law and medical doctorates came without precedent equally close to each other. The cause of this hasty switch towards medicine cannot be found with enrollment figures proper. Rather, it comes from the demand emanating from the battlefields that pushed the university to offer medical doctorates to as many aspiring military doctors as possible. In other words, the relative gains in medical degree figures appear to be the most direct outcome of the war juncture, accompanied by the devaluation of law degrees.

The 321 diplomas earned by graduates whose birthplace falls within the Partium-Banat subregion make almost 66% of the total, only about 4% less than the average of the prewar period (up to 1915). Yet, even this slight shift indicates that Inner Transylvanians might have clung more stubbornly to the perspectives expected to open up via a Budapest diploma. The minor relative decrease is also explained through a somewhat modified inter-confessional setup; in the two faculties taken together, we have 33.3% Catholics, 16% Calvinists, altogether four Unitarians, a conspicuously high number of 26 listed as "without confession" (all Jews, as observed above, and all appearing in the 1918/19 academic year, obviously enough, in connection with new perspectives of purely secular self-definition opened by the fall of the Monarchy and the October Revolution of 1918). Lutherans made up again but 5.3%, while the number of Greek Catholics (8.6%) almost equaled that of the Greek Orthodox (9.4%) – the two Eastern Christian confessions representing thus 18.1% of the total.

As a proof of still lingering earlier interethnic patterns of recruitment, there are two trends worth mentioning here as to Eastern Christian graduates. There was a relative increase registered by Greek Catholics, bringing their numbers close to their Orthodox counterparts, something unseen before. This development was accompanied by their evident preference for medical doctorates in both contingents when compared to peacetime averages, which is a neat inversion of earlier preferences displayed by the Orthodox. Still, the most meaningful of all changes in interethnic enrollment patterns concerned Jews: if expressed in absolute numbers, there was a sharp relative decrease of the Jewish share among graduates in the last years under scrutiny, down to an unprecedented 20.3% of the whole student body. This must be attributed to the anti-Jewish crisis staged by the White Terror starting in mid-1919. Somewhat similarly to the Eastern Christians, there is a relative increase though of medical doctorates among Jewish graduates, but in their case the shift of the balance towards medicine proved to be the outcome of a long-term development.

Notwithstanding the considerable distortions of the peacetime inter-faculty, intraconfessional, and interconfessional patterns of recruitment observable in the 1919–1920 academic year, it is worth summing up the survey with a closer focus upon the global figures of the twenty years under scrutiny. Taking the 1,835 graduates from the Transylvanian regions, overall interregional shares were as follows: Historic Transylvania provided 31.7% of the segment, all the rest being accounted for by the Partium-Banat and Máramaros/Maramureş subregions. Law degrees made up altogether 59.4% of the total

with 40.6% of medical doctorates. Within the Inner Transylvanian contingent, 55.3% graduated in law and 46.7% in medicine, respectively. This is a somewhat altered pattern as compared to the one presented above as being the more 'modern' Inner Transylvanian orientation. The reasons for the reversal are to be found with the changes of the war years affecting the overall pattern of enrollment. In the last years of the period, more and more students from Inner Transylvania graduated in law at the Budapest University.

The share of the Roman Catholics in the total was 30.8%, that of medical graduates among them being only 30.1%. Calvinists accounted for 12.4% of the total, with 34.2% medical doctors among them. The Lutheran contingent provided a mere 6.5% of all graduates but with as much as 62.5% medical doctors in the group (an indirect indication of the overwhelmingly German ethnic background and more 'modern' orientation of this contingent). Greek Catholics amounted to 9.0%, of whom 49.1% became medical doctors in Budapest, while among the Greek Orthodox which totaled 12.3%, 44.4% earned a medical doctorate. The two Greek faiths together made up 21.25% of the total and among them medical diplomas had a share of 46.4%. Western Christian faiths lumped together made up 50.9% of the whole contingent. Of the latter inter-confessional Transylvanian subdivision, 35.2% completed a medical specialization in Budapest. Jews accounted for 26.9% of the whole Transylvanian contingent in Budapest, 48.8% having taken a medical degree. All in all, medical degrees represented 41.9% and law doctorates 48.10% of the 1,835 degrees earned in these two specializations in Budapest by Transylvanians in the twenty years under scrutiny.

Notwithstanding the sheer absolute numbers, the 'modernization paradigm' (medicine being regarded as a more 'modern' or 'bourgeois' option as against the more 'gentry-like' law) offers somewhat unexpected results in an inter-confessional (and implicitly interethnic) comparison. Having in mind the average share of the medical faculty among all Transylvanian graduates between 1900 and 1920, Roman Catholics are placed somewhat below the line, followed upwards by Calvinists and Greek Orthodox, with Jews above the line, the Greek Catholics closely following suit, and being surpassed only by the Lutherans. It is owing solely to these mostly German Lutherans that the relative majority gained by medicine comes to the side of the Western Christians and that Protestants so obviously surpass Roman Catholics in terms of intraconfessional medical specialization ratios. All in all, the Budapest contingent of Transylvanian graduates were undeniably the most dynamic and perseverant among their co-regionals, both in terms of a faculty by faculty comparison and in the sense that once they chose the capital city for their studies, they tended to be attracted by medicine; the most rewarding segments of the academic market for them – where ethnic competition was unavoidably also present – even at the price of extra hardships. Compared to their more numerous but less versatile co-nationals remaining at their 'home university,' it is especially the Romanian students who, once they made their way to the capital city for studies, could embark on a more 'modern' study option.

As regards the size and regional distribution of the Romanian student contingents, we have the following comparative table:

Table 7. Ethnic Romanian students by regions of origin in the Faculties of Law & State Science and Medicine & Pharmacology at the Universities of Kolozsvár/Cluj and Budapest (up to 1918)[48]

Region of Origin	University				*Totals by Regions of origin*	
	Kolozsvár/Cluj		Budapest		Law & P. Sc.	Medicine & Pharm.
	Law & P. Sc.	Medicine & Pharm.	Law & P. Sc.	Medicine & Pharm.		
Transylvania proper	1,226	424	268	145	1,491	569
Partium	213	54	111	53	324	107
Banat	177	68	256	124	433	192
Inner Hungary	11	6	27	10	38	16
Other within Dualist Hungary	4	6	20	16	24	22
Total by Faculty	1,631	558	682	348	2,310	906
					Law & P. Sc.	Med. & Pharm.
Percentages by faculties as referred to:						
All of the identical faculty	70.6	61.6	29.5	38.4	100.0	100.0
All the students in both universities	43.1	14.7	18.0	9.2	100.0 (N=3,781)	
Percentages reflecting regional distribution as referred to totals in identical faculties:						
Transylvania	82.1	74.6	17.9	26.5	100.0	100.0
Partium	65.7	50.5	34.3	49.4	100.0	100.0
Banat	40.9	35.4	59.1	64.6	100.0	100.0
Other (Hungary)	24.2	31.6	75.8	68.4	100.0	100.0

Note: With all the impediments regarding the possibility of a direct comparison to the 1900–1920 Transylvanian contingent of graduates of Budapest University (they mirror a larger period than what we have focused on in the present paper, and they represent enrolled student figures, that is, not graduates) the data in this table is still worth consideration, since they give a closer view of intra-ethnic regional disparities and the overall intra-ethnic study preferences of Romanians – the most peculiar and 'problematic' ethnic contingent, both in terms of numerical representation and career orientation, of all Transylvanians.

Still, as an ethnic minority group, the Romanians of Transylvania were in many respects placed on the other extremity of the above-mentioned modernization axis represented by Germans and Jews. As already observed, the great majority of the Romanian population was of a markedly rural and traditional character, being only sporadically touched by trends of modernization that occurred elsewhere in Central Europe. Insularity and

48 Source: Sigmirean, *Istoria formării intelectualităţii româneşti*, 205–207.

political apathy persisted until the end of the 19th century. Social grievances were all directed against the ruling Magyar element. There was scarcely any intraethnic clash among Romanians on the social plane. On the one hand, they tended to strive for a collective self-preservation of sorts via passive resistance. Many a time, their educational choices reflected and reinforced the same sense of group solidarity and ethnically oriented strategy of social mobility. On the other hand, they were on the average not in the position to afford breaking away from cultural traditions This is illustrated by the lowest relative ratio of academically based secular career paths displayed by students of this ethnic cluster.

While the over-performance regarding academic requirements typical of the Jewish contingent may be interpreted as an effort to make the best of one's studies as a channel towards assimilation, later ages of graduation and lower average marks of Romanian students may, at least in part, be due to linguistic hardships and cultural alienation faced by students in academic institutions whose teaching language and civilization setting was not those of their own. Also, early age of graduation and excellence seemed to be a largely cross-ethnic social class privilege,[49] in which respect the ethnic Romanians were on the average disadvantaged, if compared to the other major groups (Jews and Magyars), given their largely rural and lower class background. The age of graduation with a doctor's degree was the lowest among Jewish students, with those belonging to the 'dominant confessions' coming in between, and the most advanced in age at graduation were Romanians of both confessions. This goes in parallel with the phenomena regarding age of graduation from high school and those of learning excellence as observed above.[50]

Concluding Remarks

Owing to its uniquely mixed ethnic surroundings, the national and confessional composition of the educated Transylvanian elite, whether trained at the local university or in Budapest, was symptomatic of the underlying social inequalities as well as the advantages that only members of the ruling clusters (and those culturally or socially associated with them) could benefit from. This local segment of the educational 'commonwealth' of the Monarchy proved to be limited in scope and specifically selective as regards ethnic minorities.

On the one hand, Germans and Jews fared relatively well in this respect, since they tended to draw profit from opportunities opened up in higher learning via the most 'modern' paths of study, or those sectors of the intellectual market which were out of reach for or neglected by their competitors. The state-managed sectors were anyhow overcrowded with members of the traditional Hungarian middle class. These two ethnic clusters were somewhat

49 Those with substantial cultural capital accumulated in the family are more likely to obtain better results and at an earlier age than those emanating from the 'lower' bourgeois or petit bourgeois strata, hence newcomers in the cultural capital market, and thus coming somewhat late and 'from behind.' See Karády, *A kolozsvári egyetem orvostanhallgatói*, 33.

50 Ibid., 32, 47.

atypically 'modern' also as regards their ratio of urbanization, occupational strategies, primary level of 'embourgeoisement,' and cultural orientations. In other words (and beyond situations when they felt compelled to act otherwise), they could in general afford to engage themselves in study tracks that promoted them the most on the road of upward social mobility. The predilection of Germans for engineering and the massive overrepresentation of Jews in the medical profession (not to speak of their general overinvestment in education), together with the all but exclusive taste for legal studies on the part of the average Magyar element, are just the best known examples of ethno-culturally grounded patterns of academic (and career) orientations.

On the other hand, despite their apparent under-representation as regards sheer enrollment ratios, Romanians benefited of relative gains which are not visible at first sight. Those of them who chose lay life-paths were quite successful in enhancing their social capital. Coming from either university of Dualist Hungary, Transylvanian Romanian graduates added substantially to the middle-class layer of their ethnic society. As it has been demonstrated by intra-ethnically perceived social recruitment patterns, relatively far more Romanians switched from lower class standing for a higher social rank via studies than in the case of Magyars.

Hungarians did not, on the average, make use of much intra-ethnic social mobility. They tended to reproduce and reiterate middle-class positions which were already redundant among them at that time. While Romanians managed to produce a considerable part of their middle class via higher education, Transylvanian Hungarians merely conserved it in most cases. While the latter did not excel in taking up modern career-paths, many Romanians were compelled to resort to alternative solutions, that is, to take up academically-based careers that were not closely tied to the state-managed job-market, anyway overcrowded by the Magyar 'titular elite'. Their investment into higher learning seems to have been far more strategic in the long run than that of their Magyar counterparts. Such relative gains are specifically evident if we regard enrollment ratios at both universities of Dualist Hungary together. Despite their - not once only imagined - ethnic advantage, inner Transylvanian Magyars behaved far less dynamically as regards academically-based careers or the location of their studies than Romanians. Once Romanians could afford higher learning, formal fulfillment of requirements of assimilation paradoxically helped them to maintain high positions within their own ethnic society, and that especially when the political context changed from a multiethnic setup to that of the nation-states, to be carved out of the defunct Monarchy.

VICTOR KARADY

Denominational Inequalities of Elite Training in Transylvania during the Dual Monarchy[1]

Recent research, due to inquisitive explorations made by Peter-Tibor Nagy of the Hungarian census archives (in search of unpublished data sets relative to matters sociohistorical in old regime Hungary), has yielded unprecedented results as to differences in levels of education among ethnic and denominational clusters. The statistical tables for Transylvania and Banat, and also for the rest of the country, are to be published in separate volumes with introductions comparing the various provinces under scrutiny, as it has already been done for several other provinces.[2]

This extremely refined and quantified evidence offers insights into local educational attainments of large social clusters defined simultaneously by not less than five statistically combined variables. Levels of schooling represent the dependent variable with values ranging from illiteracy to 8th grade secondary school training and above. (Unfortunately the archival sources surviving from the 1910 census do not distinguish those having started or accomplished post-secondary studies – university students or graduates – from secondary school degree holders, nor does it specify the different possible meanings of secondary studies concerned, such as, among others, certified graduation or class examinations from the 8th grade of a gymnasium, a 'real school', a higher commercial college or a teacher training 'normal school', all these being liable to be included in the given category.) The independent variables are as follows: region (counties and big towns with administrative autonomy – the latter being Kolozsvár/Cluj and Marosvásárhely/Târgu Mureş for the period concerned), gender, religion, and age. Other information is included with this, which is indirectly or partially connected to the education related data proper. These are, for example, the populations in absolute numbers and proportions by age brackets and religion, the percentage of the denominational clusters in the global population of the regional unit, the break-up of the denominational groups by mother tongue (indicating ethnicity). Three global indices of educational attainments are also

1 This study has benefited from data gathered thanks to research programmes supported by the Hungarian National Research Support Scheme NKFP, the OTKA and the Research Support Fund of the Central European University.

2 See V. Karady and P. T. Nagy, *Denominational Inequalities of Education in Dualist Hungary. A Data Bank for Transdanubia, 1910.* (Budapest: Oktatáskutató Intézet, 2003); *idem, Educational Inequalities and Denominations. Database for Western Slovakia, 1910* (Budapest, Wesleyan Theological Academy, 2004); *idem, Educational Inequalities and Denominations. Database for Eastern Slovakia, 1910* (Budapest: Wesleyan Theological Academy, 2006); *idem, Educational Inequalities and Denominations. Database for Transylvania, 1910* (Budapest: Wesleyan Theological Academy, 2008 forthcoming).

added for each denominational group concerned. They are constructed in a way that they indicate the cluster's over or underrepresentation on various levels of education as compared to the regional (county or city) average.

The last independent variable, age, distinguishing age five through age 60 and above, appears to be particularly precious, since it permits the reinterpretation of age group specific educational attainments in terms of those typical of historical generational brackets, allowing for the (in fact unverifiable and certainly not quite exact) hypothesis of identical death rates and migratory movements of the denominational groups concerned ere 1910. On the whole one can suppose, for example, that the distribution of levels of education, as observed among 60 year old and beyond in 1910, illustrates, at least approximatively, the differences in schooling investment among those born before 1850, entering primary school mostly in the 1850s and liable to be enrolled in secondary schools mostly somewhat later, in the 1850s and 1860s.

In this exposé I will sum up first our main results of this statistical data on Transylvania with a few references to educational patterns identified elsewhere for the same period. In the end I will try to offer cues to explain the typical discrepancies emerging from our tables. (See below, 90-101).

The General Hierarchy of Performances

The first observation concerns the very sharp hierarchical order of educational attainments by denominations.

Taking first into consideration data related to men, the general results of Jews appear to be by far the best, since their representation among those with the highest educational attainments exceeded by a factor surpassing 3-4 times the average. Roman Catholics come second on this ladder with approximately twice as many educated men above 4th grade secondary level than the average, but they are followed closely by Lutherans with levels almost as good. Unitarians are somewhat below them and Calvinists much lower, but still significantly exceeding the mean level of attainments. On the contrary, the two Christian groups of Greek ritual, with a slight relative advantage for the Greek Catholics, are located much below average on this scale.

This general rank order applies largely to women as well, but with some variations. Jewish preeminence was not so pronounced for women as for men and it asserted itself above all among those with a 4th grade secondary school level (but there exceeding the average by a mean factor of 5 times) and falling slightly behind Roman Catholics among those with 8th grade level or higher. For the rest, the hierarchy proved to be quite similar to those proper to the male population, with a stronger relative preeminence of Catholics, a somewhat poorer performance of Unitarians and a relatively lower one with the Greek Orthodox as compared to the Greek Catholics.

Thus, taken as a whole, the evidence of our data attests to an extraordinary diversity of levels of certified education, the gap between the most and the less advanced confessional clusters being very large. Moreover, in each denominational bracket the proportion of those with the highest attainment does not always correlate with similarly high proportions to those with 4th or 6th grade levels or simple literates. We can pursue the study of this diversity on

the basis of some details of our tables allowing further qualifications of the given general hierarchy. They indeed bring into the picture elements capable to modify to some extent the main patterns hitherto identified.

The first qualification of that order must bear upon discrepancies related to literacy levels and the proportions of the highly educated. While among males Jews and Roman Catholics surpass Lutherans (and by the same token, incidentally, all the other groups) with high proportions of their best educated brackets, levels of literacy of rank and file Lutherans (with only 3-4% of illiterates among adolescent and young adult males) were definitely significantly better than those of all other groups, including Jews (who had at least 6% illiterates in their younger adult age groups) and Roman Catholics (with at least as much as 12% illiterates in their younger adult population). Even Unitarians (8%) and Calvinists (11%) had less illiterates in the age group of 12-14 years than among similar Roman Catholic adolescents (13%). Rates of illiteracy were of course of a much higher order among those of Greek ritual, but while the majority of Uniates (Greek Catholics) had no certified writing and reading skills, this applied to a large but still only minority group of young Orthodox (39% in the 12-14 age bracket).

Similar but not identical discrepancies can be found among women. The contrast is indeed stark between the very low illiteracy rate of Lutherans (less than 5% in all young age groups and in some of these even remarkably lower than among male Lutheran adolescents) as well as the somewhat higher rates of Jews (6-9% among adolescents and young adults) and the much higher ones of Roman Catholics (13-16% in similar age brackets). For the rest there was a comparable rank order as among the male brackets.

This means that the 'educational hierarchy' differed significantly following the way it was measured. In more concrete terms, among the three most educated denominational clusters, Jews and Roman Catholics were definitely surpassing Lutherans by their share among those having obtained elite training, but they fell behind Lutherans as to the eradication of illiteracy. Such a conclusion calls for at least three specific remarks.

The first concerns the specific status of Lutherans in Transylvanian society, since our data call partially into question the commonly accepted idea of Lutheran over-education, an apparent truism, if not a fallacy, of Transylvanian history.[3] All but a few Transylvanian Lutherans were German speaking Saxons (formally 87%, even in 1910, after decades of Magyarizing 'assimilationist' policies in the country).[4] The 'Saxon University' – heritage of the medieval organisation of the privileged Saxon community in feudal times – did provide apparently for the generalization of literacy from very early on. Male Lutherans of the elderly generations in 1910 for example, born between 1851 and 1860, displayed already a merely marginal proportion of illiterates – 11%, as compared even to Jews – 19%, let alone Roman Catholics – 39%. Moreover, such an early spread of basic

3 See Joachim von Puttkamer, *Schulalltag und nationale Integration in Ungarn*, (München: Oldenburg, 2003), 149-152.

4 The most competent authors considered that practically all Lutherans in Transylvania were German Speaking Saxons. See for example Nyárády R. Károly, *Erdély népesedéstörténete* [History of the population in Transylvania], (Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 2003), 178.

education was equally extended over Lutheran women, since in the same generations the latter had only 15% of illiterates as opposed to a majority (54%) of Jewish women and as many as 63% of Roman Catholics. The efficiency of the Lutheran-Saxon school network is thus far from being a historical myth. It cannot be regarded merely as fully applicable to the same extent to the more advanced levels of education, at least in Transylvania, much to the contrary of what could be established in this respect for the the whole Dualist Hungary.[5]

The second remark is related to Jews who, though largely Magyarized by 1910 (with 74% Magyar speakers in Transylvania) achieved this status only lately. This involved two important qualifications of Jewish linguistic and educational skills. First, still one quarter of them continued to profess Yiddish mother tongue or 'first usual language', so they appeared in statistical data as 'German speakers'. Indeed Yiddish was not recognized by the state as one of the 'national' or 'ethnic' languages of the Monarchy, following the legal fiction that Jews did not constitute a 'national minority' (*nemzetiség, Nationalität*) but a religious cluster only. Second, Jewish male literacy, especially in the elderly generations, was considered rather general, but acquired in traditional religious schools *(chederim, yeshivot)* and thus often limited to Yiddish and/or Hebrew. For census inspectors, who did not, most of the times, have means to control Yiddish or Hebrew literacy, such skills were not acknowledged as equivalent to literacy in one of the official languages of the Empire. *Yeshivot* often trained their students in talmudic studies beyond 20 years of age without issuing certifications accepted by state authorities (except the exam for Orthodox Rabbis in the Pozsony/Bratislava/Pressburg *Yeshiva*). We do not know whether such advanced religious learning qualified students for a classification in the category of those with 6th or 8th grade levels, but it is most probable that some Jewish literates in Yiddish and/or Hebrew could be easily recorded as illiterates. Hence the officially observed rate of Jewish literacy (as well as, possibly, more advanced levels of learning) must have corresponded to actually much higher intellectual competences which lacked the usual certifications by recognized scholarly bodies. This remark, far from modifying our conclusions, confirms one of its main findings, the relative Jewish preeminence in educational matters in Transylvania which, as it has been established elsewhere, corresponds to similar conclusions for the whole Dualist Hungary.[6]

5 If measured by various criteria, like the qualifications of *érettségi* exams, other marks obtained in the main gymnasium subjects, access frequencies to higher education, Lutherans were on top of the hierarchy of school excellence during and, indeed, even after the Dualist era. See some of my studies relevant in this respect: "Social Mobility, Reproduction and Qualitative Schooling Differentials in Old Regime Hungary", *History Department Yearbook 1994–1995* (Budapest: Central European University, 1996), 134-156; "Zsidók és evangélikusok a magyar iskolarendszerben" [Jews and Lutherans in the Hungarian school system] in *Iskolarendszer és felekezeti egyenlőtlenségek Magyarországon (1867–1945)* [School system and denominational inequalities in Hungary, 1867–1945] (Budapest: Replika-könyvek, 1997), 95-110, and "Nemzeti és felekezeti kisebbségek a budapesti egyetemeken a századfordulón", [National and confessional minorities in the universities of Budapest around 1900], ibidem, 195-215.

6 See, besides my book in Hungarian, cited above, some of my other relevant studies: "Social Mobility, Reproduction and Qualitative Schooling Differentials in Old Regime Hungary", *op. cit.*; Victor Karady and István Kemény, "Antisémitisme universitaire et concurrence de classe: la loi de numerus clausus en Hongrie entre les deux guerres", *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, 34, Sept. 1980, 67-96; "Jewish Enrollment Patterns

For an illustration of the fact that Jewish literacy could be acquired outside the official school channels, let us quote data on the rates of schooling by denominations in 1890, an early period when – following our generational data – male Jewish illiteracy had fallen already to the level below 10%, but when still close to one third of Jewish children subject to obligatory schooling would not turn up in public schools. Our findings indeed show that 95% of Lutherans, 82% of Roman Catholics, 78% of Unitarians, 77% of Calvinists of compulsory school age were actually enrolled while only 65% of Greek Catholics, 66% of Greek Orthodox and not much more than 69% of Jews[7]. The hierarchy of enrollment frequencies followed thus very closely that of educational performances observed in the generational groups concerned in various denominations – except for Jews. This could happen only if we take into account those Jewish children who attended *chederim* and *yeshivot* only, instead of primary schools of public status. This occurred probably more often in Transylvania than elsewhere in the country, since the network of Jewish primary schools of public status proved to be indeed very small (7 altogether in 1900[8]). This also involved the fact, by the way, that Jews could attend practically only state or municipal school, due to their difficulties to find admission in Christian schools and/or their reluctance to attend them. Preference for non confessional schools was a general and very special trend of Jewish primary schooling at that time.[9]

These circumstances of Jewish schooling are well reflected in the vast regional differences of Jewish presence in primary schools of public status. In

in Classical Secondary Education in Old Regime and Inter-War Hungary", *Studies in Contemporary Jewry* (Bloomington), 1984, 1, 225-252; "Assimilation and Schooling: National and Denominational Minorities in the Universities of Budapest around 1900" in *Hungary and European Civilization*, ed. G. Ránki (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 285-319; "Jewish Over-Schooling in Hungary. Its Sociological Dimensions" in *Sozialstruktur und Bildungswesen in Mitteleuropa* [Social Structure and Education in Central Europ], ed. V. Karady, W. Mitter (Köln, Wien, Böhlau Verlag, 1990), 209-246; "Schulbildung und Religion. Zu den ethnisch-konfessionellen Strukturmerkmalen der ungarischen Intelligenz in der Zwischenkriegszeit" in *Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft, Herausforderung, Vermittlung, Praxis. Festschrift für Wolfgang Mitter zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Christoph Kodron, Botho von Kopp, Uwe Lauterbach, Ulrich Schäfer, Gerlind Schmidt (Köln-Wien, Böhlau Verlag, 1997), Band 2., 621-641. "Jewish Over-Schooling Revisited: the Case of Hungarian Secondary Education in the Old Regime (1900–1941)", *Yearbook of the Jewish Studies Programme, 1998/1999*, (Budapest: Central European University, 2000), 75-91; Victor Karady and with Lucian Nastasa, *The University of Kolozsvár/Cluj and the Students of the Medical Faculty (1872–1918),* (Cluj, Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center, Budapest-New York, Central European University Press, 2004).

7 Calculations made on the basis of information on the size of denominational populations subject to obligatory schooling in *A magyar királyi Vallás és Közoktatásügyi miniszter jelentése az 1890-es évre*, [Report of the royal Hungarian minister of cults and public instruction for 1890], (Budapest: 1891), 154-155, and on those among them who actually attended state recognized schools (*ibid*. 162-163).

8 Cf. *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* [Hungarian statistical yearbook], (Budapest: 1901), 320.

9 Indeed Jews were the only confessional group around 1900 which sent a mere minority of its offspring to its own confessional schools (37% in 1904), the majority attending state or municipal schools (48%), those of other denominations (13%) or private institutions (3%). See my study: "Szegregáció, asszimiláció és disszimiláció. Felekezetek az elemi iskolai piacon (1867–1942)" [Segregation, assimilation and dissimilation. Denominations in the Hungarian school market, 1867–1942], in *Világosság* (Budapest) 2003, XLIII/8-9, 61-83, especially 78-80.

counties representing the main track of migration and settlement of the most traditional Orthodox Jewry, the regional extensions of *Galicianers*, just South of Máramaros county, the settlement center of Hungary's *Ostjuden* – there were no Jewish schools of public status at all, and the rate of attendance of Jewish children in the age of school obligation also remained for long very low. For 1890 the proportions were only 52% in Szolnok-Doboka, 25% in Maros-Torda (equal to that of Máramaros) and 27% in Kis-Küküllő counties.[10] Some 37% of Transylvanian Jewish children concerned lived in these counties at that time.

The third issue has to do with the general and so to say 'disrupted' nature of the global level of educational attainments in Transylvania. On the one hand, some groups showed high attainments as compared to the country wide average in Hungary, while on the other hand, several others had only modest if not actually depressed educational scores, the latter marking strongly the majority denominations of Greek ritual (amounting to 58% of the local population around 1900[11]). All this in spite of the decent good level of institutional investments in schooling as shown in the following table:

Table 1. The share of Transylvanian population, schools and pupils in those of Hungary (outside Croatia) in 1910[12]

	share of Transyl-vania in % of Hungary	numbers in Hungary
population of 6-19 years old[13]	14.1 %	5,455,244
Educational institutions		
nursery schools	11.4 %	1 995
primary daily schools	16.1 %	16 530
'civic' lower secondary school (polgári)	11.9 %	471
male teacher training Normal Schools	18.1 %	49
female teacher training Normal Schools	9.8 %	41
gymnasiums and reáliskolák	19.0 %	210
high schools for girls	5.7 %	35
higher educational institutions	16.9 %	59
Educated clientele		
children in nursery schools	8.7 %	187,697
pupils in primary daily schools	12.1 %	1,942,438
pupils in 'civic' (polgári) schools	9.7 %	87,509
male students in teacher training Normal Schools	17.0%	4,877
female students in teacher training Normal Schools	9.1 %	4,867

10 See the above cited passage of the Report of the Minister of Cults and public instruction in note 5.

11 Cf. Károly R. Nyárády, op. cit., 387.

12 Calculations concerning schools, pupils and students based on data in *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* [Hungarian statistical yearbook], (Budapest: 1911), 332-333.

students in gymnasiums	16.5 %	60,613
students in reáliskolák	11.4 %	10,688
students in high schools for girls	5.6 %	6,318
university, academy and seminary students	18.8 %	14,021

This simple listing of proportions of institutions and school clientele in Transylvania as compared to those in the whole country demonstrate the fundamental duality of the educational market in the region, torn aside by contradictory instances of both under and overdevelopment. On the one hand, the province was endowed well over average with primary, secondary and even higher educational institutions, except for those dedicated to women. Moreover, in these schools the proportion of students in the post-primary institutions was also above the country wide average, that is, above the Transylvanian proportion of young people in 1910. On the other hand, the structure of the educational provision in Transylvania was markedly backward or 'premodern' at that time, as illustrated, among others, by the scarcity of women's schools and (in part as a consequence) the much below the average enrollments in the female educational tracks, the generally low enrollments in primary schools[14] or – not exemplified in the above table – the high percentage of kids in the age of obligatory schooling exempted from schooling (38% of all those in the country in 1907–1913[15]) or simply not enrolled in a primary school (26% of all similar cases in the country in 1907–1913[16]), or the distinctly high proportion of teachers without proper qualification (22% as against the country wide average of 16% in 1897/8[17]), etc.

Age and Generation Specific Inequalities

If we consider the data referring to various levels of schooling as well as those pertaining to different age groups, our global observations related to educational inequalities must be subject to substantial revisions.

Starting with the evidence on levels related to men, one striking difference opposes Jews to all other groups as to their proportions with lower grade secondary schooling and those with 8 classes or more, the latter representing the clusters having achieved education due to the gentlemanly ruling class – including fully completed secondary school training with or without *érettségi* certification (*Matura,*

13 Calculated on the basis of data in Magyar statisztikai közlemények /Hungarian statistical reports/, 61, 302-431.

14 Just over 71% of children of obligatory schooling age attended a school in 1900 as against a country wide average of 82%. Cf. *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* [Hungarian statistical yearbook], (Budapest: 1901), 314.

15 Cf. *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* [Hungarian statistical yearbook], (Budapest: 1915), 240.

16 *Ibid. loc.cit.*

17 *Ibid.* 1898, 299.

Abitur)[18] or equivalent,[19] together with, occasionally, higher studies in universities, vocational academies or theological seminaries. It is certainly a pity that the '8th grade' category is not defined more clearly, especially that those having begun or graduated from universities, academies, or seminaries are not distinguishable here.

However imprecise our data may be, the main result in this context is that the percentage of graduates of 8th grade and above exceeded for all Christian males in each age group that of those with only 4th grade level. The educational pyramid of Christians proved thus to be grounded on a narrow basis with an enlargement on its top, with the obvious exception of the 15-19 year age group (most of its members being yet technically unable to reach a level of 8th grade or beyond). Such a narrow basis was particularly striking for Unitarians, for whom men with 4th grade level represented mostly less than a third of those with 8th grade level and above. For men of Greek ritual similar discrepancies, insignificant or even inexistent in the oldest generations, also tended to grow excessively in the younger age groups. Such a 'reversed pyramid' of educational attainments can be found for Jews only in the very youngest age groups (below 30) but not in the older ones. This meant that relative Jewish overrepresentation in elite schooling rose much more above average with the 4th grade level than with the 8th grade and above. This applied to some extent – though in a much milder way – to Lutherans and Roman Catholics, the two other best educated clusters, while Unitarians showed significantly less overrepresentation as compared to the average with the 4th grade level than with the 8th grade level. Men of Greek ritual were also, similarly, as a consequence, more poorly represented in the 4th grade level than among those in the 8th grade or above. This is illustrated in the following table, summarizing our findings among relevant census data.

Table 2. A summary of age group specific proportions of men with various levels of schooling by denominations in Transylvania (1910)[20]

	4 classes among 15 years of age and above	6 classes among 20 years of age and above	8 classes and above among 20 years of age and above
Roman Catholics	4.7 %	1.9 %	6.9 %
Greek Catholics	0.7 %	0.4 %	1.4 %
Calvinists	3.4 %	1.4 %	4.8 %
Lutherans	4.6 %	0.35 %	6.1 %
Unitarians	2.3 %	1.1 %	5.5 %

18 In the contemporary educational system the *érettségi* was already made (since the 1849 imperial *Entwurf*) a necessary condition for university studies, but not yet for all kinds of post-secondary vocational studies, like military schools, agricultural colleges or some theologies. In the Ludovica Akadémia (training institution for officers of the Honvéd Army) for example, the completion of eight secondary classes was a requirement, but not the final secondary school grade, the *érettségi* proper.

19 The obvious and popular equivalent could be the completion of a Normal School (*tanitóképző)* for primary school teachers. But it could also be a higher commercial school (*felső kereskedelmi*) offering a special *érettségi*.

20 All relevant evidence used for calculations here are to be found in the tables annexed.

Greek Orthodox	0.8 %	0.3 %	1.1 %
Jews	11.9 %	4.6 %	11.9 %
All	2.3 %	0.9 %	3.1 %

Such discrepancies demand a special inquiry to be duely interpreted. Logically, the 'normal' pyramid should have been the rule, many achieving a 4th grade level and a select few going further in the educational ladder. This is precisely what observed numbers of the size of gymnasium and *reáliskola* classes actually reflected for the Dualist Era. In the years 1882 for example there were 4383 pupils in the 4th forms of gymnasiums and 558 in those of *reáliskolák.* Four years later, in 1886, only 2316 and 218 of them, respectively, were enrolled in the 8th forms, the drop-out rate being thus 51% for gymnasiums and as high as 58% for *reáliskolák*.[21] If I could not mobilize comparable evidence for later periods of the Dualist era, other data demonstrate that the quantitative relationship between the size of the lower classes of secondary education and that of the higher classes had not evolved momentously by that time. Among male students 47,426 finished grades 1-4 of secondary school compared to only 22,572 – some 48% of the latter – in the 5-8th grades in the interwar years.[22] For girls the proportions remaining in the higher classes were even much smaller. Our own finding cannot thus be explained with reference to drop out rates, since they would suggest the generality of the 'normal' pyramid.

Such an argumentation ignores the existence of non classical secondary educational tracks open to candidates during the Dual Monarchy, which could occasionally qualify students for the category of at least those completing 8th grade. These were the already mentioned commercial high schools, the Normal Schools, the military secondary institutions (*kadétiskolák*) and several other vocational schools of uncertain status in the educational hierarchy (agricultural, horticultural, forestry, vinicultural, mining, etc.), which would train higher technicians mostly after their having graduated from the 4 year *polgári iskola*. Most of the graduates of these schools could claim to have completed 8 years of 'secondary' classes. Just for the sake of illustration, in 1910/11 3906 male students graduated with *érettségi* from gymnasiums and *reáliskolák,*[23] while 1150 young men took a teacher's degree from a Normal School out of 4877 enrolled students.[24] In 1911/12 1397 students were registered on the files of vocational secondary schools (men and women not distinguished here), out of which, one can estimate that one fifth (some 240) could actually graduate. Thus, there may have been in the final decade of the Dualist era a large group of young men, corresponding approximately to as many as one third of holders

21 See Lajos Láng, *Középoktatás hazánkban, 1867–1886*, [Secondary education in our fatherland] (Budapest: 1887).

22 Cf. Joseph Asztalos, *La statistique des écoles secondaires hongroises jusqu'à l'année scolaire 1932/33*, (Budapest: 1934) 36.

23 Cf. *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* [Hungarian statistical yearbook], (Budapest: 1911) 385.

24 *Ibid*. 373.

of the classical *érettségi*, who had accomplished the equivalent to the 8th grade secondary in a vocational track. Now all but a few of the former were demonstrably Christians, since Jews did not represent more than 2.8% of Normal School and even less, 1.1%, of other vocational school students at that time.[25] Consequently, this can substantially enhance the number of Christians who could and probably did declare 8th grade secondary education at the census as against Jews as well as those Christians who declared the completion of 4th or 6th grades only.

Secondarily, but certainly to a very limited degree only, the relative proportion of those having finished the 8th grade or above as compared to those with lower school qualifications may also be due to inequalities of mortality benefiting the better educated. But this could not much affect denominational differentials in this respect.

A much more intriguing difference separates Jews from Gentiles when one compares age group specific educational performances.

Logically, there must have developed within the dynamics of the modernization and growth of the school network a general expansion of educational qualifications for the whole population. This can indeed be observed in Transylvania as well in the sense that the oldest generations had lower proportions of formally educated but, and this is an indeed astonishing observation, the actual increase proved to be rather limited, amounting to a mere doubling of the proportions of men with an 8th grade level and above, and an even much lower extension of educational assets for those with lower grades: the proportions of those males with 4th through 6th grade levels grew from 1.9% to 2.8%-2.9% only from the generations born before 1850 to those born after 1880. General illiteracy rates of men were also somewhat less than halved over those thirty odd decades covered by the birth dates of the oldest and the youngest generations appearing in our tables.

For the latter, especially for those men under 35 in 1910, the standstill in the development of general educational performances is particularly visible. If progress was manifestly rapid for the preceding generational cohorts, stagnation or even decline seems to be the rule for the youngest age groups. Illiteracy rates were 35.6% for the 30-34 years old men and 34.1% for the 20-24 years old men – not much above the 32.7% for the 15-19 year old men, who could have, by that age, completed their study cycles necessary for the acquisition of basic writing and reading skills. But the decline is even more manifest for men at the 4th grade level, since their proportions remained exactly the same (2.2%) in the 40-44 years group as in the 20-24 year group. Among those men with 6th grade level no systematic change, only oscillations between 0.6% and 0.8% can be observed in all age groups (except for adolescents under 20 in 1910).

Progress between generations and in time proved to be much more significant for women following our data, even if the very high initial illiteracy rate came only to be halved by the youngest adult generation. More advanced levels of training, though significantly growing over time, remained desperately low in 1910 even for the younger groups (hardly exceeding 4 % for those with any kind

25 Same sources as in the precedent footnotes.

of secondary education or above). For women a sign of stagnation also seems clear from the generational cluster of 30-34 years down to the 20-24 year old for the proportion of those with 8th grade levels or above (a mere 0.7%-0.8%).

For our purposes it is of course interesting to note that these general trends of limited progress or even stagnation over generations and time was very unevenly distributed among denominational groups. This is a very complex issue since historical developments were different for each cluster following the level of education by which progress was measured in our tables. Still, allowing for some simplifications, two drastically contrasting patterns can be discerned, if we ground our analysis on evidence concerning men. Such marked differences oppose Jews on the one hand, displaying a rapid and spectacular increase of their educational assets over generations and Christians as such, with a much slower growth, if any. A secondary differentiation can be introduced between somewhat faster developing Lutherans together with Roman Catholics and the other gentile groups, for the latter lesser progress appears on the whole to have been the rule. But this secondary division is slightly controversial at instances and definitely less spectacular than the first one.

The development for Jews was unilinear and constant indeed in the field under scrutiny, though their general educational scores were already among the best for the oldest generations as well. Over 9% of Jewish men over 60 (born before 1850) had a smattering of secondary education, but 31% was still illiterate. Among the youngest adult Jews (20-24 years old) almost one third (32.5%) held in 1910 some secondary school qualifications and the rate of illiteracy was diminished by five times (down to 6%). The proportion of those with 8th grade level qualification was also multiplied by a factor exceeding five. For Jewish women the cadence of growth was obviously even more spectacular, since the proportions with secondary training (4th grade and above) increased over time from less than 2% for the oldest generations to more than 21%. The Jewish pattern of constant progress over time is well established thanks to our data.

The Christian pattern, as hinted at above, was much more complex and to some extent ambiguous.

For the generally better educated Lutherans and Roman Catholics one can easily observe signs of relatively fast historical and generational progress. The proportions of those with some secondary education doubled over time and the rates of illiteracy – already very low, initially, for Lutherans – diminished by a factor of four to five for both clusters. There again, progress was more rapid but, ultimately, much more modest for women; Lutheran and Catholic women with some secondary education among the 60 year old and above segment reached a marginal level of 2%, while this proportion reached around 10% for both groups in the youngest adult generations. The rate of illiteracy also decreased by a factor of five for Roman Catholics and as much as by a factor of eight or more (if we compare the oldest generations with the adolescent age groups).

For the other Christians progress was much more uneven, limited, and occasionally irrelevant, at least for the male population.

Calvinist and Unitarian men, relatively well educated in the oldest generations (on approximately the same level as Roman Catholics), fell significantly behind Roman Catholics in the youngest adult generations, though

they too benefitted from a radical diminution of their rates of illiteracy. Their proportions in the youngest adult generations of those with 8th grade level and above grew by a mere half of what they had been among men born before 1850. The same limited progress applied equally to Calvinist and Unitarian women.

For Greek Orthodox and, even more, Greek Catholics every aspect of educational progress over time remained extremely limited. Neither the proportions of men with a smattering of secondary education reached doubling, nor did their rates of illiteracy diminish to much below half of their adult groups. The educational progress made by women of Greek ritual – though formally perceptible – is even technically difficult to estimate. In the oldest generations practically none of them (!) held the slightest secondary school qualification. This could only improve over time and actually did so for the generations of young adults, though not exceeding a very marginal 1%. In spite of progress, the rates of illiteracy were still much over 50% for young adult and adolescent women of Greek ritual in 1910, falling back, truly enough, from an almost total lack of writing and reading skills in the oldest generational clusters (97%-98%).

Frameworks of Interpretation

First of all one should deal with the school system, the very particularities of educational supply, to raise the question of whether they allow an interpretation of denominational differences in school performance. The obvious starting point here should be the denominational composition of the school network, since institutional education remained in the Dualist period largely the privilege of ecclesiastical authorities, which, at least in primary schools, practiced a policy of often openly preferential selection of pupils of their own denomination.[26]

Table 3. Distribution of secondary and primary schools by authorities of control in Transylvania (1900)

	primary schools[27]			gymnasiums[28]
State	507	16.9	-	5
Municipal	167	5.6	-	1
Private, 'associational'	32	1.1	-	-
Roman Catholic	234	7.8	10.2	6
Greek Catholic	788	26.2	34.3	3
Greek Orthodox	760	25.3	33.1	2
Lutheran	271	9.0	11.8	7
Calvinist	202	6.7	8.8	6

26 On this problem see my study: "Szegregáció, asszimiláció és disszimiláció", *op.cit.*, *passim*.

27 Cf. *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* [Hungarian statistical yearbook], (Budapest: 1900), 332.

28 Cf. *Ibid*, 337-338.

Unitarian	33	1.1	1.4	2
Jewish	8	0.3	0.3	-
all	**3,002**	**32**		**32**
% with public schools		**100.0**		
% without public schools			**100.0**	

It is obvious from this table that observed confessions specific educational performances are only in a loose statistical relation, if any, with the number of schools run at that time by various ecclesiatical authorities.

As far as primary schools, formally, both Greek Catholics and Orthodox had a somewhat larger share in the institutional market than expected, given their share in the population (28% and 29% respectively), if we suppose that they could enter state and municipal establishments in proportionally equal numbers. Lutherans also had a larger primary school network than expected due to their smaller share (8%) in the population. Thus for Lutherans their very good scores of literacy can be correlated to the large size of their school network, this cannot apply to the primary schools run by churches of Greek ritual. But all other denominational clusters appear to be crassly under-represented int the school market, especially the Roman Catholics and the Calvinists holding not much more (or even less) than half as many schools (in proportion of all schools) than their share in the population (14% and 15% repectively). The case of Jews is particularly striking with their negligible presence in the market of primary schools.

The situation was rather different for gymnasiums. Here the public (state or municipality run) institutions had a similar one fifth share in the market, but the distribution of the rest corresponded somewhat more to the observed performances of various denominational clusters. The Churches of Greek ritual had a markedly backward position with only 5 schools (teaching all in Romanian) for the majority population in the province, while the market was dominated (up to two thirds) by the Western Christian Churches. Still, there again, dissimilarities are worth noting. The relatively smallest 'Western' (that is, ethnically mostly German and Magyar) denominations, the Lutherans (8% in the population) had more gymnasiums (7 German institutions) than any other clusters, that is, the Roman Catholics and the Calvinists (with 6 gymnasiums but with 14-15% of the population for each). The Unitarians (with 2 gymnasiums and 2.5% of the population) can also be regarded as better endowed than demographically expected or justified. There were no full scale Jewish secondary schools at all in Dualist Hungary.[29]

Thus the above detailed educational hierarchy is far from being clearly reflected in the supply of church schools, which is more astonishing for the primary than the secondary level. The latter was indeed actually hardly marked by trends of denominational segregation, if preferential school choices

29 With the exception of an 'incomplete' gymnasium in Vágujhely, in Northern Hungary, not granting graduation.

related to the 'social distance', cultural differences and 'ritual alienation' between religious clusters are disregarded. Greek Catholic or Orthodox students would, hence, allegedly prefer Roman Catholic gymnasiums, when they opted for Hungarian training[30] and Protestants and Catholics would mutually tend to avoid enrollment in institutions of the other faith. Similarly Jews could, occasionally prefer state gymnasiums or Protestant ones to other ecclesiastical institutions, when they had the choice, but they did not suffer any discrimination proper in this period in secondary education.[31] There was probably no discrimination but certainly a strategic avoidance of Romanian gymasiums of Greek ritual by all non Romanian pupils, because tuition was offered there in a language lacking much promotional value in the Magyar nation state ruled by Hungarian and German speaking national elites. This proved to be much less reciprocated, for exactly the same reasons, by Romanians – often accepting or seeking Magyar or German cultural and social assimilation in Magyar or German gymnasiums.[32] But it is undeniable that studies in institutions with alien tuition language represented – specifically for Romanians – a supplementary hardship and could obviously put a brake on their efforts at upwards educational mobility.

Thus, if the denominational setup of the gymnasium network, that is the mere size of the school supply accessible for each denominational group, was not quite neutral in matters religious, this cannot be considered as a serious reason for the indeed enormous discrepancies found among denominational clusters in terms of educational performance.

30 To this point see Simion Retegan, "Scolarizare si desvoltare. Elevii Romani ai Liceului Piarist din Cluj, intre 1850-1910", *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie* (Cluj-Napoca: XXXII, 1993), 121-139. Still, by 1900, students with Romanian mother tongue would behave like students of most other ethnico-denominational groups. They attended mostly a gymnasium of Greek religious persuasion (46%), public gymnasiums (29%) and only to a limited extent a Roman Catholic (12%) or another Protestant institution (13%). This data includes students in Hungary from outside historic Transylvania as well. Calculated from *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* [Hungarian statistical yearbook], (Budapest: 1900), 353.

31 On this point see some empirical findings in my *Iskolarendszer és felekezeti egyenlőtlenségek, op. cit.*, 162.

32 As demonstrated in the preceding footnote, a qualified majority of Romanian students actually opted for Magyar and German gymnasiums. The most concrete reason for this may have been the fact that Romanian gymnasiums directed their students mostly towards Greek Catholic or Greek Orthodox ecclesiastic status and less to modern intellectual professions.

Table 4. Degrees of urbanization by denominations in Transylvania (1900)

	urban population[33]	general population[34]
Roman Catholics	25.1	13.4
Greek Catholics	12.2	27.9
Greek Orthodox	18.7	30.2
Lutherans	19.0	9.0
Calvinists	17.9	14.7
Unitarians	2.1	2.6
Jews	5.1	2.1
All	100.0	100.0

But one can consider another aspect of the educational supply, its regional or local distribution, as compared to that of its potential denominational clientele, for a more plausible explanation of the inequalities observed. Indeed the accessibility in terms of both physical distance from schools and the cost of schooling investment depend manifestly upon the location of the schools and the respective settlement of their clientele. The primary school network was, by that time, fairly decentralized, so that direct access to schools could be provided for most if not all pupils, even in remote villages. This was not the case of secondary and higher educational institutions almost exclusively established in towns with 'organized councils' (small townships, earlier 'county towns' – *megyei városok*) or bigger cities with administrative autonomy. The unequal urbanization of potential school clientele could, thus, be a factor defining and to a large extent positively or negatively determining the chances of access to post-primary schooling. The table above shows the basic data to this effect for 1900 related to the population in all the 26 towns of both administrative status in Transylvania.

The evidence points clearly to a strong statistical relationship between degrees of urbanization and the level of school performances. Significantly over-urbanized groups belonged to the best educated clusters as well (with more than double share among the urban population compared to their proportions among rank and file inhabitants, like Jews and Lutherans, or with close to double, like Roman Catholics) belonged to the best educated clusters as well. Those slightly over-urbanized (like Calvinists and Unitarians) displayed equally close to average educational scores. On the contrary, the firmly under-urbanized brackets – the Greek Orthodox and, and more so, the Greek Catholics, appear among the clusters with the poorest educational attainments as well. In other terms, when the residential disposition of the schooling supply is matched with a similar distribution of the potential

33 Calculations made on the evidence published in *Magyar városok adminisztratív évkönyve*, vol. I. [Administrative yearbook of Hungarian towns I], (Budapest: 1912), 75-77. There were only two cities in Transylvania at that time with 'legal independence' (*önálló törvényhatósági jogú város*), Marosvásárhely/Târgu Mureş and Kolozsvár/Cluj.

34 Calculated following Károly R. Nyárády, *op. cit.* 466-474. These results are somewhat different from what can be read in our tables, without altering their relative size.

demand by denomination, there is a positive response in form of a measure of over-schooling. The contrasted geographical composition of the supply and the demand generated sharp trends of under-investment in education.

Still, residential distribution does certainly not explain all the observed denominational inequalities, since, on the whole, a fraction only of the Transylvanian population (not more than a mere 9,4 % in 1900[35]) was actually urbanised in the Dualist era. For a better interpretation of our main results one has to look closer into the denominational set-up of the potential demand side, that is, the main social strata providing advanced school clienteles in this period. Thus we must resort to an analysis – let alone a summary one - of the socioprofessional composition of Transylvanian society in the early 20th century broken down by confessional clusters.

Table 5. The distribution of selected intellectual (non manual) professions in Transylvania by denominations (1900)[36]

	Roman Catho-lics	Greek Catho-lics	Greek Ortho-dox	Luthe-rans	Calvi-nists	Unita-rians	Jews	All
Private employees (industry, trade, banks)	20.6	4.6	6.3	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
priests, clerics	6.6	40.5	42.6	13.9	15.2	18.5	4.7	20.1
primary school teachers	14.0	36.0	37.5	24.9	23.1	25.9	6.0	24.0
highschool teachers	4.5	1.8	1.8	4.9	3.6	3.9	0.5	3.2
all	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
numbers	3,295	2,364	2,012	2,260	2,848	541	1,309	14,629
%	22.5	16.2	13.7	15.4	19.5	3.4	8.9	100.0
% in general population	13.4	27.9	30.2	9.0	14.7	2.6	2.1	100.0

Educational investments are indeed always made in any given society in a sharply stratified manner, all the strata better endowed with educational and other goods offering more and better than average education to their offspring either in form of social 'self-reproduction' or/and in form of conversion of part

35 Following data used in the two preceding notes.

36 Cf. *Magyar statisztikai közlemények* [Hungarian statistical reports] no. 16, 134-236 passim.

of their economic or relational assets into educational ones. Hence the importance of the social stratification of denominational clusters for the explanation of their respective educational performances. Let us content ourselves in this study with the reference to a small number of selected intellectual occupations, capable of exemplifing the very unequal distribution of 'educated professions', especially in the active male population.[37]

Here again, considering the two last lines of table, we have a quite similar pattern as for degrees of urbanization. The best educated denominational clusters – Jews above all, but also Lutherans and Roman Catholics – were by far the most over-represented among the intellectual professions, Calvinists and Unitarians being still overrepresented, but to a much lesser extent, and those of the two Greek faiths almost equally underrepresented (with a relative advantage of the Greek Catholics).

However, if we take into account the internal distribution of our professionals following their type of employment or activities (in private employment and free markets, under – at least partly – semi-public authorities, the – more or less – publicly employed) new forms of fundamental inequalities emerge. One can sum up these findings in four patterns.

The first one is represented by Jews who combined features which may be qualified as the most 'modern', in the sense that in 1900 their absolute majority (up to four fifths) was active in recently developing branches of non manual professions in free economic markets, above all in private industry and trade. Now high educational qualifications were not always necessary for private employees. This may explain why the Jewish educational pyramid could maintain a large basis (with many having only 4 secondary classes worth of certified schooling). But this means also that the very important educational attainments observed among Jews had been often reached by people not obliged to acquire such degrees of certified knowledge for their professional advancement. Hence the conclusion that a good part of 'Jewish over-schooling' was due to educational mobility proper, to some kind of in-built 'aspiration for knowledge' and cultural goods providing all kinds of symbolic benefits (among them some convertible into highly advantageous 'assimilationist social assets', obviously relevant for a stigmatized cluster) and not (at least much less than in other denominational circles) to the self-reproduction of the educated strata.

The second pattern is proper to Lutherans and Roman Catholics whose substantial proportions – more than two fifths of them – were active in the same 'new fields'. Their proportions did certainly not reach that of Jews, still they exceeded those typical of all other groups. Among Lutherans the proportions of private employees and free professionals were second only to Jews. Thus, there again we can suppose the existence of a large extent of educational mobility from noneducated strata. But the majority of Roman Catholics and Lutherans concerned were involved in professions controlled by the state (civil service) or by the churches (clerics, teachers) with a

37 Females 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 a quasi-exclusion of women from most educational tracks leading to the intellectual professions.

significant proportion of secondary school professors teaching mostly in confessional gymnasiums.

The third pattern, embodied by Calvinists and Unitarians, was not very far from the preceding one, but with a very modest proportion of private employees in industry and trade, a larger proportion of employees in the 'semi-private' transportation business (railways, coach services, taxis, etc.) and a strong presence of civil servants, clerics, and teachers.

The fourth pattern, equally typical of both clusters of Greek ritual, is characterized by insignificant proportions of those in free private markets and an overwhelming share of semi-public professionals, especially clerics and teachers. In fact the last two 'petty intellectual professions' take up as much as three-fourths of all 'intellectual professionals' in these denominational clusters compared to only less than one half in all the other denominational groups. Thus, typically, educated Romanians belonged to professions controlled mostly by the churches in Transylvania.

As the conclusion of this essay one cannot but confirm the main hypothesis to which converge all the indices resorted to, which, as it has been demonstrated, explain at least in part the observed denominational hierarchy of educational attainments. This hierarchy ranges from Jews at the top together with Roman Catholics and Lutherans, to Calvinists and Unitarians in the middle level and to Greek Orthodox and Catholics at the bottom. Levels of education appear indeed as a more or less direct product of degrees of modernization of the confessional clusters concerned. Aspirations for modernity, professional and cultural mobility ('assimilation' among Jews or some Germans) or resistance to it (among Saxons and Romanians alike), as well as other similar factors were instrumental in generating or maintaining most of the educational demand under scrutiny. This demand had of course to meet the available supply of schooling. But educational institutions remained open to all almost indiscriminately in the post-primary level and easily accessible (at least for urbanized groups) on the secondary level. In primary schooling, in spite of a generally heavy confessional segregation or self-segregation exercised in ecclesiastical schools, the rapid growth of the public network provided for a large (if not complete) compensation for disadvantaged minorities (like Jews) to get access to elementary education, especially when they accepted Magyar language tuition.[38] This implies that the very nature of the regional school supply did play a role, but probably a subordinate one only in the emergence of denominational inequalities. Its functions, often translated into ethnic-linguistic fragmentation and segregation prevailing in confessional primary school networks, should not however be underestimated in the explanation of the, on the whole rather, low region specific level of educational capital acquired by the Transylvanian population by the end of the Dualist Era.

38 While the language of tuition in confessional schools of public status was largely determined by the language use of the local religious community concerned, except for Jewish schools – paragons of 'self-assimilation' of sorts – state schools almost exclusively promoted Hungarian tuition. In 1896/7 for example only a mere 1% of state primary schools admitted non Magyar tuition as against 5% of Jewish schools, 28% of village community schools, 34% of Roman Catholic schools, 69% of Lutheran schools, 86% of Greek Catholic and as much as 99 % of Greek Orthodox schools. Data calculated from *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* [Hungarian statistical yearbook], (Budapest: 1897), 346.

ANNEX

Transylvanian counties and towns					Levels of education by age group and denomination						
Men, 1910	N	representation index average for all = 1			Total	0-5	6	7-11	12-14	15-19	20-24
		20-24	40-44	total		years old					
Roman Catholics								14.20		% of popul.	
8 class	7,389	1.88	2.07	2.05	3.9	0	0	0	0	1.9	7.5
6 class	2,011				1.1	0	0	0	0	3.2	1.5
4 class*	5,922	1.93	2.08	2.08	3.1	0	0	0	2.5	5.8	4.3
W/R	106,718				55.8	0	20.9	81.1	84.5	77.1	74.1
Illit.	69,095	0.37	0.57	0.69	36.1	100	79.1	18.9	12.9	12	12.5
Total	191,135				100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rat.					100	15.2	2.2	10.3	6.2	9.7	8.8
Num.					191,135	29,146	4,129	19,739	11,907	18,457	16,749
Greek Catholics								28.30		% of popul.	
8 class	2,980	0.43	0.41	0.42	0.8	0	0	0	0	0.2	1.7
6 class	764				0.2	0	0	0	0	0.7	0.3
4 class*	1,721	0.38	0.32	0.36	0.4	0	0	0	0.3	1.1	0.6
W/R	109,734				28.7	0	9.1	49.8	52.2	44.4	41.4
Illit.	267,411	1.64	1.51	1.33	69.9	100	90.9	50.2	47.5	53.6	55.9
Total	382,610				100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rat.					100	15.4	2.3	10.2	6.2	9.7	8.4
Num.					382,610	58,869	8,777	39,012	23,872	36,930	32,294
Calvinists								14.90		% of popul.	
8 class	5,427	1.35	1.41	1.42	2.7	0	0	0	0	1.3	5.4
6 class	1,619				0.8	0	0	0	0	2.6	0.9
4 class*	4,490	1.39	1.44	1.46	2.2	0	0	0	2.1	4.9	3.3
W/R	115,041				57	0	21.2	76.6	87.1	76.8	74.8
Illit.	75,086	0.46	0.55	0.71	37.2	100	78.8	23.4	10.7	14.4	15.6
Total	201,663				100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rat.					100	15.1	2.2	10.2	6.4	9.8	8.5
Num.					201,663	30,390	4,514	20,571	12,890	19,816	17,102

*Rat.: Ratio of age group within total of denomination. Num.: Number of age group. * Age specific percentages here are calculated on the basis of the N of "4 classes". The representation index is calculated on the basis of the number of those who have completed at least 4 classes, that is on the basis of all those listed here as in classes 4+6+8. Database by Victor Karády and Peter Tibor Nagy. Original source: Archive of the Census Department, Central Statistical Office, Budapest.*

Transylvanian counties and towns				cont. of prev. page!					
Men, 1910	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-59	60-		
	years old								
Roman Catholic				14.20		% of popul.			Nat.
8 class	8.6	7.9	7.4	6	6.2	5.2	3.6	Hu:	92.1
6 class	1.2	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.1	1.1	Ge:	4.3
4 class*	4.8	5	4.9	4.8	4.1	3.6	2.7	Sl:	0.5
W/R	70.9	71.6	65.2	60.7	56.9	50.7	38.2	Ro:	0.9
Illit.	14.4	14.1	21	26.9	31.5	39.4	54.4	Ru:	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	Cr:	0.2
Rat.	7.8	6.6	5.9	5.8	5.1	8.1	8.3	Se:	0.0
Num.	14,983	12,622	11,235	11,024	9,816	15,392	15,908	Ot:	2.1
Greek Catholics				28.30		% of popul.			Nat.
8 class	1.7	2	1.4	1.2	1.1	0.9	0.9	Hu:	3.6
6 class	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	Ge:	0.0
4 class*	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	Sl:	0.0
W/R	38.9	36.5	33.8	27.4	23	17.6	11.4	Ro:	93.1
Illit.	58.7	60.7	64.2	70.6	75.1	80.6	86.9	Ru:	0.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	Cr:	0.0
Rat.	8.1	6	5.1	5.3	5.3	9.2	8.9	Se:	0.0
Num.	31,118	22,953	19,470	20,125	20,176	35,091	33,918	Ot:	2.8
Calvinists				14.90		% of popul.			Nat.
8 class	5.5	5.3	5	4.1	3.8	3.6	3.7	Hu:	98.4
6 class	0.6	1.1	1.2	1.2	0.9	0.9	1	Ge:	0.2
4 class*	2.9	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.2	2.6	1.9	Sl:	0.0
W/R	76.6	72.2	69.6	65.8	62.3	50	42.1	Ro:	0.3
Illit.	14.4	18.2	21.1	25.7	29.8	42.9	51.3	Ru:	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	Cr:	0.0
Rat.	8.3	6.4	5.2	5.2	5.1	8.9	8.7	Se:	0.0
Num.	16,825	12,837	10,557	10,456	10,269	17,849	17,580	Ot:	1.0

Rat.: Ratio of age group within total of denomination. Num.: Number of age group.Database by Victor Karády and Peter Tibor Nagy. Original source: Archive of the Census Department, Central Statistical Office, Budapest.

Transylvanian counties and towns					Levels of education by age group and denomination						
Men, 1910	N	representation index average for all = 1			Total	0-5	6	7-11	12-14	15-19	20-24
		20-24	40-44	total		years old					
Lutherans								8.30		% of popul.	
8 class	3,939	1.78	1.93	1.84	3.5	0	0	0	0	1.6	7.1
6 class	1,222				1.1	0	0	0	0	4	1.5
4 class*	3,434	1.93	1.88	1.97	3.1	0	0	0	2.7	7.3	4.7
W/R	78,537				69.8	0	24.3	86.9	94.3	83.8	83.2
Illit.	25,432	0.1	0.1	0.43	22.6	100	75.7	13.1	3	3.3	3.4
Total	112,566				100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rat.					100	14.5	2.2	10.7	6.3	9.3	7.5
Num.					112,566	16,334	2,482	12,017	7,059	10,474	8,391
Greek Orthodox								29.30		% of popul.	
8 class	2598	0.38	0.31	0.37	0.7	0	0	0	0	0.2	1.5
6 class	741				0.2	0	0	0	0	0.6	0.2
4 class*	2,042	0.35	0.27	0.36	0.5	0	0	0	0.3	1.3	0.7
W/R	140,333				35.5	0	10.3	55.9	60.9	53.7	52.7
Illit.	249,772	1.32	1.33	1.21	63.2	100	89.7	44.1	38.9	44.1	44.9
Total	395,487				100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rat.					100	15.1	2.4	10.5	6.2	9.7	8.3
Num.					395,487	59,785	9,530	41,684	24,621	38,339	32,934
Unitarians								2.50		% of popul.	
8 class	1,081	1.95	1.34	1.68	3.2	0	0	0	0	1	7.8
6 class	210				0.6	0	0	0	0	2.1	0.7
4 class*	532	1.61	1.19	1.38	1.6	0	0	0	2.2	4	2.6
W/R	21,163				62.2	0	20.3	82.5	89.5	82.5	75.8
Illit.	11,050	0.38	0.41	0.62	32.5	100	79.7	17.5	8.2	10.4	13
Total	34,036				100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rat.					100	14.5	2.2	10.4	6.2	9.4	7.2
Num.					34,036	4,921	738	3,523	2,113	3,214	2,466

*Rat.: Ratio of age group within total of denomination. Num.: Number of age group. * Age specific percentages here are calculated on the basis of the N of "4 classes". The representation index is calculated on the basis of the number of those who have completed at least 4 classes, that is on the basis of all those listed here as in classes 4+6+8. Database by Victor Karády and Peter Tibor Nagy. Original source: Archive of the Census Department, Central Statistical Office, Budapest.*

Transylvanian counties and towns				cont. of prev. page!					
Men, 1910	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-59	60-		
	years old								
Lutherans				8.30		% of popul.			Nat.
8 class	8	7.6	6.4	5.6	5.3	4.3	4.3	Hu:	11.3
6 class	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.1	1	Ge:	87.0
4 class*	4.4	4.6	5.2	4.1	3.9	3	2.4	Sl:	0.3
W/R	82.8	83.1	82.6	84.1	82.3	80.8	74.5	Ro:	0.7
Illit.	3.6	3.5	4.4	4.8	7.3	10.8	17.8	Ru:	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	Cr:	0.0
Rat.	7	6.3	5.4	5.4	5.4	9.7	10.4	Se:	0.0
Num.	7,902	7,053	6,108	6,028	6,080	10,878	11,757	Ot:	0.9
Greek Orthodox				29.30		% of popul.			Nat.
8 class	2.3	1.5	1.2	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.6	Hu:	1.7
6 class	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	Ge:	0.0
4 class*	0.8	1.2	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	Sl:	0.0
W/R	51.9	49.7	44	36	33.3	23.1	13.2	Ro:	96.2
Illit.	44.8	47.4	54	62.4	65	75.6	85.4	Ru:	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	Cr:	0.0
Rat.	7.3	6	4.9	5.4	5	9.3	9.8	Se:	0.1
Num.	28,696	23,858	19,251	21,169	19,929	36,741	38,932	Ot:	2.0
Unitarians				2.50		% of popul.			Nat.
8 class	6.4	6.1	5	3.9	4.7	4.2	4.9	Hu:	99.1
6 class	0.8	0.3	0.8	1.1	0.8	0.7	0.7	Ge:	0.1
4 class*	2.1	1.6	1.9	2	1.6	1.6	1.4	Sl:	0.0
W/R	77.3	80.6	75.4	74	66.7	62.7	54.7	Ro:	0.5
Illit.	13.4	11.5	16.9	19	26.2	30.8	38.2	Ru:	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	Cr:	0.0
Rat.	7.2	6.4	5.3	5.7	5.5	9.8	10.2	Se:	0.0
Num.	2,461	2,181	1,817	1,940	1,860	3,345	3,456	Ot:	0.2

Rat.: Ratio of age group within total of denomination. Num.: Number of age group. Database by Victor Karády and Peter Tibor Nagy. Original source: Archive of the Census Department, Central Statistical Office, Budapest.

Transylvanian counties and towns					Levels of education by age group and denomination						
Men, 1910	N	representation index average for all = 1			Total	0-5	6	7-11	12-14	15-19	20-24
		20-24	40-44	total		years old					
Israelites								2.30		% of popul.	
8 class	1,961	4.18	3.1	3.26	6.2	0	0	0	0	5.2	16.7
6 class	752				2.4	0	0	0	0	7.6	3.6
4 class*	2,319	4.71	4.08	4.08	7.3	0	0	0	7	12.7	12.2
W/R	17,799				56.1	0	31.7	85.2	86.7	68.5	61
Illit.	8,902	0.19	0.26	0.54	28.1	100	68.3	14.8	6.3	6	6.4
Total	31,733				100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rat.					100	16.8	2.9	11.7	7	9.7	8.1
Num.					31,733	5,345	908	3,711	2,218	3,091	2581
Other								0.00		% of popul.	
8 class	25	4.8	0	3.95	7.5	0	0	0	0	5.9	19.2
6 class	9				2.7	0	0	0	0	0	11.5
4 class*	8	5.57	0.61	3.23	2.4	0	0	0	0	5.9	7.7
W/R	198				59.1	0	0	77.8	40	58.8	50
Illit.	335	0.34	0.69	0.54	28.4	100	100	22.2	60	29.4	11.5
Total	335				100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rat.					100	3.6	0.3	2.7	1.5	5.1	7.8
Num.					335	12	1	9	5	17	26
Together								100.00		% of popul.	
8 class	25,523	1	1	1	1.9	0	0	0	0	0.9	4
6 class	7,360				0.5	0	0	0	0	1.8	0.7
4 class*	20,565	1	1	1	1.5	0	0	0	1.3	3.3	2.2
W/R	590,016				43.7	0	14.9	64.9	69.9	61.4	59
Illit.	707,013	1	1	1	52.4	100	85.1	35.1	28.7	32.7	34.1
Total	1,350,480				100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rat.					100	15.2	2.3	10.4	6.3	9.7	8.3
Num.					1,350,480	204,879	31,090	140,340	84,746	130,396	112,604

*Rat.: Ratio of age group within total of denomination. Num.: Number of age group. * Age specific percentages here are calculated on the basis of the N of "4 classes". The representation index is calculated on the basis of the number of those who have completed at least 4 classes, that is on the basis of all those listed here as in classes 4+6+8. Database by Victor Karády and Peter Tibor Nagy. Original source: Archive of the Census Department, Central Statistical Office, Budapest.*

Transylvanian counties and towns				cont. of prev. page!					
Men, 1910	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-59	60-		
	years old								
Israelites				2.30		% of popul.			Nat.
8 class	17	13.5	10.1	9	7.7	5.4	3	Hu:	73.9
6 class	2.9	3.6	3.9	3.9	3.1	2.4	1.8	Ge:	25.2
4 class*	11.4	13.2	13.2	11.2	11.3	8.4	4.4	Sl:	0.0
W/R	62.1	62.1	63.6	64	64.6	64.5	60	Ro:	0.7
Illit.	6.6	7.6	9.2	12	13.3	19.2	30.8	Ru:	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	Cr:	0.0
Rat.	8.2	7.2	5.2	5.6	4.7	7.1	5.7	Se:	0.0
Num.	2,594	2,284	1,654	1,787	1,489	2,245	1,808	Ot:	0.2
Other				0.00		% of popul.			Nat.
8 class	8.5	12.9	5.9	0	19.2	2.4	3.4	Hu:	55.5
6 class	1.7	0	0	3.6	11.5	2.4	0	Ge:	10.1
4 class*	1.7	0	5.9	0	0	0	3.4	Sl:	0.9
W/R	78	71	72.5	64.3	50	43.9	41.4	Ro:	22.7
Illit.	10.2	16.1	15.7	32.1	19.2	51.2	51.7	Ru:	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	Cr:	0.0
Rat.	17.6	9.3	15.2	8.4	7.8	12.2	8.7	Se:	0.0
Num.	59	31	51	28	26	41	29	Ot:	10.7
Together				100.00		% of popul.			Nat.
8 class	4.4	4.2	3.6	2.9	2.8	2.2	2	Hu:	34.5
6 class	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.6	Ge:	8.5
4 class*	2.2	2.5	2.4	2.2	2	1.7	1.3	Sl:	0.1
W/R	57.7	57	53	47.4	43.8	36	27.8	Ro:	54.8
Illit.	35	35.6	40.2	46.8	50.8	59.5	68.3	Ru:	0.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	Cr:	0.0
Rat.	7.8	6.2	5.2	5.4	5.2	9	9.1	Se:	0.0
Num.	104,692	83,881	70,193	72,617	69,694	121,704	123,564	Ot:	1.9

Rat.: Ratio of age group within total of denomination. Num.: Number of age group. Database by Victor Karády and Peter Tibor Nagy. Original source: Archive of the Census Department, Central Statistical Office, Budapest.

Transylvanian counties and towns		Levels of education by age group and denomination									
Women, 1910	N	representation index average for all = 1			Total	0-5	6	7-11	12-14	15-19	20-24
		20-24	40-44	total		years old					
Roman Catholics								13.70		% of popul.	
8 class	1,596	2.75	3.5	3	0.9	0	0	0	0	0.7	2.2
6 class	1,124				0.6	0	0	0	0	1.4	1.1
4 class*	5,916	2.42	2.65	2.47	3.2	0	0	0	2.3	7.3	7.1
W/R	91,593				50.3	0	19.6	75.2	84.8	75.5	73.1
Illit.	81,908	0.37	0.62	0.73	45	100	80.4	24.8	12.9	15.2	16.4
Total	182,137				100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rat.					100	15.7	2.3	10.8	6.4	9.6	8.1
Num.					182,137	28,676	4,134	19,599	11,743	17,535	14,832
Greek Catholics								27.60		% of popul.	
8 class	175	0.13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.1
6 class	118				0	0	0	0	0	0.1	0.1
4 class*	960	0.21	0.09	0.16	0.3	0	0	0	0.2	0.7	0.7
W/R	68,538				18.7	0	7.1	41.1	48.3	36.4	25.9
Illit.	297,003	1.65	1.41	1.31	81	100	92.9	58.9	51.5	62.9	73.2
Total	366,794				100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rat.					100	15.7	2.5	10.3	6.1	10.5	8.8
Num.					366,794	57,515	8,990	37,768	22,543	38,379	32,234
Calvinists								14.90		% of popul.	
8 class	929	1.63	1.25	1.67	0.5	0	0	0	0	0.4	1.3
6 class	723				0.4	0	0	0	0	0.8	0.6
4 class*	4,264	1.44	1.65	1.63	2.2	0	0	0	1.7	5	4.3
W/R	99,585				50.4	0	22.7	79	80.5	75.7	73.3
Illit.	92,147	0.46	0.7	0.75	46.6	100	77.3	21	17.7	18.1	20.5
Total	197,649				100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rat.					100	15.4	2.2	10	6.4	10.1	8.8
Num.					197,649	30,526	4,273	19,847	12,640	19,888	17,322

*Rat.: Ratio of age group within total of denomination. Num.: Number of age group. * Age specific percentages here are calculated on the basis of the N of "4 classes". The representation index is calculated on the basis of the number of those who have completed at least 4 classes, that is on the basis of all those listed here as in classes 4+6+8. Database by Victor Karády and Peter Tibor Nagy. Original source: Archive of the Census Department, Central Statistical Office, Budapest.*

Transylvanian counties and towns				cont. of prev. page!					
Women, 1910	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-59	60-		
	years old								
Roman Catholic				13.70		% of popul.			Nat.
8 class	2.1	2.1	1.5	1.4	1.1	0.9	0.5	Hu:	93.1
6 class	1.1	1.2	1.1	0.8	1	0.6	0.3	Ge:	4.1
4 class*	6	5.7	4.8	3.9	2.8	2.8	1.5	Sl:	0.4
W/R	67	67.6	62.3	53.4	49.7	33.3	21.6	Ro:	0.9
Illit.	23.7	23.4	30.2	40.6	45.4	62.5	76.1	Ru:	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	Cr:	0.1
Rat.	7.8	6.5	5.8	5.3	5	7.6	8.9	Se:	0.0
Num.	14,259	11,882	10,576	9,713	9,102	13,821	16,259	Ot:	1.4
Greek Catholics				27.60		% of popul.			Nat.
8 class	0.2	0.1	0.1	0	0	0	0	Hu:	3.2
6 class	0	0.1	0.1	0	0	0	0	Ge:	0.0
4 class*	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	Sl:	0.0
W/R	21.8	17.1	21.6	8.1	6.3	5.3	2.2	Ro:	93.9
Illit.	77.5	82.3	77.9	91.6	93.4	94.5	97.7	Ru:	0.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	Cr:	0.0
Rat.	7.8	5.9	5.2	5.7	4.8	8.6	8.2	Se:	0.0
Num.	28,428	21,778	19,061	20,833	17,738	31,522	29,997	Ot:	2.8
Calvinists				14.90		% of popul.			Nat.
8 class	1.2	1.1	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.3	Hu:	98.5
6 class	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.2	Ge:	0.2
4 class*	4	3.7	3	2.8	2	1.5	1.1	Sl:	0.0
W/R	65.7	63.3	60.6	50.8	44.6	38.7	27.1	Ro:	0.3
Illit.	28.4	31.1	35	45.3	52.5	58.8	71.4	Ru:	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	Cr:	0.0
Rat.	7.5	6.1	5.3	5.3	5.1	8.5	9.4	Se:	0.0
Num.	14,794	12,022	10,469	10,469	10,021	16,718	18,652	Ot:	1.0

Rat.: Ratio of age group within total of denomination. Num.: Number of age group. Database by Victor Karády and Peter Tibor Nagy. Original source: Archive of the Census Department, Central Statistical Office, Budapest.

Transylvanian counties and towns				Levels of education by age group and denomination						
Women, 1910	N	representation index average for all = 1		Total	0-5	6	7-11	12-14	15-19	20-24
		20-24	40-44	total	years old					
Lutherans							8.80		% of popul.	
8 class	776	2.5	1.75	2.33	0.7	0	0	0	0	0.9	2
6 class	695				0.6	0	0	0	0	1.1	1.1
4 class*	3,185	2.21	2.17	2.11	2.7	0	0	0	1.9	6.9	6.4
W/R	82,494				70.8	0	24.4	87.5	95.4	88.2	85.5
Illit.	29,312	0.11	0.11	0.41	25.2	100	75.6	12.5	2.7	2.9	5
Total	116,462				100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rat.					100	13.6	2.1	10	5.7	8.9	7.8
Num.					116,462	15,849	2,434	11,680	6,598	10,311	9,140
Greek Orthodox							29.90		% of popul.	
8 class	234	0.13	0.25	0.33	0.1	0	0	0	0	0	0.1
6 class	128				0	0	0	0	0	0.1	0.1
4 class*	979	0.23	0.13	0.16	0.2	0	0	0	0.1	0.7	0.8
W/R	99,239				25	0	9.9	50.3	52.9	45.1	40.9
Illit.	296,797	1.31	1.27	1.2	74.7	100	90.1	49.7	46.9	54	58.2
Total	397,377				100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rat.					100	14.6	2.3	10.4	6.4	10	8.5
Num.					397,377	57,955	9,315	41,415	25,543	39,694	33,647
Unitarians							2.50		% of popul.	
8 class	140	1.38	0.5	1.33	0.4	0	0	0	0	0.3	1.1
6 class	84				0.2	0	0	0	0	0.5	0.4
4 class*	396	0.91	0.83	0.95	1.2	0	0	0	1	3.3	2.4
W/R	18,161				53.9	0	23.3	81.4	87.7	83.8	80.9
Illit.	14,932	0.34	0.59	0.71	44.3	100	76.7	18.6	11.3	12	15.2
Total	33,713				100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rat.					100	14.7	2.1	10.1	6.3	9.5	8.7
Num.					33,713	4,952	718	3,417	2,133	3,191	2,928

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Transylvanian counties and towns				cont. of prev. page!					
Women, 1910	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-59	60-		
	years old								
Lutherans				8.80		% of popul.			Nat.
8 class	1.6	1.5	1.1	0.7	0.8	0.4	0.3	Hu:	10.5
6 class	1.2	1	1.3	0.9	0.9	0.5	0.4	Ge:	87.8
4 class*	5.4	4.7	4	3.4	2.6	1.6	0.9	Sl:	0.2
W/R	87.7	88.4	88.2	87.9	86.4	82.2	58.8	Ro:	0.6
Illit.	4.2	4.4	5.4	7.1	9.3	15.3	39.6	Ru:	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	Cr:	0.0
Rat.	7.2	6.6	5.6	5.6	5.4	9.9	11.6	Se:	0.0
Num.	8,401	7,689	6,475	6,496	6,299	11,560	13,529	Ot:	0.8
Greek Orthodox				29.90		% of popul.			Nat.
8 class	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0	Hu:	1.5
6 class	0.1	0.1	0.1	0	0	0	0	Ge:	0.0
4 class*	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0	Sl:	0.0
W/R	35.4	27.3	19.8	17.2	11.6	10.1	2.8	Ro:	96.6
Illit.	64	72.1	79.7	82.5	88.1	89.7	97.1	Ru:	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	Cr:	0.0
Rat.	7.5	6.6	5	5.4	5.1	9	9.3	Se:	0.0
Num.	29,753	26,364	19,759	21,264	20,092	35,687	36,880	Ot:	1.8
Unitarians				2.50		% of popul.			Nat.
8 class	1.4	1.2	0.6	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.2	Hu:	99.2
6 class	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	Ge:	0.1
4 class*	1.9	2.2	1.8	1.4	0.6	0.9	0.4	Sl:	0.0
W/R	77.9	74.2	68.4	59.8	50.8	32.8	19.7	Ro:	0.4
Illit.	18	21.9	28.8	38.3	48.1	65.9	79.7	Ru:	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	Cr:	0.0
Rat.	7.2	6	5.3	5.4	5.2	8.9	10.4	Se:	0.0
Num.	2,443	2,020	1,802	1,833	1,757	3,009	3,510	Ot:	0.3

Rat.: Ratio of age group within total of denomination. Num.: Number of age group. Database by Victor Karády and Peter Tibor Nagy. Original source: Archive of the Census Department, Central Statistical Office, Budapest.

Transylvanian counties and towns					Levels of education by age group and denomination						
Women, 1910	N	representation index average for all = 1			Total	0-5	6	7-11	12-14	15-19	20-24
		20-24	40-44	total		years old					
Israelites								2.40		% of popul.	
8 class	231	2.25	2.25	2.33	0.7	0	0	0	0	0.8	1.8
6 class	317				1	0	0	0	0	2.2	1.9
4 class*	2585	4.93	4.74	5.11	8	0	0	0	6.4	16.9	17.5
W/R	17,799				55	0	27.1	85.1	87.1	72.1	69.7
Illit.	11,409	0.2	0.5	0.57	35.3	100	72.9	14.9	6.5	8.1	9.1
Total	32,341				100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rat.					100	15.7	2.5	11.9	7.5	11.9	9.9
Num.					32,341	5,076	811	3,847	2,415	3,860	3,199
Other								0.00		% of popul.	
8 class	6	7	9.5	7.33	2.2	0	0	0	0	0	5.6
6 class	2				0.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
4 class*	7	3.88	1.65	2.84	2.5	0	0	0	0	0	11.1
W/R	129				46.7	0	0	100	100	100	66.7
Illit.	276	0.38	1.06	0.77	47.8	100	0	0	0	0	16.7
Total	276				100	100	0	100	100	100	100
Rat.					100	3.6	0	1.4	2.2	5.4	6.5
Num.					276	10	0	4	6	15	18
Together								100.00		% of popul.	
8 class	4,115	1	1	1	0.3	0	0	0	0	0.3	0.8
6 class	3,211				0.2	0	0	0	0	0.5	0.4
4 class*	18,400	1	1	1	1.4	0	0	0	1	3.2	3.1
W/R	478,244				36	0	14.1	60.4	65.6	56.3	51.2
Illit.	823,916	1	1	1	62	100	85.9	39.6	33.4	39.7	44.4
Total	1,327,887				100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rat.					100	15.1	2.3	10.4	6.3	10	8.5
Num.					1,327,887	200,644	30,687	137,683	83,679	132,951	113,394

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Transylvanian counties and towns				cont. of prev. page!					
Women, 1910	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-59	60-		
	years old								
Israelites				2.40		% of popul.			Nat.
8 class	2.2	1.5	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.5	0.2	Hu:	72.8
6 class	2.2	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.1	0.6	0.2	Ge:	26.2
4 class*	15.8	13.9	9.3	8.6	5.9	4.7	1.3	Sl:	0.0
W/R	66.7	66.5	62	57	52	39.8	30	Ro:	0.8
Illit.	13.1	16.4	26.4	32.2	40.2	54.4	68.3	Ru:	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	Cr:	0.0
Rat.	8.3	6.5	5.6	5.1	4	5.6	5.4	Se:	0.0
Num.	2,700	2,118	1,801	1,647	1,305	1,812	1,748	Ot:	0.1
Other				0.00		% of popul.			Nat.
8 class	5	2.3	0	3.8	0	2.6	0	Hu:	60.9
6 class	0	0	0	0	0	0	7.1	Ge:	9.8
4 class*	2.5	0	5.9	0	15.4	0	0	Sl:	0.4
W/R	62.5	55.8	47.1	26.9	38.5	20.5	25	Ro:	25.0
Illit.	30	41.9	47.1	69.2	46.2	76.9	67.9	Ru:	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	Cr:	0.0
Rat.	14.5	15.6	12.3	9.4	4.7	14.1	10.1	Se:	0.0
Num.	40	43	34	26	13	39	28	Ot:	4.0
Together				100.00		% of popul.			Nat.
8 class	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.2	Hu:	34.0
6 class	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.1	Ge:	9.0
4 class*	2.6	2.4	2	1.6	1.2	0.9	0.5	Sl:	0.1
W/R	46.7	43.3	41.5	32.7	29.4	24.2	16.2	Ro:	55.1
Illit.	49.3	53.1	55.4	65	68.7	74.4	83	Ru:	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	Cr:	0.0
Rat.	7.6	6.3	5.3	5.4	5	8.6	9.1	Se:	0.0
Num.	100,899	83,985	70,036	72,356	66,375	114,328	120,836	Ot:	1.8

Rat.: Ratio of age group within total of denomination. Num.: Number of age group. Database by Victor Karády and Peter Tibor Nagy. Original source: Archive of the Census Department, Central Statistical Office, Budapest.

Teodora Daniela Sechel

The Emergence of the Medical Profession in Transylvania (1770–1848)[1]

According to Charles McClelland, "the professions in Modern times were associated with high social prestige and with a favorable economic position. In many cases, this prestige may derive from the association between professionals and their high status clientele in addition to respect for learning and expertise."[2] However, in a comparative European perspective, the case of the doctors looks more ambiguous. In the Holy Roman Empire they usually graduated from a university with an education in medicine. Their studies prepared them not to be merely healers and practitioners but primarily to become members of the cultivated elite, which was still a rather marginal social status.[3] Conditions, furthermore, varied from region to region. In Transylvania for instance, physicians had an uncertain, even marginalized social position, and a low economic status.

The way in which learned occupations became professions might be termed 'professionalization.' The scientific interest in these professions is relatively recent. In order to trace the professionalization of the medical field in Transylvania, it will be necessary to compare two different, yet primary models. The literature dealing with Continental Europe and the Anglo-Saxon world has argued that professionalization developed mainly in countries that had free-market economies with minimal state intervention. Therefore it flourished mainly in the Anglophone world, while in France and Germany bureaucratic administration hindered the process of professionalization. On the basis of this, sociologists such as Talcott Parsons raised the profession to a central role in society. He developed a functionalist approach of the profession, which had long dominated the literature.[4] Sociologists and historians of professions following Parson's line elaborated on two main models of

1 An earlier version of this article has been presented at the conference *Civil Society and Public Services in Early Modern Europe*. University of Leiden, Holland, 30 Nov -1Dec 2007. The paper is accessible at www.let.leidenuniv.nl/pdf/geschiedenis/civil/Sechel.pdf. For discussion and critical readings, I gratefully acknowledge the contributions of Emma C. Spary, László Kontler, Harold Cook, Mary Lindemann, Richard Wall, Vivian Nutton and Sonia Horn.

2 Charles E. McClelland, *The German Experience of Professionalization: Modern Learned Professions and Their Organizations from the Early Nineteenth Century to the Hitler Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 18–19.

3 Thomas Broman, "University Reform in the Medical Thought at the End of the Eighteenth Century", *Osiris*, 2nd series, *Science in Germany: The Intersection of the Institutional and Intellectual Issues*, No 5, (1989), 2; McClelland, *German Experience*, 31.

4 McClelland, *German Experience, 11.*

professionalization: the Continental model, in which the state hindered the development of the professions; the second model, the Anglo-Saxon, professions developed within the free-market economy due to the minimal state intervention.

Charles McClelland's work further develops, elaborates, and refines this approach on the professions in a comparative study titled, *The German Experience of Professionalization*. It provides an insightful chapter on the problems and methods of research of the professions, and a detailed examination of various theories of professionalization. There are nine essential characteristics of the professions, which he uses as a framework for discussion, "Typically these lists include at least the following: 1) highly specialized and advanced education, 2) a special code of conduct ('ethics'), 3) altruism/public service, 4) rigorous competency tests, examination licensing, 5) high social prestige, 6) high economic rewards, 7) occupational career pattern or ladder, 8) monopolization of the market services, and 9) autonomy."[5] He argues that although these characteristics are common to all professions, the two models of professionalization (the German and the Anglo-Saxon) are indeed different. The distinctions are to be found in the German values of education, in the involvement of the state in regulating the professions, and in the cooperation between professions and the state.

In regard to the medical profession, recent works of Claudia Huerkamp, Andrew Abbott, Konrad Jarausch, Geoffrey Cooks, Thomas Broman, and others are worth mentioning. Their use of a comparative and historical approach raises questions about the way in which professions are "distinguished from other occupational groups, about the institutions by which they are governed and their relationship to the public and to the state, and how they define their spheres of action and perform their work."[6] They propose a broader definition of professions while arguing that professionalization of physicians was stimulated by state intervention. Andrew Abbott, in answer to questions concerning the interrelation of professions' control over knowledge and skill, defines professions as "exclusive occupational groups applying somewhat abstract knowledge to particular cases."[7] Kees Gispen argues for an interrelation between professions and bureaucracy, as manifestations of a more general phenomenon, which he describes as "the rise of expertise and certification."[8] Moreover, Thomas Broman examines the changing role of theory and practice in the professional ideology of German physicians during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, and concludes that "the discussions of theory and practice that were so prominent in 1800 constituted a new discourse of medical professionalism through which physicians attempted to comprehend the

5 McClelland, *German Experience*, 14.

6 Thomas Broman, "Rethinking Professionalization: Theory, Practice, and Professional Ideology in Eighteenth-Century German Medicine", *The Journal of Modern History* 67, 4 (Dec 1995): 837.

7 Andrew Abbott, *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 8–9.

8 Broman, Rethinking, 840, quoted from C. W. R. Gispen, "German Engineers and American Social Theory: Historical Perspectives on Professionalization", *Comparative Studies in Society and History 30* (1988), 562.

altered social and institutional geography of medicine."[9] In the German lands, he argues, a shift occurred in medical education from *Bildung* to *Wissenschaft* around the middle of the eighteenth century.[10]

The gradual changes in the status of physicians in the Habsburg Monarchy followed the social, economic, and cultural reforms implemented by Maria Theresa and Joseph II in the second part of the eighteenth century. The sanitary reforms contributed to the professionalization of the medical personnel. In this article, I focus on the relationship of the establishment of the medical profession within the developing bureaucratic structures of the Habsburg Monarchy. My central claim is that the bureaucratization and professionalization of the medical practice were manifestations of a more general phenomenon, namely, the rise of physicians as experts designing initiatives to insure the public health of society. The need for well trained bureaucrats led to an increasing involvement of the state. I will also consider the relationship between the rise of the medical profession and public opinion on health matters, which is a topic hardly explored in the medical historiography of the Habsburg lands, especially when it comes to Transylvania.

I adopt Andrew Abbott's definition of profession and his methodology that focuses on the work, rather than on structural markers. Relying also on McClelland and Broman, I will argue that the development of the medical profession was not only a result of the physician's control over knowledge and skill, but it was primarily driven by the Habsburg authorities. [11] It was a process that began in the second part of the eighteenth century when medical doctors increasingly found employment as civil servants; a process that was to be fully accomplished in the nineteenth century. The latter process added a new quality to the patriotic engagement of physicians into the welfare of the populace. Consequently the status of the physician started to change from *Gelehrtenstand* to profession.[12] According to my findings, this process began in the second part of the eighteenth century, more specifically after 1770, and it was a peculiarity of the rather small, economically backward Habsburg provinces with complex political, ethnic, and confessional characteristics (i.e., Galicia, Bukovina, and Transylvania). Here the Habsburg authorities intended to integrate the educated intellectuals, also physicians, of *honoratior* (non-

9 Broman, *Rethinking,* 836–837.

10 I use *Wissenschaft* in order to address the scientific character of medicine. In the eighteenth century medicine was regarded as *ars* and *scientia, Kunst* and *Wissenschaft. Bildung* is used as a term to define the cultivation of personal character with the help of education, not only classical languages and philology, but also sciences. See Thomas Broman, *The Transformation of German Academic Medicine (1750–1820)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Id, "Bildung und praktische Erfahrung: konkurrierende Darstellungen des medizinischen Berufes und der Ausbildung an der frühen Berliner Universität", *Jahrbuch für Universitägeschichte* 3 (2000), 19–35.

11 McClelland mentions the concept of 'Berufskonstruction' used by Hans Albrecht Hesse in his book, *Beruf im Wandel. Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Professionalisierung* (Sttutgart: Enke, 1968).

12 Broman, *Rethinking*, 841, defines '*Gelehrtenstand*' as a social caste defined by its members' university education and by their share in the cultural heritage of classical antiquity.

noble) or petty noble background into the state administration in order to counteract the interests of the local political elites.

I will develop my argument in two directions. Firstly, I will examine the development of the institutional framework- more specifically the *Commissio Sanitatis* (sanitary commission) and the *cordon sanitaire,* with quarantine stations on the border of the Transylvanian Principality - which favored the construction of the medical profession. This institutional 'niche,' in Abbott's terms was created in response to the epidemiological circumstances of the province and the monarchy.[13] The danger of epidemics required the presence and the 'expertise' of a physician. The involvement in decision making processes contributed to the admission of all physicians, irrespective of their religious denomination, into the higher administrative structures of the province (district, or town).[14] This was an important innovation, which led to the improvement of the social and economic status of the physician.

Secondly, I will point out how university education linked the social role of the patriotic physician with that of the professional expert embedded into the state administration. In this regard Transylvania resembles the overall situation in the Habsburg hereditary lands and Prussia, where acquiring a professorial position qualified one as member of the *Geheimrat* (privy councilor). The professors were not only academics but also councilors of statesmen and members of health boards such as the *Collegium Medicum* and the *Commissio Sanitatis*. A *protomedicus* was both the 'Minister of Health' and the dean of the Medical School. The acquisition of a certificate from the Universities of Vienna, Prague, Buda (later Pest), and the other medical (surgical) schools of the Empire became a prerequisite for appointment in public services and functions. These bureaucratic positions had higher wages and offered an elevated social status and prestige. Professional competence and bureaucratic function would help the physicians to implement their ideas in organizing campaigns to fight epidemics and in promoting new sanitary policies that would protect the population against contagious diseases. Also, in the name of social utility they claimed authority and control over healers of lower social extraction and in matters of health. Their state-sanctioned authority and active contribution to social welfare enhanced eventually their social prestige. They became members of learned societies and Masonic Lodges and initiated cultural associations and learned journals where they could associate with the traditional elites in pursuit of similar patriotic goals.

13 Paul DiMaggio mentions that Abbott's perspective on the development and change of professions is 'ecological.' Professions grow when there are niches for them to grow into. Paul DiMaggio, "Review of Andrew Abbott, *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor*", *The American Journal of Sociology*, 95, 2 (Sept 1989), 534–535.

14 This was due to the fact that the highest number of Transylvanian physicians belonged to the protestant denomination. Protestant believers living in the Habsburg Monarchy were not allowed to rise into the higher administration of the lands/provinces. Conversions to Catholicism were encouraged by a subtle and persistent policy that favored Catholics in the higher administration. Georg Daniel Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk,* vol. 2 (Hermannstadt: 1899), 125.

The Health Care Reforms, the Sanitary Network, and the Physicians (*Physici*)

In the mid-eighteenth-century Habsburg Monarchy, there were few trained civil servants, let alone a full-fledged bureaucratic structure to carry out the Emperors' administrative and economic reforms, including, among others the increasing of taxation revenues, opposed by the regional estates.[15] The epidemiological circumstances of the Monarchy were in want of an efficient sanitary administrative structure capable of fighting plagues. The reforms of the eighteenth century addressed practical problems, while theoretically they were based on the German state sciences, as well as a new patriotic interest in increasing public welfare. Thus, the sanitary reforms were a combination of the theories and practices of governing, medical discoveries, and private initiatives. Two main proponents of the health reforms were the Dutch physician Gerhard van Swieten (1700–1772), Maria Theresa's personal physician and counselor, and Joseph von Sonnefels (1733–1817), professor of cameral sciences at the University of Vienna. Van Swieten was the director of the Court Library, the dean of the Vienna University, and the head of the monarchy's censorship commission. As a disciple of the famous Dutch scientist and physician Herman Boerhaave (1668–1738), he played a pivotal role in the implementation of health reforms throughout the entire Habsburg Monarchy. He advocated more governmental involvement in health matters. His recommended sanitation reforms targeted three issues: the eradication of epidemics, the creation of a modern medical education, and the centralization of the health administration system. The same views were presented in Joseph von Sonnefels' lectures on political economy at the University of Vienna, while Johann Peter Frank (1745–1821), a professor of internal medicine and director of the Vienna General Hospital, developed similar ideas in his book on medical police.[16] There was a large audience for their ideas and several imperial councilors were receptive to a new health care policy. Furthermore, the desire to increase the population by imposing new sanitation standards made doctors key persons in promulgating sanitary laws and poverty relief measures. Thus, a step forward in the centralization project was accomplished only after the sanitary reform.

The main sanitation reform, the *Generale Normativum in Re Sanitatis*, put forward by van Swieten, reorganized administrative health structures in the entire monarchy. Maria Theresa issued it in *1770*. It comprised three parts: 1) the structure and function of the sanitary network and administration, 2) the structure and the duties of medical practitioners, and 3) the prevention of epidemics – the inland and seaside quarantines. In Transylvania it was

15 Rita A. Kruger, "Mediating Progress in the Provinces: Central Authority, Local Elites, and Agrarian Societies in Bohemia and Moravia", *Austrian History Year Book* 35 (2004), 49–51.

16 Erna Leski, "Introduction", in *A System of Complete Medical Police: Selections from Johann Peter Frank* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976], xii–xiii (hereafter Leski, "Introduction" to J. P. Frank).

published in Latin and in German.[17] Its stipulations were maintained, with small changes, until 1848. The law set a pyramidal sanitary administration consisting of the supreme Sanitary Commission in Vienna (*Sanitas Hof-Deputation*) led by a *protomedicus*. The administration of the sanitary commission was influenced by the Prussian one, establishing a central medical board (led by a *protomedicus*) with departments throughout the country led by physicians with a university degree. The Habsburg counterpart model was issued in Prague as a 'Bohemian Medical Order' in 1753. In the hereditary lands the physicians (*physici* or *Landschaftschirurgen*) employed by the local governments, were incorporated into the medical administration of the empire.[18] In order to deal with sanitation problems, they created the *Commissio Sanitatis* (sanitary commission) in every province of the monarchy led by a *protomedicus*. The commissions were subordinated to the provincial authorities and to the *Sanitas Hof-Deputation* from Vienna. The territorial branches of the *Commissio* were led by *physici* appointed either by the Viennese Supreme Sanitary Commission or by the Gubernium of the provinces. These *physici* were the representatives of the Habsburg administration rather than of the local authorities (town or county). A peculiarity of the Habsburg Monarchy was the integration of medical schools into state administrative structures. The Medical Universities in Vienna and Prague were part of the sanitary commission.[19] The same rule applied for University in Buda/Pest and for all the medical schools opened after 1770 in all the provinces of the monarchy. The *protomedicus* was the head of the medical schools of the provinces and the diploma issued had the empowerment of the *Commissio Sanitatis*.

The integration of all the provinces into the monarchy's sanitary administration was the first step taken towards the centralization of the bureaucratic apparatus. All the lands and provinces of the Empire were affected by this process, and perceived this action as an infringement on their autonomy. The administration intervened with their traditional ways of governing and limited the sphere of influence of the local *Diets* in appointing health officers and deciding relevant legal matters. In Styria, for example, it multiplied the professional and administrative duties of the physicians and reduced their salaries.[20] The supervision of medical issues and the health of

17 *Generale Normativum in Re Sanitatis, (GNRS) 1770*, Document No: 1892/1770, B 31/1771, found at the Library or Romanian Academy of Sciences, Cluj branch (hereafter BAR CJ), among unrecorded documents. This document was widely circulated in the empire, and was reproduced several times in German. I use the document No 7238/1831, BAR CJ), among unrecorded documents. X. F. Linzbauer also published "Generale Normativum in Re Sanitatis" in *Codex Sanitario-medicinalis Hungariae* (Buda, 1852–61.), vol. 2, 535–571 (Latin). The GNRS was sent from the Transylvanian Gubernium and to all the administrative units in the province.

18 Péter Balázs, "The Role of Hungary and The Habsburg Empire in the Development of Public Health Norms in 1770", (paper delivered at the 40th International Congress on the History of Medicine, Budapest, Hungary, 2006), http://www.ishm2006.hu/scientific (accessed 4 August 2008).

19 Sonia Horn, "A Model for All? Healthcare and the State in 18th century Habsburg Inherited Countries", (unpublished presentation paper).

20 Johannes Wimmer, *Gesundheit, Krankheit und Tod im Zeitalter der Aufklärung. Fallstudien aus den habsburgischen Erbländern* (Wien and Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1991).

the rural population were complemented by the obligation to execute the orders issued by the Viennese Court and to send reports to the *Sanitas Hof Deputation*. In the Hereditary Lands this led to a conflict between Vienna and the regional sanitary administration, and was beneficial in the poorer provinces, like Transylvania.[21]

The integration of this province after 1770 into the central medical structures was a much smoother process than in Hungary. Due to more numerous plague epidemics, some health measures were more easily accepted. Prior to this, an earlier sanitary commission was established in 1740, which had several differences in comparison to the one established in 1770.[22] For instance, it did not have a permanent administrative structure. It functioned intermittently during plague epidemics when physicians, delegated from Vienna (together with local physicians and surgeons), would organize the protection of the local population. Most of the decisions were made at the Vienna Court and sent to the provinces where they were adapted to the local circumstances.

In order to better understand the reforms of 1770, it will be necessary to outline the organization of medical matters in Transylvania prior to this date. The Austrian *cordon sanitaire* was created in 1726 and extended along the border of the province, with several quarantine stations placed under the authority of the border regiments after 1764.[23] The aim of this complex military and administrative operation was to prevent plague epidemics, and represented the beginning of a homogeneous medical organization in the monarchy. The quarantines had a qualified medical personnel, soldiers, workers, and priests. The quarantine physician or surgeon (*Pestärzt)*, mentioned in several sanitary ordinances, was the classic embodiment of the physician-bureaucrat.[24] He was appointed directly by the Habsburg Emperor through the *Sanitas Hof-Deputation* and was paid from the Gubernium's treasury. His role was to control the health of the people who crossed the monarchy's borders. The visibility of such specialists was higher during the plague epidemics and their duties were to report monthly to the sanitary commission regarding epidemiological circumstances and activities inside the quarantine stations.[25] The headquarters

21 Wimmer, *Gesundheit,* 38–40. He mentiones Maria Theresa's plans to reduce the number of the medical personnel and their salaries. In Styria, the *protomedicus* received 800 florins per year and the *physici* were paid 175–600 –175 florins according to their experience. The pharmacists received 300 florins. In 1749 an ordinance issued by Maria Theresa overloaded the *physici* with administrative work and proposed a diminution of the salaries (paid by the Gubernium of the province) to the medical personnel.

22 There was a Commission of Domestic Health – *Domestica Sanitatis Commisione* – which elaborated rules and orders to control the possible epidemics, see Ordinance 9745/1772, BAR CJ. The document does not have a call number.

23 The medical and the military functions of the *cordon sanitaire* were perceived as a burden by the inhabitants of the province, mainly by the Szeklers and Romanians who were part of the military regiments.

24 The main sanitary laws contained a *Formula Juramenti* (public oath) that was used for all the physicians and surgeons before being employed in the state service. "Generale Normativum 1770", reprinted in 1831, 38.

25 I.d., 30–31, 36–37.

of the sanitary commission was located at the residence of the Gubernium in Sibiu/Nagyszeben/Hermannstadt and later in Cluj/Kolozsvár/Klausenburg. The commission consisted of physicians, civilians, and military members of the Gubernium. There were also subordinate branches of the commission in the administrative centers of the districts, and these were led by a physicus.

The mining region in the Apuseni Mountains in the Western Carpathians had a separate and more sophisticated sanitary network relatively independent of the Transylvanian sanitary commission.[26] A series of documents from the Cluj State Archives bear witness to "the endowment of mining localities – first in the district headquarters [that] proved to be the new tendency to modernize, to centralize, and to 'take the organization of healthcare administration into the state sector."[27] A large number of doctors, surgeons, and qualified midwives were appointed in the main mining towns of Hunedoara/Vajdahunyad and Zlatna/Zalatna/Schlatten districts, also in Abrud/Abrudbánya, Sebeş / Szebes/ Mülbach, Rodna/ Radna, Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár. Next to the local physician or surgeon (usually employed and paid by the community) there were surgeons employed to treat the illnesses and the accidents of the miners. All of them were under the control of the *physicus cameralis*, whose function was equivalent to that of the chief medical doctor responsible for the whole mining region. The *physicus cameralis* represented a prestigious position, following in rank the *protomedicus* of the province. [28] The economically oriented apparatus led to a more efficient sanitary network and also to the careful selection of medical personnel employed in the region. Those employed as physicians had good wages and other economic benefits (firewood, food for their horses, and a certain amount of money per diem).[29] The employees, surgeons, midwives, and apothecaries had to have a prior education at the Surgical Lyceum of Cluj/ Kolozsvár/Klausenburg or in other schools of the monarchy.

The *Generale Normativum in Re Sanitatis*, issued in 1770, favored to a far greater extent the physicians' involvement in the central and local administration. The *physici* became representatives of the Habsburg authorities and collaborated with the central and local authorities to impose health legislation. On the local level they were important agents of the municipal administration and of the town councils. They were mediators between the local governments and the

26 G. Rusu, "Obligaţiile medicilor montanistici din Transilvania secolelor XVIII-XIX [The duties of the physicians in the e mountain regions in Transylvania in the 18-19th centuries]", in *Apărarea sănătăţii ieri şi azi. Studii, note şi documnete* [Guarding health yesterday and today. Studies, notes and documents] (Bucureşti: Editura Medicală, 1984), 103.

27 G. Rusu, "Extinderea retelei medico-sanitare miniere din Transylvania. 1740 – 1840 (The extension of the medical-sanitary network in the mining regions of Transylvania, 1740-1840)", in *Momente din trecutul medicinei. Studii, note si documente* [Moments from the past of medicine. Studies, notes and documents], ed. G. Brătescu (Bucureşti: Editura Medicală, 1983), 226.

28 Alexandru Neamţu, "Din activitatea doctorului Vasilie Popp pe domeniul minier al Zlatnei (1829 – 1842)" (From doctor Vasile Popp's activity in mining affairs in Zlatna (1829-1842), *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie şi* Arheologie (Yearbook of the Institute of History and Archeology), (Cluj, 1972), 105–144. (hereafter Neamţu, "Activitatea").

29 *Opininio in Re Sanitatis*, 1793. The document is a report and/ or a proposal for a new sanitary legislation in Transylvania. BAR CJ, Unitarieni 457/ 1968; also MOL (Hungarian National Archives, Budapest), *Opinio in Re Sanitatis*, E 12 Cista diplomatica, 3497/1793.

population. The town physicians were drawn into the work of the town councils, and also in the management of the subordinated districts. If the town had quarantine stations nearby (such as Braşov/ Kronstadt/ Brassó and Bistriţa/ Bistriz/ Besztercebánya, where the town physicians would collaborate with quarantine physicians to prevent outbreaks of diseases and the spread of plague epidemics from the neighboring countries into Transylvania.

Besides their professional function, the *physici* also fulfilled the role of the 'medical police.'[30] The magistrate of the town would appoint a committee composed of a physician and members of the town council to inspect the health status of the population.[31] They surveyed the sanitary issues of the town and played an important role during plague epidemics when the towns were isolated. Another category of medical employees was the *physici circulorum* whose main task was to solve public health issues in a county.[32] The *physici* also had secondary tasks as public health inspectors and epidemiologists. They supervised medical practice and epidemic circumstances, collaborated on reports concerning diseases and epidemics, and gave medical assistance to the poor.[33] Furthermore, they were responsible for medical services, inoculation (later vaccination), and for reporting on the monthly health of the communities. Additionally, they were responsible for instructing the citizens how to obey the ordinances issued to preserve public health.

The sanitary reforms were aimed at eradicating the epidemic diseases responsible for the decimation of the population. These public health measures were carried out through a constant, coherent action in different fields and had, besides the obvious medical impact, political, economic, social, and cultural influences. The bureaucratic function transformed the *physici* into "the fingertip of the state in the public health issues" of the monarchy.[34] Moreover, reform of medical curricula contributed to the professionalization of medicine, and became one of the avenues of extending state control over the political, economic, social, and above all, the sanitary matters of the monarchy.[35]

30 *Ordinance*, National Archives, Romania, District of Cluj, Fond Bistriţa, (hereafter ANCJ POB), Series II a, Sheet F. 71.

31 Document at ANCJ POB, Series II, Sheet F. 72. "The health inspectors' duties"; also "About the health in the Principality", Ordinance nr. 9745/1772: The physician of the district together with the Magistrate must inspect the territories. There was a Commission of Domestic Health (*Domestica Sanitatis Commisione*) which elaborated rules and orders in order to control the possible epidemics.

32 *Opinion in Re Sanitatis*, 1793, 5 – 6 recto.

33 Elisabeta Marin, "Primele instrucţiuni pentru medicul şi chirugul oraşului Braşov (1763) [The first instructions for the physician and surgeon of the town Braşov]", in *Apărarea sănătăţii ieri şi azi. Apărarea sănătăţii ieri şi azi. Studii, note, documente*, Bucureşti: Meridiane, 1984), 93- 101. Johann Friedrich Millius drafted the instructions published by E. Marin. He studied medicine in Halle and was *physicus ordinarius* of Braşov (1738–1764).

34 Mary Lindmann, "The Enlightenment Encountered: The German Physicus and His World, 1750–1820", in *Medicine in the Enlightenment* ed. Roy Porter (Amsterdam; Rodophy, 1995), 181–197.

35 Thomas Broman, *The Transformation of German Academic Medicine, 1750–1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 51.

The Medical Education

Reforms of education, especially the higher education, were a priority for the Habsburgs since the efficient administrative reorganization required qualified personnel. Unprecedented effort was invested into the modernization and enlargement of the university network, and the *1777 Ratio educationis* established compulsory schooling for the whole population.[36]

The education reforms also affected the curriculum of medical teaching at the University of Vienna. The university was responsible since 1517 for organizing campaigns to prevent plague epidemics and to certify licenses of physicians, surgeons, and barbers practicing medicine in the Austrian lands, the capital, and the adjacent district.[37] Starting from the second half of the seventeenth century, the medical faculty of the University of Prague had similar duties for the Bohemian lands and Moravia. The medical faculties were at the same time the headquarters of medical boards. They combined administrative and training attributes – one of the distinctive characteristics of the Habsburg sanitary administration. In 1749 Gerard van Swieten recommended a separation of the areas of training and administration of public health. He also drew up plans for the improvement of the Viennese Medical Faculty.[38]

Van Swieten was one of the main initiators of the new health care system and education in the monarchy. At his advice, Maria Theresa issued an ordinance in 1749 prescribing courses in surgery, botany, chemistry, and clinical medicine (taught at the patient's bedside) at the University of Vienna. Van Swieten was the director of studies, and the dean of the faculty was Anton Störck (1731 – 1803). The curriculum grounded the medical theories in practice, while instructing and supervising the lower categories of medical personnel (surgeons, barbers, and obstetricians). At every medical faculty in the monarchy (Vienna, Prague, Padua, Buda/Pest, Lemberg) the theoretical explanation was linked with practical instruction at the bedside.

Zacharias Theophilus Huszty de Raßynya (1754-1803), in his book *Diskurs über die medizinische Polizei*, made a distinction between the medical education of the physicians at the faculty of medicine and the training of surgeons in the medical institutes. In addition to anatomy, physiology, medical herbalism (*die Kräuterkunde*), and internal/general medicine (*Die allgemeine Krankheitslehre*), the physicians would also learn chemistry, experimental physics, military medicine (*Arzneimittellehre*), the art of prescription of drugs (*Die Kunst Rezepte zu verschreiben*) and the science of the medical police (*Die*

36 This subject is discussed extensively by James Van Horn Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

37 Sonia Horn mentions that since 1642 even midwives held and examination at the Vienna Medical University in order to practice their work. Sonia Horn, "Wiener Hebammen 1643–1753", *Studien zur Wiener Geschichte* 59 (2003), 35–102.

38 Sonia Horn, "[E]ine Akademie in Absicht der Erweiterung der medizinisch – chirurgischenWissenschaft…" Hintergründe für die Entstehung der medizinisch-chrirurgischen Akademie 'Josephinum' (unpublished manuscript). Hereafter cited as Sonia Horn, *Josephinum*.

medizinische Polizeiwissenschaft).[39] The content of the teaching was oriented in such a way as to train not only theoreticians, but 'professional experts' as well who would work in the provinces of the monarchy. The new chairs of surgery, anatomy, internal medicine, and obstetrics, as well as the performance of autopsies, dissection, and 'scientific' experiments, placed the University of Vienna amongst the elite medical schools in Europe. Surgery and anatomy were taught here both for physicians and surgeons. The language of instruction was Latin for physicians and German for surgeons. Generally the physicians would receive a double doctorate in philosophy and medicine, receiving a gentlemanly education, comprising classical studies and natural sciences, that qualified them as superior in rank to the surgeons. The latter were trained to be collaborators with the former and would become masters of surgery (*magister chirurgie*).[40] In this way the competition for wages, wealthy clients, and social status between doctors and surgeons was diminished.

After the death of Gerhard van Swieten in 1772, Joseph II strived to change the teaching of medicine at the Vienna University. Anton von Störck, the dean of the medical faculty, decreed in 1780 that surgery too became a liberal art and whoever wanted to study it, had to enroll at the Viennese medical faculty. The theoretical foundation and practical orientation of medical studies remained an important aspect, as pointed out by the director of the Vienna General Hospital, Johann Peter Frank.[41] In 1785, Joseph II established a medical-surgical academy in Vienna. It was intended to train surgeons to increase the number of trained medical practitioners and also to train military surgeons.

The medical-surgical academy reflected the utilitarian principles of the emperor. Joseph II and his advisers wanted to extend the medical provision to poorer people, healthcare being seen as a reservoir for population growth, revenues, and the army. Accordingly, "young people must not be taught anything which they will use seldom or never at all, for the good of the state, the essential purpose of the study at university is to train the state officials and is not to be devoted merely to the education of the intellectuals." [42] Thomas Broman argues that the utilitarian view began "to break down physicians' corporate identity forcing them to articulate a new vision for their profession."[43] Moreover, the physicians and surgeons employed in the sanitary administration of the monarchy were required to study mathematics, statistics, and the sciences of the state in order to fill out their reports concerning the population's health status as well as the census data of the population.[44] As the civil service started to consolidate in Europe, the links between education/schooling and

39 Zacharias Theophilus Huszty de Raßynya, *Diskurs über die medizinische Polizei*, vol. 1 (Preßburg: Löwe, 1786), 67–74.

40 Broman, "Bildung", 20–21.

41 Leski, "Introduction", xii.

42 T.C.W. Blanning, *Joseph II,* (London: Longman, 1994), 69.

43 Broman, *The Transformation,* 9.

44 Information provided by Sonia Horn.

state became more interrelated.[45] "The Universities became seedbeds of disciplined professional behavior. The state ran and funded the educational system and it wanted competent well trained clergymen, teachers, physicians, and lawyers."[46] Thus, the bureaucracy played an important role in reforming the medical curriculum. The theoretical disciplines were completed with those who offered a practical expertise.

In Transylvania, modern medical education followed the mainstream established in the capital. The Jesuit College of Cluj/Kolozsvár/Klausenburg was transformed into an Academy with three departments: Theology, Law, and Philosophy.[47] In 1775, a Faculty of Medicine was added with only two courses (surgery and anatomy, as well as obstetrics, taught in German by Joseph Laffner).[48] A course in veterinary medicine was introduced later in 1787, taught by Peter Fuhrmann.[49] Joseph II downgraded the faculty to the status of a surgical lyceum and gave it a structure similar to that of the medical-surgical academy in Vienna. Its status was changed later to that of Royal Academic Lyceum in the 1790s and in 1816 it was raised to that of a Medical-Surgical Institute.[50] The main mission of the school was to train surgeons and midwives.

Disciplines taught at the surgical lyceum were meant to help students in the theoretical knowledge and practical skills necessary to treat illnesses and prevent plague epidemics. The diploma granted by the surgical lyceum qualified the surgeons to be employed in a province's sanitary network. There were debates about the language of instruction of the surgeons. Joseph II wanted to introduce German as the language of instruction in all the schools

45 A practical example: Brukenthal, the Transylvanian governor, made known that Joseph Laffner was appointed professor of Surgery and Obstetrics at the Surgical Lyceum of Cluj, and everybody who wanted to study medicine had to enroll for the classes of this professor. ANCJ, POB, Series II a, Sheet 5/ f. 99, Sibiu 1775.

46 McClelland, *German Experience*, 4–5.

47 These aspects were discussed in detail by Lucia Protopopescu, *Contribuţii la istoria învăţământului din Transilvania, 1774-1805* [Contributions to the history of education in Transylvania], (Bucureşti: Editura Didactică şi Pedagogică, 1966) and by Remus Câmpeanu, *Intelectualitatea română din Transilvania în veacul al XVIII-lea* (ClujNapoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1999). The curriculum of the future students became more complex in the nineteenth century. Those who wanted to study medicine, theology, or law in the university, had to study the following subjects: theology, philosophy, history, mathematics, physics, and Latin and Greek philology, and for lawyers also the Saxon Municipal law, for theologians the Hebrew language. See Friedrich Teutsch, "Die siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Schulordnungen", vol. 2 of *Monumenta Paedagogica Historica* (Berlin, 1892), 279.

48 These institutions were considered medical faculties. In Hungary the University of Tarnava/Nagyszombat was closed down and moved to Buda/Pest. However the status of 'university' was given only to the schools of Vienna, Prague, Padua, Lemberg and Buda/Pest.

49 I. Mainzer, *A Kolozsvári Orvos – sebészi tanitézet történeti vázlata 1775–1872* (The historical outline of the medical-surgical educational institute from Cluj, 1775-1872) (Cluj: 1890), 3. This professor was initially a barber, and an apprentice to a surgeon. ANCJ, POB, Series II A, Sheet 5, f. 135.

50 I. Mainzer, *A Kolozsvári Orvos – sebészi Tanitézet*, 2.

of the monarchy. In Transylvania, German was taught mainly to the Saxon students. Hungarians and Romanians were taught in Hungarian.

The medical schools in the monarchy were subordinated to the sanitary commission. Usually, the *protomedicus* of a province was also the head of the medical schools. Johann Peter Frank commented on the efficiency of this administrative function: "An additional advantage of this work is that I am in a position to put into effect a large part of my medical proposals and I am therefore able to adjudge their consequences and difficulties better than can most [physician] writers."[51] The *protomedicus* had the same degree of influence over all the provinces of the Habsburg Monarchy. The *protomedicus* and also the professors of the medical schools, as members of the sanitary commission, decided on health matters in the empire.

In Transylvania, during the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, there were only a few physicians in the province. Most of the professors at the Cluj/Kolozsvár/Klausenburg Academy and the Surgical Lyceum started their career as *Beamte* to organize the fight against epidemics in different regions. In general, a career in the provinces or districts made them eligible as professors in the medical schools of the monarchy. In Transylvania, Adam Chenot (1721–1798), the first *protomedicus* of the province, and André Étienne (1751–1797), *physicus cameralis* and organizer of the sanitary network in the mining region, both earned their professorships as distinguished *Beamter*. The latter taught mineralogy and metallurgy at the Cluj/Kolozsvár/Klausenburg Academy. Ferenc Nyulas (1758–1806), chemist, botanist, and pharmacist, was noted for his contributions to the successful campaigns against the plague in 1795 that affected 50 villages in the Szolnok district of Transylvania. He published several books and pamphlets to help the treatment of scurvy, goiter, and smallpox. He was appointed provincial *protomedicus* and head of the surgical lyceum. Vasile Popp (1789-1842), *physicus* of Braşov/Brassó/Kronstadt, requested the initiation of a course in *Politia Medica* (medical police) in 1820, and also appealed to the educational merits of medical instruction and a rich activity as *physicus cameralis* in the mining regions of the Principality.[52] All the professors at the surgical lyceum had to demonstrate prowess in their fieldwork and private practice, and in providing free medical assistance for the poor.

The surgeons could also apply for a professorship in the schools in Cluj/Kolozsvár/Klausenburg if they were successful in serving the community and in their private practice. This was also the case of, Ioan Piuariu Molnar (1749-1815), a *physicus* of Hermannstadt, who was appointed to teach a new course (ophthalmology) at the Surgical Lyceum in 1790. As he stated in the inaugural lesson of November 1790, "I had many public appointments, I helped many blind people to regain their lost sight, I treated free of charge many poor people,

51 Leski, "Introduction" to J. P. Frank", xii.

52 MOL, Budapest document no. 5781/1820 reproduced by Sámuel Izsak in "Propunerea doctorului Vasile Popp din 1820 privind crearea catedrei de 'Politia medica' la Liceul Medico-Chirurgical din Cluj" [The suggestion of Doctor Vasile Popp to teach a course on Medical police], in *Studii de istorie a medicinei* (Cluj, 1968), 123–135.

I healed many of the diseases of the eyes. This is the reason of this appointment as a professor."[53]

Those who pursued a career in surgery were initially apprentices to a physician or a *magister* in surgery. The most talented of them went to study at the surgical lyceum and some even further to a medical university. The surgeons were also obliged to sustain an examination before members of the *Commissio Sanitatis* and the professors at the lyceum before being allowed to practice. Molnar also studied in Vienna for a year with the financial support of the Gubernium to become a *magister chyrurgie*. Later, when already a professor, he too supported the higher medical education study of his students either at the Surgical Lyceum or at the University of Vienna and Pest.[54]

Thus the institutionalization of medicine gave the *physicus* authority to control all other medical practitioners. As mentioned previously, surgeons too became subordinated to the physicians. The ordinances issued by the Gubernium and by the *protomedici* Ferenc Nyulas and Sámuel Pataki (1765–1824) stated that all the medical practitioners, before being employed in the administration, must fulfill the educational requirements, that is, to have a valid medical diploma issued on the territory of the monarchy.[55] *Physici* were also urged to follow the scientific and medical discoveries throughout Europe. Nyulas, in turn, expressed his desire that physicians should publish or translate a book or a brochure in one of the languages spoken in the Principality (Hungarian, German, and Romanian). He also stated that "the young scholars returning home [to Transylvania] after studying in foreign countries must not

53 Ioan Piuariu Molnar, "Sfătuire rostită in faţa ascultătorilor de chirurgie de la Liceul Regal Academic Clujean" de Ioan Molnar de Müllersheim, profesor public al boalelor şi artei vindecării ochilor când întâiu şi-a deschis cursurile in anul 1791, luna Noiembrie [Counseling performed in front of the students of surgery at the Royal Academic Lyceum from Cluj, by de Ioan Molnar de Müllersheim, ordinary professor of sicknesses and the art of eye healing when he started his course in the year 1791, November month], cited by V. L. Bologa "Praenensis de Piuariu Molnar. Inceputul literaturii medicale ştiinţifice la romani [Paraenesis by Piurariu Molnar. The beginning of medical scientific literature among Romanians]", in: V. L. Bologa and Samuel Izsák, *Studii de istorie a medicinei* (Studies in the history of medicine) (Cluj: [s.n.], 1968), 62–63.

54 Mircea Popa, *Ioan Piuariu Molnar* (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1976); Iosif Spielmann and Z. Szőkefalvi-Nagy, "Câteva precizări cu privire la bio- si ergografia lui Ioan Piuariu Molnar [Some precisions regarding the biography and professional activities of Ioan Piuariu Molnar]", *Revista Medicală* (Medical journal), 23, no. 1 (1977): 18–21. Al Neamţu, "Date noi cu privire la Ioan Piuariu Molnar (1745–1815)", *Studia Univesitatis Babeş-Bolyai*, Seria Historica, (January 15, 1970), 57–58.

55 *Instructio Pro Apotecarius*. Ordinance No. 8215/1808, BARCJ call number 1249/1968; also I. Spielmann, I., *Restituiri istorico-medicale. Studii de istoria ştiintei şi culturii* (Bucureşti: Kriterion, 1980). 318–322 (hearafter, Spielmann, *Restituiri)*; *Instructio Pro Obstetricibus Salaristi Magni Principatus Transylvanie*. Ordinance No. 8018/ A 1809, BARCJ call number1280/1968; *Instructio Pro Chirurgis & Civitatensibus Magni Principatus Transylvanie*, Ordinance No. BARCJ 8018/1809, call number1279/1968. The Governor Samuel Brukenthal issued in 1774 an ordinance that all *Stadtphysici* earning 400 florins per year had to take an examination at the Cluj/Kolozsvár/ Klausenburg Academy. Those knowledge was insufficient, had to study anatomy, surgery, and obstetrics, ANCJ, POB, Series II a, Sheet 5/ f. 88.

be employed in any public function until they present a scientific discovery published in their mother language."[56]

There were specific rules applied to midwives and pharmacists as well. Since the middle ages the town councils had appointed midwives to serve within the walled city and to supervise the activity of other midwives who lived and worked in the neighboring countryside. From the 1770s onward, the Transylvanian sanitary commission, in collaboration with the town councils, introduced a number of 'rules' to standardize the midwifery system, such as compulsory education at the surgical lyceum and in the school of midwives in Sibiu /Hermannstadt/ Nagyszeben.[57] Usually 'specialization' would be attained after the apprenticeship. The Surgical Lyceum became a training site for newly appointed midwives (*Beifrauen*) after 1775. The training took six months under the supervision of a surgeon or obstetrician. The examination for midwives was made under the medical supervision of the members of the *Commissio Sanitatis* and the *stadtphysicus*.[58]

Much attention was given to the moral profile of medical practitioners. Physicians, surgeons, midwives, and pharmacists needed to demonstrate a good character,[59] honesty, and diligence. Ferenc Nyulas considered that only hard work, 'love of the fatherland,' and dedication would bridge the gap of backwardness between Transylvania and the other provinces of the monarchy.[60] He suggested that poor people should receive free medical consultations. Pharmacists and surgeons were asked to purchase the right medical instruments and good quality medicine in order to help patients. Yet the benevolent but costly efforts to raise the professional and moral requirements of the *protomedicus* caused protest, especially among the lower medical personnel. Ferenc Nyulas's zeal to reorganize pharmacies was not welcome, and he might have been even poisoned to death by one of the apothecaries who were forced to close his workshop.[61]

56 Spielmann, *Restituiri*, 319.

57 An ordinance issued in 1808 call no. BAR Cluj, Fond Unitarieni 1219 The midwifes had to pursue education at the surgical lyceum from Cluj or at the midwifes school in Sibiu. At the end of the training they were examined by the *protomedicus* and/ or by the physicus of the town and received a "diploma".

58 Ordinance 1393/1815 states the fact that a midwife should study in a surgical lyceum in Cluj/Kolozsvár/Klausenburg or in Sibiu/Nagyszeben/Hermannstadt and should take an examination with a *protomedicus* or *physicus* before being appointed.

59 See ordinance 8018/1809, *Instructio pro ostetricibus salarisatis Magni Principatus Tansylvaniae.* It was recommended that "a midwife should be well spoken, honest, with a good conscience, capable of keeping professional secret, not talkative, wise, she must know her profession well and also she must collaborate with the local surgeon and/or physician."

60 "Generale Normativum 1770", p. 40, presents a simple formula of public oath (*Juramenti)* in which the doctor and surgeon obliges himself to obey sanitary rules and diligently work in order to cure the diseases. *Opinio in Re Sanitatis*, 1793, 8–9 presents a more elaborated formula in which the doctor obliges himself to obey the sanitary norms and to diligently work for the *Publica salutis rationis*, to help the paupers, to keep professional secrecy, not to make deals with pharmacists to the detriment of patients, and to collaborate with other doctors without envy, hatred, etc. in order to fight together with the magistrates to eradicate epidemics.

61 Spielmann, *Restituiri*, 317.

The Physician as a Man of Letters

The development of new forms of sociability centering on learned societies generated a broad cultural movement. Many physicians were members of the main learned societies such as the German *Societas Polihistorum* the *Transylvanian Society for the Hungarian Language* and the Romanian *Philosophical Society.* Conform to the patriotic discourse of the day, they highlighted a variety of problems within Transylvania's multiethnic and multidenominational society. The economic and cultural backwardness of the province, the social problems, the frequent epidemics of plague, and other health issues were debated in the meetings of the societies and occasionally published. Attention was directed towards practical issues, and mostly towards the spread of useful information. Nyulas commented: "To resume our activity of healing the sick is not the highest priority, we are paid to do this work. In this respect we are in a similar position to a merchant who sells his goods. How valuable is the science if we keep it secret, for our own knowledge? Who can use it if we do not share with the greater public?"[62] Transylvanian physicians and other members of the learned elites were involved in the translation and publication of books and pamphlets, satires, and brochures covering all fields of life.

They discussed history, geography, ecclesiastic history, literature, and political as well as economic issues. Many physicians, such as Ioan Piuariu Molnar, István Mátyus (1724–1802), Vasile Popp, and George Constantin Rozsa/Roja (1786–1847) were involved in the scholarly life of their fatherland. An important agenda for the enlightened physicians was the geographical description and mapping of the province's regions. Medical topography was especially popular in Transylvania in the last part of the eighteenth and in the beginning of the nineteenth century. This map described environmental, economical, and cultural aspects, mainly mining areas, which had an impact on health in a given geographical unit: "They give a detailed account on the miners' work, their salary, workplaces and housing, lifestyle, alimentation, clothing, family relations, the structure and order of miners' dwellings, their ethnic and religious differences, and the characteristic use of language."[63]

In addition to strict medical expertise, medical topographies provided broader information about the regional spread of different diseases. During the entire eighteenth century, regions from Hungary, Banat of Timişoara (Temesvár Bánát) and Transylvania were called by Western Europeans the 'cemetery for foreigners'[64] due to the high mortality rate caused by diseases such as malaria,

62 I.d., 318.

63 Deáky Zita, *Landscape, History And The People – Health And Medical Conditions in 18th and 19th Century Hungary*, http://www.ishm2006.hu/scientific/abstract.php?ID=275, (accessed October 19, 2006).

64 Friedrick Jakob Fuker (1748–1805), *De salubritate et morbis Hungariae* (Preßburg, Loewe, 1775). This book was also translated into Slovakian and published in a Latin-Slovak edition: Friedrick Jakub Fuker, *De salubritate et morbis Hungariae*, trans. and ed. František Šimon (Košice: Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika, 2003).

or the exotic disease called 'csömör.'[65] In the spirit of Hippocratic theories, the air, the water, and the geography in a region were considered to be the cause of specific diseases. In his introduction to the second edition of *The Mineral Waters of the Rodna Region*, Ferenc Nyulas, analyzed the climate, the population, and the regional spread of the goiter in Transylvania. He mentioned that in certain regions of the Carpathian Mountains, people and sometimes even birds had a propensity for particular diseases.[66] In addition to scientific medical explanation, the author maintained "that due to the external and internal characteristics of this disease, goitrous people had evolved a particular, closed lifestyle, and practiced endogamy."[67]

Interest in agriculture and improved agricultural techniques were combined with the advocation of the draining of marshes in order to improve the resources of agriculture and to prevent famines and diseases. The physician Ioan Piuariu Molnar translated a book on beekeeping. The book, entitled *Economy of beehives*, aimed to encourage beekeeping in Transylvania and to popularize techniques that increased honey production and wax quality.[68] Another important issue for the physicians was the promotion of new plants such as potatoes and maize as famine and nutritional diseases, which haunted Transylvania during the entire eighteenth century. It is known today that eighteenth-century Europe had a colder climate than ours, and natural calamities occurred more often. The harvest was often affected by excessive rain or draught, the result of which was often famine.[69] Famine was present even in years with an average harvest. This is why István Mátyus intended to popularize new plants such as potatoes and maize. He mentioned that his work *Old and New Dietetics* aimed to teach people "not to be obliged to be guided, as blind people, in the vital problems of health by some ignorant and stupid barbers, poor in spirit."[70] His work and other publications on agriculture and animal breeding aimed at instructing and transmitting new, practical knowledge. It informed the peasants about new plants and crops for animals in order to avoid famine and the resulting epidemic. This so called 'economic literature'[71] was flourishing in the province. The Court and the Transylvanian Gubernium provided substantial help in translating and publishing such

65 This Hungarian name cannot be translated. It probably was a group of symptoms, which indicated a digestive problem.

66 Iosif Spielmann, "Un savant ardelean din secolul XVIII: Nyulas Ferenc" [A Transylvanian savant from the eighteenth century: Ferenc Nyulas], in *Istoria Medicieni. Studii şi Cercetări* [The history of medicine. Studies and research papers] (Bucureşti: Editura Medicală, 1957), 103–120.

67 I.d., 115.

68 Ioan Piuariu Molnar, *Economia stupilor* [The economy of beehives], (Vienna, 1785). See also N. Edroiu and Pompiliu Teodor, ed., "Economic Literature of the 1780–1820 Period and Romanian Society", in *Enlightenment and Romanian Society*, (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1980), 42–44.

69 Paul Binder and Paul Cernovodeanu, *Cavalerii Apocalipsului. Calamităţile din trecutul României* [The knights of apocalypse. Calamities from the past of Romania] (Bucureşti: Silex 1993), passim.

70 Mátyus István, *The Old and New Dietetics.* Quoted by Spielmann, *Restituiri,* 315.

71 Edroiu, "Economic Literature", 43.

works. Many enlightened intellectuals envisioned a program of teaching in which men would acquire knowledge about new comestible plants, master crafts, and new agricultural techniques.

The working conditions of miners and occupational diseases featured the physicians' attempts to improve public health. The exchange of ideas in Hungarian and German learned societies made people aware of the importance and benefits of new medical discoveries and treatments. Medical science and public health were the central focus of the debates. The goal was to improve the health of individuals through public policies and education.[72] Hygiene (domestic and individual) and dietetics gave many insights about medicine. All these debates had a strong impact on the attitudes of the provincial elite who disseminated useful knowledge either in the form of books, as did Nyulas, or as articles in the main journals of the province, such as the *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift*.[73] Andreas Wolf (1741–1812) wrote in an article that "we warn against the lethal effect of closed air, especially in the cellars, closed fumes, fermenting cider."[74] Another article in the *Quartalschrift* mentioned that,

> *One reads with patriotic joy that the article written by Doctor Andreas Wolf in number three of this Quartalschrift, about drinking water in Hermannstadt was well received by the municipality. The water reservoirs of the town from the Heltau Gate were cleansed under the supervision of the tireless and dignified magistrate Mr. Friedrich Schreyer. He took the right measures for the preservation of the inhabitants' health.*[75]

Members of the learned elite also subscribed to the salient opinion that the spread of science and medicine would lead to the cultivation of morals and eventually to the disciplining of the body. Medical knowledge was taught also to instill moral sentiments and civic responsibility in human relationships. Advice on how to prevent the spread of venereal diseases was translated into the local languages of most frequent use. Thus, André Etienne's book, *Methodus facillissima et rusticis comodissima, praetio quoque levissimo luem venereamcurandi* (Easy method on the treatment of syphilis), was published in Romanian and Hungarian, a difficult enterprise due to the lack of medical terminology.

The *physici* played also an important role in the improvement of the national languages, as a main scientific goal of the provincial learned societies. The translations revealed their effort to improve the Hungarian and Romanian vernaculars and to enrich the scientific vocabulary. The Romanian translation,

72 Anne Hardy, "The medical response during the long eighteenth century", in *Epidemic Diseases in London*, ed. J. A. I. Champion (working paper, series 1, Center for Metropolitan History, University, London, 1993), 67.

73 The *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* was published in seven volumes between 1790 and 1805.

74 The *Quartalschrift* also mentions that Professor Slambos from Aiud/Nagy Enyed/ Strassburg am Mirch, died drunk in his cellar due to the lack of oxygen.*Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* I, 1790, p. 125.

75 "Medizinische Polizey", *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift,* IV, (1794).

for instance, introduced 150 neologisms and used numerous regionalisms.[76] Another important Romanian medical translation was *Lehrbuch der Geburtskunde* (Manual for obstetrics), by Simon Zeller von Zellenberg (1746–1816).[77] Ioan Piuariu Molnar mentioned that "it is difficult to find Romanian words to match the German terminology", and therefore asked more than 200 florins for the translation commissioned by the Galician Gubernium for the "well-being of the people" (*publici boni rationem*).[78]

Information about health matters was disseminated in print. Articles, pamphlets, and sanitary brochures were among the most important tools used by physicians to promote scientific and medical knowledge amongst the educated social strata. They aimed to create a public receptive to the issues of health and bodily discipline, both as civic responsibilities. The physicians used scientific, educational, and moral arguments to improve both the health of the population, as well as its inner qualities. They worked to shape public behavior by combining education about health and moralizing stories, employing medicine and science as the driving force.

Conclusion

This article argued that in the Habsburg Monarchy, as in all German-speaking lands, the development of the medical profession was closely linked with state initiatives. In the Monarchy, professionalization was uniquely shaped by the composite social, economic, and health environments. The economic backwardness of some provinces (Transylvania, Bukovina, and Galicia) the shortage of trained medical professionals, the lack of a centralized bureaucratic apparatus, and conflicts among the local elites and central authorities, set the stage for the conditions that had to be overcome by government intervention. The lack of a unitary language in the administration, and the multiplicity of denominations, which were a particular challenge in this process, could not be discussed here. Rather, attention is given to the professional characteristics, namely, that of the construction of the modern medical profession in the Habsburg Monarchy, beginning after 1770, and overlapping with the doctors' transformation into civil servants. Moreover, the bureaucratization of the medical profession transformed the physicians into a hybrid of public officer (*Beamter*, medical practitioner, health inspector) and private scholar (man of letters), who worked for the improvement of their fatherland and the empire.

The Transylvanian example reflects the fact that, even in the small and economically backward provinces of the monarchy, the incorporation of the medical personnel in the sanitary administration fostered professionalization. The employment in the administrative system required certain qualifications

76 Brătescu, *Grija pentru sănătate*, 95.

77 Simon Zeller von Zellenberg, *Lehrbuch der Geburtskunde*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: Binz, 1802).

78 Cited by Al. Neamţu, "Date noi cu privire la Ioan Piuariu Molnar (1745–1815)" [New data regarding Ioan Piuariu Molnar (1745-1815)], *Studia Univesitatis Babeş-Bolyai. Series Historica*, 15, 1 (1970), 69.

that could be obtained only by attending medical school, and especially those of the Monarchy. The state controlled the professional training of doctors, surgeons, midwives, and pharmacists by imposing a similar curriculum into all the medical schools. The medical education for a physician had a theoretical and practical aspect. Anatomy, physiology, pathology, and *materia medica*, besides Latin, were taught in order to transform physicians into practitioners and not only members of an educated elite. The theoretical knowledge as well as the practical skills assigned the physicians with a leading position that made them superior to surgeons, midwives, obstetricians, and pharmacists in their practices. Medical faculties within the universities of Vienna, Prague, and Buda/Pest, and the surgical lyceums functioning in every province, were an extension and instrument of an administratively controlled sanitary commission. The sanitary commision had a double role. On the one hand it monitored medical practice and training. On the other hand, it was an administrative institution, and transformed the medical practitioners into civil servants paid by the state and obliged to undertake a public oath.

Transylvanian physicians (*physici*) sought to integrate themselves within the administrative apparatus because this position improved their role in the local communities and in provincial politics. They were the channels of enlightened knowledge via the local government. The power over the health and life of the population invested them with greater authority and favored their social ascension, irrespective of their religious beliefs (e.g., as members of the discriminated Protestant or Orthodox denominations within a Catholic empire) or national allegiance. They used their *Beamter* position and their social prestige to develop medical education and to design a health policy to fight epidemics. The medical curricula at the surgical lyceum in Cluj/Kolazsvár/Klausenburg were improved with new courses (ophthalmology and veterinary medicine) and new quarantine legislation was imposed in the province.

The measures on sanitation, public health, and treatment applied in epidemics (plague, small pox) were not only the result of the development of the medical science, but also the result of social, political, and economic realities. The physicians affirmed themselves as individuals that put forward new sanitary laws (e.g., the 1785 *Normativum de peste,* the 1793 *Opinio in Re Sanitatis*, and the 1813 *Normativum de peste*), and initiated and imposed sanitation campaigns (such as vaccination against small pox). They published books, brochures, and pamphlets that popularized medical knowledge. Moreover, their involvement in cultural and scientific activities transformed physicians into a 'hybrid' category, as they were at once scientists and medical practitioners, as well as writers, poets, linguists, and philanthropists. All in all, the professionalization of physicians in this region enhanced the raising of their social status and prestige.

Borbála Zsuzsanna Török

The Ethnic Design of Scholarship: Learned Societies and State Intervention in 19th Century Transylvania

The study of the social context of scholarly activities has a respectable tradition. In the broader field of educational history, analysts of Central European learning have long demonstrated its crucial role in reproducing social categories and societal relations in the modern era.[1] More recently the effort to understand social developments has been correlated with the scrutiny of content-related, internal changes within scientific disciplines. Such contextual studies of the sciences are looking for their manifestations not only in the centers of intellectual milieus, but also in their relative peripheries. They compare the structures of scholarly disciplines in their contemporary institutional framing, to understand how participation in the broader scholarly culture yielded local patterns.[2] Research in France, Britain, and the USA has for instance explored the impact of sociability on scholarly communication. These studies investigate frameworks outside the formal academe along official educational institutions (esp. colleges and universities), and considerable attention has been paid to provincial learned societies, but also to informal networks of learning.[3]

Local adaptations of scholarship and the socially induced differences between them are the concern also of the present study. It traces a specific

1 Just a few representative examples: *Europe, Scotland, and the United States from the 16th to the 20th Century*, vol.2, *The University in Society*, ed. Lawrence Stone (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975); Jürgen Schriewer, Edwin Keiner and Christophe Charle eds. *Sozialer Raum und akademische Kulturen: Studien zur europäischen Hochschul- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* / A la recherche de l'espace universitaire européen: études sur l'enseignement supérieur aux XIXe et XXe siècles (Frankfurt, New York: P. Lang, 1993); Charles E. McClelland, *State, Society and University in Germany, 1700-1914* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Detlef K. Müller, Fritz Ringer and Brian Simon eds. *The Rise of the Modern Educational System: Structural Change and Social Reproduction, 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Viktor Karady, *Iskolarendszer és felekezeti egyenlőtlenségek Magyarországon, 1867-1945* [Schooling and denominational inequalities in Hungary, 1867-1945] (Budapest: Replika Kör, 1997).

2 William Clark, Jan Golinski, and Simon Schaffer, eds., "Introduction", in *The Sciences in Enlightened Europe* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999), 3-31, 20.

3 I use the term 'intellectual milieu' instead of the older and less precise 'Republic of Letters'. See Antonella Boutier, Brigitte Marin and Antonella Romano eds. *Naples, Roma, Florence. Une histoire comparée des milieux intellectuels italiens (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)*. Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome, 355 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2005).

German tradition of thinking about the state, the region and its society, *Landeskunde,* related to what came to be identified as the sciences of state, *Staatswissenschaften*.[4] This strand of scholarship emerged as a variant of the 18th century state science destined to train administrators in effective state management. Although highly popular in the Habsburg Monarchy in the long nineteenth century, *Landeskunde* has been ignored by university-based historical research after World War II. Its reputation today as the amateurish pastime of narrow-minded provincials might also distract the attention from its prominent role in both the eighteenth and nineteenth century education and politics. Also, since such forms of non-institutional scholarship were widely practiced within German-speaking Europe, they offer an excellent opportunity to reflect on the circulation of knowledge between intellectual centers based in German cities, Vienna, Buda-Pest and their respective provinces such as Transylvania under Habsburg rule. The latter was at considerable distance from universities, whereto academic peregrinations remained an integral feature of the pursuit of higher learning well into the twentieth century.

The *Verein für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* (Association for Transylvanian *Landeskunde*, *VSL,* 1842-1944), and the Hungarian *Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület* (Transylvanian Museum Society, *EME*, 1857-1945), were both established for the pursuit of *Landeskunde/honismeret,* in multiethnic Transylvania. They were instances of distinct, though entangled knowledge production. They both served the patriotic education of their ethnic clientele, thus the most immediate question emerging here is the nature of this knowledge with regard to political power.[5] While reconstructing the late nineteenth-century history of the two traditional regional learned societies, and the primary social and institutional mechanisms that shaped their organizational frameworks, my essay investigates how scholarly agendas were fostered by shifting conjunctures of selective, even discriminating nation-state support, and how the latter generated oppositional ethnonationalist responses in a regionalist framing.

Originating in the academic movement of the previous century, the two learned societies in question were actually founded in the mid-nineteenth century. This moment coincided with the reorganization of scholarship, dominated by the Humboldt-type research-university on the European scale. Indeed, the organizational transformation of higher learning after the French Revolution recast the scholarly landscape into more recognizably modern forms.[6] The university became the standard venue of scientific research as against the older types of knowledge production, like the learned societies and

4 David F. Lindenfeld, *The Practical Imagination. The German Sciences of State in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997).

5 Dorinda Outram, "The Enlightenment Our Contemporary", in *The Sciences in Enlightened Europe* ed. William Clark, Jan Golinski, and Simon Schaffer (Chicago-London: University of Chicago Press, 1999); 32-40, 39; Thomas Munck, "The 'Public Sphere' and its Limits", in *The Enlightenment. A Comparative Social History 1721–1794* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2000), 14-17.

6 James McClellan III, "Scientific Institutions and the Organization of Science", in *Eighteenth-Century Science*, vol. 4, *The Cambridge History of Science* ed. Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 87-106, 105.

academies – which lost their earlier pioneering role. They could survive only through specialization, as discipline-oriented venues of research. The major national academies continued to exist, but they were mostly transformed into honorary organizations destined to the legitimization and the official recognition of scholarly accomplishments. Universities were endowed with, and partly legitimized by a national mission, and their supporter and sponsor, the emerging nation-state aimed to control their knowledge claims.[7]

The Habsburg Monarchy followed the general pattern, even if the process of a substantial educational modernization in its eastern provinces took place with delay, following essentially the Austro-Hungarian Compromise. In Transylvania proper, a modern university was founded in 1872 only. The integration of local institutions into the emerging state-run educational infrastructure was a complex and conflict-ridden process; and the tensions emerging illustrate the unequal accommodation of citizens belonging to divergent ethnic, religious, gender and status clusters into the national polity. The two following passages provide a contrastive analysis of two distinct ethnic patterns, illustrating how social standing and political conjunctures interrelated with the production and circulation of knowledge, particularly after 1867. While the Vienna-centric post-revolutionary regime privileged the German institution, in the aftermath of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise selective policies of support strengthened the Budapest-oriented centralization at the expense of intra-regional, interethnic ties. In Dualist Hungary, the modernization of education and academic training went hand in hand with state initiatives to enforce the cultural assimilation of non Magyar ethnic clusters. How did regional scholarship respond to the conflicting demands of ethnic 'belonging' and professional needs?

Scholarly sociability: universal principles, national practices

Regional scholarly associations like the *Verein für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* and the *Transylvanian Museum Society* should be considered in relation to modern urban sociability. Simultaneously materializing plans of such institutions in linguistically and geographically isolated milieus are inexplicable without the existence of a common discursive background and shared social practices. These were widespread and "European" enough to permeate societies as traditional and fragmented as that in Transylvania by the early nineteenth century. The scholarly institutions founded in the towns of the province had little in common with the state-generated and sponsored royal academies and learned societies formed in Western Europe. Rather, such provincial institutions should be regarded as rooted in the liberal principles guiding modern patterns of exchange as practiced by the associations of civil society and the press.

The discourse of voluntary associations and the attendant social practices were a common European and transatlantic occurrence in the eighteenth and

7 Christophe Charle, Jürgen Schriewer, and Peter Wagner eds. *Transnational Intellectual Networks: Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2004), 18; Jürgen Schriewer et al, eds. *Sozialer Raum*.

nineteenth centuries. There was a shared belief, originating in the Enlightenment that "sociability led to 'mutual improvement, for increasing our knowledge and mending our heart."[8] Such plans for improvement were present in the Hungarian and Transylvanian Reform Era as well; indeed, they were an integral part of prevalent modernization programs. In contemporary Hungarian liberal usage, *polgári*, or civil society equaled an opposition to traditional order, which was perceived to be governed by "barbaric" feudal distinctions, the latter including a sharp differentiation among the estates, between the privileged and bonded serfs, and between religions and languages. *Polgári* also connoted the political project to replace heterogeneous and fragmented legislation by unitary laws applicable to everyone, together with the eventual formation of an educated and politically empowered citizenry in the framework of a unified nation-state, incorporating all the "lands of the Hungarian Crown", that is Hungary proper, Transylvania and Croatia.[9]

The general model was to be implemented amidst the specific regional socio-political circumstances. The infrastructure of public debate, which Thomas Munck described as the "interface between the individual subject or citizen and the complex structure of government and collective authority", and which thrived in contemporary northwestern Europe, lagged behind in Southern and Eastern Europe. To explain this lag, Munck cites the "restraints of tradition, state-backed religious conservatism, far lower literacy rates, [the] persistence of censorship controls abandoned or unenforceable in the northwest, [and the] absence of explosive economic growth, which [had] loosened social barriers, facilitated consumer spending, raised expectations, and spawned genuine liberalization in northwestern Europe in the century before the French Revolution."[10]

Indeed, in Transylvania, the ethno-confessional inequalities of the urban social structure and the gap between towns and ethnically different countrysides created serious barriers to public communication. The larger towns had a predominantly Hungarian and German character, as did the urban middle classes and the bureaucracy. This structure did not change significantly until World War I. The largest ethnic population of the region, the Romanians, was overwhelmingly rural and started to become socially mobile only in the second half of the nineteenth century. Their intellectual and professional elite established themselves on the fringes of Magyar and Saxon urban societies

8 Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, "Democracy and Associations in the Long Nineteenth Century: Toward a Transnational Perspective", *Journal of Modern History* 75, no. 2 (2003): 269-99, esp. 275.

9 László Péter, "Volt-e magyar társadalom a XIX. században? A jogrend és a civil társadalom képződése" [Was there a Hungarian society in the 19th century? The order of law and the formation of the civil society] in *Az Elbától keletre. Tanulányok a magyar és kelet-európai történelemből* [East of the Elba: Studies in Hungarian and East European history] (Budapest: Osiris, 1998), 148-86, esp. 156-58; András Gergely and János Veliky, "A politikai közvélemény fogalma Magyarországon a XIX. század közepén" [The concept of political public opinion in Hungary in the middle of the 19th century], in *Magyar Történelmi tanulmányok* [Hungarian historical studies] ed. Fehér András, (Debrecen, 1974), 5-42.

10 Munck, "Preface", in idem, vii-xii, esp. ix-x.

while keeping their ties to the villages.[11] This ethno-demographic segmentation formed the very rigid ethno-social background of the civic networks and organized public exchanges that unfolded in Transylvania at the outset of the modern era.

How did the universalistic program of civil society interact with those of the regional scholarly associations in question? The fact that the latter were in principle public, open to everyone, explains for their adaptation of liberal norms of communication (such as freedom of opinion, unrestrained participation of educated clusters in public exchange irrespective of social and ideological, religious etc. background), even if this principle was selectively applied in the regional context. Practice, resulting from the socio-cultural background of the agents of civil society concerned, brought out the differences. Of course, not only in the crown lands of the Austrian Monarchy but throughout the continent claims to the abstract common good had been linked already in the Enlightenment to conflicting national perspectives.[12] Both the new political elites but the clientele of the associations interpreted education and *Bildung* in ethnocultural terms. This is visible in the practice of the Transylvanian cultural associations: their encompassing programs and projected openness had a regional and European scope, though, in practice, they served the identity politics of their national clientele.

Verein für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde

Despite appeals to inter-ethnic regional cooperation, the Saxon learned society was founded as an institution by and for the Saxon educated middle class. An invitation to the founding assembly was addressed to the whole Transylvanian public, to "all the friends of the Transylvanian *Landeskunde*, of all nations and ranks", but the list of members gathered in Mediasch/Mediaş/ Medgyes on 8-9 October 1840, reveals that the call did not have resonance outside the Saxon public. All the 97 men who signed up were Transylvania-based Lutheran-Germans. It was an exclusive gathering, involving the typical 'movers and shakers' of contemporary educated civic life and amateurs of *Landeskunde*, that is middle to high standing state functionaries and intellectuals: gymnasium professors and pastors (see Table1.).

11 Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building and Ethnic Struggle, 1918-1930* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), 138; George Marica et al., *Ideologia generaţiei române de la 1848 în Transilvania*. [The ideology of the Transylvanian Romanian generation of 1848] (Bucharest: Editura Politica, 1968), 161.

12 Hoffman, "Democracy", 273; László Péter, "Volt-e magyar társadalom a XIX. században? A jogrend és a civil társadalom képződése" [Was there a Hungarian society in the 19th century? The order of law and the formation of the civil society] in *Az Elbától keletre* [East of the Elbe], (Budapest: Osiris, 1998), 158.

Table 1. Social-Professional Distribution of VSL Members before 1848.

PROFESSION	1840		1842		1847	
Middle-status state employees	26	**26.8**	54	**23.6**	130	**20.9**
High-qualified teaching staff: gymnasium professors etc.	24	**24.7**	36	**15.7**	54	**8.7**
High-status state/city officials	19	**19.6**	27	**11.8**	156	**25.0**
Pastors	13	**13.4**	42	**18.3**	145	**23.3**
Businessmen	7	**7.2**	11	**4.8**	30	**4.8**
Free profession: lawyers, physicists	5	**5.1**	10	**4.4**	50	**8.0**
Students (law, theology)	3	**3.1**	19	**8.3**	13	**2.1**
Others: Army ,Lower teaching staff, Landowners, artisans, unidentified			11		45	
Total	97=100%		229=100%		623=100%	

Source: "Protokoll über die Verhandlungen der ersten in Schußburg abgehaltenen General-Versammlung des Allerhöchsten benehmigten Vereines für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde. 19 Mai 1842." In: Protokolle des VSL (Hermannstadt, 1846); Verzeichniß sämmtlicher wirklicher Mitglieder des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde welche für das Jahr 1847 ihre Beiträge entrichtet haben (Hermannstadt, 1847).

Similarly, by the 1840s, *Landeskunde* waived the flag of 'national' scholarship: its stated purpose in the *Verein* was to advance the sense of community by bridging the distance between the Saxon settlements scattered in the province, and advancing communication between them via scholarship: "that our people would feel its unity, and the prejudices of the districts towards each other would cease, and we would stop being Hermannstädter, Mediascher, Schässburger, Kronstädter, but Saxons, and feel like Saxons." It is thus worth asking to what extent it fulfilled its mission both in terms of producing canonical knowledge, and in acquiring a top position in the Transylvanian Saxon society.

In terms of social standing, the history of the learned society was a success story until World War I. Already in the first decade, the young institution established ties beyond local reach, and soon thereafter it had members from all the larger settlements of the Saxon-inhabited area in Southern Transylvania. The leadership of the association consisted of the *kaisertreu* Saxon *Bildungbürger*, including the ecclesiastic, economic and political elite, and this remained unchanged until World War I despite the generation change of the 1860-80s. Johann Karl Schuller (1794-1865), Georg Paul Binder (1784-1867), Georg Daniel Teutsch (1817-1893), but also Josef Bedeus von Schharberg (1782-1858), Bishop Friedrich Müller (1828-1915) Franz Gebbel (1835-1877), Carl Wolff (1849-1929), and other prominent members of the learned society were influential politicians, high state functionaries and members of the Saxon ecclesiastic elite, representing Saxon interest in conformity with Vienna, and in opposition to the Hungarian unionist policies of the Reform Era. These men were active in maximizing cultural-educational autonomy, and only secondarily interested in keeping good neighborly relations with the newly created Hungarian and Romanian cultural institutions.

The post-revolutionary decade brought institutional consolidation. Separate specialized sections of the association were established by districts and localities. Strong chapters, cores of future branch associations, were founded in the towns of Hermannstadt/Sibiu/Nagyszeben, Kronstadt/Braşov/Brassó, Schäßburg/Sighişoara/Segesvár, Mediasch/Mediaş/Medgyes, Mühlbach/Sebeş/Szászsebes, but also Vienna and Pest.[13] The presidential committee was enlarged, and the network of corresponding members spanned scholarly connections until Budapest, Vienna and Berlin. During the fifties and the sixties the association took up contact with the Hungarian Academy, the Royal Academies in Berlin and Munich, among other European and overseas learned institutions. In 1853, the *Landeskundeverein* corresponded with 22 partner institutions; in 1870 this number rose to 76.[14] The board made sure that all the members of the associations could receive the journal *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* in exchange for a higher membership fee.[15] The number of those enrolled grew steadily despite the raising fees, reaching the maximum of 799 in 1883. The Saxon academy attained the size of its Hungarian counterpart, and so it was *socially more representative*.[16]

The association launched its program already in 1843. Committee meetings and yearly assemblies were held regularly, and shortly after the end of the war of independence (a civil war, to be true, for Saxons, who sided collectively with the imperial power), activity resumed with new impetus in 1850/1851. This stood in remarkable contrast with the contemporary Transylvanian Hungarian academic movement, which suffered tremendously both in the aftermath of post-revolutionary purges and the tribulations of the Hungarian revolutionary elite. Temporary Hungarian disenchantment with the modernizing and patriotic potential of civic activism also hindered the regeneration of the associational movement that came to a halt during the war of independence of 1848-49.[17] The administrative difficulties accompanying the foundation of the *EME* (see next section), also serve as a contrastive

13 Heinz Herbert, "Geschichte des Vereines für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde", *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 28 (1898), 139-236, 158.

14 Id. 163.

15 Id. 185-189.

16 Id.168-189. The approximate number of practitioners of the free professions and civil servants together in the 1860s in Transylvania was 86,000, out of which two-third were Hungarians and less then one quarter Romanians – this illustrates the differences in relative representativity of each learned society, vol. III of Köpeczy, Béla, ed. *Erdély története három kötetben* [The history of Transylvania in three volumes], (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986), 1610.

17 Veliky, János, "A szociális mozgalmakat szervező Kossuth társadalomfelfogása" [The social vision of Kossuth, organizer of social movements] in *Nemzeti és társadalmi átalakulás a XIX. században Magyarországon* [National and social transformation in Hungary in the *nine*teenth century] ed. István Orosz and Ferenc Pölöskei (Budapest: Korona Kiadó, 1994), 225-234; Gábor Halmai, *Az egyesülés szabadsága. Az egyesülési jog története.* (Budapest: Atlantisz Kiadó, 1990); Károly Halmos, "Magyarországi polgárosodás. Tallózás az 1988-1992 közötti történeti irodalomban" ["Polgárosodás" in Hungary. A selection from historical literature from 1988-1992] *Aetas* 3 (1994): 95-154; Béla G. Német, ed., *Forradalom után – kiegyezés előtt. A magyar polgárosodás az abszolutizmus korában*. [After the revolution – before the Compromise. Hungarian polgárosodás during the time of absolutism] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1988), 1; Péter, 148-186.

example for the unequal political conjunctures affecting the institutionalization of knowledge in the period.

Saxon education in general benefited from the modernization that began in 1849–1850 with the introduction of the extensive Austrian school reforms, including – the establishment of the gymnasium as the central piece in the hierarchical 'systematization' of the educational network. By the fifties the society was fully consolidated thanks to an energetic committee and successful co-operation with the Austrian authorities. Thus, the preface of the new *Archiv* series did not pay merely lip service to the authorities when announcing that "the new political institutions of the country open a wonderful perspective for the knowledge of Transylvania's past and present. They link the scientific endeavors of this crown land more closely to the scholarship of the whole Austrian Empire and so they give encouragement and secure support."[18] The *Landeskundeverein* benefited also from personal contacts with organizers of the Austrian educational reforms. Johann Karl Schuller, one of the the key personalities of the *Landeskundeverein*, was appointed by the Ministry of Cults and Education with the reorganization of the Transylvanian school system. It was his merit that the Saxon academy established ties to the Historical Comission of the Viennese Academy of Sciences and embarked on its most extensive project of publishing Saxon historical sources in the series *Fontes rerum Austriacum*.[19] Also, the *Jahrbuch der k.k. Central-Kommission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale* (Yearbook of the Imperial and Royal Central Commission for the Research and Preservation of Historic Buildings) enabled Transylvanian Saxons to reach a wider international audience with publications in the history of art and architecture.[20]

However, financially the *Landeskundeverein* relied on the wealthy urban *Bildungsbürger*, and remained the only scholarly institution in the province without substantial state support. The directors of the savings banks, the co-operative credit institutions, well-to-do traders (factory and sawmill owners, timber traders) and also the less affluent book sellers, clerks, etc. faithfully attended the yearly meetings and supported the association with donations. The association relied on membership fees, but of course, it also received various gifts. After 1867, the former Saxon self-government, henceforth a mere cultural fund, the *Nationsuniversität*, became its steady subsidizer. Besides, the city councils of Hermannstadt, Kronstadt, Mühlbach and Schässburg subscribed as full members of the association, and so did several credit institutions. Beginning with 1880, the *Sparkassa* (Savings bank) from Hermannstadt provided the *Landeskundeverein* generous extra yearly support,

18 "Introduction", *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, vol.1 (1853), without page numbers.

19 *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, vol.1 of *Fontes rerum Austriacarum* (1858).

20 See the studies of M. J. Ackner and Friedrich Müller on Roman ruins and Saxon Church-Fortresses with the support of the Viennese Academy Ackner. Gustav Gündisch, "Der Verein für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde. Eine Wissenschftsgeschichte", in: *Wege Landeskundlicher Forschung. 25 Jahre Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde. 1962-1987 Siebenbürgisches. Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* vol. 21 (Köln-Vienna: Böhlau, 1987), 13-51, 23-24.

which amounted by 1896/97 to 2,500 Gulden. So did its counterpart in Kronstadt, as well as the savings associations from Mühlbach. After 1867, even the Hungarian Ministry for Cults and Education contributed funds occasionally.[21]

Financial independence from the central government did not mean isolation and withdrawal. Quite the contrary, the share of high-ranking city and state functionaries remained high in the presidential board. After 1867, parliamentary politicians and members of ministerial staff were elected into the board and even a few Hungarians in the years of the so-called "Saxon-Hungarian Compromise" of the 1890s. One can interpret this development as a response to Hungarian educational policies, generating an attitude of rapprochement. Adaptation to state norms secured the benefit of institutional safety and the non-intervention of the state authorities, a stance distinguishing not only the Saxon 'academy,' but the whole German Lutheran educational network in general. Explicit criticism of the increasing nationalizing efforts of the state since the 1870s was rather the exception than the norm. It is true though that on occasion of the protest campaign in 1883 against the enforcement of the teaching of Hungarian in minority schools, the *Landeskundeverein* featured in the German press as the champion of resistance against state interference in nationality affairs, and gained considerable international visibility. [22]

The *Landeskundeverein* constituted an interface between the political, the civic, the educational and the ecclesiastical sphere within Saxon society. Controlled by the higher clergy, it attracted all sorts of higher state bureaucrats, gymnasium professors and entrepreneurs. They were the chief consumers of the cultural goods produced by the association: scholarly and popular books on Saxon history and culture, such as the *Sachsengeschichte* (Saxon History, abbreviated form of the History of the Saxons for the Saxon people) of the Lutheran bishop Georg Daniel Teutsch and his son, Friedrich Teutsch, *Bilder aus der vaterländischen Geschichte* (Pictures from the Fatherland's history), the tale collections of Johann Haltrich, the accomplished maps and linoleum cuts of townscapes sold at the yearly meetings. The social distinction of the association was also indicated by the decreasing number of lower-status employees.[23]

The *Landeskundeverein* established itself as the informal Saxon academy, a meeting place for men of higher social standing that fostered and popularized patriotic scholarship. After the retirement of its second president, Franz Josef Trausch (1795–1871) in 1869, the presidency passed to Georg Daniel Teutsch (1817–1893), and then to the latter's son, Friedrich Teutsch (1852-1933), who also became bishop after the retirement of his father. The passage of the seat

21 Joseph Bedeus von Scharberg, *Bericht über die Entstehung, die Schicksale und Leistungen des Vereines für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde bis zum Jahr 1853,* 23-24, Heinz Herbert, "Geschichte des Vereines für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde",168, 174-179.

22 Andreas Beyer, "Geschichtsbewustsein und Nationalprogramm der Siebenbürger Sachsen," in *Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert ed. Paul Philippi* (Köln-Graz: Böhlau, 1967), 56-115, 96-97.

23 In comparison to the registered 130 members of this social group in 1847, there were only 22 in 1914.

from the higher state bureaucracy to the Lutheran ecclesiastical elite signified an important turn in Saxon scholarly tradition. After the general disintegration of the encyclopedic state science by the mid-19th century and its replacement by the modern social sciences as well as economics, a newly defined *Landeskunde* was instrumental in building the Lutheran *Bildungsreligion*, under the tutelage of the Church, and in the service of Saxon patriotic education. Under the bishop-presidents the *Landeskundeverein* became the central organ of the Saxon educational system. Institutions, schools, religious congregations, even town and village councils subscribed as members of the association. Permanent public presence and mild pressure on the pastors and teachers did their share in recruiting the congregations, communities and civil organizations. According to the ambitious plans of the president, all Saxon congregations had the patriotic and religious duty to subscribe. Though the plan was never fulfilled, but due to the conscientious agency of individual parish priests, local collectivities joined the association in ever growing number. Thus on occasion of the yearly meeting in 1879, Samuel Schiel, dean of the Kronstadt Church district, reported that all the congregations from his district had joined the *Landeskundeverein*. [24]

The importance of the *Landeskundeverein* is also visible in its contribution to the Transylvanian Saxon cultural canon. While in Germany regional patriotic scholarship became the politically rather insignificant preoccupation with the *Heimat,* its counterpart in Transylvania bore a pronounced political message.[25] The *Landeskundeverein* became the authoritative institution for producing the "national" Saxon scholarship. The canonical texts on the Saxon cultural heritage were written under its aegis, and found direct application in the school curricula. These texts emphasized a common Saxon national ideology, the idea of the Lutheran *Kulturträger* – understood as culturally superior to their ethnic neighbors. They expressed the outlook of the political and ecclesiastical elite, and were resistant to the weak professional criticism arising at the turn of the century.

The standard works and school curricula in Transylvanian history, geography, ethnography, and philology were thus mostly written and debated in the *Landeskundeverein*. Most prominent example was the *Sachsengeschichte* by Georg Daniel Teutsch, to be completed later by his son, Friedrich, but well-known were also the history and geography textbooks put to use in Saxon schools.[26] Along the history and geography of the state, the textbooks created the parallel map of Saxon Transylvania, designed not only for schoolchildren

24 Herbert, "Geschichte des Vereines",169.

25 Heins Heimpel, "Geschichtsvereine einst und jetzt", in *Geschichtswissenschaft und Vereinswesen im 19. Jahrhundert* ed. Boockmann et al (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1972), 45-73, 53.

26 Johann Michaelis, *Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von Ungarn*, reprint, edited by E. Albert Bielz (Hermannstadt, 1880); Carl Werner, *Geschichte Ungarns mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Siebenbürgens. Ein Leitfaden für höhere Volksschulen, Bürgerschulen und die unteren Klassen der Mittelschulen der ev. Landeskirche A. B. in Siebenbürgen* (Hermannstadt, 1880); Karl Thomas, *Bilder aus der ungarischen Geschichte* (Kronstadt, 1894).

but for the general public.[27] Patriotic education was especially important in the villages, and the Lutheran Consistory strongly recommended to local pastors the "evening readings". A thorough bibliography, including the *Sachsengeschichte*, was to instruct the mature male population in natural history, ethnography, the history of the fatherland, and as regards daily political and economic news.[28]

The *Landeskundeverein* was prolific in studies in regional and local history, topics strongly emphasized in school education. Scholarship and education were pragmatically linked under the presidency of Bishop Freidrich Teutsch, following in the footsteps of his father both in his ecclesiastic and scholarly career. After numerous publications in Saxon political, cultural and economic history and historiography, Teutsch published a major piece of synthetic Saxon history continuing his father's *Saxengeschichte*. The second volume on contemporary history bore the suggestive title *Hundert Jahre sächsischer Kämpfe* (Hundred year Saxon struggle) – harking back to Heinrich von Treitschke's *Zehn Jahre deutscher Kämpfe* (Ten year German struggle) – and became the most authoritative publication of Saxon ethnic ideology. Like the earlier work, its goal was the "heroic elevation of the past and the leading men."[29] Saxons were presented here as "first ranking cultural factor" and "teaching master" of the Translyvanian "tribes", received and treated with respect by the Hungarian kings, only to be marginalized and antagonized by their later successors.[30] Teutsch's book, with its demand for "national tolerance and cultural-ecclesiastical self-determination", exemplifies the ethnic tensions of the fin-de-siècle post-liberal era.[31] The agreement with the government for non-intervention in cultural and educational matters strengthened the position of the moderately nationalist Saxon elite that controlled the *Landeskundeverein*. The alliance secured the status quo and isolated political opponents from the right and the left. Co-opting or marginalizing the *völkisch* thrust of the younger radicals, the "Greens", this older generation remained faithful to the older Saxon *Bildungreligion*. The scholarly canon reinforced the

27 Georg Manchen, *Bilder aus der ungarischen Geschichte. Ein Hilfs- und Lesebuch für Schule und Haus* (Kronstadt, 1889); Friedrich Teutsch ed., *Bilder aus der vaterländischen Geschichte*, vols. 1-2 (Hermannstadt, 1895-1899).

28 Cited by Oskar von Meltzl, *Statistik der sächsischen Landbevölkerung in Siebenbürgen,* (Hermannstadt, 1886), 253-254.

29 Georg Daniel Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk. Eine vom Vereine für sächsische Landeskunde gekrönte Preisschrift,* vols. 1-3 (Kronstadt, 1852-1853); Friedrich Teutsch, *Hundert Jahre sächsischer Kämpfe* (Hermannstadt, 1910); *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk,* vol. IV, *Unter dem Dualismus, 1868-1919* (Hermannstadt, 1926); Heinrich von Treitschke, *Zehn Jahre deutscher Kämpfe:Schriften zur Tagespolitik,* 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1897); Andreas Möckel, "Nachwort", in: Friedrich Teutsch, *Kleine Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen,* edited by Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965), 367-380, 372-374 passim.

30 Andreas Möckel, "Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewustsein bei den siebenbürger Sachsen", in *Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* ed. Paul Philippi (Köln-Graz: Böhlau, 1967), 56-115.

31 Beyer, "Geschichtsbewustsein", 68; Möckel, "Nachwort", 374; Elemér Kelemen, *Hagyomány és korszerűség. Oktatáspolitika a 19-20 századi magyarországon* [Tradition and modernity. Educational politics in 19-20th century Hungary] (Budapest: Új Mandátum, 2002), 39-40.

thesis of the Protestant *Kirchenvolk*, assimilating at places elements of the radical nationalist ideology.[32]

The *Landeskundeverein* never though became a mass organization. Until the First World War, it remained under the tutelage of the intellectual-ecclesiastic and political elite. Neither did it abandon its academic character, intensifying cooperation with German and Austrian academies. But with the crisis of fin-de-siècle liberalism, a new genre of political pamphlet with a sharper nationalist – occasionally social Darwinist – undertone emerged among its publications. The President legitimized them saying that "politics used historical weapons ... and the border between history and political essay is difficult to draw, or even impossible altogether."[33] Bishop Teutsch went as far as welcoming the 'political turn' and hoped that beyond uncovering the "laws of being" these writings "shaped the will" of the reader. He regarded scholarship a means for "developing our national consciousness."

The compromise with such populist ideologists went hand in hand with advocating or patronizing dilettante work, next to the academic one. The circle of active scholars was limited, argued Teutsch, and since they were mostly gymnasium professors and pastors, they worked under worse conditions than their luckier German (and Hungarian) counterparts. "Due to these institutional and social conditions the activity of the *Landeskundeverein* remained consciously eclectic, despite repeated demands for more coordination and professionalism."[34] Such pronouncedly dilettante self-image, seeking to anchor the *Landeskundeverein* among the larger Saxon public, contrasted the real academic achievements. By that time the society was corresponding with more than one hundred academic institutions in Europe and America, a number never achieved by its Transylvanian Hungarian counterpart. This dual intellectual identity served in any case one important goal: popularizing Saxon Science.[35]

Table 2. Socioprofessional Distribution of VSL Members 1853-1914

PROFESSION	1853	1863	1883	1893	1914
Middle-ranking employees (secretaries, drafters, archivists etc.)	14.3	11.8	3.5	5.8	4.1
Highly qualified teaching staff: university and gymnasium professors	13.5	19.4	18.3	14.1	16.7

32 Beyer, "Geschichtsbewustsein", 111-113; Günther Schödl ed., *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas. Land an der Donau* (Berlin: Siedler Verlag, 1995).

33 Friedrich Teutsch, "Unsere Geschichtsschreibung in den letzten zwanzig Jahren (1869–1889)", *Archiv* 22 (1889), 619-687, 643.

34 Ibid. 684-686.

35 Ibid. 684. Compare: "Verzeichnis der Akademien, Vereine und Gesellschaften, mit welchen der VSL in Verbindung steht, sammt Angabe der im gegenseitigen Schriftentausche gewechselten Druckwerk," in *Jahresbericht des VSL, 1879-1880*, 25-33.

High-ranking state officials	31.4	17.8	17.3	23.4	21,3
Ecclesiastics	21.4	21.5	19.9	18.8	19.8
Traders	–	–	7.4	9.1	6.6
Free professions: lawyers and physicians	6.0	5.6	7.2	9.7	8.2
Others: Army, lower teaching staff (teachers), land-owners, artisans	13.1	23.7	13.2	12.7	14.3
Institutions (congregations, communities, associations)	–	–	12.8	6.4	9.0
Total	397=100%	474=100%	850=100%	664=100%	707=100%

Sources: Bericht über die Entstehung, die Schicksale und Leistungen des VSL bis zum Jahr 1853 vom Vereins-Vorsteher (Hermannstadt, 1853), 3-14, Jahresbericht des VSL für das Jahr 1863-1864 (Hermannstadt, 1864), 4-19, Jahresbericht des VSL für das Jahr 1883-1884, (Hermannstadt, 1864), 4-19, Jahresbericht des VSL für das Jahr 1893-1894 (Hermannstadt, 1894), 3-24, Jahresbericht des VSL für das Jahr 1914 (Hermannstadt, 1915), 3-23.

Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület (Transylvanian Hungarian Association, EME)

The different careers of the *Landeskundeverein* and its Hungarian counterpart illustrate well the ethnic preferences of the post-revolutionary Austrian government. The *Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület* was founded in 1859, thanks to initiatives of the higher regional nobility led by Count Imre Mikó (1805–1876), provisional governor in 1861, superintendent of the Transylvanian Calvinist Church, and outstanding civic activist in the post-1848 decades.

Similar to the earlier Saxon initiative, Mikó too relied on civic support. The Hungarian press of Kolozsvár/Cluj was his chief ally, demanding 'national improvement' with a subdued anti-Habsburg edge. One contrasted national self-formation with the alien nature of the absolutist regime, but also with the "cosmopolitanism" and the "radicalism" of the 1848 revolution.[36] Yet Mikó continued to consider Transylvanian scholarship also as deriving from a common, though competing, Saxon and Hungarian tradition. He saw how the reorganization of Saxon education and scholarship benefited from the Austrian cultural politics. He and his learned circle promoted the project of the national

36 See János Veliky, ed., *Polgárosodás és Szabadság. Magyarország a XIX. Században* [Embourgeoisement and freedom. Hungary in the nineteenth century] (Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 1999), 329.

museum with an eye on the *Landeskundeverein,* the *Brukenthal Museum* and other Saxon scholarly organizations.[37]

It illustrates the limits of official tolerance how János Somlyai, Mikó's representative, was negotiating the "national" implications of the project at the Viennese Ministries. His correspondence with Mikó testifies that "the Government did not want to hear about national brackets, it was none of its aims to cultivate them, and it did not know about a Magyar Transylvania but only of a Transylvanian hereditary land, and that the *Gubernium* too asked to modify the name of the project (from *national*, TZS) to *Transylvanian Museum*."[38] Finally, in 1859 the "Transylvanian Museum" received permission, together with – though somewhat later – the affiliated association. Soon thereafter the founders' meeting was held in Kolozsvár/Cluj with 383 members.[39] The public was remarkably supportive in the first years: almost two thousand private individuals and institutions signed the donation lists.[40] The members' lists attest to the general Hungarian trend: the strata with the most civic engagement in Hungarian society were still the aristocracy and the nobility, in contrast with the *Bildungsbürger* background of the *Landeskundeverein* membership. It was only later, when non-noble commoners, most notably Jews, became visible as noted philanthropists, or other 'movers and shakers' in support of the regional civil society.

Mikó's main ally was thus the traditional Transylvanian Hungarian social elite. True, the high fees and exclusive categories of membership, demanding substantial financial contributions or valuable donations of historic value to the *EME* museum, were designed for a wealthy clientele. Thus, one could become "board member" by paying in the society's fund at least 500 florins or donating artifacts in the same value. This was the category of Mikó's aristocratic network par excellence: in 1868, out of the 126 board members 97 were titled aristocrats, including 12 countesses and baronesses. The second most prestigious category involved the "founding members"; in 1868 out of the 382 founding members 70 were aristocrats, half of whom women. The "shareholders" formed the third category, members who obliged themselves to contribute 5 forints per year for a certain period. This category melted away relatively quickly: the initial 930 members, including 30 noblemen, dropped by 1903 to a mere 80, consisting mainly of highly qualified professionals (35

37 László Kőváry, "Általánosságok" [Generalities], in Ibid., *Erdély Régiségei* [The antiquities of Transylvania] (Pest, 1852), 6-7; Imre Mikó, *A kióvi csata* [The battle of Kiov] (Pest, 1854); *Magyar Sajtó* 121, 123, and 124. See also Lajos Kántor, "Hídvégi gróf Mikó Imre szózata" 1856-ban az Erdélyi Múzeum és az Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület megalakítása érdekében [The oration of Count Imre Mikó of Hídvég in 1856, for the foundation of the Transylvanian Museum an the Society for the Transylvanian Museum], *Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek* 37 (1931), 3-21, 15-17.

38 *Somlyai to Mikó* (Vienna, 27 August 1856), M – R F54, State Archives Cluj, 97b.

39 Pál Erdélyi, *Emlékkönyv az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület félszázados ünnepére 1859-1909* [Memorial volume in honor of the half-century anniversary of the Translyvanian Museum Society] (Kolozsvár/Cluj: EME, 1942), 33.

40 *Kolozsvári Közlöny* 27 (December 31 1856).

members with a *doctorate*).[41] Even if their initial enthusiasm about the scholarly project subsided after the first years, aristocrats tended to return later as ordinary, fee-paying members, forming ca. 4% of the academic sections by the turn of the century (see table 4). Their actual share must have been higher, "hidden" in the category of the high-ranking state officials (forming 12 percent of the sections), recruited typically from the higher tiers of nobility.[42] By that time the membership of the *EME* would oscillate between eight hundred and one thousand, that is, it would never become a mass organization. Similar to the *Landeskundeverein*, it maintained its exclusive academic character within the Transylvanian Hungarian social elite. The presidents of the association were also mostly aristocrats.

The name lists do not enable the assessment of the religious background of the members, who probably were of the typical "Hungarian religions", that is, Calvinists, Roman Catholics and Unitarians. The participation of Protestants is conspicuous, especially of Unitarians, a minority particularly conscious of its history as a marginalized community. One finds Unitarian scholars and high ecclesiastics already among the earliest advocates of a regional Hungarian academy in the *Vormärz*, like Farkas Sándor Bölöni (1795–1842), later László Kővári (1819–1907), Elek Jakab (1820–1897), Sámuel Brassai (1800–1897), and János Kriza (1811–1875). Hungarian Jews had supported the *EME* project already in the early 1840s, like the merchant and philanthropist József Woititz. Most prominent among them was the future university professor Henrik Finály (1825–1898), but already in the early 1860s one finds several dozen traditional Jewish names in the lists. Although the fluctuation is great in the first years, the registers from the beginning of the 20th century reveal with great certainty that at least 4.3% of the association members were Jewish. The participation of Jews in a voluntary association like the *EME* reveals a liberal climate. Also, regional Jewish history made part of the scholarly agenda. However, before drawing hasty conclusions about the *EME*'s progressive stance, one should consider the University of Kolozsvár, with a share of ca. 6% Jewish students in the 1880s that grew to 16-17% by World War I.[43]

Women were visibly present in the *EME*, a notable contrast with the more *Bürger*-type male sociability of *Landeskundeverein,* where women would make their entrance later, in lesser number, and less vocally. Especially in the first years the women's share is conspicuously high, all of them from the aristocracy

41 Henrik Finály, ed., *Az EME évi tudósítása, 1869* [The yearbook of the EME, 1869] (Kolozsvár, 1868–1870).

42 *Erdély Története* III, 1586-1591.

43 See the members' list from 1908, in Lajos Schilling, ed., *Az EME évkönyve, 1908* (Kolozsvár: EME, 1909), 105-123; Victor Karady and Lucian Nastasa, *The University of Kolozsvár/Cluj and the Students of the Medical Faculty (1872–1918)* (Budapest/Cluj Napoca: Central European University, Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center, 2004), 98; Viktor Karády and István Kozma, *Név és nemzet. Családnév-változtatás, névpolitika és nemzetiségi erőviszonyok Magyarországon a feudalizmustól a kommunizmusig* [Name andnation. Changes of family name, name politics and nationality power relations in Hungary, from feudalism to communism] (Budapest: Osiris, 2002), 58-64, Miklós Szabó, *Az újkonzervativizmus és a jobboldali readikalizmus története, 1867–1918* [The history of neo-conservatism and right-wing radicalism, 1867–1918] (Budapest: Új Mandátum, 2003).

or the higher nobility. Their relatively early emergence in academic sociability stands in sharp contrast to women's late entry to Hungarian higher education in 1895. But this was a passive membership; while the active and publishing members were almost exclusively men, women fulfilled the more conventional role as benefactors. The exceptions, like the academician-aristocrat Zsófia Torma (1840-1899), active already in the 1860s, only reinforce the rule.[44] Other names include Antonina de Gerando (1845-1914), lecturing on women's education, and Josephine Lorenz, who wrote about Florence, and after the turn of the century one non-noble professional, the archeologist Irén Magoss. The admission of women into the Hungarian circles of academic sociability is indeed remarkable; on the other hand, it should not be over interpreted as it originated in the traditional gender inclusiveness of aristocratic sociability, and not in an emancipatory stance. Already Mikó devoted much attention to women's education, and the *EME* would maintain this line of interest, however only in the form of assigning women their traditional roles as nurturers and caretakers in subordinate positions. What emerges is an image of a socially exclusive liberalism, embracing Jewish integration and making paternalist gestures toward women.

The specialized articles in the *EME* journals on philosophy and political science reflected the same social conservatism.[45] They dismissed individualism, Darwinism, socialism, but also clericalism, to be accurate.[46] This was liberalism turning inward by the fin-de-siècle, entrenching itself against political challenges from the lower classes, the uneducated, and militant feminism. "Progress" became here a rhetorical cliché, masking the unwillingness to change.[47] The surveys of international currents of political thought, women's

44 Márton Roska, "Bevezetés [Introduction]", in idem, *A Torma Zsófia-Gyűjtemény az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum érem- és régiségtárában* [The Zsófia Torma collection in the holdings of numismatics and archeology of the Transylvanian National Museum], (Kolozsvár, Minerva, 1941), 3-6.

45 A few examples: Károly Békésy, "A természettudományos felfogás a politikában" [The natural scientific approach in politics], *EM* (1893), 220-225; 323-329; 401-410; Lajos Felméri, "Draper J. W. legújabb műve: a vallás és tudomány bírkózása" [The latest work of J. W. Draper, the struggle of religion and science], *EM* (1875), 41-44; Kelemen Gál, "Nietzsche Frigyes" [Friedrich Nietzsche], *EM* (1900), 196-212, Gerő Bárány, "Lapozgatás a filozófia történelmében" [Browsing the history of philosophy], *EM* (1909), 311-322.

46 More telling are the reviews of the German reception of Darwinism and positivism: *Geschichte des Materialismus und Kritik seiner Bedeutung in der Gegenwart*, review by Mátyás Szlávik *EM* (1903), 418-421; J. Müller, *System der Philosophie*, review by Mátyás Szlávik *EM* (1899), 530-533; Paulsen, *Philosophia militans. Gegen Klerikalismus und Naturalismus*, review by Mátyás Szlávik *EM* (1901), 241-245, the interest in the work of Wilhelm Wundt, *Grundrisse der Psychologie*, review by Mátyás Szlávik *EM* (1899): 48-50, in the radical critique of Nietzsche. Compare Sámuel Brassai, "Fejlődés és erkölcstan", [Development and ethics] *EM* (1894), 1-6, 85-102, 153-171; László Kőváry, "Brassai száz éves pályafutása", [The hundred year career of Brassai] *EM* (1897), 337-338, 402-412, 581-583; Ágnes Várkonyi R., *A pozitivista történetszemlélet a magyar történetírásban* [The positivist perspective in the Hungarian historiography] I-II, vol. II (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973), 151-156.

47 Béla Erődi jun., "A szabadtanítás története és jelentőségeinek társadalombölcseleti alapjai", [The history of free teaching and its social philosophical significance] *EM* (1908), 101-111; Károly Békésy, "A választási rendszer bírálata" [The critique of the election system] *EM* (1894), 127-139, 202-214, 359-372.

higher education and enfranchisement, all ends in the same tone. The *EME* authors acknowledged women's psychological equality with men; but they relegated female influence into the higher, therefore politically harmless realms of the private sphere. The feminine ideals were the heroines of early Liberalism: Mme de Stäel and George Sand.[48] Women were to be employed in social welfare and lower teaching positions, but not in academe.[49]

Another ideological trait of the *EME*, unique to contemporary Hungarian academic establishment in Transylvania was its a-religious stance. This was perhaps the most significant contrast to the *Landeskundeverein*, illustrating thus on the individual institutional level the major difference between the state-dominated educational network of the titular nation and those of the national minorities under the aegis of the churches.

In its early years, the association failed to capture a large audience. In the 1860s, the number of the "shareholders", that is, those ordinary members who accepted the payment of a fee over five or ten years, dropped dramatically at the end of the first decade (from 930 in 1867 and 898 in 1868, to a mere 121 in 1869). The leadership blamed infrastructural handicaps (the museum collections and its library were not yet accessible), and the fragmentation of the educated public.[50] Yet the fundamental problems had to do with the adaptation of modern science to the local milieu. When scholarly practice transcended gentlemanly-patriotic sociability, the gap opened between the association and the public. The *EME* did not have yet institutional ties to the regional civic sphere, nor to other institutions, as did the *Landeskundeverein*, already on the top of the Saxon educational system. On the other hand, the scholarly ambitions of the Hungarian counterpart targeted less the school curricula but rather assumed the scientific program of the Hungarian Academy, destined to a specialized audience. The lay character of the association was manifest also in the composition of membership, with a low percent of ecclesiastics (see table), in sharp distinction to the scholarly institutions of national minorities such as the *Landeskundeverein* or the Romanian *Asociaţia Transilvană pentru Literatura Română şi Cultura Poporului Român* [The Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian People, ASTRA].

Could the *EME* have 'caught up' with the *Landeskundeverein* without 1867? The decisive turn, which reversed the status balance between the two learned societies, came with the state-sponsored educational boom following the Compromise. Conform to the restrictions of the 1850s the *EME* had begun its career as a voluntary association with no stated academic ambitions.[51] This

48 Felméri Lajos, "Nők a társadalomban", [Women in society] *EM* (1893): 489-506; Ibid., "Dühring a nők iskoláztatásáról" [Dühring about the schooling of women] *EM* (1878), 12-16, (without author); "Nők az egyetemen" [Women at the university] *EM* (1896), 285, (without author), "Nők, mint vizsgáló-bizottsági tagok", [Women as members of examination committees] *EM* (1893), 141.

49 Zoltán Pálffy, National *Controversy in the Hungarian Academe: The Cluj/Kolozsvár University*, 1900-1950. Doctoral dissertation submitted at the Central European University (2003), 82.

50 Lajos Kelemen, "Az EME története", in Erdélyi, *Emlékkönyv*, 47-48.

51 *Az EME szabályai* (Kolozsvár, 1959), 3-4.

article was modified after 1867 with the launching of separate fields of research in the humanities and natural sciences. The so-called "academic", that is, research-oriented program intensified in the 1870's and brought about further specialization.[52] The natural sciences (Section of Natural Science, 1879) were formally separated from the study of humanities (Humanities Section, 1860), to be followed by the Section of Medical Science (1879) and – though much later (1906) – finally by the Section for Legal and Social Science.

After the formal unification of Hungary and Transylvania, there was for the first time open room for regional higher education. The country's second university was established in Kolozsvár in 1872, symbolizing both "national emancipation and unity" in the new state, and an effort to integrate the largest national minorities in the eastern geographic region. Compared to the University of Budapest, the Franz Joseph University of Kolozsvár was small.[53] There had been an older medical-surgical institute and, since 1863, a Law Academy in the city. They provided the basis on which the new university was built. Since the university brought better prospects of institutional support thanks to ministerial subsidies, the *EME* played no little part in the preparations.[54] As soon as negotiations started with the Ministry of Education in 1868, the society offered its facilities and premises for use in exchange for government grants. The negotiations ended with a contract between the two parties in 1872, regulating in great detail the respective competences and autonomies enjoyed by the *EME* and the university in the new setup. The university declared itself responsible for the maintenance of the premises in exchange for a yearly subsidy of 5,000 Ft to the research conducted by the *EME*. The contract was claimed binding for 50 years (i.e. until 1922) and unless contested by any of the members before the expiration, it was to be automatically extended for another 40 years.[55]

The alliance with the University of Kolozsvár launched a period of unforeseen innovation from above. The *EME* gradually became the university's research institution, and its structure changed entirely by the end of the century. First of all, it accelerated academic modernization by attracting new professors who came to teach at the university from all over Hungary. Only 49 out of the 150 university professors, that is, less then one-third, came from Transylvania and the neighboring regions Banat and Partium.[56] The infrastructural development brought by the governmental deal catalyzed professionalism and specialization, also within the *EME*. From the early 1880s

52 Lajos Kelemen, *Az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum tárai* (Kolozsvár, 1909), 2.

53 Initially it had only 40 academic chairs, which grew to 50 until World War I, while the teaching staff grew from 43 to 135. The first enrollment counted 285 students, out of whom 173 studied law, 18 philosophy, 21 medicine and 26 mathematics or natural sciences. Pálffy, *Controversy,* 76.

54 László Makkai, "A kolozsvári kir. Ferenc József Tudományegyetem történelme 1872-1919", [The history of the Ferenc József University, 1872-1919] in *Erdély magyar egyeteme* [The Hungarian university of Transylvania] (Kolozsvár, 1941), 153-185.

55 Erdélyi, *Emlékkönyv*, 50-53.

56 See Lucian Nastasă, *Kolozsvári nyilvános rendes és nyilvános rendkívüli egyetemi tanárok 1920 előtt*. [University professors in Cluj before 1920] Unpublished manuscript without date.

onwards, the sections became quasi-independent institutions with a separate budget and directory boards of their own. When the university facilities were enlarged through considerable state investments in the years 1892-1902, the *EME* too renegotiated its ties to the university. Thanks to a renewed governmental agreement in 1895, the museum collections were attached to the university, and their directors were now directly appointed by the state.[57] A completely reorganized museum as well as a fully modernized library opened its doors to the public, in addition to more investment in archeology and librarian sciences. The process exceeded by far the local financial capacities, and the *EME* became dependent on state funds and came under the administrative supervision of the Ministry of Cults and Education.

Table 3. Socioprofessional Distribution of Ordinary EME Members 1907-1914[58]

PROFESSION	1907	1914
Middle-ranking employees (secretaries, clerks, archivists etc.)	6.3	7.5
Highly qualified teaching staff: university and gymnasium professors, Privatdozenten, qualified university employees	37.6	28.6
High-ranking officials	12.9	12.8
Primary teachers	6.1	6.4
Ecclesiastics	2.6	1.6
Traders	6.1	5.2
Free professionals: lawyers, physicians	13.2	11.2
Army	0.9	0.6
Artisans	0.3	0.2
Titled aristocrats	4.2	3.1
Institutions (congregations, communities, associations)	4.4	4.9
Unidentified	5,4	2,4
Total	491=100%	606=100%

Sources: Az EME évkönyve, 106 [The EME yearbook, 1906] (Kolozsvár, 1907), 5-17, Az EME évkönyve, 108 [The EME yearbook, 1908] (Kolozsvár, 1909), 107-119, Az EME évkönyve, 1914 [The EME yearbook, 1914], (Kolozsvár, 1914).

The rapid integration of the learned society into the university infrastructure was not necessarily welcome by many amateur members, who resented the dominance of the academic faculty, unsympathetic with or unaware of the

57 Pálffy, *Controversy*, 82; Az EME alapszabályai [Statutes of the EME] (Kolozsvár,1905), 5, 19-20.

58 There are no professions registered in the early name lists; only in the yearbooks series beginning with 1906.

local traditions. Also, the newcomers were often indifferent to the intellectual demand of the regional public.[59] This is clearly visible in the publications of the *EME*, in the diversification of the initial format, its division into ever more specialized publications.[60] So the amateurs, like the writer István Petelei, lamented the loss of the Transylvanian character of the association:

The *EME* has a large [social] basis. On paper the *EME* has obligations to fulfill towards this [basis]. The *EME* is preoccupied with Greeks, Romans, and all kinds of dead nations and *hapaxlegomanae* and alliterations of poems forgotten by the world. Yet we live and there is [enough] to study about us and we have our yearnings and poetry and we have a future. Does the *EME* have any purpose with the *hapaxlegomenae*?[61]

The association eventually solved the problem by dividing its activity between research and its popularization activities among the wider public in Transylvania. These lectures combined topics of regional interest that were left out of the university curricula, and subjects of general concern. The combination of patriotic education and specialized public-oriented services paid off soon: in 1908 almost half of the association members were recruited again from among the provincial urban public and not the university (372 out of 809).[62]

The process of voluntary 'nationalization' was not unusual in the contemporary European praxis. Unusual was rather the unequal ethno-national context, the contrastive example of the Saxon and Romanian institutions, with very different experiences in state-sponsored education. The frustration of the Transylvanian Romanian intellectual elite with the government is a historical topic today. In contrast, the *EME* adopted a state-legitimating language with anti-nationality overtones when addressing its (Hungarian) audience outside the academic milieu. This coincided with the fin-de-siècle *étatiste* nationalism and the Magyarizing efforts in education.

Where was the moderate nationalism of Imre Mikó by then! In the pioneering decade of the 1850's Greek Catholic Bishop Ioan Alexi' s had expected the *EME* to promote the cultural heritage of the "common patria", with all its ethnic citizens, hoping that "the numerous Romanians who live in this patria, and especially the Romanian youth … should benefit of the *Bildung* emanating from the future Museum, together with students of other nationalities."[63] Obviously, the invocation of ethnic tolerance and co-operation coincided with governmental rhetoric, and echoed similar (although marginal) voices around the birth of the *Landeskundeverein*. But by the turn of the

59 László Makkai, "Tudományegyetem", 163.

60 Henrik Finály, "A szerkesztőség bémutatja magát az olvasó közönségnek" [The editorial committee introduces itself to the reading public] *EM* 1 (1874), 1-4, 3-4; Dezső Kozma, "Az EM első két évtizedének történetéből", [From the last two decades' history of the Transylvanian Museum] *Nyelv- és Irodalomtudományi Közlemények* XV (Bucharest: RSZK Akadémiájának Kiadója, 1971), 113-121, 114.

61 P.I. (István Petelei), "Szerény kérés", [Modest proposal] *Kolozsvári Közlöny* (10 August 1886), cited by Dezső Kozma, "Az EM első két évtizedének történetéből", 115.

62 See members' list, *EME Évkönyv 1908* (EME yearbook, 1908), 105-123.

63 *Ioan Alexi to Imre Mikó* (Szamosújvár, 24 December 1856), M – R F 54, SA Cluj, 107-108.

century, the *EME* itinerary meetings displayed a sharply nationalist rhetoric. Lajos Shilling for instance asserted at a public lecture in Marosvásárhely/Târgu Mureş in 1906 that the state had the duty to support substantially the association to help Hungarians in their competition with the 'nationalities:' "Our museum can fulfill its modern destination only through the common effort of the society and the state… Our leading Hungarian race would not need to be ashamed by a handful of Saxon people who achieved on their own, without state support, a museum, which is in many regards more advanced than ours." [64] The event brought 332 new enrollments, which more than doubled the number of active members.

In a similarly competing manner, hostility towards Transylvanian Romanians was massively present in the EME publications. Already the choice of authors was problematic: after a short cooperation with Grigore Silaşi, professor of Romanian, doyen of Romanian studies at the University of Kolozsvár, the exclusive contributor on Romanian matters to the *EME* became Gheorghe Moldovan. Successor of Silaşi at the department, Moldovan represented the official views on the most politicized issue of Transylvanian history, the ethnic origins of Romanians. Since "the one who owns the plains, owns the country; and the first conquerors are those whose language has been preserved in the toponyms", Moldovan argued for Magyar supremacy in the region. Contrary to the more diplomatic *Landeskundeverein*, he condemned the "tendentious intentions of Romanian historiography" and the "tale of Dacian continuity and its falsifications."[65] Unusual for a scholarly piece, his writings openly attacked the political movement of Transylvanian Romanians which he considered irredentist and in effect "dangerous for the Hungarian state." Against the pan-Romanian agitation of the Bucharest-based *Liga Culturală Română* (Romanian Cultural League), he praised the Magyarizing efforts of the nationalist *Erdélyi Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület* [Transylvanian Hungarian Association for the Popularization of Hungarian Culture, EMKE] as "useful and excellent work."[66]

Moldovan also contributed with valuable comparative ethnographic descriptions of the Transylvanian Romanians to the *EME* periodical. But it is noteworthy that while both Saxon and Hungarian institutions spent most of their energies on research of the national histories, the writings on their predominantly rural ethnic neighbor belonged to the discipline of ethnography, which widened the contrast between the scholarly self-image of the 'historical' nations and their compatriots 'without history'.

64 Lajos Schilling, "Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeumról", [About the Transylvanian National Museum] in *Az EME évkönyve 1908* ed. Lajos Schilling, 9-11.

65 Moldován Gergely, "A románság balkáni eredetéhez", [About the Balkan origins of the Romanians] *EM* (1899), 61-71.

66 Ibid., "A román nemzetiségi törekvések" [The Romanian nationality political efforts] *EM* (1896), 392-394; Ibid., "Nyílt levelek a bukaresti román kulturális liga elnökéhez", [Open letters to the president of the Romanian cultural league in Bucharest] *EM* (1895), 38-39; Ibid., "Román kérdés-magyar nemzetpolitika", [Romanian question, Hungarian national politics] *EM* (1895), 40-44, 450, 512, 561; Ibid., "Magyar-szász szövetség", [Hungarian-Saxon alliance] *EM* (1904), 431, About the pro-Magyar nationalist stance of Moldovan see also Makkai, *Erdély magyar egyeteme*, 298-299.

Conclusions

My case study on "regional science" or *Landeskunde* in 19th century Transylvania, was focused on the local adaptations of European scholarly sociability, in view of the differences resulting from the social and political inequalities within a multiethnic and multi-denominational setup. Comparing the diverging careers of a German and a Hungarian learned association in Transylvania, it explored the institutional underpinnings and the social context of scholarly activity. Taking a sociocultural stance, science is regarded as a social practice, inseparable from the norms and institutional dynamics of its societal setting. These norms and dynamics resulted partly form the nature of sociability in a given intellectual milieu, and reflected its ethnic, confessional and gender-related peculiarities. This explains partly the differences in the social composition and intellectual profile of the two Transylvanian 'academies.'

The institutional plan of the *EME* and the *Landeskundeverein* emerged from the civic blueprints of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. They had a reduced number of educated clientele recruited from the political and ecclesiastic elite and the higher staff of the state administration. Social historians have shown that exclusive circles of this kind encountered difficulties in the second half of the century. Some of them were structural: after the upheavals of 1848, civic life showed tendencies of democratization. Throughout Europe and America, ever broader social strata established their own associations. Women made themselves increasingly present in the public sphere as well, although in East-Central Europe this was far from subverting the traditional order.[67] Nevertheless, the modification of sociability, the social-professional fragmentation, but even more significantly, the radicalizing nationalisms constituted developments that brought about Europe-wide the "crisis of the moral vision of a society built on associations."[68] In Transylvania too, the associations of the first generation, like the two learned societies, found themselves with a deficit of legitimacy at the end of the nineteenth century. They had to face massive professional and ideological challenge.

The interrelation between the strategies of the individual associations and their respective publics was crucial for institutional growth. Social exclusivity, the nature of communication and self-governance within, as well as the changing motivations of the members and sympathizers played a determining role in the intensity of associational activity. Decisive was the capability to cater for the interests of their members and clients. The size and public appeal of each association was to a great extent influenced by their mobilization of institutional resources (churches, schools and the state), but also of historical knowledge and memories. Public representations of "national values"

67 For Austria see Pieter M. Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries. Liberal Politics, Social Expreience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire, 1848-1914* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996); About the neo-conservative social movement in Hungary see Miklós Szabó, *"Újkonzervativizmus."*

68 Hoffmann, "Democracy", 292.

(exhibitions, public readings) and social events (e.g. the annual and mass celebrations) became indispensable elements of their activities.

The formal educational infrastructure and the related institutions, such as the churches and the state, proved as important as the internal social dynamics of associative agency. Obviously, the bulk of infrastructural support came from the state. But in a centralizing framework, governmental financing proved to be Janus-faced, with unforeseeable impact on local developments. It was based – and this was the central argument of the essay – on ethnically discriminating policies of the successive Austrian and Hungarian administrations. Although the educational system as a whole witnessed an unprecedented growth in the second half of the 19th century, selective state intervention contributed also to uneven growth within an increasingly professionalizing and cost-intensive associative framework. Scholarly practices and the resulting knowledge production were socio-culturally and politically conditioned. They were deeply rooted in the social order and its inequalities, a legislation that reproduced them, as well as in the educational system. That made these cleavages so resilient in Transylvania. The scope of scholarship was thus decisively shaped by competing nationalisms that evolved along intraregional ethno-confessional dividing lines. Saxon, Hungarian, and Romanian practitioners of scholarship measured their own standing against that of their neighbors, creating a symbolic map of civilizational differences between their reference group and its "other."

Judit Pál

The Transylvanian Lord-Lieutenants after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise

Methodology and Sources

This essay attempts to summarize the first partial findings of a broader research into the transformation of the Transylvanian political elite during the second half of the nineteenth century. The Austro-Hungarian Compromise, which among other things meant the union of Transylvania with Hungary, brought significant changes in to political life of the province. During the turbulent years of 1848–1867, there were attempts to renew the local political elite. Hungarian historiography has cherished a longstanding myth about passive opposition in the time of neo-absolutism, namely, that the Hungarian political elite withdrew from politics after 1849 and boycotted the new regime. The administration supposedly fell into the hands of the so-called Bach Hussars who were swept away by the year 1867 and replaced by the returning liberal elite.[1] Recently, one has witnessed an intense de-mythologizing process targeting especially the structure of both the public administration and the corps of county officials.[2] Many studies have been published on the various elite groups from the period of Dualism, i.e., the army and the elites of economic, academic, and political circles. In the case of the latter, these studies

1 They were ironically called Bach-hussars, mostly foreign functionaries from the time of the neo-absolutist regime, because they wore Hungarian-looking uniforms.

2 Ágnes Deák, *"Nemzeti egyenjogúsítás." Kormányzati nemzetiségpolitika Magyarországon 1849–1860* ["Granting national equal rights." Governmental nationality politics in Hungary, 1849–1860] (Budapest: Osiris, 2000); Gábor Benedek, "Ciszlajtániai tisztviselők a neoabszolutizmuskori Magyarországon", [Functionaries from Cisleithania in Hungary in the neo-absolutist age] *Aetas* 4 (1995); József Pap, *Magyarország vármegyei tisztikara a reformkor végétől a kiegyezésig* [The county officials in Hungary from the end of the Reform Era until the Compromise], (Szeged: Belvedere Meridionale, 2003).

referred to both local and central political elites. [3] While in Hungary the research on the post-revolutionary political elite has brought significant results, in Transylvania it is still in its early stages.

This study will attempt to find how much of the political elite managed to keep its position after the changes following the year 1848. This is the social milieu from where the lord-lieutenant corps recruited its members. Furthermore, I will also examine the participation of aristocrats within its ranks, as well as the nature of the careers of lord-lieutenants (*főispánok*). I included in my research all the lord-lieutenants, who held this office in the period between 1867–1872 (when Transylvania was governed by a royal commissioner). Since lord-lieutenants were the local executants of governmental policies, they held a very important position of trust and political responsibility. It is also worth examining the degree of local recruitment of lord-lieutenants, as well as the way they were connected to the respective counties concerned.

Because the leaders of the Saxon seats were recruited from a completely different social stratum than their Magyar counterparts, this study only covers the higher state appointed civil servants from the counties, the Szekler seats, and the Comes Saxonum (leader of the *Universitas Saxonum*). Moreover, it is very difficult to find personal data on the Saxon group. In this period, the old guard largely remained at the helm of the Saxon seats. I resorted to a prosopographic analysis of the high state functionaries thanks to an electronic database. Although the model is too small to be statistically evaluated, one can still draw new conclusions from the partially quantified evaluation of the data collection. In the following, I will compare this model to the one concerning the lord-lieutenants from turn-of-the-century Transylvania to be able to follow the changes that occurred in the second half of the 19th century.

3 Some examples for the study of the urban elite are: Károly Vörös, *Budapest legnagyobb adófizetői 1873–1917* [The most significant tax payers in Budapest, 1873-1917] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979); Gábor Gyáni, "Hódmezővásárhely társadalma", [The society of Hódmezővásárhely] in *Hódmezővásárhely története, A polgári forradalomtól az őszirózsás forradalomig 1848–1918,* [The history of Hódmezővásárhely, From the civil revolution to the aster revolution, 1848–1918] ed. István Kovács, István Gábor Kruzslicz, and János Szigeti (Hódmezővásárhely: Verzál, 1993), 221–276; Judit Tóvári, *Az elit Miskolc város társadalmában 1872–1917* [The elite in the society of the city of Miskolc] (Nyíregyháza: Stúdium, 1997). For the county elite see, Magdolna Balázs, "A középszintű közigazgatási apparátus személyi állományának vizsgálata a dualizmus időszakában", [The survey of the constituency of the middle-rank public administrative body] in *Híd a századok felett. Tanulmányok Katus László 70. születésnapjára,* [Bridge over the centuries. Essays in honor of the seventieth birthday of László *Katus*] ed. Péter Hanák (Pécs: University Press, 1997), 247–254; András Cieger, "A Bereg megyei politikai elit a dualizmus időszakában", [The political elite from county Bereg in the era of Dualism] in *A Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Önkormányzat Levéltárának Kiadványai. Levéltári Évkönyv,* [The publications of the self-governmental archive of *Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county*] vol. XII (Nyíregyháza: Önkormányzati Levéltár, 1997), 213–281; András Cieger, "A dualizmus kori helyi politikai elit kutatása regionális szinten", [A regional survey of the local political elite during Dualism] in *Mi végre a tudomány? Fiatal Kutatók Fóruma* [Why the science? Forum of young researchers] vol. 1 (Budapest: MTA, 2004), 297–313. For the deputies see Adalbert Toth, *Parteien und Reichstagwahlen in Ungarn 1848–1892* (München: Oldenbourg, 1973).

The data were partly collected from the archives of the Transylvanian central governing bodies (the Gubernium and the Royal Commissioner's Office), which can be found in the Hungarian National Archives. I also collected data from the archives of the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of the Interior. Other data derive from the published yearly directories of public employees, family history works, catalogues, encyclopedias, the almanacs of the Parliament, and other similar sources.[4] András Cieger has already summarized the difficulties that such researches carry, and that is why I touch upon only one question here. The data on the estates are indeed problematic because there are no reliable contemporary documents on their size and distribution. It would be too complicated to retrieve the relevant data from the family archives, if at all possible. Therefore I used the 1893 landowner directory as a source, assuming the risk that my calculations would not be entirely precise. However, it is rather useful for an overall appraisal of the landowners' estates according to their size and location. Though it appears necessary to explore further data on their wealth (for instance by reviewing the list of the so-called *virilists,* (the largest taxpayers represented as such in local legislative bodies), it is precisely on this initial period that there are fewer sources at my disposal.

4 Iván Nagy, *Magyarország családai. Címerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal,* [The families of Hungary. With coats of arms and tables on generations] vols. I–XIII (Budapest, 1857–1865), CD-ROM; Béla Kempelen, *Magyar nemes családok* [Hungarian noble families] vols. I–X. (Budapest, 1911–1931), CD-ROM; János József Gudenus, *A magyarországi főnemesség XX. századi genealógiája,* [The twentieth-century genealogy of the Hungarian high nobility] vols. I–V (Budapest, 1990–1999); *Magyar nemzetiségi zsebkönyv,* [Notebook on the Hungarian nationalities] vols. I–II (Budapest, 1888); *Novum et vetus Calendarium* (Kolozsvár, 1840–45); *Új és Ó Naptár* [New and old calendar] (Kolozsvár, 1846–48); Albert Sturm, ed., *Új országgyűlési almanach 1887–1892* [New parliamentary almanach, 1887–1892] (Budapest.); József Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái,* [The life and works of Hungarian authors] vols. I–XIV (Budapest, 1891–1914); *A magyar korona országainak mezőgazdasági statisztikája* [The agricultural statistics of the countries of the Hungarian crown] vol. 2, *Gazdaczimtár* [Farmers] (Budapest, Hungarian Royal Central Statistical Office, 1897); László Szögi, *Magyarországi diákok a Habsburg Birodalom egyetemein* [Hungarian students at the universities of the Habsburg Empire] vol. 1, Magyarországi diákok egyetemjárása az újkorban, 1790–1850 [Hungarian student peregrination in the modern era, 1790-1850] (Budapest-Szeged: ELTE Levéltár, 1994); Miklós Szabó and László Szögi, *Erdélyi peregrinusok. Erdélyi diákok európai egyetemeken 1701–1849* [Transylvanian peregrinators. Transylvanian students at European universities, 1701–1849] (Marosvásárhely: Mentor Kiadó, 1998); Sándor Tonk, *A marosvásárhelyi Református Kollégium diáksága 1653–1848* [The student body of the protestant college in Marosvásárhely, 1653–1848] (Szeged: JATE, 1994); Zsigmond Jakó and István Juhász, *Nagyenyedi diákok 1662–1848* [Students of Nagyenyed, 1662–1848] (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1979); Júlia Varga, *A kolozsvári Királyi Líceum hallgatósága 1784–1848* [The students of the royal lyceum at Kolozsvár, 1784–1848] (Budapest: ELTE Levéltár, 2000). Walter Myß, ed., *Die Siebenbürger Sachsen Lexikon* (Thaur bei Innsbruck: Kraft Verlag, 1993); Gábor Bona, *Tábornokok és törzstisztek az 1848/49. évi szabadságharcban,* [Generals and officers in the revolution of 1848–1849] 3rd ed. (Budapest: Heraldika, 2000).

The Reorganization of the Local Administration

Counties (*vármegyék)* played a major role in Hungarian history, even though, as recent historiography has indicated, they actually started to act as "defending bastions" of the rule of law only from the end of the eighteenth century onwards and later tried to project this role onto earlier periods as well. The counties from the Reform Era (1830–1848) had a jurisdiction with a wide range of autonomy, albeit it was narrower in Transylvania than in Hungary. Actual reform initiatives were scarce before 1848. It was indeed the year 1848 that brought the first significant change in this respect, even if the third section of the *Transylvanian Law I/1848* stipulated that "[i]n Transylvania, the procedure and personnel structure of the public administration and judicature remain the same until the dispositions of the next *Congregatio Generalis*." Some transformations were implemented in the year 1849 as well, but the administrative reform was postponed because of the civil war and the defeat suffered by the independentist camp in the war of independence.

The period 1849–1867 is characterized by renewed attempts at the political integration of Transylvania, while representing a continuous transition period. The integration of Transylvania (among other provinces) into the Empire turned its administration into a veritable laboratory of reform initiatives, targeted mostly against the counties which were considered the main centers of opposition. In 1851, the county system was indeed dissolved and Transylvania was divided into five districts (Kreise): Nagyszeben/Sibiu/Hermannstadt, Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia/Stuhlweissenburg, Kolozsvár/Cluj/Klausenburg, Dés/Dej/Desch, and Marosvásárhely/Târgu Mureş/Neumarkt am Mieresch. When the thirty-six sub-districts (*Bezirke*) were created, one of the main goals was the equal statistical representation of the nationalities.[5] In June 1854, the administration was reorganized once again. This time, the government created ten districts, which were divided into seventy-two sub-districts. District tribunals functioned in the seats of districts with courts in the seats of subdistricts. This meant that the administrative and judicial branches were separated and the local administration centralized.

After the issuing of the October Diploma (October 20, 1860), which re-instated the internal self-administration of some of the historic countries and provinces, the Hungarian and Transylvanian Court Chancelleries were reestablished as well. The organization of the old administrative units was undertaken as the next step which generated heated debates among the Romanian and Saxon representatives. However, the experiment proved to be short-lived this time as well, because the following year the Hungarian leaders of administrative units resigned one by one in a form of political protest and thus began what is known in Hungarian historiography as the *Provisorium* (provisional administration). In November 1861, the Sovereign appointed Count Ferenc Nádasdy as Chancellor and Lieutenant-General Ludwig Folliot de Crenville as the new Governor. Chancellor Nádasdy, in order to achieve his goal – the summoning of the Transylvanian Diet and the representation of

5 Albert Berzeviczy, *Az absolutismus kora Magyarországon 1849–1865* [The age of absolutism in Hungary, 1849–1865] vol. 1 (Budapest, 1922), 218.

Transylvania in the *Reichsrat* – started his mandate with the reorganization of the administration of the counties and the Szekler seats. He dissolved the municipal committees and replaced them with newly created ones, in which the appointed civil servants would play the main role. The Hungarian liberal elite managed to preserve its influence only in Székelyföld/Szeklerland and the Hungarian cities.

However, at the end of 1864, secret negotiations started, which finally led to the Compromise (*Ausgleich*/*kiegyezés*). In the summer of 1865, Count Ferenc Haller was named Chancellor of Transylvania and a new Diet was summoned in Kolozsvár/Cluj/Klausenburg on November 19th, 1865. Its sole mission was the revision of the 1848 Union Law. The Lord-Lieutenant of Abaúj County, Emanuel Péchy, was appointed Royal Commissioner for the transitional period of Transylvania's integration (1867–72). The old administrative system and the *Gubernium* (the central governing body of Transylvania until 1869) was preserved provisionally, although the latter functioned now with limited competence. This turn of events (in favor of Hungarians) took the Saxons and Romanians completely off-guard.

The Compromise found Transylvania's administrative units in an ambiguous situation. At that time Hungary and Transylvania together comprised fifty-seven counties (*vármegye*), three regions (*vidék*), five districts (*kerület*), five Szekler seats (*szék*) and the traditional Saxon settlement, the *Königsboden* (*Fundus Regius* or *Királyföld,* involving nine Saxon seats and two regions).[6] Out of these, Transylvania comprised eight counties, two regions, five Szekler seats and the *Königsboden*. The administrative reform that meant the restructuring of the counties was no easy task for the government because their prestige in the eyes of the Hungarian inhabitants grew during the passive resistance of the post-revolutionary decade. Moreover, the vast majority of the political establishment also developed social relations in the counties and was strongly connected to the county institutions.

In May 1866 the Chamber of Deputies adopted a law on administrative remodeling. The goal was the reconciliation between county autonomy and the responsible parliamentary administration, and thus the creation of the so-called "little compromise." After the appointment of the government, the renewal of the civil service corps became high on the agenda. On March 7th, 1867, the government presented a bill on the "restoration of administrative units", which stipulated the reinstatement of the authority of counties. Since the general renewal of the civil service corps could not be enacted on the basis of Laws XVI and XVII from 1848, the government requested an extraordinary authorization to empower the committees created in 1861 with its implementation. These committees received the task of conducting the full renewal of the civil service corps, in addition to the appointment of the lord-lieutenants. The Parliament adopted this measure.[7]

6 Iván Meznerics and Lajos Torday, *A magyar közigazgatás szervei 1867–1937* [The organs of the Hungarian public administration, 1867–1937] (Budapest, 1937).

7 István Stipta, *Törekvések a vármegyék polgári átalakítására. Tervezetek, javaslatok, törvények* [Initiatives for the modernization of the counties. Plans, suggestions, laws] (Budapest: Osiris, 1995), 126.

The decree did not apply to Transylvania, which provoked the discontent of the Hungarian counties. In the months following the adoption of the decree, the Transylvanian counties constantly petitioned the government to extend the reform over Transylvania as well. Finally, the government adopted a decree to this effect on 27 June 1867. Here, they also convened the committees created in 1861, which retained the right to appoint lord-lieutenants, but were ordered to appoint three to five of them by taking into account the religious and national composition of the population in the province. This was a new concession made in view of Transylvania's particular situation, especially as regards the tradition of freely elected civil servants in the Szekler seats. Apart from this, the decrees adopted prior to 1867 remained in force and the separation of the judicial branch was maintained. The consequence of preservation of the status quo was that the administrative units did not communicate directly with the ministries but through the mediation of the Gubernium and the royal commissioner. The situation provoked the discontent of Hungarians and Szeklers. Another departure from the situation in Hungary proper concerned language use: the governmental decree preserved Romanian and German as languages of administrative deliberations.[8]

In the beginning, Prime Minister Gyula Andrássy supported the preservation of county autonomy, however, the immediate effect of this was a quickly emerging governmental opposition to reforms in some of the municipalities. The majority of counties insisted on obtaining more autonomy, albeit they admitted the necessity of certain other changes as well. This ambiguous attitude is reflected in the confidential petition from the Udvarhely Seat: "In the interest of a prospective compromise with the government, we do not oppose possible modernizing changes to our ancient rights, referring to the free vote and grounded in still valid laws, but we consider that they should be done in the regular manner."[9]

However, it was in the government's interest to promote the creation of an efficient state administration. Therefore, it initiated a policy of centralization, which incrementally curtailed the autonomy of the local administrative units. The bill signed by the state undersecretary Vilmos Tóth, favored centralism in the dispute between the government and the counties, even if it did not implement anything but the most indispensable reforms. The Law XLII/1870 preserved several elements of the county system, but it curtailed their authority. With the exception of the administrative capital and *Königsboden*, the other administrative units were given a uniform internal organization. The counties remained the agents of public administration; they exercised some autonomy, and could express their opinion on state affairs. The goal was to remodel them

8 Judit Pál, "Az Erdélyi Főkormányszék és a 'Királyi Biztosság' működése (1867–1872)", [The functioning of the Transylvanian Gubernium and the Royal Commission] *Levéltári Szemle* 4 (2006): 23–34; Judit Pál, "A hivatalos nyelv és a hivatali nyelvhasználat kérdése Erdélyben a 19. század közepén", [The official language and the question of language use in offices in Transylvania in the mid-nineteenth century] *Regio* 1 (2005): 3–26.

9 Magyar Országos Levéltár [Hungarian National Archives] (MOL) K 150, *Belügyminisztérium. Általános iratok, 1867-VII-2-13257* [Ministry for Interior Affairs. General documents, 1867-VII-2-13257].

so that they could fulfill their tasks and implement government decrees more efficiently.[10]

The regulation of the responsibilities of lord-lieutenants also reflected the centralization drive and the greater role attributed henceforth to the state. The lord-lieutenants were the representatives of the executive power; they supervised the activity of the local government and were entitled to initiate legal procedures against indolent or culpable functionaries, and had great power in appointing new members of the civil service corps. It was the responsibility of lord-lieutenants to supervise the reform of the counties. According to the law, the general assemblies (*közgyűlések*) had to form a delegation, which elaborated, under the chairmanship of the lord-lieutenant, a plan on the boundaries of the districts (*szolgabírói járások*) and constituencies, and on the number, jurisdiction, and wages of members of the civil service and the assisting personnel. Additionally, it had to prepare the elections and the list of "virilists" (the greatest taxpayers).

The Lord-Lieutenant Corps and the Compromise

As indicated above, it was important for the government that the lord-lieutenants be trustworthy and loyal, especially in the regions where the national minorities formed the majority in the population. In 1867, the government appointed the lord-lieutenants, while the Szekler seats were still electing their chief royal justices. The *Comes Saxonum* (*szász ispán*) as well as the lesser leaders of the Saxon seats, were also elected.

The status of the *Comes Saxonum*

The status of the *Comes Saxonum* was exceptional. Until 1848, he was the head of the *Universitas Saxonum,* the self-governing administrative body of the Transylvanian Saxon community – the remaining part of the feudal "nation" – elected in a complex voting process on the quasi-autonomous territory of *Königsboden*/*Fundus Regius*. The Saxon self-government did not fit to the absolutist government's concept of centralization. Franz Salmen, the then *Comes Saxonum,* was removed from Transylvania and received a position at the court of appeal in Vienna.

The *Königsboden* was a thorn in the eye of the government after 1867 as well, and the replacement of the *Comes Saxonum,* Konrad Schmidt was considered from the start. A jurist and deputy of Hermannstadt/ Sibiu/ Nagyszeben in 1848, he participated in the Transylvanian Diet. Despite his opposition to the Union, he voted for it under the pressure of the (revolutionary) public opinion (in Kolozsvár/Cluj). The Compromise had its price, he was later impeached at home. Still in 1848 he represented the interests of Saxons in the Pest Diet. Later in September of the same year, together with other fellow Saxon deputies, Schmidt broke his ties with the Hungarian government.

10 Béla Sarlós, *Közigazgatás és hatalompolitika a dualizmus rendszerében* [Public administration and power politics in the system of Dualism] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976), 23; Stipta, *Törekvések,* 147–148.

During the revolution, the Austrian government appointed him Royal Commissioner in Székelyföld. According to the Saxon historian Friedrich Teusch, he was an "ardent Saxon patriot" and the exponent of the "greater-Austrian" mentality.[11] In November 1861, he became the leader of the *Universitas Saxonum* replacing the former *Comes*, Franz Salmen. In this capacity, he acted as councilor to the Gubernium as well. After being elected to the Hermannstadt/Sibiu/Nagyszeben Diet (1863–1864), he also became the vice-chairman of the *Reichsrat*.

From the start, Schmidt came into conflict with the Hungarian government. On March 18th, 1867, the Gubernium forbade the summoning of the *Universitas Saxonum*. He protested by stating that, through this measure, they infringed on the authority of the *Universitas* and the *Comes Saxonum*. This was one of the reasons for his dismissal, which the Royal Commissioner requested from the Prime Minister in May 1867. On February 24, 1868, Schmidt was dismissed, and his temporary successor became Moritz Conrad. The Saxons considered Conrad a government puppet, whose only merit was that he turned his back on the interests of Saxons and adopted the line of the majority. A contemporary described him as benefiting from total mistrust from below and limited trust from above.[12] However, the new Saxons saluted his appointment: the cities of Brassó/Braşov/Kronstadt and Segesvár/Sighişoara/Schäßburg sent letters to the government, expressing their gratitude.[13]

Earlier, Conrad was a lawyer in Kőhalom/Rupea/Reps and one of the representatives of the so-called Young Saxons. He voted for the Union in the Kolozsvár Diet in 1865. Then he acted as a deputy in the Pest Diet, and in 1867, he was appointed departmental counselor at the Justice Ministry. According to Friedrich Teutsch, Conrad was a jovial person, but not appropriate for the job, because he lacked vigor and was powerless in front of the government.[14] He rigidly distanced himself from the more conservative Old Saxons, who boycotted him. Hereby, he was practically unable to fulfill his duties.

A year and a half later, Péchy, the Royal Commissioner proposed Conrad's dismissal. Now, the government was contemplating the removal of Saxon autonomy.

The changes after 1867

Let us now turn to the high civil servants, that is, to the lord-lieutenant, the captain general, and the royal chief justice from the eight counties, the two

11 Friedrich Teutsch, *Die Siebenbürger Sachsen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Hermannstadt, W. Krafft Verlag, 1924), 212–213.

12 Carl Göllner, ed., *Die Siebenbürger Sachsen in den Jahren 1848–1918* (Cologne-Vienna: Böhlau, 1988), 145.

13 MOL K 148 *Belügyminisztérium. Elnöki iratok, 1868-III-629* [Ministry for Interior Affairs. Presidential documents, 1868-III-629].

14 Friedrich Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk*, vol. IV, *1868–1919. Unter dem Dualismus* (Cologne–Vienna: Böhlau, 1984), 8. Reprint of the 1926 edition.

regions and the five Szekler Seats in Transylvania.[15] After the appointment of the royal commissioner, the reform of the counties and the appointment of new lord-lieutenants, as well as the strengthening of their powers, became ever more stringent. In April and at the beginning of May 1867, the newspapers were full of different speculations and scenarios concerning these issues. It was very important to the government to appoint trustworthy and faithful people who could help preserve its administrative authority at the local level. At the same time, it was also important to the government to reward the "heroes" of the passive opposition, i.e., the members of the Hungarian liberal political elite.

But who were these long-awaited "new people"? Assessing the 1867 situation of lord-lieutenants in the counties (including the two regions *vidék*) and that of the royal chief justices from the Szekler seats, one finds only one third of them, namely five, holding the same office during the Provisorium as well, but out of these five, three soon left their office for various reasons. Lajos Jósika (1807–1891), Lord-Lieutenant of Kolozs County, resigned. The central government dismissed Augustin (Ágoston) Láday (1815–1893), Lord-Lieutenant of Felső-Fehér/Alba de Sus County, and in December 1867, appointed him judge at the Royal Curia, the highest forum of the Hungarian judicial branch. In fact, he was demoted, albeit it might have looked like a promotion. Ferenc Nopcsa (1815–1904), Lord-Lieutenant of Hunyad/Hunedoara County, was appointed an undersecretary at the ministry acting under the Monarch's authority. The two remaining "survivors" were György Pogány (1815–1900), Lord-Lieutenant of Alsó Fehér/Alba de Jos County, and Alexandru Bohăţiel (1816–1897), Lord-Lieutenant of Naszód/Năsăud County. They had both been governing their counties since 1861, moreover, both retained their positions until 1876, the year of the general administrative reform. Ioan Puşcariu (1824–1911), Captain General of Fogaras/Făgăraş, and Albert Petrichevich-Horváth (1802–1872), Royal Chief Justice of the Maros/Mureş Seat, were ultimately dismissed due to their role in the previous period. The Royal Commissioner, who requested Petrichevich-Horváth's removal from office, wrote about him: "[H]is debut and professional activity happened in such a way, for such a goal, and under such circumstances that, despite his abilities, he would not have been able to win the trust of his Seat." [16] Therefore, they replaced them with people, who were "trustworthy" and started with a clean slate.

Apart from the stable counties, there were also problematic ones, such as the Felső-Fehér/Alba de Sus County, which was the bone of contention of Transylvania's administration. More than a dozen splinters of this "bone" were embedded in other counties and thus, it was almost impossible to govern efficiently. This county had three lord-lieutenants in five years; moreover, Ferenc Haller, Jr. (1815–1893), who replaced Augustin (Ágoston) Láday, was removed from office following a series of scandals after merely one year of service. Hunyad/Hunedoara County also had three lord-lieutenants in a short period. The first, as we have seen, became an undersecretary, his successor,

15 The eight counties were the following: Alsó-Fehér, Belső-Szolnok, Doboka, Felső-Fehér, Hunyad, Kolozs, Küküllő, and Torda; the two regions were Fogaras and Naszód, and the five Szekler Seats were Aranyos, Csik, Háromszék, Maros, and Udvarhely.

16 MOL F 270, 1867/37.

Count Kocsárd Kun (1803–1895), resigned due to the county intrigues at the end of 1867, being replaced by László Barcsay (1802–1880).

Out of all the high state functionaries, who were appointed or validated in 1867, eleven remained in office until 1872. One of them, Károly Torma (1829–1897), Lord-Lieutenant of Belső-Szolnok/Solnocul Interior County, resigned in 1872.

The social background of Lord-Lieutenants

Who were the members of the lord-lieutenant corps between 1867 and 1872? I will analyze all those who held this office between these years, namely, twenty-two individuals. The high number of aristocrats within their ranks is notable, confirming thus the *topos* of Hungarian historiography about their leading role in the politics of the Liberal Era, and enables a comparison with the *gentry*.[17] Out of the fifteen lord-lieutenants nine were aristocrats. However, the others also had noble origins, some of them belonging to that part of the nobility which in Transylvania were mocked as "quarter barons" and remained close to the aristocracy with whom they had many marriage relations. For instance, László Barcsay, Lord-Lieutenant of Hunyad/Hunedoara County, who did not have either the title of baron or count, was proud of his princely descent (Prince Ákos Barcsay was the family ancestor), while his wife was the daughter of the regional commissioner, Baron Josef Brukenthal. The two regional captain generals were Romanians. It is certain that one of them came from a noble family, while the other one allegedly had the same social background. All the royal chief justices were nobles, but only one out of five was an aristocrat: Count Dénes Kálnoky, Royal Chief Justice of Háromszék/Trei Scaune, while another, Gábor Daniel, Royal Chief Justice of the Udvarhely Seat, became an aristocrat much later, that is, before his death when he was awarded the title of baron.

The percentage of Romanians decreased in 1867, when the only Romanian lord-lieutenant, Láday, was demoted by being appointed to a higher position. Therefore, only the two regional captain generals were Romanians. Conversely, in this period, the *Comes Saxonum* and the leaders of the *Königsboden* Seats and regions were Saxons. Láday and one of the two Romanian captain generals (Alexandru Bohăţiel) were Greek-Catholics. The religious denomination of the other one, László Tamás, Captain General of Fogaras/Făgăraş County, could not be established, but it is likely that he was also Greek-Catholic. Among the Hungarians, Catholics appear to have had a slight majority: ten Catholics compared to seven Calvinists and one Unitarian, while the religious denomination of one of them is uncertain. All throughout the eighteenth century, the Court favored Catholics to the appointment of high offices and the balance started to be redressed only at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

17 Ernő Lakatos, *A magyar politikai vezetőréteg 1848–1918* [The Hungarian political leadership, 1848–1918] (Budapest, 1942); László Péter, "Az arisztokrácia, a dzsentri és a parlamentáris tradíció a XIX. századi Magyarországon", [The aristocracy, the gentry, and the parliamentary tradition in Hungary in the nineteenth century] in *Túlélők. Elitek és társadalmi változás az újkori Európában,* [Survivors. Elites and social change in modern Europe] ed. László Kontler (Budapest: Atlantisz, 1993), 191–241.

After the Compromise, the central government tried to instate a proportional representation of religious denominations, although confession did not play an important role in the appointment. We can find several instances, when a Protestant was replaced by a Catholic or vice versa (for instance, in the Küküllő/Târnava and Belső-Szolnok/Solnocul Interior Counties).

There are only partial data about the *education* of the lord-lieutenants concerned. Therefore, as a starting point, I used their biographies and the student lists of the more important Transylvanian schools. I could not find any data on the education of three lord-lieutenants out of the twenty-two under scrutiny. The Calvinist ones studied at the Reformed Colleges in Kolozsvár/Cluj/Klausenburg and Nagyenyed/Aiud, and the lord-lieutenants from Hunyad/Hunedoara County studied at the Szászváros/Orăştie College. The only Unitarian lord-lieutenant attended the Unitary College in Kolozsvár/Cluj/Klausenburg, whereas the eleven Catholics attended, almost without exception, the Royal Catholic Lyceum of the same city. The Greek-Catholic lord-lieutenants attended the Balázsfalva/Blaj Lyceum and/or the Royal Catholic Lyceum in Kolozsvár/Cluj. For instance, Bohăţiel, after his studies in Balázsfalva/Blaj, attended the Lyceum in Kolozsvár/Cluj as an arts student between 1832 and 1833, and a law student between 1834 and 1835. László Tamás, Captain General of Fogaras/Făgăraş County, attended the Lyceum between 1837 and 1840, whereas Láday, after his theological studies in Balázsfalva/Blaj, went straight to the *Tabula Regia* (*Királyi Tábla, The High Court of Justice of Transylvania*) in Marosvásárhely/Târgu Mureş as a law apprentice. Typically, the *Tabula Regia* was the final stage in the education of future high civil servants; their legal apprenticeship at this institution and then the lawyer's exam being compulsory for them. According to the scarce data at my disposal, very few of them attended a university. Among the rare exceptions, one can mention the name of Count Sándor Bethlen, Lord-Lieutenant of Belső-Szolnok/Solnocul Interior County, who had been enrolled to the University of Berlin between 1842 and 1844, and Baron Dániel Bánffy (1812–1886), Lord-Lieutenant of Doboka County, who attended the same university between 1836 and 1838. The education of Count Kocsárd Kun, Lord-Lieutenant of Hunyad/Hunedoara County, is also exceptional. Between 1819 and 1820, Kun was a student at the Military Engineering Academy in Vienna, whereas his predecessor, Ferenc Nopcsa, studied at the Theresianum Academy in Vienna. Dénes Kálnoky (1814–1888), Royal Chief Justice of Háromszék/Trei Scaune, also studied at the Theresianum Academy between 1829 and 1832 and, after returning home, he was enrolled in the law department at the Royal Lyceum in Kolozsvár/Cluj, from where he later graduated. Gergely Béldi (1819–1889), Royal Chief Justice of the Aranyos/Arieş Seat, after graduating at the Lyceum in Kolozsvár/Cluj, attended for a year (in 1832) the Diplomatic Academy in Vienna. Count Ferenc Haller, following family tradition, enlisted in the army at the age of sixteen and served as a Hussar officer for ten years.

In those times, it was not necessary for one to hold a university degree in order to become a high civil servant. It was enough – and expected – that one graduated from at least one of the traditional denominational colleges of Transylvania offering legal or "philosophical" (arts and sciences) training in

their outgoing classes. Most would-be incumbents of a high public position usually attended the Royal Lyceum, the Reformed College, or the Unitarian College in Kolozsvár/Cluj, as well as the Reformed College in Nagyenyed/Aiud; then, as the highest level of their studies, they completed the law apprenticeship and took the lawyer's exam at the *Tabula Regia* in Marosvásárhely/Târgu Mureş.

Lord-lieutenant career tracks

What did the career of lord-lieutenants look like? What was the age at which they were appointed to this office and what kind of county service or other position was behind them? I could find only partial answers to these questions, and I was not able to fully reconstruct their career tracks either.

According to their age, only some of them could have held offices before 1848. Half of the high state functionaries held some kind of position of authority or were deputies in the Diet before 1848. Out of them, Lajos Jósika held the highest position, obviously due to his family connections. In 1835, he became the administrator of Torda/Turda County, between 1836 and 1838 he was appointed lord-lieutenant in the same county, then in 1842, after some time spent abroad, he was appointed a councilor to the Gubernium. Between 1846 and 1848 he acted as lord-lieutenant of Doboka County. Except for him, only Count Dénes Kálnoky was a high state appointee, namely Royal Chief Justice of Háromszék/Trei Scaune. He started his career as royal justice in Miklósvárszék/Micloşoara at the end of the 1830's, and was made lord-lieutenant of Felső-Fehér/Alba de Sus County in 1847. Apart from them, we find one chief justice, four deputy lord-lieutenants (*alispánok*) and deputy chief justices, three deputies in the Diet, a tax collector, a provincial commissioner, a treasurer, and one, Gábor Daniel (1824–1903), who worked as a clerk at the Court Chancellery (*Udvari Kancellária*). Two of them served in the army and Ferenc Nopcsa served as the court chamberlain of Archduke Karl Ferdinand between 1840 and 1843. Bohăţiel was a practicing lawyer in Kolozsvár/Cluj/Klausenburg. It was Kocsárd Kun, Lord-Lieutenant of Hunyad/Hunedoara County, who had the longest career at county level; between 1823 and 1833, he was a county clerk while in the meantime holding the positions of deputy lord-lieutenant in the Hátszeg district as well as deputy in the Diet between 1833 and 1834. There was nothing in the career of Antal Mikó which could have indicated his later rise to a high office because, before 1848, he only held the position of treasurer in the Csík/Ciuc Seat for a decade.

Half of the lord-lieutenants played some kind of role in the events of the 1848–49 revolution and the war of independence, albeit we have only partial data on this. Almost half of them also exerted some military functions as well; for instance, Count Kálmán Eszterházy (1830–1916) participated in the Battle of Nagyszeben/Sibiu/Hermannstadt, where he lost an arm. After the defeat of the revolution, three of them – Kocsárd Kun, Mihály Mikó (1817–1881), and Ferenc Haller – received the death penalty, which was later commuted into various imprisonment terms. However, between 1856 and 1857, they were all set free.

Conversely, there were four high civil servants of the post-Compromise period with a "shady" past, having held positions during the 1850s or the

Provisorium. As we mentioned above, several of the latter were removed from office in 1867, and it is very likely that this was also the reason for the dismissal of Baron Lajos Jósika, who was the chairman of the Feudal Supreme Court (*úrbéri főtörvényszék*) of Transylvania from 1858 and Lord-Lieutenant of Kolozs/Cluj County from 1864. György Pogány was also a chairman of Feudal Court. László Barcsay, the Lord-Lieutenant of Hunyad/Hunedoara County, held a relatively neutral position and after the revolution, he was allowed to remain a provincial commissioner in Déva/Deva. On the other hand, the opposition repeatedly reproached Lázár Ugron (d. 1884), Lord-Lieutenant of Felső-Fehér/Alba de Sus County, for having been a sub-divisional commissioner *(alkerületi biztos)* between 1850 and 1854.

There was a rearrangement of power relations after the issuing of the October Diploma in 1860. It was then that the subsequent generation of '67 really surfaced on the scene. Almost half of them (a total of ten) were then appointed or elected as high civil servants, but we can also find among them one councilor to the Gubernium, a chief judge, a chief clerk, a provincial commissioner, a royal justice, and a deputy royal justice. Out of the ten, seven *homo novus* had never held any county office before. Several among them are the embodiment of the "typical lord-lieutenant's career", whose family background "destined" them for this office (for instance, Count Ferenc Béldi, Baron Dániel Bánffy, Baron György Kemény, Ferenc Nopcsa, and partly Gábor Daniel). The two Romanian high civil servants – Láday and Bohăţiel – owed their unexpected and rapidly advancing careers to the political circumstances.

In 1862, nine resigned from office. Only four of them remained in office, namely Bohăţiel, Láday, Pogány, and Nopcsa. In the case of the last three, it was considered that they kept their lord-lieutenancy due to the arrangement among the Hungarian elites not to renounce the respective counties in favor of Romanians. Gábor Daniel, the former royal chief justice of the Udvarhely/Odorheiu Seat, wrote that the high civil servants, who gathered at the Kolozsvár/Cluj/Klausenburg meeting in 1862, "agreed to resign from [their] offices, but put the condition that György Pogány, Lord-Lieutenant of Alsó-Fehér/Alba de Jos County, Ferenc Nopcsa, Lord-Lieutenant of Hunyad County, and Ágoston Láday, Lord-Lieutenant of Felső-Fehér/Alba de Sus County, agreed to remain at the helm of their counties because there the Romanians formed the majority, and they would appoint such successors, who would secure the dominance of Hungarians."[18] Two other persons also held offices during the Provisorium: Barcsay continued to be a provincial commissioner, while Jósika was appointed as the lord-lieutenant of Kolozs County.

Actually, in 1867, they appointed only two such lord-lieutenants, who had not held any county office or had not been a high civil servant before, namely Károly Torma and Count Kálmán Eszterházy, although Torma was appointed honorary chief clerk. Most of them (eleven), i.e., more than two thirds of the high state functionaries in 1867, were recruited from the ranks of those in office in 1861, thus symbolizing legal continuity. All returned to the helm of

18 Éva Ádám, ed., *Báró Daniel Gábor Udvarhelyszék utolsó főkirálybírájának ismeretlen emlékezése* [The unknown memoirs of Baron Gábor Daniel, the last chief royal judge in Udvarhelyszék] (Szeged, 1938), 17.

their county, with the exception of Count Ferenc Béldi (1798– 1880), who was transferred from Kolozs/Cluj to Küküllő/Târnava County.

Concerning their age, the average age of the "initial" corps was slightly beyond fifty – quite an advanced age in this epoch – but after the changes in 1867 it would drop to forty-six and a half. If we analyze the time when they were appointed to a high office, the average age is forty-one and a half. The youngest appointee was Baron Lajos Jósika, who became the administrator of Torda County in 1835 at the age of twenty-eight, and a year later, he was already appointed as lord-lieutenant of the same county. The oldest appointee was Count Ferenc Béldi, Lord-Lieutenant of Küküllő/Târnava County, who was first appointed at the age of sixty-three. In 1867, the youngest appointees were Károly Torma, thirty-eight, and Count Kálman Eszterházy, thirty-seven. Both were appointed to the office of lord-lieutenant for the first time.

To summarize, we can say that despite the transition period, the lord-lieutenant career type that prevailed was the so-called political career, that is, the relationship with government circles which was more important than services accomplished in the local administration. This applied to the 1867 generation with the exception of Székelyföld, where four out of the five royal chief justices appear to have built their careers step by step. Indeed, one of them started in a different Seat than the one where he was appointed in 1867. Six future lord-lieutenants were deputies in the last Transylvanian Diet, convened in 1865, as well as in the Pest Diet. In the case of two out of the six aforementioned persons, i.e., Kocsárd Kun and Mihály Mikó, it is almost certain that their appointment was connected to their activity as deputies. Mihály Mikó was active during his mandate in the Pest Diet, publishing a series of articles on the situation in Transylvania in one of the leading newspapers. Although his career and estate were connected to the Csík/Ciuc Seat, the government chose him to replace the contested Albert Petrichevich-Horváth as royal chief justice of the Maros/Mureş Seat.

In the counties, one finds among the later appointed high civil servants much fewer careers "built from below", since they owed their advancement more to their previous mandates as deputies at the Diet. An interesting case is that of László Barcsay, who was a long-time county administrator before 1848, a deputy in the Diet, but since 1840 until his appointment, he was regional commissioner in Déva/Deva. Ferenc Haller was a chief justice before his appointment as lord-lieutenant, and his successor, Lázár Ugron, was the deputy chief justice in the Udvarhely Seat before. The only individual, who was made lord-lieutenant after holding a position in the central administration, was the councilor to the Gubernium, László Tamás, who took the position of captain general of Fogaras/Făgăraş. György Pogány best embodies the type who built his career steadily without being affected by the regime changes. He held a position at county level even before 1848; he acted as deputy lord-lieutenant from 1846, held several minor positions during the neo-absolutist regime, and then, from 1861 until the administrative reform, he was maintained as head of Alsó-Fehér/Alba de Jos County (1861-1875) and Hunyad/Hunedoara County (1876-1890).

Regarding the career paths, it is important to know what happened to the high civil servants after 1867. One would assume that this represented the

peak from where they either retired or perhaps became deputies. The calculation of the average time spent in office is misleading, due to the scarcity of data and their disparity. Two extreme cases are represented by the careers of György Pogány and Gábor Daniel. The former held the office of lord-lieutenant continuously for twenty-nine years. The latter was first the lord-lieutenant of the Udvarhely/Odorheiu Seat between 1861 and 1862, and then, after the Compromise until 1891, he was first royal chief justice and from 1876 acted as lord-lieutenant of the newly organized Udvarhely/Odorheiu County. Alexandru Bohăţiel also had a long-standing career as lord-lieutenant, remaining at the helm of Naszód/Năsăud County for fourteen years (1861–75). Mihály Mikó, after spending eight years (1867–75) as royal chief justice of the Maros/Mureş Seat, "returned home" and served as lord-lieutenant of Csík County until 1881, the year of his death. The other extreme is represented by Lajos Barcsay and Ferenc Haller, Jr., who directed their counties for less than a year. In the latter cases the reason of retirement was due to personal inadequacies. Thus Haller was relieved of his duties as lord-lieutenant after a disciplinary inquest following a series of scandals. Ferenc Béldi was dismissed because he could not fulfill his duties anymore due to his advanced age and also for his absence from the county. But apart from these exceptional cases, fluctuation was rather low. The majority of high state functionaries who were reconfirmed in office in 1867 kept their positions until the general administrative reform.

For the vast majority of these officials this was the peak as well as the end of their career. They usually retired voluntarily either for reasons of age and/or for starting another professional career in the civil sphere. Only one of them, Ferenc Nopcsa, worked at a ministry. He was made state undersecretary shortly after the Compromise. Later, he was the chief chamberlain of Queen Elisabeth, holding this position until 1894. Láday, who was dismissed in 1867, became a judge at the highest Transylvanian section of the Royal Curia, holding this position until 1881, when he retired. Three of them became deputies after their career as lord-lieutenant had ended. From the last category, Károly Torma deserves a special attention, because after his withdrawal from politics, he was first named professor of common law in 1876 at the recently founded University of Kolozsvár/Cluj, and then, in 1879, an archeology professor at the Budapest University.

The question thus emerges about the extent to which high civil servants had local affiliations and connections. Seeking the answer, one usually refers to their birthplace, family ties, location of their estates, and places of activities. In several cases, the birthplace either cannot be established or is not significant (for instance, in the case of an aristocrat, whose estates extended over several counties). The same applies to family ties, because in many cases they spread across the whole of Transylvania. The vast majority of them held a position in the same county as their birthplace. In total, four lord-lieutenants were appointed to a county different than their birthplace (Béldi, Mikó, Ugron, and Tamás). Béldi for instance, was resented for his displacement, and for a while did not even take his seat in the county allotted to him, which contributed to his dismissal. Almost two thirds (fifteen out of twenty-two) of the officials concerned were also landowners in their county. Whether the respective state officials had an estate is uncertain in three cases, but in four cases they had

estates in other counties as well (for instance, Mihály Mikó, Lázár Ugron, Ágoston Láday, and Alexandru Bohăţiel). Compared to the circumstances from later periods – at least as it results from the research conducted so far – the local "roots" of the cluster active between 1867 and 1872 were decisively strong.

It would be interesting to compare the above results with Magdolna Balázs's similar cross-country analysis. She established the degree to which the holders of county offices were locally attached based on their earlier social-political career, the location of their estates, their birthplace, and the origin of their family. In her opinion, the highest number of lord-lieutenants without local ties was in Transylvania.[19] In order to verify her thesis, one must analyze the whole period of Dualism, but for its early years, this does not appear to be true at all.

One can only estimate *the size of estates*, and in many cases even this is not possible. One group consists of those who had a small estate (between 200 and 500 acres), such as, the officials from Székelyföld/Szeklerland (Mihály Mikó and Antal Mikó) and the Romanian office holders (Bohăţiel and Láday). The next group is made up of those who owned between 1,000 and 5,000 acres of land (György Pogány, Kocsárd Kun, Baron Sándor Bethlen, László Barcsay, Ferenc Haller, Lázár Ugron, and Gábor Daniel). The group of those who owned more than 10,000 acres of land was necessarily small and exclusively made up of titled aristocrats (Baron Lajos Jósika, Count Ferenc Béldy, Baron Dániel Bánffy, and Baron György Kemény). Baron Lajos Jósika owned more than 20,000 acres of land in Zemplén, Hunyad/Hunedoara, Kolozs/Cluj, and Doboka Counties.

Therefore, the two smaller groups of high civil servants needed to hold an office in order to make a living, while on the other end of the scale there were big landowners who held positions out of "lordly passion." The vast majority originated from the group of landowners with 1,000 to 5,000 acres, whose estate was substantial enough for a gentlemanly living and provided the necessary prestige to the person concerned for the assumption of his office within his county. However, the holding of an office gave them the possibility to enhance their prestige, social capital, and even wealth. Still, we find an example of one lord-lieutenant, Károly Torma, whose old family estate from Csicsókeresztúr/Cristeştii Ciceiului was sold by auction after his resignation. He actually wrote a bitter letter to his sister when he found out that his brother-in-law would be appointed lord-lieutenant of Hunyad/Hunedoara County: "I have to admit I do not wish this for his own interest because I am familiar with the hardships and troubles of this office, its slow and silent harm with which it attacks the man's material status; and it *certainly* and *fully* attacks it."

Fathers, sons, and family ties

Important factors that concerned high civil servants' careers were family background and family ties, two interlinking parameters of the state career. I have already mentioned that a significant part of those concerned were aristocrats. Analyzing the profession of the fathers – as much as it is observable in the sources – one notices that most of them, twenty-two individuals, did not

19 Balázs Magdolna, "A középszintű közigazgatási apparátus", 250–251.

hold an office or this could not be determined. However, the fathers of more than a third (nine) did have some kind of public position. For instance, Baron Lajos Jósika's father held the highest office available in Transylvania, i.e., president of the Gubernium, and this explains his son's rapidly advancing career. The fathers of four others also held high offices (Ferenc Béldy, György Kemény, Gábor Daniel, and Ferenc Nopcsa). In some cases, the fathers held other positions. Károly Torma's father was a chief county clerk as well as a chief tax collector. László Barcsay's father was chief justice of Hunyad/Hunedoara County. Gergely Béldi's father was a councilor to the *Gubernium*. It is unclear whether Antal Mikó's father was a councilor to the *Gubernium* or not. The fathers of the Romanian officials, with the exception of László Tamás on whom we do not have any data, were priests.

It is even more rewarding to extend our analysis over other family members. To what extent did the fathers manage to promote their sons to similar positions by using their social capital? Six out of the twenty-two individuals under scrutiny did not have sons (some of them were bachelors), the three Romanians started from a disadvantageous political position, and in one case I was not able to reconstruct the family tree. The sons of eleven high officials out of the thirteen were also made lord-lieutenants as well as deputies (the sons of eight became lord-lieutenants and deputies, and the sons of three only deputies). From among the sons, three became ministers and one, Dezső Bánffy, later took the office of prime minister as well. In some cases (five), it is known that the grandsons also followed in the footsteps of their grandfathers. They also became lord-lieutenants, as was the case of the grandson of Gábor Daniel who would become minister of interior.

Aristocrats tended to maintain their closely-knit network through marriage within the same social category. Most interesting was the vast family network around Baron Dániel Bánffy and Baron György Kemény (1813-1896), but also the one built by Baron Lajos Jósika and Count Kálman Eszterházy. Moreover, there were slight links between the two family networks despite their religious differences (the former two being Calvinists, whereas the latter Catholics).

The *Jósika family* had been one of the most prominent in Transylvania ever since the time of the historic Principality, and several of its members held public offices. Lajos Jósika's father János was president of the Gubernium and his older brother Sámuel, considered one of the most talented Transylvanian politicians, was the president of the Transylvanian Court Chancellery. His mother Rozália Csáky was also interested in politics, albeit she could influence it only from behind the scene. The brothers of his wife Adél Bethlen also were trusted with important positions. Gábor was lord-lieutenant of Zaránd County, while József was lord-lieutenant of Torontál County. His nephew Miklós Bethlen was also lord-lieutenant of Torontál County.

Lajos Jósika had four sons with two wives, Franciska Haller and Adél Bethlen. Sámuel, the son from his second marriage, followed his father's career path. His parents took good care of his upbringing. First, he studied in Nagyszeben/Sibiu/Hermannstadt, then in Paris and England, and afterwards completed legal studies in Pozsony/Bratislava and Kolozsvár/Cluj. He was lord-lieutenant of Kolozs/Cluj County between 1885 and 1888. Then he was a member of the Parliament and in January 1893, he was appointed as state

undersecretary at the Ministry of the Interior. After Dezső Bánffy became prime minister, he was appointed minister of the ministry under the Monarch's authority in January 1895 and held this office until January 20th, 1898. He was deputy-chairman of the Hungarian Upper House and its chairman from 1910. In 1912, he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant. After the First World War, he became a member of the Romanian Senate. He was also the vice-president of the Transylvanian Economic Association, a collaborator of the Transylvanian Farmer's Association, and the president of the Roman Catholic Status. Sámuel's first wife Irén Jósika was the niece of Miklós Jósika, the famous writer, who came from the other branch of the Jósika family.

Lajos Jósika became related to Count Kálman Eszterházy, his successor as lord-lieutenant of Kolozs/Cluj County, through the marriage of his son, Lajos, to Eszterházy's daughter, Ágnes in 1886. Lajos's son, János Jósika, was appointed lord-lieutenant of Szilágy County after the Vienna Award (1940). His youngest son, Gábor, served in the military for fifteen years and reached the rank of captain by the time he was discharged. He owned a model farm in Szamosfalva/Someşeni. In 1892, he became a liberal deputy representing the Kőrösbánya/Baia de Criş disctrict in Hunyad/Hunedoara County.

Kálmán Eszterházy came from the Csesznek line (which included the so-called Transylvanian line) of the *House of Eszterházy*. His parents were Count Dénes Eszterházy and Countess Cecilia Haller. In 1857, Kálmán married Countess Paulina Bethlen with whom he had two daughters: Irma, who would marry László Makray, Jr., a member of the Parliament, and Ágnes, who would marry the previous lord-lieutenant, Lajos Jósika's son, who bore the same name as his father. His wife's younger sister, Vilma, was married to the finance minister Béni Kállay, while her other younger sister, Margit, was first married to Count Géza Teleki and then to Baron György Bánffy. His wife's younger brothers married into the Baron Wesselényi, Count Batthány, Count Béldi, and Tisza families. Thus, Kálmán Eszterházy practically became related to the entire Transylvanian aristocracy. He established family ties in Hungary as well. Cecilia, the daughter of Kálmán Eszterházy's older brother János, married Ernő Bánffy, the son of the Lord-Lieutenant Dániel Bánffy.

The *Bánffy family* was one of the most extended aristocratic families. Dániel Bánffy came from the baronial branch of the family and many of his ancestors held the office of lord-lieutenant of Doboka and Kraszna Counties. His father was János Bánffy and his mother was Zsuzsanna Zeyk, the daughter of Dániel Zeyk, who was lord-lieutenant of Fehér/Alba County. His older brother János was lord-lieutenant of Küküllő/Târnava County in 1848, and then in 1869, two years after the Compromise, he became a member of parliament. From among his children, Zoltán became lord-lieutenant of Maros-Torda/Mureş-Turda County and Marosvásárhely/Târgu Mureş, and the husband of his daughter Polyxena, Baron Kálmán Kemény, was appointed lord-lieutenant of Alsó-Fehér/Alba de Jos County and was elected a member of parliament. Dániel's older sister Katalin was also married to a member of parliament, Baron István Kemény. From his mother's side he was also the first cousin to Károly Zeyk, who was a member of parliament and an undersecretary at the Ministry of the Interior.

Dániel Bánffy and his wife Anna Gyárfás of Lécfalva, the daughter of the councilor to the Chancellery Lajos Gyárfás and Katalin Zeyk, had three children: Dezső, Jenő, and Ernő. Later, Dezső would become lord-lieutenant of Szolnok-Doboka and Beszterce-Naszód Counties, and then prime minister of Hungary. His first wife was Baroness Mária Kemény, the daughter of György Kemény, the lord-lieutenant of Torda/Turda County. Ernő was the chairman of the Hungarian Economic Association of Transylvania and the chief curator of the Transylvanian Calvinist diocese and the Calvinist College in Kolozsvár/Cluj. His wife was Countess Cecilia Eszterházy, the niece of the lord-lieutenant Kálman Eszterházy.

The *Kemény Family* was also one of Transylvania's large princely families, which gave a ruling prince in the seventeenth century. György Kemény was the son of Baron Simon Kemény, an assessor at the Royal Table, and Anna Teleki. Perhaps György Kemény developed the widest family network in the field of politics. From among his brothers, István had been lord-lieutenant of Alsó-Fehér/Alba de Jos County earlier and then a member of parliament, while Domokos did not accept any political position but acted as the chief curator of the Transylvanian Calvinist diocese. His sister Katalin married Baron Dénes Kemény, one of the leading figures of the Transylvanian opposition from the Reform Era (1830-1848) and an undersecretary in 1848. From among their children, Gábor would become a deputy, an undersecretary in the ministry of the interior, minister of industry and trade, and later minister of transport, and Géza was a member of parliament as well. Through the marriage of his sister Judit, György Kemény became the brother-in-law of Károly Zeyk, who was a member of parliament, an undersecretary in the ministry of the interior, and later lord-lieutenant of Alsó-Fehér/Alba de Jos County.

György Kemény's wife, Countess Mária Bethlen, gave birth to six children. From among them two, Kálmán and Endre, later became members of parliament. The former acted as lord-lieutenant of Alsó-Fehér/Alba de Jos County between 1885 and 1892, deputy chairman of the Upper House, and a chief curator of the Transylvanian Calvinist diocese. Kálmán married Polyxena Bánffy and their winter receptions represented one of the focal events within the Transylvanian community in Pest. His father-in-law, János Bánffy, was the former lord-lieutenant of Küküllő/Târnava County. Kemény's older son Ödön did not accept any role in the public life. Ödön's wife Gizella was the daughter of the governmental councilor Elek Nagy of Kál, who held the second highest office after the royal commissioner in Transylvania during the transition period between 1869 and 1872. His daughter, Mária married Dezső Bánffy, the later prime minister. His grandson Ákos (the son of Ödön) was lord-lieutenant of Kis-Küküllő County and the vice-president of *EMKE* (Hungarian-Transylvanian Cultural Association).

Apart from these families, there were other smaller family networks as well. Count Ákos Béldi's father was the regional captain general, Vince Béldi, and his mother was Baroness Róza Szentkereszty. The Béldis established several kinship connections with the Bethlen family. For instance, his sister, Róza, married Count János Bethlen. Ákos Béldi's younger brother, Gyula, married Baroness Berta Brukenthal. Thus, he became related to the Brukenthals, and through this he was indirectly related to László Barcsay, the lord-lieutenant

of Hunyad/Hunedoara County, whose wife was also a Brukenthal. Ákos Béldi's wife, Zsófia Daniel, gave birth to two sons, Ákos and Kálmán. The older son, Ákos, would also become a lord-lieutenant later.

Béldi's brother-in-law was Gábor Daniel, who was chief royal justice in the Udvarhely/Odorheiu Seat and later its first lord-lieutenant. Daniel's son, the lawyer Gábor Daniel, Jr., was a member of parliament and deputy chairman of the House of Deputies. Gábor Daniel, Jr., married Malvin, the daughter of Frigyes Korányi, the famous doctor from Pest and the rector of the medical faculty. The Korányi (Kronfeld) family, of Jewish origin, was ennobled in 1884 and was awarded a baronial title in 1908. Frigyes Korányi, Jr., the brother-in-law of Gábor Daniel, Jr., was general manager of the National Central Credit Union, a member of parliament, minister of finances and trade on several occasions, and ambassador in Paris and Madrid. His son, Gábor (1880–1957), was the lawyer of the Central Credit Union – where his uncle Frigyes Korányi Jr acted as general manager – and the chief curator of the Unitarian Church in Budapest. During the First World War he also acted as minister of the interior for a short time.

The other Béldi, Gergely Béldi came from the noble branch of the Béldi family. His father was the councilor to the Gubernium István Béldi and his mother was Baroness Anna Bornemisza. His wife was Countess Rozália Nemes. They did not have any children. His brother-in-law, Count Vince Nemes, married Gabriella, the daughter of Mór Wodianer, the chairman of the Vienna Stock Exchange and the Hungarian National Railways Company. Thus, Albert Wodianer, one of the main Jewish representatives of the high bourgeoisie, became Béldi's brother-in-law. Béldi's other brother-in-law, Count János Nemes, married Countess Polyxena Bethlen, the daughter of Sándor Bethlen, another member of parliament.

It would also be interesting to scrutinize the social, cultural, and economic role played by those of our cluster in order to see how "multi-positional" the Transylvanian political elite happened to be. The data collection is not complete, as yet, hence we will shortly examine only their *church positions*. Traditionally, in Transylvania the chief curators of religious denominations were also in charge of the highest positions in the administration, thus it is not surprising that several such individuals can be found among those under scrutiny. Lajos Jósika was the secular president of the Roman Catholic Status. Kocsárd Kun was the chief curator of the Transylvanian Calvinist diocese, as well as the chief curator and Maecenas of the Calvinist College in Szászváros/Orăştie. Gábor Daniel was the chief curator of the Unitarian Church in Transylvania and in this capacity he was also a member of the Upper House. Concerning Láday, we know that he donated his assets to the Greek-Catholic Consistory in Balázsfalva/Blaj for the purpose of scholarships and assistance to the Romanian schools.

Thus, 1867 was not a turning point in the history of the elites. Practically, the pre-1848 elites managed to preserve their power base beyond this year – accompanied by the noticeable strengthening of the liberal camp. In 1861 they were already holding most of the high offices, and in 1867 they were the ones who returned to power. Professional qualification did not play an important

role then, but it seems that those who wished to follow a political or administrative career, though in practice we still cannot separate the two, usually graduated from one of the prestigious denominational high schools from Transylvania and took the lawyer's exam after legal practice at the Royal Table in Marosvásárhely/Târgu Mureş.

We can divide our officials into two major groups. The first group – made up of those with a modest wealth – had a steady rise on the ladder and assumed their high responsibilities only after a rather lengthy service in the administration. In general, this applies to the Szekler royal chief justices as well as a few lord-lieutenants (for instance, György Pogány). They were also the ones who had the longest careers, since they, for existential reasons, had to adapt themselves to the political changes. The Romanians of the cluster represent a particular group. They were appointed to their positions by taking advantage either of the neo-absolutism or the favorable circumstances that presented themselves in 1861. Then, the Romanians acquired several important posts in the name of a more equitable representation of national minorities. After the Compromise, for a while, it was still considered – at least formally – that officials in the regions with a predominant national minority should be appointed from the ranks of the latter. At the time, all high state appointees in the *Königsboden*, with two exceptions, were still Saxons, whereas the Romanians acquired the office of captain general only in two "Romanian" districts, i.e., Fogaras/Făgăraş and Naszód/Năsăud. After Kálmán Tisza came to power and implemented the administrative reform, the two districts ceased to exist and with them the Romanian officials in charge disappeared as well.

The 1867 corps of high civil servants was characterized by strong local ties. Most of them were deeply rooted into their respective county due to their estates and kinship connections. If this was not the case, then they either came from the neighboring county, or had family relations in the county where they were appointed. In any case, they were socially rooted in Transylvania without exception. This rootedness of sorts was indeed an important factor in the making of their careers.

Translated by Leonard Ciocan

John Neubauer

Conflicts and Cooperation between the Romanian, Hungarian, and Saxon Literary Elites, 1850–1945

On September 28, 1929 a remarkable event took place in the Redut Hall of Brassó/Kronstadt: the Transylvanian-Hungarian writers around the journal *Erdélyi Helikon* introduced themselves to the Transylvanian-Saxon community around Heinrich Zillich's journal *Klingsor*. One of highlights was when Mária Berde (1889-1949) read her deeply moving but meanwhile forgotten "Erdélyi ballada."[1] I include the Hungarian original in Appendix A.

The subject of Berde's ballad is a dramatic event of the 1848-49 Hungarian revolution that involved Berde's maternal grandfather, Ónodi-Weress Károly and his family, who had to flee to Kolozsvár when the Austrian and Russian troops started to take over Transylvania in the spring of 1849. The ballad evokes distressing images of refugee life before turning to a long discussion between Károly and his pregnant wife: he had been called up to serve as a member of a court-martial that is to try Stefan Ludwig Roth (1796-1849), leader of the Transylvania Saxons, who is accused of having been responsible for the Saxon support of the Emperor against the revolutionary Hungarians: "he is to blame that his people are the Emperor's pawns" ("ő felel, hogy népe a császárnak eszköze"). Károly rehearses the official arguments, while his wife thinks more independently. Though she suffers bitterly under the Emperor's arbitrary rule, she believes that the Hungarians should fight for their rights instead of taking revenge. If Roth worked against the (Hungarian-Transylvanian) Union, perhaps he thought about it differently, considered another solution better. She has no reply to Károly's revolutionary slogan, "Whoever wants things differently now is a traitor" ("Ki most másképp akar, az hazaáruló"), but she passionately urges him not to vote for Roth's death, not so much on humanitarian grounds (although she reminds Károly that Roth is a protestant minister with a family) but above all because voting for death would be a betrayal of Károly's own convictions. Saying farewell she assumes the voice of her yet unborn, eights, child: he'd rather be a refugee than child of a murderous father ("Hadd jöjjek nyolcadik földönfutónak, / De soha gyilkos apa gyermekének!").

Károly seems to consent, but for a while the readers are left in the dark about what really happened. The ballad skips eleven years, to a scene in which Károly and his wife mourn the death of the eighth child. Károly is ready to curse god for the injustice, but she tries to calm him down. After another long time gap, a

1 Mária Berde, "Erdélyi Ballada", [Transylvanian ballad] *Erdélyi Helikon* [to be abbreviated as *EH*] 1929: 668-670. Egon Hajek's German translation of the ballad appeared in the *Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tagesblatt* on February 5, 1930 and the *Kronstädter Zeitung* on February 16, 1930.

grandchild finds in Károly's bible words that constitute the closing lines of the ballad: "god gave it, god took it";, more significantly, she finds in his hand-writing the Transylvanian saying, "happy is he who did not deserve his cross" ("Boldog, aki keresztjét meg nem érdemelte"): Károly did not deserve the "cross" of his son's death because he did not make himself guilty by voting for the death-penalty.

Offering the ballad as a gift to her Saxon hosts Berde became herself a courageous dissenter, for she addressed a particularly painful historical event that still generated then anger and hatred between Saxons and Hungarians.[2] The historical Stephan Ludwig Roth,[3] a student of Pestalozzi and author of *Der Sprachkampf in Siebenbürgen* (1842), pleaded for tolerance and equality. Assuming that all civic rights would be extended to all people living in Transylvania, he consented to its annexation to Hungary in March 1848: "When Hungary declared his inhabitants free and formally declared the equality of all citizens, my heart too, I don't deny, was beating for the Union, because at that time one could choose only between two very unequal things, namely Hungarian freedom and Austrian bureaucracy."[4] Roth switched to the Austrian side when the Hungarian diet did not guarantee the minorities their rights and their freedom to use their own language. The new Austrian Constitution of April 25, 1848 split the Saxons between supporters and opponents of the union with Hungary. The latter group appealed for help to the Russians at the end of 1848, and Lajos Kossuth (1802-1894) ordered on January 27 1849 that they should be court martialled. Roth was condemned to death and immediately executed in Kolozsvár on May 11, in spite of the safe conduct ("menlevél") that Józef Bem (1794-1850), the Polish military leader of the Hungarian troops, had granted him. Learning about the execution, Bem claimed he would have come to Roth's rescue had he been notified in time; Kossuth called the execution a "misunderstanding" – but only later. Upon returning to Erdély, Bem suspended the court martials. The matter remains controversial.

Transylvanian Literary Relations Between 1849 and 1919

The time span between Roth's execution and Berde's reading her ballad about it covers most of the history indicated in my title. The burden of my

2 Among the Saxon hosts was Otto Folberth, editor of Roth's works, who spoke and wrote excellent Hungarian. In the Mediascher Zeitung Folberth declared that great progress had been made in Hungarian-Saxon understanding if it was possible to speak with such salutary freedom in public about a most painful historical event that had occasioned, even recently, outbursts of anger. Folberth was a teacher and later the director of the Lutheran gymnasium in his hometown; he fought in the Romanian army during World War II, and settled after the war in Salzburg, where he became professor at the university. He recalled Berde's reading even in 1981, in his thank-you words for the Mozart medal.

3 See János Ritoók, *Kettős tükör. A magyar-szász együttélés multjából és a két világhábrú közötti irodalmi kapcsolatok történetéből* [Double Mirror. From the Past of the Hungarian-Saxon Coexistence; About the their Literary Relations during the Interwar Period] (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1979), 28-32. Ritoók's excellent book, to which I am greatly indebted, will be abbreviated throughout this article as "R."

4 Quoted in R 28, based on the original in Carl Göllner, *Die Siebenbürger Sachsen in den Revolutionsjahren 1848–1849* [The Transylvania Saxons in the Revolutionary Years of 1848-1849] (Bucharest, 1967), 44.

treatment will concern the literary relations that developed but ultimately failed during Berde's lifetime, but before I turn to her generation a few words need to be said of the dynamics of transcultural interaction in Transylvania in the period 1849-1918.

How did Transylvania's literary culture look in the nineteenth century? The region had German and Hungarian theaters, above all in Kolozsvár/Klausenburg/Cluj, and some good libraries, notably the Hermannstadt/Nagyszeben/Sibiu library and the museum of Baron Samuel von Bruckenthal (1721–1803) that opened to the public in 1817, the Honterus Library in Kronstandt/Brassó/Braşov), and the Marosvásárhely/Târgu Mureş library of the Teleki family that opened to the public in 1798.[5] But its rich tradition in printing, which started with Johannes Honterus (1498–1548), Gáspár Heltai (c. 1520–1575), and Miklós Tótfalusy Kis (c. 1650–1702), and continued in the 1830s and 40s with the publishing activities of Johann Gött (1810–1888), a German from Frankfurt who settled in Kronstadt, had withered by the second half of the century. Transylvania became somewhat of a cultural backwater, and not only because the events during 1848–49 and the subsequent severe Austrian suppression devastated it. Two of its greatest Hungarian writers, Miklós Jósika (1794–1865) and Zsigmond Kemény (1814–1875), had moved to Budapest already prior to 1848, and the literary cultures of the Saxons and the Romanians were still just emerging. The writers of all three nations attempted to strengthen the ethnic identity of their group by writing historical novels and dramas that evoked and (re)constructed the great figures and events of their national past. Their horizon was limited.

1848-49 deeply divided the Transylvanians, for the Hungarian diet did little to assure the autonomy and privileges of the Saxons and Romanians. Stephan Ludwig Roth was, as we saw, tragically executed. His Romanian counterpart was Avram Iancu (1824–1872), the leader of the Transylvanian Romanians, who initially supported Kossuth but turned against him when the Romanian demands were ignored. He became a national hero and a symbolic descendant of the Dacians in *Avram Iancu* (1934) by Lucian Blaga (1895-1961). Still, many liberal Saxons, some of them expatriates from Germany and Austria, supported the Hungarian revolution. Anton Kurz (1799-1849) was Bem's adjutant and died with Petőfi in the battle of Segesvár. Leopold Max Moltke (1819-1894), an immigrant from Prussia, praised Kossuth as "the president of the first Republic of Eastern Europe."

The Austrian neo-Absolutism of the 1850s further weakened Transylvania's independent cultural life. By the time it started to recover, it was hit by the 1867 Compromise between Austria and Hungary, which recognized Transylvania's 1848 annexation. The actions of the Hungarian authorities once more differed from their rhetoric: the diet enacted laws about minority rights in 1868, but the government started an aggressive policy of Magyarization that increasingly forced Transylvania's embittered Romanian and Saxon political elite to seek help and alliance beyond the borders, in Vienna and Bucharest.

The most important literary activity during the post-1848 decades was the collection and publication of folklore in all three of the major languages and

5 I shall introduce the Transylvanian place names in three languages but will subsequently use the version that is most appropriate for the specific context.

cultures. Joseph Haltrich (1822-1886) published in 1856 Saxon folk tales, and Friedrich Müller (1828-1915) a year later a volume of Saxon legends. Atanasie Marian Marienescu (1830-1915) followed with the publication of Transylvanian Romanian carols and folk ballads in 1859, and, last but not least, János Kriza (1811-1875) published in 1863 his *Vadrózsák* (Wild Roses), the most important nineteenth-century collection of folk poetry, not only in Transylvania but in the whole of Hungary.

The development of literary and cultural institutions in the second half of the nineteenth century was encouraging though slow. Imre Mikó (1805-1876) led a campaign in 1857 that resulted in the foundation of a Hungarian cultural and scientific association in Kolozsvár, the *Erdélyi Múzeum Egylet* (Transylvanian Museum Association). In 1861, Timotei Cipariu (1805-1887) launched in Sibiu the *Asociaţiunea Transilvană pentru Literatura Română şi Cultura Poporului Român* or ASTRA (The Transylvanian Society for the Literature and Culture of the Romanian People), whose activities extended into the Transcarpathian provinces. The *Kemény Zsigmond Társaság* (Zsigmond Kemény Literary Society) was founded in Marosvásárhely in 1876, the *Erdélyi Irodalmi Társaság* in 1888 in Kolozsvár. Prior to World War I, more than a third of the books published in Hungary went to Transylvania, but local printing shriveled.[6] The University of Kolozsvár was founded in 1872; though it did not become bilingual as the Romanians requested, it did receive a Romanian Chair. In retrospect, the most important literary event at the new university was perhaps Hugó Meltzl's *Acta comparationis litterarum universalum* / *Összehasonlító Irodalomtörténeti Lapok* (Papers on Comparative Literature; 1877-88), the first of its kind in the world, which adopted a broadly international attitude in opposition to the nationalist trends.

There were no great Saxon writers in the nineteenth century, though literary production slowly started to improve in the second half with historical novels, historical dramas, and plenty of *Heimatsliteratur*, romantic and idyllic poetry and prose concerned with rural and small-town provincial life. Saxon historical fiction concerned itself with cultural rather than military heroes, figures that had gotten involved in politics and war because of their cultural roles. Michael Weiss, the wise judge and leader of Hermannstadt, figures prominently in Jósika's *Az utolsó Báthory* (and later also Zsigmond Móricz's *Erdély* trilogy), but the first important Saxon work about him, *Michael Weiss* by Adolf Meschendörfer (1877-1963), was published only in 1919. Traugott Teutsch (1829-1913), the most important nineteenth-century Saxon writer, published in 1874 a work on Sachs von Harteneck (1664-1703), who fled to Hermannstadt because of religious persecution. Harteneck is said to have been responsible for securing from the Emperor the *Diploma Leopoldinum* (1690), which regulated the status of Transylvania's ethnic and religious constituents, but was executed in 1703 for having overstepped his jurisdiction, and, above all, because his adulterous wife became involved in a murder case. In Saxon literary and cultural history he is remembered as a loyal subject of the Emperor victimized by Hungarian intrigues. Teutsch's main drama was *Johannes Honterus* (1898), a rather undramatic account of the great scholar, educator,

6 Gábor Barta et al., ed., *History of Transylvania.* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), 596.

and geographer. Michael Albert (1836–1893) was the first that tried in 1883 his hand at something like a foundational myth with *Die Flandrer am Alt* (The Flemish at the Alt/Olt), which dramatizes the arrival of early Saxon settlers in Transylvania and their battle with the indigenous pagan tribes. Those early settlers, if indeed there were any, came not from Saxony but rather from the lower Rhine area and may have included some Flemish people.

The great opening of Saxon literature came with Meschendörfer's journal *Die Karpathen* (The Carpathians; 1907-14). Meschendörfer studied in Strassbourg, returned in his twenties to his native city Kronstadt, for which he later erected a literary monument in his novel *Die Stadt im Osten* (City in the East; 1931). He started in Kronstadt a modern library and a society to further the city's culture; between 1926 and 1940 he was rector of its famous Honterus gymnasium. He started his literary career at the Herrmannstadt *Tagesblatt*, where he attacked the provincial manifestations of *Heimatliteratur*. In 1908 he published the first modern Saxon novel, *Leonore*. *Die Karpathen* introduced its Saxon readers to the modern literary trends of western Europe, but also to Hungarian folk poetry and to such Hungarian writers as Gyula Juhász (1883–1937), Dezső Kosztolányi (1885–1936), Ferenc Molnár (1878–1952), Elek Benedek (1859–1929), and István Petelei (1852–1910).

The main figures of the Transylvanian-Romanian literary elite in the second half of the nineteenth century were George Bariţiu (1812–1893), Iosif Vulcan (1841–1907), and, above all, Ioan Slavici (1848–1925). Bariţiu published the *Foaie pentru minte, inimă şi literatură* (Paper for the Mind, the Soul and Literature) in Sibiu. Vulcan launched his *Familia* (1865), the first important Romanian cultural periodical, in Pest but moved it to Nagyvárad/Oradea in 1880. He was elected both to the Hungarian literary society *Kisfaludy Társaság* and the Romanian Academy. Slavici, moved to Bucharest after his studies in Vienna but started in 1884 in Sibiu the cultural daily *Tribuna*. Slavici translated works of Mór Jókai, and he also wrote about the situation of Jews in Romania and Romanians in Hungary. In his novel *Mara* (1894) the various ethnic groups of Transylvania interact but preserve their individuality. *Tribuna* became a platform for Romanian Transylvanian intellectuals. It encouraged, for example, the "Memorandum" movement, initiated in 1892 by Ioan Raţiu (1828–1902) and his National Romanian Party. After extended conflicts, severe Hungarian repression followed: books and actors from the Romanian provinces were not allowed to enter Transylvania, the "Congress of Nationalities" (with Romanians, Serbs, and Slovaks) was prevented from meeting, and *Tribuna* was suppressed in 1903. Gheorghe Coşbuc (1866–1918), perhaps the most important writer in the generation after that of Slavici, wrote in his first collection, *Balade şi idile* (Ballads and Idylls; 1893), about the hardships of the Transylvanian Romanian peasants under Hungarian rule.

The Fin-de-siècle Generation

A remarkable new generation of Romanian, Hungarian, and Saxon writers was born in Transylvania during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The Hungarians included Dezső Szabó (1879–1945) and Sándor Reményik, (1890–1941), both born in Kolozsvár, Lajos Áprily [Jékely] (1887–1967), born in Brassó, Endre Ady (1877–1919), born Érdminszent, József Nyirő (1889–1953),

Áron Tamási (1897–1966), Marcell Benedek (1885–1969), Mária Berde, Gábor Gaál (1891–1954), Károly Kós (1883–1977), Aladár Kuncz (1885–1931), Károly Molter (1890–1981) and Sándor Makkai (1890–1952).

Of the Romanians I mention in this context Liviu Rebreanu (1885–1944), born in Tîrlişiu, near Naszód/Năsăud, Octavian Goga (1881–1938), born in Răşinari/Resinár, just south–west of Sibiu, Emil Isac (1886–1954), born in Cluj, Lucian Blaga, born in Lancrăm/Lámkerék, Aron Cotruş, (1891–1957), and Nichifor Crainic (1889–1972).

The Saxon generation included Heinrich Zillich (1898–1988), born in Bod/Botfalu, just north of Kronstadt, Oskar Walter Cisek (1897–1966), Ernst Jekelius (1896–1958), born in Hermannstadt, Egon Hajek (1888–1963), Hermann Klöß (1880–1948), and Otto Folberth (1896–?), born in Medias/Medgyes, Harald Krasser (?–?), Erwin Wittstock (1899–1962), and Richard Csaki (1886–1943).

I start my discussion with two slightly older key figures, the Hungarian Miklós Bánffy (1873–1950) and the Romanian Nicolae Iorga (1871–1940), for both of them had an important impact on their country outside Transylvania. Bánffy, a descendant of an ancient Transylvanian aristocratic family, was not only a writer and painter, but also the representative of Kolozsvár in the Hungarian parliament between 1910–1912, director of the Budapest Opera and the National Theater (1913–18), and Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1921–22. Like Aladár Kuncz and others, he moved back to Transylvania in the interwar period, and became a Romanian citizen in 1926. In 1943 the Hungarian government commissioned Bánffy to negotiate with the Romanian opposition leader Iuliu Maniu (1873–1951) about turning jointly against the Nazis, but Maniu insisted on the return of Northern Transylvania to Romania and the attempt failed. Bánffy stayed in Transylvania in the first postwar years but finally moved to Budapest in 1950.

The Romanian writer, polymath, and politician Nicolae Iorga was born in Botoşani/Botosány, formally outside the borders of Transylvania, but his controversial and contradictory perspectives are quite relevant for us. In 1903 he joined Coşbuc and Al[exandru] Vlahuţă (1858–1919) to edit their newly launched populist and nationalist review *Sămănătorul* (The Sower), but Iorga founded in 1906 his own newspaper *Neamul românesc* (The Romanian Nation), to which he wrote daily contributions to the very end of his life. In 1910, Iorga co-founded with A.C. Cuza (1857–1947) the Democratic Nationalist Party. By 1920, Cuza, a violent anti-Semite, split from the party and gradually shifted further and further to the extreme right. Iorga, who was a more moderate anti-Semite, briefly participated in but then took his distance from Maniu's National Peasant Party. When the fascist General Ion Antonescu seized power in 1940 Iorga courageously defended the abdicated king and attacked the now ruling Iron Guard, which responded by assasinating him.

Iorga's Romanian literary history was the first to unite the various Romanian texts and writers into a grand narrative of an organic and spontaneous growth of native creativity, based on local tradition and folklore. But Iorga wanted to relate his inward looking nationalism to the Romance cultures, and, as a Byzantologist, to the extension of Byzantine culture. In *Byzantium after Byzantium* (1935) Iorga wanted to show the after life of that Empire, especially in the Romanian principalities. He also wanted to show that Roman customs were preserved by

the Romanian peasantry, that certain "Romanii populare" ("People's Roman-like polities") survived through the Middle Ages and served as the basis for the specifically Romanian relations between peasant-voivodes and the people. Iorga's organic theory of national culture supported the myth that the ancient Thracians and Dacians were the foundation of a Carpathian-Balkan-Byzantine spirit. In Hunedoara/Vajdahunyad county Iorga found his Dacians, those "who won, the onetime lords of this land who have prevailed in spite of the chains and the bloodletting imposed on them by their foes. Their invincible courage and patient perseverance triumphed in the end. Look around you now, here are the true Dacians, the new Dacians of 2,000 years past, who carry with them as a sign of their triumph the language of a Rome long consigned to dust. The peasants here are indeed Dacians, with their tough and reserved features, their tight-lipped and ancient custom of paying everyone their due with a sense of justice and not the vengeful 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth'."[7]

In view of this myth-based national theory it is astonishing that Iorga should have advocated minority rights and a reconciliation between Romanians, Hungarians, and Saxons. When the Saxons published in 1919 a volume about themselves, *Cine sînt şi ce vor saşii din Ardeal* (Who are the Transylvanian Saxons and what they want), Iorga wrote a friendly preface to it, praising their high level of civilization and their function as a bridge between East and West.[8] In the early 1920s, he organized a free university at Vălenii de Munte, to which he invited Saxon lecturers as well as the Hungarian scholars Árpád Bitay (1896–1937) and Imre Kádár (1894–1972).[9] As Prime Minister of Romania (1931–32), he created an under-secretary post for minority affairs and filled it with a Saxon, and a Saxon, Gustav Rösler, was appointed as adviser in the Ministry of Education.[10] In a parliamentary speech of 1931 Iorga declared:

> *"[we Romanians] do not wish to annihilate people that have historical traditions […] We do not want to shape a good German or a good Hungarian into a pharisaic Romanian who surrenders his past and sells his soul for some profit, for this would be disadvantageous for the Romanian people, an insidious poison that could be detrimental for the whole nation. Coercion of a nation's soul always turns against those who forced the coercion."*[11]

7 Nicolai Iorga, *Válogatott Írások* [Selected Writings] (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1971), 167-69.

8 Cine sunt şi ce vor fii saşii din Ardeal. *Expunere din izvor competent, cu o prefată Nicolae Iorga* [Who are the Transylvanian Saxons and what they want. An Exposition from a trustworthy source with a preface by Nicolae Iorga] (Bucharest: Cultura neamului românesc, 1919). Bilingual edition: *Die Siebenbürger Sachsen. Wer sie sind und was sie wollen.* Ed, Paul Philippi (Köln: Böhlau, 1969).

9 On Bitay's lectures see Ferenc Kovács, "Bitay Árpád előadásai Nicolae Iorga szabadegyetemén" [The lectures of Árpád Bitay at the free university of Nocolae Iorga] Korunk 1975: 712-16 (qtd. in R 220)

10 On Iorga and the minorities see Dan Berindei, "Nicolae Iorga centenáriumán" [On the centenary of Nicolae Iorga) *Korunk* (1971): 1136.

11 Quoted in R 71, from "Ministerpräsident Iorga über das Untersekretariat für Minderheiten." *Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt,* December 16, 1931, p. 1. When Berde appealed to Iorga that they made her fail her Romanian language examination, Iorga personally intervened on August 22, 1934 (R 220).

In contrast to Iorga, Lucian Blaga spent most of his adult life in Cluj/Kolozsvár, where a special university chair of philosophy and culture was created for him.[12] He translated works by Ady and others; in turn, translations of his poems and dramas were published in the *Erdélyi Helikon* (1930: 42-43, 56; 1933: 658) by Lajos Áprily, Oszkár Bárd (1892–1942), Berde, Imre Kádár (1894–1972), and Ferenc Szemlér (1906–1978); *Klingsor* published his poems in translations by Harald Krasser, Zillich, and others. He corresponded with Bárd, Szemlér, Zillich, Cisek, and others in the interwar years, and he protested against the prohibition of performing Madách's *Az ember tragédiája* in the Hungarian theater of Cluj/Kolozsvár in 1923.[13] Of the tensions that inevitably remained, Reményik's moving poem, "A kinyujtott és a visszahúzott kéz" (The Extended and the Withdrawn Hand), testifies. The Hungarian poet notes that a kinship exists between Blaga's poetry and his own because they both speak of trees and woods, of echo and thundering; and yet, Reményik's poem concludes with a withheld gesture:

"Kinyújtanám most feléd a kezem
És mégse nyújtom.
Fekete erdő van közöttünk,
Keserű árok van közöttünk,
Ledöntött szobrok, elnémult harangok
Kísértenek közöttünk.
Tudom, te mindezekről nem tehetsz,
De hordozod a "győztes" végzetét,
Amint az "elbukottét" hordom én. »[14]

I would extend my hand to you / and yet I don't extend it. A black forest is between us / a bitter ditch is between us, / Toppled monuments, muted bells swerve as ghosts between us. / I know, all this is not your fault, / But you carry the fate of the victor, / While I that of one who "failed."

If Reményik's poem speaks of the psychological and physical barriers between Romanians and Hungarians after 1919, Liviu Rebreanu's life and writings illuminate the bitter antecedents, when Hungary acted as the "victor". Rebreanu, one of the greatest twentieth-century Romanian novelists, attended the Hungarian high schools in Beszterce/Bistriţa (1897-1899) and Sopron (1900-1903) before enrolling in the Ludoviceum Military Academy (Ludovika) in 1903-1906. Well-read in German and Hungarian literature, Rebreanu began his literary career by writing in Hungarian for Hungarian journals. Due to erroneous accusations that he embezzled military funds Rebreanu shuttled between Romania and Hungary, was briefly arrested, but finally exonerated

12 Between 1940 and 1944, when Cluj belonged to Hungary, Blaga taught in Sibiu. He returned to Cluj after the war, but the communists deprived him of his chair.

13 "Tragedia omului", [The tragedy of man] *Patria*, January 27, 1923. The Romanian National Theater of Bucharest prepared in 1929 a presentation of Madács's tragedy, but the production did not materialize.

14 Quoted in Jancsó Elemér, "Erdély irodalmi élete 1918-tól napjainking" [The literary life of Transylvania from 1918 until today] (*Nyugat* 1935/4).

when the culprit confessed. He settled in Bucharest, but much of what he wrote, especially his greatest novel, *Pădurea spînzuraţilor* (Forest of the Hanged; 1922), deals with Transylvania and the problems of double loyalty.

The gruesome opening scene of *Pădurea spînzuraţilor* depicts the hanging of a Czech officer of the Austro-Hungarian army who attempted to desert. The novel's Romanian protagonist, Apostol Bologa, unhesitatingly votes for the death sentence as a member of the military tribunal adjudicating the case. The remainder of the novel portrays how Bologa gradually follows the path of the hanged man. First he wavers between his growing sense of ethnicity and his loyalty towards the Monarchy, whose Transylvanian-born citizen he is. When he is to face the Romanian army he requests to be transferred; his request is denied, and after much reflection he makes a half-hearted attempt to cross to the other side. He is caught, condemned to death, and executed, just as the Czech officer he himself condemned, and just as Rebreanu's own brother, who was executed in 1917. Refusing both the fanaticism of his Romanian brothers and the imperial chauvinism of Lieutenant Varga, who calls on all nations to fight for the Empire against a "common foe", Bologa opts for a martyrdom that questions fanaticism and war. In this sense, *Pădurea spînzuraţilor* is a profound psychological drama about divided loyalties in a complex society such as Transylvania.

The poet and politician Octavian Goga chose the path of the fanatics. Born in Răşinari, just outside Sibiu, of a priest and a mother who taught him German and Hungarian (and published herself some poetry in *Familia*), Goga enrolled at age nine in the Hungarian High School in Sibiu. Due to some conflict with his history teacher he had to leave this school and transfer to into the 8th grade at the Romanian High School in Braşov, where his teachers included some Romanian nationalists. Between 1900 and 1904 he studied with a grant from the Gojdu foundation at the University of Budapest but received no degree. With a grant from the cultural society "Transylvania" he also studied in Berlin.

Goga published in *Luceafărul* (The Morning Star) and became co-editor in 1902 of this magazine, which, as he explained, was a magazine for followers of Eminescu in Budapest. The related Luceafărul Publishing Institute also printed his first collection, *Poezii*, in Budapest in 1905. Initially entitled "At Home", it was supposed to be a new *Georgicon*, describing the occupations and traditions of Transylvanian Romanians, especially those living in villages. He won with the volume a prize of the Romanian Academy. Between 1910 and 1912 he was imprisoned in Budapest and Szeged for attacking the Monarchy.

When the Hungarian Minister of Religion and Culture, János Zichy, declared on December 13, 1912 that the minorities in Hungary had a right to their language but the Hungarian state could allow only a single culture within its borders, namely, the all-powerful and imperishable one inspired by the Hungarian soul, Goga responded in the January 7, 1913 issue of *Românul* (The Romanian), the leading Romanian paper in Hungary, that in the so-called Hungarian literature the dying race of Hungarians had been replaced by figures called Meyer, Durand and Löwy, or, for that matter, Kiss (referring to the highly respected József Kiss, editor of the liberal journal *A hét* (The week)). The culprit in all this was Budapest, "this sudden city, with its Americanism, cabarets, Jews, jargon of Dohány utca, obscenities of the night." Kiss, with all his talent and charm, was part of this: "Hungarian national literature came to an end in

poetry with Petőfi and János Arany, in prose with Mikszáth, yielding to a Jewish national literature of Budapest, which rules today." Ady, a friend of Goga who had attempted earlier to bring him closer to the new generation of Hungarian writers around the journal *Nyugat*, responded on May 16, 1913: as a "fanatic friend of the Romanians", he thought that Goga spoke out of envy, for Hungary "had lived its life always a bit with Europe", and Jewish-Hungarian literature was part of this.[15]

World War I terminated the Ady-Goga relation, though Goga, for all his anti-Semitism and chauvinism, continued to respect Ady, and even bought his castle in Csucsa/Ciucea after Ady's death. During the war, Goga's journalism and poetry focused on the Romanians in Transylvania, urging Romanians to turn against the Central Powers. He became Minister of Culture and Religious Affairs immediately after the war. Though he continued to move towards the radical right wing, his contacts with the Transylvanian Hungarians did not completely break down. According to Géza Tabéry (1890-1958),[16] he was even present at the occasion when János Kemény (1903-1971) proposed to host yearly Hungarian writers at the castle he inherited in Marosvécs.[17] Goga completed his Romanian translation of Madách's *Az Ember tragédiája*, the *Tragedia omului*, in 1934.[18] In 1937 he became Romania's Prime Minister, and, trying to outflank the Iron Guard, he pushed through the legislature Romania's first anti-Semitic laws. The measure triggered a diplomatic row with England and France, so that Goga had to resign after only forty days in office. He died from a stroke soon afterwards.

Ady's response to Goga's anti-Semitic article of 1913 actually released a flurry of further responses, both in Hungary and in Romania. Two of them are most relevant here: Emil Isac's "Kolozsvári levél Ady Endrének", an enthusiastically supportive open letter of Ady's position that Isac published in the February 17 issue of the Budapest paper *Világ*,[19] and the very warm open letter to Isac that Ignotus, editor of *Nyugat*, published in his journal (*Nyugat*, 1913/6), entitled "Az új magyar irodalom" (The New Hungarian Literature), which inaugurated a brief but intensive contact between Isac and the *Nyugat* until the war broke out.[20] Isac published in *Nyugat* (1913/12) an article entitled "Új románság"(New Romanians), which argued that Romanians and Hungarians needed each other because they were both isolated in a Slavic region increasingly dominated by Russia. In the remaining few months prior to World War I Isac's

15 The relevant texts and their historical background are excellently edited by József Láng in vol. 11 of Ady's *Összes prózai művei* [The collected works in prose of Endre Ady] (Budapest: Akadémiai könyvkiadó, 1982), pp. 17-19, 63-65, 198-214, and 271-84.

16 *Emlékkönyv* [Book of Remembrances] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Szépmives Céh, 1930).

17 Kemény was actually born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where his penniless father worked as a secretary. It was after the death of his father that the remaining family returned to Transylvania.

18 Bucharest: Fundaţia Regele Carol. Szemlér gave the translation a superlative review in EH 1935: 176-81.

19 P. 9. The text is reprinted in Ady's Összes prózai művei (see note 15) p. 284-85; Isac's letter was also published in the Bucharest daily *Adevărul*.

20 Isac came from a distinguished Romanian family in Cluj and remained in the city all his life, helping to bring its Romanian literary life to a flowering.

name frequently appeared in the *Nyugat*: the journal announced his book (1914/1), printed a little dialogue of his entitled "A szerecsen" (1914/3), and his critical review of Goga's play "Domnul Notar", a play that portrayed Hungary's political and social disorder and was staged with great success in the Bucharest National Theater (1914/7). Furthermore, Isac published in *Nyugat* a necrology of the Romanian King Carol, praising him as a great and wise king (1914. 21), and, last but not least, an article entitled "A román-magyar béke" (The Romanian-Hungarian Peace; *Nyugat* 1914/24), which somewhat naïvely expressed faith in the Romanians and Hungarians, and even trust in the "békeakció" (peace campaign) that the Hungarian prime minister István Tisza (1861-1918) initiated just before the outbreak of World War I.

After 1914 Isac did not publish anymore in *Nyugat* but he managed to sustain his warm relations with Hungarian writers (Aladár Kuncz, for instance, befriended him during his studies in Kolozsvár) and his faith in Romanian-Hungarian cooperation. As he wrote in the 1920 article "Egy magyar költőhöz" (To a Hungarian Poet):

> *"There is only one possible politics in Romania: the politics of true democracy. By its very nature such politics safeguards the rights of everybody, our Romanian one just as much as that of you, Hungarians, who lead today an isolated life in Transylvania though you could enjoy rights that nations deserve […] it is the duty of Romanian writers to initiate divorce proceedings from the negative traditions and to start getting to know you. And then, the great masses that are under the influence of circles that control the cultural life of the minorities will rise to that level of human consciousness from which they were removed because of the great war."*[21]

Isac advocated similar ideas elsewhere, for instance in the Hungarian journal *Napkelet*.[22]

Three Novels on Pre-1919 Transylvania

Before we turn to Transylvania's literary life in the 1920s, it will be instructive to see how prominent Hungarian and Saxon writers of the new generation portrayed the final decades of the Monarchy in Transylvania in three important but problematic novels, from different ethnic perspectives and at different historical moments: Dezső Szabó's *Az elsodort falu* (The Swept-Away Village; 1919), Miklós Bánffy's trilogy *Erdélyi történet* (Transylvanian History; 1934-40), and Heinrich Zillich's *Zwischen Grenzen und Zeiten* (Between Borders and Times; 1936).

Only Szabó's novel was written before Transylvania became Romanian. The author, a former member of the *Nyugat* circle, turned here against his

21 Quoted in R 70 and 219.

22 See Béla Pomogáts, *Transzilvánizmus. Az Erdélyi Helikon ideológiája* [Transylvanianism. The ideology of Erdélyi Helikon] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983), p. 101.

liberal and western-oriented friends, chastising them in a highly emotional, metaphoric-mystic language. *Az elsodort falu*, published on May 23, 1919, ends with an apotheosis of its idealized Szekler hero, János Böjthe, who returns to his Transylvanian village after the war devastations, to start a new life and family. Unaware as yet of the short-lived Soviet Republic in Hungary, and Transylvania's integration into Romania, he embodies the superhuman energies and ethical purity that lay, according to Szabó, dormant in the Szeklers. János's two village friends (as well as all the remaining important characters) are failures: Miklós Farkas, the great poet resembling Endre Ady, vacillates between his belief in peasant values and his (mental, physical, urban, and cosmopolitan) decadence. He finally goes insane. Judit Farcády, the angelic beauty of the village, loves Miklós but becomes the mistress of Jews and finally a dissolute prostitute in Budapest.

The novel's true villains are Hungarians who import destructive foreign values into the country. Foremost among them are the Jews (whose depiction include some shocking stereotypes), western-oriented intellectuals and writers, feminists, the aristocrats, the clerics, officers that champion a war that the narrator portrays as senseless, the corrupt and foreign-oriented middle class, and many lower-class people overwhelmed by poverty, greed or alcohol. Applying Nietzsche to Transylvania, Szabó believes that the weak and ugly rule over the strong and healthy. He glorifies in János Böjthe the strength and purity of the Szeklers as well as their un-Nietzschean compassion with the downtrodden.

Bánffy's Transylvanian trilogy shuttles back and forth between aristocratic life in Transylvania and Hungarian politics in Budapest, between the private life of a young conservative Transylvanian politician and Hungarian politicking. The portrayal of Transylvania is affectionate, the sketches of its declining aristocracy both ironic and sympathetic. Bálint Abády, somewhat of an autobiographical figure, cares little for the liberals and admires the conservative István Tisza. But he understands that change is inevitable, and he is sensitive to Transylvania's ethnic plurality. He is present when "the banner of the Transylvanian Movement" is unfurled on March 12, 1910 in Marosvásárhely. As the novel suggests from the perspective of the later 1930s, when Bánffy wrote his book:

> *"[This movement] had come into being as a result of a widespread feeling in Transylvania that its individual traditions and history, as well as its own very special spirit, had become less and less recognized, let alone respected, by the central government in Budapest, who were all too apt to think of Transylvania as just one of a string of otherwise insignificant provinces. Nothing of its riches, neither of historical achievement and individual culture, nor of its real problems, was accorded any real importance in the capital. The Transylvanian spirit was slowly being drained away in the maw of Hungarian self-sufficiency and at best was ignored."*[23]

Tisza, who is in the opposition at this point, listens politely but offers no support because he thinks that the movement smacks of particularism (31).

23 Bánffy, *And They Were Divided* (London: Arcadia, 2000), p. 30 f.

Bálint subsequently promises support "for a new law governing the rights of minorities" (32), but he is forced to postpone discussing the details when the Szekler representatives start "to demur" (32). His speech to the delegates, entitled "To all the Peoples of Transylvania" (32-36), is supposed to encapsulate (according to a note by Bánffy's daughter) Bánffy's maiden speech in the Hungarian Parliament in 1910. It is a particularist complaint that addresses the question of minority rights, but only in general terms:

> *"…we are forced to witness the degradation of our ethnic minorities […] A national policy that is as uncaring as it is ignorant regarding our minority problems is now increasingly producing dangerous irredentist and seditious tendencies, tendencies which can be justified as provoked by unfair treatment. […] [F]or centuries in Transylvania people have lived happily together regardless of race or creed or language.*
> *Everybody who is or wishes to be at home in this country must be welcomed and made to feel at home with confidence that nowhere will he find any form of discrimination."*[24]

As if to illustrate this, Bálint successfully defends some Romanians who are ruthlessly exploited by corrupt Hungarian local potentates. But non-Hungarians appear only in this episode, and the novel does not address concretely the question how to grant linguistic, political, and cultural autonomy for the minorities.

Zillich's *Zwischen Grenzen und Zeiten* relies on autobiographical material to portray the tensions within the Saxon community and between Transylvania's ethnic constituents, turning Bánffy's 1914 *Götterdämmerung* into an extended agony that reaches into 1919. Like Bánffy's trilogy and Szabó's *Az elsodort falu*, *Zwischen Grenzen und Zeiten* shuttles back and forth between a small Transylvanian community and the metropolis of Budapest. Like Szabó's novel, it contains war scenes and devotes several chapters to the misery of people fleeing the invading Romanian army in 1916. Unlike Szabó, Zillich does not portray scenes of cruelty perpetrated by the invaders. All three writers employ traditional "omniscient" external narrators, whose perspectives and language essentially coincide with that of the "hero." Zillich follows the Saxon/Hungarian/Romanian generation born just before 1900 through the eyes of a Saxon narrator who is firmly convinced as to the Saxons' cultural, historical, and ethical superiority. His Saxons resent the Magyarization and increasingly identify with their linguistic kins in Austria and Germany. Nevertheless, Zillich's novel gives ample attention to members of the other ethnic communities, many of whom are attractive, except for the novel's only Jew. In the final scene from 1919, the Saxon protagonist is drafted into the Romanian army to fight the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

24 Ibid. p. 33 and 34.

Attempting, and Failing, to Build a Transylvanian Transnational Literary Community

World War I ended with the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy and the annexation of Transylvania to Romania. What was a dream-come-true for the Romanians became a traumatic adjustment to minority status for the Hungarians, and a reorientation for the Saxons. For Romanian literature, the annexation of Transylvania and Bukovina brought new opportunities, but also tensions, resulting from a conversion to a multi-ethnic state, and a clash between national and regional interests. The Hungarian writers of Transylvania had to come to terms with their minority status, which also involved a reconceptualization of their relation to the literary scene in Hungary; the Saxons writers, who had functioned already in a minority culture, had to assume a new attitude with respect to the now dominant Romanian culture, and reconsider their relation to the German literary culture beyond Transylvania's borders.

Right after the war, no Saxon writer wrote, to my knowledge, extreme right-wing or chauvinistic texts. Those emerged, as we shall see, only after Hitler's takeover in 1933. Because of Romania's repressive censorship, revisionist, irredentist, or just protesting Hungarian writings could not be published in Transylvania. The bitter and angry poems that Reményik wrote under the pseudonym "Végvári" first circulated as typescripts and were then published in Budapest.[25] It was different with the Transylvanian Romanian writers, foremost among them Goga and Cotruş. The latter edited after 1919 new publications in Arad and Timişoara and continued to write expressionist, often violent poetry. Like the Hungarian József Nyirő, who badly veered towards the extreme right during the war, Cotruş had to flee with the Germans and settled in Madrid after the war. (Did the two right-wingers on the opposite ethnic side ever meet in Franco's Spain?) But Nyirő wrote as an émigré about the bitter life of exiles and the fate of Transylvania,[26] Cotruş continued to write on the ethnic and social battles of the Romanians.

Though the political conditions and relations were unfavorable, a rich Transylvanian literature emerged in all three languages in the 1920s. One index to this is to be found in high-quality journals. The most substantial Romanian intellectual journal, *Gândirea* (Thought; 1921-44), was launched in Cluj by the Moldavian-born Cezar Petrescu (1892-1961) and published in its first two years translations from Ady, Mihály Babits (1883-1941), and others. Unfortunately, the journal moved to Bucharest at the end of 1922 and became decidedly nationalistic after 1926, when Nichifor Crainic became its sole editor. As we shall see, the venerable *Familia* of Oradea remained much more open in the bordering Partium.

The first important Saxon post-war organ, the *Ostland*, launched by Richard Csaki in Sibiu in June 1921, brought next to literature also articles on

25 *Segítsetek! (Hangok a végekről)* [Help me! (Voices from the fringes)] in 1919, and Mindhalálig [Until I die] in 1921, followed in 1921 by a collection that brought these two slender volumes together.

26 See Béla Pomogáts, *Erdély hűségében* [Remaining faithful to Transylvania] (Csíkszereda: Pallas-Akadémia, 2002), pp. 101-102.

history, politics and other topics. The same year Egon Hajek started a successful yearbook for *Ostland*. Both publications actively sought an opening towards the other Transylvanian cultures, but *Ostland* had to close down already in 1921 and could be restarted only in 1926. By the end of the decade Csaki became a prominent spokesman for Transylvania in Germany and he subsequently made a questionable career by becoming the Director of the *Deutsches Auslandsinstitut* in Stuttgart under Hitler. Several of his publications were banned after the war.

The Saxon journal that replaced and went beyond Meschendörfer's *Die Karpathen* was *Klingsor* in Braşov, launched in 1924 by Zillich, after his return from Berlin with a doctorate in political science (*Staatskunde*). Zillich used the financial means of his father, who was the director of a Saxon sugar factory in his native village, and the talents of his friend Gustav Ongyerth (1897-1969)[27] to link the journal to a publishing house, an artistic salon, and a concert bureau. Most of the latter institutions had to close down for financial reasons after a few years, but *Klingsor* survived until 1939, and opened Saxon literature up to the world and to the other Transylvanian communities until the arrival of Hitler. As we shall see, from 1933 onward a rhetoric of "German Renaissance" smothered expressions of Transylvanian cooperation and understanding. The change was as much due to Zillich's own ideological reorientation as to the emergence of Saxon Nazi sympathizers, and political pressure from Germany. When Zillich departed for Germany in 1936, Harald Krasser took over the editorship and gave, once more, greater prominence to literary matters, but he was finally forced to close down *Klingsor* in 1939.

The Transylvania Hungarians were slow to recover from the war and the transfer to Romania. Leaving aside Reményik's "Végvári" poems (whose authorial pseudonym implied that he defended Hungarian culture as the defenders of outpost fortresses did against the Turks), the first important Hungarian literary and cultural event was the publication of the leaflet *Kiáltó szó* that Károly Kós (1883-1977), Árpád Paál (1889-1943), and István Zágoni published on January 23, 1921.[28] The same year, the journal *Pásztortűz* (Campfire; 1921-45) was launched under the chief editorship of Reményik, whose position became gradually more conciliatory and open over the next ten years. In 1927 another highly talented poet, Jenő Dsida (1907-1938), became the editor of *Pásztortűz*. Two additional high-quality Hungarian literary journals started publication in the 1920s: the Marxist and internationalist *Korunk* (Our Times; 1926-40), edited from 1929 onward by Gábor Gaál (until its demise when Northern Transylvania was reannexed by Hungary); and the *Erdélyi Helikon* (1928-44), whose chief editor became Bánffy, flanked by the editors Kuncz and Kós. As Áprily wrote in the greetings of the first issue the

27 Ongyerth established the German *Landestheater* in Sibiu in 1933 and directed it until 1945, when he fled to Germany.

28 *Kiáltó szó Erdély, Bánság, Körös-vidék és Máramaros magyarságához* [Shouting word to the Hungarians of Transylvania, Banat, the region of Körös and Máramaros] (Cluj/Kolozsvár, 1921). See Pomogáts's A transzilvanizmus (note 22), pp. 45-47. Although the pamphlet called for realism and self-examination, it was immediately suppressed by the Romanian authorities, who also initiated an investigation against the censor that permitted the printing.

Erdélyi Helikon, its Transylvanian orientation was no provincialism but an "observation deck unto the world."

Of the three Hungarian literary journals the *Erdélyi Helikon* became the most influential, on account of its close ties with two other Hungarian literary initiatives, the *Erdélyi Szépmives Céh* (Transylvanian Artist's Guild) and the *Helikon*, a loose association of Transylvanian writers. Indeed, the *EH* was a publication of the *Szépmíves Céh*, a publishing house founded in Cluj in 1924 by the architect and cultural historian Kós, together with his former colleagues at the *Keleti Ujság*, Paál, Nyirő, Imre Kádár, Ernő Ligeti, and Zágoni. *Szépmíves Céh* produced until 1944 hundred sixty-four high-quality Transylvanian books, among them works by Áprily, Dsida, Kós, Molter, Kuncz, and Tamási. The *EH* was also linked to the *Helikon*, a loose association of writers that the young János Kemény gathered in his castle at Marosvécs/Brâncoveneşti, for the first time in July 1926.[29] The invited Saxon writer Robert Maurer reported to the readers of *Klingsor* that he sensed at the meeting both the tragedy and the inexhaustible vitality of Transylvania.[30] The leader of Helikon became Bánffy. This "literary plein-air parliament", as Babits called it in his article "Transszilvanizmus" in the *Nyugat* (1931: 481), was dedicated to the ideals of coexistence and cooperation with the other Transylvanian nations, though not everybody subscribed to these principles all the time.

Although Transylvanianism was a widely shared idea among the Transylvanian Hungarian writers, it was only one of several cultural concepts. Four clashing political views emerged in Hungary and Transylvania: 1) irredentists demanded that Transylvania be reunited with Hungary; 2) Transylvanianists sought coexistence and local autonomy within a federalist structure, expressed by the slogan, "Transylvania belongs to the Transylvanian nations!"; 3) the Danubianists sought a transnational federation of the Danubian countries in the spirit of Oszkár Jászi (1875-1957); and 4) the communists, allied with the radical left around Gaál's *Korunk* (Our Age), wanted to reconstitute all of Eastern Europe by means of a transnational social revolution. Due to the persecution of the leftists under Horthy's regime, some radical intellectuals sought refuge in Transylvania and became cultural mediators. Gaál was able to recruit also a number of non-Hungarian contributors.

The four groups actually overlapped, and each of them was internally divided. *Korunk* published writings by liberal opponents of the Horthy regime; The populist Nyirő, heavily influenced by Szabó's *Az elsodort falu*, was a co-founder of the *Erdélyi Szépmíves Céh*, a regular member of the *Helikon* meetings, and a contributor to the *EH*. Various Hungarian writers and intellectuals adopted Transylvanianism, which meant for most of them a vaguely autonomous Transylvania, with equal rights for and participation from the three major constituents, the Romanians, Hungarians, and Saxons, and full freedom for the Jewish, Armenian, and other smaller minorities. This found certain parallels and support Blaga, whose work sought to define Transylvania's cultural-topographic specificity, or Zillich, who sought in the

29 The twenty-eight writers at the first meeting included Áprily, Bánffy, Berde, Dsida, Kós, Kuncz, Nyirő, Makkai, Reményik, and Tamási.

30 "Marovécser Helikon", *Klingsor* (1926): 367-69.

1920s elements that bind Transylvania's ethnic groups together. But the idea should have been launched when Transylvania was still part of Hungary. Bánffy's Transylvanianism around 1910 was still firmly based on the idea of Hungarian supremacy; by the 1920s it could no longer attract Romanian and Saxon support. As Zsigmond Vita (1906-1998) reported in 1934, the Romanian writers – he mentions specifically the novelist Teodor Mureşanu (1891–1966) – suspected political motives behind the Hungarian Transylvanianism, which could not be reconciled with the regionalist tendencies in Romanian writers like Coşbuc, Goga, and Ion Agârbiceanu (1882–1963).[31] The problem with the Saxons was different. When Friedrich Müller-Langenthal (1884–1969), later Lutheran bishop of Transylvania, published an article in *Klingsor* with the title "Die siebenbürgische Seele" (1926: 252-57), a number of Hungarian writers felt uneasy, for they did not like the author's mystifying language. When Zillich entered the discussion it became apparent that the differences were group specific rather than individual.[32] Still, the Transylvanianists had some success in opposing Hungarian irredentism by advocating the acceptance of the new borders and striving only for regional autonomy within Romania – which was, of course, an anathema on both sides of the border.

Kós, the leading and most consistent spokesman for Transylvanianism, held that the externally imposed decisions of 1848, 1867, and 1918 were neither desired nor accepted by the majority of Transylvania's inhabitants. The votes in the Hungarian Transylvanian Diet in 1848 and in the Romanian one in 1918 were divided.[33] Kós saw the region's uniqueness precisely in the variety and coexistence unknown in other parts of Hungary and Romania. In Transylvania, the national constituents traditionally "lived their own lives, building their own social and cultural institutions side by side, not mingling with each other, but not really bothering each other; rarely crossing each other's path, yet in touch with each other, learning from each other, influencing each other."[34] Centuries of living side by side meant "sharing a common fate" (namely dependency on powers beyond Transylvania's borders) and being exposed to, even enriched by, external cultural currents, including the Turkish one.[35]

The 1920s brought a renewal of Transylvanian Hungarian literature, but, above all, they initiated highly promising exchanges and cooperations between Transylvania's three ethnic groups, especially between Saxons and Hungarians. The prelude was the Petőfi commemoration that took place in 1922 at the site of his death in Segesvár/Sighisoara/Schässburg. More important was the year

31 Zsigmond Vita, "Transzilvánizmus a román irodalomban", [Transylvanism in Romanian Literature], EH (1934): 73-75.

32 See Molter, "Erdély egyénisége" [Transylvania's Individuality], Korunk 1926: 476-77; Zillich "Über die siebenbürgische Diskussion" [About the Transylvanian Dispute], Klingsor (1929): 235-37, and its Hungarian version, EH (1929): 470-72. Tamási was also skeptical.

33 *Kós, Transylvania. An Outline of its Cultural History* (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1989), 106-107. Trans. by Lorna K. Dunbar of *Erdély: kultúrtörténeti vázlat* [Transylvania, a cultural historical outline] 1934 (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Kiadó, 1988).

34 Ibid. p. 81.

35 Ibid. p. 87.

1926, when *Klingsor* brought out on June 6 a Hungarian issue[36] and the *Pásztortűz* on July 13 a Saxon issue. July of that year was also when the first *Helikon* meeting in Marosvécs took place (see R 77-80).

The first meeting of the Hungarian and Saxon writers took place in Nagyenyed/Aiud, in the first half of July, 1928, upon the initiative of Áprily, who worked there at the Collegium. The Saxon participants were Folberth, Jekelius, Wittstock, and Zillich; next to Áprily, the Hungarians included Berde, Kemény, Kós, Kuncz, Makkai, Molter, Tabéry, and Jenő Szentimrei (1891-1959). According to reports by Tabéry, and later by Folberth, it was a great success: wine and the natural setting quickly led to joviality and friendship, a fund on which the cooperation could thrive for about three years.[37]

Indeed, the exchanges and personal encounters intensified first. In November 1928 *Pásztortűz* published its second Saxon issue, containing poems by Meschendörfer, Folberth, Klöß, and Zillich; several texts on Zillich, and Friedrich Müller-Langenthal's mentioned article on the "Transylvanian soul" (R 78). On the 17th of the same month the Saxon writers Meschendörfer, Klöß, Hajek, Folberth, Wittstock, and Zillich introduced themselves to a Hungarian audience in the Hungarian Piarist gymnasium of Cluj. On the Hungarian side Berde, Makkai, and Molter were especially active. Emil Isac, then inspector of the Transylvanian theaters, and Ion Clopoţel, chief editor of the paper *Patria* were also present (R 60-64). The return visit, postponed several times, took place in Braşov on September 28, 1929; this was the evening that Mária Berde read her "Erdélyi ballada"; Kemény, Bánffy, Molter, Sándor Kacsó (1901-?), János Bartalis (1893-1976), Imre Kádár (1894-1972), and Nyirő were also present. The banquet speech was given by Bánffy.[38] The same month *Klingsor* came out with another Hungarian issue, which contained novellas by Molter, Kacsó, and Jenő Székely, poems by Áprily and Bartalis, and Zillich's friendly report about the Marosvécs meeting of the Helikon that he attended (R 80-81). Unfortunately, this was the last of the Saxon-Hungarian meetings, though a Saxon-Hungarian-Romanian meeting was still held in Mediaş/Medgyes/Mediasch on March 19, 1931 with a nice program: an essay by Folberth, a novella by Tamási, poems by Szentimrei, Saxon songs, Romanian songs, and songs by Bartók and Kodály.[39]

Translations, personal encounters, and friendly written exchanges continued for a while. Saxon writers were invited to meetings of the *Kemény Zsigmond Literary Society* of Marosvásárhely, where Wittstock read his novella

36 The issue contained poems by Áprily and Reményi; Folberth's article on literary history and his overview of the Hungarian journals; a review by Adolf Heltmann; and a study by László Rajka (R 77).

37 See Tabéry, *Emlékkönyv*. Erdélyi Szépmives Céh 1930, 81-82; Folberth, "Die Stunde der 'Siebenbürgischen Seele' Vor 40 Jahren erklang ihr Glockenschlag." *Südostdeutsche Vierteljahresblätter* 1 (1968): 18-23. See also Zillich in R 106 and 216). The only heated discussion apparently occurred between the Hungarians about Dezső Szabó. Makkai and Szentimrei were on one side, Kuncz and Berde on the other.

38 The Hungarians were greeted by Zillich in the *Kronstädter Zeitung* ("Zum Vortragsabend des 'Erdélyi Helikon,'" (September 29): 4; Berde gave an account of the meeting: "A brassói Helikon napok", *EH* (1929): 748-50.

39 R 67, 71, and 214.

"Man ignoriert" on January 10, 1929, Zillich his story "Das Blut" on January 5, 1930, and Folberth seven of his poems on December 21, 1930.[40] When Kuncz died in 1931 several Saxon writers remembered him with extreme warmth. In May 1931 the *Erdélyi Helikon* brought out a Saxon number and *Klingsor* "responded" in June 1932 with another Hungarian issue that printed poems by Bartalis and László Tompa (1883–1964), an article by Jekelius on Székely novels, and Folberth's travel diary about his visit to the painter Imre Nagy. In Marosvásárhely Molter and Berde organized a lecture series: the Romanian literary scholar Ion Chinezu talked about Hungarian literature,[41] Hungarians lectured on Eminescu and Bălcescu, and Molter on Goethe (in German).[42]

The series of promising meetings and exchanges ran against growing nationalism in all of Europe, and it stranded soon after Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933. When Meschendörfer published in 1931 his novel *Die Stadt im Osten* (City in the East) about young people growing up in Kronstadt, Molter wrote a warm, if not uncritical, review of it, praising it as a great advancement in Saxon literature, and Kós, who was also positive about it,[43] set out to translate the novel. It was published under the title *Corona* by the *Szépmives Céh* in 1933, with more than a few howlers (for which Berde took Kós to task). But this contribution to Saxon-Hungarian cooperation backfired. Already Kós cautioned in his epilogue that for all its artistic value the novel was not free of "exaggerations" and "errors" concerning the Hungarian past. In quieter times this might have passed unnoticed, or settled in private conversations. But the newly polarized atmosphere now led to broader and more violent accusations, recriminations, and exchanges. A few months later, Makkai started his reflections on the novel from the premise that the Saxons have always been isolated in Transylvania, and the Hungarians knew too little about them. Meschendörfer's novel, according to Makkai, opened a first window on the Saxon mentality, revealing that their faith consisted of an almost pathological attachment to their community in the villages and cities. As to the image of the Hungarians: the novel contained no genuine Hungarian characters, and it made no attempt to portray the Hungarian soul. The novel dealt only with the Hungarian state, and the treatment revealed that the Saxon people were hostile to it.[44]

In mid-summer 1933 Molter published in the *EH* an article entitled "A német szellem belháborúja" (The Internal War of the German Spirit; 1933: 459-70), and Zillich, who just expressed his support of the Nazi order,[45] responded furiously. According to Zillich, the Hungarians campaigned against the new German order, the Transylvanian Hungarian press was under Jewish influence.

40 R 217-18.

41 Chinezu published in 1930 a recent history of Transylvanian Hungarian literature: *Aspecte din literatura maghiară ardeleană: 1919-1929*, which has recently been translated into English: *Aspects of Transylvanian Hungarian Literature (1919-1929)*. Cluj-Napoca: Fundatia Culturala Romana, 1997.

42 See Berde, "A kultúrcsere-akció kistükre", [The story of the cultural exchange] *Pásztortűz* (1932): 162.

43 Molter, *EH* (1932): 204-206; Kós, *Pásztortűz* (1932): 329-30.

44 Makkai, "Erdélyi sorsok", [Transylvanian destinies] *EH* (1933): 305-15.

45 "Das Echo der zeitwandelnden Geschehnisse in Deutschland" (The echo of the epochal events in germany), *Klingsor* (1933): 154-55.

Molter only spoke of the leftist German writers, the Remarques, the Zweigs, and the Kästners, but ignored writers that supported the new order, for instance Hanns Johst (1890-1978), Erwin Guido Kolbenheyer (1878-1962), and Hans Grimm (1875-1959).[46] Molter's response was a devastating critique of *Klingsor* and its new German orientation: "Zillich and his journal have believed in their ideology for a long time already, though they concealed it. Transylvanian good taste and the sense of propriety of this multi-peopled soil had restrained them from making more forceful declarations. But since [the arrival of] Hitler, since Jews and other minorities are ever more exposed Europe-wide to the fists of an ever-more unrestrained nationalism, suddenly all nationalists become heady with their race and start Jew baiting, start to instill a sense of weakness in all those that are less numerable than the sons of his nation."[47]

The Nazi sympathies of Zillich and the "new" *Klingsor* became all too evident in the "Festschrift" that appeared in 1934 to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the journal. Zillich's introduction mentioned in passing a hand that *Klingsor* stretched out to the Transylvanian neighbors, but it immediately added that deeper and more urgently did the journal "melody" sing of a rebirth of the whole (German) Volk.[48] In recent years a great "clearance" has dissipated the "morning mist", so that *Klingsor* can now "march towards Noon."[49] The texts of the Festschrift continued with militant Nazi propaganda (some of the worst examples were by Zillich and his old-time collaborator Bernhard Capesius), and from now at least until Zillich's departure in 1936 this tone dominated *Klingsor*.[50] It had, of course, disastrous consequences for the Saxon-Hungarian literary relations. No Hungarian took part in *Klingsor*'s anniversary celebration on March 11, 1934, and soon another war of words erupted, involving the theologian Sándor Tavaszy (1888-1951), the literary historian Gusztáv Abafáy (1901-1995), Kós, and Szemlér on the Hungarian side, and Jekelius, next to Zillich,[51] on the German one. Szemlér, Kós, and Jekelius

46 "Ungarn und Deutsche" [Hungarians and Germans], *Klingsor* (1934): 76-78. The *EH* did publish translations of politically harmless poems by Johst and Kolbenheyer in 1935. Whether this was a reaction to Zillich's accusions is unclear.

47 Molter, "Az elvarázsolt varázsló. Válasz Heinrich Zillichnek" [The Spellbound Sorcerer: Response to Heinrich Zillich] *EH* (1934): 459-65. Here 461.

48 "Aber dunkler und zwingender erklang uns immer die Melodie […] Melodie der Neugeburt, der neuen Wege, nicht nur für Heimat und Land, sondern für unser ganzes Volk, so weit es siedeln mag." (p. 7)

49 "was sich verschob, war der Nebel der Frühe, aus dem wir jetzt in den Mittag schreiten. Freudig sehen wir hinter uns in der Helle die Jugend angetreten, marschbereit und geschlossen" (8).

50 Between 1933 and 1936 no article of *Klingsor* questioned Nazi power in Germany. The only article that suggested that Transylvanian Saxon literature should focus on problems at home – Emil Witting's "Aufgaben des siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Schrifttums" [Tasks of the Transylvanian Saxon Literature], *Klingsor*, 1934: 119-22 – was introduced with an editorial remark that distanced itself from the article's position. Such unanimity on Nazi Germany was not reached in the Saxon community itself, as Zillich noted several times in *Klingsor*, for instance 1934: 122-23.

51 Zillich's "Ungarn und Deutsche" *Klingsor* (1934): 76-78 was arrogant and full of innuendoes as well as explicit references to an allegedly Jewish domination of Hungarian and Hungarian-Transylvanian culture.

sought reconciliation,[52] but the situation became irremediable when Zillich published his novella "Der baltische Graf" (The Baltic Count)[53] and his above-discussed opus magnum, *Zwischen Grenzen und Zeiten* (1936). Szemlér remarked in his review that the novel was based on a single idea, the mission of Germans in Europe and even in the world. The memory that Zillich evoked of the age was "dangerous and artless", for it aggressively arrogated to German culture everything beautiful and good from the Rhine to the Volga and from the Baltic sea to the Mediterranean.[54]

In retrospect, one is struck in this 1930s conflict between the Saxon and Hungarian journals not by the deterioration of the relations but by the courage and forthrightness of the Hungarian writers in opposing Nazi ideology – a daring that generally superseded that of the writers in Hungary itself, especially if we consider that in Transylvania it involved conflict with former friends, and that the community of Hungarian writers was by no means united. The communist sympathizers around *Korunk* and the other writers around the other journals strongly disagreed about the course to follow. Indeed, Viktor Aradi (1883-1937) and the *Korunk* camp criticized the idea of Transylvanianism and interpreted the earlier rapprochement between *EH* and *Klingsor* as founded on anti-Communism (R 94). On the right wing, Hungarian authors who later became Nazi sympathizers, like Nyírő, remained silent during this debate and did not come out to defend *Klingsor*'s Nazi tendency. On the whole, the Hungarian writers were much more united in opposing Saxon Nazism than the Hungarian and Hungarian Transylvanian politicians were in defending their minority rights in Romania.

After 1933 *Klingsor* stopped publishing translations of Hungarian literature and severely curtailed reviews of it.[55] In the 1930s, especially after the Saxon-

52 See Jekelius, "Ungarisch-sächsische Literaturbeziehungen in Siebenbürgen" [Hungarian-Saxon Literary Relations in Transylvania], *Klingsor* (1935): 330-31; Kós, *EH* (1935): 617-19; Szemlér, *Független Ujság,* August 18-25, 1935: 7; Jekelius, *Klingsor* (1935): 453. Even when seeking reconciliation, Jekelius demanded "reverence" *(Ehrfurcht)* for the German "revolution."

53 Rpt.: "Der baltische Graf", *Klingsor*, 1936: 321-35. The novella won a prize in Hitler's Germany for portraying German military virtues. The Hungarians were irritated because it portrayed the defeat of the Hungarian revolution of 1948-49 from a rather arrogant German-Russian perspective. Gusztáv Abafáy attacked it in the *Független Ujság* as anti-Hungarian; Zillich defended himself by claiming that the critique of the Hungarians was uttered by his fictional characters *Klingsor* (1935): 211 – which was only partly true.

54 "Korszerűtlen elmélkedések", [Untimely Meditations] *EH* (1936): 679-82. Zillich left Transylvania in 1935 already, but only in 1936 did it become evident that he would not return. His resignation from the editorship of *Klingsor* was made public only in the autumn of 1936. He sent in November 1936 an angry protest against a review of his book in the Hungarian paper *Brassói Lapok* in *Klingsor* (1936): 468-72, but no longer responded to Szemlér's review. Zillich became a General Staff officer of the Wehrmacht in World War II and still published several books after the war. In an article entitled "Das Verdämmern der 'Siebenbürgischen Seele,'" published as late as 1968 (*Südostdeutsche Vierteljahresblätter* 1 (1968) 18-23) he would still claim (on information allegedly received from Kós) that the Hungarian writers were afraid to keep contact with the Saxons because of some powerful Jewish donors.

55 One major exception was a lengthy review in *Klingsor* (1936): 317-20 by A. Heltmann of three Hungarian novels (by Kós, Bánffy, and Sándor Makkai) and Antal Szerb's *Magyar irodalomtörténet* [History of Hungarian literature] (Cluj: Erdélyi Szépmives Céh, 1934). The review of the latter was nothing short of ecstatic.

Hungarian literary relations had cooled, both minority literary communities devoted increased attention to their relations with the Romanian authorities and Romanian writers – with mixed success. To be sure, there were some exchanges in the twenties, and both *Klingsor* and the *EH* regularly published translations of contemporary Romanian writers. Furthermore, Romanian representatives frequently attended Saxon and Hungarian literary events. For instance, the *EH* reports that Emanoil Bucuţa, a Romanian writer and Minister of Culture at that time, attended the Helikon meeting of 1934. He expressed his wish to improve and formalize the Romanian-Hungarian literary relations, and announced that the state publishing house *Fundaţia Regele Carol* (which, as we saw, just published Goga's translation of Madách's *Ember tragédiája*) wanted to publish translations of ten Hungarian novels (*EH* 1934: 555). Unfortunately, such plans and expressions of good-will often did not bring the desired results. In the late 1920s lengthy discussions took place on Crainic's proposal that the Saxon and Hungarian writers should join the Romanian PEN Club. The Hungarians finally did so in June 1932, but the experience turned out to be disappointing. The case of publishing the novel *Baltagul* by Mihail Sadoveanu (1880–1961) into German grotesquely exemplified how culture was a plaything of ideology. Once the novel was selected with all due caution on both the German and the Romanian side, Krasser from *Klingsor* translated it, and the highly reputable Munich publisher Langen-Müller was about to bring it to the market. Unfortunately, just three days before the publication date it became known that Sadoveanu took over the editorship of two small "Jewish-Marxist" papers, which caused a scandal in Germany and Krasser was severely taken to task. "Krasser's own account of the affair (Klingsor 1936: 472-75) makes evident that he saved himself by rejecting in a most cowardly (or ideologically biased) manner the politics, if not the artistry, of his author."

A more positive story emerges from the attempt of the Romanian *Familia* at Oradea to bring the Romanian and Hungarian writers closer to each other. This journal, which had a long history of mediation between the two cultures,[56] devoted in 1935 three consecutive issues to the question whether Romanians and Hungarians could get along and understand each other (*Ne putem înţelege noi şi ungurii*). The topic was broken down into a set of five questions that were distributed to Hungarian and Romanian writers living in Transylvania and beyond its border:

> *"Do you think a Romanian-Hungarian collaboration is possible? 2. If yes, how do you see this collaboration? What efforts should both sides make? 3. Can the culture of the two people constitute a base solid enough to build on it a monument of mutual understanding? 4. Can the writer, through his writing, counteract the divisive action that politicians perform consciously or unconsciously? 5. What is your opinion of the initiative for rapprochement, launched by the magazine Familia in Oradea?"*[57]

56 See Károly Engel, "Hídverők példamutatása" [The Example of Bridge-Builders], *Korunk*, 1970: 853.

57 *Familia*, 1935, 2.5-6: 66.

Familia printed the responses of thirteen Hungarian writers, among them Babits, Berde, Lajos Zilahy (1891-1974), Gyula Illyés (1902-1983), and Sándor Márai (1900-1989), and twelve Romanian writers, including Blaga, Sadoveanu, Camil Petrescu (1894-1957), and Cezar Petrescu. The editor of *Familia* planned a conference on this topic with these writers for October 1935 in Oradea, but the event had to be postponed several times and was finally cancelled.

G.M. Samariteanu, the editor, was positive: Hungarians and Romanians had been divided historically because of policies that did not respect the other's cultural values and right to self-determination (*Familia*, 2.7-8: 74). But the complex postwar world allowed no isolation. Since the two nations had a common path to travel, dialogue was necessary (2.5-6: 65), and this should start with a study of the other's literature, for it offered an intimate understanding of the neighboring culture (2.7-8: 75). National approaches had to acknowledge the virtues and weaknesses of the other (2.5-6: 65).

Camil Petrescu praised *Familia*'s publisher for initiating an honest cultural dialogue (2.5-6: 71), but he added that "cultural exchanges are insufficient for creating a genuine rapprochement between peoples." Others specified what more would be needed: "We Romanians will have to forget our past suffering. Hungarians will have to forget that they once ruled over millions of Romanians" (2.5-6: 72) wrote Corneliu Moldovanu (1883-1952), and Octav Şuluţiu (1909-1949) argued that sustained work was needed, not just occasional conferences (2.7-8: 83).

Most responses accepted Familia's premises, though few of them went beyond predictable clichés that overestimated literature's power and underestimated political coercion. Zilahy pleaded for an honest analysis of the linguistic, cultural, and religious similarities and differences (2.5-6: 67); Szemlér suggested that Hungarians and Romanians had a common Danubian destiny (2.9-10: 78); Marcell Benedek contrasted self-centered and greedy politicians with writers and scholars who "think in centuries and millennia and do not focus on themselves but on humanity" (2.5-6: 68); and Sadoveanu argued that spiritual and cultural action could resist the passing interests of politicians (2.5-6: 70).

More concrete and useful were the remarks about the need to translate and to popularize each other's literatures. Indeed, several of the respondents, among them Babits, Cezar Petrescu, and Berde, were themselves also translators. Pompiliu Constantinescu (1901-1946) suggested a systematic collection of Hungarian literature in translation and the launching of a Hungarian magazine in Romanian, so that Romanians outside Transylvania could get access to Hungarian cultural news (2.7-8: 82). Şuluţiu proposed the creation of an Association of Romanian and Hungarian writers interested in the mutual translation and promotion of literary culture (2.7-8: 84). A third topic was oral literature. As Berde put it, cultural dialogues had always been taking place in the crafts, jokes, popular festivities, and dances of the lower classes (2.7-8: 75); Romulus Dianu (1905-1975) agreed, noting that Bartók and Liszt drew heavily on intercultural folklore (2.5-6: 74). Indeed, one could add that the most remarkable Romanian-Hungarian artistic achievement of the interwar years was probably Béla Bartók's *Cantata Profana* (1930), a unique narrative for chorus and orchestra based on a Romanian colinda that Bartók had collected earlier in Hungary. Preparing it, he worked together with Constantin Brăiloiu (1893-1958).

Unfortunately, subsequent events confirmed Camil Petrescu's somber conclusion that "writers cannot prevent war" (Familia 2.5-6: 71). In the end the paths of what we have called the "fin-de-siècle generation" sharply diverged, though for a moment around 1930 they seemed to converge. As we have seen, several members of that generation, including Goga, Rebreanu, Dezső Szabó, and Ady, had left Transylvania already before World War I. Surprisingly, hardly any Hungarian writers left the now Romanian Transylvania in the years immediately after 1919. Indeed, Bánffy, Kuncz, and others settled there; the Saxons Csaki, Folberth, Jekelius, Maurer, Zillich and other studied abroad, usually in Germany, but came back to Transylvania to live and work there. The major losses started only in 1929, when Áprily went to Budapest and Hajek to Vienna. Departures accelerated in the 1930s, partly because the Iron Guard and other right-wing formations were gaining in power in Romania, and, above all, because of the rise of Hitler in Germany. Two of the major Saxon figures, Csaki and Zillich, left for Germany; both believed in the Nazis and Csaki was appointed to a major Nazi cultural position. The greatest and painful loss for the Hungarians was Makkai, who served for years in the Romanian Senate and wrote in 1931 the self-searching essay *Magunk revíziója* (Revision of Ourselves). He suddenly moved to Hungary in 1936 and reversed himself in *Nem lehet* (It Can't Be; 1937). Noting correctly that nationalism was rising in all of Europe, he concluded, incorrectly, that the Hungarian minority's existence in Romania was "impossible." This, together with his strong anti-communist position, led to his support of Nazi Germany during the war.

Of the Romanians Isac and Blaga (partly) remained in Transylvania, attached to its cultural center Cluj. The Saxons Jekelius, Wittstock, Krasser, and others also stayed, usually as teachers or Protestant ministers in smaller cities and villages. The Hungarians Reményik, Kós, Tamási, Bánffy, Berde, Benedek, Nyirő, Szemlér, Molter, Gaál, and others remained in Transylvania, at least until the later war years, which Kuncz (d. 1931) and Reményik (d. 1941) no longer lived through. Some of the survivors still had a minor career after the war, in Transylvania or beyond it, but the most creative and hopeful years of the generation died with the war.

I conclude with the name I started with, Mária Berde, for it seems to me that she has done perhaps the most to bring the Romanian, Saxon, and Hungarian literary communities of Transylvania together – and she has received little recognition for it. This teacher in Nagyenyed, Marosvásárhely, and Nagyvárad was editor of the journal *Zord Idő* (1920-21), a major force in reviving the *Kemény Zsigmond Társaság* (which, as we saw, she used to develop cross-cultural ties), and a tireless initiator of new ideas and projects that did not shy away from controversy.[58] It is only appropriate therefore that this article should end with the text of her "Erdélyi ballada."

58 One of these, was her article "Vallani és vállalni" [To profess and to undertake] *EH* (1929): 623-25, creating much discussion, which I could not include here.

APPENDIX

Mária R. Berde, "Erdélyi ballada" (*Erdélyi Helikon* 1929, 9: 668-670)

Zászlók virágoztak a háztetőkön.
Az ifjú Isten járt alattuk, a megszabadított Szabadság.
Mámorosan, szárnyasan, boldogan járt,
Negyvenkilencnek tavaszán.

Enyed akkor Kolozsváron lakott, a Farkasutcai kollégiumban,
S a nagyanyám is, hét kis gyermekével.
Kegyelemkenyér: keserű
Kegyelemköntös: horzsol.
Kegyelemágyon az álom sem nyugodalom.
De nagyapám azt mondta, semmiember, ki panaszt s könnyet ejt most
Földi limlomért.

Álmukban mégis, a gyermekek felsírtak néha.
Kicsikanalát kérte az egyik. Sikoltott a másik:
– Anyám válláról ne húzd le a bundát!
És dédanyám, a halál küszöbén már, sokszor rebeg'e:
– Mikor indulunk haza innét?
Csak álmodtuk, hogy porig ég a ház, a mi házunk –

Feketét viselt minden enyedi. Mégis, ha jönni látták nagyapámat,
Az ámbitusra elébe siettek és felragyogtak;
Ő csillagfényű szavakat hozott:
– Isaszeg, Tokaj, Hatvan, Branyiszkó –
S egyszer Kossuthról érkezett a hírrel:
Kossuthot sírni láttam Enyedért!

De májusban, harsány zászlók alatt,
Melyek mint vadult szárnyak, csattogtak fent a szélben,
Egy délelőtt oly csendben jött haza.
Az ajtót maga után behúzta:
– Küld ki mind a hetet, fiam.
S utánuk bámult árnyékos szemekkel –
– A haditörvényszék beszólított
Maga közé három polgárszemélyt.
Beválasztottak vérbírónak, asszony.
– Itélni élet és halál felett?
– S még ma.
– Kiről?
– Stefan Ludvig Roth. A szászok vezére.

– Károly, te bánkódól.
Csak felnézett a nagyapám s megint le. A szemöldöke összébb szaladt.
– Akkorát vétett?
– Mondják: ő felel, hogy népe a császárnak eszköze.

Mi tudjuk, mi a császári parancs.
Isten mikor meghallja, vére fagy!
– Novemberben garázda kézre ment
Ezüstöm, ékszerem, mind a császár nevében.
Januárban mit farkas kölykivel
Oly fagyban bujdokoltam, hogy a könnyem,
Ha földrehullt, kopogott mint a gyöngyszem …
De hát nem jogainkért harcolunk most,
Hanem hogy szem legyen szemért,
És fog legyen fogért?
– Ellene dolgozott az uniónak!
– Másképp akarta mint mi. Hátha ő úgy hitte jónak?
– Ki most másképp akar, az hazaáruló.
– Mégis ember. Pap is, családos is …
– Pecsét van már a sorsán.
– Akkor ne menj az ítélethozásra.
– Pilátusként megmossam a kezem?
– Hát menj, s a bosszut lágyítsd irgalomra,
S ha nem tudod, mondj egyedül n e m e t!
– Leköpnek mint a gyávát.
– Csak a vér szennyez.
– Az ellenfélnek vére nem.
– Az is, ha nem csatában freccsen. Szégyen,
– Fegyvertelennek osztani halált.
– Reájaszolgált.
– De te szomoru vagy Károly fiam.
– Hallgass …
– Ölelj magadhoz. Érzed, mit izen jövendő sarjad?
“Hét földönfutó testvér közé
Hadd jöjjek nyolcadik földönfutónak,
De soha gyilkos apa gyermekének!”
Eredj, tégy jó szót Stefan Ludwig Rothért
A küszöbön a nagyapám kiejtett egy jámbor “úgy legyen”-t.

De mi egy ámen szélviharral szembemondva?
És részeg volt már a Szabadság-Isten,
Tetszett neki a zászlók vérpirosa,
A kegyelem fehérét megtagadta –

S a remény zöldje feketére égett

Koromesztendő, pernyeévek.
Romok közé, de hazatért Enyed.

Romokon nőtt, de nőtt, mint a fű, az ifjuság.
Tizenegy évbe fordult a nyolcadik fiu.
Lánghajú, lobogó nyugtalanság.

Szája tüzes kemence, a szó belőle szikra,
Mint fáklya járt az emberek között.
– A Szabadság hagyta őt zálogul, – mondotta néha nagyapám, –
A többi gyerek fél-gond s fél-remény,
A nyolcadik igéret, bizonyosság, Az Isten ennek sokkal tartozik,
Isten ezért még megfizet.
Mire ez felserdül, feje fölött ki kell nyilni a behúnyt csillagoknak.

Tüzet a víz: a nagypatak oltotta ki.
Nagyapám reárogyott a tetemére:
– Keresztény voltál már az anyaméhben,
Irgalmat akartál s az Isten
Nem irgalmazott népednek s neked.
... Öklöt emelt az égre.

De nagyanyám lefogta a kezét s az átkát:
– Jó. hogy irgalmas volt, s hogy irgalmat parancsolt neked is.
Hogy birnók elviselni a halálát,
Ha hinnünk kéne, hogy ez a halál
Szemet szemért, fogat fogért;
S hogy mivel ítéltél, hát most ítéltettél te is?
Így jó, így jó, v i s s z a soha se vétni
Császárinak, szásznak, románnak, senkinek!
... S az Istennek is megbocsátni tudni,
Hogy amit rádmér, azt ne kaphassd büntetés,
Csak meg nem szolgált kereszt gyanánt.

S a bibliába, a halott nevéhez,
Ahogy szokás, beírta reszkető alázat.
“Isten adta, Isten elvette,
Szentséges szent neve áldassék érette.”
S külön találtam ott még egy ígét erdélyi vigaszul:
“Boldog, aki keresztjét meg nem érdemelte.”

GÁBOR EGRY

Minority Elite, Continuity, and Identity Politics in Northern Transylvania: The Case of the Transylvanian Party

An interesting scene occurred in the Hungarian parliament on a long summer day in 1941. Gusztáv Kövér, an engineer from the city of Nagyvárad/Oradea, took the opportunity to make an announcement. Previously Kövér had been one of the leaders of the Hungarian minority party in Romania in the 1920s and early 1930s. Later he became an important lobbyist at the Union of Nations in Geneva and worked as one of the deputy chairmen of the Transylvanian Party from its founding in February 1941 to the end of May of that same year. At this moment in the building of parliament he was eager to denounce a statement of the party leadership aimed at explaining an astonishing decision; the exclusion of the former vice-president of the Transylvanian Party from the party itself.[1] In his short speech, Kövér also denied allegations that he was not enthusiastic enough to support the anti-Jewish legislation because of his eight year long stay in Switzerland, where he purportedly became too closely attached to liberal ideas. Quite to the contrary – stated the politician – he was one of their most ardent initiators. The parliament was at that time debating the follow-up bill regarding miscegenation, the mixed marriage and "interracial sex" of Jews with non-Jews. We have no reason to be surprised, knowing that the question of the application of the so called first and second anti-Jewish racial laws (*zsidótörvények*) was one of the most delicate issues in the process of the reintegration of Northern Transylvania into Hungary.

A further significant allegation was leveled against Kövér due to another speech given at the foundation rally of the party in Kolozsvár/Cluj on May 28, 1941. Here he offended the public officials – who had come from Hungary proper to Northern Transylvania after the Vienna Arbitrage – when he emphasized the conflicts between the newly occupied territories and the "Motherland." Therefore the party chairman, Béla Teleki was forced to dismiss his views on the spot.[2] This small yet telling episode reveals the complexities of the much graver problem of the reintegration of Northern Transylvania, not only with respect to the legal and political system or the public administration, but to the much larger problem of the unification of the Hungarian nation. As its existence was taken formerly as granted, denying it was equal to high

1 *Az 1939. június 10-re összehívott Országgyűlés képviselőházának naplója* [Budapest: Journal of the House of Representatives, 1941], X, 303–304.

2 Dezső Saly, *Szigorúan bizalmas! Fekete könyv* [Strictly confidental! Black book] (Budapest: 1945), 370.

treason. But, as Kövér's uncovered remarks show, the sudden reality of the Hungarian unitary nation state in this region proved to be far more problem laden than the simplified political fiction. Not only Kövér, a member of the higher political leadership, but a large part of the Hungarians from the region experienced disillusionment after some months of regained Hungarian sovereignty. The "parachutist" – a public official from Hungary – who knew nothing of the local situation, behaved with arrogance, and moreover occupied the well-deserved posts of the Transylvanians, fed discontent and gave opportunity for bitter remarks about the prevailing situation.[3]

Although the desire for the revision of the Peace Treaty of Trianon was able to disguise certain social processes, some keen observers of this era noted that one of the most important developments after the First World War was a certain differentiation between Hungary proper and its minorities beyond the new borders. For example, Gyula Szekfű (whose contribution to the ideology of the political system named after Regent Miklós Horthy cannot be overestimated) stated in the third edition of his famous book *Három nemzedék* (Three generations), that the social and ideological development of Hungarian minorities, especially those of Transylvania, diverged from that in Hungary. He argued, that these regional societies were free from the experience of the short-lived communist regime in the spring and summer of 1919, therefore the liberal-radical and leftist conceptions of the leaders of the Hungarian Republic from November 1918 were not discredited among their members.[4] In his view the most important example of this differentiation was the ideology of Transylvanism, formulated as a political and ideological program by Károly Kós, Árpád Pál, and István Zágoni in their well-known work, *Kiáltó Szó* (Shouting word).[5]

Instead of enumerating the other supporters of this opinion, it is enough to stress here once again that the process of differentiation came clearly in conflict with the unitary fiction promoted by the ideology of the reintegration of the country after the territorial revisions. The sudden confrontation with reality caused similar discontent among the Hungarians of the former Czechoslovakia,[6] but the minority society of the Transylvanian Hungarians was better organized, endowed with more resources, and represented by more prominent political leaders. They not only were able to create their own party (this was achieved by politicians from the former Czechoslovakia as well), but they were able to keep their relative independence while retaining a dominant political role in Northern Transylvania.

But the Transylvanian Party had to confront itself during the entire period with the challenge of one inescapable question: how can a regional party subsist in a unitary Hungarian nation? This was expressed from the Transylvanian point of view by Dezső László (an MP of the party and a Calvinist

3 Sándor Oláh, "Gyakorlati gondolkodásmód és megmerevedett etatizmus" [Pragmatical thinking and rigid etatism], *Korall* 18 (2004): 98–112.

4 Gyula Szekfű, *Három nemzedék és ami utána következik* [Three generations and its aftermath] (Budapest: Magyar Királyi Egyetemi Nyomda, 1935), 456.

5 Károly Kós, Árpád Paál, and István Zágoni, *Kiáltó szó* [Shouting word] (Kolozsvár: 1921).

6 László Szarka, "*Kisebbségi nemzetértelmezések Jócsik Lajos politikai publicisztikájában*" [Concepts of Nation from a Minority Point of View in Jócsik Lajos' Political Journalism] in IV Conference of Minority History (Marosvásárhely/Târgu Mures: August 30–31, 2007).

minister) in the title of one of his lectures, "Why we need the Transylvanian Party?",[7] given to the assembly of the "greater committee" (*nagyválasztmány*) of the party in March 1943 in Nagyvárad/Oradea. László's line of reasoning was aimed at coming to terms with the fact that for Hungarians in Transylvania there existed not one but two different histories: the common Hungarian one – which was somehow "suspended" for two decades after 1918, its existence remaining still basic for the revisionist argumentation – and their own history under very different auspices compared to that of the rump state between the end of the First World War and the Vienna Arbitrage.

Though this occasion was a party meeting, the group on behalf of whom László spoke, the "we" in his question, was not only this political organization, but included the whole Hungarian community in Northern Transylvania. As a member of this larger constituency, he expressed a possible and clearly desirable identity. He pointed out the mission of this regional society, enumerated its different virtues, and drew its borders against not only the "traditional" or "recognizable" others, but the Hungarians from the "Motherland" as well. It was a textbook example of identity politics in quite unique circumstances. But why and how could this political party successfully propose his "Transylvanism" (*erdélyiség*) for the Hungarians from Northern Transylvania? To answer these questions, central in this study, we must turn to another key problem: the recruitment of the minority elite, which played a leading role in the party and marked its organization.

Continuity and the Minority Elite

The Transylvanian Party held its first – foundation – rally on May 28, 1941, in Kolozsvár/Cluj in the historical building of the Redout. The leading article of the party newspaper, the renowned *Ellenzék* (Opposition), described the event as the first true manifestation of the will of the Hungarians from the region since 1848, and characterized the assembly in the same writing as the "real parliament of Transylvania."[8] This notion was – deliberately – strengthened by the fact, that the Redout was the place where the then existing feudal Diet voted for union with Hungary in 1848. It was not only the symbolism of the event that suggested that the party wanted to be more then an ordinary political organization; the programmatic manifesto, published here, and the speeches of the party leaders explicitly stated that the Transylvanian Party was the only true organization of the Hungarians in Northern Transylvania, and not merely their simple political representative, but the very framework of their community. They presented the program not as a party program, but as the program of a specific local society.[9] Only a few sectors of the population were meant to be excluded, those who were "poisoned by the humbug coming from outside."

7 Dezső László, "Miért van szükség az Erdély Pártra?" [Why do we need the Transylvanian Party?], in *Erdélyi szellem – magyar lélek* [Transylvanian spirit – Hungarian soul] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Párt, 1943).

8 "A nagy küszöb" [The great threshold], *Ellenzék*, May 29, 1941.

9 Ibid.

One can discount these manifestations as part of a simple ideological game, but the composition of the party leadership on the local and regional level, its relationship to the other social institutions such as the churches, civil and economic associations, agencies of the public administration, the press, and the dimensions of the party (one scholar estimates the size of its membership at more then 243,000 with over 700 local organizations, though another estimate runs only as high as 20,000),[10] all prove that this self-portrayal was well founded. In this sense the party was the successor of the minority era, when the single Hungarian political party was the focal point of the organization of the related community with every important personality participating in its leadership.

But the roots of this type of community organization (which will be analyzed later) reach back well before 1918. As to the Transylvanian Party we can distinguish three dimensions of continuity at the end of the Dualist era and in the minority period. The first one has to do simply with prominent personalities, that is, some public figures play important social roles throughout the whole period. The second one concerns institutional continuity, not only via the unbroken existence of elements of social structure, but by the continuity of certain models of public action in various and varying singular institutions. The third one refers to ideological continuities, the constant ingredients of the answer to the obvious question: why should the Transylvanian Hungarian community be organized in this specific way?

Personal Continuity of the Political Elite

Although the change of sovereignty in 1918 over Eastern Hungary and Transylvania is often pictured, rightly, as a great collective shock (several tens of thousands from the middle classes emigrated to Hungary), the opinion making cluster remained largely the same in the region as before Trianon. As to the political elite proper, it is quite simple to prove this fact. Taking into account the political leadership of the Hungarian party (OMP) between the two World Wars, the majority of its leading politicians had been politically active (or at least active in public life) and prominent before 1918 as well. This does not mean that the political elite was not reduced in numbers through the emigration of many of its members (the two obvious examples are István Bethlen and Pál Teleki), but the social composition of this group did not change significantly as compared to that of the antebellum political elite, mainly because most of its prominent members remained in their place.

10 Nándor Bárdi, "A múlt mint tapasztalat. A kisebbségből többségbe került erdélyi magyar politika szemléletváltozása, 1940–1944" [The past as an experience. The change of perspective of the Hungarian elite becoming from minority to majority], in *Az emlékezet konstrukciói* [Constructions of memory], ed. Gábor Czoch and Csilla Fedinecz, (Budapest: TLA, 2006), 237–292, 240; Péter Sipos, *Imrédy Béla és a Magyar Megújulás Pártja* [Béla Imrédy and the Party of Hungarian Renewal] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970) 219. Bárdi's data means that one fifth of the Hungarian population of Northern Transylvania would have belonged to the party. Sipos' data can be compared with another organization, the agricultural society EMGE (Hungarian Economic Society of Transylvania). In the late 30s it was the single largest Hungarian organization with circa 40,000 members in the territories annexed to Romania in 1920.

The leadership of the Hungarian party (president, 13 vice-presidents, and members of the central executive committee) consisted of 48 persons at the end of 1922,[11] of whom nine were MPs in the Lower House before 1918, five were county prefects (*főispán*) of whom three belonged to the previously mentioned contingent of MPs, three were mayors or deputy mayors of whom one was an MP as well, two persons were vice-prefects (*alispán*), and one person was a diplomat, ambassador in Belgrade before the First World War.[12] This adds up to 16 persons altogether, or one third of the leadership. Some of them were actually quite high profile politicians, for example, Samu Jósika, who held the office of Speaker of the upper house, Béla Barabás, who was chairman of the Hungarian delegation in 1907, and József Sándor who was aulic councilor, and one of the founders and general secretary of the EMKE (Transylvanian Hungarian Cultural Association).

The remaining members were also important figures in the public life in the local, district, or county level, or in influential social institutions: Árpád Apáthy was the county attorney of Hunyad/Hunedoara and a member of the board of directors in five different companies; Kálmán Asztalos was secretary of the local organization of the Independence and 1848 Party in Nagyenyed/Aiud; Gyula Ferenczy, a former member of the executive committee of the Independence and 1848 Party in Kolozsvár/Cluj, was several times a member of the representative body of the city and general director of the local Agricultural Bank; Jenő Nagy, a lawyer from Csíkszereda/Miercurea Ciuc, was also a member of the municipal council; Hugó Roth was the attorney of the Incorporated Law Society at Kolozsvár/Cluj; Péter Szakács managed the affairs of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce in Marosvásárhely/Târgu Mureş for 24 years as its secretary; Béla Szele was known as an editor of the newspaper *Brassói Lapok* and an organizer and one of the leaders of the Unitary Hungarian Party in Brassó/Braşov, which replaced the formerly existing Hungarian parties (Party of National Labor, Party of Constitution, Independence and 1848 Party) there in 1910; Mihály Szabolcska, a recognized poet at that time, held the position of a Roman Catholic dean in Temesvár/Timişoara; László Székely was an urban architect in the same city; László Szoboszlay played a political role in the public life of the county Maros-Torda/Mureş-Turda and held the office of a deputy government commissioner for the county in 1917; Aurél Váradi was an editor of the important newspaper *Ellenzék* (Opposition); István Zágoni, after being one of its journalists, ran the newspaper *Újság* (the official newspaper of the Independence and 1848 Party) as its chief editor in Kolozsvár/Cluj between 1913–1915. This proves that at least 28 persons, or some 58% of the members of this body, had belonged to the political elite on a local, county, or regional level before 1918.

11 Béla György, ed., *Iratok a romániai Országos Magyar Párt történetéhez 1. A vezető testületek jegyzőkönyvei* [Documents on the history of the Countrywide Hungarian Party in Romania 1. Minutes of meeting of the leading bodies] (Kolozsvár - Csíkszereda: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület – Pro Print, 2003).

12 MPs: Baron Samu Jósika, Béla Barabás, György Bernády, Elemér Jakabffy, István Kecskeméthy, József Sándor, Kálmán Cziffra, Géza Ferenczy, Viktor Issekutz; Prefects: Barabás, Bernády, Cziffra from the MPs and Count Béla Wass, Elemér Gyárfás; Mayors: Gusztáv Haller, György Bernády, Béla Fekete Nagy; Vice-prefects: János Sebesi, Árpád Paál. The diplomat was István Ugron.

Regarding the case of some of the other members, there is proof, although indirect, of their presence in public life before 1918. The newspaper of the Independence Party (*Ujság*) published an article in which the author criticized and commented on a piece in the *Budapesti Hírlap*. The Budapest newspaper reported on the alleged formation of a so-called "Transylvanian anti-suffrage league." According to the *Budapesti Hírlap*, it mobilized important politicians, mainly from the Party of National Labor and other leading personalities from Transylvania.[13] It does not seem too far-fetched to consider the supposed members of this group as part of the political elite. We can find in this list published by the *Ujság* another vice-president of the Hungarian party (Baron Béla Szentkereszthy) and three other members of the executive committee (Lajos Albrecht, Count Kálmán Béldy, and Count György Bethlen). Taking into account this fact, we can state that in the case of about two thirds of the party leadership, their belonging to the political elite of the Dualist era can be duly demonstrated.

Two years later, at the end of 1924, after the death of Samu Jósika, the party leadership was extended to 64 members (four vice-presidents, a new Council of the Chairman with eight members, the rest of the additional staff being members of the executive committee). A portion of the new personalities functioned as representatives of entire social groups or classes, demonstrating their national unity: Lajos Sárosi, a craftsman from Brassó/Brasov; János Nagy, a shoemaker from Székelyudvarhely/Odorheiu Secuiesc; János Dóczi, a merchant from Csíkszereda/Mirecurea-Ciuc; Dénes Szabó from Zetelaka/Zetea; and Sándor Makkay, a smallholder from Backamadaras/Păsăreni. In some cases they had real institutional background, such as József Berky, who was a smallholder from Kolozsvár and chairman of the local economic association.

Other newly elected members were equally prominent figures of public life. Elemér Domahidy (in 1924 the general lay superintendent of the Királyhágó/Pasul Craiului district of the Calvinist Church) served as prefect of the city of Debrecen before the World War. Joachim Görög held the office of the episcopal commissioner for Hungarian Catholics of the Armenian Rite. Ödön Inczédy-Joksmann was vice-prefect of the county Alsó-Fehér/Albă de Jos in 1917–18. Kálmán Kovács was a Unitarian episcopal secretary. Sándor Makkai became Calvinist bishop of the Church District of Transylvania after the repatriation of László Ravasz. Andor Török made himself known before the World War as mayor of the city of Kézdivásárhely/Târgu Secuiesc and vice-prefect of the county of Háromszék/Trei Scaune.[14]

This shows not only evidence of the personal continuity of the traditional elite and middle class, but also suggests that the composition of the leading bodies of the party was largely determined by the social position and status of aspirants. Some members, mainly from the lower classes, were elected as representatives of their whole social strata. Their participation served as proof of the unity of the Hungarian community in Romania. Others played an

13 *Újság*, September 13, 1917. The paper reported that the chairman would be Mihály Réz, an intimate of István Tisza, professor on the University of Cluj, vice-chairmen János Sándor the minister of interior in the former Tisza-government, Samu Jósika and István Bethlen; directors György Bernády, Count István Lázár and Ödön Bethlen, both of the last two former prefects.

14 Béla György, ed., *Iratok a romániai Országos Magyar Párt történetéhez*, 413.

important role in their local or sub-regional communities and it was key for their entry into the leadership on the national level.

But we have some scattered evidence that the manifestations of personal continuity were quite natural on the local level as well. Here too one finds most of the prominent personalities before 1918, and in some cases even members of the parliament, or prefects. At the rally of the party in Sepsiszentgyörgy/Sfântu Gheorghe on September 4, 1937, the chairman proposed to mention some defunct members in the minutes, among them László László,[15] a lawyer with a degree from the Commercial Academy, who lived in Nagyiklód/Iclod, in the county of Szolnok-Doboka/Solnoc-Doboca, and between 1906 and 1910 represented this constituency in parliament. He was never a member of the highest bodies in the party, but as this proposal suggests, he certainly played an important role on the lower levels. Similarly, this can apply to Zoltán Ugron, a landowner from the county of Udvarhely/Odorhei, who was twice MP before 1918. Although he never became a prominent figure of the party on the national level, he was an active member on the local level and his proposals were well received by the party leadership. For example the Council of the Chairman dealt with one of his proposals – initially published in the newspaper *Székely Közélet* – on October 31, 1925.[16]

Considering that personal continuity was so strong and can be so easily demonstrated, it is hardly surprising, even taking into account the unquestionable shock of the change of sovereignty and the emigration of a considerable part of the middle class, that the same is true for the period after the Vienna Arbitrage in 1940. Moreover, this was true not only in terms of social composition (the new generation of the 1930s came from the same middle-class milieu), but in an amazingly lot of cases the organizers and leaders of the new political organization, the Transylvanian Party, had been active in public life even before 1918. Besides the list of MPs belonging to the party, we can scrutinize another source, the (incomplete) list of the participants of the foundation rally consisting of more then 430 names[17] ordered by county and municipality. We have reason to look at this source as equivalent to the roster of the local and regional political elite, because it seems that they were delegated according to the principle of regional representation, and the occupation and social standing of those members, who could be identified, suggest that they were holding prominent positions in the local or county public life.[18]

Comparing the list of the party MPs to the list of members of the leadership of the Hungarian party in Romania, we find an extensive correspondence with each other. From the initial 45 MPs after 1940, 27 were members of one of the leading bodies of the former Hungarian party; among them the former chairman, György Bethlen, and the general secretary, Gyula Deák. A considerable number of the new parliamentary representatives belonged to the new middle-class generation.

15 Béla György, ed., *Iratok a romániai Országos Magyar Párt történetéhez*, 375.

16 Béla György, ed., *Iratok a romániai Országos Magyar Párt történetéhez*, 242.

17 The list was published in the official newspaper of the party, *Ellenzék*, May 29, 1941.

18 For a more detailed analysis see: Gábor Egry, *Az erdélyiség színeváltozása. Kísérlet az Erdélyi Párt ideológiájának és identitáspolitikájának elemzésére* [Transfiguration of Transylvanism] (Budapest: Napvilág Kiadó, 2008).

We can point out as an example Imre Mikó, son of a judge from Kolozsvár/Cluj, who served as the head of office of the Hungarian People's Community, a corporatist organization integrated into the Front of National Salvation, the single political organization in Romania in the years of the so-called "royal dictatorship;" the aforementioned Dezső László, who was the son of a teacher of the renowned Székely Mikó College (highschool) and director of the Szekler National Museum in Sepsiszentgyörgy/Sfântu Gheorghe; Sándor Vita, an absolvent of the Commercial Academies of Budapest and Vienna, leader of the statistical section of *EMGE* (Hungarian Economic Society of Transylvania), who was the son of a lieutenant colonel;[19] and Dezső Albrecht, the son of Lajos Albrecht, a lawyer from Bánffyhunyad/Huedin, who himself was a lawyer, editor of the review *Hitel*, and secretary of one of the sections of the People's Community.[20]

Turning our attention to the register of the participants of the founding rally, which is supposedly a more complete list of the politically active elite than the list of the MPs, we can draw the same conclusions: the main feature here is continuity. Besides well known personalities who were not among the MPs – such as József Nyírő, the writer; Albert Maksay, professor of theology; the architect Károly Kós; József Geley, professor of biology and lay superintendent of the Unitarian church; and Alajos Boga, a Roman Catholic canon – we can find a significant number of delegates who had been active members of the higher leadership of the former Hungarian party and a small but not insignificant group of personalities who had played a role in public life even before 1918. To the first group belongs, for example, Count Kálmán Béldi Jr., chairman of EMKE, member of the executive committee of the Hungarian party, and chairman of its section in the county of Szilágy/Sălaj, who held these offices in the Transylvanian Party as well. Vilmos Kornhoffer could just as well have been one of the leaders of the local party section in the city of Szászrégen/Reghin, as was Dénes Molnár from Kézdivásárhely/Târgu Secuiesc, and József Tevely from Szatmárnémeti/Satu Mare.

An evident example for the existence of the second group is Count György Bethlen, an MP of the newly founded party, but we can identify the continuity with the political elite of the Dualist era on lower levels too. Zoltán Bölöni, an MP from the county of Szilágy/Sălaj in 1941, served as chairman of the Independence and 1848 Party in Zilah/Zălău in 1917–1918. Árpád Paál was chief county notary in Udvarhely/Odorhei County before 1918. Lajos Simó, chairman of the Transylvanian Party in the county of Szolnok-Doboka/Solnoc-Doboca, held the post of section leader of the Transylvanian Alliance in the constituency of Nagyilonda/Ileanda in 1917–1918. Miklós Czeglédy, chairman of the Independence and 1848 Party in Kovászna/Covasna and a member of the steering committee of the Transylvanian Alliance after 1914, became a delegate of the section of the Transylvanian Party in Nagyvárad/Oradea not only for the foundation rally, but for the executive committee of the new political organization as well. György Kaizler, a retired county prefect, was once again appointed to be prefect in the county of Szilágy/Sălaj, as in 1917. He would play a significant

19 Éva Záhony, ed., *Hitel – Kolozsvár 1935–1944* I. (Budapest: Bethlen Gábor Könyvkiadó, 1991), 58.

20 Éva Záhony, ed., *Hitel – Kolozsvár 1935–1944* I., 47–48.

role on the county level in the Transylvanian Party too, being a delegate of the section at the foundation rally. We can also mention Jenő Hye, a member of the leading council of the Transylvanian Party in the county of Szolnok-Doboka/ Solnoc-Doboca in 1941, who was a member of the alleged anti-suffrage league.

The sheer number of these examples can support the assumption of continuity, despite the fact that we lack a systematic and detailed analysis of this social phenomenon. It is clear that the public life of the Hungarian community in Transylvania was dominated by the educated middle class (and in a not insignificant proportion by the aristocracy) even before 1918. The same remained true after 1918, with some modification of the occupational structure of this elite, in the sense that being step by step excluded from the civil service, they had to turn to other professional careers.

In the case of the Transylvanian Party, we have the opportunity to analyze the social composition of a large group of delegates at the foundation rally. The representation was implemented according to the principle of regionalism. Every section in the counties and municipalities of Northern Transylvania was entitled to send delegates proportionally to the number of party members. Besides them, the leadership of every section became automatically part of the delegation. As for the distribution of the elected delegates, we can state that it reflects the districts of the counties. Although we lack the list of the elected delegates for some counties, and for almost one fourth of the delegates we have no indication of their profession, the remaining list with 323 names allows a formulation of some basic conclusions.

Table 1.
Occupational composition of the delegates at the foundation rally of the Transylvanian Party (delegates with known occupations only).

Occupational Category	**Number of Delegates**	**Percentage of Delegates (%)**
Ecclesiastics	68	21.0
Lawyers	51	15.7
Landowners	41	12.7
Craftsmen, Merchants	39	12.1
Public and Private Officials	22	6.8
Smallholders	20	6.2
Professors, University Lecturers	19	5.9
Factory Owners, Directors	13	4.0
Journalists, Writers, Newspaper Editors	12	3.7
Schoolmasters	11	3.4
Workers	11	3.4
Engineers, Architects, Medical Doctors	8	2.5
Others	9	2.8
Total*	**323**	**100.0**

*One person was priest and teacher simultaneously.

Sources: *Ellenzék,* 29 May 1941; Stefano Bottoni, *Az 1956-os forradalom és a romániai magyarság (1956-1959)* (*The 1956 Revolution and the Hungarians in Romania*) (Csíkszereda:

Pro Print Kiadó, 2006), and oral information from the late Mária Csorja, school teacher from Papolc/Păpăuţi.

It is unnecessary for this study to analyze this data in detail. Regarding the phenomenon of continuity the picture is quite clear, the overwhelming majority of the delegates belonged to the educated middle class (upper and lower) and the social elite (landowners, factory owners, etc.). The proportion of workers and smallholders was much below their share of the population, while the ecclesiastical personalities were clearly overrepresented. We can emphasize besides them the weight of the free professions. We can conclude that although the number and share of officials were low in the party, the leading role belonged to the middle class, which became largely engaged in the free professions during the interwar years. Taking into account this change, the social composition of the political elite remained the same as before 1918, despite the two decades of Romanian rule.

Institutional Continuity

The second dimension of the continuity in question is closely connected to its aspects related to personalities. If we speak about the political elite (in the sense that it is the group of persons who participates in decision making as members of bodies or who has significant influence on these, either formally or informally) we cannot disregard the role of institutions, especially in a minority society that resides within the power relations of another nation state. Institutions can have a relatively small weight regarding the personal composition of the elite in the framework of an ethnically homogenous state, because in this case the institutions of the political system do not legitimate their leaders directly. Although their influence on decisions mainly derives from their position in institutions, their role in them is connected to some kind of plebiscitary or electoral legitimation. For minority communities this is only valid with certain limitations. In a unitary nation state, without a state organized institutional framework or an autonomy anchored in public law exclusively for the minority, these structures have to be replaced to secure the uniform political direction corresponding to the legitimate national interest of the community. Taking into account that in national issues the minority is facing a constant majority in representative political bodies on the national level, and there is no other parallel structure, the decision making inside the community has to be realized in other institutions usually deprived of the necessary coercive force. Moreover, without the political apparatus of the state, destined to give an opportunity of representation and participation for every single citizen, minority politics is hardly able to reach every member of the community, which would be necessary for the regular practice of participational politics. Meanwhile, the minority needs at least a credible facade of the unitary will of all its members to get a chance to successfully promote their interests. They must draw their own borders and fill out this space with institutions that are able to secure the effective membership of every "national" and make effective the legitimacy of their leaders in the decision-making bodies.

The easiest way is to incorporate the leaders of all the significant "national" institutions into the decision-making bodies.[21] They have the necessary legitimation from the membership since the different societies represented by them are clearly inside the community. Sometimes they are even on the frontier defending the minority from the "outer world." Without the clearly defined borders of a nation state, these institutions begin to replace state agencies. They are substitutes, like the churches defending and maintaining the national language, the private or church-run schools securing the "right" national socialization, the agricultural societies and cooperatives holding or even extending the "national territory" with the help of financial institutions. Now these agencies themselves represent the very "nation" and their leaders and staff come self-evidently to be called up to share the burden of collective decision-making concerning the whole minority society. From the bottom-up they symbolize the consent of the members, whose confidence is delegated to them. In the opposite direction they are able to secure the execution of collective decisions, the "national will", with the means of their organizations.

The political party stood at the center of the whole community. It was not alone, but was the focal point. It represented the nationality towards the majority. It was its partner in political negotiations and mainly it was present in the public life of the majority. Other institutions with significant importance (churches, economic societies, cooperatives, financial institutions, cultural associations, professional organizations, etc.) were linked to it with personal ties. We saw earlier that smallholders, craftsmen, and merchants were present in the executive committee of the party as representatives of their respective social or professional brackets. But besides them we can find more members with important institutional backgrounds: Unitarian episcopal secretary (Kálmán Kovács), the Unitarian superintendent of the parish of Kolozsvár/Cluj (József Ferencz), a lay Lutheran superintendent (Aurél Ambrózy), the leader of the Catholic Popular Union in Nagyvárad/Oradea (Kálmán Cziffra), a Roman Catholic canon and episcopal commissioner (Joachim Görög), a member of the directorate of the Roman Catholic Status (László Szoboszlay), a Calvinist vice-bishop (Sándor Makkai), another Calvinist vice-bishop and chief notary (János Vásárhelyi), the chief attorney of the Calvinist Királyhágó/Pasul Craiului Church District (Kálmán Thury), Lay Calvinist superintendents of their diocese (János Sebessi, Andor Török), bank presidents (for example count Kálmán Béldi), the secretary of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce (Tibor Zima), the secretary of EMKE (József Sándor), president and vice-president of the Szekler National Museum in Sepsiszentgyörgy (respectively Andor Török and Jenő Nagy), and newspaper editors (Béla Szele, István Zágoni, Tibor Zima).[22] It was of symbolic importance, considering this organizational model, when György Bethlen, then chairman of the party, acquired the post of the president

21 Meanwhile, of course, there is a need for excluding the non-nationals from these institutions, either formally or informally, for example using the minority language in the inner administration, or to formulate unacceptable aims for them. See for example the Saxon cooperatives at the end of the 19th century. Gábor Egry, "Az erdélyi szász Raiffeisen-mozgalom kezdetei" [Beginnings of the Transylvanian Saxon Raiffeisen-movement] *AETAS* 19, no. 1. (2004): 100–131.

22 Béla György, ed., *Iratok a romániai Országos Magyar Párt történetéhez*

of *EMGE*, the largest Hungarian Transylvanian economic association and held it until 1936.

Almost every member of the party leadership had a special institutional background and therefore some influence on the affiliated social structures. The whole system rather closely resembled the corporatist organization of society. This ideological model, popular in the thirties, emphasized the unity of the community, tried to secure legitimate particular interests through the representation of social or professional organizations in collective decision-making, and aimed at the harmonization of these particular interests as subordinated to the national interests. At the end of the minority period, after the dissolution of the political parties, the Hungarian community of Romania was reorganized explicitly according to these ideas in the framework of the People's Community. Its sections were not only groups of lobbyists or policy-making workshops, but also mass organizations of the respective social groups with the participation of every member of the cluster.

One can argue that the main reason to choose this model was the pressure from outside. The Front of National Salvation was organized according to corporatist ideas, and the People's Community was built up inside the latter. But the elite from Northern Transylvania chose a similar model after the reestablishment of Hungarian sovereignty, although the pressure from outside ceased. The new sovereign state, despite certain efforts of the prime minister Count Pál Teleki, preserved its multi-party parliamentary system, inherited from the 19th century, while the Transylvanian Party tried to monopolize public political action in the newly annexed region, unmistakably using corporatist guidelines, rooted in the experience of the minority period or even before.

In the organization of the party this was relevant from the beginning. The first local organizations were built on the former Hungarian party structures, sometimes in cooperation with other institutions. For example the Organization of Hungarian Industrialists in Nagyvárad/Oradea formed one of the first local sections with the former minority party section.[23] The government and the prime minister himself allowed the formation of some regional institutions, like the Economic Council of the Transylvanian Parts (*Erdélyrészi Gazdasági Tanács*) and he also consented to a Szekler Committee.

Data on the social extraction of participants at the foundation rally of the Transylvanian Party not only suggest the dominance of the middle-class in the leadership on every level, but also makes plausible the hypothesis that the new political organization was based on the same principles as those of the former Hungarian parties. The scrutiny of the composition of the leading bodies (Executive Committee, Chairman's Committee) confirms this. Among the 16 members of the latter we can find Kálmán Szőcs, president of the Workers House in Szatmárnémeti/Satu Mare, an important institution which was a source of dispute between the National Center of Labor (a corporatist organization, close to the government) and the social democratic trade unions.

23 Árpád Kovács, "Dr. Kovács Árpád hozzászólása az erdélyi értekezleten", [Comments of Dr. Árpád Kovács on the Transylvanian conference] (Az 1940. október 18-19-én tartott erdélyi értekezlet jegyzőkönyve, 78 [Minutes of the meeting of the Transylvanian conference, 78. October 18–19, 1940] Kolozsvár, October 18–19, 1940). Copy of a typescript, in possesion of the author.

Szőcs's position came at the price of securing it for the former.[24] The party's general secretary, György Páll, was the organizer and leader of the National Center of Labor in Kolozsvár/Cluj. He tried to persuade the leaders of the social democratic trade unions (among them some communists, like Lajos Jordáky) to join his organization.[25] László Bethlen, another member of the Chairman's Committee, was the chairman of the Center of the Cooperatives. We can find in the Executive Committee three inspectors of the *EMGE*. Meanwhile Béla Teleki, the chairman himself, was the chairman of *EMGE* also.[26] Two chairmen of the craftsmen's association were members of the Executive Committee and eight of them (!) participated in the foundation rally, every one of them being an assumed member of the local leadership.

Even more pronounced were the links between the party and the press. Besides the official newspaper (its chief editor, Gyula Zathureczky, was a member of the Executive Committee), the party had certain influence on other important organs. The chief editor of the semi-official government newspaper *Keleti Újság* was József Nyírő, chairman of the Kolozsvár/Cluj section of the party and member of the Chairman's Committee.[27] In the case of two other newspapers from Kolozsvár/Cluj the situation was similar. Domokos Olajos (*Magyar Újság*) and Béla Demeter (*Estilap*) was either a member of the executive committee or at least a delegate at the foundation rally. The three press organs of Nagyvárad/Oradea were managed by Árpád Paál (MP, *Magyar Lapok*), Árpád Árvay (MP, *Estilap*), and Lajos Daróczy-Kiss (*Nagyvárad*) – who was one of the leaders of the party's section in the city and therefore member of the Executive Committee too. Albert Figus-Illinyi, another MP and member of the Chairman's Committee, ran the newspaper *Szamos* in Szatmárnémeti/Satu Mare. In Marosvásárhely/Tirgu Mures, two MPs, István Bíró and Olivér Szilágyi, organized the new newspaper *Székely Szó*.[28]

The story of *Hargita* in Székelyudvarhely/Odorheiu Secuiesc appears to be symptomatic. This journal was edited by Ákos Hinléder-Fels, and printed in the printing press of Gábor Jodál. Both were MPs of the party, but later they became dissidents. The local leadership tried to reorganize the loyal press. One of the owners of *Hargita* was *EMGE*. With its help Hinléder was dismissed and temporarily replaced by Zoltán Szakács, a member of the upper house of parliament, inspector of the *EMGE* section, and secretary of the party in the county. After a short transitional period his responsibilities were taken over by Lajos Bíró, the chairman of the party in Székelyudvarhely/Odorheiu Secuiesc.

Outside the circle of the daily newspapers the influence of the party was less strong. While more than 70% of them can be linked to the party, only a

24 Dániel Csatári, *Forgószélben. A magyar-román viszony 1940–1945* [The Hungarian-Romanian relations in 1940–1945] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1968).

25 Lajos Jordáky, *Jordáky Lajos naplója* [Lajos Jordáky's journal] 3 k. 162, 167, 170; Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület (EME) Kézirattár, Kolozsvár, Jordáky Lajos hagyatéka, I, 2.

26 Four EMGE inspectors participated on the founding rally, all of them as members of the leadership of different county sections.

27 He later became member of the parliament too.

28 The story is pictured in Bözödi György's journal (altough this part is seemingly a memoir): *Bözödi György naplója. Bözödi György hagyatéka*. [The journal of György Bözödi. Nachlass of György Bözödi] EME Manuscript Collection, Cluj, I, 5. 1 k. 1–20.

third of the weekly papers were directly connected to it. The ratio is even lower for other categories, yet still in the case of church papers, those of professional association, or the official county bulletins, the institutions publishing them stood very close to the party.

The support and symbiotic relationship between the party and other institutions was manifested not only in the participation of members and leaders – the latter in the life of the former – but in their explicit support offered in crisis situations. The most important event was the rally of the party on September 12, 1943. Originally this event was designed to announce some special Transylvanian demands on the government, such as establishing a Transylvanian radio, a Transylvanian Academy of Sciences, maybe a Transylvanian workers' organization in place of the National Center of Labor.[29] The party section of Kolozsvár/Cluj made preliminary public readings and outstanding public figures argued in favor of the radio and the Academy. But the rapid change of the international situation following the armistice of Italy generated a critical situation. The party had to demonstrate its unity and let fall its new demands. Instead the rally became a tour de force of the Transylvanian Hungarians, where everyone important was present. We can find among the participants, besides the parliamentary representatives, and Jenő Szinnyei-Merse, the minister of Cults and Public Instruction, important public officials (two prefects, the mayor of Kolozsvár/Cluj, one vice-prefect, the chief of the Transylvanian Agency of the Ministry of Agriculture, the head of the Section for Transylvanian Estate Policy, a ministerial counselor from the Prime Minister's Office), the most important judges and the chief-attorney, the rector and the professorate from the university, the managing vice-chairman of the *EMGE*, etc. The churches were represented at the highest level. Those present were Miklós Józan, Unitarian bishop, Sándor Tavaszy, the Calvinist vice-bishop, Imre Sándor, an episcopal vicar, Béla Baráth, canon and, dean of Kolozsvár/Cluj, Andor Járossy, Lutheran dean, and János Abrudbányai Fikker, dean of Unitarian Theology, suggesting that their institutions were behind the party in this grave situation. Besides them we cannot underestimate the symbolic importance of Áron Tamási, who even gave a talk at the rally.[30]

The Transylvanian Party, now as a majority party, was organized like the Hungarian party of the interwar period. It was in the center of the national society, enjoying the support of the most important social structures as well. Moreover, it built up a symbiotic existence with them. The party became the organizational agency of the whole society and it had the necessary tools and authority to enforce its norms and ideology. The institutional continuity with the former system is clear. But as in the case of the personal continuity, the roots reach farther back, before the First World War.

29 *Jordáky Lajos naplója vol. 5.* 193; EME EME Manuscript Collection, Cluj, Jordáky Nachlass, I, 2.

30 "A nagyválasztmányi ülés résztvevői", [The list of participants of the rally] *Ellenzék*, September 13, 1943, 5; Tamási was accepted even by the leftist opposition and the illegal communists too. Therefore his part was considered as the sign of some political overture towards the political left. See Dániel Csatári, *Forgószélben*.

The Transylvanian Alliance (*Erdélyi Szövetség*) was founded on December 7, 1913, and its program was adopted on June 7, 1914.[31] The aim of this organization was to promote Transylvanian interests despite obvious political conflicts. Originally it was designed as a framework, which could integrate every politician and prominent personality of the province, but finally it changed into the gathering of politicians from the Independence Party, and those in favor of the compromise of 1867, but outside the Party of National Labor. The most prominent member was István Bethlen, this time recognized as being "the" major Transylvanian politician besides Gábor Ugron, the *spiritus movens*, and István Apáthy, biologist and professor at the University. Apáthy began his political career as a member of Dezső Bánffy's New Party, later he switched to the Independence Party and led its organization in Kolozsvár/Cluj. Although being a politician from the left side of the political spectrum of that era, he was accepted and recognized in large sectors of Transylvanian society as an internationally renowned scholar and organizer of the Hungarians in Transylvania.

Despite the fact that the Alliance was very close to the political opposition of the Tisza government (from the originally 114 members of the Alliance, 26 can be identified as active members of these parties either at the parliamentary or local level, among them 16 were MPs), they never gave up their claim to represent the whole Hungarian community of Transylvania, and to concentrate the different political forces inside this framework. Besides, they proposed a close cooperation with other institutions. Originally the founders wanted to define their organization as the political organ of *EMKE* (Transylvanian Hungarian Cultural Association), but after some internal dispute they modified their conception, adopted a softer formulation, and stated that the Alliance wanted to take part efficiently in the activities of *EMKE* and that they supported *EME* (Transylvanian Museum Society) with their full strength.

The outbreak of the First World War left no opportunity for the Alliance to proceed with its proposals and plans, its activities came to a standstill until the fall of the Party of Labor government. The political turn, and the nomination of governments with the parliamentary support of the Independence and Constitutional Parties totally changed the political landscape. The new governments nominated new prefects and the former oppositional politicians became the best lobbyists because of their strong ties to their party leadership in Budapest. The Alliance renewed its activity on f September 30, 1917, when the program was revised and some new members were also co-opted.

The perspectives of the Transylvanian Alliance appeared to be bright from that point onward. Although there was an internal division regarding the problem of general suffrage, they got the chance to carry out other aspects of their program with the help of the new ministers and prefects. The first sign of the new opportunities was the participation, at the sitting of September 30, 1917, of two ministers (Albert Apponyi, Minister of Cults and Public Instruction, and Béla Földes, Minister of Economic Transition) and two

31 Nándor Bárdi, "Az erdélyi magyar (és regionális) érdekek megjelenítése az 1910-es években. Az Erdélyi Szövetség programváltozatai" [Promotion of the Transylvanian Hungarian (and regional) interests in the 1910s. Program versions of the Transylvanian Alliance], *Magyar Kisebbség* 8, no. 2–3 (2003): 93–105.

prefects as delegates of the Ministers of Agriculture and Internal Affairs.[32] Their presence, especially that of Apponyi's, suggested the support of the government. Equally important was the fact that the new prefects were co-opted into the steering committee.[33] As the process of the organization rolled forward, it became obvious that the system was deliberately based on the local and county organizations of the Independence Party.[34] The boards of the Alliance on the county level were filled with politicians, public officials, and clergymen from the respective counties.[35] As well as on the highest level, in the steering committee, and on the local level, the Alliance set the precedent on how to promote Transylvanian interests in a unitary state.

Among members of the steering committee, besides the aforementioned politicians and prefects, we can find county public officials, officials of chambers of industry and commerce, editors of newspapers (like István Zágoni or Vilmos Sümegi), as well as local officials of EMKE, secondary school teachers, university professors, the head of the Office of the Association of Hungarian Industrialists (Ödön Hirsch), and clergymen. In 1914, the participation of the latter was mainly limited to Catholics, but after 1917 the Alliance took up important personalities from the Calvinist and the Unitarian church. Samu Barabás, Calvinist dean, was a well-known figure in Kolozsvár/Cluj, György Boros, professor of Unitarian Theology, was notary-in-chief of the Church and later became bishop. The Catholic contingent consisted of László Zombori, teacher at the Marianum Gymansium in Kolozsvár/Cluj and section-chief of the Roman Catholic Status, Károly Rasch, co-founder and chairman of the Transylvanian Roman Catholic Society of Literature, József Hirschler, founder of the Marianum and the Providentia press, Gerő Fejér, canon, referent of the Roman Catholic Status and member of the National Council of Public Instruction, and Lukács Bárány, canon, member of the Status, Armenian rite dean of Szamosújvár/Gherla.[36]

32 Minutes of the meeting of the Transylvanian Alliance. September 30, 1917. OSZK Kézirattár, Quart. Hung 2456.

33 Gábor Ugron's letter to Apáthy on November 16, 1917. OSZK Manuscript Collection, Quart. Hung. 2456.

34 Minutes of the meeting on November 21, 1917, OSZK Manuscript Collection, Quart. Hung. 2456; Elemér Gyárfás to István Apáthy on January 22, 1918; January 29, 1918. OSZK Manuscript Collection, Quart. Hung. 2456; Zoltán Bölöni to Apáthy on April 6, 1918; Minutes of the meeting of the Board of the Independence and '48er Party of the County of Szilágy OSZK Kézirattár, Quart. Hung. 2456.

35 The chairman in the Magyarlápos/Târgu Lăpuş constituency (Szolnok-Doboka/Solnoc-Doboca county) was Ádám Huszár Roman Catholic priest. László Lázár to Apáthy on March 22, 1918. OSZK Kézirattár, Quart. Hung 2456; Even more revealing is the case of the constituency board of Sepsiszentgyörgy/Sfântu Gheorghe. Participants at a preliminary meeting on the 4th of August 1918 were Károly Székely, Roman Catholic dean, Jenő Hinléder, county chief-attorney, Áron Ütő, chairman of the orphan's court, Pál Gábor, chief-constable, Gábor Kovásznay, vice-mayor. Árpád Király to Apáthy on August 5, 1918. OSZK Kézirattár, Quart. Hung. 2456.

36 The members in 1914 and in 1917 are listed by Apáthy's handwriting in a booklet with the title: *Az Erdélyi Szövetségnek 1914. június 7-én Marosvásárhelyt megalapított szervezete, munkaterve és megválasztott vezetőtanácsa* [The organization, work plan and elected steering committee of the Transylvanian Union, as defined on 7 June 1914] (Kolozsvár: Gombos Lyceum Nyomda, 1917) OSZK Manuscript Collection, Quart. Hung. 2456.

Many members of the Alliance, as it was illustrated before, later became important figures in the Hungarian party in the interwar period.

One additional point of this organizational model, which remained implemented until 1944 remains still to be emphasized; the importance of the position of negotiators. As the community defined itself as a single entity, blocking all internal debate, even demonizing it as mere "party politics" contrary to the unitary national interest, they needed to present this interest or will in an as concentrated form as possible. Moreover, this community was a minority even before 1918 in the sense of having little influence on decision-makers in the centers of political power, while – paradoxically – their only chance of success in realizing their aims, conceptualized as "national interest" was to secure the support of the former. The presence of government ministers, or at least their delegates at various events was seen as a sign of this support. Among these circumstances, the key persons became those who were able to command the necessary networks to mobilize decision-makers, or were at least acceptable for them as negotiation partners.[37]

It is possible to identify one striking similarity between the Hungarian organizations of the minority period and those of Hungarian sovereignty. One could suppose that under foreign rule, politics were oriented toward getting concessions in matters of nationality, while under Hungarian rule regional politicians mainly lobbied for the support of local development. This assumption proves though to be somewhat misleading, not only because the regional development was connected to the national supremacy and therefore to the nationality politics, but the Transylvanian Party, just as the Transylvanian Alliance, declared that they only had the exclusive recipe for successful nationality politics. Thus we can state that they lobbied for concessions regarding regional nationality politics from Budapest and Bucharest similarly, aimed at the realization of their national program that was clearly different from the program of the power centers of the respective states.

Ideological Continuity

As institutional continuity was tied to continuity of personalities, ideological continuity was inseparable from both. These continuities were not simply existing, nor was their existence simply accepted by participants of public life, but rather they were supported by a coherent ideology prescribing this model as the only imaginable form of community organization in Transylvania. Although I will analyze this ideology later, as a part of the

37 Besides these Hungarian organizations we can point out the Saxons as an example for this model even from 1890. See Gábor Egry, "Az erdélyi szászok pénzintézeti rendszere és a nemzeti mozgalom kapcsolata a 19. században. 1835–1914" [The financial system of the Transylvanian Saxons and its reltionship to the national movement in the 19th century. 1835–1944] (PhD dissertation, ELTE, Budapest, 2006.); Gábor Egry, "Nemzeti védgát vagy szolid haszonszerzés? Az erdélyi szászok pénzintézeti rendszere és a nemzet mozgalom kapcslata, 1835–1914" [National dike or a moderate drive for profit? The financial system of the Transylvanian Saxons and its relationship to the national movement, 1835–1914] (Csíkszereda: Pro Print, forthcoming).

identity politics of the Transylvanian Party, some important elements of it must be stressed already at this stage.

As we saw earlier, the core idea of this ideology was the national unity. Its necessity was supported by the defensive (one could call it paranoid) perception of the Hungarian-Romanian relations in Transylvania. The program of the Transylvanian Alliance chose as its starting point the defenselessness of Transylvanian Hungarians against a Romanian military threat. They also argued that the electoral system was discriminating against Hungarians, granting Romanians a two or threefold weight in some constituencies through the reduction of the number of electors for one representative in comparison to the "Hungarian" constituencies. Moreover, they stressed that the Romanians were underdeveloped in matters economic and intellectual as compared to the Hungarians. Therefore they urged the introduction of universal suffrage with a slight bias in favor of the urban population (who were mainly Hungarians at that time). In one of the points of the program, they mentioned a Transylvanian organization of self-defense (it would have been the Transylvanian Alliance and some other organizations connected to it), and demanded that people should be integrated into it. They also proposed to use the state as a tool of Hungarian national politics, offering state aid for the reversal of the redistribution process of landed property and to provide for the upbringing of schoolchildren in a "national spirit." In 1917, after the military aggression by Romania, they urged for the installation of special administrative units along the borders, the foundation of an autonomous Greek Catholic Church for Hungarians, the nationalization of the school network of the Romanian Churches with a kind of "cultural zone organization", colonization efforts to make a "population bridge" between the Szeklerland and the Partium, and several other discriminative regulations.[38]

Ironically enough, these demands were regularly mirrored by the Romanian nationality politics in the interwar era, but it did not modify substantially the core ideas proposed by the Hungarian parties. What remained of the ideological stock of the Hungarian parties was the conflictual perception of the relationship of the two national communities the need for a unitary organization of the nation, the implementation of this unity via the possible elimination of social differences (or at least their subordination to the national interest), the perception of the state as a tool to realize the objectives of one of the nations, the difference from the center of the state, and the emphasis of specific regional interests and the need of policies of their own. Together they supported the organizational model of the national minority, showing it as a necessity, an inevitable development. On the other hand the continuity in terms of personalities guaranteed the authenticity of both the ideology and the institutional system. The idea of Transylvanism integrated all these elements well before the First World War[39] and stressed them even against Budapest. Its

38 Bárdi, "Az erdélyi magyar (és regionális) érdekek megjelenitése."

39 Zsolt K. Lengyel, "Kós Károly és a Kalotaszeg" 1912 [Károly Kós and the Kalotaszeg], in *A kompromisszum keresése. Tanulmányok a 20. századi transzilvanizmus korai történetéhez* [In search of compromise. Studies on the early history of the 20th century transylvanism] (Csíkszereda, Pro Print, 2007), 33–72.

classical tenet was based on the idea of the regional autonomy of Transylvania and on the drawing of clear borders between national communities, but portrayed it as a kind of democratic coexistence. After August 30, 1940, the Transylvanist idea did not lose its validity and although its redefinition was inevitable, it was meant to be possible with the preservation of its substance.

Ideology and Identity

As an organization integrating the most important social agencies in Northern Transylvania, supported by a "non-aggression pact" with the government party (Pál Teleki and his successors agreed not to extend their party organization into Northern Transylvania in exchange for a coalition and later alliance with the Transylvanian Party), having a significant influence on the press and the public, and maintaining a symbiotic coexistence with the churches (most of the leaders of local sections were actually priests[40]), the Hungarian party was capable of pursuing an effective identity politics. It was able to present and promote the self-definition of the Hungarian community in Northern Transylvania as generally accepted by the very members of the community. In the public space the content of this self-definition was mainly homogeneous, identical in every similar situation and for everybody. Through the norms involved in the definition of the "others" and in the perception of the relationship between the "we" and "them", the party was able to regulate the interactions as well. Everybody knew how to behave in the given situations, among themselves or in meeting with members of the adjacent entities.

It is very important to stress that this self-definition applied only to Hungarians in Northern Transylvania. The party considered this community as its point of reference and acted not only as its representative, but also as the community itself. Ideologically, identity politics was based on Transylvanism as a traditional form of identity remaining prevalent in the new circumstances as well, even against the idea of national unity.

Self-Definition: The National Mission

The self-definition of the Transylvanian Hungarians was intended to express the difference of this community in respect to the Hungarians from the "Motherland", and to other "visible outgroups" – Romanians and Jews. The most relevant and specific relation among the three was the one relating to the Hungarians at large because this was somewhat in conflict with the Hungarian national idea, which was the very basis of the territorial revision. Therefore this conflictual situation had to be resolved, and the two identities (Hungarian and Transylvanian Hungarian) had to be harmonized by the implementation of both the differences and unity. The first step was the adequate interpretation of history.

The earlier Transylvanism had its own historical interpretation in line with the traditional romantic national history. The separate existence of two states after the mid-16th century, Transylvania and the Kingdom of Hungary, led to a special interpretation even at the beginning of the 19th century. From

40 See Gábor Egry, *Az erdélyiség színeváltozása* [Transfiguration of Transylvanism].

the perspective of the national history, Transylvania became the guardian of the Hungarian nation and Hungarian culture, while it was, according to this historical perception suppressed in the Hungarian Kingdom by the Habsburgs. Transylvania was conceptualized as a mythic place, where tolerance secured the existence of the Hungarians and where the idea of an independent Hungarian state was kept alive for 150 years. For many, it became the Hungarian state par excellence.[41]

Transylvanism was able to capitalize from these dialectically separated and united histories.[42] The small Hungarian community was portrayed as the keeper of the nation and the promoter of the national culture and language in an era when these were driven back in other parts of the Carpathian Basin. They formed their own pantheon with historical figures like Gábor Bethlen, János Apáczai Csere, Péter Bod, Mikós Misztótfalusi Kiss, and Miklós Wesselényi, etc., which was later integrated into the larger, national pantheon. They offered even what was needed: a regional history recognized as the main part of the all-national one, this way producing difference and unity.

The party and its politicians tried to exploit this traditional historical interpretation from the beginning. The above-mentioned leading article in the newspaper *Ellenzék*, on the occasion of the foundation rally, stated that the spirit of Miklós Wesselényi was present at this event. Furthermore, it referred to the so-called "guardians of Transylvania" to portray the historical context (an allusion in itself, because György Rákóczi I was presented by his contemporaries as the "guardian prince with the Bible"): the Rákóczis, the Wesselényis, the Gábor Bethlens (*sic!*), the Telekis, the Péter Bods, the János [Apáczai] Cserys (*sic!*) were often lumped together in this historical representation of local cultural heroes of the past.[43] Besides them, the party chose as its principal symbol king Saint Ladislau,[44] "the knight king", who triumphed over the Cumans at Kerlés/Chiraleş in Transylvania and who was a popular holy figure in the region, frequently shown on wall paintings with his legend in churches (he was actually buried in Nagyvárad/Oradea, one of the principal cities of Partium, the border region adjacent to Transylvania).

More important for the self-definition of Transylvanian Hungarians was the interpretation of the minority period, the two decades between 1918 and 1940. This was, contrary to the "grand history", a personal experience for all the different Hungarian communities of separate existence. It was almost impossible to present the different social realities as part of some unitary historical scheme. The situation was worsened by the conflicts between the

41 Revealing is the story of Mihály Táncsics's journey in 1830. Táncsics, who was socialized in accordance with this national history, thought that only Hungarians are living in Transylvania and as he reached the peak of the Királyhágó/Pasul Craiului he saw only the mythic and sublime country before himself.

42 See for example Sándor Makkai, "Bethlen Gábor lelki arca" [Gábor Bethlen's spiritual face], in *Egyedül* [Alone] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Szépmíves Céh, without year), 1–75.

43 "The great program", *Ellenzék,* May 29, 1941.

44 Dezső Albrecht, "Az Erdélyi Párt Szent László nevével és gondolatával indul el útjára!" [The Transylvanian Party begins its journey with St. László's name and spirit], in *Erdélyi szellem – magyar lélek,* 15–17. Szent László was the horsed figure pictured in the coat of arms of the party.

public officials coming or returning from the "Motherland" and those living in Northern Transylvania even before the Vienna Arbitrage. The differences were too obvious and the existence of a separate, monopolistic political organization in the region had a strong relevance in this context.[45]

The solution was simple: what was impossible in the present should become possible in the future. The minority period was interpreted as a great social transformation, similar to those experienced by the Italian and German societies,[46] and its result was a new, united community, not divided by social conflicts. The leaders of the party used every opportunity to stress that the social differences were eliminated by the common destiny, the common suffering. The Transylvanian Hungarians no longer used those socially distinctive titles and status symbols common in Hungary, and they cared for every Hungarian, be it a simple smallholder or worker, and not only for the well-being of the middle class. In their perception they produced a harmonious society, in which every legitimate interest was promoted as far as it did not enter into conflict with the unitary national interest.[47]

This was a markedly anti-liberal, anti-individualist, and communitarian view. The social history of the whole minority period was presented as exactly the opposite of that of the "liberal" Dualist era. Authors like Dezső László argued that the politicians before 1918 neglected the real social problems, had an unfounded belief in the assimilation of the national minorities, and therefore they let these groups build up their own societies while the Hungarians failed to achieve the same, concentrating instead on the central state and the occupation of public offices. László concluded that from the two "leverages" of the nation, the Hungarians only had one, the state, which remained without a solid base, conducive to the disorders and revolutions in 1918–1919. But the minority communities were forced to build up their own societies without the state, realizing a social revolution of sorts by the same token.[48] Now, returning to the "Motherland" and being again equipped with the tools of the state, they could accomplish the real national existence. Although this had to do with the whole nation, the Transylvanians were the forerunners of this indispensable transformation, which was lagging behind in Hungary proper. Their mission was to lead this transformation. Since they suffered for the salvation of the whole nation, they had to present their model for the remaining constituents of the nation, but in this situation they could

45 Dezső László, "*Miért van szükség az Erdélyi Pártra?.*"

46 Some authors emphasized this similarity as far as pointing out that in the German and Italian cases the transformation started from the countryside as an opposition to the cosmopolitan capital cities, and considered Transylvania as a similar countryside related to Budapest.

47 Béla Teleki, Dezső László.

48 Imre Mikó called it "revolution without revolution." See Mikó Imre, "Erdélyi politika", in Éva Záhony, ed., *Hitel - Kolozsvár 1935–1944.*

not be subjected by the center. They have to exist separately until the transformation is completed in the rest of Hungary proper.[49]

The ideologists of the party postulated the so-called Transylvanian characteristics differentiating the members of this community from other Hungarians: sense of duty, readiness to take responsibility, and sacrifice. These were closely connected to the so-called "serving the people" ideology of the thirties, formulated by the Calvinist theologians Lajos Imre and Sándor Tavaszy. Even the chairman of the party thought it important enough to be mentioned in his speech when he accepted his election. According to him the Hungarian intelligence in Transylvania is destined to serve the whole community where their destiny placed them. They must return from the cities to the countryside after completing their education and become the leaders of their communities. The state must help them in this task and give them the opportunity of achieving promotion.[50]

At the meeting of the board of the party in Nagyvárad/Oradea in March of 1943, Teleki once again emphasized these characteristics, clearly with the aim of making them accepted by all. He stated that the "Hungarian idea" represented by the Transylvanian Party is nothing more then the readiness for sacrifice and taking responsibility.[51] Another leading member, Dezső Albrecht, declared that the liberal-democratic state had outlived its time, it had to be replaced by the totalitarian state based on the responsibility of individuals.[52] This was the draft of a new hierarchy of moral values. Individual liberty and equality were subjected to the duty of accomplishment for the community. Sacrifice for the community and duty became the new horizon of morality. Members had to place them before the classical liberal values. This was regarded as the very model of national behavior.[53] Dezső László went even further when he wrote an article with the title "Against Equality."[54] He stated that instead of the balancing of rights and duties (which he declared as "Jewish") everybody had to do more for the community than it would result from the doctrine of equal duties. Individual success is possible only through the success of the community, and for this success the principle of equal rights must be undone and replaced by that of unequal duties. Those, who are capable of doing more than the others, are obliged to do it.

This part of the self-definition was consistent with the other elements of the Transylvanist ideology. As the Transylvanian politicians pictured their regional community as illustrating these characteristics, they distinguished it from the other sectors of the nation. At the same time they placed the

49 Dezső László, "Miért van szükség az Erdélyi Pártra?" Sometimes this was explicitly formulated as a theologically based interpretation; the story of salvation. See Sándor Tavaszy: "Isten tette nemzetünk életében" [Deeds of the Lord in the life of our nation], *Az Út (The Road)* XXII, no. 9 (1940): 220–226.

50 Béla Teleki, "Új magyar élet felé", [Towards a new Hungarian life] *Ellenzék*, May 29, 1941.

51 Béla Teleki, "Áldozatkészség és felelősségvállalás."

52 Dezső Albrecht, "*A jobb magyar jövendő*" [Better Hungarian future], *Ellenzék*, January 23, 1943.

53 Dezső László, Korszerű magyarság.

54 Dezső László, "Az egyenlőség ellen", [Against equality] *Ellenzék*, October 3, 1942.

Hungarians of Transylvania higher in the new moral hierarchy, as a communitarian people of sorts without social conflict and capable of realizing the new social order. This new society was imagined as comparable to the models set by the Nazi conception of the "New Europe", but not identical to them. It was rather a special Hungarian pattern of an organic and somewhat corporatist community of which the Transylvanians were featured as the pioneers.

This ideological construction gave rise to a quite special relationship between Hungary proper and Transylvania. Although in theory Transylvania was considered as part of the same and unitary nation, the Transylvanian Party proposed a special identification based on the differences. According to the traditional view Transylvania was the periphery of the nation and Budapest its center. But the ideologists of the party turned this upside down. In their view the Transylvanians stood morally higher; they were in charge of a special mission, they were pioneers of an inevitable social transformation, and besides forerunners in the defense of the nation against its archenemies the Romanians. They had to be supported by the Hungarians of the "Motherland" without any demand for reciprocity. Moreover, the "other" Hungarians had to accept the new social order proposed by the Transylvanians and accommodate themselves to it. The new Transylvania and its Hungarian society again became the figure of the present and the future of the nation as it once had been – according to the traditional historical interpretation – in the 16th and 17th centuries.

"Them": Romanians and Jews

The Transylvanian Party used two communities in its discourse of identity politics as relevant outgroups to be distinguished from their own group: the Romanians and the Jews. The relationship to the former was traditionally part of the self-identification of the Hungarian community in Transylvania, but the later emerged to this status only a few decades earlier, in the disorder of the collapse of the Dual Monarchy. Therefore the perception of Hungarian-Romanian coexistence had a traditional core, which was renewed and brought into accordance with the experiences of the minority era, while the so-called "Jewish question" was conceptualized in the terms borrowed both from contemporary Hungary and the Romanian majority, this even before the change of sovereignty.

The major change of view regarding the Romanians was the acknowledgement of their social transformation. The Hungarian elite was ready to praise the extent of the social mobility, the strengthening of the middle-class, the rapid improvement of literacy rates, and the transformation of peasant strata endowed with considerable landed property.[55] But they saw in it the imminent danger of losing their own social positions. Therefore, although they considered the change of the Romanian community as a model, they conceptualized this relationship as a permanent conflict. The reaction of the younger generations of the Hungarian elite, which was aware of the new situation, consisted in the demand to draw a clear border between the two

55 László Ravasz: "Erdély" [Transylvania], in Magyar Szemle, XXXIX, no. 4 (158) (October 1940): 225–230.

communities. Its radicalism marked its proponents off from the perception of the older generations, whose socialization was based on the paternalist view of the Hungarian landlords to their Romanian peasants.

A very interesting debate between Pál Teleki and Árpád Paál, at the so-called Transylvanian Conference in Kolozsvár on the 18th and 19th of October 1940, expressed these two perspectives. The present prime minister gave voice to his views that the key point of the solution of the "Romanian question" would be provided via the public official, speaking Romanian. It is a part of gentlemanlike behavior to address someone in his native language – reasoned Teleki. Therefore it is necessary to make the Romanian language a compulsory subject in the secondary schools in Transylvania. The authority of István Bethlen and László Ravasz backed this proposal. Everybody seemed to agree with them, only Paál ventured to argue with the prime minister, and – surprisingly enough – his speech was followed by general approval. Paál stated that learning the Romanian language was not only unnecessary, but even harmful, because the process of learning a language of lesser value distorts the brain, and is conducive to the "denationalization" of the Hungarian youth.[56]

The episode reveals not only the differences of perception, but a kind of "double speak", which was typical in the rhetoric of the Transylvanian Party. They stressed at every opportunity that in contrast to the mistaken nationality politics of the Dualist era, the party had no intention to pursue the assimilation of the Romanians. Quite to the contrary, they were ready to guarantee their rights regarding the official use of their language, the public instruction system, and the preservation of their folk characteristics. But all this was made dependent upon two conditions: the similar treatment of Hungarians in Southern Transylvania and the recognition of the so-called Hungarian idea of statehood (*magyar állameszme*). The former proposal was clear, it meant the acknowledgment of the policy of reciprocity, that is, retribution against the Romanians in the northern part of the region when the Romanian government acted against the Hungarians in the South. But the latter proposal relating to statehood was something amorphous and very hard to convey to outsiders.

Its core element was the historic destiny of the Hungarians based on their allegedly unique capacity to form a unitary state in the Carpathian Basin. According to this ideological conception it was the task of the Hungarians to make this state live and to guide the other nationalities towards its acceptance. It was a recurring idea echoed by Béla Teleki, Gábor Tusa, and the nationality politicians of the party, Imre Mikó and Artúr Balogh, on various occasions.[57] A somewhat popular version can be identified in the remark of Gábor Ugron, district secretary of the party, made at a meeting with the MPs György Váró and Kálmán Kiss in Székelyhidegkút/Vidacutul Roman on the eve of October 1942. Ugron told the audience (mainly Romanians) that: "the Hungarians were

56 *Minutes of the meeting of the Transylvanian Conference*. Copy of a typescript, in possession of the author.

57 *Erdély a magyar képviselőházban* I [Transylvania in the Hungarian House of Representatives] 11, 13, 99–100; *Képviselőházi Napló*, XVI, 16; Gábor Tusa, *A magyar alkotmány továbbfejlesztése. Választójogi reform és a miniszterelnöki hatáskör kiszélesítése* [Improvement of the Hungarian Constitution. Franchise reform and enlargement of the prime minister's competence] (Kolozsvár: 1940), 7–10.

the ruling race in the Carpathian Basin for a thousand years and they will remain so, without suppressing the other nationalities."[58] Baron Antal Braunecker pointed out another dimension of the Hungarian superiority when he stated in a parliamentary debate that the Romanians would never know law and order without the Hungarians.[59]

The idea of this historical mission presupposed the unity of the state, so that the Hungarian politicians, among them members of the Transylvanian Party, demanded more from the national minorities than the simple loyalty of the citizens, that is, acceptance of the legal system and the authority of the state. They denied, albeit implicitly, the legitimacy of any autonomist national politics and limited the issue to the recognition of basic language rights and unbiased public services.[60] Everything else was treated as a matter of disloyalty, sometimes even as treachery. In some cases this conception was connected to the patriarchal view of national minorities. For example, Imre Mikó wrote in an article that the Romanians misused the liberty that they had been granted by the Hungarians.[61] The formulation suggests that in this case Mikó treated civic liberties as a kind of property of the ruling Hungarians and not as an irrevocable right of birth by every citizen.

The perception of the relationship between Hungarians and Romanians was, to be sure, conflictual, therefore the Transylvanian Party urged the Hungarian government to use the state for strengthening the Hungarian establishment in Transylvania. They demanded an active policy of development in the overwhelmingly ethnic Hungarian region of the Szeklerland and financial support for the so-called diaspora communities, and outlined different plans for further colonization. These renewed the idea of the necessity of an ethnic bridge between the Partium and the Szeklerland, but as to its realization, besides the population surplus of the Szekler counties, they also counted on the immigration of the Hungarian population from Bukovina.

We can conclude that the most important elements of this Transylvanist ideology consisted in the conflictual perception of the relationship and the asymmetrical view of the two communities. Either from a traditional paternalist or from a modern (racial) biological perspective, the Romanians were seen as inferior to the Hungarians, even when their great social advancement, accomplished in the interwar period, was recognized. The doctrine of "Hungarian destiny" equaled, in practice, a significant limitation of minority rights. Hence behind the facade of a tolerant minority policy there was a supremacist one. The Hungarians (in fact a minority in the province) felt it justified using the "common" state as a national state of their own. Meanwhile the denial of the legitimacy of an autonomist program for Romanians meant that the oft mentioned guarantee of the preservation of the ethnic characteristics of the minorities boiled down to the permission to keep their folklore traits. A

58 "Váró György és Kiss Kálmán együttes beszámoló körútja", [Report of György Váró and Kálmán Kiss] *Ellenzék*, no. 226 (October 7 1942), 2.

59 *Képviselőházi Napló*, X, 37 and *Erdély a magyar képviselőházban*, I, 69.

60 See Artúr Balogh's speech in *Erdély a magyar képviselőházban* 99–100.

61 Imre Mikó, "Erdély és a nemzetiségi kérdés II", [Transylvania and the nationality question] *Ellenzék,* December 24, 1942.

merely rural existence was considered as their predestined place besides the "knightly Hungarians", destined to rule.

In contrast to the Romanians, the Jews were relatively new among those regarded as a significant outgroup. Besides the dissimilationist politics imposed by the Romanian state on Jews with a significant Hungarian cultural inheritance after 1918, anti-Semitism had its own specific roots both in Hungary and in Transylvania itself. But the Hungarian-Jewish relationship lacked the traditional established pattern characterizing the Romanian-Hungarian relationship. Therefore the main ideological schemes were simply taken over in this respect from the anti-Semitic drive currently implemented both in Hungary and Romania. For example, a Catholic review in Brassó/Brasov published a study by Béla Bangha even in early 1920. In this characteristic piece, the well-known conservative Jesuit voiced his view that cosmopolitans, Freemasons, and Jews were responsible for the collapse of Hungary.

After a short period of respite, the economic and social crisis of the thirties, and the emergence of Nazi Germany as the only successful revisionist great power, the renewal of anti-Semitism served as a possibly legitimate source of compensation for the losses due to the minority status of Hungarians under alien rule. Some prominent figures (among them Árpád Paál and István Sulyok) urged for the social exclusion of Jews indifferent to their actual behavior – whether dissimilationist or assimilationist – manifested in the Romanian era. This policy was obviously dictated by the pro-German political course, but also by motivations linked to the opportunity it offered to gain important middle-class market positions for Hungarians to the detriment of Jews.[62]

Although this anti-Semitic view was far from being common even at the end of the thirties, it was not merely a direct importation from Hungary proper after the change of sovereignty. Even the authors of the party program felt it important to formulate it as a special item of their political agenda, the only one with its own title in block capitals. In this point the party agreed with the gradual exclusion of the Jews from the economic and social life, and condemned the so-called "Strohman" (or "Aladár") arrangements. To justify their demands, they employed the argument related to the attitude of dissimilation, which was attributed to the Jews. It stated that after 1918, the Jews sought only their own advantage, so that in order to secure their social position, they made a separate agreement with the Romanians, this way significantly weakening the Hungarian community.

It is not surprising that in an organization working almost in symbiosis with the Christian churches, anti-Semitic views were mainly formulated according to schemes of Christian anti-Judaism. Béla Bangha is once again a point of reference. József Bálint, a priest and leader of the *Actio Catholica*, echoed Bangha's point of view in the parliamentary debate on the bill concerning the abolition of the "received" status of the Israelite religion.[63] But the Christian reservations towards racial anti-Semitism did not mean that the topic was absent in the public

62 See F. Szabolcs Horváth, "Népcsoportpolitika, szociális kompenzáció és gazdasági jóvátétel. A holokauszt Észak-Erdélyben", [Population politics, social and economic compansation] *Múltunk*, LI, no. 3. (2006): 102–143.

63 *Képviselőházi Napló*, XII, 569–573.

discourse, and sometimes even in a paradoxical way. For example, Dezső László stated in one of his numerous articles that racial anti-Semitism had unacceptable theological consequences but, at the same time, he dismissed the Jews from the possibility of being converted to Christianity because it would mean simply to hide from the inevitable consequences of their racial character.[64]

The whole anti-Semitic discourse was in general built up from stereotypical bits and pieces, in part because of the lack of a local tradition to treat Jews as an entity separate from Hungarians. Some MPs voiced the well-known stereotype of "Jewish Budapest",[65] others equated the international workers movement and internationalism in general with the Jews.[66] Others interpreted the Dualist era and its politics essentially as a failure that opened the gates before the Jews and gave them the possibility of occupying the most important social positions at the expense of Hungarians.[67] Party members extensively used phrases like the "Jewish spirit" as opposed to the "Christian" or "Hungarian spirit", and they spoke constantly about immigrant Galician Jewry as some dangerous downcast social cluster.[68]

In practical politics, the party was neither among the most radical, nor among the most moderate in its anti-Jewish drive among contemporary political forces. It is not only the episode of Kövér's exclusion that supports this conclusion, showing that the accusation of being "not enough anti-Semitic" was an operational tool in internal conflicts. Although they accepted that the whole "problem" had to be "solved" on a European level by unitary means, they also urged for the deportation of Galician Jews, or those without proof of Hungarian citizenship, even before this general "solution" could be implemented.[69] Sometimes they tried to point out, very oddly that the restriction of the rights of Jews was a part of Transylvanian traditions and the Transylvanians showed even in this case precedence over the Hungarians from the "Motherland." Dezső Albrecht said in his speech at the rally of the board of the party, at Nagyvárad/Oradea in March 1943, that Saint László, the emblematic historic hero of the party, was the first to make a law against Jews, entailing limitations of Jewish commerce and prohibiting the employment of Christians by Jews.[70]

The "Pendulum" of Identity and Suspended Time

As we have seen, three important outgroups had an impact on the ideology of the self-definition of Hungarians in Transylvania and in the identity politics of the Transylvanian Party. The image of the Romanians and the

64 Dezső László, "A korszerűség kísértései a református egyházban" [Temptations of modernity in the Calvinist church], Az Út XXV, no. 3 (1943): 67–74.

65 Dezső Albrecht, see *Erdély a magyar képviselőházban* I, 103.

66 József Bálint, see *Képvislőházi Napló* XII, 569–573.

67 Dezső László, "Korszerű magyarság."

68 Béla Teleki in the parliament, see *Képviselőházi Napló* XVI, 226, idem. "Áldozatkészség és felelősségérzet", 13–14.

69 Ibid.

70 Dezső Albrecht, "Az Erdélyi Párt Szent László nevével és gondolatával indult el útjára!", 15–17.

conceptualization of the relationship between them and the Hungarians was a historical given, only slightly modified by the social processes of the interwar era. Stereotypes about the Jews were available even before 1940 and the Transylvanian Party adopted the prevailing tenets of the contemporary Hungarian establishment in this respect as well. These relationships were relatively easy to handle in the framework of their identity politics because the opposing entities had long since been defined (as in the case of Romanians) or they seemed readily fixable (as in the case of Jews).

More paradoxical was the relationship to the Hungarians from the "Motherland." Despite the unquestionable doctrine of national unity (with the subsumption of the unitary nation state), the Transylvanian Party referred to this group as an outgroup proper. In their perception (and in their self-perception) the Transylvanian politicians emphasized the differences. The political demands resulting from this conception were almost identical with the demands emanating from a national minority: administrative autonomy, unitary organization of the community, the restriction of parties from Hungary imposing on political activities in Transylvania, and independent or at least semi-independent institutions of their own for Transylvanians (like an Economic Council of the Transylvanian Parts, a special Academy of Sciences, a university, a radio station, etc.). All this could have been found in the program of a movement representing a national minority. The differences, the separate traditions, and a history or a social system of their own were more important for the party to sustain than the recognition of similarities with the "Motherland." On the other hand, as against the Romanians and the Jews, the Transylvanian Hungarians – in fact a minority in the region – needed the national unity. But living among Romanians with everyday interactions represented by itself an important difference as compared to the social experience of people in Budapest. In this situation, the unique way to preserve "national unity" was to adopt common Hungarian stereotypes of the "others", whether traditional or modern.

Two important problems emerged from this complex of differences and uniformities. The first one was the situational, or relational, aspect of political options. The definition of the Transylvanians – the *erdélyiség* – always depended on the given situation, more precisely on the question: in relation to whom was it defined at the moment? As against the ethnic outgroups, they were Hungarians, mainly without any qualification. As against Hungarians of the "Motherland", they were Transylvanians with a legitimate demand for certain autonomy, but also with a legitimate demand for unconditional help against Romanians. Thus, to define themselves as Hungarians or Transylvanians was like the movement of a pendulum.

The second problem was how to cope with unity in these circumstances. The identity politics of the Transylvanian Party offered an interesting solution, the suspension of time in the system of identity. As we have seen above, national unity and differences were interpreted in the same way. The national unity belonged to history and represented a promise for the future but it was not part of the reality, at least not as a real social experience. The differences were accepted as inevitable consequences of the pioneering role attributed to Transylvania in the social revolution of the nation, the Transylvanians being

considered as bearers of a major national mission. They became a model for the rest of the nation with their existing society, allegedly without social differences, and – as the "saviors" – they were placed on the highest level of the moral hierarchy of the nation. To make them similar to Hungarians proper, with their merger with the nation state, would have been the greatest of faults. They had to remain autonomous from the "Motherland" until their special "Transylvanian spirit" would prevail and assimilate the "Hungarian soul." But what if that were never to happen?

Conclusions: Continuity and the Supremacist Transylvanism

In the first part of this study the threefold continuity (personal, institutional, and ideological) of the Hungarian minority society in Transylvania was demonstrated. The same persons (or if deceased, at least persons from the same social milieu and with the same pattern of socialization) tried to realize the same organizational model on the same ideological basis from the beginning of the 20th Century until 1944. This organizational model was first outlined in the program of the Transylvanian Alliance and even partially achieved in its political action in 1917–18. It continued to prevail in the minority period (it was ideologically accepted by the whole community after the Vásárhely Meeting in 1937) and it was maintained by the monopolistic organization of the Transylvanian Party. The supporting ideology of this model was Transylvanism (*erdélyiség*), promoting a supposedly united community without social differences, organized according to the organic perception of the nation.

Although in our historical conscience, Transylvanism is mainly regarded as a "democratic" idea, accepting the equality and friendly coexistence of the three Transylvanian nations, before 1918 and after 1940 the very same persons (for example Áron Tamási) in the same or successively formed organizations stood for Hungarian supremacy in the region, based on the conflictual perception of coexistence among ethnic clusters.[71] Those who earlier had praised the social transformations in interwar Romanian society, seeing in it a model of sorts, after 1940 became advocates of implicitly discriminative politics (reservation of state aid for special Hungarian national purposes) and promoted the idea of the "Hungarian historical mission" in the Carpathian Basin.

The question emerges naturally: was this conception of supremacy not a core element of the Transylvanist ideology? We can surely interpret the "democratic period" of this ideology as an attempt to preserve the Hungarians in Transylvania from inevitable changes, resulting not directly from the political hegemony of Romanians but rather from the social transformations it entailed, the consolidation of a Romanian middle class, and the differential figures of the population movement at the expense of the Hungarians, etc. From this perspective the classical Transylvanism is the ideology of the division; separate existence with regulated interactions and clear borders

71 For the period before 1918 and the so-called "proto-Transylvanism" see Zsolt K. Lengyel, "Kós Károly és a Kalotaszeg 1912."

between the communities. Similarly divisive is the supremacist version of Transylvanism during the periods of Hungarian sovereignty. Neither the conception of the Transylvanian Alliance, nor the program of the Transylvanian Party counted on the assimilation of the Romanian minority. They demanded only the stabilization of the situation of the Hungarians as a dominant minority and the use of the power of the nation state to this end. They wanted predominance, not assimilation.

From the other perspective, the Transylvanist ideology admitted the differences between Hungary and Transylvania from the beginning and made it an important ingredient of Transylvanian identity. But the reality of a "conflictual" coexistence with the Romanians did not allow for the drawing of all the consequences of the situation, and this de facto minority needed the help of the whole nation and the nation state for the achievement of its project of "Hungarian Transylvania." The result was a supremacist Hungarian identity promoted by a regional elite in the institutional framework of an organized unitary minority community. They regarded the Romanians as culturally inferior and vindicated the right to rule in Transylvania. Such were the results of the common doctrine of the Hungarian "historical mission." As compared to Hungarians from the "Motherland", the Transylvanists considered themselves in a position of authenticity and superiority both in moral and national terms. Their conception of a national mission positioned Transylvanians above all other sectors of the nation as pioneers of a "social revolution" and as veritable "saviors" of the nation. To be a Transylvanian Hungarian, for adepts of Transylvanism, was to be unique and exceptional during a short historical period.

Marius Lazăr

Divisions of the Political Elites and the Making of the Modern Romanian State (1859–1940)

Since the beginning of the 19th century, state and political elites, and foremost intellectuals, played a decisive role as modernizing agents in Romanian modernization and the social reconstruction it brought about. Thus, modern Romanian history may be understood as the history of the rise of elites who compete for self-assertion in a social and economic context, the elements of backwardness which they acknowledge and condemn. The ideological element – and its objectifications in the symbolic sphere – is immanent to all these confrontations, as ammunition used to obtain access to power and its legitimization in the very terms of the dominant cultural categories.

Certainly, since Max Weber encounters between modernization and intellectual development are no longer unfamiliar in the field of social thought. However, less attention has been paid to the *structural ambiguity* of the process of modernization and its paradoxical effects. Given Romanian social conditions and resources, the efficiency of the state-building process was tied to the conservatism of the social order. The same agents that promoted the construction of a modern society also blocked it by refusing a clearly-expressed pro-capitalist and pro-industrial option. They tended instead to celebrate as a compensation of sorts, a rural (and economic) "essence" which would prove to be useful for political mobilization, but not for the foundation of a modern democracy. Consequently, the same factors that contributed to the birth of modern Romania – and implicitly to its Europeanization – worked jointly toward its impairment. The subversion of the parliamentary political system and its civil society generated the conditions for the rise of totalitarian political options.

This is not a typical case of the general "unintended self-limitation" of modernity as addressed by Peter Wagner.[1] The coexistence and adjustment of the principles of liberty and social domestication and control[2] is a cause of mutual limitations and inhibition in this situation as well. Both liberty and social domestication act for the construction of modernity and are grounded in the principle of rationality which establishes at the same time the idea of the autonomy of individuals and groups and that of coercive rigor exerted by the

1 Peter Wagner, *A sociology of modernity. Liberty and discipline* (London: Routledge, 1994).

2 See also Philip S. Gorski, "The Protestant Ethic Revisited: Disciplinary Revolution and State Formation in Holland and Prussia", *American Journal of Sociology* (September 1993).

authorities. The problem is that in Romania they play against a state of historical backwardness – tantamount to a deficit of anticipatory accumulations or the paucity of social and economic resources capable of setting up the infrastructure of a modern society. Under the conditions of the scarcity of modernizing resources, the historical agents that accomplish the transformation of society are far too preoccupied with the political consolidation of their newly conquered positions to make a place for other social partners.

Indeed, in the absence of a more favorable social structure and a corresponding economic base, the modernization resources were preponderantly institutional, concentrated on the political project of constructing the nation as a means of compensating for the deficits of society.

With these premises taken for granted, this research aims at testing the validity and at establishing the generality of the following statement: As far as the Romanian elites are concerned, political modernization means the transition from a system of domination influenced by a few aristocratic families to a system based on bureaucratic organization and institutional autonomy of the state apparatus. The process is carried out by the same aristocratic elites – and this is the main cause of its tardiness – which quickly learn to convert their old influential positions within the framework of the emerging social and political realities.

The confrontation between aristocracy and the emergent bureaucracy (a new *noblesse d'État* in Pierre Bourdieu's sense) is consequently over two models or types of resource allocation: (1) the landlordship model, which rests upon the existent economic resources and upon the propensity to establish a monopoly of power for those governing the state, and (2) the political model, with resources rooted in the system of hierarchical, more or less dominant positions, occupied by the class of state officials in the institutional structure, which tend to attain their own autonomy and succeeds in imposing its specific logic (*la Raison d'État*) both on their competitors and on the subjects governed.

The basic arguments for this discussion will derive from the empirical reconstruction of the characteristics of the political field as defined by the social traits of its agents. It refers to a population of 488 members of the Romanian governmental teams during the Old Regime Constitutional Monarchy, from the moment considered as the foundation of the modern Romanian statehood (the Union of Romanian Principalities of 1859) until the end of an entire era of parliamentary politics in 1938 (when King Charles II's authoritarian rule inaugurated a long period of totalitarian regimes). In order to reflect the continuity in the actions of some political actors playing a crucial role in the decades preceding Charles II's fatal decision, this work records the historical processes taking place up to 1940, when the war and Ion Antonescu's military dictatorship marked a total break with the previous epoch.

The data used in this research are retrieved from different kinds of biographical and encyclopedic sources (such as dictionaries, biographies and genealogical reconstructions), which are organized here by using standardized

criteria.[3] Thus, the information referring to cabinet members includes: dates of birth and death, region of origin and the region of destination, social origin, social destination, educational path, place of graduation, career, relevant family information (mainly kinship networks), political connections, political affiliation and mobility, parliamentary positions, chronology of participations to governmental teams, and positions held in governments. The upgraded references complete and improve the data used in my previous investigations of the relation between the cultural and the political fields in the 19th century[4]. The present study represent an extension of some of the analyses developed there.

Elite competition and state formation

The complex changes occurring in the Romanian Principalities during the 19th century result in the apparition of a whole institutional scaffold, which commences the purposeful political effort of the Romanian elites. The process of receiving the status of sovereignty for the Romanian Principalities, – and then independence for the Kingdom, – established for a significant period of

3 Here is a list of essential document collections and data sources used for this research: Ion Mamina and Ion Bulei, *Guverne şi guvernanţi (1866-1916)* [Governments and governors, 1866–1916] (Bucureşti: SILEX, 1994); Ion Mamina and Ioan Scurtu, *Guverne şi guvernanţi (1916–1938)* [Governments and governors, 1916–1938], (Bucureşti: SILEX, 1996); *Dicţionarul literaturii române de la origini pînă la 1900* [Dictionary of Romanian literature from the origins until 1900] (Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1979); Mircea Zaciu, Marian Papahagi, Aurel Sasu eds., *Dicţionar de scriitori români* [Dictionary of Romanian writers] (Bucureşti: Eidtura Fundaţiei Culturale Române, 1995); Lucian Predescu, *Enciclopedia României. Cugetarea. Material românesc. Oameni şi înfăptuiri* [The encyclopedia of Romania. The thought. Romanian material. People and achievements] (Bucureşti: Cugetarea – Georgescu Delafras, 1940); Ion Alexandrescu, Ion Bulei, Ion Mamina and Ioan Scurtu, *Partidele politice din România (1862-1994). Enciclopedie* [The political parties in Romania, 1862–1994] (Bucureşti: Editura Mediaprint, 1995); Mihai Sorin Rădulescu, *Elita liberală românească (1866–1900)* [The liberal Romanian elite, 1866-1900] (Bucureşti: Editura All, 1998); Mihai Sorin Rădulescu, *Genealogia românească. Istoric şi bibliografie* [The Romanian genealogy. History and bibliography] (Brăila: Editura Istros, 2000); Lucian Nastasa, "*Suveranii" universităţilor româneşti. Mecanisme de selectie si promovare a elitei intelectuale. Profesorii Facultăţilor de Filosofie şi Litere (1864-1948)* [The "sovereigns" of the Romanian universities. Mechanisms of selection and support of the intellectual elite. The professors of the philosophical and philological faculty] (Cluj-Napoca: Limes, 2007); Lucian Nastasa, *Itinerarii spre lumea savantă. Tineri din spaţiul românesc la studii în străinătate (1864-1944)* [Itineraries towards the scholarly world. Young people from the Romanian space at studies abroad] (Cluj Napoca: Limes, 2006); Octav-George Lecca, *Familiile boiereşti române. Istorie si genealogie (după izvoare autentice)* [The Romanian boyar families. History and genealogy. After authentic sources], edited by Alexandru Condeescu (Bucuresti: Libra, f.a.), first edition (Bucuresti: Minerva, 1899); Mihai Pelin, *Opisul emigraţiei politice. Destine în 1222 de fişe alcătuite pe baza dosarelor din arhivele Securităţii* [The transcript of the political emigration. Fates on 1222 index cards based on the dossiers of the Securitate archives] (Bucureşti: Compania, 2002); Mihai Dim. Sturdza, *Familii boiereşti din Moldova si Ţara Românească - Enciclopedie istorică, genealogică şi biografică* [Boyar families from Moldavia and Wallachia. Historical, genealogical, and biographical encyclopedia] (Bucureşti: Simetria, 2004).

4 Marius Lazăr, *Paradoxuri ale modernizării. Elemente pentru o sociologie a elitelor culturale româneşti* [Paradoxes of modernization. Elements of a sociology of Romanian cultural elites] (Cluj Napoca: Limes, 2002).

time the convergence of cultural and political objectives, the former serving the latter. But the consolidation of the state has also imposed the mobilization of other types of resources adjusted to the realization of more and more specific goals and which thus demanded qualifications until then absent or only incidentally cultivated. Consequently, the state-oriented political commitment of the elite was bound to produce a modernizing effect and the underlying institutional construction, – the much execrated bureaucracy must be understood here rather as resource, – was counterbalanced by very different power trends resisting the change.

The apparition of the state corresponds to the elites' need to keep its own resources under control, in the context where the endless territorial disputes between the European powers were endangering the continuity and stability of any given socioeconomic formation. Within the framework of first the country's long uncontested Ottoman dependence, later the protectorate of the Western powers, and the absence of an internationally recognized status as well as the obligation to provide for foreign troops quartered on the national territory, all this constituted the background of the sovereignty problem of the new Romanian state. The creation of state institutions capable of solving this problem was first and foremost a way of securing the interests of the ruling elites themselves: the economic interests, related to the export of cereals, – and the political interests, affected by the unpredictable dependence on the interplay of the great empires.

A summary chronology of the period under scrutiny points to some basic events: in 1829, a new war in the long series of Russian-Ottoman conflicts ended with a decisive Russian victory and a peace treaty was signed in Adrianopole; as a consequence, the Russians took control of the Romanian provinces, Moldavia and Walachia and set up a political protectorate. The Russian administrative control of the Romanian Principalities was marked by the imposition of the Organic Statute, an attempt to modernize their medieval political and administrative system, perpetuated with some superficial changes through the former Phanariote regimes. This was a regulative document, similar to a constitution, defining the relationship between the Romanian local rulers (*Voivods*) and the aristocratic Assembly (*Sfatul Domnesc*), a quasi-parliamentary institution, including the high clergy and a certain number of representatives of the local aristocracies. The Organic Statute, also defined more clearly the criteria for the recognition of ranks and noble titles and the principles of social hierarchy. As an unintended effect, this stirred up a strong competition for the acquisition of noble ranks. The system functioned in a way which stimulated the ascendant mobility of elements from lower strata, those who would later provide the political competitors of the hitherto dominant old aristocratic families. This political system was challenged and replaced after the Crimean war (1856), when it was the Russians who lost positions against the Western powers. Thus, Moldavia and Wallachia were transferred under the collective patronage of the European powers, a circumstance which favored the acquisition of more autonomy for the provinces and gave rise to the formation of an independent state and the political unification of the two provinces. In 1859, after a long internal electoral struggle and strong support from the European powers, Moldavia and Wallachia became a single political entity under the name of the United Romanian

Principalities and, contrary to European recommendations, elected a single head of state – Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza. He ruled until 1866, when he was dethroned through a political conspiracy and replaced with a member of a German royal family, the future King Charles of Hohenzollern. Anyway, for about three more years after 1859, the two provinces had separate governments, but in 1862 the two administrations were united in Bucharest, which would become the capital of the new state. A long period of balanced political competition between the Liberal and the Conservative parties would be the main marker of internal politics. Externally, still under a formal Ottoman suzerainty, the United Principalities would gain their independence after the new Russian-Ottoman war of 1877–1878, when the Romanians entered the war openly in support of Russia. In 1881, the country became a constitutional monarchy and the former "United Principalities" changed their name to the "Romanian Kingdom." From then on, a consolidated political system would slowly develop until the First World War when the subsistence of the Romanian state was strongly challenged by the belligerent operations. But after the Treatise of Versailles, Romania actually found itself significantly enlarged, receiving important territories previously held by the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Transylvania and a part of Bukovina) and by the Tsarist Empire (Bessarabia) – acquisitions which would essentially reshape internal politics. Newcomers to the political elite arrived from the new provinces attempting to compete on a wider and unpredictable political scene. The Liberal Party would carry on, the Conservative Party would soon disappear, but a plethora of small populist formations would try to take its place. Hence, the internal and external divisions would eventually lead to the dissolution of the parliamentary system and the end of "old style" politics and would inaugurate a long era of more or less oppressive totalitarian regimes. This period started in 1939, with the authoritarian regime of King Charles II. The pluralist political system was abolished and the political parties were dissolved and replaced with pro-monarchic entities set up to fulfill the King's ambition to compete with the great dictators ruling at that time in Europe. Then it continued with General Ion Antonescu's dictatorship during the Second World War from 1940 until 1944, and after a very short interval of a conditional democratic revival, it was followed by two successive communist regimes (under Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej and Nicolae Ceauşescu), from 1947 until 1989.

The Adrianopole Treaty (1829), with its favorable economic conditions, creates the premises to satisfy these pretensions and simultaneously polarizes the space of political interests. The genesis of the Romanian state is affected by the tension between the founding elites.[5] On the one hand, there were good reasons to build a political entity to ensure the stability and sovereignty – "the internal autonomy" mentioned in the political documents of those times – of the two united regional societies. On the other hand, a structural conflict of sorts was rampant between the interests of the same great aristocracy and the institutional needs of the newly emerging state, which enjoyed limited

5 An account of the early political factions involved in the process of Romanian State construction can be found in Mihai Cojocaru, *Partida Naţională şi constituirea statului român (1856–1859)* [The National Party and the establishment of the Romanian state, 1856–1859] (Iaşi: Editura Universităţii "Al. I. Cuza", 1995).

autonomy at first, but was actually deprived of independence and had only precarious resources, incapable as it was to mobilize the largest part of the economic potential held by the great landowners.

From 1829 (the Adrianopole Peace Treaty and the introduction of the Organic Statute) and up to the proclamation of the Romanian Kingdom, the accumulating budgetary deficits burden the state finances.[6] The preoccupation with finding supplementary resources and administrative roles to diminish or cover the deficits represents one of the main objectives of state politics and leads to the permanent shift of the balance of forces in Romanian society to the benefit of the administrative staff. The discordance between the surpluses resulting from a positive external trade balance and the continuous accumulation of budgetary deficits expresses the divergences within elite groups related to the allocation of resources. Certainly, in this context, the great nobility – the *protipendada* owning vast domains – was in a safer economic position than the middle nobility and the urban strata, whose incomes and especially whose social ascension depended upon the stability of the country. Still, the relationship between the predicament of internal finances (the allocation of monetary resources as well as the payment of the tribute, its increase or decrease) and the external political transformations was likely to permanently strain the course of internal politics and to impose changes upon it. The obsession of the administrative officials with the collection of taxes went symmetrically against the obsession with the exemption from the tribute – a privilege guaranteed to the aristocracy and granted to others on the condition of rendering special services to the princely house. The system of privileges, as well as the inflation of titles and dignitaries from the beginning of the 19th century evince not only the crisis of the system but also a competition in which rank is much more than a simple symbolic recognition of the social estate. Rather, by conferring the exemption from tribute – and, in some cases, administrative influence – it is a source of income if not downright a means of survival for many newcoming members of the political elite.

In time, a conflict of interests appears between this privileged class and the state, where the emergent classes dependent on the positions offered by the modern bureaucracy take the side of the state. As owner of most economic resources, the nobility is reluctant to accept the redress of the budget at its own expense. The fundamental disagreement which accompanies the process of state-consolidation is linked to the positions adopted by the political actors concerning this central conflict of interests, which subsequently structures the formation of a conservative and a liberal pole: the pole of the propertied class, refractory to political reforms which would modify the status of rural property, – and the pole of the reformers, who target modernization via the institution of a central (state) system of controlling resources. These are the elements that lead in time to the formulation of the state interest itself in the terms of the "protection of the national interests", the "mobilization", the "constructive effort", and the "specific model" for the country.

6 See *Enciclopedia României, vol 4: Economia naţională. Circulaţie, distribuţie şi consum* [The encyclopedia of Romania, vol. 4, The national economy. Circulation, distribution and consumption] (Bucureşti, 1940), 744- 759.

Thus, the essential opposition around which the field of political positions in the Principalities and the Old Kingdom was originally organized was not, as it used to be abundantly put forth, that between the nobility and the bourgeoisie, but that between the nobility (representing the whole private sphere) and the state bureaucracy.

Throughout the 19th century, the tensions in the opinion making Romanian political elite – as reflected in the revolutionary movements of 1848, the disputes around the agrarian question, the customs policies etc. – stem from the political reproduction of the two tendencies: on the one hand, the evasion of the elite in the private sphere, trying to insure and utilize exclusively its own incomes; and on the other hand, – the dependence on the administrative resources offered by the state, which bring about pro-state loyalties and anti-nobility attitudes among those whose ascension is related to the consolidation of the public institutions. The only moment when these two trends were significantly overlapping was the Union of 1859, – the event which actually established the political class of modern Romania.[7]

Moreover, the emerging cluster of intellectuals acquired a key position in the implementation of these transformations. In the period of state-building, this (dominated) segment of the dominant elite[8] (or, more precisely, a sub-elite, gradually and continuously achieving higher elite status) tended to "substitute itself" for the bourgeoisie by taking upon itself – and simultaneously misappropriating itself through speech or deeds – the historical role that this economically active category could have accomplished in the nation building process had it not been permanently disavowed by the same intellectuals – (possessors of the instruments of symbolic domination and legitimation). The Romanian *intelligentsia* persistently attempted to *delegitimize the bourgeois classes* together with the order and the model of the modern Western type society that these classes stood for. In other words, oriented rather towards state-building than towards the construction of the civil society, the intelligentsia tried to impose its own national project by tacitly depreciating the material conditions of the modernizing process, due to its specific means of cultural mobilization.

If we underline the role of intellectuals in inter-elite competition, we must at the same time reflect upon its relation with the bourgeoisie in the process of modernization. Certainly, in the conditions of a primarily rural economy and

7 For synthetic references about the main transformations within the political field see also Mattei Dogan, *Analiza statistică a „democraţiei parlamentare" din România* [The statistical analysis of the "parliamentary democracy" in Romania] (Bucureşti: Editura Partidului Social Democrat, 1946); Ken Jowitt ed. *Social Change in Romania: 1860-1940. A Debate on Developement in a European Nation* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978); Apostol Stan, *Putere politică şi democraţie în România, (1859-1918)* [Political power and democracy in Romania, 1859-1918] (Bucureşti: Editura Albatros, 1995); Ion Scurtu and Ion Bulei, *Democraţia la români, 1866-1938* [Democracy at the Romanians, 1866-1938] (Bucureşti: Humanitas, 1990); Catherine Durandin, *Discurs politic şi modernizare în România, secolele XIX-XX* [Political discourse and modernization in Romanian, nineteenth and twentieth centuries] (Cluj Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2001).

8 As argued in Pierre Bourdieu, *La Distinction. Critique sociale du jugement* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1977); see also Pierre Bourdieu, *La noblesse d'Etat. Grandes écoles et esprit de corps* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1989).

retarded industrialization, a development generating marked contrasts between the rural and the urban worlds, – the profile of the native Romanian bourgeoisie appeared to be utterly different from that of its classic European prototypes. When referring to the Romanian bourgeoisie, we must distinguish between the extension of the capitalist *relations* under the influence of the economic expansion of the Western markets – (relations in which all the social strata are progressively involved but each of them to a different extent and driven by purposes which do not necessarily pertain to the system of market economy –) and the bourgeoisie proper, i.e., a social segment professionalized in obtaining benefits from the specialized utilization of this particular type of relations. Mistaking one of these aspects for the other leads either to a hyper-optimistic evaluation of Romanian capitalism[9]– or to the ideological incrimination of a capitalism inexistent in the form in which it is criticized, as it happens in official Marxist discourse.

The quasi-absence of the industrial nucleus from the economic profile[10] of the Romanian Principalities and their long-drawn preponderantly agrarian model which keeps them wedged in a semi-colonial status[11] are some of the causes fostering the speculative capital to the detriment of the productive one. This explains the partial public legitimacy enjoyed by social categories resistant to modernization, among them the old landowning nobility, remaining largely influential in the rural world and some segments of the intelligentsia.

As a socioeconomic bracket capable of forming a common class profile, the Romanian bourgeoisie succeeded only too late in occupying the dominant economic positions, since the sphere of productive activities which it was promoting was only an annex to or an extension of agriculture, and the bourgeois presence was mostly manifest in the commercial and service spheres. Thus, the emergent bourgeoisie – by which we mean that category whose incomes derive from non-agricultural activities and exclusive of landowners who, in their turn, may be owners of industrial establishments – is rather a "service-class" whose main task is to re-circulate and to redistribute an already existing fund of liquid assets and products to the creation of which it contributes only indirectly.[12] This highlights once more, in the system of Romanian societal hierarchies, the economic, social, and political dependency of the bourgeoisie on the dominant social categories, namely, those monopolizing collective resources and the decision-making power in matters political.

9 Ştefan Zeletin, *Burghezia română. Originea şi rolul ei istoric,* [The Romanian bourgeoisie. Its origins and its historical role] 2nd edition (Bucureşti: Humanitas, 1991).

10 See Cătălin Turliuc, "Elita economică în România la sfîrşitul secolului XIX şi începutul secolului XX. Rolul industriaşilor evrei", [The economic elite in Romanian at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. The role of Jewish industrialists], *Xenopoliana* IV (1996): 1–4.

11 See Daniel Chirot, *Social Change in a Peripheral Society. The creation of a Balkan Colony* (New York: Academic Press, 1976).

12 On the heterogeneity of the incipient Romanian bourgeoisie of 19th Century, see Alexandru-Florin Platon, *Geneza burgheziei în Principatele Române (a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea – prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea*) [The genesis of the bourgeoisie in the Romanian principalities, from the second half of the eighteenth century until the mid-nineteenth century] (Iaşi: Editura Universităţii "Alexandru Ioan Cuza", 1997).

However, this proves neither that the bourgeoisie as such would not have been historically attested, nor that it occupied a socially ex-centric or "deviant" position. When reconsidering the field of confrontation between different segments of the Romanian society of those times, the distinction between the intellectual and the non-intellectual categories of the middle class should take precedence over other elements. The excentricity of the bourgeoisie manifests itself in relation to the centers of power where the intellectuals successfully claim some positions by supplementing the lack of other resources with their symbolic power and disciplinary discourse. Moreover, the populist and nationalist appeal build up the cultural content of a particular type of social contract established by the ruling Romanian elites with society at large. The competition between the intellectual and the bourgeois categories is specific to the clusters aspiring to gain access to the centres of crucial socio-political decisions and thus acquire positions leading to the improvement of their social standing.

The political and cultural fields. Social mobility and educational effect

In this context, the structuration of an autonomous cultural field is synchronous with the modernization of the political field. Both these domains gradually professionalize and it is thus that, at the end of the 19th century, neither politics nor culture look like or keep the same functions as in, for instance, 1848. If the transformation of the political field followed the course of an institutional evolution, reflecting the need to conserve the dominant positions of those invested with power by forcing them to adopt a co-optive conduct, the autonomy of the cultural field would be gained especially by the recognition of its "residual" nature in relation to the political playground and its dependence upon the latter. Moreover, until the complete structuration of the cultural field – occurring towards the end of the 19th century – most developments within this field point to frustrations and failed expectations.

In the present exposé I will attempt an empirical reconstruction of the two fields based on prosopographical data of "certified" members of the Romanian political leadership and cultural elite. The sources used here concentrate synthetically factual, verified information on all personalities that have populated the Romanian political and cultural world since the second half of the 19th century until the First World War.

The starting point consists of the construction of a statistical database valid for the 19th century elites. The database merges various personal kinds of information from the first part of Mamina, Bulei, and Scurtu's work on government members[13] with that from *The dictionary of Romanian literature from the origins until 1900,* elaborated by scholars affiliated with the Institute of Linguistics, Literary History, and Folklore at the "Al. I. Cuza" University of Iaşi (1979).[14] The information collected refers to 683 individuals: 193 government members (i.e., ministers from the Romanian governments from the period 1859–1918) and 490 writers belonging to the same generations (almost all, with two exceptions only, born after 1800). Bringing together all

13 See note 3.

14 I.d.

these data allows further re-categorizations since each source is comprised of references to individuals belonging to both of these groups.

For methodological reasons, the personalities in question are thus conventionally distributed into two classes: One class, includes those of the *political field* (294 cases), those having occupied political or administrative positions in Romanian public life (that is, members of Parliament, political leaders, or those having shared governmental responsibilities) who were belonging or independent of the cultural sphere. The other class consists of those active within the *cultural field* proper who were not involved in the political field (389 cases), that is, poets, prose writers, historians, philologists, journalists, translators, critics, etc.[15] Another grouping criterion is the generational one. In order to grasp the main tendencies of these changes, the whole population under scrutiny is divided into two generational groups, those born before 1840 (inclusive) and those born after 1840, resulting in two subpopulations of close to identical dimensions (360 and 322 individuals respectively).

The analysis on the following section focuses on positions within the social structure and the chances of social achievement of participants in the two groups compared. The questions for which we will try to provide an answer are as follows: *What are the chances that an individual coming from the lower class will succeed in occupying a position in the higher class? What are the chances for that individual to occupy a function in the political field? How does education condition such ascension? Once reaching the higher class, how are the individuals distributed in the field of ruling elites? Are there any differences in time, that is, from one generation to another regarding the probabilities of success in the social, political, and cultural field?*

The trends of differentiation and evolution of the groups concerned are traced by the statistical study of a few classic nominal variables as listed below in abbreviated notations, applying as restrictive categories as possible to ensure the significance of the main differentiations considered.

Statistical **variables applied in the analysis**:

1. 'Soc. Orig.' = Social origin (father's social position). Nominal categories: 1. upper classes; 2. middle classes; 3. lower classes.
2. 'Status' = Social destination (highest social status). Nominal categories: 1. upper classes; 2. middle classes; 3. lower classes.
3. 'Studies' = Educational level; Nominal categories: 1. academic degrees; 2. undergraduate academic studies without degrees; 3. without university education.
4. 'Field' = Belonging to the cultural or political field. Nominal categories: 1. the cultural field; 2. the political field

15 This data arrangement ignores the individuals belonging to both fields – cultural and political. In fact, the overlapping group was assimilated to that of the politicians, because its members share the same social traits as participants of the political field and the cultural activity (or the lack of cultural activity) did not introduce any difference regarding the social ascension of members of the political field. Instead, there are important differences between men active in cultural activities and not being politically involved and the politicians themselves.

5. 'Polit. Capit.' = Species of political capital. Nominal categories: 1. without political capital; 2. historical capital; 3. transactional capital
6. 'Generations' = historical generations. Nominal categories: 1. born before 1840; 2. born after 1840

The Table 1 sets forth the divisions of the population under study in the political and cultural fields according to the above mentioned variables. The study of their interaction through multivariate analysis (especially when the variable "Field" is taken into account as a dependent variable) can thus reveal the type of interaction established between these factors introduced in the analysis, in turn, as an independent (explanatory variable) or test-variable.

Table 1. Divisions of Romanian elites in the 19th century by selected social and demographic characteristics and main fields of activity

		Cultural field	Political field	Total	numbers
Social origin	Missing data	58.9	41.1	100.0	175
	Upper class	26.7	73.3	100.0	161
	Middle class	56.5	43.5	100.0	193
	Lower class	87.0	13.0	100.0	154
Status	Missing data	66.7	33.3	100.0	6
	Upper class	31.3	68.8	100.0	368
	Middle class	86.6	13.4	100.0	283
	Lower class	96.2	3.8	100.0	26
Studies	Missing data	77.8	22.2	100.0	27
	Degrees	49.2	50.8	100.0	266
	University studies without Degree	60.5	39.5	100.0	157
	No univ. Studies	60.9	39.1	100.0	233
Political capital	Historic	28.4	71.6	100.0	201
	Transactional	2.6	97.4	100.0	116
	No political capital	89.9	10.1	100.0	366
	Total	57.0	43.0	100.0	683
Generations	<1840	42.9	57.1	100.0	361
	>1840	72.7	27.3	100.0	322
	Total	57.0	43.0	100.0	683

A brief examination of the data from the Table 1 indicates an unequal distribution of the chances of appearing in the two classes of activity political and cultural and also displays some interesting effects of such positions on various sociodemographic characteristics:

a. First of all there is, not unexpectedly, a strong influence of *social origins*, which makes access to the political field largely dependent on membership in the higher social strata. Excluding those without known

origin, it can be observed that the highest chances in this respect are held by the subjects whose parents belong to the upper classes (including the landowning aristocracy, dignitaries, and high rank military officers). With the lower social origin, these chances diminish and seem to push the public actors concerned toward the cultural field.

b. There is also a *status effect* which functions similarly and further conditions access to the political field by belonging to the upper classes. The percentage of the individuals belonging to the lower classes and acquiring a political position is much lower than among those with middle or upper class background, which suggests that the ascensional motivation among the lower and middle classes is directed mostly to the cultural field.

c. The educational effect is also highlighted. Even if advanced education does not seem to direct the subjects into a field to the same extent as the variables of social positioning (upper social origin and higher status), the holding of academic degrees (equivalent to bachelor and doctorates) does the chances of insertion into the political field increase considerably.

d. An even more important distribution factor is acquired political capital. We distinguish here among two species of political capital, *historical capital and transactional capital*, and we will explain their functionality later on. The obvious insight from this table is that, as predicted, there is a strong relation between the availability of political capital and the chances of entering the field of political decision making.

e. Finally, the generational distribution in the two categories is marked by a *historical effect* which diminishes, in time, the absolute numbers and the percentages expressing the individual chances of access to the political field. For the population under study, the proportion of those involved in politics decreases against those of the cultural field, and we might suppose that this brings about an intensification of competition in politics proper.

Comparing now the political and the cultural fields, one must take into account the social stakes reflected in these patterns of differentiation. Table 2 points out the existence of different class structures in the two fields of elite activities. The social origins of those involved in cultural activities are more modest than those of politicians, whether or not the latter are involved in cultural activities as well. The great proportion of sons of priests, craftsmen, and other modest urban employees and peasants about a third of the cultural producers of the 19th century contrasts with the marked aristocratic origins of government members: a third of them originate in the dominant classes and about 15% in the middle or lower nobility. Another striking aspect derives from the low proportions of those with intellectual background or with bourgeois origins proper (that is, sons of entrepreneurs, and not only sons of intellectuals from the bourgeois classes, such as jurists, lawyers, medical doctors, or representatives of the liberal professions). This is a clear symptom of an incipient stage of the "intellectualization" of the elite, when the mechanisms of self-reproduction, which allow the intergenerational

transmission of the tricks of the trade and the *esprit de corps,* do not yet function.[16]

Table 2. Social origins and destinations of the 19th century elites

Social class categories	Socio-professional positions	cultural field (%)		Political field (%)	
		Social Origin	Social Destination	Social Origin	Social Destination
Upper (Elites)	Aristocracy	8.2	8.8	34.4	21.7
	Dignitaries	1.3	6.8	4.1	56.2
	Intellectual Elites	1.5	14.3	1.7	9.0
Upper middle	Mid./lower nobility	11.8	3.6	13.9	1.7
	Entrepreneurs	6.2	2.3	7.8	1.4
	Jurists, doctors, engineers	5.4	11.4	3.1	6.2
Lower middle	Secondary Teachers	0.5	20.0	0.7	1.4
	Journalists	0.5	15.3	0.0	1.7
	Artists	0.5	4.9	0.0	0.0
	Clerks, officers	3.1	6.0	2.4	0.3
Upper lower	Priests	11.3	3.6	3.4	0.3
	Teachers	1.8	2.6	0.3	0.0

16 Still, we must take into consideration the great proportion of those in the studied population whose social origin could not be clarified, due to the scarcity of documentation identified by the authors of our source books. The lacunae give evidence of the precariousness of the information on whole categories of government members or writers – especially when they come from non-aristocratic environments, as well as the discretion of the subjects themselves, most frequently intellectuals of higher or middle status. Indeed, academics, teachers, journalists, and artists often, when appropriate, omit to disclose their modest social origin, out of fear, perhaps, of a loss social standing. The low proportion of those with bourgeois origin can also be explained by propensities of dissimulation. Areas such as background could be regarded as "impure" or "illegitimate" by those authorized to manage the collective memory: administrative reporters, historiographers, cultural historians, and critics. Numerous bibliographical lists or references do not completely document the social provenance of the intelligentsia, and this lack is abundantly compensated by the detailed information related to education. Undoubtedly, meritocratic ideology is one of the elements that largely explain this phenomenon, since it makes school socialization into the true starting point of the intellectual biography, substituting the "non-noble" origins by intellectual references and genealogies to which a similar role of "status provision" is attributed. But the actual importance of social provenance is precisely strengthened by the attempt to blur it. Moving beyond these nuances, the social origin clearly appears as an important factor which orients the subjects preferentially towards the cultural or the political clusters of the elite. The chances to occupy positions in the political field rise when the parents enjoy a more privileged status (Table 1).

Lower lower	Urban popular classes	10.5	0.3	1.7	0.0
	Peasants	10.8	0.0	1.4	0.0
	Missing data	26.5	0.0	25.2	0.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =		389	389	294	294

If we look at the data on social destinations, the configuration of the probabilities observed clearly appear to favor the upper classes: 86.9% of the members of the political class are part of the elites. In the cultural field, the greatest part of the subjects, 63.6%, belong to the middle class, which is a segment constituted only up to a small percentage, 6%, by the lower and middle nobility and by the economic bourgeoisie. The rest comprises diverse intellectual categories: secondary school teachers (20%), journalists (15.3%), those active in the "liberal professions" (jurists, doctors, but also a few engineers – 11.4%), actors and artists, and clerks and lower officers.

The lower classes, mainly priests and primary school teachers, are poorly represented in both fields. Culture and politics are the domains of competition between the different segments of the upper and middle classes considered together, and members of the lower classes are excluded from the game. Higher social standing with its symbolic benefits are mostly gained at the upper levels and this is precisely why the improvement in the position of descendants of priests or teachers, but also in those of craftsmen or peasants appears to be a motivational element which finally influences the whole configuration of the elite.

Table 3. Patterns of social mobility in the cultural and political fields of Romanian elites in the 19th century

	The cultural field				The political field			
Social Dest.> Origin	Elites	Middle Classes	Lower Classes	Total	Elites	Middle Classes	Lower Classes	Total
Counts								
Missing data	24	71	5	100	57	12	0	69
Elites	31	12	0	43	114	4	0	118
Middle classes	27	78	3	108	67	16	0	83
Lower Classes	33	84	17	134	15	4	1	20
Total	115	245	25	385	253	36	1	290
Row %								
Missing data	24.0	71.0	5.0	100.0	82.6	17.4	0.0	100.0
Elites	72.1	27.9	.0	100.0	96.6	3.4	0.0	100.0
Middle classes	25.0	72.2	2.8	100.0	80.7	19.3	0.0	100.0
Lower Classes	24.6	62.7	12.7	100.0	75.0	20.0	5.0	100.0
Total	29.9	63.6	6.5	100.0	87.2	12.4	0.3	100.0

A sizable measure of ascendant social mobility is noticeable for significant proportions of participants in the two fields of activity. This is undisputedly a symptom of the radical transformations of the society as a whole and not only of its elites, which is visible through the significant intergenerational status changes for all the categories distinguished. But for each of these strata, the mobility bears distinctive features.

On preliminary examination of the figures which associate the inherited status of each subject with the highest status attained during his carrier (Table 3), it can be noticed that on the diagonals indicating the proportions of immobility – 44.2% for the cultural field and 59.3% for the political field – the proportion of immobile individuals is greater among the subjects from the political field and originating in the upper classes than among their counterparts in the cultural field: 114 of the 131 immobile subjects come from the upper class (which is 87%). Conversely, in the cultural field, members with middle-class origins tend to be those who preserve their inherited positions (there are 78 immobile middle-class members out of the total of 126 – that is 61.9%).

The ascendant mobility seems to be extremely marked for those of lower class background, while for the subjects coming from the upper classes the preservation of the status is an obvious stake. In the political field, the change of status by those from the middle classes entering the category of the elites is spectacular: 80.7% of them achieve an improved status, while for the same category in the cultural field the probability of such a promotion is more modest (25%). Equally pronounced is the political ascension of those originating in the lower categories: in the political field, 75% of them move up directly to the upper classes while in the cultural field most of them stop at the level of the middle classes.

These apparently acrobatic leaps from the lower to the upper classes depend less on the endogenous relations of the social groups in question, and more on exogenous structural modifications. Therefore, let us keep in mind the fact that the data pertain only to a tiny segment of 19th century Romanian society in one of the most dynamic moments of its existence. More precisely, the data provide information on the very process of the formation of the bureaucratic elites – characteristic of the modern parliamentary state – and the readjustments of power relationships between an old aristocratic elite and a new elite absorbing previously inferior social segments and, accordingly, a matrix of mobility of both structural (linked to socioeconomic development) and forced nature (following shifts in the ruling staff). In consequence, the ruling strata are less permeable than they might seem at first glance. Its members are less inclined to change their position than constrained to occupy certain positions either via their absorption in the upper classes – the case of those from the middle and lower classes – or by the conversion of their initial social capital into administrative positions and posts of political influence. The "downgraded" are few, being less frequent in the cultural field where several boyars move down the class system. The term itself bears different meanings for each groups: most often, it is associated with the pursuit of an intellectual or journalistic profession in the case of the cultural producers, or with the practice of a profession in the judiciary or magistracy, contiguous to the administrative field, in the case of the politicians.

It can thus be said that the cultural and political fields are distinct areas that regroup the members of the elite according to criteria of social status: the differences between them disclose the oppositions between the preponderantly intellectual middle class with administrative functions and aspirations, as well as with frustrations or claims specific to the social segments of origin. Membership in one of these groups also depends on the limits imposed by the social condition and education on the level of aspirations and possibilities of social ascension. *Hence, the opposition between the two fields reflects different levels of distribution of chances of access to the dominant social positions, and, at the same time, the manner in which assets of power and influence are redistributed among the dominant and the dominated sectors of the upper and middle classes. These categories exerting control over the whole society.* If by intellectuals we generally mean social actors engaged chiefly in the cultural field, then Pierre Bourdieu's definition of it as a *dominated segment of the dominant class*[17] is also confirmed in the case of the Romanian elites of the period under study.

In order to find out to what extent the above observed relations also mutually condition each other and what consequences derive from these interferences, we will analyze them in turn in the framework of their variability. For the moment we can lay out their aggregated effect by using the "homogeneity analysis", a statistical method indicating the main trends of concentration of those individuals bearing the characteristics captured by all the five variables mobilized above, which is a variant of the correspondence analysis for sets of nominal variables.

17 Pierre Bourdieu, *La distinction.*

Table 4. Romania's elite members by main fields of activity and generations as well as by their status, academic degrees and political capital (1866–1918)

Political Capital	**Studies and status**	**Field insertion, by generations born before or after 1840**				**Total**	
		Cultural, b.<1840	Cultural, b.>1840	Political, b.<1840	Political, b.>1840	%	N=
Historical Capital	Elites with diplomas	12.5		82.5	5.0	100.0	40
	Elites without diplomas	10.6		85.1	4.3	100.0	47
	Elites with inferior education	15.7		78.4	5.9	100.0	51
	Middle class with diplomas	30.8	23.1	30.8	15.4	100.0	13
	Middle class without diplomas	44.4	22.2	27.8	5.6	100.0	18
	Middle class with inferior education	50.0	20.0	30.0		100.0	20
	Lower class with inferior education	50.0		50.0		100.0	2
	Total	21.5	5.8	67.5	5.2	100.0	191
Transac-tional Capital	Elites with diplomas			27.1	72.9	100.0	70
	Elites without diplomas		5.9	52.9	41.2	100.0	17
	Elites with inferior education			81.8	18.2	100.0	11
	Middle class with diplomas		8.3	41.7	50.0	100.0	12
	Middle class without diplomas			100.0		100.0	1
	Middle class with inferior education		33.3	33.3	33.3	100.0	3
	Total		2.6	38.6	58.8	100.0	114

Without Political capital	Elites with diplomas	22.2	61.9	4.8	11.1	100.0	63
	Elites without diplomas	38.5	30.8	26.9	3.8	100.0	26
	Elites with inferior education	33.3	27.8	36.1	2.8	100.0	36
	Middle class with diplomas	20.6	75.0	1.5	2.9	100.0	68
	Middle class without diplomas	22.8	75.4	1.8		100.0	57
	Middle class with inferior education	41.9	58.1			100.0	74
	Lower class without diplomas	33.3	66.7			100.0	3
	Lower class with inferior education	35.0	65.0			100.0	20
TOTAL		29.4	60.2	7.2	3.2	100.0	347

The projection of all the attributes that they determine in a space of proximities and distances allows us to grasp the whole arrangement and the structural tendencies of this population (Figures 1 and 2). The diagram reunites the variables expressing the status and the studies (precisely because the association of the two noted) thus obtaining a new hierarchical classification and the generational groups together with the field grouping, in order to delimit the variation of statuses within these groups. Table 4 displays this reconstruction and the "unfolded" distribution of the attributes on which the homogeneity classes are based.

The diagrams of homogeneity obtained through the projection of the subjects' characteristics ("attributes") on three dimensions must be read according to the polarizations at the extremities of the axes. Hence, the attributes with opposing values on the same axis, which are expressed by opposing algebraic signs, configure opposing ordering tendencies in the field; the values grouped around the center of the diagram (which is the value 0) indicate those attributes which do not quite differentiate the subjects according to a specific dimension.

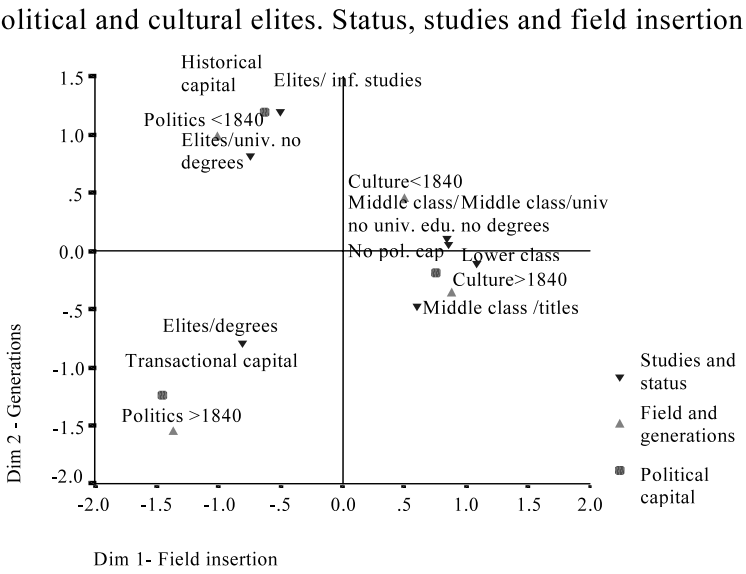

Figure 1. The homogeneity analysis. The first two analytical dimensions: generations and field of insertion

The first two axes of the figure divide the space of attributes into three groups. The space of the sociocultural attributes of the population under study is organized according to the membership of participants in predominantly the political or the cultural field (first dimension) and in different generations (second dimension) as shown in Figure 1. It can be thus observed that the cultural field (situated on the right side of the reference line which crosses the first axis' 0 point) regroups those who occupy positions within the lower and middle classes who are non-graduates but university, or lower, educated. The political field, situated on the left side of the same line reunites the elites, i.e., the members of the upper classes, independently of the educational level. The first axis simultaneously distinguishes the social positions: the tendency of the political field to coagulate the relations within the dominant classes, by attracting the elites of both generations is obvious.

The second axis distinguishes the generations and, as a consequence, marks the evolution of the intellectual profile of the elites at the same time. For the older generations participation in the political field is given by the possession of a high social status and academic diplomas do not function as "visas" securing the access into the field. Still, for the newer generation, having a university degree is an important condition of promotion into the elite. Over time, the political elites gain more intellectuals via the integration of those with academic titles. This "intellectualization" is not achieved, however, by those positioned in the lower or middle classes. This development confirms the persistent prevalence of the status effect upon which the ascension to dominating political positions relies.

Political and cultural elites. Status, studies, and field insertion

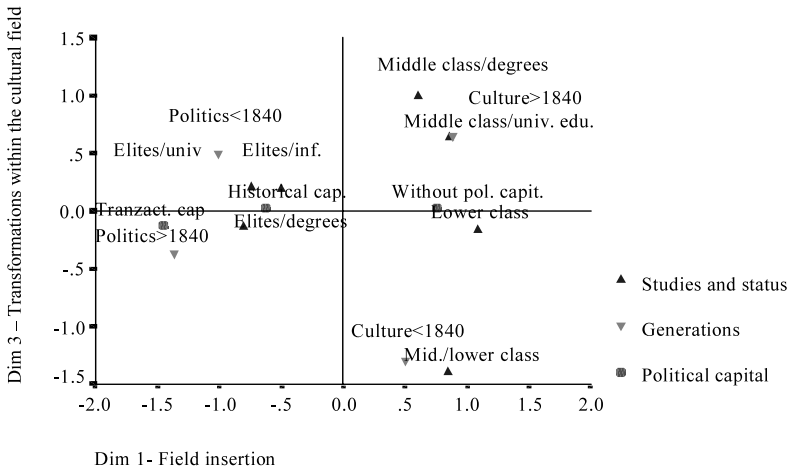

Figure 2. The homogeneity analysis. The transformations of the cultural field and field insertion

The second dimension also distinguishes between the two types of capital which grant access to the political field: the "historical capital" (characteristic of the first generations of politicians surveyed) and the "transactional capital" (proper to the newer generations). The two species of political capital are associated with the rising importance of the intellectual assets ("intellectualization"). In time, the recruiting system based on "historical capital" and an inherited dominant position within the social hierarchy is replaced by a system where the social position is associated with personally acquired competences (as attested by academic degrees) and with abilities of political negotiation, manipulation, and transaction.

The supplementary information brought in by the third dimension (Figure 2) indicates the distinctions between the socio-cultural attributes of participants of the cultural field – which divide the population following criteria of higher studies, the possession of degrees, membership in the newer generations – as opposed to those of the older generations with less advanced studies. The transformation seems significant for the middle classes: at this level we can observe an "intellectualization" analogous to that observed among those of initial elite status but without the promise of dominating political positions. The generational change proves that, over time, the differences between the cultural and the political field bring into prominence a class effect. While the "intellectualization" can, in principle, secure a high position, for those originating from the inferior classes, the positions can be limited to the cultural field, since the access to the political field is also conditioned by the (preferably initial) membership in the dominant classes. The only exception from the rule concerns the access to political positions of the middle-class descendents possessing at the same time university degrees, instrumental in their subsequent assimilation in the upper class.

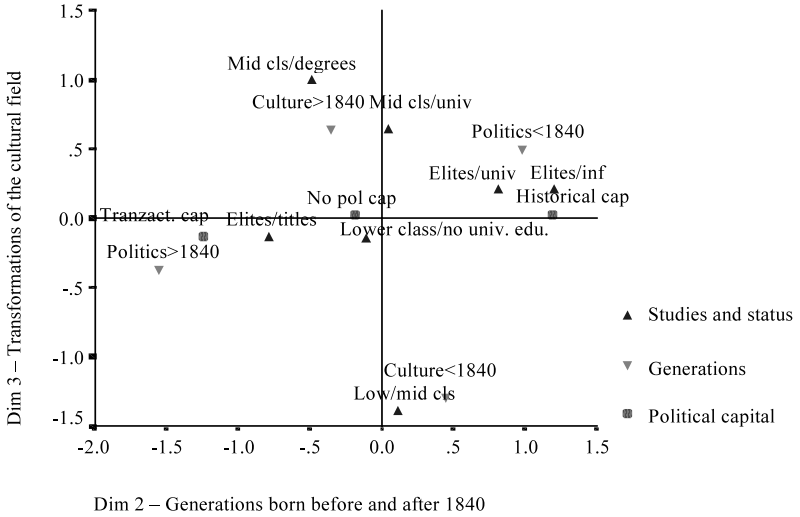

Figure 3. The homogeneity analysis. The transformations of the cultural field and the generational change

Figure 3 brings into the analysis a new and important element: the proximity of the attributes of the second generation in the cultural field and those of the first generation in the political field – all of them being situated on the same side of the reference line separating the sectors of the third dimension. The similitude is obvious especially for the non-graduate members of the middle classes having accomplished university studies: in the case of the older generation, the certified intellectuals are to be found in the political field, while in the next generation they tend to enter the cultural field. There is a clear shift here with a transformation of the function of university degrees, the social achievement being dependent upon graduation of university or post-university studies.

By corroborating with other data, the conclusion of this preliminary analysis will be later confirmed: *the cultural field subsequently reproduces the models of ascension specific to the political field, while the autonomized political field itself modifies its recruitment pattern in order to conserve the advantages of domination and the differentiation*. This is why, in the newer generation, the possessors of academic degrees among those of middle class background occupy within the cultural field a place analogous to the positions held by the older generations within the political field. *The delayed homology* of the two fields is the reason why the cultural achievement has a strong symbolic stake, with even a specific function in support of political success in the former cohorts.

3. The political field. A bird's-eye view

The first impression we have in the historical review of the attributes of the studied governments is related to instability. During a period of only 82 years under scrutiny, not less than 98 governmental teams succeed one another – more than one a year, on average. There was also a rotation of 488 politicians in 1297 ministerial portfolios. The frequent changes of government are accompanied by the multiplication of portfolios held by the same persons (accumulation of positions), but also by numerous replacements within the same cabinet. All this resulted in the increase of the total number of ministerial positions occupied temporarily up to 1792. This is why a politician's carrier comprises an average of 3 or 4 portfolios held in various governments. Still, the high rate of intergovernmental circulation is associated with a high rate of governmental reshuffling, that is frequent discontinuities in the assignment of functions assumed by the same politicians: more than 87% of the ministers were appointed at least two times during their carrier and 65% of them were members of a cabinet at least 4 times. This state of affairs suggests a small but very tumultuous world, where, at least in the first decades, political battles were fought by roughly the same actors, each of them knowing the others very well, both when they were in opposition or in alliance, contributing to the refinement of the strategies employed in the political game as well as to the precipitation of its denouement.

Governmental instability is greater between 1859 and 1870, the period of the administrative unification of Moldavia and Walachia under the rule of Alexander John Cuza (1859–1866) and during the political confrontations generated by Charles I Hohenzollern's installment on the Romanian throne (1866–1870).[18] During all this time, there are few governments remaining in office for more than a year and the average of 2–3 changes of government per year (see the graph below) reflects the climate of contestation and political struggle, opposing the ruler and a legislative body elected on census based suffrage, the latter being numerically dominated by the great landowners generally hostile to reforms. After Cuza's abdication, these tensions are added to an anti-dynastic tendency instrumentalized by the radical Liberals. This conflict culminate in the crisis of Charles' rule, in 1870, who, on the point of renouncing the throne, forces the negotiation of a new political pact between the main political actors – the liberal groups (constituting a party in 1875) and the conservative bloc (forming a party in 1880). Consequently, Lascăr Catargiu's conservative government (1871–1876) inaugurates a steadier epoch of relative governmental stability, where the conservative and liberal governments succeed one another according to a "rotation" pact arbitrated by the monarch almost until Romania's entry into the First World War.

18 Paul E. Michelson, *Romanian Politics: 1859–1871. From Prince Cuza to Prince Carol* (Iaşi-Oxford: The Center for Romanian Studies, 1998).

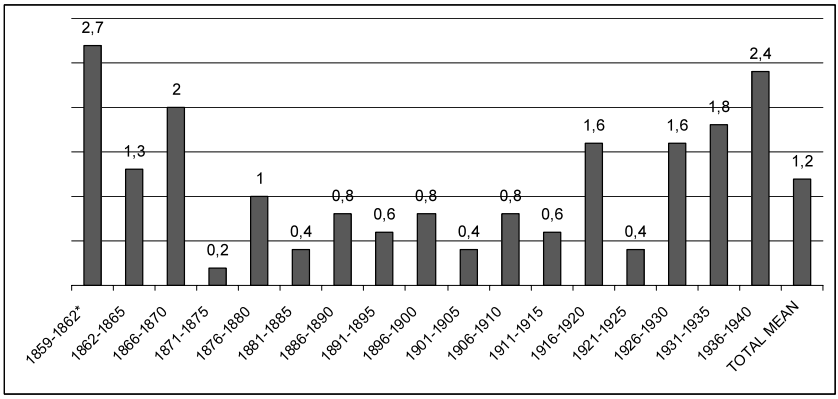

Figure 4. Governmental instability: Average number of cabinets per year in Romania (1859–1940)

The years of 1916–1920 are decisive for the complete reconfiguration of the political spectrum, if we judge by the eight governments from this period, reflecting the passage to another electoral regime. Accordingly, at the end of the war, Romania practically became a new country, whose territory (the provinces of the "Old Kingdom") was enlarged by the incorporation of Transylvania, a sector of Hungary's Partium and Banat, Bessarabia, and Bukovina. These regions had a predominantly Romanian population but also important ethnic minorities (Hungarians, Germans, Ukrainians, Russians, Jews), which brought up new stakes and new issues in Romanian politics. The abolition of the great landed estates as an effect of the land reform (1923) lead to the disappearance of the landlords' class and, implicitly, of its representative, the Conservative Party, which was almost wiped out of the political scene. The new Constitution of 1923, guaranteeing universal suffrage, consecrated the passage to a new way of doing politics, based on mass parties, placing the National Liberal Party in the center of the political game and driving a plethora of newly born right- and left-wing parties to attempt to undermine this central position. Among these, the most important are: People's Party (1918–1938), a populist party led by general Ion Averescu; the Romanian National Party (1881–1926) of the Transylvanian nationalists having militated for Transylvania's incorporation in Romania (first enthusiastically welcomed by greater Romania's electorate in 1919 but heavily "macerated" later in the political machinery of Bucharest so as to be dissolved into other formations); the National Peasant Party (1926–1947), a left-wing party born from the fusion of the Peasant Party (1918–1926), led by the rural teacher Ion Mihalache, with the Romanian National Party; the National Christian Party (1935–1938), a right-wing party organized around the Transylvanian poet Octavian Goga and the anti-Semitic ideologist A. C. Cuza; and the Party "Everything for the Country" (1927–1941), the new denomination of the "Legion of the Archangel Michael" (or the "Iron Guard"), a far right fascist and anti-Semitic formation, responsible for the climate of political violence which marked the whole interwar period. The institution of Charles II's authoritarian monarchical regime in 1938 resulted in restrictions imposed upon the activity

of the parliamentary parties and in the ultimate dissolution of most of them within the Front of National Rebirth, in the framework of a single party regime subordinated to the policies of the royal house. These changes initiate the instauration of Ion Antonescu's military dictatorship which completely eliminates any party activity.

A significant aspect in this analysis refers to the political mobility of government members measured by the total number of cumulated positions in different political formations that each minister has joined along his carrier. Table 5 displays this movement in the form of an *affiliation matrix,*[19] which is in fact a matrix of proximities and distances between parties stemming from the overlapping political memberships.

Looking at the political evolution of the ministerial cluster and particularly at the inter-party transfers (see Table 5) some additional observations can be made. To begin with, the stability of the liberal pole is noteworthy since its foundation in 1875 until the instauration of the royal dictatorship. The Liberals are the most numerous and the least inclined to change their options except for at the end of the 19th century, when a few Liberals joined the Conservatives. Until 1916, the governmental rotation system with alternating Liberal and Conservative governments provides a certain political stability, whose results allowed the internal consolidation of the state institutions.

However, concerning foreign affairs, it is important to mention the opposition between the French and the Central-European (Austrian and German) spheres of interests in which Romania was trapped even before 1916. This works as a stimulant for a subsequent nationally oriented reshuffling of foreign policy, with a progressive stress laid on the independence from the great powers. The Romanian politicians and government members – the great majority of which were educated within the orbit of French cultural and political influence – were hence obliged to take up *à contre-coeur* a new political course in response to strong diplomatic pressures exerted by the Central Powers. In those times, Romania was militarily and politically integrated in the Triple Alliance.

Conversely, after World War I, the Romanian political body was effervescently searching for alternatives able to undermine the dominance of the National Liberal Party and achieved temporary successes. They benefited first the Romanian National Party and (Averescu's) People's Party immediately after the war only leading to the right-wing oriented metamorphoses of the political stage which converged to openly anti-liberal options, which can be regarded as anti-modernizing options.

Although interesting and predictable, the political evolution of the former Transylvanian nationalist leaders has been given little scholarly attention. When sticking to their initial choice and joining the Peasant Party (thus forming the National Peasant Party) they also remained faithful to their initial democratic options. Nevertheless, nationalism pushed some of these militants toward the populist or radical right-wing parties such as, at first, the People's Party and then the National Agrarian Party (led by Goga and Cuza) – and finally (Goga's) National Christian Party. The alternative to liberalism was formulated

19 In the meaning defined in Stanley Wasserman and Katherine Faust, *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

in terms of populist-nationalist options, since the democratic left played a minor role in these shifts of balance of forces. This political system finally undermines itself: drawn apart by the lack of alternatives to an unavoidable modernization and incapable of waiving the short term benefits of demagogic popularity, the Romanian political class contributed to its own disappearance. The crushing blow delivered to Romanian political life by Charles's regime occured with the complicity of an important segment of the politicians – those having outspokenly traditionalist, anti-Semitic, and authoritarian options. The failure of the political class was due to its failure to openly embrace the project of modernity, including industrialization and urbanization and its refusal to pay the price for coquetting with totalitarian solutions.

Table 5. The affiliation matrix. Main political orientation and inter-party migrations of members of Romanian governments between 1859 and 1940

	Political orientation	Political orientation (overlapping affiliations)													
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	"National Party" ("Partida Nationala") (till 1859)	32	14	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	Conservative Party – and affiliates (1880-1925)	14	197	31	9	5	6	5	7	5	3	3	4	0	16
3	National Liberal Party – and affiliates (1875-1947)	4	31	101	13	1	1	11	2	7	2	1	2	0	3
4	National Romanian Party of Transylvania (1881–1926)	0	9	13	53	2	0	15	1	28	3	7	5	0	13
5	Other regional parties from the joint provinces after 1918	0	5	1	2	16	1	7	9	6	0	2	2	0	3
6	Social-Democrats, Communist, Left wing radicals	0	6	1	0	1	11	2	3	5	1	1	1	0	3
7	People's Party (gen. Averescu – 1918–1938)	0	5	11	15	7	2	51	3	9	3	17	14	0	9
8	Peasant Party (1918–1926)	0	7	2	1	9	3	3	27	20	3	2	2	0	7

9	National Peasant Party (1926–1947)	0	5	7	28	6	5	9	20	70	3	2	1	0	26
10	Agrarian Party (1929–1938)	0	3	2	3	0	1	3	3	3	11	0	0	0	5
11	National Agrarian Party (1932–1935)	0	3	1	7	2	1	17	2	2	0	21	18	0	5
12	National Christian Party (1935–1938)	0	4	2	5	2	1	14	2	1	0	18	27	1	6
13	Archangel Michael's Legion (fascists – 1927–1941)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	0
14	Charles II supportive political factions (1938–1940)	0	16	3	13	3	3	9	7	26	5	5	6	0	55

The issue of access to the political field raises the question of the individual resources of political, social, and personal nature which favor the insertion in one of the fields of activity of the ruling elite. In other words, it raises the question of the *political capital on which the success and the carrier rest upon*. In this sense, the trajectories of the ruling elite members shed light upon the functioning of two types of political resources corresponding to two different types of available capital: *the historical and the transactional capital.*

The first type derives from the participation in the foundation activities of the nation state and from the solidarity networks they created among its protagonists of the political field. It is an effect of the rupture occurring within the historical continuity of the former regime, and the political movement that imposed essential reversals of earlier connections and power relations. The second type – which does not rely on spectacular reversals of established hierarchies, but on the recognition of technical-organizational competences valuable for the development of political life and the art of administration and on activities carried out inside a stable political organization and within an established regime – follows a strategy of "small steps" associated with a "piecemeal work" in political carrier building.

In respect to the processes of accumulation and the uses of the two sorts of "capital", the historical capital is typical of the "expropriation" of the power positions of the established traditional elites by means of a radical change of regime, be that violent or not, with immediate consequences. The transactional capital pertains to the slow, progressive accumulation of carrier resources, in the context of the gradual professionalization and rationalization of the administration of public authority and power whereby transactions, exchanges, strategic games, and the involved intellectual resources play an ever increasing role.

The historical capital legitimizes self-esteem and political self-assertion in terms of previous glory and merit, a charisma of sorts put to the test in crucial

confrontational moments or at least on the strength of membership in a group which succeeded in imposing itself. The transactional capital relies upon legitimization in the terms of the "management" of social relations, power and the whole political-bureaucratic environment. The historical capital is an outcome of a historic rupture while the transactional capital a consequence of administrative and political continuities. The first requires a sociological inquiry of conflictual interactions and exclusions; the latter a sociological inquiry of consensus and integration. The historical capital's credit derives from previous presumptively heroic acts. Conversely, the transactional capital stems from the accumulation of routine gestures and activities.

The historical capital is a component which characterizes especially the periods following the seizure of power. It is a situation of the "change of the guard", hence the echo of this "heroic" moment fades out in time. Thus, "the personal history" of many of those joining the cultural or the political field indicates their participation in political and the historical events that have become hallmarks in the collective memory of the national building process: the revolution of 1848, the Union of 1859, Al. Ioan Cuza's deposition, the War of Independence of 1877. It can be said that the history of the Romanian political class is intermingled with the history of these epochal events[20].

Table 6. The Main Periods of Romanian Political History and the Availability of the Two Species of Political Capital in the Ruling Elite

Main Historical Periods		Species of Political Capital			Total
		Historical	Transactional	Without political capital	%
Separate governments under Al. I. Cuza rule	Moldavia 1859–1862	78.9	5.3	15.8	100.0
	Wallachia 1859–1862	82.4	14.7	2.9	100.0
United Governments under Al. I. Cuza rule	1862–1866	52.4	33.3	14.3	100.0
United Principalities – Carol the 1st	1866–1871	59.1	31.8	9.1	100.0
	1871–1881	41.2	58.8		100.0

20 But this can also be looked at from the opposite angle: only those events are epochal which lead to a certain political configuration where the winners impose their own history, once their domination in secured. As a significant sequence of events, the history of the nation is a "history" of the "narration". It is organized according to a teleological principle which orients its narrative and conveys a meaning resulting from the projection on the past of the political confrontations already settled conclusively. It is the history of the winners of the present, and those who evaluate it – a history in which, one must admit, there is only a small place for the losers and for the justification of positions that they defended. The temporal sequence thus reconstructed is a self-legitimizing history; it also provides for the protagonists having lived it a pretext for the mythical reiteration of a moment which, by these very means, becomes ontologically 'foundational': the present appears as a causal consequence of this legendary past – while, in fact, the past itself is just an "instrumentalized" invention of the present. It thus establishes a public discourse particularly emotionally loaded and whose implicit references are necessarily added to a "sacred story."

Constitutional Monarchy	1881–1891	31.6	63.2	5.3	100.0
	1891–1900	22.2	77.8		100.0
	1900–1910	13.3	86.7		100.0
	1910–1916	25.0	75.0		100.0
	1916–1919	54.0	38.0	8.0	100.0
	1920–1930	45.0	55.0		100.0
	1930–1938	35.4	58.3	6.3	100.0
Authoritarian Monarchy	1938–1940	24.0	42.0	34.0	100.0
Total		44.7	47.0	8.3	100.0

The analysis of Table 6 actually highlights a process in which the recruitment criteria of government members shift from those endowed with "historical capital" – a preference which especially manifest in the period before 1880 and immediately after the First World War – to those endowed with "transactional capital" during politically more stabilized periods. Historical capital is associated as a rule to political battles in strenuous conditions, while transactional capital is connected to routinized activities carried out within the limits of bureaucratic practices. The long term transition from historical to transactional political capital is no doubt related to the ageing of the "founding" generations, but it expresses at the same time an internal, independent development within the power field, consisting in a reorientation of elite careers toward the acquisition of qualities consonant with the need to render the administrative practice more efficient. Through the presence of highly skilled possessors of academic degrees, the political field becomes "technicized" and professionalized, thus acquiring an internal rationality which makes it significantly distinct – even if not definitively – from the "external" type of politics, based mostly on the construction and cultivation of the public image of the ruling elite.

4. The political field and the typology of government members

The homogeneity analysis (Multiple Correspondence Analysis for categorical data[21]) realized exclusively for the group of government members (using the data for the 488 ministers of the period from 1866 to 1938) points to an internal dynamic capable of casting light upon some general features of the cluster which governed the autonomization and professionalization of the political field.

First, the analysis was enriched with a supplementary set of descriptive variables clumped together in order to integrate various significant information concerning:

- basic demographic attributes (generation, rural or urban origin, province of origin, the period of the first recruitment in a cabinet – all subjects being males);

21 Multiple Correspondence, Version 1.0, by *Data Theory Scaling System Group (DTSS)*, Faculty of Social and Behavioral Sciences. Leiden University, The Netherlands.

- social attributes (social origin, highest social position, kin relationship with other political actors);
- education (level of education measured by the highest degree, the educational profile, the place of acquisition of the highest certificate);
- types of political capital accumulated;
- political affiliations.

Five relevant dimensions[22] expressing the main patterns of association between the variables mentioned above were considered relevant for picturing the field of oppositions among social attributes of the Romanian cabinet members (as described in figures 1, 2, and 3). In short, they offer a glimpse into the main historical transformations of the political field towards professionalization and yield fruitful suggestions for the interpretation of the whole process.

Thus, the first dimension – (*Historical dynamics*) correlates the main social and political trends since the foundation of the Romanian state and until the first half of 20th century. Hence, it opposes the aristocracy ruling in the second half of the 19th century and the lower class intellectuals (especially the sons of priests, teachers, peasants – or those of obscure origin) that entered the last governments under scrutiny. At the same time, is reveals the gradual democratization and bureaucratization of the political field and the access to ruling positions of categories with poor social background but with high educational skills. As Bourdieu observes for the social field in France in the 20th century,[23] the structure of this kind of opposition is a *chiasm*; on the one hand, it reflects the paradoxical asymmetry between the social and economic capital of the aristocratic elites lacking educational degrees in the early 1800's, and, on the other hand, the cultural capital of the new "meritocratic" elites of the 20th century, owners of certified competences in the 1930's and 1940's. In the early 19th century, the successors of the old *boyar* families had a secure social position and a promising political future but did not have the motivation to obtain educational degrees. Thus they at times acquired, during prolonged stays in (mostly) French institutions of elite training, a good but miscellaneous (not specialized) education. Family relations and political networks would complement this cultural background, which proved very helpful for those younger descendents of the nobility who compensated the positional losses of their parents by working for the diplomatic services of the new nation state. Indeed, over time, the more the old gentry lost its positions in the ever more technocratic governmental teams, the more their offspring found a good livelihood in embassies and departments of foreign affairs. In contrast, the lower-class newcomers (of quite often rural origin) in the elite

22 Here is the model summary for the multiple correspondence analysis for the five dimensions extracted:

Dimension	Cronbach's Alpha	Variance Accounted For	
	Total (Eigenvalue)	Inertia	Total (Eigenvalue)
1	,847	4,938	,290
2	,770	3,635	,214
3	,728	3,172	,187
4	,645	2,546	,150
5	,556	2,097	,123
Total		16,388	,964
Mean	,738(a)	3,278	,193

23 Pierre Bourdieu, *La Distinction*.

used their educational capital as a substitute for nobility (they often became academics as well) and as a tool for ascendant mobility. Apparently, such self-made politicians, less sustained by hegemonic family networks, were also more attracted by populist and nationalist movements (the People's Party, the National Peasant Party, or the National Christian Party) in their efforts to adjust to the new mass-party orientation of the post World War I years.

In terms of regional distribution, there are contrasts mainly between the profiles of the old generation of Moldavian and Wallachian politicians and the newcomers from the provinces attached to Romania after 1918. Thus, the first dimension reflects the reconfiguration of the relationship between center and periphery after WWI and the strongly distinctive traits of those who came from Transylvania, Bukovina, and Bessarabia. The latter were educated in Budapest, Vienna, Cluj, or Chernowitz and tried to impose at first a rather Central European style of political action.

The second dimension (*Military vs. Political Elite*) is in opposition to the technocratic administrative segment (composed of highly educated and highly skilled lawyers, economists, diplomats, managers, or academics) as the military elite, that is, officers recruited in governmental teams. Not surprisingly, this also reflects an opposition between political activism, strategic networking, and the formal political neutrality required from the military body. It additionally expresses the disparity between the owners of transactional capital and those who lack any political capital.

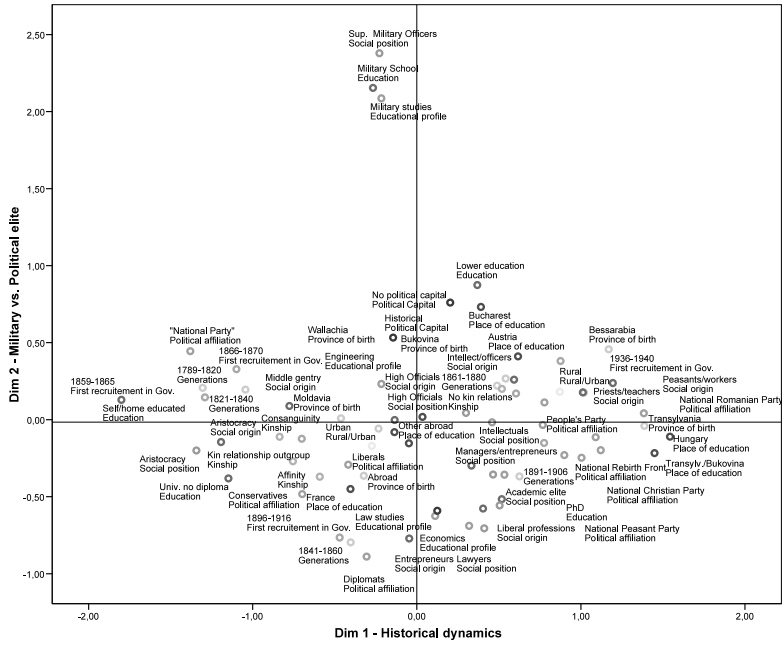

Figure 5: The first two dimensions are projections for the variables describing the social attributes of Romanian Government members between 1859 and 1940.

The third dimension (*Regional oppositions between the Center and the provinces*) differentiates between the members of cabinet coming from Transylvania, Bessarabia and Bukovina and those from Wallachia, a region which, significantly, tends to monopolize the recruitment of the military elite. This might be an important clue in explaining Wallachia's political dominance after the Union of 1859 and Bucharest's centralizing policy. In this interpretation, the opposition between possessors of technical or entrepreneurial skills, educated abroad (in France, mostly), and the less educated segment (including aristocratic autodidacts) expresses the capital's propensity to concentrate the recruitment of the state technocracy and, also, the decline and marginalization of the nobility in the outgoing 20th century. The latter would, over time, transfer some of its former influence to the Foreign Affairs.

The fourth dimension (*Generational shift in political options in the interwar period*) describes the gradual drift of the government to the extreme right during the interwar period. This process includes the gradual replacement of the old generations of politicians – Liberals, Conservatives or Transylvanian unionists alike – by representatives of populist, nationalist and anti-Semitic movements, or by the new technocrats that have been recruited as politically neutral experts in the administration of Charles II's authoritarian regime. Retrospectively, it is highly astonishing how Transylvanian politicians, with their strong democratic traditions in the Parliament of Hungary, could join and reinforce anti-Semitic and anti-democratic political forces such as Goga or Cuza's parties. In fact, Iuliu Maniu's political project (National Peasant Party) included a sort of democratic self-defens of the political institutions, but other partners coming from the National Romanian Party of Transylvania (like Vaida Voievod) as well as some representatives of the newer generations of Transylvanian politicians became increasingly sensitive to the anti-parliamentary trends of the interwar times.

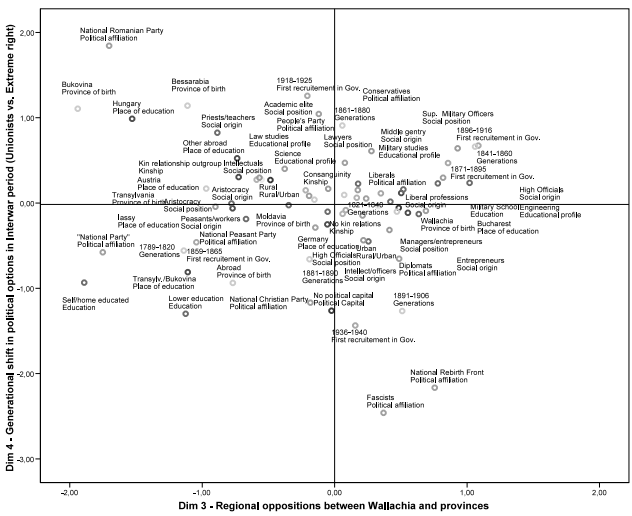

Figure 6. The projections for the third and fourth dimensions of the variables describing the social attributes of the Romanian Governmental elites between 1859 and 1940

The fifth dimension (*Transylvanians vs. Bessarabians*) differentiates between members of National Peasant Party governments, of mostly middle-class and intellectual background with some of lower social extraction coming from the new reunited provinces, and the managers and technocrats of the 1936–1940 period.

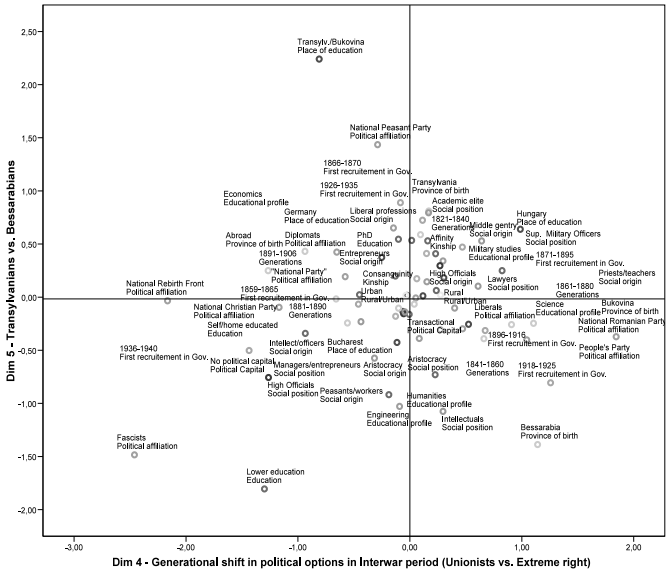

Figure 7: The projections for the forth and fifth dimensions of the variables describing the social attributes of the Romanian Governmental elites between 1859 and 1940

In the next step of the analysis, the five dimensional scores are attached to all those included in the data base and processed using quick cluster analysis. After having put to test the variables of the multi-variate analysis in order to distinguish homogeneous groups of politicians according to their collective attributes, a number of six classes were finally considered satisfactory for obtaining a significant historical typology of Romanian government members, each of these groups being strongly differentiated from each others. These groups – briefly presented as distributed through the main historical periods in Table 7 – are the following:

1. *The old Moldavian and Wallachian aristocracy (the "historical" elite*): This is the governing group constituted of descendants of the great aristocratic families (*boyars*) and of middle-ranked gentry, characteristic specifically of the first decades of the new Romanian state, active in politics, as members of the "National Party" or the liberal groups before 1859. They possess historical capital (an attribute which justifies the "historical elite" label), all of them belonging to the generations born before 1840: they provide the revolutionaries in 1848 (*paşoptişti*), the unionists in 1859 and the participants of the coup d'État of 1866 which

dethroned Prince Cuza. Integrated in conspiratorial (Freemasonry or other secret societies) or kinship networks inside and outside the political class the group of the aristocrats appears as a corporate cluster, since they have common interests and act together, even if their ideological options are equally oriented toward conservatism and liberalism. But these political orientations are often shifting and the political interests are reconsidered for the purpose of re-launching carriers. Finally, a trend discernible for some significant members of this group seems to reveal something important about a certain class' drift; starting as a political liberal and ending as a conservative. Therefore, the social capital converted into political transactions tends to be the main instrument of preserving the social status and political hegemony of an old ruling class for whom family membership and kinship connections remained for centuries the first and ultimate principle of personal and social life. Thus, for this governmental section, public politics emerge as a complex kind of extended algebra of family affairs and continues to be used as an instrument for managing long term kinship strategies; a motivation more powerful than any provisional, or even historically loaded, circumstance. We should not ignore that history itself is appropriated in its substance by particular family histories. The family strategies and the kinship logic function as a generator of obligations, social rules, and interdependencies that secures the existence of the aristocracy as an autonomous trans-generational entity. They oblige individuals to win or to give up their personalized wishes of salvation and condemn the aristocrats to live or die, like dinosaurs, all together, instead of looking for any possible individual escape. This is the most influential of the leading groups, having controlled about one third of positions of prime-minister of all governments.

Table 7. The typology of the cabinet members of Romanian governments between 1859 and 1940, by periods of first recruitment (raw percentages)

First recruitment into a governmental team		Typology of cabinet members						Total	
		„Historical elite"	„Transactional elite"	Military Elite	Unionists from the new provinces	National Peasant Party experts and technocrats	Technocrats of the last decade & Charles the 2nd's supporters	%	N
	1859–1865	88.7	5.2	6.2				100.0	97
	1866–1870	45.5	27.3	27.3				100.0	22
	1871–1895	9.6	65.4	25.0				100.0	52
	1896–1916		90.2	9.8				100.0	41
	1918–1925		39.3	14.6	41.6		4.5	100.0	89
	1926–1935		34.3	10.1	3.0	45.5	7.1	100.0	99
	1936–1940		4.5	11.4	2.3	9.1	72.7	100.0	88
Total		20.7	31.8	12.7	8.6	10.9	15.4	100.0	488

2. *The transactional elite of the historical parties* is the numerous group of politicians born mostly after 1840, mainly Liberals and Conservatives, holding the kind of political capital labeled here as "transactional." They operate all along the period chiefly as party activists and build their carrier merely by day to day negotiations and by strategic actions within the political class. As in the previous group, some are appointed in a government as Liberals, and shift to Conservatism later in the carrier. The transactional elite is the political successor of the historical elite of the two "Old Kingdom" provinces (Wallachia and Moldavia) and comes into politics mainly in the interval between 1871–1935. Two thirds of them are Wallachians originating from the middle classes and are integrated (either by kinship or by the political connections) in the interpersonal networks of the political class. Most of them have a PhD or BA degree in law, acquired mostly in France or Bucharest, and occupy their political positions as higher state officials, lawyers, or university professors.
3. The members of the *military elite* form a different body of dignitaries. Most of them are not involved in everyday political confrontations and in the web of informal ties cultivated by the other clusters. They are mostly co-opted as war ministers in different governments. However, about a quarter of them belong to the Liberal party and some of them become prime ministers or initiators of political parties, like general Ion Averescu, the founder of People's Party. The biographical data are scarce for this segment, but we know that most of the military elite comes

from Wallachia and have completed superior military education. The "historical capital", i.e., their aura as war heroes in 1877, 1913, 1918, seems to be a decisive criterion for their selection as ministers.

4. *The Unionists from the new provinces*: Active politicians before 1918 in Transylvania, Bessarabia and Bukovina, were mostly key actors in the process of unification of the Romanian state, and they constituted a category of government members that were given a warm welcome in the first governments following the end of the First World War. After 1918, they received as a reward positions such as Minister of State or Minister without portfolio. This was not only a sign of symbolic acknowledgment of their merits as local agents of the unification – or as a strategic way to provide a political legitimation to the postwar territorial acquisitions until the implementation of its international recognition by the Paris Peace Conference – but also a means of placing the new regions (still unintegrated administratively) under Bucharest's centralizing control. The most prominent positions in this segment were held by Transylvanians whose political initiatives at the end of the war led to the creation of a provisory government (the Ruling Council of Transylvania, 1918–1920). This allowed for the administrative control of this region recently detached from Austria-Hungary and then to obtain the best electoral score in the elections of 1919. Following this turn they formed an ephemeral government under the leadership of Alexandru Vaida Voevod, the vice-president of the National Romanian Party of Transylvania. The Unionists, as possessors of a symbolic capital that almost all the subsequent governing parties coveted, always had a part to play in the political and image building governmental strategies in the first postwar decade, but they were assigned mostly decorative posts. Their social profile is also different from that of other clusters: it is in this group that we find the greatest share of priests', teachers', or peasants' sons, almost always with university diplomas, a fact illustrating the essentially intellectual character of this "self-made" elite, as was the Romanian leading strata of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Educated in Vienna, Budapest, or in the German environment, and accumulating degrees in medicine, sciences, and agronomy – in addition to diplomas in law, philosophy or philology – they display a cultural profile different from other political elite clusters of the Old Kingdom. Their political culture is also particular since it is the product of the democratic competition within the Austro-Hungarian national movements and political environment, much more strictly formalized than that of the Principalities. These conditions rather delayed their adaptation to the new Romanian framework. However, it is interesting that the inevitable dissolution of the former political platforms (the regional nationalist parties), which propelled them to the center of Romanian political life, directed their options mainly toward the Liberals or to parties with populist profiles (People's Party) and, to a lesser extent, toward the National Peasant Party (which resulted from the fusion of the Romanian National Party with the Peasant Party).

5. The experts and technocrats of the National Peasant Party include the newer generations of Transylvanian political actors together with an important segment of politicians born in the Old Kingdom (especially Wallachians), whose governmental debuts take place after 1925. Having a social profile somewhat similar to that of the Unionists, they distinguish themselves by the large proportion (87%) of those with doctorates obtained in the universities of Central Europe and (more recently) Transylvania proper (almost half of them also occupying university positions). They represent an important body of specialists in law and economy, and occupy most of the technical ministerial positions, such as those of finances, agriculture, commerce industry or work, and social welfare. They gravitate politically toward the National Peasant Party (64%) and an important proportion of them is constituted of former members of the Romanian National Party (42%). This is a generation expressing the accommodation of the Transylvanian elite to Bucharest's politics, even if a great part of this group does not transfer all its activities to the capital. The model of the politician that they illustrate indicates the progressively marked shift towards the pattern of competent and influential technocrats joining politics. This is precisely why some of them were also recruited into the "governments of experts" during the royal dictatorship.
6. The last type of government members, *the technocrats of the last decade of the 19th century* and Charles II's supporters: this brings together the ministers of the last cabinets of the parliamentary period (1936–1940) and the high state officials without political affiliation, recruited as experts in the governments of the authoritarian rule introduced by King Charles II. As graduates of the universities of Bucharest (for the most part) or France, these technocrats appear as a historical substitute of the category of the "transactional elite." In a sense, the technocratization of the administrative elite in the mid 1930's is analogous to the process which, before 1918, obliged the ruling strata to a measure of political professionalism. However, the category's success rests less upon its networks of interpersonal relations and political recruitment, and more on their particular competences at the service of a state, the administration of which necessitates an increasing need of technical and administrative know-how.

5. Conclusions

The conclusions of this account of the stakes and mechanisms of competition for positions in the elite will specifically draw upon the political aspects of this problem area. The phenomenon of state power is essentially ambivalent. Far from being reducible to the "monopoly of the means of legitimate coercion", as Weber put it[24], the public power game implies, in addition to coercion and the

24 Max Weber, *Economy and Society. An Outline of Interpretive Sociology,* edited by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, vol. 2 (Berkley: University of California Press, 1978).

imposition of rules upon society, the management of rewards and mechanisms of influence and the co-optation of those invested with power.

In the case of Romania, in the period from 1859 to 1916, both of these dimensions come into play: First, the allocative dimension refers to the confrontation relative to the control of the material and human resources available in the country by the great landowners, represented by the aristocracy of old stock or, alternatively, by the state officials; Second, the co-optation dimension refers to the incorporation into the governing elites of (preponderantly intellectual) categories capable of a more efficient exercise of governmental prerogatives and the accession of some middle-class categories – other than the entrepreneurs – to the aristocratic stratum. The explanation of this alliance between the government members and the emergent "state nobility", composed mostly of jurists and intellectuals rests not as much upon the absence of a "middle class" or a national bourgeoisie – an absence proven by nothing besides ideological discourses. Rather, it rests upon the mechanisms of reproduction of positions occupied by the dominant categories' and on the aristocracy's new strategies of adaptation to the process of modernization of Romanian society and its institutions, whereby state-building becomes the most dynamic factor of social modernization itself. To conclude, the resources mobilized in Romania in the modernization process were rather institutional than economic.

These resources also advance the professionalization of activities in the political field, and its evolution toward a regime of co-optation and transaction, in search of continuity and the conversion of aristocratic privileges into positions securing the economic and political control of public resources. This leads to the emergence of at least two governing elite clusters whose profiles no longer resemble those of the previous periods: the aristocracy, holding bureaucratic positions, and the newcomers in the administration of the state, whose origins are often in the upper classes but who are co-opted according to the criterion of political-administrative utility. This last group gives birth to the new bureaucratic elite, the members of which are complementary to each other rather than competitive by nature. In time, this is reflected by the shift from the symbolic type of power legitimization, based on membership in or connection to the aristocratic circle of rulers, to a "legal-rational" legitimization characteristic of the new administrative elites. This also relates to the alternative positions that the intellectuals (as social actors specialized in the production of discourses on power legitimization) occupy through this process, which utterly changes (and strengthens) the public functions assumed by the intellectuals themselves. The autonomization (and then the estrangement and aloofness of a cultural field as against the political field) is a symptom of those changes, as well as the substitution, within the field of administration proper, of "social capital" (the assets gained from social origin or high class connections), by technical and organizational qualifications. Thus, modernization means the transition from a domination system based on the personalized networks of members of the ruling classes to an impersonal and bureaucratized system, where inherited status and influence are less important than administrative efficiency and the capacity to accomplish prescribed institutional functions.

ANNEXE

Social Profile and Types of The Romanian Cabinet Members between 1859-1940

(Extended presentation of the typology resulted by clustering the dimensional scores of the attributes of the Government members)

		Typology of cabinet members						
		Old Moldavian and Wallachian aristocracy (Historical elites)	Transactional elite of the historical parties	Military Elite	Unionists from the new provinces (after 1918)	Experts and technocrats of the National Peasant Party (after 1926)	Technocrats of the last decay & Charles the 2nd's supporters	Total
Epoch	1859–1917	100.0	52.9	46.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	43.4
	1918–1940	0.0	47.1	53.2	100.0	100.0	100.0	56.6
Generations - born between	1789–1820	57.4	1.9	6.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.3
	1821–1840	42.6	16.8	32.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	18.2
	1841–1860	0.0	31.0	9.7	0.0	0.0	1.3	11.3
	1861–1880	0.0	31.6	35.5	78.6	18.9	9.3	24.8
	1881–1890	0.0	13.5	14.5	21.4	56.6	58.7	23.2
	1891–1906	0.0	5.2	1.6	0.0	24.5	30.7	9.2
Period of the first recruitment into a governmental team	1859–1865	85.1	3.2	9.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	19.9
	1866–1870	9.9	3.9	9.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5
	1871–1895	5.0	21.9	21.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.7
	1896–1916	0.0	23.9	6.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.4
	1918–1925	0.0	22.6	21.0	88.1	0.0	5.3	18.2
	1926–1935	0.0	21.9	16.1	7.1	84.9	9.3	20.3
	1936–1940	0.0	2.6	16.1	4.8	15.1	85.3	18.0
Rural vs urban origin	Rural	9.9	12.3	21.0	69.0	60.4	32.0	26.0
	Urban	64.4	85.8	61.3	21.4	37.7	49.3	61.9
Province of birth	Wallachia	43.6	67.7	58.1	11.9	22.6	48.0	48.8
	Moldavia	45.5	28.4	25.8	9.5	7.5	17.3	26.0
	Transylvania	2.0	0.6	3.2	47.6	58.5	12.0	13.3
	Bukovine	2.0	0.0	0.0	11.9	1.9	0.0	1.6
	Bessarabia	0.0	0.0	1.6	19.0	3.8	4.0	2.9
	Abroad	3.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	3.8	2.7	1.8

Province of destination	Bucharest	55.4	78.1	90.3	45.2	47.2	84.0	69.7
	Wallachia	1.0	5.2	0.0	4.8	5.7	2.7	3.3
	Moldavia	40.6	13.5	6.5	2.4	3.8	1.3	14.3
	Transylvania	0.0	1.3	0.0	23.8	37.7	8.0	7.8
	Bukovine	0.0	0.6	0.0	9.5	0.0	1.3	1.2
	Bessarabia	2.0	1.3	1.6	14.3	5.7	2.7	3.3
	Abroad	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
Social origin	Missing data	8.9	31.0	41.9	23.8	45.3	57.3	32.8
	Aristocracy	61.4	16.1	6.5	14.3	1.9	2.7	20.5
	High officials	0.0	8.4	8.1	2.4	3.8	2.7	4.7
	Middle gentry	18.8	16.8	21.0	0.0	1.9	1.3	12.3
	Entrepreneurs	5.9	10.3	0.0	0.0	5.7	1.3	5.3
	Liberal professions	1.0	7.7	1.6	2.4	7.5	6.7	4.9
	Intellectuals, state officials	1.0	3.9	9.7	4.8	11.3	10.7	5.9
	Priests, teachers	3.0	3.9	6.5	35.7	15.1	2.7	7.8
	Peasants, workers	0.0	1.9	3.2	16.7	7.5	14.7	5.5
Social position	Missing data	3.0	1.3	1.6	0.0	1.9	4.0	2.0
	Aristocracy	63.4	12.3	1.6	11.9	0.0	1.3	18.4
	High officials	21.8	34.8	30.6	31.0	34.0	62.7	35.5
	Higher military officers	2.0	0.0	64.5	2.4	0.0	2.7	9.2
	Academic elite	3.0	20.0	0.0	14.3	41.5	6.7	13.7
	Managers, entrepreneurs	0.0	5.2	0.0	2.4	0.0	8.0	3.1
	Lawyers	3.0	22.6	0.0	19.0	17.0	4.0	11.9
	Intellectuals	1.0	3.9	0.0	19.0	5.7	9.3	5.1
Kinship	Consanguin kinship	31.7	18.7	16.1	2.4	7.5	6.7	16.6
	Kinship by alliance	62.4	38.1	27.4	11.9	20.8	6.7	32.8
	Important kin member outside the ruling group	21.8	5.8	0.0	7.1	1.9	2.7	7.6
	Consanguine ascendants (grandfathers, fathers, uncles)	7.9	4.5	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7
	Consanguine descendants (sons, grandsons, nephews)	3.0	8.4	1.6	0.0	0.0	4.0	4.1
	Siblings – Brothers	10.9	3.9	4.8	2.4	5.7	0.0	4.9
	Siblings - Primary cousins	10.9	1.3	3.2	0.0	1.9	4.0	3.9
	Allied ascendants (grandfathers, uncles)	5.0	5.8	1.6	0.0	1.9	0.0	3.3
	Allied descendants (nephews)	3.0	6.5	4.8	2.4	3.8	0.0	3.9
	Siblings by alliance (brothers in law/ fathers of sons in law)	21.8	8.4	4.8	2.4	3.8	2.7	8.8
	Siblings by alliance (co-lateral cousins, other co-lateral kin members)	23.8	18.7	12.9	4.8	13.2	2.7	14.8

Social Capital	Political elite member antourage	18.8	20.6	17.7	11.9	20.8	9.3	17.4
	No kin relations, no entourage	12.9	43.9	54.8	61.9	62.3	78.7	47.7
	Jockey-Club member	25.7	6.5	8.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.4
	"Junimea" Cercle	6.9	5.2	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	3.5
	Cultural associations (1830-1850)	13.9	0.6	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3
	Freemansonry	32.7	5.8	11.3	9.5	3.8	2.7	11.7
Education	PhD	11.9	40.0	0.0	45.2	86.8	36.0	34.0
	University Diploma	12.9	43.9	3.2	50.0	13.2	42.7	29.3
	High education without diploma	41.6	14.8	0.0	2.4	0.0	1.3	13.7
	Military Academy/ School	5.9	0.6	93.5	0.0	0.0	6.7	14.3
	Secondary and lower education	1.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	2.7	0.8
	Self- or home educated	16.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	3.7
Place of aquiring the highest certificate	Missing data/Education at home	25.7	5.8	12.9	7.1	1.9	24.0	13.3
	Transylvania, Tchernowitz, Budapest, Vienna,	5.9	2.6	8.1	40.5	47.2	12.0	13.5
	Germany	9.9	5.2	6.5	4.8	13.2	9.3	7.8
	Bucharest	4.0	14.2	48.4	14.3	3.8	25.3	17.0
	Elsewhere outside Romania	6.9	5.8	1.6	11.9	5.7	4.0	5.7
	France and Belgium	37.6	45.2	11.3	4.8	13.2	14.7	27.7
	France and Germany	1.0	5.2	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	2.3
	Bucharest and France	1.0	13.5	9.7	2.4	9.4	8.0	8.2
	Iassy	7.9	2.6	1.6	9.5	5.7	2.7	4.5
Place of studies	Bucharest	5.0	30.3	61.3	19.0	15.1	41.3	28.1
	Cluj and Transylvania	1.0	0.0	0.0	4.8	26.4	4.0	4.1
	Iassy	8.9	3.2	1.6	9.5	5.7	5.3	5.3
	Tchernowitz	1.0	0.0	0.0	4.8	5.7	0.0	1.2
	Hungary	1.0	0.0	0.0	26.2	22.6	4.0	5.5
	Austria	5.0	2.6	8.1	21.4	20.8	8.0	8.2
	Germany	10.9	11.6	8.1	14.3	17.0	9.3	11.5
	France	42.6	65.2	21.0	14.3	22.6	22.7	39.3
	Other place abroad	11.9	9.7	4.8	21.4	13.2	5.3	10.2

Profile of studies	Theology	3.0	0.0	0.0	9.5	5.7	5.3	2.9
	Law	32.7	76.8	0.0	47.6	64.2	32.0	47.1
	Political_science	3.0	8.4	0.0	4.8	7.5	0.0	4.5
	Philosophy	1.0	11.6	0.0	19.0	11.3	9.3	8.2
	Letters_Arts	2.0	12.9	0.0	21.4	3.8	9.3	8.2
	History	5.9	1.9	0.0	7.1	3.8	1.3	3.1
	Medicine	5.9	4.5	0.0	21.4	7.5	8.0	6.6
	Sciences, Agronomy	1.0	8.4	4.8	14.3	7.5	4.0	6.1
	Economics	5.0	10.3	0.0	2.4	32.1	5.3	8.8
	Engineering_ architecture	4.0	7.7	9.7	4.8	0.0	13.3	7.0
	Military	4.0	1.9	95.2	2.4	1.9	6.7	15.0
Species of Political Capital	Historical	75.2	9.0	85.5	73.8	58.5	13.3	44.1
	Transactional	12.9	89.0	6.5	26.2	39.6	52.0	46.3
	No political capital	8.9	1.9	6.5	0.0	1.9	30.7	8.2
Political Capital	1848 Revolutionary	27.7	1.3	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.6
	1848 Anti-revolutionary	5.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2
	Union activist in 1859	56.4	2.6	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.9
	Anti-Unionist (1859)	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
	Putchist in 1866	17.8	0.6	8.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.9
	Anti-putchist (1866) or anti-dynastic	6.9	1.3	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0
	Against political mainstream (1848-1866)	12.9	1.3	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5
	Active in 1877-78 war	2.0	0.6	32.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.7
	Active in 1913 war	0.0	0.0	17.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3
	Active in 1916-1918 war	0.0	4.5	53.2	19.0	18.9	6.7	12.9
	Member of the Budapest Parliament	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.5	1.9	0.0	1.0
	Union Activist in 1918	0.0	2.6	1.6	66.7	43.4	6.7	12.5
	Member of the Great National Romanian Assembly (1918)	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.8	3.8	2.7	1.2
	Alba Iulia Assembly delegate	0.0	0.0	0.0	26.2	24.5	0.0	4.9
	Member of the Transylvanian Provisional Government (Consiliul Dirigent, 1918-1920)	0.0	0.0	0.0	21.4	20.8	0.0	4.1
	National Romanian Council	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.1	3.8	0.0	1.0
	Foreign affair lobbyist	11.9	9.7	0.0	7.1	3.8	4.0	7.2

Political affiliation when joining first cabinet	No data/No affiliation	12.9	3.2	64.5	4.8	11.3	41.3	19.9
	"National Party" ("Partida Nationala")	13.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9
	Conservatives	26.7	29.0	4.8	16.7	0.0	0.0	16.8
	Liberals	44.6	54.8	21.0	14.3	9.4	12.0	33.4
	National Romanian Party/Other regional parties from the joint provinces after 1918	0.0	0.0	0.0	42.9	5.7	0.0	4.3
	People's Party/P. Poporului	0.0	5.8	4.8	19.0	1.9	1.3	4.5
	National Peasant Party/ Peasant Party	0.0	3.2	4.8	0.0	60.4	6.7	9.2
	National Christian Party /other nationalists	0.0	1.9	0.0	2.4	11.3	18.7	4.9
	Archangel Michael's League (fasciste)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.3	1.4
	National Rebirth Front	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.0	1.2
	Diplomats (Politically unaffiliated)	2.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	1.4

Cummu-lated political affiliation	No political affiliation/ no data	11.9	1.9	51.6	4.8	3.8	40.0	16.6
	"National Party" ("Partida Nationala") (till 1859)	31.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.6
	National Liberal Party - and affiliates (1875-1947)	45.5	66.5	25.8	31.0	13.2	16.0	40.4
	Conservative Party - and affiliates (1880-1925)	29.7	38.7	6.5	14.3	1.9	0.0	20.7
	National Romanian Party of Transylvania (1881-1926)	0.0	7.7	0.0	42.9	41.5	1.3	10.9
	Other regional parties from the joint provinces after 1918	0.0	0.6	0.0	26.2	5.7	1.3	3.3
	Social-Democrats, Communists, Left wing radicals	0.0	3.2	0.0	4.8	5.7	1.3	2.3
	People's Party (gen. Averescu - 1918-1938)	0.0	10.3	11.3	38.1	11.3	8.0	10.5
	Peasant Party (1918-1926)	0.0	2.6	0.0	19.0	22.6	4.0	5.5
	National Peasant Party (1926-1947)	0.0	8.4	6.5	26.2	64.2	10.7	14.3
	Agrarian Party (1929-1938)	0.0	1.9	0.0	7.1	7.5	1.3	2.3
	National Agrarian Party (1932-1935)	0.0	2.6	1.6	14.3	3.8	10.7	4.3
	National Christian Party (1935-1938)	0.0	2.6	1.6	9.5	5.7	20.0	5.5
	Small nationalist parties	0.0	1.9	0.0	2.4	1.9	0.0	1.0
	Archangel Michael's Legion (fascists - 1927-1941)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.3	1.4
	Carol the 2nd's supportive political factions (1938-1940)	0.0	7.7	0.0	19.0	35.8	21.3	11.3
	Diplomats	5.9	1.9	1.6	0.0	5.7	1.3	2.9

Portfolios	Prime Minister	23.8	11.6	8.1	9.5	13.2	14.7	14.1
	Vice Prime Minister	0.0	1.9	1.6	2.4	1.9	0.0	1.2
	Minister of state / Minister without portfolio	0.0	11.0	8.1	45.2	17.0	2.7	10.7
	Internal Affairs	25.7	25.8	11.3	16.7	13.2	10.7	19.5
	Foreign Affairs	34.7	19.4	6.5	2.4	5.7	6.7	16.0
	Finances	32.7	14.8	9.7	7.1	22.6	9.3	17.2
	Justice	28.7	27.1	3.2	11.9	7.5	6.7	17.8
	War / Defence	10.9	5.2	77.4	0.0	5.7	9.3	15.8
	Education	0.0	3.9	0.0	4.8	15.1	10.7	4.9
	Cults, Arts	32.7	18.1	3.2	23.8	0.0	12.0	16.8
	Public Works	20.8	21.3	11.3	19.0	11.3	6.7	16.4
	Agriculture	4.0	19.4	4.8	14.3	26.4	6.7	12.7
	Industry and Trade	0.0	16.1	6.5	14.3	17.0	6.7	10.0
	Communications	0.0	1.9	8.1	2.4	1.9	0.0	2.0
	Health	0.0	1.9	0.0	7.1	5.7	8.0	3.1
	Labour, Social welfare	0.0	6.5	0.0	14.3	11.3	5.3	5.3
	National Economy	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	3.8	8.0	2.0
	Propaganda, press, information	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	3.8	5.3	1.6
	Minorities	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.2
	Financial control	11.9	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7
	Foreign Trade	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	1.9	1.3	0.6
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N =	101	155	62	42	53	75	488

Mariana Hausleitner

Minorities and Sociopolitical Crises in Three Regional Societies: Bukovina, Bessarabia, and Transylvania-Banat (1918–1944)

The way in which the rights of minorities are secured by a given state says much about the political structures of that state. While the Romanian state of the interwar era possessed all the institutions suitable for a democracy, their operational competence was often limited. The regions bordering the Soviet Union were almost constantly under martial law. Because of this the constitutionally guaranteed rights of the population were not respected and especially members of ethnic minorities were subject to the arbitrariness of the military administration. The state security police even made distinctions in the application of censorship and the restriction on the right of assembly between the different minority groups: It viewed the Germans before 1933 as loyal to the Romanian state, while the Hungarians and the Ukrainians were – collectively – accused of irredentism. In the case of the Jews, it was assumed that they were holding communist sympathies, even when in fact the state security police was dealing with social democrats or Zionists. I will use the descriptions from the documents of the security authorities as a starting point and not as factual evidence – as it is often done by historians in Romania and the Republic of Moldova.[1] I will complement these with an analysis of newspaper articles of the time and memoirs of members of ethnic minorities. In the case of the Bukovina I will make use of interviews with people who have been contemporary to the time under scrutiny.[2]

In the following, I will present my research on Bukovina and Bessarabia as well as on Southern Transylvania (the Banat region). However, since my research on the first two regions is already completed, while my project on the latter has just begun, my presentation on Bukovina and Bessarabia will be drawing on a much wider array of findings. The results of my research in relation to these two areas can be very helpful to students working on the situation of the ethnic minorities in Transylvania, especially in order to elaborate the specificity of Romanianization measures in this region. Among

1 For example: Anatol Petrencu, *România şi Basarabia în anii celui de-al doilea război mondial* [Romania and Bessarabia in the years of World War II] (Chişinău: Epigraf 1999), 35; Dumitru Şandru, *Mişcări de populaţie în România 1940-1948* [Population dynamics in Romania, 1940–1948] (Bucureşti: Editura Enciclopedică 2003), 225–236.

2 Interviews with Jews in the Ukraine: *"Czernowitz s gewen an alte jidische Schtot…" Überlebende berichten* (Berlin: Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, 1999) and with Bukovinian Jews in Israel: Zwischen Jordan und Pruth. Lebenserinnerungen Czernowitzer Juden. (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2003).

the strongest parallels to be found is probably that between the situation of the Hungarians and the Ukrainians in the Bukovina – the representatives of the latter starting to reconcile themselves to the idea of being a minority within Romania only in the middle of the 1920s. Among both ethnic groups irredentist activists gained ground after the middle of the 1930s due to the limited concessions made to them in the cultural sphere.

Bukovina

In my habilitation thesis I have analyzed the implications of the Romanianization policies in Bukovina in the time between 1918 and 1944. What was happening in the 1920s can be seen as a frontal assault on the cultural capital (following Bourdieu) of non-Romanians.[3] Given the immediate introduction of Romanian as the only administrative language, it was possible to sack many of the civil servants in the administration and the judiciary of the region. Many of the state-run high schools, where the language of education was not Romanian, were closed down. This affected mainly the Ukrainians and the Germans, while many Jews were able to send their children to private schools.[4] The law of 1925 then also affected the private schools and resulted in the first main conflict in Chernowitz. Some of the Jewish high school students, who failed their final exams because of the examination style of a Romanian teacher, confronted him and were subsequently arrested because of this. During their trial in 1926 a Romanian nationalist assassinated the Jewish high school student David Fallik. The Romanian Minister of the Interior applauded the deed and the assassin was acquitted.[5] However, it has to be noted that the assassin was not from Bukovina. Until the mid-thirties the student associations of the far right remained fairly weak and less radical here than their counterparts in the other provinces. A reason for this was that until then the Romanian university graduates in Chernowitz were in no pain of finding lucrative posts after leaving university. Following the assassination of Fallik, the National Peasant Party government made some concessions as to the educational use of mother tongues by the minorities. Many Ukrainian schools were closed after 1930, when – due to the economic depression – public funds were not even sufficient to pay Romanian teachers.[6]

We can place the beginning of the second phase at the end of 1933 when the National Liberals came to power and nullified the concessions the National

3 For this concept see Pierre Bourdieu, "Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital", in *Soziale Ungleichheiten, ed. Reinhard Kreckel* (Göttingen: Schwartz Verlag, 1983), 183–198.

4 Mariana Hausleitner, *Deutsche und Juden in Bessarabien 1814–1941. Zur Minderheitenpolitik Russlands und Großrumäniens* (Munich: IKGS, 2005), 159–163. See also: Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania. Regionalism, Nation Building and Ethnic Struggle 1918–1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 76.

5 Hausleitner, *Die Rumänisierung*, 166–167. See also: Lya Benjamin, "Paradigma Falik-Totu sau cum s-a transformat un fapt cotidean într-un caz de asasinat politic", [The Falik-Totu paradigm, or how did an ordinary event become transformed into a case of political assassination] in *Studia et Acta Historiae Iudaeorum Romaniae* (Bucureşti: Editura Hasefer, 1997),187-200, 190.

6 Hausleitner, Die *Rumänisierung*, 267. See also: Arkadij Zhukovskij, *Istorija Bukovyny*, vol. 2 (Chernivci: Vidavnicha Spilka Chas, 1993), 128.

Peasant Party had previously made. The 1934 law on the reduction of the proportion of non-Romanian employees in industrial enterprises represented a new degree of discrimination: the interference in the private sector of the economy.[7] Jewish entrepreneurs were notably forced to sack Jewish employees. Although the German minority was also to be affected by this law, the Berlin Ambassador successfully intervened on their behalf. The intervention of Jewish organizations from Great Britain and France was on the contrary to no avail. Following the process of deprivation of civic rights, until 1939 about a third of the Jews of Bukovina had even lost their Romanian citizenship.[8] The anti-Jewish measures were legitimized by arguing that the Jews had supposedly ousted the Romanian middle class, which in turn was now in need of supportive measures by the state.[9]

The third phase in the forties is marked by the attempt to make the territory of Romania ethnically homogenous. The first two steps in this direction were not initiated by the Romanian government. After the Romanian administration had to leave Bessarabia and the northern part of the Bukovina due to the Soviet ultimatum of June 1940, the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*/ VOMI (Bureau for the Ethnic Germans Abroad) took the initiative of haveing all Germans resettled out of this territory.[10] Because of the beginning repressions, Ukrainians and Romanians also applied for resettlement to the German Reich and altogether 30,000 applicants were refused because of their "insufficient Germanness" (*unzureichende Deutschstämmigkeit*).[11] Among the 43,000 re-settlers, however, there were approximately 4,000 especially endangered Romanians and Ukrainians.[12]

With reference to kinship, the VOMI applied for the resettlement of the Germans from the southern, Romanian part of the *Buchenland* (as the Bukovina was called within the prescribed phraseology of the Third Reich) as well as the Dobrudja. Even though these territories were not threatened by the NKVD, 52,400 people left southern Bukovina.[13] In the northern part of Bukovina tens of thousands of Romanians, Jews, and Ukrainians were deported to Siberia within the one year of Soviet rule in 1940/41 – the exact number, however, is not yet known. Some of the survivors published accounts on the conditions

7 Hausleitner, *Die Rumänisierung*, 230–231. See also: Dietmar Müller, *Staatsbürger auf Widerruf. Juden und Muslime als Alteritätspartner im rumänischen und serbischen Nationscode. Ethnonationale Staatesbürgerschaftskonzepte 1878–1941* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005), 400–402.

8 Joshua Starr, "Jewish Citizenship in Rumania 1878–1940", *Jewish Social Studies*, 3 (January 1941): 57–80, 79.

9 Iosif Maior, *Problema romanizării economiei naţionale* [The problem of the romanianization of the national aconomy] (Bucureşti: Lumina română, 1940), 105, 112.

10 Valdis Lumans, *Himmler's Auxiliaries. The Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle and the German National Minorities ofEurope 1933–1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 112.

11 Hausleitner, *Die Rumänisierung*, 362. See also: Zhukovskij, *Istorija*, 177.

12 Dirk Jachomowski, *Die Umsiedlung der Bessarabien-, Bukowina und Dobrudschadeutschen. Von der Volksgruppe in Rumänien zur "Siedlungsbrücke" an der Reichsgrenze* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg-Verlag 1984), 74.

13 Jachomowski, *Die Umsiedlung*, 88–95.

under which a great part of the deportees died due to malnutrition and related illnesses.[14]

The Jews who had not been deported faced an especially hard time in the wake of the reoccupation of northern Bukovina in July 1941 by Romania. They were to be deported to the new Romanian occupied territory of Transnistria. Ion Antonescu accused them of collaboration with the communists.[15] Yet, it was all about a much grander program of ethnic "homogenization" through which 3.5 million non-Romanians were to be exchanged for Romanian populations in Hungary and the former Yugoslavia, or to be expelled. In October of 1941, Sabin Manuilă, Director of the Central Institute for Statistics, presented a plan envisaging multiple phases for the realization of this. Members of his staff had registered scattered Romanian populations in the territory of the Soviet Union, which were to be resettled in Bessarabia.[16] In turn, more than a million Ukrainians and Russians from Bessarabia and Bukovina were to be expelled to Transnistria.[17] Their expulsion was scheduled for 1943 and could not materialize merely because developments on the Eastern Front did not allow it.

When the department for "Romanianization" was preparing for the expulsion of the Ukrainians in 1941, the theories of the historian Ion Nistor were used as a legitimization. His writings make a good case study for tracing the process of radicalization in the minority policies of Romania: He was also a prominent politician in Bukovina after 1918 and, since 1934, also in leading positions of various government departments. In the 1920s, he had justified measures aimed against the minorities by arguing that many Romanians had lost their identity in previous times due to the "infiltration" of Ukrainians. This "lost identity" had to be regained now. In addition, he argued that the results of a previous "Germanization" also had to be nullified – this serving as a justification why Jews were no longer allowed to attend German schools. Already in 1934, the idea that the Ukrainians could be exchanged for the Romanians of Transnistria surfaced in his writings.[18] However, the Soviet

14 Margit Bartfeld-Feller, *Am östlichen Fenster. Gesammelte Geschichten aus Czernowitz und aus der sibirischen Verbannung* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 2002); Julius Wolfenhaut, *Nach Sibirien verbannt. Als Jude von Czemowitz nach Stalinka 1941– 1994* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2005).

15 Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania. The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies Under the Antonescu Regime 1940-1944* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2000), 115–175.

16 Anton Raţiu, *Românii de la est de Bug* [The Romanians from the east of Bug] (Bucureşti: Editura Fundaţiei Culturale Române, 1994), 29, 33 and 55; Rodica Solovei, *Activitatea Guvernământului Transnistriei în domeniul social-economic şi cultural (19 august 1941-29 ianuarie 1944)* [The activity of Transnistria's government in the social, economic and cultural domains, August 19, 1941 January 29, 1944] (Iaşi: Demiurg, 2004), 93.

17 Viorel Achim, "The Romanian Population Exchange Project Elaborated by Sabin Manuilă in October 1941", in *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento*, XXVII (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2001), 595–617, 616–617.

18 Ion Nistor, *Problema ucraineană în lumina istoriei* [The Ukrainian problem in the light of history] (Cernăuţi, 1934, reprinted, Rădăuţi: Editura Septentrion, 1997), 77, 225.

Union was not interested in such an exchange. After June 1941, Nistor justified the conquest of Transnistria as the liberation of local Romanians.[19]

Parallel to my analysis of the governmental policies, I also examined the positions of the organizations of the non-Romanians and found that in Bukovina the representatives of Germans, Jews and Ukrainians acted united against the Romanianization of their schools until 1928. This cooperation was sustained by the fact that the social-democratic deputy of Chernowitz, Jakob Pistiner also supported the common cause of all ethnic groups.[20] After 1933, the representatives of the non-Romanians seldomly acted in unison. This had many reasons. The deterioration of the relations between Germans and Jews is generally attributed to the influence of national-socialist ideas on the German minority. The influence became especially visible when in 1933 Jewish organizations called for a boycott of German products in order to draw attention to the persecution of Jews in the German Reich. Representatives of the German minority claimed that this was atrocity propaganda and in turn called for a boycott of the three daily newspapers published by Jews in Chernowitz.[21] Within the Ukrainian minority population a process of radicalization also started at that time: The moderate minority leaders were marginalized by forces on the political right calling for a greater Ukrainian state.[22] The fact that the Germans and the Ukrainians did not see themselves as members of minority groups but as part of external nations was in my view mainly the result of the failed negotiations about concessions from the National Liberal Party government. The Jewish candidates, who had run on the ballot of Romanian parties until 1931 and started then a separate Jewish list, remained isolated after 1933. Many of the adolescent Jews saw a future only in Palestine or the Soviet Union.[23]

In order to establish what kind of influence the organizations of non-Romanians actually exerted, I have not only examined their publications, but also studied the files of the security police, Siguranţa, on a regional level. These are almost completely present at the regional archive of Chernowitz. By comparing them with the dossiers of the central government agencies in Bucharest, I was able to determine which measures were initiated by the Bucharest center and which by the regional elites. Until the mid-twenties endeavors to marginalize the minorities were carried out by local Romanian

19 Ion Nistor, "De ce luptăm dincolo de Nistru?" [Why do we fight beyond the Nistru] *Bucovina* 72, no. 1 (October 4, 1941). See also Mariana Hausleitner, "Ethnische Homogenisierung als Prinzip der Bevölkerungspolitik? Das Beispiel der Bukowina 1918–1944", in *Migration im südöstlichen Mitteleuropa. Auswanderung, Flucht, Deportation, Exil im 20. Jahrhundert,* ed. Krista Zach (Munich: IKGS- Verlag, 2005), 135–154,137–141.

20 Hausleitner, *Die Rumänisierung*, 201–204.

21 Hausleitner, *Die Rumänisierung*, 275–291. Also: Hildrun Glass, *Zerbrochene Nachbarschaft. Das deutsch-jüdische Verhältnis in Rumänien 1918-1938* (Munich: R. 0ldenbourg-Verlag, 1996), 357–381.

22 Hausleitner, *Die Rumänisierung*, 266–275. See also: Frank Golczewski, "Die ukrainische Emigration", in *Geschichte der Ukraine*, ed. Frank Golczewski (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 237.

23 Hausleitner, *Die Rumänisierung*, 291–301. See also: Carol Iancu, *Evreii din România 1919-1938. De la emancipare la marginalizare* (Bucureşti: Editura Humanitas, 2000), 228.

leaders; it was only afterwards that the Bucharest ministries took direct initiatives to deprive the minorities of power through legal means.

Bessarabia

In the case of Bessarabia I have mainly investigated the situation of Germans and Jews in the 19th and 20th century on the basis of the dossiers of the state archives in Chişinău and in Bucharest. I will limit here my presentation to those aspects of the interwar years which differ markedly from the situation in Bukovina and Transylvania.

The extent of violence experienced through the hands of the state by minorities was already much larger in Bessarabia than in other parts of the country. The Romanian army killed hundreds of Ukrainians during the uprisings of Hotin and Bender in 1919 as well as the one of Tatar Bunar in 1924. Such massacres only took place in this territory, where the military administration was able to point to the infiltration by Bolsheviks. While this did take place, it found support with some farmers because the land reform had not satisfied their hopes.[24] Ever since the *Entente* had embarked upon the policy of the *cordon sanitaire* around the Soviet state, only some politically engaged authors such as Henri Barbusse, or organizations on the political left took up the topic of repression in these regions.[25]

In Bukovina, in contrast to Bessarabia, social democracy was already well established by the beginning of the 1920s so as to channel social protest institutionally. In Bessarabia, however, all political organizations of the left had been crushed after 1918. Of the Jewish Workers' Union (*Allgemeiner Jüdischer Arbeiterbund in Rumänien* or *Bund*, by its popular name) only its cultural section (*Kulturlige*) remained still active. Its support for Yiddish language schools, however, was prosecuted as if it represented an act of high treason. The police tried to lock away well-known Bundists as Bolsheviks.[26] Yet, just a small number of communists were working underground and were trying to reach the minorities with separatist demands.[27]

24 Mariana Hausleitner, *Deutsche und Juden in Bessarabien 1814-1941. Zur Minderheitenpolitik Russlands und Großrumäniens* (Munich: IKGS, 2005), 90-98. The French consul in Chişinău wrote in 1924 that much more than 300 people – which were the official number – had been executed. See Valeriu Florin Dobrinescu and Ion Pătroiu, eds., *Documente străine despre Basarabia şi Bucovina 1918–1944* [Foreign documents about Bessarabia and Bukovina, 1918–1944] (Bucureşti: Editura Vremea, 2003), 54, 62.

25 Henri Barbusse, *Die Henker* (Stuttgart: Verlag Öffentliches Leben, 1927), 120–121. About the Cordon sanitaire: Dan Diner, *Das Jahrhundert verstehen. Eine universalhistorische Deutung* (Munich: Luchterhand, 1999), 99.

26 For example the trial against Hersch Gilischenski in 1921. See: Hausleitner, *Deutsche*, 121–123; and Joseph Kissman, "Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Arbeiterbewegung 'Bund' in der Bukowina", in *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina*, vo1. 1, ed. Hugo Gold (Tel Aviv: Olamenu, 1958), 138–142.

27 Hausleitner, *Deutsche*, 123. See Vladimir Tismaneanu, *Stalinism for All Seasons. A Political History of Romanian Communism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 52–56.

Much more successful than in other provinces were the cooperatives, which in Bessarabia were sponsored by the "Jewish Colonization Association". The amount of financial aid from Jewish organizations pouring into Bessarabia was second only to that earmarked for Palestine. In 1930 the Union of Jewish Cooperatives reached a membership of 30.657. Taking into account that every head of household had to provide for four other persons on average, one can estimate that more than half of the Bessarabian Jewry was affiliated with the cooperative network. The members of the credit unions belonged to the following professions: 42% small businessmen, 24% craftsmen, 12% farmers and the rest others. Until the world economic crisis the Union was able to successfully combat poverty, but afterwards there was a slump in membership. Many members were not able to repay their credits. In addition, the support from abroad was also reduced.[28]

Until the mid-thirties, Zionists as well as Bundists were working together in the Association's higher ranks. After 1935 a strong polarization occurred. At that time, Chief Rabbi Zirelsohn, who was also a senator, was denouncing as Communists his former colleagues of the 1933/1934 campaign for the boycott of German products. The members of the anti-fascist committee were prosecuted as sympathizers of the Soviet Union. Many of them stayed in prison until June 1940, when they were released due to the evacuation of the Romanian administration.[29]

Unlike in Bukovina, where the representatives of the Jews and the Germans were in constant communication, in Bessarabia there was very little cooperation among them even before 1933. This had many reasons: the majority of the Germans lived quite isolated in rural structures in the South, while the Jews were overwhelmingly living in the North. There was no common forum like the one that the three German daily newspapers were providing for in Chernowitz. In Bessarabia, the Jews were reading Yiddish or Russian newspapers and the Germans only their more regionally oriented press. Most of the German schools had been nationalized by the state in 1918. Now the leaders of the German minority were working towards the establishment of confessional schools in order to evade the state's drive for Romanianization.[30] Many Jewish children were attending private schools and therefore the representatives of the Jews were only protesting against the pressure on their schools when it increased after 1925. After the early 1930s, the Jews of Bessarabia were not the only group acting without dialogue with other minorities.

Also within the German minority there was a strong trend of radicalization – much stronger than in Bukovina. It was only in Bessarabia that thousands of Germans started attending the rallies of the anti-Semitic Party of Alexandru C.

28 Hausleitner, *Deutsche*, 116-117. Also: Keith Hitchins, *"Jewish Credit Cooperatives in Bessarabia and Integration 1920–1940"*, in *The Jews in the Romanian History, ed. Ion Stanciu* (Bucureşti: Editura Silex, 1997), 193–200, 195–196.

29 Hausleitner, *Deutsche*, 128–138.

30 Hausleitner, *Deutsche*, 144–148.

Cuza since 1935.[31] In Bukovina, Cuza's party had only a small following among Germans. Even though a radicalization did take place among many Germans in Bessarabia, the functionaries in the Reich were of the opinion in 1940 that they had no strong aversion to Jews.[32]

The last phase of "ethnic homogenization" took place in parallel to the events in northern Bukovina. Yet, while the Romanian mayor of Chernowitz Traian Popovici, successfully appealed on behalf of the Jewish population, thus enabling 20,000 Jews to stay in the city, there was no such an advocate for the Jews in Bessarabia. Only some richer Jews were allowed to emigrate to Palestine, while approximately 200,000 others were deported to Transnistria, where more than one third of them perished.[33] Those Jews who remained in Chernowitz later founded charitable institutions. Of their Bessarabian coreligionists there was nobody left to follow suit.

Southern Transylvania and the Serbian Banat

Within my new project I am investigating the situation of "ethnic Germans" – the so called *Volksdeutsche* – in the Romanian and Serbian Banat region in the 1940s. So far historians have been concentrating either exclusively on the German minority until 1944 or their persecution afterwards. My research will focus on two questions: Was the difference in behavior of the ethnic Germans in Romania and Yugoslavia in the war years solely determined by the different external circumstances concerning both countries, or had there been already different developments during the interwar period?

The Germans in Romania as well as in Yugoslavia had successively come under the control of the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*/VOMI, which was sponsoring their organizations. However, the nature of their subordination to this bureau was to be very different in the war years.

The Swabians in the Romanian Banat constituted mostly a conservative peasant population and only some leaders were preparing various plans for possibly turning the region into a *Reichsgau* (department of the Reich).[34] For

31 Hausleitner, *Deutsche*, 151–161. See also: Viorica Nicolenco, *Extrema dreaptă în Basarabia 1923–1940* [The extreme right in Bessarabia, 1923–1940] (Chişinău: Editura Civitas, 1999), 56, 69.

32 Ute Schmidt, *Die Deutschen aus Bessarabien. Eine Minderheit aus Südosteuropa (1814 bis heute)* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2003), 82, see also footnote 12.

33 Hausleitner, *Deutsche*, 182–188. For the number of Jews who were murdered or died in Transnistria see Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania. The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies Under the Antonescu Regime 1940–1944* (Chicago: Ivan R Dee, 2000), 289. The International Commission on the Romanian Holocaust established the number of victims from Bukovina, Bessarabia, and Transnistria between 280,000 and 380,000. See: "*Report on the Holocaust in Romania. Executive Summary*", www.yadvashem.org (accessed December 20, 2006). This estimation is also taken up in a new schoolbook: Florin Petrescu, *Istoria evreilor. Holocaustul. Manual pentru liceu*. [The history of the Jews. The Holocaust. Textbook for highschools] (Bucureşti: Editura didactică şi pedagogică 2005), 101.

34 Jachomowski mention plans to transfer 35,000 Swabians from Sathmar to the Banat in November 1939. See Jachomowski, *Die Umsiedlung*, 50. Also in April 1941, Triska from Auswärtiges Amt wrote about this idea. See: Theodor Schieder, ed., *Das Schicksal der Deutschen in Jugoslawien,* 2nd ed. (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1984), 78.

this reason, the Romanian security forces were watching them with heightened suspicion. Because Romanians dominated the administration of the region, the Germans had benefited from the expropriation of Jewish property only to a small extent. They actually received three enterprises only.[35]

Furthermore, not all the Swabians served in the military units of the German Reich. Some chose to enter the Romanian military. When the Soviet army advanced in September 1944, some resisted evacuation to Germany by VOMI officials. In seven identified cases such persons were killed by their fellow Swabians.[36]

53,000 Swabians of the Romanian Banat were deported in January 1945 to the Soviet Union for forced labor, where a quarter of them died. All Swabians lost their property. Yet, there was only rarely any violence against them by their non-German neighbors.[37]

In the Serbian Banat, which had been under German occupation since April 1941, the Swabians received important posts in the civil administration: Sepp Lapp was appointed *Vizebanus*, the second leading position in the region. Therefore, they were able to take part in the aryanization measures. Some of them took personal profit from the expropriations that followed and were searched by the *Rechnungshof* in 1942/43.[38] After the extermination of all 4,200 Jews of the Banat, the German spouses of Jews were handed over to the VOMI. After a selection by the leader of the *Volksgruppe*, Sepp Janko, they were sent to do forced labor in Germany.[39]

Many Serbs who had previously received land in Swabian villages were expropriated in the war years. That is why many of these former settlers supported the partisans and why the retributive actions were generally directed at them. All Serbians had to do forced labor and work on the farms of the ethnic Germans or in their enterprises. Only the Roma did not have to do forced labor. Some of them were even shot, when not enough other victims for

35 Johann Böhm, *Die Gleichschaltung der deutschen Volksgruppe in Rumänien und das "Dritte Reich" 1941-1944* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2003), 100.

36 Hans Ewald Frauenhoffer, *Erinnerungen und Erlebnisse eines "Volksparteilers" aus der Zeit des Kampfes um die nationale Erneuerung des Banater Deutschtums* (Gerlinden: Selbstverlag, 1975), 532–538; Georg Hromadka, *Kleine Chronik des Banater Berglandes* (Munich: Südostdeutsches Kulturwerk, 1993), 108.

37 For the number see: Ingomar Senz, *Die Donauschwaben* (Munich: Langen Müller, 1994), 137–138. For the political circumstances: Hannelore Baier, *Germanii din România 1944–1956* [The Germans from Romania, 1944–1956] (Sibiu: Editura Honterus, 2005), 10.

38 Ekkehard Völkl, *Der Westbanat 1941–1944. Die deutsche, die ungarische und andere Volksgruppen,* (Munich: Trofenik/ Ungarisches Institut, 1991), 170-180.

39 About the killings of these Jews see: Walter Manoschek, *"Serbien ist judenfrei". Militärische Besatzungspolitik und Judenvernichtung in Serbien 1941/42* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1993), 91–96; Holm Sundhaussen, "Jugoslawien", in *Dimension des Völkermords. Die Zahl der jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus,* 2nd ed., ed. Wolfgang Benz (Munich: Deutscher TaschenbuchVerlag, 1996), 313. About the part of Janko see: Akiko Shimizu, *Die deutsche Okkupation des serbischen Banats 1941-1944 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Volksgruppe in Jugoslawien* (Münster: Lit-Verlag, 2003), 300.

executions could be found.[40] In the course of retributive actions following partisan attacks, the *volksdeutsche Polizei* (ethnic German police forces) arrested many Serbians, often whole families including children. The *Staatswache* (state security police), which consisted mainly of ethnic Germans, was subordinated to an ethnic German prefect. He used the *Deutsche Mannschaft*, which all men from 17 to 40 years had to join, for making arrests as well as serving as guards in concentration camps.[41] In some cases the *Deutsche Mannschaft* was involved in executions of presumptive partisans which demonstratively took place in villages with a Serbian majority.[42] The ethnic Germans were killing so many Serbians in retributive actions that in August 1943 even the special envoy of the German foreign office, Neubacher, intervened to the effect that the ethnic German prefect of the police, August Meyszner was soon afterwards replaced.[43]

Because of the involvement of the Swabians from the Serbian Banat in the ethnic cleansing, their relationship with their immediate neighbors deteriorated. After 1943 this was also the case for relations with their neighbors in the wider regional setting. Since 1942, ethnic Germans were fighting in the SS-Gebirgsdivision "Prince Eugen", which was organized by a Saxon from Transylvania, General Arthur Phleps. This unit was deployed in the other regions of Yugoslavia in order to fight the partisans. In summer 1943 they were engaged against Tito's partisans in Herzegovina and Montenegro, where 10,000 partisans were killed.[44] In this time the "Prince Eugen" division had 20,000 members, after the retreat in October 1944 only 4.000 survived.[45]

In this project I am examining if there was a direct connection between the violent relationship in the war years and the especially violent persecution of the German minority of Yugoslavia after 1944. The leaders of the Titoist partisans decided in April 1944 to exclude from all civic rights persons who had served in the armed forces of the enemy.[46] The results of this decision concerned not only Swabians but also Italians, Croats, and some Serbs.[47]

The internment of all ethnic Germans was a result of the decisions adopted by the Liberation Front (AVNOJ) on November 21, 1944, which also included

40 Raul Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, (Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1990), 733.

41 Shimizu, *Die deutsche Okkupation*, 196, 247.

42 Shimizu, *Die deutsche Okkupation*, 326–327.

43 Hermann Neubacher, *Sonderauftrag Südost 1940–45. Bericht eines fliegenden Diplomaten* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt Verlag, 1956), 143–144.

44 Thomas Casagrande, *Die volksdeutsche SS-Division "Prinz Eugen"* (Frankfurt: Campus-Verlag, 2003), 254.

45 Anna M. Wittmann and Friedrich Umbrich, "Annex", in *Alptraum Balkan. Ein siebenbürgischer Bauernsohn im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1943-1945* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2003), 315.

46 *Documentation Project Committee: Genocide of the Ethnic Germans in Yugoslavia 1944-1948* (Munich: Verlag der Donauschwäbischen Kulturstiftung, 2003), 43.

47 Zoran Ziletić, "Die Geschichte der Donauschwaben in der Wojwodina. Zu ihrer Darstellung in Serbien und Deutschland", in *Die Deutschen in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa*, vol. 2, ed. Gerhard Grimm and Krista Zach (Munich: Verlag Südostdeutsches Kulturwerk 1996), 223–236, 232.

the global expropriation of ethnic Germans in the framework of the confiscation of enemy property. The law on citizenship of August 23, 1945 stipulated that certain categories of Germans could be deprived of their Yugoslav citizenship.[48]

The VOMI started too late the evacuation of the Swabians from the Yugoslav Banat. Immediately after the arrival of the Red Army in October 1944 groups of partisans started to loot on large scale. The number of Swabians killed before any internment measure is estimated between 8,000 and 10,000. Around 40,000 were deported to the Soviet Union and the others had to do forced labor in the region.[49] Even children had to stay two years in concentration camps, where 25,740 starved to death.[50]

The conditions the ethnic Germans faced in the camps and at the sites of forced labor in Yugoslavia and Romania differed greatly. I am examining to what extend the maltreatment of the Swabians in the Serbian Banat was carried out by the very people who had suffered especially hard at the hands of the Germans during the war years. Or, if it was rather the fact that the Swabians had lost all their rights, so as to encourage their maltreatment and occasional murder. Were there any real investigations and legal procedures during the trials against Germans after 1944 or are they to be seen merely as show trials? At this moment I am establishing the adequate case studies for a focus on some villages, thanks to archival sources of at German Ministry of the Exterior.

In conclusion I would like to highlight the aim of my project. I want to show how governmental policies shaped the behavior of minorities. Radical forces began to dominate either when preceding political negotiations did not lead to visible results, or when there were considerable outside influences financially supported from abroad. In peace time radicalization only led to racial segregation and occasional attacks on minority members. During the war years however, the results were fatal. With the example of the Swabians in the Romanian and Serbian Banat region, one can illustrate why in spite of a similar history and comparable social structures the two groups were taking part in crimes in very different degrees between 1941 and 1944. While, within the Romanian state, the beneficiaries of the expropriation of Jews were mostly Romanians, in the Serbian Banat some Swabians also took part in the persecution and plundering of their Jewish and Serbian neighbors.

48 Zoran Janjetović, *Between Hitler and Tito. The Disappearance of the Vojvodina Germans* , author's 2nd ed. (Belgrade: 2005), 227.

49 Ingomar Senz, *Die Donauschwaben* (Munich: Langen Müller, 1994), 129-130; Janjetović, *Between Hitler*, 329.

50 Janjetović, *Between Hitler*, 329; Hans-Werner Schuster and Walther Konschitzky, eds. *Deportation der Südostdeutschen in die Sowjetunion 1945-1949* (Munich: Haus des Deutschen Osten, 1999), 65.

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Index