

**THE UNIVERSITY OF KOLOZSVÁR/CLUJ
AND THE STUDENTS OF THE MEDICAL FACULTY
(1872-1918)**

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By
Victor Karady and Lucian Nastasă



CENTRAL
EUROPEAN
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ETHNOCULTURAL
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FOREWORD

With this volume the authors initiate a hopefully large set of publications intended to contribute to the acceleration of a rather new development in the study of modern and modernising elite groups in the Carpathian Basin during the long nineteenth century.

This was, as it is well known, the period of nation building in East Central Europe, where various national projects elaborated by regionally based elite groups, endowed with historically accumulated but very unequal political, economic, intellectual and symbolic assets, converged or collided in the Magyar nation state emerging after the 1867 Compromise with Austria. The study of these elite groups appears to be crucial for the understanding of all major social processes leading to the 1919 disruption, including such different ones as industrialisation, urbanisation, the creation of parliamentary statehood and contemporary patterns of political mobilisation, the establishment of the intellectual infrastructure of modern societies (the press, the school network, agencies of cultural production), the evolution of ethnic power relations (as expressed in national antagonism, antisemitism, assimilation), new models of class identity together with their expressions and conflicts (for example, embourgeoisement versus gentrification), modern demographic structures, etc. In one way or another elites were responsible for the invention, the realisation or the imposition of often contrasted or even antagonistic patterns of modernity in this part of Europe, explicable only via their recruitment (by ethnicity, religion, properties, noble or plebeian birth), inherited 'social capital', aggregate interests, strategies of self-assertion, representations of collective future as well as the utopias and salvation ideologies they adopted (whether liberal, socialist, free masonic or other) or the claims they extended for leadership in 'imagined communities'.

Hitherto the study of elites remained largely fragmented by fields of activities (the economy, politics, administration, academe, literature, the arts, etc). In the last decades West European social history has produced some precious research on top elite segments and even larger, institutionally defined elite clusters – like alumni of outstandingly prestigious educational institutions. This scholarly orientation draws heavily on historical statistics, occasionally produced by national statistical agencies, and local prosopographies, listing members of selected institutions. Recently the technological revolution of computer science has opened new vistas in elite studies. A number of biographical data banks have been published on what

may be qualified as 'reputational elites' – men of some fame or in charge of public functions of high visibility in the given society. The computerisation of serialised biographical information permits the massive, possibly exhaustive treatment of data pertaining to members of elite groups regardless of their size – which was hitherto practically unfeasible –, on the sole condition that they are fed into an appropriate programme of data processing.

Our present study is an attempt to promote the renewal of social studies of elites in our region by the presentation in both published and computerised form (on CD rom) of all the biographical information accessible in local archival sources related to students of the Medical Faculty of the Hungarian University in Kolozsvár/Cluj (1872-1918). This volume will be shortly followed by two other ones dedicated to the Faculty of Law and to the Faculties of Letters (Arts) and Sciences of the same University, since the prosopographic research for these volumes is close to completion. Subsequently, a special volume is envisaged for pharmaceutical students in Kolozsvár/Cluj.

These publications will cover some 20% to 30% of those having pursued higher studies in the Carpathian Basin during the epoch of the Dual Monarchy. Up to now only students born or residing in Hungary and enrolled in foreign universities have received similar treatment. The combination of these two types of major prosopographic collections will add up to maybe as much as 40% to 50% of higher graduates and affiliated clusters (without graduation proper) in pre-1919 Hungary.

The importance of this work is enhanced by the fact that most of the archival material pertaining to students of the University of Budapest, the first institution of this kind in the Carpathian Basin, have been destroyed with a few exceptions: lists of students and of graduates of some Budapest Faculties have survived, as well as archival evidence of the social background and educational career of some specific student clusters. The senior author of this study has collected a large amount of biographical information – prepared for a later publication – of students admitted to as well as applicants refused at, the Eötvös Kollégium in Budapest (1895-1949), members of two major Catholic teaching congregations in the period 1880-1947 (the Piarists and the Benedictines), as well as several samples of graduates of the four inter-war universities in Hungary. The junior author has gathered biographical information concerning the education, higher studies abroad and home, academic career, marriage strategies, etc of university professors in Transylvania in the inter-war years in a comparative perspective as to the integration of the region into the Romanian academic market.

We are planning the ultimate merger of all these prosopographic data banks on upcoming educated elites in the Carpathian Basin, in a first instance up to the collapse of the Dual Monarchy. With this an overall basis can be provided for elite studies during the long 19th century in the region, whereby each graduate and presumably the great majority of students of any sorts will be identified and characterised thanks to an – obviously variably

rich – collection of personal data. Ideally, the final outcome of this work will result in a unique data collection which can be heuristically rewarding to confront with ‘reputational lists’ (like entries in computerised national encyclopaedias or biographical dictionaries), other computerised registers related to specific elite segments (like free-masons, those having Magyarised their surnames) or individuals with certified creativity, achievement or public competence (authors in national biographies, academicians, members of learned societies, higher civil servants, members of Parliament, casinos, clubs of entrepreneurs, etc).

Even if we may not bring this vast project to completion, the present series of publications has been started with this intention in mind as the ultimate target worth aiming at. In the meantime here is some elementary information about our work.

Our work is limited to medical students proper in Kolozsvár/Cluj, excluding those in pharmacy, though they studied formally in the same Faculty. Pharmaceutical studies contrasted indeed to medical ones by their shorter duration (two years) and their educational conditions of access. Pharmaceutical students were admitted in the beginning with six years of secondary education only. Later, eight years had to be completed for admission, but the Matura was not required in Kolozsvár/Cluj, even when it was made compulsory in Budapest. Thus students in pharmacy could not earn a university degree in the Transylvanian *alma mater*, unlike their codisciples in the capital city. This was why some of them actually moved to Budapest. A separate volume is being planned for pharmacy students in Kolozsvár/Cluj.

Though the project has been drafted and conceived of in agreement by the two authors, in practice the whole prosopographic collection is due to the perseverance and dedication of the junior author, who, sometimes with the help of occasional assistants, accomplished all the detailed exploration of the archival sources. The coding of data for the study of the senior author was kindly done by Katalin Kisgyörgy and the data processing was realised by Zoltán Kisgyörgy.

The following sources have been resorted to, all in ‘Franz Josef University’ Fund of the State Archive of Cluj/Kolozsvár : **1.** ‘files of origin’ of students (*származási ívek*) – 419 registers; **2.** ‘certificates of the completion of studies’ (*végbizonyítványok*); **3.** ‘certificates of departure’ (*távozási bizonyítványok*); **4.** medical doctor’s diplomas; **5.** register of students attending the Institute of Medicine (1919-1929).

Since our sources are exclusively in Hungarian and this is a publication of original source material, we have not tried to translate or to modify in any way the data appearing in our sources. As each biographical entry is organised in a uniform manner and most, if not all, information appears in a standardised form (the only significant exception concerns fathers’ profession), the entries are easily accessible to non-Hungarian readers as well.

For each identified student the following information was recorded (when available), numbered and enumerated always in the order indicated herewith : **1.** place and date of birth; **2.** ethnic identity (by mother tongue); **3.** religion; **4.** father's or tutor's name, professional status and residence (address); **5.** nature and locality of secondary school attended and the date of the Matura (*érettségi*); **6.** year of the first enrollment to the Faculty in Kolozsvár/Cluj or when the student transferred there; **7.** period of studies including the number of semesters in the Medical Faculty at Kolozsvár/Cluj; **8.** date of obtaining the title of doctor; **9.** scholarship and the amount of the grant; **10.** complementary or other branches of study (if any).

In the biographical entries the following abbreviations were used (besides common ones for the months of the year):

- ág. ev.* (= *ágostai evangélikus*) – Lutheran
- áll.* (= *állami*) – state managed, public
- dr.* (= *doktor*) – doctor (academic degree granted by universities)
- félév* (= *féléves*) – (for) one semestre
- gimn.* (= *gimnázium*) – classical secondary or high school (with Latin)
- gör. kat.* (= *görög katolikus*) – Greek Catholic;
- gör. kel.* (= *görög keleti*) – Greek Orthodox
- izr.* (= *izraelita*) – Jewish
- m.* (= *megye*) – county (regional administrative district)
- örm. kat.* (= *örmény katolikus*) – Armenian Catholic
- ösz.* (= *ösztöndíj*) – scholarship, grant
- özv.* (= *özvegy*) – widow(er)
- pf* (= *pótfélév*) – replacement (or complementary) semester in the war years
- róm. kat.* (= *római katolikus*) – Roman Catholic
- szül.* (= *született*) – born
- unit.* (= *unitárius*) – Unitarian

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The ground work for this volume could not have been carried out without the generous support secured by Hungarian, American and Romanian institutions. Our ground research has benefited from financial backing from two Hungarian agencies, the National Fund for Scientific Research (OTKA) and the Hungarian Foundation for Scientific Research of Special Interest (OKTKK). Similarly substantial help was granted by the Research Support Fund of the Central European University in Budapest. The extended scholarly activities of the junior author over several years, indispensable for the

achievement of our target, were performed under the aegis of the Institute of History in Iași and (later) in Cluj/Kolozsvár of the Romanian Academy of Sciences. The collaboration of the two authors also benefited from the efficient assistance of the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme in Paris, which has several times invited the junior author to France to this effect.

I.

**UNIVERSITY EDUCATION AND CULTURE
IN KOLOZSVÁR/CLUJ**

Lucian Nastaș

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN KOLOZSVÁR/CLUJ¹

Although there have been higher education institutions in Transylvania since the 16th century, the idea of a university – in the modern sense of the word – only imposed itself after the 1848 Revolution, to be materialised finally after the Austrian-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 (*Ausgleich*) and the administrative unification of the “two Hungarian fatherlands” (Hungary proper and Transylvania), by the setting-up, in Kolozsvár/Cluj, in 1872, of the “Ferenc József” [Franz Joseph] University. Until then, higher instruction was available for those in the region mostly in Danubian Hungary, outside the country (notably in Vienna) and, to a rather limited extent, in the few academic colleges of Transylvania. The latter were developed especially from the second half of the 18th century onward, playing some role as strictly vocational institutions, preparing professionals without higher academic qualification proper, mostly local civil servants, lawyers, clerics, lower medical staff (“surgeons” and midwives) and other literati. There can hardly be question of a coherent regional network of higher education until the last quarter of the 19th century, since the establishments concerned remained disconnected or weakly connected with each other. More often than not they even obstructed each other mutually, operating under the patronage of competitive and sometimes antagonistic religious confessions (Roman-Catholic, Calvinist, Lutheran, Greek Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and Unitarian) in conflict with each other for supremacy in various local, regional or ethnicity based markets of the exercise of spiritual power.

Historical precedents and preliminaries

Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Transylvania led – like elsewhere – to major changes in the social functions attributed to education, the new atmosphere of denominational competition generating a need for the

¹ For reasons of equity and scholarly neutrality, even at the risk of historical anachronism, place names in Transylvania and elsewhere in ethnically mixed territories of the Carpathian Basin will be quoted here in both Hungarian and Romanian (exceptionally in German or Slovakian as well). For instance, the Transylvanian capital city will be referred to as Kolozsvár/Cluj for the period up to 1919 and as Cluj/Kolozsvár afterwards.

institutional representation of major religion-based cultural options and, implicitly, for the promotion of scholarship and scientific investigation. It also gave rise to a demand for the consolidation and the extension of educated elites, which resulted directly in the foundation of a number of colleges and gymnasiums run by the various churches following patterns elaborated in Western Christianity. This emerging system of elite training was indeed heavily dependent on the West, in most concrete terms, via the well documented renewal of the medieval *peregrinatio academica* of Transylvanian students into European university centres, which, henceforth, were decisively marked by their denominational persuasion.²

The idea of starting a university in Transylvania (with a rather medieval terminological connotation) came to Prince János Zsigmond as early as 1567. The headquarters were planned to be located in Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia, and renowned humanists like Petrus Ramus and Calsio Curio were considered for appointment as professors. But the project never materialised.³

Soon afterwards however, on 18 May 1581, Prince István Báthory, also elected King of Poland, issued a founding document in Vilna for a University in Kolozsvár/Cluj placed under the patronage of the Jesuit order and including three faculties: Theology, Philosophy and Legal Studies.⁴ This was a usual arrangement for new universities in the Renaissance, where the medical faculty was often suffering from want of qualified staff. The institution actually started to function in the very same street where the main building of the present-day University is located. Its rector was for a while the Italian Antonio Possevino, who came to Kolozsvár/Cluj accompanied by 32 monks,

² There is by now a considerable body of literature of high scholarly quality on Transylvanian students in Western universities before the contemporary era. See particularly Sándor Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban*, Bucharest, Edit. Kriterion, 1979; Géza Katona, *Erdélyi unitárius tanulók külföldön 1711-ig*, Keresztény Magvető, 1979; Miklós Szabó, Sándor Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása korai új korban 1521-1700*, Szeged, József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992; László Szögi, *Magyarországi diákok a Habsburg Birodalom egyetemein. I. 1790-1850*, Budapest-Szeged, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Levéltára, 1994; Bálint Keserű, "Peregrinatio academica dissidentium der Siebenbürger Unitarier", in the volume *Universitas Budensis, 1395-1995*, eds. László Szögi and Júlia Varga, Budapest, ELTE, 1997, pp. 189-198; Miklós Szabó, László Szögi, *Erdélyi peregrinusok. Erdélyi diákok európai egyetemeken 1701-1849*, Marosvásárhely, Mentor Kiadó, 1998; László Szögi, *Magyarországi diákok németországi egyetemeken és főiskolákon, 1789-1919*, Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Levéltára, 2001; Ádám Hegyi, *Magyarországi diákok svájci egyetemeken és akadémiákon, 1526-1788 (1798)*, Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Levéltára, 2003.

³ Klára Jakó, "Petrus Ramus és az első kísérlet egyetem alapítására Erdélyben (János Zsigmond uralkodásának idején, 1570)", in *Korunk*, no. 2/1990, pp. 246-249.

⁴ The document is re-published in *Régi magyar egyetemek emlékezete. Memoria universitatum et scholarum maiorum regni Hungariae, 1367-1777*, ed. László Szögi, Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 1995, pp. 168-171.

to ensure the organisation of the institution. However, after only two decades, in 1603, the University was wound up because of religious dis-sensions. The Protestants expelled the Jesuit scholars, devastated the head offices of the University, and even destroyed a significant part of the library.⁵ A loyal supporter of Catholicism in Transylvania and an advocate of its consolidation through the development of a network of Catholic secondary education, István Báthori set up two gymnasiums in Nagyvárad/Oradea and Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia, all these institutions being run by the Jesuit order, which since 1559, through its influential *Ratio Studiorum*, had defined the strategy of organisation, the methods and contents of teaching applicable in the first worldwide network of Christian elite education.⁶ But the failure of the first university foundation in Kolozsvár/Cluj had nevertheless positive results as well. It set a precedent and, to some extent, a model for the local satisfaction of demand for higher education, which was a reference for later similar attempts.

In 1622, Prince Gábor Bethlen initiated in Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia, his residence, the foundation of a Calvinist (Reformed) Academic College, after the model of the Heidelberg University. Included were three faculties: Theology, Philosophy, and Letters and professors of international renown were mobilised to staff them. Such was Martin Opitz, the author of a reputed work presenting the Transylvanian society of the age, Johann Heinrich Bisterfeld and Ludwig Philipp Piscator.⁷ They brought prestige to the institution headed by Johan Heinrich Alstedt between 1629-1638. However, Bethlen's project to change the College into a genuine university did not finally succeed.⁸ His successor to the throne, György Rákóczi I, wanted to support financially several academies. For this he encouraged especially Protestant students, through different stipends, to pursue studies at Western European universities, forming thus a body of learned men liable to take up teaching positions in the Intra-Carpathian region.⁹ In fact, the Academic College of Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia operated for a short period only. In 1658

⁵ Endre Veress, "A kolozsvári Báthory Egyetem története lerombolásáig 1603-ig", in *Erdélyi Múzeum*, XXIII, 1906, pp. 169-193, 249-263, 319-320, 405; Klára Jakó, "A kolozsvári Báthory-egyetem és könyvtárának története 1607-ig", in *Korunk*, no. 11/1990, pp. 1500-1504, and no. 12/1990, pp. 1636-1643.

⁶ *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives*, ed. Vincent J. Duminuco, New York, Fordham University Press, 2000.

⁷ The last two were also authors of a project to organise the Academy, republished in the volume *Régi magyar egyetemek emlékezete. Memoria universitatum et scholarum maiorum regni Hungariae, 1367-1777*, p. 115-120; see also pp. 123-125.

⁸ Zsigmond Vita, "Bethlen Gábor művelődési politikája", in *Művelődés*, Bucharest, no. 6/1995, pp. 43-45.

⁹ For further reading about these pilgrims, see also Lucian Nastasă, "Das Europa-Bild bei den Klausenburger Memoirenschreibern des 17. Jahrhunderts", in *Die Rumänen und Europa vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Harald Heppner, Wien-Köln-Weimar, Böhlau Verlag, 1997, pp. 47-61.

it was burnt down during the Turkish-Tartar invasion, and by the same token the library founded by Prince Bethlen, rich of a large number of valuable works, acquired from all over Europe, was also destroyed.¹⁰ From this time on, the Academy was degraded to the rank of a secondary school, and moved to Nagyenyed/Aiud. It later gained a leading position though, within the confessional secondary school network that developed in Transylvania along the 18th and 19th centuries.¹¹

At the end of the 17th century, in 1698, a Jesuit University called “Leopoldina” (*Academia Societatis Jesu Claudiopolitana*, also known as “Báthori”)¹² was re-established in Kolozsvár/Cluj. Teaching was done as usual in Latin in all the three faculties: Theology, Philosophy and Sciences (including both mathematics and natural sciences). However, this establishment was not notably active either, and it soon turned into an academic college of sorts, and by the end of the 18th century into a merely Latin secondary school.¹³

Despite all these attempts, in Transylvania, the secondary colleges were the most widespread institutions to offer classical intellectual training. Some of them made up for the lack of a university by hosting some courses in law, philosophy, theology or even in scientific disciplines that would generally be found in university faculties. In 1780 for example philosophy courses were introduced into the College of Nagyvárad/Oradea, so that the institution could be raised to the rank of a Royal Academy, a position confirmed in 1788 by the addition of a department of legal studies with a four-year curriculum.¹⁴

In spite of their rudimentary aspect, even considering it was the 18th century, these establishments had a major role concerning the dissemination of ideas of the Enlightenment. They contributed thus to the change of mentalities in regional elite circles. In 1818, upon the 100th anniversary of the Calvinist College of Marosvásárhely/Târgu Mureş, professor János Antal, the future Bishop of the Reformed Church in Transylvania, summed up the benefits that the school had brought to the town and its environment by training a Calvinist elite capable of contributing to the development of the region.¹⁵ In fact, the col-

¹⁰ Zsigmond Vita, “A gyulafehérvári Kollégium (1622-1658)”, in *Művelődés*, Bucharest, no. 8/1992, pp. 36-38.

¹¹ About this and further evolutions, see Zsigmond Jakó and István Juhász, *Nagyenyedi diákok 1662-1848*, Bucharest, Edit. Kriterion, 1979.

¹² *Régi magyar egyetemek emlékezete. Memoria universitatum et scholarum maiorum regni Hungariae, 1367-1777*, pp. 176-177.

¹³ See Vencel Bíró, “A kolozsvári jezsuita egyetem szervezete és építkezései a XVIII. században”, in *Erdélyi Múzeum*, L, 1945, pp. 1-13.

¹⁴ Alajos Bozóky, *A nagyvárad királyi Akadémia százados múltja 1788-tól 1888-ig*, Budapest, 1889, pp. 2-3; about the edition, see A. Ionaşcu, “Le rôle de la Faculté de droit d’Oradea dans le développement de l’enseignement juridique en Transylvanie”, in *Noesis*, VII, 1981.

¹⁵ *A Marosvásárhelyi Református Kollégium diáksága 1653-1848*, ed. Sándor Tonk, Szeged, József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1994, p. V.

lege concerned had been teaching, since 1718, the courses of two faculties – Theology and Philosophy – and opened courses of legal studies in 1794.

Progress was obvious especially from the second half of the 18th century on, when the political power of Vienna started to secularise the whole higher education of the kingdom, passing it from under the authority of different churches to that of the state. Moreover, in the 1860s the Transylvanian Reformed (Calvinist) Church intended to set up an inter-confessional university, the principle of which was approved by Maria Theresa. However, the Saxons also wanted to have a Lutheran university of their own in Nagyszeben/Sibiu. This university was to include, in addition to the classical faculties, a faculty of medicine, too. The Catholic Bishop of Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia opposed the project, and suggested instead the development of the existing Jesuit University in Kolozsvár/Cluj.

Higher education in Kolozsvár/Cluj had been indeed organised in the 18th century (as in several other European countries) under the authority of the Jesuit order until 1773, when the Order was suppressed by the Pope. After the expulsion of the Jesuits it was taken over by the rival Piarist teaching congregation. From 1774, during the reign of Maria Theresa, besides the two existing faculties (Theology and Philology), the faculties of Legal Studies and Medicine-Surgery were also started.¹⁶ Within these, since 1781, German temporarily replaced Latin in many courses as the language of instruction. Later on teaching in Hungarian was progressively introduced and, from 1843 on, it was definitely imposed by law, being henceforth the official language of the Hungarian nation state. At the same time, in order to give it the shape of a complete university, the Roman-Catholic Seminary of Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia was moved to Kolozsvár/Cluj and made into a Faculty of Theology. Despite all these developments, Maria Theresa's initial plan to start a real university here was not achieved. When the first Hungarian university was transferred in 1777 from the West Hungarian town of Nagyszombat/Trnava to Buda, it was felt that a second establishment would not be needed. In this context, the Faculty of Medicine of Kolozsvár/Cluj was requalified as an Institute of Surgery and Gynaecology, and the Roman Catholic theology was reestablished in Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia. Thus, the institute of Kolozsvár/Cluj fell back to the rank of a secondary college.¹⁷

If the project of a Transylvanian university was dropped until the second part of the 19th century, the demand for formal training in law was strongly expressed from much earlier onwards, since legal competence represented

¹⁶ In fact, in 1762, Maria Theresa intended – upon the initiative of Gerhard von Swieten – to set up a Protestant University. Cf. Ferencz Szilágyi, “Erdélyi protestáns egyetem a XVIII-dik században”, in *Kelet*, Kolozsvár/Cluj, II, 1872, no. 241/19 October, no. 242/20 October and no. 243/22 October.

¹⁷ See Júlia Varga, *A kolozsvári királyi líceum hallgatósága, 1784-1848*, Budapest, Ötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Levéltára, 2000.

after the end of the religious wars the main cognitive asset expected from politically active members of the ruling classes. In this way, in a relatively short time, three Legal Academies emerged in Transylvania at the turn of the 18th century, each with a three-year curriculum: the Academy of Law in Kolozsvár/Cluj opened in the 1774/1775 academic year in close connection with the secondary royal college. Its counterpart in Nagyvárad/Oradea followed suit in 1788. Similarly, the Augustine Evangelical (Lutheran) gymnasium of Nagyszeben/Sibiu was set up in 1812. It started to include a course of Legal Studies in 1844, which further developed into a separate Law Academy.¹⁸ In 1830 a department of Legal Studies was organised in the Calvinist College of Székelyudvarhely/Odorheiu Secuiesc, too, which – at that time – included three departments (Theology, Philology and Law). However, the curriculum was only for two years.¹⁹ A similar development occurred in the College of Máramarossziget/Sighetul Marmătiei, which in 1837 became a Calvinist Academy of Legal Studies.²⁰

As it was mentioned above, in 1784 the Academy of Kolozsvár/Cluj was turned into a secondary school, and not long after that, the Roman Catholic Theology moved to Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia, while the Faculty of Medicine and Surgery became a separate institute in 1817. Within this latter institute, teaching was done in an essentially empirical manner, the aim being to prepare students for minimal medical tasks. The graduates remained active only in the region, except for those who went on to further study at different European universities. The main reasons why the establishment did not grow into a veritable Medical Faculty might be identified in the lack of adequately specialised teaching staff. As an illustration, anatomy, surgery and gynaecology were all taught for a long time by the same professor: József Laffer.

The intellectual effervescence of the Hungarian Reform Era preceding 1848 pointed again to the need of a university in Transylvania. In the spring of 1842, the Calvinists worded once more their wish to raise the scholarly standing and, consequently, the institutional rank of the existing colleges. They formulated at the same time the project of a local university. Professor József Salamon proposed that such an institution be set up in Kolozsvár/Cluj

¹⁸ For the context of the evolution of higher education in Hungary, during the “Vormärz”, see János Kalmár, “L’Université hongroise au temps des reformes”, in *Études Danubiennes*, t. III, no. 2, 1987, pp. 141-145. On the Academy of Nagyszeben/Sibiu, which operated until 1885, see G.H. Tontsch, “Die Rechtsakademie zu Sibiu (1844-1887)”, in *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai. Jurisprudentia*, XIV, 1969, pp. 97-104; Monica Vlaicu, “Hermannstädten Rechtsakademie und ihre rumänische Studenten”, in *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde*, XXXI, 1988, no. 1, pp. 30-40.

¹⁹ Gusztáv Hermann, *Székelyudvarhely művelődéstörténete*, Bucharest, Edit. Kriterion, 1993.

²⁰ Gergely Bakcsy, *A szatmár-németi ev. ref. Főgymnásium története*, Szatmár, 1896.

in the form of a Central Higher school. The idea was not materialised in the suggested form, but the revolutionary year of 1848 was going to bring more strength to such a project.

Towards the foundation of the modern Transylvanian University

Indeed, after the proclamation of the unification of Hungary and Transylvania (on 30 May) and the voting of Law XIX/1848 by the Diet of Pest, to the effect that the University of Pest passed under the authority of the new Ministry of Public Instruction, the idea of a Transylvanian university in Kolozsvár/Cluj was gaining force in the framework of the projects due to the independentist government appointed by Vienna after the revolutionary upheaval of 15 March 1848.

Two major orientations were emerging in the given historical juncture propitious for radical reforms in cultural as well as political matters.

The first, already existing idea was supported by József Szabó, a medical doctor and professor of the Institute of Medicine and Surgery, who – in an article published in *Erdélyi Híradó* on 29 June 1848, entitled “Tudományos egyetem (universitas) Kolozsvárt” [A University (universitas) for Kolozsvár/Cluj] – proposed “on behalf of several outstanding sons of our town” who were interested in the advancement of science, to set up a university by unifying the efforts of the three major confessions. This was, in other words, the old project that the established confessional high schools – Roman Catholic, Calvinist and Unitarian – reunite under the same aegis, putting together their resources in terms of estate, equipment and staff to start a university, thus keeping the financial effort down to a minimum.²¹ This suggestion gathered less support than the other one, because some of the would-be contributors – the Unitarians, to start with – did not wish to give up their high school. This was indeed the only institution of this type for the small Unitarian denomination and it served as a central agency for the preparation of their ecclesiastic body. In case of the unification of their *collegium* with the other two confessional schools Unitarians saw themselves in an endangered position.

The second project was proposed by Károly Szász, professor of the College of Nagyenyed/Aiud, who thought that the university must be set up by the transformation of the Catholic high school in Kolozsvár/Cluj. The new university would operate with the financial support of the state, as had been formerly planned under István Báthory and Maria Theresa. His proposal was favored by the union commission, which, on 16 August 1848, actually proclaimed the promotion of the Roman Catholic high school of Kolozsvár/Cluj

²¹ *Erdélyi Híradó*, Kolozsvár/Cluj, 1848, no. 17 (29 June), p. 65.

to the rank of a “Scholarly University” (*Tudományegyetem*), whose functioning was to be regulated after the model of the University of Pest, under the tutelage of the recently instituted Ministry of Public Education of the new Hungarian government.²²

In the same revolutionary year, in the *Petiția națională* [National Petition] of Balázsfalva/Blaj, the Transylvanian Romanians also claimed their right to set up a national university, with the financial support of the state. The idea was promoted on 28 December 1848, in a petition addressed to the Emperor.²³ Immediately after the fall of the independentist Magyar government, the Transylvanian Romanians, under the leadership of bishops Andrei Șaguna and Al. Sterca Șuluțiu, demanded, in a petition addressed to the Ministry of Cults in Vienna on the 1 September 1849, the setting up of an Academy of Legal Studies of their own.²⁴ Further, they also requested the foundation of a Romanian university, since “the nation is short of people who are equipped with the necessary scientific knowledge to fill the political and legal positions that it is entitled to hold.”²⁵ However, the authorities in Vienna only approved the establishment of a private university, which made bishop Șaguna return with a second petition addressed to the Emperor on 10 April 1850, followed by another, submitted by a delegation headed by the same bishop and addressed to Leo Thun, Minister of Cults, which this time only asked for a Faculty of Legal Studies in Kolozsvár/Cluj. Similar Romanian projects continued to be presented later on as well – without success – with the primary idea of arriving at the creation of an autonomous Romanian institution of higher education for secular disciplines.²⁶

²² Cf. László Makkai, “A kolozsvári kir. Ferenc József Tudományegyetem története 1872-1919”, in the volume *Erdély Magyar Egyetemei. Az Erdély Egyetemi Gondolat és a M. Kir. Ferenc József Tudományegyetem története*, Kolozsvár/Cluj, 1941, pp. 152-153; György Nagy, “Egyetemi gondolat az 1848-as forradalom idején Erdélyben”, in the volume *Emlékkönyv Imreh István születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára*, Kolozsvár, 1999, pp. 348-366.

²³ Teodor V. Păcățian, *Cartea de Aur sau luptele politice naționale ale românilor de sub coroana ungară*, I, Second edition, Nagyszeben/Sibiu, 1904, pp. 332, 512.

²⁴ Nicolae Albu, “Problema facultății juridice pentru românii din Transilvania după revoluția din 1848-1849”, in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai*, Historica series, Cluj, XIII, 1968, fasc. 1, pp. 59-71.

²⁵ *Mișcarea națională a românilor din Transilvania între 1849-1918. Documente*, I, eds. G. Cipăianu, S. Retegan, D. Suci, Cluj, Fundația Culturală Română, 1996, p. 64.

²⁶ Simion Retegan, “Lupta burgheziei române din Transilvania pentru înființarea unei Facultăți juridice românești”, in *Anuarul Institutului de istorie din Cluj*, X, 1967, pp. 307-316; N. Albu, *Problema facultății juridice pentru românii din Transilvania după revoluția din 1848-1849*, quote; *Mișcarea națională a românilor din Transilvania între 1849-1918. Documente*, I, quote, pp. 487-488; Cornel Sigmirean, “Efforts to create a Romanian system of higher education in Transylvania (1848-1872)”, in the volume *University and Society. A history of*

After the revolution of 1848 was put down, the issue of starting a university in Kolozsvár/Cluj did not surface publicly for a while. Moreover, during the post-revolutionary absolutist period, the old Law Academies were temporarily forced to introduce German as the language of tuition instead of Latin and Hungarian, each of the academies evolving in a specific way. From 1850 on, the Law Academy of Nagyvárad/Oradea suspended its department of Philosophy, while in Nagyszeben/Sibiu, the Legal Studies course was developed into a Royal Academy of Legal Studies, funded by the state. In the same year, 1851, the Ministry of Education of Vienna decided the setting up of a similar Royal Academy of Legal Studies in Kolozsvár/Cluj too, on condition that the teaching language was German.

Starting with 1860, the Austrian politics concerning Hungary and Transylvania started to loosen, and the obligation to use German in higher education was removed. The project of the Kolozsvár/Cluj Law Academy was accomplished in 1863 only, when the Diet of Nagyszeben/Sibiu on 15 June of the same year, provided financial support for it, and the authorities in Vienna agreed that the language of instruction would be Hungarian. From 1868 onward, the institution decided that the curriculum would be extended to four years, so as to allow graduates the pursuit of doctoral studies at any other university.²⁷

After the Austrian-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 (*Ausgleich*) and the formal unification of Hungary and Transylvania, it became increasingly obvious that Hungary was far from having enough higher education institutions, and therefore it became imperative to develop and also decentralise the existing network, hitherto heavily concentrated in Budapest.²⁸ This latter showed signs of overcrowding, and had difficulty catering for the growing flow of students, and appeared to fail to prepare enough specialists for the state.²⁹ Therefore, by the start of the new constitutional era, the chance seemed realistic to develop another educational pole likely to counterbalance or complement (at least in quantitative terms) the influence of the capital city.

On the other hand, the new political, economic and social realities, the subsisting ethnic and social tensions (at that time somewhat latent) in Transylvania, even the rivalries and political conflicts between the centre

higher education in Cluj in the 20th Century, edited by Vasile Pușcaș, Cluj, University Press, 1999, pp. 21-37. For a wider context, see S. Retegan, "Delegația națională de la Viena din 1850. Contribuția lui Alexandru Sterca Șuluțiu", in *Anuarul Institutului de istorie Cluj*, XXXVII, 1998, pp. 101-126.

²⁷ Cf. S. Mândruț, "Învățământul universitar juridic și agronomic din Transilvania în epoca dualismului austro-ungar", in *Anuarul Institutului de istorie Cluj*, XXXII, 1993, pp. 169-178.

²⁸ In fact, the capital city of Budapest was created administratively via the reunion of its three components, Pest, Buda and Óbuda in 1873 only.

²⁹ See *Az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem története, 1635-1985*, Budapest, ELTE, 1985, pp. 163-220.

and the periphery as well as the special status of Transylvania inside Hungary, all converged to claim the setting up of a higher education institution in this part of the would-be nation state, which should be integrated in the state apparatus and capable of developing ideologies promoting national unity. The idea found a particularly dedicated supporter in baron József Eötvös, the prestigious, liberal Minister of Cults and Public Education of Hungary. Of the two locations considered for the new university, Pozsony/Pressburg/Bratislava or Kolozsvár/Cluj, the latter was found to be the ideal place for setting up the establishment.

In the second half of the 19th century, Kolozsvár/Cluj was the biggest town in Transylvania, a region that already had a valuable academic tradition and a valuable past in the promotion of science through predecessors such as István Báthory, Gábor Bethlen, János Apáczai Csere, György Aranka, Gábor Döbrentei, Imre Mikó and others. It was an ethnically and socially rather homogeneous, Magyar dominated settlement (contrary to most sizable townships in the region – or, for that matter, Hungary as a whole), thus lending itself for purposes of symbolic identification as a regional capital of the Hungarian nation state. As concerns religion, the population was divided between the main denominations active in Transylvania. At the 1880 census the town recorded a total population of 32,831 inhabitants, out of whom the Roman Catholics and the Calvinists were almost equal in number (11,127 for the former, 11,071 for the latter); there were also 5,529 Greek Catholics, 1,299 Evangelical Lutherans, 1,010 Greek Orthodox, 1,047 Unitarians, and 1,639 Israelites. The latter were actually almost entirely assimilated Hungarians of the ‘neolog’ (reform) persuasion – though, for political reasons, even ethnic Romanians were willingly considered at that time as “Hungarians of an eastern religion”. As to mother tongue, the census recorded an overwhelming majority of Hungarians (23,676), as compared to 5,618 Romanians and 1,437 Germans, the rest being made up of Slovaks, Ruthenians, Serb-Croats, etc.³⁰ In addition, the town was considered the historic capital of Transylvania, a space that represented a territorial unit with numerous specificities. Besides the fact that it was situated somewhat far from the metropolis, the population of Transylvania had reached 2.15 million.³¹ After turning Transylvania into an Austrian province as a result of a diploma issued by Emperor Leopold I, Kolozsvár/Cluj became the provincial capital city³² – in the administrative seat of which even the university was hosted at the beginning – and in 1786

³⁰ *Recensământul din 1880. Transilvania*, coord. Traian Rotariu, Cluj, Edit. Staff, 1997, p. 135. (In the context of the current political-administrative realities, the volume processes the data from *A Magyar Korona országában az 1881. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás főbb eredményei megyék és községek szerint részletezve*, II, Budapest, 1882).

³¹ In 1869, 14% of the population of the Kingdom of Hungary (*Magyar statisztikai közlemények*, vol. 27. p. 7).

³² *Guberniu* (in Romanian).

it became the centre of the county bearing the same name. One of the two Royal District Tables also established its headquarters here.³³

It was a fairly modern town, with imposing edifices, in which the Renaissance and Neo-Renaissance, Baroque, Classical and Neo-Classical styles of architecture achieved an often impressive blend. It was connected to the countrywide railway network and, since 1871, it had gas lighting.³⁴ Therefore, the town appears to have been historically preempted, in a way, for the seat of the new University, all the more that there was already an institutional nucleus represented by the Law Academy and the Institute of Medicine and Surgery. The University was not only designed to be a centre of scientific development and production, but also an engine of the efficient exploitation of human and spiritual resources of the region. In other words, the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj had to be not only the product, but also the supporter of the modernisation process that had started unfolding in Hungary.

In terms of political symbolism, the new University was based on the idea of national emancipation and unity. It was conceived of in the framework of the integration into and harmonisation with Hungary proper of this eastern geographic region of the country, which had been under the direct authority of the Court in Vienna for a century and a half.

József Eötvös was probably the first to think coherently about a plan to reform the Hungarian higher education system and he was also known for his efforts for the most efficient integration of Transylvania in the state structure, initiated by the 1867 act. It was not accidental that he paid a lot of attention to the seat of the future university about which, until 1859, he did not know much. This was also the reason why, once in the position of Minister of Cults and Education, he appointed the famous professor Károly Szász³⁵ of Nagyenyed/Aiud as state secretary, the very personality who, in 1848 already, had developed a university project for Kolozsvár/Cluj. In addition, the strong connections that József Eötvös had with Imre Mikó – looked upon as the “Széchenyi of Transylvania” –, and the similarity between their aspirations were additional sources of his interest in the project.³⁶ Eötvös

³³ For further information on this period, see Péter Sas, “Kolozsvár a századfordulón. A hagyományörző, modern nagyváros”, in *Művelődés*, 50, 1997, no. 10, pp. 40-44.

³⁴ About the town, also see Maria Mirel, “Contribuții privind dezvoltarea urbanistică a orașului Cluj în prima jumătate a secolului XIX”, in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, XII, 1975, pp. 301-317; Mírcea Țoca, *Clujul baroc*, Cluj, Edit. Dacia, 1983; Ákos Egyed, “Kolozsvár vonzása és vonzáskörzete a XIX században”, in *Korunk*, 41, 1982, no. 4, p. 279-286; Károly Kós, “Középkori város – korszerű város”, in *Korunk*, I, 1990, no. 3, pp. 344-354.

³⁵ Zsigmond Vita, “Szász Károly, a műszaki értelmiség nevelője” in *Korunk*, 42, 1983, no. 8, pp. 653-657.

³⁶ See also József Galántai, *Nemzet és kisebbség Eötvös József életművében*, Budapest, Korona Kiadó, 1995.

came to Kolozsvár/Cluj for the first time in 1859, as a representative of the Hungarian academy, to attend the inauguration of the Transylvanian Museum Association (*Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület*), an organisation that had been planned for a long time to coordinate the scientific and cultural activities of Hungarians in Transylvania, and which was actually destined to an important role in this field. Once back in Budapest, in a plenary session of the Academy, József Eötvös made a presentation of his trip, stating that the fear that Transylvania might want to separate culturally from the rest of Hungary was absolutely unjustified.³⁷

In fact, the concrete initiative to set up a university in Kolozsvár/Cluj also belonged to professors of the Academy of Legal Studies in town, who were aware of the scholarly backwardness of the old establishments. But the origin of their support also lay in the desire to improve their own professional and social status, since their membership in a university staff would make their position comparable – formally equal – to that of their counterparts in the University of Budapest. The system of “Academies” offered them indeed little hope to play a significant role in the field of specialised scholarship. Lecturers at the Institute of Medicine and Surgery were particularly frustrated as regarded the chance to carry out serious research work, due to the scarcity of available equipment to this effect. In addition, in 1868, a National Commission for Public Healthcare was set up in Budapest, which in 1869 proposed that, in general, courses of gynaecology and surgery should be removed from the curriculum, because they were not adequate to the requirements of the time. Thus, the Institute of Cluj was in an uncertain position, which contributed to the increased state of anxiety of the medical teaching staff in Kolozsvár/Cluj.

The movement of intellectual emancipation generated not only corporate actions, but also individual initiatives, including press campaigns and the mobilisation of personal connections with influential circles in Budapest. In this respect the close contact and ideological affinities between Imre Mikó and József Eötvös appear to have been decisive.

Subsequent to proposals emanating from professors of the academy of Legal Studies, presented in the speech of Áron Berde,³⁸ that the Institute of Medicine and the Academy of Legal Studies be changed into university departments, on 8 February 1868, József Eötvös asked the two institutions for concrete suggestions as to their reorganisation.³⁹ On 24 February, the

³⁷ György Kristóf, *Báró Eötvös József utazásai Erdélyben*, Cluj/Kolozsvár, Minerva Irodalmi, 1932, p.15 (in the series “Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Kiadása”, no. 42).

³⁸ Also see György Gaál, “Berde Áron pályája a tanügy és tudomány szolgálatában”, in *Keresztény magvető*, Cluj/Kolozsvár, no. 4/1992, pp. 234-260; idem, “Berde Áron, Erdély első közgazdász professzora”, in *Az erdélyi magyar gazdasági gondolkodás múltjából (XIX-XX. Század)*, ed. József Somai, Cluj/Kolozsvár, Romániai magyar közgazdász társaság, 2001, pp. 113-122.

³⁹ Sándor Márki, *A M. Kir. Ferenc József Tudományegyetem története 1872-1922*, Szeged, 1922, p. 31.

government in Budapest discussed the issue and asked for a report on the possible modalities of how to set up a university in Cluj. At the same time, negotiations were held with the Transylvanian Museum Association, founded a decade before, to transfer its patrimony to the university for a period of fifty years, especially its impressive library and scientific collections, including the premises where they were held, so as to provide an infrastructure for a high quality institution of advanced learning. Shortly afterwards, on 2 April 1868, the two existing academies in Kolozsvár/Cluj submitted a memorandum including their proposals to the ministry. The memorandum contained the basic principles to guide the foundation of the new university. In September 1869, during another visit to Transylvania, József Eötvös stayed in Kolozsvár/Cluj for three days, gathering information on issues related to the university, and promised firmly on that occasion to further the project.

On 11 May 1870 Eötvös indeed submitted a set of draft laws to the Parliament in Budapest, regarding the reorganisation of higher education in Hungary. Among them was Law no. 429 stipulating the setting up of the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj, justified by the fact that “the most appropriate place for a second university in Hungary is Kolozsvár, which is the social centre of the entirety of Transylvania and the regions which are less well connected to Budapest.”⁴⁰ According to the draft law, the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj was to include three faculties, after the German model, the humanities and the sciences belonging to the same ‘Philosophical faculty’. Later on, in 1871, a few intellectuals of Kolozsvár/Cluj published an article entitled “A kolozsvári egyetem mint kultúrai szükséglet” [The University of Cluj as a cultural need],⁴¹ which was sent to all the members of the Budapest Parliament. They intended to reconcile the political elite in the capital with Transylvanian public opinion. Though archive sources are not very informative in this respect, one can talk about the mobilisation of intellectuals in Kolozsvár/Cluj in a genuine pressure group, which took concrete action vis-à-vis political decision-makers in Budapest. Obviously, this “lobby” would be worth investigating and analysing in detail, in order to decode the messages and mechanisms that permitted the finalisation of the project of the second Hungarian university.

Before the parliamentary commission (including 15 members) gave its approval, József Eötvös died and the issue of the second university was postponed for a short time. On 29 May 1872, King Franz Josef I finally authorised

⁴⁰ Apud György Gaál, *Egyetem a Farkas utcában. A kolozsvári Ferenc József Tudományegyetem előzményei, korszakai és vonzatai*, Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Magyar Műszaki Tudományos Társaság, 2001, pp. 40-41.

⁴¹ The 70-odd-page volume was written by Ernő Mátrai and was published in Pest, at the Aigner Lajos Printing House (cf. Cluj/Kolozsvár University Library, no. 92972).

Tivadar Pauler, the new Minister of Cults and Education, to present the draft law and its budgetary provisions to Parliament.⁴² The apparent adjournment could not be blamed on political reservations, but rather on the wish of the government to develop a comprehensive law, in the perspective of a thorough nationwide modernisation of elite training in the whole country, including the University of Budapest. The draft developed by Pauler contained 12 paragraphs, and differed from the previous one by that the University was organised into faculties.

Even before the approval of the Parliament, Franz Josef I ordered the organisation of the University. Prime Minister Menyhért Lónyai, accompanied by two other ministers, Tivadar Pauler (education and cults) and Lajos Tisza (communications), came to Kolozsvár/Cluj on 11 June 1872 to prepare the opening of the establishment. They searched for the appropriate building to house the institution, and finally decided on the old seat of the county administration. On this occasion, they publicly announced the availability of teaching positions.⁴³ In parallel, in Budapest, the lobbying for the new university without institutional artifices and hybrid solutions was taking place, invoking, for instance, the feasibility of an older project of János Apáczai Csere – a leading cultural figure of Hungarian Transylvania in the first half of the 18th century⁴⁴. In the plenary session of the Hungarian Academy on 27 June 1872, Károly Szabó presented Apáczai's scheme, highlighting the personality of the author, who – through his work – militated for a thorough reform of the educational system and for the university as an urgent issue of his time, “which cannot be delayed any more”. The manner in which the topic was elaborated on at the Academy, the reference to János Apáczai Csere, the description of the obstacles that the document encountered until it was made public (its successive transfer from the collections of the Reformed College of Nagyenyed/Aiud, to Aranka, to Imre Mikó and to the Transylvanian Museum Association), all confirm the resolute support given to the idea of the new university by the dominant Hungarian scholarly establishment.⁴⁵

The task to submit the draft law to the Parliament (17 September 1872) was to be Ágoston Trefort's, the new Minister of Cults and Public Education,

⁴² A report of the Parliamentary Commission on the draft law to set up the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj was published also in the local newspaper *Kelet*, Kolozsvár/Cluj, II, 1872, no. 44 (24 February).

⁴³ Publishing the call for applications and listing the vacant positions in *Magyar polgár*, Kolozsvár/Cluj, VI, 1872, no. 150 (4 July).

⁴⁴ Ernő Fábián, *Apáczai Csere János. Kísmonográfia*, Cluj/Kolozsvár, Edit. Dacia, 1975; also see Apáczai Csere János, *Magyar Encyclopaedia*, including an Introduction and edited by József Szigeti, Bucharest, Edit. Kriterion, 1977.

⁴⁵ *Apáczai Csere János, Barcsai Ákos fejedelemhez benyújtott terve a magyar hazában fölláttandó első tudományos egyetem ügyében*, presented by Károly Szabó, Pest, Eggenberger-Féle Akad. Könyvkereskedés (Hoffmann és Molnár), 1872.

whose name was not only associated to the foundation of the new University, but also to energetic efforts to overcome the hardships inherent in its organisational beginnings. The King promulgated the draft law which was passed by Parliament on 12 October 1872. From this day on, articles XIX and XX of 1872 provided for the existence of a University in Kolozsvár/Cluj – the second modern institution of that sort in Hungary – organised according to the same functional regulations as that of the University in Pest.

Shortly afterwards, in 1869, the Croats also set up an institution of higher education in Zagreb, following the pattern of symbolic self-assertion of new-born east European nation states. It began to operate officially on 19 October 1874, also under the name of “Franz Josef”, the reference to the Emperor representing the loyalty of Croats (at that time still associated with anti-Hungarian independentism) to the House of Habsburg. But the Zagreb institution remained for long incomplete, lacking a Faculty of Medicine.

The beginnings of the new University

Therefore, Law XIX laid the foundations of the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj, according to the principles of liberal education, much along the Prussian-German model, influential in the region. In concrete terms, until the development of specific functional dispositions, the regulations of the University of Pest were applied in Kolozsvár/Cluj, too.

From the organisational point of view, the University had the originality of having four faculties, but not exactly the same as in Budapest: Legal and Political Studies, Medicine – including a two-year course of Chemistry –, Philosophy (Letters and History) and Sciences. Thus, unlike in Budapest (and in the traditional German pattern), Theology was absent and the Philosophy faculty was divided into Humanities and Sciences, following in this respect the Napoleonic system of French faculties. The faculties were endowed, as usual, with internal autonomy, headed by annually elected deans, while the whole University was presided by the rector and managed by the University Council with some independence (given the constraints of the state allocated budget).

Both the ordinary and the extraordinary (assistant) professors earned an annual salary, while the rest of the staff (consisting essentially of academically qualified ‘private lecturers’ – *Privatdozenten*) received a stipend depending on the lectures they delivered. Professors were appointed by the King, following the recommendations of the faculty council and the proposals of the Ministry of Cults and Education. Private lecturers gained the right to teach from the same minister, depending on their specialisation, upon proposals made by the faculty.

In addition to the Faculty of Philosophy, Letters and History, and that of Mathematics and Sciences, it was decided to establish a Pedagogical Institute

– relying on the model of Budapest – to train secondary school teachers. On 13 January 1873, János Szamosi was elected as its director, and at the same time the first training course started. However, functioning proper only began in the 1873/4 academic year, with 16 ordinary students, future teachers, each benefiting from a 300-forint grant. Also in 1873, the National Commission was set up for the examination of candidates to secondary teacher's positions, under the presidency of Sándor Imre, and the first vice-president and later leader of the institution, Ottó Homán. The latter would become one of the prominent personalities of the Hungarian cultural establishment, serving later as general director of the school district in the area of Budapest. The regulations of both the Pedagogical Institute, and the Examination Commission changed several times and the teacher education institution was several times under the threat of dissolution. It was thought that one Pedagogical Institute in Budapest would suffice for the country, so the abolition of the one in Kolozsvár/Cluj was demanded. The problem generated heavy discussions, including in the press, until a ministerial commission came to Kolozsvár/Cluj again in 1874 only to conclude that the functioning of the Institute was satisfactory, and that its dissolution would prejudice the training of future teachers. Despite this, the Institute was faced with financial problems all the time, and until 1918 it was never complete with a gymnasium of pedagogical application (*mintagimnázium*), like its counterpart in the capital city.

Shortly after the adoption of the foundation law, the first 34 ordinary and the 5 extraordinary professors were appointed to the four faculties, as the result of a contest, among 120 applicants. On 19 October 1872, in the hall of the Roman Catholic gymnasium, the professors took their oath and the University formally started its operation in the presence of the royal commissioner Imre Mikó.⁴⁶ The first rector was a professor of the Faculty of Legal Studies, Áron Berde, who had held the same position at the local Law Academy. The deputy rector was Sámuel Brassai,⁴⁷ the famous mathematician, a corresponding member and later full member of the Hungarian Academy. Their investment in their positions took place on 10 November, an event which occasioned ample festivities.

The activity of the University began effectively on 11 November 1872⁴⁸ with 258 students. Abroad, the new university was only announced in 1874

⁴⁶ Cf. *Magyar Polgár*, Kolozsvár/Cluj, VI, 1872, no. 242 (22 October).

⁴⁷ For further information about the two, see *Vasárnapi újság*, XIX, 1872, pp. 657-658 (including their portrait). Also see György Gaál, "Brassai Sámuel és a kolozsvári egyetem", in *Nyelv és irodalomtudományi Közlemények*, Cluj/Kolozsvár, 41, 1997, no. 2, pp. 155-169. (Reprinted in György Gaál, *Egyetem a Farkas utcában. A kolozsvári Ferenc József Tudományegyetem előzményei, korszakai és vonzatai*, Cluj/Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Magyar Műszaki Tudományos Társaság, 2001, pp. 179-197).

⁴⁸ About the festivities and the speeches delivered, see also *Magyar Polgár*, Kolozsvár/Cluj, VI, 1872, no. 259 (12 November).

through the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The University of Padova was the first to send its congratulations.

The divisions of the university included, as mentioned, four faculties, with a separation of the humanities and the natural sciences. This arrangement was unknown elsewhere, outside France and – uniquely enough in the German academic market – Tübingen. In the beginning, József Eötvös wanted to open a Faculty of Protestant Theology too, since there had been attempts to attach the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic Theologies as well to the University. All these endeavours proved to be unsuccessful. The issue of theological preparation of the different confessions was solved differently later. In 1895, a Faculty of Calvinist (Reformed) Theology was set up in Kolozsvár/Cluj as a distinct institution, given the liberal atmosphere of the epoch.⁴⁹

At the beginning, as mentioned above, the main building of the University was the old estate seat of Kolozs county. The Faculty of Legal Studies went on to operate for a while in the Catholic Gymnasium, where the Academy of Law had been located before, and the institutes of the Faculty of Medicine were temporarily placed in the building of the Karolina Hospital.

For long after its foundation, the Transylvanian university was considered second rate, compared to its counterpart in Budapest. Its establishment was regarded by many as a concession made to the vehement requests of the Magyar political and cultural leaders in Transylvania, or – as István Apáthy expressed it later at the 40th anniversary of the University – a kind of symbolic “confirmation” of the union of the region with Hungary⁵⁰. It could thus be looked upon by candidates to higher degrees as well as professors as an anti-chamber of sorts for the University of Budapest. Against such an image, local academics did their best to stand up from the very beginning, as did the rector of the University, Henrik Finály, in his very inaugural speech on 12 October 1874. He stressed the manifold significance of such an establishment and its importance for the development of the region.⁵¹ Thanks to its historically well established academic tradition, the number of its confessional gymnasiums, the private cultural collections from different aristocratic families, the flourishing cultural infrastructure of the town (theatre, museum, publishing houses, press), its architectural patrimony, etc, Kolozsvár/Cluj was far from deserving the label of a merely “provincial university city”.

⁴⁹ Géza Nagy, *A Kolozsvári Református Theologiai Fakultás története*, Cluj/Kolozsvár, Az Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület kiadása, 1995.

⁵⁰ István Apáthy, “Egyetemeink bajairól és azok orvoslásáról”, in *Beszédek, a melyek a kolozsvári M. K. Ferencz József Tudományegyetem alapítása XL évfordulójának ünnepén tartattak* (in the series *Acta Universitatis Litterarum Regiae Hungaricae*, fasc. II), Kolozsvár, Nyomatott Ajtai K. Alebert Könyvnyomdájában, 1912, p. 26.

⁵¹ Cf. *A kolozsvári magyar királyi Ferencz József Tudomány Egyetem története és statisztikája*, Kolozsvár, Ajtai K. Albert Könyvnyomdája, 1896, p. 49.

In spite of all these, at the beginning of the University, the conviction prevailed about its lack of functionality. It was often regarded as a source of unnecessary expenditure (and no income), and this was clearly reflected in the budget allocated to it in the next two decades, a budget falling short of the needs of the new institution. The fact led to the submission of numerous complaints and memoranda, addressed by local professors to the central forums, which led the minister of cults and education Ágoston Trefort (in fact, one of the people having doubts about the usefulness of the University) to admit in Parliament that “the needs of the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj are yet too serious, and the repeated requests, worries and complaints in the memoranda of the professors of Kolozsvár/Cluj are not unfounded.”⁵² However, Trefort was much concerned with the least details of the administration of the University, always imposing rigour and order in the good management of funds. First of all, the allocated budget was for mere subsistence, not for development; the University had no premises of its own equipped for its specific educational and scholarly needs, and many of the disciplines offered in the curriculum had not even a specialised staff. Such was the case of important branches like theoretical geography and physics, for example. In the first year, all the faculties had a total of 40 ordinary and extraordinary professors, and 11 assistant professors only.⁵³ The few local initiatives, as well as the funds supplied by the Town Hall of Kolozsvár/Cluj for awards, or the creation in Szamosújvár/Gherla in November 1873 of two foundations, destined to collect funds in support of the University, etc, all this was far from enough to complement the absence of massive investments requested for an efficient new institution of higher education.

Though, legally speaking, the two Hungarian universities were equal in rank, in fact, the government and the ruling elites – both materially and spiritually – favored the metropolitan institution. The press of the time did not abstain from ridiculing the Kolozsvár/Cluj establishment for the scarcity of serious students and the eager claims of its professors for pay raises – as well as the benefit of the official rank of “excellency” (*méltóságos úr*). Obviously, there were shortcomings in the way the government distributed its subsidies, but the main responsibility for this image lay probably with the Kolozsvár/Cluj staff itself. Some of them saw their position essentially as a means of obtaining a similar one in Budapest,⁵⁴ while others were satisfied with the status they had without making notable efforts to enhance the scholarly prestige of the University, all the more that their initial appointment was far from being always grounded on criteria of purely scholarly

⁵² L. Makkai, *A kolozsvári M. Kir. Ferenc József Tudományegyetem története, 1872-1919*, Budapest, 1942, p. 7

⁵³ For a critical position concerning the bad management of the University, see *Kolozsvári közlöny*, 1872, no. 233 and no. 235.

⁵⁴ From its opening up to 1918 no less than 39 professors moved to Budapest.

merit. In fact, from this last perspective, the situation did not change much until the end of the 19th century. Even the local press happened to highlight the lack of normal academic relations among professors and students as masters and disciples – or the “deplorable malfunction” –, a situation generating no intellectual ambitions proper, but the development of partnerships of mutual interest, based on “letters of protection”, the promotion of the professor’s self-image, the sense of recourse to “influential persons” for the promotion of academic careers as a substitute for scholarship.⁵⁵

In 1912, István Apáthy summed up his vision of the initial development of the University in a harsh statement. It started its activity with “a sponge and two pieces of chalk”, and its entire evolution was placed under the sign of mistakes made at the outset, so that in the first two decades of its existence the University “stayed at the level of an old gymnasium, i.e. of a provincial Academy of Legal Studies and of a School of Surgery.” The lack of decisive educational reform adapted to modern times, replaced as it was by petty legal stipulations, blocked the chances of a fundamental renovation of the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj, together with the whole system of elite training in Hungary.⁵⁶

At the same time, after the enthusiasm of local public opinion at the outset, to have gained for the town the status of a university centre, for a long time the activity of the institution did not raise much interest among rank and file citizens of the town, either. Reading the local press of the last quarter of the 19th century, one can find that events linked to the University were seldom presented. “All these prove – an editorial of the *Kolozsvári újság* stated – that in our town, unfortunately, the University does not hold the place that it should in a healthy national culture, with deep roots.” One of the causes mentioned was the inadequate organisation, from the setting-up of the University, in agreement with the local traditions and specificities, its entire activity having too little to do with the “cultural aspirations” of the epoch, as there was a gap between the retrograde manner of some professors to deal with science, and the social-cultural progress that the society had recorded up to the end of the century. For this reason, the students here always seem disoriented when confronted with various intellectual currents of modernity, and between them and the professors there were, in principal, only “relations of commercial counselling”, in which the diploma – the piece of paper – seems to be the only reason for being a student.⁵⁷

However, these were hardships inherent to any beginning, characteristic of any provincial university of the time, which had to overcome not only the complex of marginality, but also economic, social and local political obsta-

⁵⁵ “A tanév vége”, in *Kolozsvári újság*, I, 1901, no. 45 (20 June), p. 1.

⁵⁶ István Apáthy, *op. cit.*, p. 14. Also see *Kolozsvári Hírlap*, XIII, 1912, no. 124 (30 May), pp. 3-4.

⁵⁷ “Az Egyetem”, in *Kolozsvári újság*, I, 1901, no. 24 (30 May), p. 1.

cles. Also, the fragility of the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj at its beginnings must not be viewed separately from the fragility of the new state construction of Hungary in the post 1867 years, when the whole society concerned entered in a process of accelerated modernisation, which demanded big investments in a variety of fields. Not accidentally, following massive investments in urbanisation, beginning with the year 1895, significant funds were going to be allocated for the new building of the University and the campus of the medical faculty clinics, the latter receiving the best equipment available at that time.

Step by step, the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj would also prove its academic usefulness and assert itself as an academic rival – not an equivalent – of Budapest.

Only a decade after its start, the number of students doubled, most of them being of Transylvanian origin. This growth confirmed the success of the young university, in which not many had earlier believed, bringing advantages to the state itself. The tenacity of the staff, the results obtained in structuring the curricula, the increasing number of students, all converged to convince Minister Trefort to give up his intention to move the university to Bratislava. He became, indeed, one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the Transylvanian option. In fact, the state itself began to show more and more interest for this University at the end of the 19th century – manifested in increased funding –, when intellectual capital and productivity started to play a significant role in the modernisation of Hungarian society. In other words, the changing of the demographic balance of students between Kolozsvár/Cluj and Budapest exerted a real pressure upon governmental decision-makers to invest more in the Kolozsvár/Cluj University. Besides the state authorities, the reformers heading the Ministry of Instruction and Cults, the lobby of local university professors, the influence and the aspirations of the provincial elite (whose offspring made up the bulk of students), played a significant role in the later evolution of the establishment.

Discontent with the centralisation of higher education, and the poverty in which this provincial University found itself, preventing it from having a more significant impact in Hungary – and in Transylvania in particular – started to diminish after 1890 with the University gaining more facilities, a guarantee of its further progress. This evolution was due not only to the investments in excellent equipment (quite visible by the end of the century), but more generally to fundamental changes in the Hungarian society. This resulted in the unprecedented growth of demand for elite training since the 1890s – following decades of stagnation, which both ensured and justified educational reforms and new investments.⁵⁸ The increasing number of stu-

⁵⁸ On the problem of stagnation of the demand for higher education in the 1870s and 1880s, see Victor Karady, “A középiskolai elitképzés első történelmi

dents in the Faculty of Legal Studies, for instance, beginning with the end of the 19th century, revealed a newly prevailing attitude among provincial elites, whereby completed gymnasium studies (*Matura, érettségi*) became a must to secure a gentleman's status (*úriság, úriemberség*) and an academic degree (especially a doctor's degree, presentable at self-introduction and social occasions) a desirable complement for embarking upon a gentlemanly social career. What was perceived by contemporaries as an "obsession with titles" (notably with academic references) can also be interpreted as an indicator of modernity, whereby in the long run educational credentials would replace or complement inherited social assets (nobility, "good family" connections, symbolically over-invested estates and other properties) for the achievement of elite positions.⁵⁹

Due to these changes of mentality in Transylvanian society, the position of university professor of Kolozsvár/Cluj, as well as that of the student corps began to gain a better appreciated status, thus representing a pole of attraction for candidates to academic careers.

Of all the branches of study, the Faculty of Medicine benefited probably the most. Its image improved radically, due among other things also to major discoveries made in this field at the end of the 19th century, improving the social prestige of medical professors more than that of the other academic staff. On the other hand, even the modern state dedicated a hitherto unprecedented attention to matters of public health – via the new imperatives and possibilities to further public hygiene, the eradication of different infectious diseases, the rising living standard in urban setting (and, hence, the enhanced private expenses for healthcare) – making healthcare an integral part of state policy. This is the reason why the Medical Faculty in Kolozsvár/Cluj was also the first to attract academic investments, in the form of new buildings and special technical facilities. It was an essential part of a regional policy of healthcare to extend the size and improve the qualification of the medical corps, in order to satisfy the minimal needs in this rather under-equipped corner of the kingdom, suffering from acute general shortage and bad territorial distribution of the medical personnel, a region often marked by the contradiction of "sick without doctors, and doctors without sick."⁶⁰

Since the 1890s there was also much progress in the Faculty of Sciences which, until the threshold of the World War, had no adequately defined functions, with an incomplete curriculum and an imperfect

funkcióváltása (1867-1910)" [The first functional change of the Hungarian secondary school system], in *Iskolarendszer és felekezeti egyenlőtlenségek Magyarországon (1867-1945)* [School system and denominational inequalities in Hungary, 1867-1945], Budapest, Replika kör, 1997, 169-194.

⁵⁹ István Apáthy, *op. cit.* p. 25.

⁶⁰ "Orvosok államosítása", in *Kolozsvári újság*, Cluj, I, 1901, no. 115 (30 August), p. 1.

organisation. But there again, though it had no calling to train practitioners, like the Polytechnic College, the Faculty managed to turn to profit the new discoveries in science and technology at a time when Transylvania also entered into the industrial age. It was no accident that disciplines of applied sciences (electricity, chemistry), were in serious search for students. Moreover, some important discoveries were henceforth due to local efforts. In 1909 professor István Apáthy (1863-1922) founded one of the most modern Institutes of Biology in contemporary Europe. Between 1896 and 1900, the Institute was instrumental in publishing two volumes that brought fame to its staff as “the most important micro-technicians of the era” (Theodor Boveri). Apáthy developed a technique that bears his name and for the acquisition of which a number of internationally established scholars – such as S. Mollier from Munich, S. Platon from Baltimore, J. Boeke from Amsterdam, and V. Widakovich from Buenos Aires, among others – came to Kolozsvár/Cluj. Despite all these, the curriculum and the pedagogical policy, through which so many new courses were promoted, did not gather many students beyond those who limited their ambitions to a teaching career in a gymnasium.

Still, the situation was better in some other applied disciplines. The promotion, for instance, of economics for experts and managers of the new industries answered to sizable public demand. Since classical universities were not organised at that time to satisfy such needs, new institutions were designed to this effect. Such was the case of the Academy of Commerce in Kolozsvár/Cluj too, which also prepared a numerous contingent of students for the faculties of Law and Political Sciences for further or complementary studies.

Obviously, such progress achieved in Kolozsvár/Cluj was strongly connected with the general evolution of higher education in Hungary. Still, it also depended on local circumstances.

As we have already shown, ever since the setting-up of the University, there was much discrepancy between its goals and means. This appeared to be particularly visible towards 1900, when the issue of buildings started to seriously influence the quality of teaching. Substantial new investments had to be decided upon to change this predicament. The first concrete sign of such evolution was the beginning of construction work on the new building of the Institute of Chemistry (1880), followed by other institutions (especially the medical clinics) and the main university building. The completion of the latter transformed symbolically the hitherto mediocre public status of the University. It generated enthusiasm in both the teaching staff and the students, but also among rank and file citizens of the city, which, by the same token, could first regard itself as a real “university centre”. Although the design of the main building was approved by the Ministry of Cults in Budapest on 25 August 1880, the very day when Károly Haller took over the

Rector's position from Sámuel Brassai⁶¹ and was sent to Bucharest to negotiate with the entrepreneurs who were going to do the construction work,⁶² various circumstances delayed the works for another decade, generating new cause for disappointment among local citizens.

The problem was overcome though, after a while. On 4 January 1881 – following the proposal of Minister Trefort the King issued a document to establish the University under the name of “Franz Josef Hungarian Royal University”, which symbolically gave a new aura to the establishment. Moreover, in 1887 the Emperor came personally to visit the University for the first time. This was followed by another visit on the occasion of the inauguration of the new main building (1895).⁶³ The University was also granted the right of “*promotio sub auspiciis Regis*”⁶⁴, which completed the legal arrangement securing to it a status formally equal to that of its counterpart in Budapest.

Kolozsvár/Cluj as a mature academic centre of the late Dualist Period

After the death of Trefort (1888), the new minister of Education, Baron Gyula Wlassics and his own followers showed increased interest for the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj. The initial organisational regulation, meant to be a temporary one, was several times amended with the goal to bring it into line with the requirements of modern education, in harmony with the general educational reforms that were being promoted in Hungary before the World War. In 1890 the system of examinations was changed, and in 1892 a new regulation was issued for the doctoral examinations in philosophy. The regime of study control was made much more coherent than previously. The regulation of 1892, regarding studies, discipline and fees brought along further important changes. In 1895 women were admitted to some university courses and degrees. New disciplines were introduced into the curriculum and, as a consequence, new departments were established. Since there was

⁶¹ State Archives of Cluj/Kolozsvár, *Franz Josef University, Rector's office*, dos. 1/1880. Károly Haller (1836-1911), professor of the faculty of law, member of the Liberal party, later – in 1889 – a representative in the Budapest Parliament. Significantly enough, in 1884 he became the mayor of Kolozsvár/Cluj, and it was during his mandate that some of the important new buildings were constructed, which changed the face of the city.

⁶² State Archives of Cluj/Kolozsvár, *Franz Josef University. Rector's office*, dos. 8/1880.

⁶³ Only after the visit to Kolozsvár/Cluj of Albin Csáky, Minister of Education, on 19 June 1890, was the beginning of works at the central building urged as an emergency issue, the Budapest architect Károly Meixner, followed by Ignác Alpár being trusted with the execution of the project.

⁶⁴ On the building, also see Attila T. Szabó, *A Ferenc József tudományegyetem építkezéseinek története*, Budapest, Athenaeum, 1942.

no theology attached to the University, and given the wish of many to maintain a relationship between advanced confessional training and academe, in 1895 a new regulation allowed students at the Calvinist Theological Academy of Kolozsvár/Cluj to attend courses (10 hours/week) at the departments of Philosophy and Mathematics, and even to obtain a doctoral degree in Philosophy, granting them the rights that ordinary students enjoyed. In 1897 members of the training college of the Piarist Congregation “Kalazantinum” as well as the Unitarian Theological Academy were granted the same rights. Later a similar arrangement was made between the University and the Academy of Commerce (1904).

Thus, the end of the 19th century marked a period of extraordinary development of the University, which had established numerous international connections, owned a very well endowed library⁶⁵, several modern research institutes, a substantial teaching staff and a fast expanding student body. In 1899 a new category of auxiliary teaching staff was introduced, that of “coordinator of works”.⁶⁶ This solved the problem of teaching in several hitherto understaffed disciplines. In this context, on 21 March 1900, minister Albert Berzeviczy declared in Parliament: “Today, everyone can see clearly that the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj is not only an instrument meant to serve the private interests of persons, as some believed at the beginning, but an extremely important and substantial vehicle (landmark) of national culture. Its development and flourishing is the most brilliant negation of the comfortable skepticism, fed by a few for reasons not merely financial, regarding the existence of a third university.”⁶⁷ The University was indeed always thought of highly by ministers of education, which may be proven by the frequent visits they paid to it: Trefort in 1881 and 1884; Albin Csáky in 1890; Wlassics in 1902; Albert Berzeviczy in 1904; Albert Apponyi in 1907 and 1917; János Zichy in 1910; Béla Jankovich in 1913, etc.

The consolidation of faculties by the enhanced qualification of professors, and the equipment and materials they had at their disposal, as well as the inclusion of disciplines that undoubtedly served the general progress of society, changed the status of the University as compared to other higher educational establishments. One of the main problems that affected the Transylvanian University was the difficulty encountered in the introduction of new branches of study, an uneasy mechanism that needed notably, among other things, the approval of the Ministry of Education, which had to budget the new departments. There was, however, some freedom left to the faculties as regarded the hiring of extraordinary professors, which contributed to the

⁶⁵ The University Library only obtained a new building in 1907 following a design of Flóris Korb and Kálmán Giergl, which drew upon the plan of the university library in Basel.

⁶⁶ *Șef de lucrări* in Romanian, a position between assistant professor and associate professor in the academic hierarchy.

⁶⁷ L. Makkai, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

development of new disciplines. Despite all these, the tendency of the political authorities to closely control local academic activities brought out the bureaucratic nature of ties between the Ministry and the University, also acting as an obstacle to the good functioning of the latter. In practice, the widely declared autonomy of the University, especially in matters economic and administrative, resulted in often severely negotiated arrangements between the local academic and the central ministerial authorities. The University submitted so many memoranda to the government that, after a while, the ministry stopped answering, invoking, for instance, on 25 October 1893, that they were so conceived that “given the number of different opinions (and sometimes contradictory ones), the proposed regulations cannot be discussed adequately”.⁶⁸ Things evolved in such a manner that in 1906 the Council of the University advised that the rector should not be elected for a year, as it had been done, but for a longer period, so that coherent and longer-lasting projects could be articulated, especially in the administrative field, as a sign of “healthy reform”.⁶⁹

Of the two functions of the University, that of scholarly research and professional training, the general climate of the region and the available resources granted priority to the latter, although one cannot state that training centres were encouraged to develop equally in all domains. It was rather a sort of utilitarianism and speculations about specific local opportunities, especially in the case of the Law Faculty, that prevailed.

Over half of the students of the University studied law, so much so that, at country level, the Kolozsvár/Cluj Legal Faculty achieved a veritable leadership, even compared to Budapest, let alone provincial law academies, by the number of students it attracted and the diplomas it issued by the early 20th century. While in 1884/5 the number of students at this faculty represented 18% of the total number of students reading law (or rather, enrolled in a higher institution of legal studies) country-wide, in 1910 the proportion went up to 31%.⁷⁰ After 1900, the Law Faculty of Kolozsvár/Cluj turned indeed into a powerful competitor of its counterpart in Budapest in quantitative terms. In 1905 no less than 837 students graduated in law or political science in Kolozsvár/Cluj, while in Budapest the number was only 281. In 1907 Kolozsvár/Cluj issued 757 such degrees against 340 in Budapest. As one will see from the volume, similar to the present one, now under elaboration, a significant number of less ambitious students from the University of Budapest actually transferred to Kolozsvár/Cluj, especially in their final years, to obtain diplomas.

⁶⁸ State Archives of Cluj/Kolozsvár, *Franz Josef University, Rector's office*, Note no. 1567/1893.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, dos. 214/1905, f. 15.

⁷⁰ For the context, also see Victor Karady, “Une ‘nation de juristes’. Des usages sociaux de la formation juridique dans la Hongrie d’Ancien Régime”, in *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, no. 86-87, 1991, pp. 106-124.

Such inflation of the number of legal graduates led unavoidably to the decrease of the value of their degrees on the professional market.⁷¹ This led obviously to frustrations among both professors and students in Transylvania, but the “over-production of diplomas” in the Transylvanian “factory of degrees” generated resentments against Kolozsvár/Cluj in other academic elite circles in general.⁷² For instance, when in June 1901 the University granted the title of doctor to 321 persons, the columnist of a local newspaper wondered “whether such an inflation can be conceived of in normal conditions?” Analysing this aspect from the sociological perspective, the author found that doctoral studies had become a kind of “industrial occupation”, like any other profession, also forecasting negative consequences, such as: holders of a doctoral degree “will not do real work, but will want to live on the title they obtained, out of appearances”. As an outcome, an “intellectual proletariat” would emerge with no outlet on the labor market.⁷³

Therefore, legal studies took on the image of non-utilitarian, non professional, quasi-leisurely activities (since many students, though enrolled, would hardly attend courses), representing rather the accumulation of symbolic assets for otherwise privileged strata, liable to open the way to the political arena, while providing the (false) aura of academically trained gentlemen (since women were as a rule excluded from legal studies at that time). The number of professionals who actually practiced law was reduced as compared to the number of legal graduates. At least in Transylvania, very few of those who graduated from the Faculty of Law in Kolozsvár/Cluj managed to turn their studies to professional profit, and if so, they mostly took on positions of civil servants. Rector István Apáthy, in his speech made on 29 May 1912, at the end of the academic year, did not mince words in his abrupt criticism of over-population at the Faculty of Law. He stated the severe disproportion between the high number of students and the capacity of the faculty to ensure their real training. When some 500 students in one year only were supposed to attend courses in a lecture hall seating 200, the faculty had become not only a “sanatorium” but even a “diploma factory” indeed, with major negative repercussions as to its public prestige.⁷⁴

The Faculties of Letters and Sciences had long been in a situation of inferiority as compared to Legal Studies and Medicine. This was quite apparent in the percentage and the quality of the student population that attended them at the end of the 19th century. They could provide very little function-

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 113.

⁷² It seems that the phenomenon was far from being unique in the period. For further information, see Hartmut Titze, “La surproduction cyclique de diplômés de l’Université au XIX^e et au XX^e siècle”, in *Perspectives des sciences sociales en Allemagne aujourd’hui*, ed. Erwin K. Scheuch, Paris, Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 1991, p. 41-74. (For Law see pp. 52-54).

⁷³ “321 doktor”, in *Kolozsvári újság*, I, 1901, no. 51 (26 June), p. 1.

⁷⁴ István Apáthy, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

al training, they were lacking indispensable equipment and had to content themselves with an infrastructure acceptable only for gymnasium level education. In spite of all this, beginning in the 1880s, on the strength of new ideological functions attributed to the university via the reorientation of education from the earlier dominating humanist tradition to state nationalism, encouraged by a system of state grants and tuition waivers, the Faculty of Letters managed to save scholarly appearances through sustained activity in the field of history and philology. Most graduates of these faculties as well as those of their scientific counterparts, made up the cohort taking on the large number of new positions created in secondary education, in significant expansion since the last quarter of the 19th century. This growth was enhanced at the beginning of the 20th century by the fast developing network of secondary schools for girls, the graduates of which opted for higher studies mostly connected with the Faculties of Letters and Sciences themselves (as well as for Medicine). Their study choices concerned preferentially foreign languages, literature and other branches of humanities. Most women graduates then endeavoured to return to secondary education as teachers. On the other hand, in some ways, the Faculty of Letters could seem as an auxiliary one, especially for the graduates of the Faculties of Theology, who went there to complete their general 'cultural education'. Only after 1900 did the status of the Faculties of Letters and Sciences improve, by their opening up to new fields of social and psychological knowledge. The thereby increased flux of students led to the promotion of reforms, pushing the state to show more financial generosity in the allocation of supplementary subsidies, especially for the purchase of books and periodicals, whose production experienced at that time a substantial boom.

Thus, the utilitarian and professional option remained – with the catering for the immediate needs of the region – the fundamental criterion of the University policy in Kolozsvár/Cluj, even as against research and scholarly innovations, the extension of academic activities to new disciplines included. This is the reason why the new branches of study found their home with some difficulty here – maybe except for medicine, which was more dynamic, as we have already suggested. Therefore, although not many disciplines appeared in the curriculum of the university, they were mostly incorporated in the traditional study tracks. The University seems also to have identified itself, at least implicitly, with major political options of the nation state, which turned from liberal-nationalist to more and more nationalist-conservative. But pragmatism prevailed in this field, too, and not much space was left for political activism within academe. This granted cautious progress, lacking in traumas and agitations, in a region that was behind in development as compared to most other parts of Hungary and Cisleithan Austria in general.

The utilitarian side of the University revealed itself in quantitative aspects of the student population as well. While in 1872/3, there were only

258 students, gradually their number went up significantly. Table 1 provides an overview on the numerical evolution of the student body by religion and different branches of study.⁷⁵ Of the four faculties, the Law Faculty and, to some extent, the Faculty of Medicine experienced the most spectacular development. While in Law the number of students almost doubled in each decade, at the Faculty of Medicine the numbers even tripled sometimes, starting, to be sure, at a very low level. In the academic year of 1912/13 altogether some 1,467 attended law courses and 491 courses in medicine. Similar growths can be seen at the other two faculties also in some periods, especially at the turn of the century, but after that the numbers began to drop, though many students of the Faculty of Letters enrolled for the sake of merely intellectual (and not professional) profit or attended courses at the Faculty of Science as well.

The taste for *peregrinatio academica*, as it was called at the dawn of the modern epoch, far from disappearing, was also sustained by new student strategies. They included the desire to minimise costs and maximise benefits, notably by transferring from institutions with strict exam regulations to less demanding ones. But they could target the contrary as well, to spend most semesters at an establishment of low cost and less academic difficulties, while graduating in a more prestigious one. This is why for a quite significant part of the students a permanent move between the Transylvanian university and Western extra-regional institutions (Budapest, Vienna, as well as other Austrian and German academic centres) was part of a normal student career. Inter-university mobility appeared to be a rule, rather than an exception in those times. Kolozsvár/Cluj was, truly enough, generally sought for by students from outside the region for its more relaxed conditions of graduation, while autochthonous Transylvanian students often ‘tasted’ at least for some semesters the charm of a larger, more ancient or reputed academic metropolis in the West.

The numeric pressure of students on the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj tended to decrease after 1912, once in Hungary two new universities started to operate by the upgrading of the old academies of Debrecen and Pozsony/Pressburg/Bratislava. At the same time, the years of the First World War produced obvious perturbations in academic activities, since a large number of staff and students were drafted in the army. In the first two years of war, for instance, 145 of the teaching staff and 1,101 law students, 514 medical students, 195 students of letters and philosophy, 61 students of science, 87 from pharmacy as well as 423 local physicians and some 94 other employees of the University, in all 2,620 persons were sent into the trench-

⁷⁵ After the remarkable work of Cornel Sigmirean, *Istoria formării intelectualității românești din Transilvania și Banat în epoca modernă*, Cluj, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2000, p.111-115, and the *Annals* of the Franz Josef University for the corresponding years.

es. 159 of them lost their life on the front.⁷⁶ Some of the academic premises were even taken over by the army, and the clinics were always overcrowded with the wounded.⁷⁷

Despite or, rather, in connection with these tragic developments, a significant increase in the number of women students could be observed. In the first semester of the 1914/5 academic year their number went up to 61, and in the same semester of the next academic year it was already close to double (with 111 women students).⁷⁸

But all these developments came to a halt at the end of the war, which led, as commonly known, to the dismembering of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire with disastrous consequences for the later territorial physiognomy of Hungary. After the Treaty of Trianon, Transylvania became part of Romania, which started a powerful Romanisation process of the region.

Since before signing the act of Trianon, once the Romanian troops marched into Kolozsvár/Cluj (24 December 1918), one of the priorities of the new authorities was to take over control of the University.⁷⁹ On 10 May 1919, the new Romanian prefect signed a document to call the rector of the University, Bálint Kolozsvári, and István Apáthy (who had been appointed by the new revolutionary authorities at the end of 1918 as president of the local Hungarian National Council), to take the oath of loyalty to the Romanian state, together with all the professors. They refused unanimously,⁸⁰ so the council was called on to hand over the University. This happened on 12 May 1919. István Apáthy was arrested for “revolt and offence to the king” and was initially even sentenced to death, though the sentence was later changed to 5 years in prison, and in August 1920, he was finally allowed to leave for Hungary, where he settled in Szeged. He was then instrumental in the organisation of the histology department of the refugee university established there.

On 15 September 1919, the senate of the Romanised University in Cluj/Kolozsvár was set up, as the new local academic authority. Indeed, on 1

⁷⁶ “Beszédek, a melyek a kolozsvári magyar királyi Ferencz József Tudományegyetem 1916/17. tanévi tanácsában tartattak”, in the series *Acta Universitatis Litterarum Regiae Hungaricae*, Kolozsvár, Ajtai K. Albert Könyvnyomdája, 1917, fasc. 1, p. 9.

⁷⁷ Also see the volume of Sándor Márki, *A háború első éve a m. Kir. Ferenc József tudományegyetem*, Kolozsvár, Tip. Ajtai K. Albert, 1915, 206 p.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

⁷⁹ On 13 December 1918, two decrees were published (no. 3631 and 3632) referring to the unification of Transylvania and other formerly Hungarian regions with the Kingdom of Romania, and the new territorial organisation. (See *Monitorul Oficial*, no. 212/1918 and no. 206/1920, as well as the Law for the ratification and execution of the Peace Treaty with Hungary, signed on 4 June 1920, in *Monitorul Oficial*, no. 136 of 26 September 1920).

⁸⁰ On the other hand, they did not recognise the authority of the government of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, either.

October 1919, by order of the Ministry of Public Instruction in Bucharest, the third university with Romanian language of instruction was officially established in the city under the name of University of Upper Dacia “King Ferdinand I”. The first rector of the university was Sextil Pușcariu.⁸¹

Most of the old Hungarian teaching staff moved to Hungary, and – rather symbolically – the Franz Josef University was officially transferred to Szeged in 1921 by the Hungarian government. But all the patrimonial goods of the former university remained in Cluj/Kolozsvár, at the disposal of the new Romanian University. Although in the first half of 1920 efforts were made to re-establish another local Hungarian university through the joint efforts of the Roman-Catholic, Calvinist and Unitarian churches (all of them being persuasions of almost exclusively Magyar ethnic recruitment), the Ministry of Cults and Instruction in Bucharest – following advocates of Romanisation in Cluj/Kolozsvár – stipulated that a possible Hungarian institution of higher rank could be admitted only in another Transylvanian town. Under these circumstances, upon the initiative of the Calvinist bishop Károly Nagy, the few professors from the old faculties of Letters and Science, still remaining in the town, refused to adopt the variant proposed by the authorities and accepted to teach at the Calvinist Pedagogical Institute (Normal School or teacher training college), which continued to operate in Cluj/Kolozsvár.⁸²

⁸¹ On these events, see Vasile Pușcaș, *Universitate, societate, modernizare. Organizarea și activitatea științifică a Universității din Cluj, 1919-1940*, Cluj, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1995, pp. 50-66. It is significant that the old symbolic insignia of the Hungarian university in the central building (statues and statuary groups) were partly destroyed in January 1920. The remaining ones were placed in the Botanical gardens. Also, the memorial plaque at the entrance to the building, which celebrated the inauguration of the main building, disappeared around the years 1921-1922. (Cf. György Gaál, *Egyetem a Farkas utcában. A kolozsvári Ferenc József Tudományegyetem előzményei, korszakai és vonzatai*, Cluj/Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Magyar Műszaki Tudományos Társaság, 2001, p. 69).

⁸² György Gaál, “Egy felekezeti egyetem alapítása Kolozsváron 1920-ban”, in *Keresztény magvető*, Cluj/Kolozsvár, no. 4/1990, pp. 230-237.

**Students of the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj by denomination and study track
(1872-1912, selected years)**

Year	Faculty	Catholic Christians*	Orthodox Christians	Lutherans	Calvinists	Unitarians	Israelites	Total
1872/73	Law	100	5	11	42	12	3	173
	Medicine	12	-	1	11	2	1	27
	Philosophy, letters and history	12	-	1	8	-	-	21
	Mathematics and sciences	15	-	-	11	6	-	32
	Pharmacy	2	1	1	1	-	-	5
	Total	141	6	14	73	20	4	258
1882/83	Law	136	2	14	52	14	10	228
	Medicine	37	5	2	29	3	17	93
	Philosophy, letters and history	35	2	4	23	7	-	71
	Mathematics and sciences	19	2	2	14	2	-	39
	Pharmacy	17	-	2	6	-	1	26
	Total	244	11	24	124	24	28	475
1892/93	Law	175	8	10	73	19	14	299
	Medicine	55	6	9	45	7	30	152
	Philosophy, letters and history	35	2	6	32	5	-	80
	Mathematics ¹⁷ and sciences	2	5	13	1	-	38	
	Pharmacy	25	1	11	15	2	1	55
	Total	307	19	41	178	34	45	624
1902/03	Law	532	55	117	280	44	153	1181
	Medicine	44	16	16	35	5	18	134
	Philosophy, letters and history	71	3	33	121	22	4	254
	Mathematics and sciences	53	3	15	44	4	5	124
	Pharmacy	20	4	6	11	-	20	61
	Total	720	81	187	491	75	200	1,754
1912/13	Law	618	120	81	412	43	193	1467
	Medicine	179	49	58	104	13	88	491
	Philosophy, letters and history	69	5	23	60	26	3	186
	Mathematics and sciences	40	3	16	26	5	2	92
	Pharmacy	36	5	18	22	3	23	107
	Total	942	182	196	624	90	309	2,343

* Greek Catholics and Armenian Catholics are included here among Roman Catholic Christians. Indeed, especially the Armenian Catholics were often inconsistent in declaring their religion, i.e. they often stated they were Roman Catholic.

II.

MEDICAL HIGHER EDUCATION IN KOLOZSVÁR/CLUJ

Lucian Nastasă

MEDICAL HIGHER EDUCATION IN KOLOZSVÁR/CLUJ

The beginnings of medical instruction

Historiographical research has proven the existence of notable medical activity in a few significant urban centres of Transylvania, especially in Beszterce/Bistrița, Brassó/Brașov, Kolozsvár/Cluj, Nagyvárad/Oradea and Nagyszében/Sibiu ever since the 16th century.¹ However, training of medically qualified staff practicing in the region had been done even before for a long time by academic institutions abroad, especially in the Habsburg Empire and Italy, and later – following the spread of Reformation in Transylvania – in Protestant Germany and Holland.

There were no medical faculties though in Transylvania or elsewhere in the Hungarian Kingdom till the end of the 18th century. A veritable Faculty of Medicine ("Schola Medicinalis") was set up only in 1769, attached to the University of Nagyszombat/Trnava (of Jesuit foundation)² after the model of the Faculty of Medicine in Vienna, under the direct leadership of Gerhard von Swieten, Maria Theresa's Court physician and the reformer of medical services in the Monarchy. Though the training of physicians started there in 1770, it could not solve the chronic shortage of doctors in Hungary, and the status of Nagyszombat/Trnava graduates remained definitely inferior as compared to those of Vienna or abroad. Therefore, most ambitious candidates to the medical profession continued to attend the Viennese Medical School. For long, the number of students from Hungary was almost as high in Vienna as in Nagyszombat/Trnava.

¹ Arnold Huttmann, "Grundzüge einer Medizingeschichte Siebenbürgens", in *Siebenbürgisches Archiv*, Köln-Wien, Böhlau, Bd. 14, 1979; Pál Mátyás, "Kolozsvári orvosdoktorok a XVI-XVII. század fordulóján", in *Orvostörténeti közlemények. Communicationes de Historia Artis Medicinae*, Budapest, no. 100/1982 (abstract); Gernot Nussbächer, *De la Honterius la Oberth. Naturaliști, tehnicienii și medicii de seamă germani din Transilvania*, București, 1985; P. Binder, "Medici clujeni din secolul al XVI-lea", in *Anuarul Institutului de istorie Cluj*, XXX, 1990-1991, pp. 199-206; E. Glück, "Noi contribuții cu privire la spitalul de oftalmologie din Oradea", in *Anuarul Institutului de istorie Cluj*, XXXIII, 1994, pp. 327-330; Teodor D. Paveleanu, *Istoria farmaciilor din Transilvania*, I-II, Brașov, Edit. Tipocart Brașovia, 1995.

² Currently in Slovakia.

Upon the suggestion of Gerhard von Swieten, in the same year 1769, Maria Theresa considered the foundation of a university in Transylvania,³ when the province was raised to the rank of Great Principality. Kolozsvár/Cluj appeared to be earmarked for the seat of the planned institution, all the more that its Jesuit College had borne, at one time, the name of “Universitas”, dispensing actually advanced training in theology and philosophy. In this context, in 1775, Maria Theresa formally set up, in addition to the two existing faculties, the Faculties of Law and Medicine, by merely adding in fact courses to the curriculum of the existing Roman Catholic College. Like in the case of the Faculty of Medicine in Nagyszombat/Trnava, courses on surgery and gynaecology started to be taught thus in Kolozsvár/Cluj in 1772, and the establishment appeared later in the official documents of the epoch under various names, such as “Facultas medica”, “Medicinae Facultatis Pars”, “Clasis chirurgica” or “Facultas Chirurgica.” Although a classical university was finally not achieved in Kolozsvár/Cluj, medical studies were maintained here in a restricted form. Though their role was not negligible for training medical staff with basic qualifications, they could not pretend to equal the status of the Nagyszombat/Trnava Faculty, which was moved to Buda in 1777 and soon after to Pest (1780).⁴

At the beginning, according to Maria Theresa’s plan, the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj was going to have professors trained at the University of Vienna. In reality the only such member of the staff was József Laffer, who taught, in addition to anatomy, surgery and gynaecology for one year. In 1776 courses of chemistry, botany, physiology and pathology were also started. In 1787, under the reign of Joseph II, a department of veterinary medicine was set up. Under the reign on Francis I, the ophthalmology department began to operate, and the study of surgery extended its curriculum over two years. Broadly speaking, the organisation of the faculty in Kolozsvár/Cluj resembled by then that of Nagyszombat/Trnava, adding to the already mentioned courses those of mineralogy and general medicine. The famous lecture, published in Cluj in 1793, *Paraenesis ad auditores chirurgiae*, held by Ioan Molnar-Piuariu, was connected to the opening of the department of ophthalmology.⁵

³ Ferencz Szilágyi, “Erdélyi protestáns egyetem a XVIII-dik században”, in *Kelet*, Kolozsvár/Cluj, II, 1872, no. 241 (19 October), no. 242 (20 October) and no. 243 (22 October).

⁴ About the institution, also see Tibor Győry, *Az orvostudományi kar története 1770-1935*, Budapest, 1936; *Az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem története, 1635-1985*, edited by István Sinkovics, Budapest, 1985.

⁵ About this issue, also see Z. Szőkefalvi-Nagy, “Primii ani de activitate ai lui Ioan Piuariu Molnar”, in *Revista medicală*, Târgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely, XII, 1966, no. 1, pp. 101-104; Al. Neamţu, “Date noi despre Ioan Piuariu-Molnar”, in *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai*, Series Historia, fasc. 1, 1970, p. 53-71; I. Dani, “Contribuţii privitoare la Ioan Piuariu-Molnar”, in *Anuarul Institutului de istorie şi arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XVII, 1974, pp. 247-262.

In the 1793/4 academic year, the anatomy courses were attended by 20 students, the obstetrics courses by 12, the surgery courses by 10, the physiology courses by 9, the pathology and pharmacology courses by 6 students, while ophthalmology and zoology had three students each.⁶ In 1797, the medicine department had four professors and an assistant professor for the surgery course.⁷ Practical training was later carried out at the “Carolina” hospital.⁸ Later on, the number of professors grew; among the personalities contributing to the prestige of the institute, there were János Eckstein, József Lenhossék, Tivadar Margó and Kálmán Balogh, etc.

In 1817 the establishment changed its name, and was henceforth called Medical-Surgical Institute, a name it bore until the setting-up of a veritable Transylvanian University in 1872.⁹

The medical school, with its 13-20 students a year, met only local needs for the training of low level medical staff at the time. Altogether, it turned out 423 surgeons between 1831-1872. Its mission was indeed not to prepare physicians like in the case of the Faculty of Medicine in Vienna, for instance, but to produce practitioners in response to a demand for basic medical care of the Transylvanian population in the framework of reforms initiated by the imperial government in the field of sanitary service organisation, and the introduction of some measures of public healthcare. Like other regions, Transylvania was haunted by epidemics from time to time, which led to serious losses in human lives, with heavy economic and social consequences.¹⁰ The main task of the staff trained at Kolozsvár/Cluj was to carry out prophylactic treatment to prevent or eradicate the danger of epidemics. For the improvement of public health such a cohort of local professionals, as well as the adequate training institution, were judged indispensable.¹¹

⁶ Augustin Santai, *Contribuțiuni la istoricul practicii și învățării moșitului în Transilvania*, Cluj/Kolozsvár, 1927, pp. 18-19.

⁷ János Maizner, *A kolozsvári orvos-sebész tanintézet történeti vázlat 1775-1872*, Kolozsvár/Cluj, 1890, pp. 4-5.

⁸ The Caroline Hospital was set up in 1818, after the visit to Kolozsvár/Cluj of Emperor Francis I and his wife, Caroline-Augustine (in 1817), who made a donation to this end, and granted an annual endowment for the establishment.

⁹ Z. Szőkefalvi-Nagy, I. Spielmann, “Contribuții la istoricul primelor decenii ale Institutului medico-chirurgical din Cluj”, in *Revista medicală*, Târgu Mureș/Marosvásárhely, XIII, 1967, no. 2, pp. 216-226.

¹⁰ For instance, in 1802 there was a severe epidemic of smallpox in Cluj, on which occasion the appropriate vaccine was applied for the first time, not without strong opposition from the inhabitants. In 1831, a much wider cholera epidemic ravaged this part of the world as witnessed by a statistical study prepared at the time with case studies, treatments, etc, by a physician called Dániel Pataky. See his *A cholera Kolozsvárt*, Kolozsvár/Cluj, A ref. főiskola, 1832. In 1855 and 1872-3 there were yet other epidemics of cholera in Transylvania.

¹¹ On the network of hospitals in Transylvania, until 1867, see Dániel Pataky, *Erdélyország kórházai az 1867-dik évben*, Kolozsvár, 1868.

The Institution had two sections: internal diseases and surgery. The former, between 1836-1856 operated under the leadership of József Szöts (1798-1858). He was the author, together with János Eckstein, of a valuable work on the treatment of syphilis, a rather widespread disease at the time. Szöts' successor in this section was József Szabó (1837-1872). As concerns the conditions of study and treatment, one may mention that this section operated with only 10 beds in 1836. Even by 1865 it had no more than 16 beds.

The surgery section was led by Ábrahám Pattantyús-Bogdán (1817-1865), who introduced ether anaesthetics to Cluj in 1847, only two or three years after the first experiments. The section had ten beds at the beginning, and after a while their number dropped to 6 (1865). Pattantyús-Bogdán was followed by József Brandt (1839-1912), who carried out the first ovariectomy in Transylvania in 1869, and later the first successful nephrectomy in Europe (in 1873), based on his own technique.¹² József Brandt graduated from the University of Vienna, where he had studied under the guidance of professor Schuch, after which, in 1867, he came to Cluj as a substitute teacher at the department of surgery and ophthalmology at the Medical-Surgical Institute, only to become a tenured professor by 1871. He retained this position even after 1872, in the new University.

Medicine at the “Franz Josef” University

Once the University was set up, the Institute of Medicine and Surgery had to disappear. It was, in fact, the fundament upon which the new faculty could be built. As already mentioned, the decision to abandon the courses of surgery and gynaecology in the old formula, becoming obsolete as compared to the requirements of modern medicine, had been taken by the National Council for Public Healthcare in Budapest in 1869. At the same time, it was decided to found the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj, including a Faculty of Medicine. By increasing the number of disciplines offered for study, the prerogatives of the new institution were also diversified, along with the reorganisation of medical assistance and public hygiene.

The Faculty's main task was to train physicians for the eastern part of Hungary. In spite of this, the faculties of Vienna and Budapest withheld for a long time their preeminence in this field. Statistics indicate clearly that in 1881-1882, for instance, some 40% of all medical students from Hungary were studying at a foreign university, and 86% of them in Vienna. This proportion remained the same for a long time after the new faculty had become

¹² J. Orban, “Pionierul chirurgiei renale în Transilvania, József Brandt”, in *Revista medicală*, XVIII, 1972, pp. 238-241; Iosif Spielmann, “Un pionier transilvănean al nefrectomiei, profesorul Josef Brandt”, in *Retrospective medicale. Studii, note și documente*, ed. G. Brătescu, București, Edit. Medicală, 1985, pp. 315-321.

operational.¹³ The Faculty of Medicine of Vienna especially preserved its importance in the preparation of the bulk of the teaching staff both in Kolozsvár/Cluj and in Budapest. A diploma gained in the capital of the Empire was an obvious guarantee of quality training, and the Viennese imprint remained for long visible on the organisation and development of the provincial faculties in the whole Dual Monarchy.

The Medical Faculty in Kolozsvár/Cluj started operating with 11 departments, of which 8 were headed by earlier professors of the Surgery Institute: József Brandt, József Czifra, Antal Genersich, Béla Máchik, János Maizner, Vilmos Schulek, Aurél Török and János Mina, the last one being the only one detaining a doctor's degree. The other three professors came from Budapest: Sándor Ajtai, József Fodor and Pál Plósz.

The teaching staff of the faculty was, in spite of its heterogeneous recruitment, highly qualified, which explains the massive departures to Budapest later on. Of all the professors, after a quarter of a century, only József Brandt remained in Kolozsvár/Cluj, nine moved to Budapest, five of them being even elected members of the Hungarian Academy of Science. In addition, their strong social position was also supported by a number of extra-university administrative commissions and offices they assumed as well as by significant responsibilities and decision-making power in issues of public health they were in charge of. All this was indeed part of the urban modernisation process at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th (including the organisation of urban space responding to public salubrity and the introduction of modern healthcare facilities). In this epoch Kolozsvár/Cluj experienced a real boom.¹⁴

The original faculty structure with 11 departments (descriptive anatomy and topography, physiology and histology, pathologic anatomy, veterinary medicine and police, internal pathology, surgery, ophthalmology, obstetrics, general pathology and pharmacology, "state medicine",¹⁵ physiological and pathological chemistry) was due to change soon. In 1874, the department of dermatology and venereal diseases was added, where the tenured professor

¹³ See Victor Karady, "Funktionswandel der österreichischen Hochschulen in der Ausbildung der ungarischen Fachintelligenz vor und nach dem I. Weltkrieg", in *Sozialstruktur und Bildungswesen in Mitteleuropa*, eds. V. Karady and W. Mitter, Köln/Wien, Böhlau Verlag, 1990, p.185. In this context, even the University of Graz played an important role in training the medical elite of Transylvania, as indicated by Sabina Helga Almer, *Die rolle der Siebenbürgischen Studenten an der Karl-Franzens-Universität in Graz (1848-1918)*, diplomarbeit, Graz, May 1992.

¹⁴ As regards the sanitary problems in town, see, for instance, the report of the medical commission on the causes of the high rates of mortality in town, published in *Magyar Polgár*, Kolozsvár/Cluj, XVII, 1883, no. 183 (10 August), no. 184 (11 August) and no. 185 (12 August), but also the brochure written by Leó Pataky, *Kolozsvár közegészségügye*, Kolozsvár/Cluj, Tip. Ajtai K. Albert, 1893.

¹⁵ Legal medicine and medical police.

was Ede Géber (until 1891). In 1880 the veterinary medicine and police department was abolished. In 1883 the “state medicine” department split into two (the Institute of Legal Medicine and the Institute of Hygiene, including the medical police and veterinary epidemiology). In 1889 the department of mental diseases (with professor Károly Lechner) was set up. In 1890 the department of general pathology and pharmacology split into two as concerns the curriculum, but the same professor went on teaching both disciplines. After 1892 the course on histology and pathology ceased to be the charge of the old tenured professor, to be passed over to the professor of zoology from the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences, while the former holder of the position became a substitute at the department of physiological and pathological chemistry. In 1893, the department of the medicine of tissues was developed, under professor István Apáthy.

Thus, by the end of the World War, the number of departments increased by 6 (hence a total number of 17 departments), the teaching activities being covered by the two categories of professors stipulated in the legislation: ordinary and extraordinary professors.¹⁶ However, this was not only a process of growth, but also a permanent reorganisation and adjustment of the faculty structure to the new scientific models that appeared in the medical field, such as experimental microbiology and physiology. The development of the curriculum closely followed new discoveries in the natural sciences. Theoretical education (which had been preponderant in Cluj until the 1880s) was doubled by practical instruction by way of clinical observations combined with experiments carried out in laboratories. Students were obliged to attend courses at the Faculties of Science for chemistry, physics, natural sciences, which were meant to widen their preparation for the profession of physician.

When the Faculty was set up, there were assistants at each department – except for the department of animal infectious diseases –, although in the beginning not many candidates applied for such positions. For ten positions advertised in 1873, there were 6 applications only. Still, gradually, the number of applicants grew, and many assistant professors embarked upon an academic career leading them to professorship, as it was the case, for instance, of the three ‘private lecturers’ (*Privatdozenten*) Nathaniel Feuer (eye surgery), Ignác Büchler (internal diseases) and Manó Góth (gynaecological surgery). Other assistants proved to be excellent scholars and practitioners in the medical field, such as Árpád Gyergyai (1881-1952) – assistant professor of surgery and later of pathophysiology – who was the first person in Transylvania to do antiseptic surgery and who experimented with blood

¹⁶ On the evolution, also see Dénes Szabó, *A kolozsvári m. kir. Ferencz József tudományegyetem orvosi kara, 1872-1895-ben*, Budapest, Tip. Hornyánszky Viktor, 1896; *Emlékkönyv. A kolozsvári magyar királyi Ferencz József tudományegyetem és különösen ennek orvosi és természettudományi intézetei*, Budapest, Tip. Hornyánszky Viktor, 1903.

transfusion.¹⁷ Their usefulness was such that, from 1894, there were two assistants at the surgery and internal medicine departments. Also, since 1895 each department could appoint interns or house doctors as well. At the surgery department, besides these, there were two other positions for “hard-working practitioners of surgery”. Until 1896, the faculty trained 11 private lecturers, of whom two obtained diplomas in pharmacy (György Hintz and Hugó Issekutz), and two others in gynaecology (Manó Góth and Gábor Engel), the latter being later awarded the title of professor emeritus. In 1896, due to the reorganisation of the clinics, positions of deputy clinic heads (coordinator of works) were also offered. Seven such positions were held in 1919.

Thus, while in 1909 the Faculty of Medicine included, in the 17 institutes and clinics, a total number of 12 tenured professors, one professor emeritus, 5 deputy private lecturers, 11 private lecturers (*Privatdozenten*), 26 assistants and 24 interns,¹⁸ at the end of the World War there were 20 institutes and clinics, including 34 tenured, replacement and private professors, 7 coordinators of works, 37 assistants and 20 practicing physicians.

The rooms of the old Institute of medicine and surgery could obviously not match the needs of the new establishment. At the beginning, the faculty suffered especially from the scarcity of space, as much as the almost complete lack of equipment.¹⁹ But shortly after the establishment of the university, the Faculty of Medicine moved into the building of the Carolina Hospital²⁰ and a few offices were made available in the central building also – at the time in the old headquarters of the local administration. Only after 1882, as a result of numerous complaints and memoranda addressed to the ministry concerned, did the Faculty begin to acquire modern buildings and the latest generation of medical instruments, which even many traditional Western universities did not yet have. The first to be built was an Institute of Chemistry. In 1884 the Department of Anatomy obtained adequate housing. The building of the Psychology and Hygiene Departments was raised in 1886, and the Carolina Hospital was turned into a Clinic.

Not much later, in 1890, construction work began at the central building of the new University Medical Campus, which was placed in the garden of

¹⁷ Cf. György Gaál, “Gyergyai Árpád, a vérátömlesztés és az antiszeptikus sebészet erdélyi úttörője”, in *Keresztény magvető*, Cluj/Kolozsvár, no. 2/1996, pp. 84-91.

¹⁸ On the evolution of the Faculty until 1909, see the volume prepared for the 16th International Congress of Medicine, *Les Facultés de médecine des Universités royales hongroises de Budapest et de Kolozsvár*, Budapest, Imprimerie de la Société Franklin, 1909, pp. 267-396.

¹⁹ On the importance of material conditions in accomplishing quality medical education, see *The Investigative Enterprise. Experimental Physiology in Nineteenth-Century Medicine*, eds. W. Coleman and Fr.L. Holmes, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1988.

²⁰ The Carolina Hospital belonged to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and it was less interested in the educational process, thus neglecting investments in the field.

the Transylvania Museum Association between 1897-1903. They corresponded fully to the highest European norms of the time, with the “pavilion” type set-up. The next clinics were built on several terraces: the Surgery Clinic, the Medical Clinic and the Obstetric-Gynaecology Clinic were located beside the older Institute of Physiology and Hygiene; the Clinic of Ophthalmology and Dermato-Veneral Diseases was placed beside the Institutes of Anatomy, Pathological Anatomy and Legal Medicine. There was an Institute of General Pathology and Pharmacology, beside which a section for Contagious Diseases and another one for TB, both belonging to the Medical Clinic, were established. In the vicinity of the Campus, 8 pavilions of the Neuropsychiatry Clinic found their place, the construction works beginning in 1901. The only domain that had been neglected before the World War was the Clinic of Pediatrics, which obtained an adequate building in 1917 only. The discipline itself had been regarded as a separate one, represented by Gusztáv Genersich (1865-1921), a ‘private lecturer’ at the University, as well as the director and leading physician of the State Orphanage of the city.

The project of the new hospital was drawn by Alajos Haussmann, professor of the Budapest Polytechnic, who had designed the Hospitals “Szent István” (1876-1880) and “Erzsébet” (1882-1884), as well as the Institute of Legal Medicine of the University in the state capital (1887).²¹ The initial construction of the Kolozsvár/Cluj campus would have cost 2,400,000 crowns, an enormous amount of money for the time, but after several revisions of the budget the building could be accomplished in the form still visible today. The construction works were carried out under the supervision of the architects Korb and Giergl. The cluster of buildings was completed in 1903, totaling 846 rooms, with 594 beds, costing the Hungarian state 4,558,448 crowns and 28 fillers. On the occasion of completion of this project, an impressive volume was printed, with lavish illustrations, to present the extraordinary achievement. (The volume also includes a thorough balance of the medical achievements up to that time.²²)

Without going into details as to the composition of the student population – which is focused upon in the next chapter by Victor Karády – the almost constant growth of its size must be pointed out. From 27 in 1872/3, four decades later there were 491 students. Between 1903-1913, their number tripled (with 134 students in 1902/3), before a big drop caused by the war years (with only 227 medical students in 1918/19).²³ The high number

²¹ His diary notes were published in the volume entitled *Építész a századfordulón*, Budapest, Gondolat Kiadó, 1997.

²² *Emlékkönyv. A kolozsvári magyar királyi Ferencz József Tudomány-Egyetem és különösen ennek orvosi és természettudományi intézetei. A magyar orvosok és természetvizsgálók XXXII. Vándorgyűlése tagjai részére*, Kolozsvár/Cluj, 1903. (For the Faculty of Medicine, see, pp.143-412).

²³ The first cohort graduated in 1877, the studies lasting for five years.

of students generated some malfunctions in the process of professional training in a faculty where the connection between theory and practice was indissoluble. Like in the case of the Law Faculty, by the 1910s, there was over-crowding due to major imbalance between the audience admitted to lectures and the capacity of lecture halls. For instance, István Apáthy, professor of histology, was forced to do *practicum* with approximately 100 students in rooms that could hold only much fewer, and with only two assistants.²⁴

In addition to their professional courses, medical students had to attend courses of the Faculty of Sciences, at the departments of mineralogy, geology, botany, physics, chemistry and zoology.

The teaching and research activities, as well as *practicum* – inherent in such a field – were carried out under the aegis of two, somewhat different, but complementary organisational types. On the one hand, there were theoretical institutes, such as anatomy, physiology, hygiene, general pathology and pharmacology, and on the other hand, a number of clinics for practical training and the acquisition of professional experience, such as those of surgery, internal diseases, obstetrics and gynaecology, dermato-venereal diseases, neurology and psychiatry. In the following the development of individual institutes will be summarily sketched.

The Institute of Anatomy. The major representative of this speciality was Antal Genersich (1842-1918), professor of the department of pathologic anatomy, whose name was connected to the institutional organisation of the Pathologic Anatomy Institute, and generally the setting-up and development of the network of pathologic anatomy in Hungary.²⁵ He attended the courses of the Faculty of Medicine in Pest, and during his years of study already became an assistant of professor József Lenhossék. He was an excellent student, he received first the “Márton Csausz” stipend, and in 1861 he won two university awards. In 1865 he graduated and was immediately appointed deputy to Lajos Arányi at the department of pathologic anatomy. In the following year he obtained the diplomas of surgeon, gynaecologist and ophthalmologist as well. In 1867 he became primary physician of pathologic anatomy at the Hospital for the Poor in Pest, and the next year at the Pest City Hospital. In 1868,²⁶ the College of Physicians in the capital sent him abroad for a two-year study tour. He went to Vienna, to Rokitansky’s Institute of Pathologic Anatomy, and then to the experimental pathologic anatomy insti-

²⁴ István Apáthy, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

²⁵ Cf. *Genersich Antal Emlékkönyv születésének 150. évfordulója alkalmával. Adatok a romániai magyar orvosok és gyógyszerészek munkásságáról*, eds. Attila Tankó, Mihály Péter, Budapest/Marosvásárhely, 1994, pp. 13-22.

²⁶ On 16 February 1867 he married Kornelia Máchik, whose brother, Béla Máchik, was going to become Antal Genersich’s colleague at the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj.

tute of Salamon Stricker. Later, he continued his specialisation in Leipzig, Würzburg, Recklinghausen and Berlin, attending courses of renowned professors such as Kölliker, Bamberger, Traube, Tröltzsch, Jaeger, and Hebra, among others. In 1870, he was nominated professor at the Institute of Surgery in Kolozsvár/Cluj, and in 1872, at the new Faculty of Medicine. During all this time, he did not cease carrying out pioneering research, such as separation of the human tuberculosis from its bovine counterpart, and in various fields of syphilis and leukemia as well.

The Institute of Pathologic anatomy established by Genersich in Cluj was one of the most modern establishments of its type in Europe, with first class instruments and even a museum that contained approximately 5,000 exhibits perseveringly collected by the professor, who collaborated with former students for this purpose. The museum comprised an impressive number (almost 55 exhibits) of conserved animals with major natural deficiencies (monsters), among other pieces of demonstration. In recognition of his merits, in 1892 he was elected corresponding member of the Hungarian Science Academy. In 1902, he became full member. In Kolozsvár/Cluj, he held the position of dean and deputy dean for several years, as well as rector of the University in 1877/8. He was also recruited by the steering committee of the town sewage works, and was awarded the title of honorary primary physician of the city. In 1895, Antal Genersich transferred to the Medical Faculty of Budapest, and was replaced by Kálmán Buday (1863-1937).

Meanwhile, after the 1881-1882 reorganisations, the Institute became more and more resolutely specialised. It was renamed Institute of Pathologic Anatomy and Pathologic Histology. Kálmán Buday worked there between 1896-1913 – with Dezső Veszprémi, who taught pathologic histology as a deputy professor toward the end of the period. Important research projects initiated by Genersich on tuberculosis were developed further, but significant new results were obtained as to the infection of the mouth and lungs as well. Also, Buday discovered and described one of the bacteria that generates the infection of wounds, which bears his name. Like his predecessor, he was elected member of the Hungarian Academy of Science, and in the academic years 1900/1 and 1905/6 dean of the Faculty. In 1914, he too moved to the University of Budapest leaving his position to Veszprémi.

The theoretical courses of anatomy lasted for six years. Until the new building was erected (in 1888), the activities were organised in the old central building of the University. From July 1888 onwards, the Institute of Pathologic Anatomy and Pathologic Histology operated in the new building, called the Anatomic Pavilion, where two other institutes that had split from it were also functioning: the Institute of Anatomy and the Institute of Legal Medicine. The dissection of corpses, emanating from different university clinics or those that died at the Poor People's asylum, was performed at the Institute of Pathologic Anatomy and Pathologic Histology. *Practicum* alternated with theoretical courses. Considering the period, there were diversi-

fied teaching materials available. Besides the courses taught by the professor, there were courses on research methods in pathologic histology, delivered by a 'private reader'. In fact, besides the head of department, the Institute consisted of a deputy professor, two assistant professors and two assistant physicians.

Beginning with 1881, from Genersich's Institute of Pathologic Anatomy a separate Institute of Anatomy was organised, headed by Leó Davida (1852-1929), who was one of the most skilled anatomists of the time. He would hold the position of dean of the Faculty several times (in 1886/7, 1890-1892 and 1898/9). He had an important role in organising the transfer under duress of the Faculty of Medicine to Szeged in 1918.

In 1882, from the same Institute of Pathologic Anatomy of Genersich a distinct Institute of Legal Medicine was formed, with János Belky (1851-1892) as its first appointed head. He was also a most creative empirical scientist. In fact, this Institute constituted a major innovation. It can be considered as the very first independent legal-medical establishment world-wide since the 1870s. After Belky's premature death, for two years, legal medicine was cared for by Antal Genersich, until Balázs Kenyeres (1865-1940) received an appointment as tenured professor of this department in 1894. He was instrumental in the introduction of Bertillon's system of criminal evidence, and used the methods of Röntgen for the first time in the field. He was assisted by György Demeter (1876-1925), who later became deputy director of the establishment. Thanks to his organisational abilities, Kenyeres was twice elected dean of the faculty, in 1897/8 and 1904/5. In 1914, he was called to the University of Budapest; he was followed in his position by the deputy professor György Demeter, who only got tenure in 1919.

The course of legal medicine was compulsory for students of both medicine and law. It was a one-semester course, taught in five hours a week by the medical professors, while the special course for future attorneys was taught in two hours a week.

The Institute of Physiology. At the beginning, the Institute of Physiology retained its character of theoretical medicine, inherited from the Institute of Medicine and Surgery, within which, as early as 1869, there was a department of physiology, histology and physical medicine. Later, after the death of Gusztáv Láng, the department split into two. The department of physiology, histology and natural medical sciences was headed by Aurél Török (1842-1902), the later world famous anthropologist, who took a chair at the University of Budapest in 1881. He was succeeded by Nándor Klug, who also left for Budapest 1891, to be followed by László Udránszky (1862-1914), who became a professor on his turn at the University of Budapest in 1910, leaving the department to Elemér Veress.

József Ossikovszky was appointed to the department of physiology and pathology, and after his death (in 1888) the course was handed over to László

Udránszky (in 1892). The two courses were then practically united again. Udránszky used successfully the method of Árpád Bókay, the tenured professor of general pathology and pharmacology, who had proved the presence and influence of glycosides, and whose other studies in the field of the sight and the senses under the influence of heat conferred him international fame. Since 1912, the department of physiology and pathology was trusted to Béla Reinbold (1875-1927).

The scientific staff of the Institute consisted of a professor, a deputy professor, an assistant professor and an internist physician. The courses of physiology were taught for one year, in five hours a week, while the deputy held lectures on general physiology. For several reasons, most of the assistants active at the Institute stayed here no longer than two years, which prevented them from carrying out serious personal research.

In connection with this Institute, we must mention the courses of histology and evolution taught by István Apáthy, a tenured professor and director of the Institute of Zoology of the Science Faculty, mentioned earlier in the present chapter.²⁷

In 1889, a special building was erected for the Institute of Physiology, after the design of A. Haussmann.

The Institute of Hygiene (Public Health). The department was established only in 1883. However, the scholar to whom the foundation of instruction and research in public health care can be attributed was József Fodor (1843-1901), who worked in Cluj during the very first two years after the foundation of the University. A graduate of the Vienna medical school (1 year) and Budapest, Fodor obtained his degree in 1865. In 1869 he started a two-year specialisation course in München, at the Pettenkoffer Institute, under the leadership of Max Pettenkoffer himself, one of the founders of the discipline of public hygiene. Later, he stayed in Holland, France and England, where he studied the local situation of public health. He wrote about his experiences in the volume *A közegészségügy Angliában* [The issue of public health in England], which was published only a year after his appointment as a professor at the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj, earning him an award from the Hungarian Academy of Science. The work was later used by Ákos Azary when he drafted Law VII of 1888, regarding the regulation of veterinary hygiene issues. Also based on the observations of Fodor, his disciple, Ferenc Hutýra developed his conception of the unity between public hygiene and veterinary hygiene, which enjoyed worldwide acclaim.

József Fodor only stayed in Kolozsvár/Cluj for two years, as he was called to the recently established department of public hygiene in Budapest, where

²⁷ See István Apáthy, *A kolozsvári tudományegyetem állattani és összehasonlító anatómiai intézete és az ezzel ideiglenesen összekapcsolt szövet- és fejlődéstani intézet*, Budapest, Tip. Hornyánszki Viktor, 1903.

he accomplished a successful career, with significant merits in the legitimisation of public health as a branch of medical science. He organised the curriculum of this new domain in a specialised institute and did a lot for the international recognition and development of the science of hygiene, based on studies of microbiology and immunology. As a researcher, he called attention to some compounds of the blood which “kill bacteria”, thus opening up new paths in immunology studies. In 1885, together with Lajos Markusovszky – Fodor’s supporter and protector during his studies, founder of the professional magazine *Orvosi Hetilap* – he set up the National Public Health Association. At the international Hygiene Congress of London in 1891, Fodor presented a study on the “antibacterial capacities of the blood” – which offered new basis of serological therapy (attributed by many to Behring). It earned Fodor the title of “Doctor Honoris Causa” of the University of Cambridge. In 1883, he was elected corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Science, and soon became full member (1885). He was at the same time granted honorary membership in the academies of Belgium, Spain, Finland, England and Italy.²⁸ For his outstanding activities, the Hungarian Academy of Science went as far as proposing him for the Nobel Prize, but his death in 1901 stopped the procedures. Although he only worked in Kolozsvár/Cluj for a short time, in a university that had barely started, Fodor managed to build a scholarly school, maintaining strong relations along his life with his ex-students and collaborators, among whom Gusztáv Rigler became one of his successors in the department.

However, the first tenured professor of the department of hygiene and the director of the adjacent institute, founded in 1883, was Aladár Rózsahegyi (1855-1896). He was a well established scholar with meritorious contributions to his discipline through surveys on the hygiene of settlements, projects for the introduction of potable water in Kolozsvár/Cluj, together with that related to the building of the sewage system. He was known as an excellent bacteriologist and specialist in epidemiology, standing apart as a remarkable manager of research on industrial hygiene, earning him membership in several international boards of public health and epidemiology. Among other trips, he also traveled to Afghanistan. While he was a professor, the Institute moved to a new building in 1889. He died young, in 1896, of tuberculosis. His position as leader of the department was taken over by Gusztáv Rigler (1868-1930) who became dean of the faculty in 1906/7.

The course of hygiene had two components: a theoretical one – taught in five hours a week, mandatory for one semester – and a practical one – which was held mostly in laboratories and included trips and field surveys. The institute also had a good library which, at the end of the first decade of the

²⁸ In 1909, when his bust was inaugurated in the Gutenberg Square, the legend on the socle read, “For the apostle of public health”.

20th century, comprised over 1,700 volumes and 35 journals. As auxiliary scientific staff, the Institute had an assistant and a trainee physician.

The Institute of General Pathology and Pharmacology. Until 1890 this institute offered one course only, but from 1890 on – under the aegis of the same institute – two departments began to operate: general and experimental pathology, and pharmacology. In fact, both became independent institutes. The establishment was moved to a new site in 1898, with adjacent buildings for keeping animals and experimentation.

The first professor appointed in 1872 to the joint department was Sándor Ajtai Kovács (1845-1917), who moved in 1875 to the veterinary medicine department of the University of Budapest.

Sándor Ajtai Kovács was followed by Endre Hőgyes (1847-1906) – the ex-assistant of Kálmán Balogh (1835-1888), the first to teach pharmacology at Kolozsvár/Cluj, before the setting-up of the university, and who made himself remarked as one of the first bacteriologists and neurological physiologists. Appointed at the department of pharmacology and pathology of the University in 1875, Hőgyes was instrumental in the organisation of an autonomous institute of the discipline within the University. He was especially interested in the connection between the equalisation of the ocular muscle with the labyrinth (vestibule reflex 10), achieving notorious discoveries in the field as early as the beginning of the 1880s. Later, dealing with the pathology and physiology of the vestibular apparatus (*Vestibularis Apparatus*) – the organ responsible for equilibrium – the otologist Róbert Bárány (1876-1936) was awarded the Nobel Prize for medicine in 1914.²⁹ As long as he was in Kolozsvár/Cluj, Endre Hőgyes made major contributions to the founding of the Medical and Natural Sciences Society in the town, becoming its president and the editor of its magazine. In 1883, he was called to teach at the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Budapest, as a professor of general pathology, leaving behind in Kolozsvár/Cluj a veritable “school”. Having at his disposal much better research equipment in Budapest, he could experiment Pasteur’s method of vaccination against rabies, developing a much more efficient technique than that of the French founding father of the discipline. Under his leadership, in 1890, the first Pasteur Institute was established in Hungary. His scientific accomplishments earned Endre Hőgyes a much deserved membership in the Hungarian Academy of Science.³⁰

²⁹ After 1916, Róbert Bárány moved to Sweden, becoming the head of the ORL Clinic of the University of Upsala, where he worked until his death. His research focused on the organ of equilibrium, continuing the experiments of Flourens Purkinje, Meniere, Goltz and Endre Hőgyes.

³⁰ Cf. Dénes Karasszon, “The role and importance of Endre Hőgyes in the history of Hungarian microbiology”, in *Acta Microbiologica et Immunologica Hungarica*, no. 4/1997, pp. 367-372.

After Hőgyes left, the department was taken over in the next year (1883) by Árpád Bókay (1856-1919), who himself left for Budapest in 1890 to teach pharmacology. As a result, the department was divided into two: general and experimental pathology was attributed to József Lőte (1856-1938), and pharmacology to Lajos Tóth. After a very short while, though, the latter left for Budapest to work for the Ministry of Public Instruction, and József Lőte took over the leadership of both departments with the help of an assistant professor (Dániel Konrádi) and two assistants, until in 1913, when the department of pharmacology received a new head, in the person of Zsigmond Jakabházi. It is a significant fact that József Lőte was the product of the Kolozsvár/Cluj medical school, a meritorious disciple of Endre Hőgyes, with notable results in vaccination against anthrax and rabies. He was several times elected dean of the Faculty of Medicine (1893/4, 1899/1900, 1909/1910), and in 1902 even rector of the University. In 1918 he was one of those who handed over the University to the Romanian authorities before leaving for Szeged.

As regards the scientific staff, the Institute of General Pathology was made up of a professor-director, an assistant and a trainee professor, while the staff of the pharmacology department consisted of the holder of the chair, an assistant professor and a trainee. With few exceptions, the works were purely scientific. The pharmacology courses were taught by 'private lecturers': György Hintz between 1883 and 1890, followed by Hugó Issekutz, appointed pharmacist of the University in 1902.

The institution was accredited to provide rabies certificates and certificates for the quality of drinking water. The staff also carried out bacteriological analyses for the water supply station of the city.

Unlike the theoretical institutes, the university clinics fulfilled a double function. On the one hand, they provided direct medical assistance and, on the other hand, they performed medical training and offered practical experience to future doctors. These clinics were established in Kolozsvár/Cluj not strictly for medical reasons, but rather for reasons of didactic-scientific nature, each clinic being a self-contained unit, with a tenured professor serving as its director.

Clinic of Internal Diseases. The first professor of internal medicine and the director of the Clinic until 1879 was Béla Máchik, who was rector of the university in the academic year 1873/1874. He worked at the Clinic during the time when the new clinic was not yet built. In fact, in 1874, the department of internal diseases had only 24 beds.

The most significant period in terms of diagnosis identification in internal medicine was the first decade with professor Zsigmond Purjesz (1846-1918), a graduate of the university of Budapest and a close collaborator of Frigyes Korányi. In 1871, Purjesz came to Kolozsvár/Cluj as an assistant at the Institute of Surgery and Gynaecology and joined in the next year the staff of the newly established University. Later, he was appointed a 'private lecturer' at the

Faculty of Medicine of Budapest, only to return to Kolozsvár/Cluj as head of the department of internal diseases between 1880-1911. During the time he was a professor, the new building of the Clinic was raised (1879-1899) and equipped with modern laboratory facilities for chemical, microbiological, histological and hematological analyses. The Clinic could hold 100 patients and for teaching activities it had an amphitheater. For the sake of good organisation, Zsigmond Purjesz had an assistant, Miklós Jancsó (who would later succeed him) and four coordinators of works, contributing notable results in research: Aladár Elfer, Samu Nagy, István Ács-Nagy and Izidor Kappel. This clinic also included the sections of contagious diseases and tuberculosis, both led by an assistant under the supervision of the tenured professor. The tuberculosis pavilion had 65 beds. From the scientific and didactic point of view, it is significant that Purjesz was the author of the first treatise of internal medicine in Hungarian, published in 1880. In 1896, he was elected president of the medical section of the Transylvanian Museum Association. Also, in 1893, during the cholera epidemic, he was appointed ministerial commissioner at Kolozsvár/Cluj to control and eradicate the epidemic. For many years he headed the local commission for public hygiene with important contributions to the field. In 1911, on the occasion of his retirement, for his life work to the benefit of public health, and especially for imposing hygiene in the city, Zsigmond Purjesz was awarded the title of “honorary citizen” of Kolozsvár/Cluj.³¹ In front of the pavilion of internal diseases, which he had directed, a statue was placed in his honour. The bust was sculpted by György Vastagh.³²

Between 1911-1919 the Clinic was headed by Miklós Jancsó (1868-1930), a product of the Cluj school of medicine, who carried out important research in the field of tuberculosis bacteriology together with Aladár Elfer. To this end, his laboratory work proved to be fundamental and resulted in the implementation of numerous preventive facilities and innovations. His studies on tuberculosis were honoured by a prize by the Hungarian Academy of Science. Besides these research activities, Miklós Jancsó contributed to blood analysis and the histology of malaria.³³ For the teaching of internal diseases, they used patients from the “infectious barracks” (*fertőző barakk*) as well as others resulting from public consultations.³⁴

Due to the multiple functions that this clinic was expected to perform, it could not host the large number of tuberculosis and rabies patients from all over Transylvania. Many of them had to be transferred to the Pasteur Institute in Budapest, which experienced thus early over-crowding. For this

³¹ *Kolozsvári Hírlap*, XIII, 1912, no. 57 (9 March), p.1; no. 58 (10 March), pp. 1-3.

³² *Ibidem*, no. 123 (29 May), p. 4.

³³ On his appointment, and the list of his scientific merits, see *Kolozsvári Hírlap*, XII, 1911, no. 277 (4 October), pp. 3-4.

³⁴ About the activity of the Clinic, see Rudolf Engel, *A m. kir. Ferencz József tudományegyetem belgyógyászati klinikájának és tanszékének története, 1872-1930*, Szeged, 1931.

reason, after numerous memoranda addressed to the parliament, a similar institute was established in Cluj,³⁵ but only with 50 beds. It became operational in 1914 under Miklós Jancsó, head of the Internal Diseases Clinic.

The Clinic of Surgery. The most important representative of the department was József Brandt, who – until the setting-up of the University – had taught the same discipline in the Institute of Surgery and Gynaecology. Although the Clinic operated for 25 years in quite inadequate premises, its practical activities were among the most highly appreciated in the University. In 1895, for instance, the Clinic had only 59 beds, but performed in the same year 761 surgical interventions.³⁶ In addition, thanks to József Brandt, a Sanatorium of the National Red Cross Association was also founded.

The new building was erected only at the end of the century, its construction taking place between 1897-1899, in keeping with the principles of modern medicine. There were two operation theatres, special laboratories for chemical, histological and microbiological analyses, a radiology cabinet, wards for bandaging, an orthopedic cabinet, wards and separate staff in charge of the treatment of septic and aseptic cases. The Clinic also had an amphitheater for theoretical courses and a library.

After Brandt's retirement in 1904,³⁷ the direction of the Clinic was taken over by Lajos Makkara (1861-1915), who would be also the dean of the faculty in the academic year 1908/9. During his time, the Clinic also had a deputy director, Imre Hevesi (1867-1921), teaching the courses of orthopedics. There were three coordinators of works – Kamill Vidakovich, Árpád Gyergyai and Pál Steiner – the first becoming the holder of the position of director after Makkara's death in 1915.

The Clinic of Obstetrics and Gynecology. The first tenured professor of the department and head of the attached clinic was János Maizner (1828-1902), a former student of Semmelweis, who introduced asepsis prior to consultation, which was a very remarkable innovation for the time. After his retirement in 1902 he was followed by Dénes Szabó, a clinical specialist in obstetrics, elected dean of the faculty several times (1894/5, 1901/2, 1910/11) and rector of the University in 1905/6. He was successfully preoccupied by securing the genuine autonomy of the institution.

This clinic has always been the only two-story building in the medical university cluster, which could host 80 patients. Later its capacity was increased to include two separate services: obstetrics and gynecology. The

³⁵ Cf. "Pasteur-intézet Kolozsváron", in *Kolozsvári Hírlap*, XIII, 1912, no. 259 (30 October), p. 2.

³⁶ A. Szabó, *A kolozsvári Ferenc-József Tudományegyetem Orvosi Kara 1872-1895-ben*, Budapest, 1896, p. 59.

³⁷ József Brandt died on 12 June 1912. About his personality, see *Kolozsvári Hírlap*, XIII, 1912, no. 140 (13 June), p. 4; no. 142 (15 June), p. 4.

staff of the Clinic was made up of tenured professors, two assistants (one of them being Oszkár Vértes), two trainees, a midwife and 9 nurses, besides the auxiliary staff. As professor emeritus, Gábor Engel, the director of the Carolina Hospital, and a professor at the State pedagogical institute, also taught courses here just prior to World War I.

In addition to medical students, the Clinic was also training midwives in five-month courses, with the quite unique feature that tuition was carried out in the three major languages spoken in Transylvania, Hungarian, Romanian and German.

The Clinic of Ophthalmology. The first professor of ophthalmology with notable scholarly credentials was Vilmos Schulek (1843-1905), one of the founding fathers of the Hungarian school of ophthalmology, who, like many other prominent colleagues, left soon for the Faculty of Budapest. His successor, from 1875 on, was Ete Szilágyi, after whose death in 1894 there came Károly Hoór (1858-1927), who also abandoned his chair for another one in the metropolitan university in 1908. Except for the first appointed, the later professors did not have a significant research production. However, Hoór developed a somewhat particular technique to examine cataracts, with a lamp that bears his name, and he also made himself remarked through his surgical interventions.³⁸ From 1909 onwards the head of the Clinic was József Imre (1851-1933), with the assistants Irén Markbreiter and Gyula Vicas.

The new clinic had 50 beds and it was equipped with a lecture room, a cabinet of ophthalmoscopy, a refraction room, cabinets for consultation and treatment, as well as laboratory facilities.

The Clinic of Dermato-Venereal Diseases. Both the department and the Clinic of Dermato-Venereal Diseases were established in 1874 and, chronologically speaking, the Clinic was the first of its kind in Hungary. Its founder, Károly Géber (1840-1891), was a graduate of the University of Budapest, with specialisation completed in Vienna, as it was usual at that time. A year before he was called to teach at Kolozsvár/Cluj, he made a trip to Asia Minor and Egypt, where he studied the so-called "Alep knot". In 1879, he became the tenured professor of the department and the director of the Clinic, laying special emphasis on the practical, therapeutic activities. As head of the Clinic, he was appointed in 1882 Ministerial Commissioner for Transylvania to research the causes of the spread of smallpox. On this occasion, he travelled throughout the entire region and drafted an important report on his findings.³⁹ After his death, he was followed by Tamás Marschalkó (1862-

³⁸ See Károly Hoór, *A kolozsvári szemészeti klinika 50 éves története*, Budapest, Athenaeum, 1903.

³⁹ Cf. Antal Genersich, "Géber Ede dr., egyetemi tanár", in *Értesítő az erdélyi múzeum-egylet orvos-természettudományi szakosztályáról*. I. Orvosi szak, XIV, 1892, fasc. I, pp. 4-7.

1915), an ex-student of Schwimmer and Neisser. During Marschalkó's time, until 1915, the Clinic experienced a period of high reputation. Marschalkó was followed by his coordinator of works, János Géber.

The Clinic gained a building of its own only in 1890, holding 110 beds. The scientific staff consisted of the professor, two coordinators of works (János Géber and István Kerekes), three assistants, three remunerated doctors and 2-3 internal physicians (who were not paid). The collection of preparations that contained a few exhibits *in vivi*, after the Apáthy method, in glass tubes, was considered most remarkable.⁴⁰

The Clinic of Neurology and Psychiatry. Both the department and the Clinic started operating only in the fall of 1889, once Károly Lechner (1850-1922) was appointed, who founded a genuine school of psychiatry in the town. Lechner was remarked for the research he conducted in the pathology of reflexes, dealing with hallucinations and the issue of consciousness. He was one of those who proved for the first time the continuity of acquired reflexes. For his qualities as organiser, Károly Lechner was elected twice dean of the faculty (in 1892/3 and 1897/8) and rector for the academic year of 1897/8.

Initially, the Clinic was located quite inadequately. The new premises were elevated at the foot of Házsongárd on Trefort St., between 1900-1903, with ten pavilions and 250 beds. The main pavilion was destined to teaching activities, as it had a course room and four laboratories. When the new buildings were designed, the planners kept in mind the principles of psychiatry, which were considered revolutionary at the time: villa-type buildings, ensuring basic comfort, with parks and lawns around. In the Clinic there were 44 clocks measuring time at the same rate, regulated from a central device.

The staff of the Clinic included, besides the head of department, three assistants (József Szabó, Imre Borsos and István Deák), two remunerated internal physicians and two unpaid ones, 29 male and 28 female nurses.

Although it is outside our competence to analyse the scientific activity and the results obtained in the field of medical practice, we must not neglect the link between the foundation of the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj and the beginning of the series of publications relative to activities and achievements of the teaching staff. Although, in concrete terms, the University invested far too little in specialised journals, the Transylvanian Museum Association made available ample space for publications of research results in its own periodical *Értesítő. Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet*. Medicine benefited here from a separate volume open for specialised studies, significant clinical observations and research communications.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Cf. Károly Berde, *A m. kir. Ferencz József tudományegyetem bőr- és nemikórtani tanszékének és klinikájának félszázados története, 1874-1924*, Szeged, 1928.

⁴¹ Mária Péter, "Adatok az Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület orvostudományi szakosztályának történetéből (1876-1948)", in *Korunk*, no. 5/1992, pp. 103-107.

Epilogue of the Hungarian Medical School

As shown above, even before the Treaty of Trianon was signed, a result of which – among others – Transylvania and its adjacent territories were passed on to Romania, the new political-administrative authorities proceeded to take over the University. After the refusal of the old teaching staff to take the oath of loyalty to the Romanian state, it was decided that they should be replaced by new Romanian teaching staff.

From 22 January 1919, the Romanian Ministry of War made pressures on the director of the Surgery Clinic to hire a relative of his as a trainee, at the same time notifying the Council of the University that the same student, “for reasons of military nature and of public health” would take over control of all the clinics.

On 2 April 1919, the Healthcare and Social Protection Office of the Directors’ Council,⁴² led by Iuliu Moldovan and Marius Sturza, proposed to the Office of Instruction – under Valeriu Braniște and Onisifor Ghibu – to set up a College of three or four members to agree on the new curriculum of the Faculty of Medicine. The task to reorganise the University of Cluj/Kolozsvár was given to Sextil Pușcariu – appointed general commissioner – who worked closely with a “university commission”, endowed with full powers as regards the refoundation of the University. The commission included G. Marinescu, E. Juvara and M. Manicatide as medical specialists and professors at the University of Bucharest. Victor Babeș also attended the working sessions of the commission. The old teaching staff was dismissed almost completely, and Iuliu Hațieganu – who had started his professional career just before the World War – was appointed the new dean of the faculty.

Thus, the Medical Faculty simply shared the fate of the whole University, characterised by an ample process of Romanisation achieved on the old infrastructure. Far from being a period of stagnation, though, the evolution of the establishment in Cluj/Kolozsvár after the war benefited from a powerful support of the central authorities, decided to develop a strong Romanian academic centre in Transylvania as part of the administrative and symbolic process of ‘nationalisation’ of the region in the framework of the ‘Great Romanian’ nation state. This is the obvious reason why during the inter-war years, the University and its Medical Faculty obtained relatively large slices of the state budget, being an outstanding part of the Romanian system of higher education at the time in terms of equipment, facilities and scientific prestige.

⁴² For more information about this organism, see Aurel Galea, *Formarea și activitatea Consiliului Dirigent al Transilvaniei, Banatului și ținuturilor românești din Ungaria*, I, Târgu Mureș, Edit. Tipomur, 1997.

III.

SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL PROFILE OF THE STUDENT BODY AT THE MEDICAL FACULTY (1872-1918)

Victor Karady

**SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL PROFILE
OF THE STUDENT BODY AT THE MEDICAL FACULTY
(1872-1918)**

The herewith published vast prosopographic listing gathered by Lucian Nastasă can serve as a statistical data-bank for the description of the collective profile of students having gone through the Kolozsvár/Cluj Medical Faculty during the half century of existence of the local Hungarian university. This authorises an attempt to present and, to some extent, offer an interpretation¹ of some major social and educational characteristics of those who pursued studies and/or earned a degree in the historically second centre of medical training in the Carpathian Basin. The present essay is based exclusively on the exhaustive exploitation of this data bank, realised via a complex coding procedure of biographical entries, considered as relevant.² Thus, it does not aim to analyse

¹ As regards a socio-historical analysis, our study is seriously limited by three lacunae. For one, data-bases concerning the students of the other departments of the Kolozsvár University (the research on these is also being conducted by L. Nastasă) are not available as yet, so the medical student contingent cannot be compared to other student clientele of the University according to criteria applied herewith. Second, it is rather difficult to quantify the size of the local student body within the contemporary market of higher learning (though we attempt to do that in a limited sense with regard to the Budapest and Vienna medical schools). Serial data on students from Hungary like those we use here are available but for a small fraction of contemporary universities and/or their departments. Third, there are scarcely any preliminary studies concerning relevant country-wide or regional (e.g. in Transylvania, the Banat or the Partium) populations where our medical students originated from, as well as their cultural and economic characteristics, which could help to shed light on the social, ethnic or confessional *selection process* leading to our students in Kolozsvár/Cluj. Thus it is as yet hardly possible to propose a thorough overview of all the objective circumstances and motivations active in their educational career, including university attendance. The present survey is more of a 'preliminary essay' or a descriptive attempt, than a socio-historical analysis proper on the recruitment patterns and educational strategies embodied or implemented by medical students in the Transylvanian capital city.

² Even within this, only numerical results appearing as the most relevant are referred to below. Yet, if so requested, we are ready to offer the whole processed data-bank (together with the codification scheme) for researchers interested in further details, on condition that users of the data respect the obligation to state the bibliographical source they use.

either the history of the University in question or the development of its medical department as such³, or even the composition of the medical corps in contemporary Transylvania and the Banat: all this could represent legitimate scholarly targets and is certainly connected, to boot, to the information under scrutiny. Nevertheless, though our focus is strictly centred on the student body, we must also try to give, initially, an overview of the medical market of Dualist Hungary, with special attention to the position of Kolozsvár/Cluj in the training of doctors active in this market.

Indeed the locality of higher studies serves, in the socio-historical research on educated elites, as *both an independent and a dependent variable*.

As an *independent variable*, it could determine the level or the quality of the training dispensed, the symbolic or even the market value of the diploma granted – due to the capital of prestige historically accumulated by the city and the training institution itself, the social and intellectual habits and traditions transmitted to and inculcated into members of the local student community, the particularity of the local training supply – like the number and the nature of disciplines and specialisations, the preferential recruitment policies of the institution concerned (as to various social, ethnic or religious segments of potential clientele), the availability of stipends and a social network in support of students.

But the locality of a university was also a *dependent variable* inasmuch as most of the above was connected to (indeed defined to some extent by) its situation in the whole academic market place – always a field of at least virtual competition among institutions – and, more specifically, in the domain of specialisation (like Medicine, Law, etc.) in question. From this situation depended the objective attractiveness of the institution, the number of its students, the demand for its teaching positions, the erudition, the age or the recognised scholarly authority of its staff.

The locality of training became a major stake in the competition for students in the Hungarian academic market with the foundation of the university in Kolozsvár/Cluj in 1872 because it broke the apparent quasimonopoly of Budapest, hitherto contested only by foreign universities, Vienna above all. Till then the capital city in formation of the would be Hungarian nation state concentrated all but a few post-secondary training institutions. The only major exceptions were represented by the highly decentralised theological seminaries (for which the role of Budapest was and remained rather marginal⁴), low level legal education

³ For all these questions the introductory studies by Lucian Nastasă may serve as a guide.

⁴ With the notable exception of the Catholic Theological Faculty, continuously attached to the University of Budapest till the socialist regime, following the four faculty model of late medieval universities also including, as a rule, a

(in the academies of Law) as well as some vocational institutions of applied technology like the academies of agriculture or the School for Mining and Forestry in Selmechánya/Banská Stavnica. The emergence of the University in Kolozsvár/Cluj redrew the structure of the academic market in Hungary of the Dual Monarchy. We may evaluate the scope of this transformation via the evolution of the distribution of students between major training agencies.

The medics from Kolozsvár/Cluj and the training of doctors in Hungary

Due to the double dynamics of accelerated industrialisation and economic growth combined with the institutional modernisation of the nation-state, the demand for medical care registered an overall increase in the Carpathian Basin, particularly after 1867. Yet throughout the period the estimated expansion of medical supply never sufficed to satisfy fully even the financially sustained demands.

In 1876 there were about 2,000 doctors practicing in Hungary;⁵ in 1890 – 4,807, in 1910 – 5,565⁶ and on the eve of the Big War in 1914 as many as 5,850⁷. The 1876 law on public health provided a legal framework for the development of healthcare which can be qualified as fast advancing and in some manners even exemplary in contemporary Europe. Thanks to this evolution, not only the number of doctors increased regularly, but the whole system of public healthcare experienced improvements and upgrading based on substantial, chiefly state-managed investments. Between 1867 and 1912, the number of hospitals was multiplied by a factor of nine, rising from 44 to 398 and the number of hospital beds grew ten times, from around a mere 4,000 up to 42,543.⁸ Although, owing to the free market of healthcare within the Dual Monarchy, some doctors from Hungary (especially those who had grad-

Philosophical (or Arts) Faculty, a Faculty of Law and a Faculty of Medicine. The Budapest Theology was not destined to the training of Catholic priests but to higher theological studies of clerics and laymen alike, independently from the status of its students in the Church. See Klára Berzeviczky, *A magyar katolikus klérus elitjének képzése, 1855-1918. A Hittudományi kar hallgatói* [The training of the Catholic clerical elite, 1855-1918. Students of the Theological Faculty], Budapest, ELTE Levéltára, 2000.

⁵ József Antall, József Kapronczay, "A magyar egészségügy az abszolutizmus és a dualizmus korában" [Hungarian health care in the period of absolutism and dualism], in *Magyar tudomány*, 1989, no. 10-11, pp. 903-915, especially p. 911.

⁶ *Magyar statisztikai közlemények* [Hungarian statistical communications, henceforth *MSK*] vol. 64, p. 222*.

⁷ József Antall, Károly Kapronczay, *op. cit.*, p. 911.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 912.

uated in Transleithania – the Habsburg Monarchy outside Hungary) did not come back to practice in the country, the doctor/patient ration gradually improved inside the country as well. There were 26.6 doctors per 100,000 inhabitants in 1896 and 30.9 in 1913.⁹

Compared to Western Europe, this is still a low ratio, but lagging behind in this sector was presumably less marked already by the turn of the century than in other spheres of modernisation. In 1894, one doctor attended to the needs of 2,003 people in Switzerland, one for 2,207 in Belgium, one for 2,228 in Germany and one per 2,898 in Austria, while in Hungary the figure was 3,637. Thus, even in comparison with Switzerland, the most advanced country in this respect, the medical under-development in the Carpathian Basin was nothing dramatic, at 55% of the highest European level. Yet in the eyes of contemporaries the situation seemed precarious enough, so that by the end of the century a vast debate was engaged concerning the necessity of a third university with the specific goal to increase the size of the medical corps in the country.¹⁰

In an indirect way and with considerable oscillations, shifts in the number of medical students does reflect this betterment, in the background of which, naturally, considerable inequalities can be observed as to chances to benefit from public health services, chances varying according to residence (cities being much better provided for, as usual), social standing and material status. Let it suffice to remember that, in 1910 for example, when less than a mere one twentieth of the population resided in Budapest¹¹, more than a quarter (26%) of the medical corps exercised in the capital city, which hosted 27% of hospital beds in the country.¹² Such variations, important as they were, fall beyond the scope of the present inquiry. Here we can only focus on the extent to which medical students of Kolozsvár/Cluj, due to their numerical share and conditions of study, were able to contribute to the development of the medical services accessible in the country.

⁹ *MSK*, vol. 97, p. 17.

¹⁰ See Albert Berzeviczy, *Közművelődésünk és a harmadik egyetem* [Our public instruction and the third university], Budapest, 1894, pp. 40.

¹¹ The population of Budapest amounted to exactly 4.8% of the country in 1910 outside Croatia. See *MSÉ*, vol. 64, p. 85.

¹² See *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* [Hungarian statistical yearbook, henceforth *MSÉ*], 1910, pp. 68-71.

Social and Educational Profile of the Student Body (1872-1918)

Table 1
Distribution of Hungarian medical students by place of training (1881-1918)¹³

	Budapest	Kolozsvár	All Hungary	Vienna	Other Abroad	Total	Annual average
1872/73-1874/75	91.1	8.9	(100.0)	?	?	?	592
1875/76-1879/80	88.5	11.5	(100.0)	?	?	?	750
1880/81-1884/85 ¹⁴	54.0	6.1	(60.1)	34.8	5.0	100.0	1,867
1885/86-1889/90	53.5	7.1	(60.9)	30.9	8.1	100.0	2,219
1890/91-1894/95	57.0	9.8	(66.8)	24.2	9.1	100.0	1,728
1895/96-1899/1900	61.2	9.4	(70.6)	18.2	11.3	100.0	1,102
1900/01-1904/05	72.7	11.6	(83.9)	7.9	8.1	100.0	1,000
1905/06-1909/10	75.7	12.6	(88.3)	6.2	5.5	100.0	1,947
1910/11-1913/14	75.7	12.9	(88.6)	5.5	5.9	100.0	3,380
1914/15	82.7	11.8	(93.5)	2.1	3.4	100.0	2,338
1915/16	79.2	9.4	(88.6)	4.2	7.2	100.0	1,400
1916/17	80.1	6.8	(86.9)	3.0	10.1	100.0	1,805
1917/18	86.6	9.5	(96.1)	0.9	3.0	100.0	5,950

The table accurately mirrors the main trends of enrolment of students from Hungary in medical schools of the Dual Monarchy: the strong time-bound oscillations of the numbers and the share among would-be doctors. Particularly interesting appear to be the hitherto unprecedented rising of the figures shortly before and during the war, as well as the general drive for 'nationalisation', but also the predominance of the capital city over Kolozsvár/Cluj and a progressive disengagement of those studying abroad from Vienna to the benefit of Germany (not specified in the table). Beyond these trends, differences in the conditions of study, exam chances, the share of women and of Jews, the most numerous in this segment of the student-body are also worth noting, since all these make up, on their turn, the main differences between the medical department of Kolozsvár/Cluj and that of the capital city.

It is characteristic of the dynamic development of medical departments after the *Ausgleich* that their clientele more than tripled in the decade immediately following the opening of the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj in 1872. Yet during the last decade of the century this quick growth was cut short to such an extent that the overall figures of those studying medicine at the turn of the century fell back to the level

¹³ Sources of data: from 1872/73 to 1894/95, for Budapest and Kolozsvár, *A M. Kir. Vallás és Kultuszminisztérium 1896 évi jelentése* [Report of the Royal Ministry of Instruction and Cults], Budapest, 1896, p. 118 and p. 62 (henceforth cited as *VKM report* for respective years). For the total of ordinary and extraordinary students after 1895/96, see the *MSÉ* data for summer semesters. As for students abroad, see also the series of *MSÉ* since 1881/82.

¹⁴ Data on those who studied abroad are available only after 1881/82. That is how I identified by estimation the corresponding figure for 1880/81 with the available figure for the next year, which, owing to a gradual decrease in the number of those studying abroad, corresponds to a slight over-estimation of the actual number.

of twenty odd years before. Thus, the numbers at the Budapest department were exactly the same in 1900 as they had been in 1875. The first ten years of the 20th century brought a new boom, and one of so far unprecedented degree, which was broken only by the war, halting this development, since a good part of potential candidates freshly graduated from high-schools were directly sent to the front. This is the far too obvious reason for the stagnation registered during the war, the numbers then hardly reaching half of the figures observed in the last year of peace.

Still, however dramatic this last setback may have been, in reality the decline was of far lesser dimensions as compared to other university departments. The share of medical students at universities remained relatively high until the early 1890s. They represented between 23% and 34% of the Budapest student body, while in Kolozsvár/Cluj their percentage gradually rose from the initial 16% to 20% and then 31%. As we have seen a decrease occurred later on, bringing down local medical student ratios as well. Between 1895 and 1910 their percentage oscillated between 13% and 23% in Budapest, and much lower, between 7% and 12% only in Kolozsvár/Cluj. It is from these low shares that the boom started in the years immediately preceding the war. In the 1913/14 academic year, medical students made up 36% of the Budapest and 21% of the Kolozsvár/Cluj student body and the figures continued to rise during the war.¹⁵ Except the unusual year of 1915/16 (when a so far unprecedented excessive number of students were allowed to enrol to all departments of the Budapest university¹⁶), the proportion of medical students remained at or even above the level registered during the last pre-war year, which is 35.3% in Budapest and 28.1% in Kolozsvár/Cluj. The last war-time spring semester brought not only the massive return of students to the lecture halls, but an as yet unseen swelling of the number of medical students as well. Almost half, 48% of all the students in Budapest and around one third (32%) of the Kolozsvár/Cluj students invaded the medical departments of their universities.

The cause of all these conjuncture-tied changes is to be found, on the one hand, with the rapid growth in the number of female students (to be discussed below) and, on the other hand, in specific measures taken by the authorities with the termination of the war in mind. In January 1918, all students having served in the army for at least two years were allowed

¹⁵ Calculations based on data from *MSÉ*.

¹⁶ In 1915/16 there were 8,882 students enrolled to the Budapest University in the fall semester and 8,122 in the spring semester, that is, more than in the peak 1913/14 academic year (8,158 and 7,513, respectively). Data from *MSÉ*. In Kolozsvár/Cluj the dangers of war and, later, the actual military threats did not allow the absolute number of the student body to stay close to that of the previous peak years. Even so, the share of medical students reached unprecedented proportions in these years.

a 12-week study leave and another four weeks to take their exams. In order to cope with the extra requirements of study and examination generated this way, the universities organised an 'additional' summer semester; hence the unprecedented high numbers of attendance during the last war-time semester.¹⁷

This boom can be traced back to two interrelated circumstances. Medical care represented perhaps the only professional field for which the outbreak of the armed conflict automatically created favourable market conditions, due to the unprecedented need to attend the wounded. The dramatically increased requirements did not allow the authorities to send medical students to combat in accordance with the military enrolment practices at other departments. This may have been so especially when they were close to graduation (partially, as we have seen, because of the extraordinarily high enrolment numbers registered already in the last peace-year). As a result, both universities granted around one third more medical doctorates on the eve of the war and during the first war-year than ever before.¹⁸ Although the number of degrees decreased later on during the war, their number was still above the figures registered between 1906 and 1910. Also, the unusual war-time demand made a specifically promotional impact on the professional market of medical science, considered as one of the most difficult of all study paths. This is a profession of universally recognised validity, securing privileges to its practitioners even in combat, to such an extent that most of its would-be graduates were assigned to posts behind the front-line (thus implying less danger to their lives) as auxiliary doctors, medical orderlies, stretcher-bearers in the worst case. They were supposed to attend to so acute a need that even in prisoners' camps doctors would belong to a privileged category. The state-sponsored demand for medical care during the war strengthened the justification for choosing this occupation independently from career opportunities it could provide in normal times.

As to the 'nationalisation' of medical training: although official sources do not contain reliable data regarding those studying abroad before 1881, figures for later years undoubtedly indicate that by the end of the century the role of foreign universities diminished in this respect to a marginal one. While at the beginning of the 1880s over one third of the Hungarian medical students studied in Vienna and two fifths of them pursued their studies abroad, only two decades later this ratio gradually came down to every eighth-ninth student who left the country at least for the time of their studies. Still, those having graduated

¹⁷ *Az Eötvös Lóránd Tudományegyetel története, 1635-1985* [History of the Eötvös Lóránd University, 1635-1985], Budapest, Egyetemi Tanács, 1985, p. 256.

¹⁸ In 1914, a total of 489 physicians took the Hippocratic oath, in 1915 – 615, while in 1913 they were only 337 and in 1912 – 333. *MSÉ* data.

abroad would continue to make up a sizeable segment – 22.3% even as late as 1910, for instance¹⁹ – of the medical corps in the country. This ratio may nevertheless be considered insignificant within the ethnic distribution of Hungary's population in those times, that is, when the great majority of those seeking a doctor's career (as it will be seen below) were Germans by native tongue or belonged at least to assimilated clusters of German-Yiddish cultural background, practically bilingual in most case. Up to the end of the dual monarchy, a fraction – although a less and less numerous one – of this group was unavoidably inclined to choose for their studies German-speaking universities with a high international prestige. It is eloquent in this respect that in 1910 half of those from Hungary who enrolled in the medical department of the University of Vienna, indeed declared German as their mother-tongue (while there were only 4% such students at home universities). 58% of them also bore a German name.²⁰ The situation may have been similar among those studying in Germany at that time, but we do not have as yet sufficiently detailed information in this matter²¹. Actually, the absolute preponderance of local medical training was simultaneously conditioned by the progressive imposition of the 'nostrification' of foreign degrees (the obligation to make them officially 'recognised' by local academic authorities) and the modernisation of domestic medical faculties. The upgrading according to the German training pattern was accomplished rather quickly, but it did not suffice to bring to completion the 'nationalisation' process during the Dualist era. It is well known that the process remained unfinished in the rest of the intellectual training market as well.²²

¹⁹ József Antall, Károly Kapronczay, *op. cit.*, p. 912.

²⁰ See my study, „Funktionswandel der österreichischen Hochschulen in der Ausbildung der ungarischen Fachintelligenz vor und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg“, in Victor Karady, Wolfgang Mitter (Hgb.), *Bildungswesen und Sozialstruktur in Mitteleuropa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Köln, Wien, Böhlau Verlag, 1990, pp. 177-207, especially p. 188.

²¹ See though the report of László Szögi, *Magyarországi diákok németországi egyetemeken és főiskolákon, 1789-1919* [Students from Hungary in German universities and institutions of higher education, 1789-1919], Budapest, 2001, especially p. 56. Among summary results of this prosopography some 33% of those concerned could qualify as being of German nationality. But medical students or those of Jewish or Saxon extraction – among whom the proportion of students declaring themselves 'German' may have been much higher – were not distinguished in this count.

²² While in the 1881-1890 period 18.2% of all the students from Hungary studied abroad, by 1911-14 the proportion – in spite of a considerable decrease – stood still at 9% of the whole student body. Cf. *A magyar főiskolai hallgatók statisztikája az 1931/32 tanévben* [Statistics of students in Hungarian higher education for 1931/32], MSK, vol. 89, p. 36.

Beside the Magyarisation of training, the fact that, by the turn of the century, Vienna had lost its previous absolute prominence among students from Hungary seeking a foreign diploma, can be considered of secondary importance. Starting with the first years of the 20th century, almost the same number of Hungarian medical students attended the University of Vienna as other, mostly German-speaking Austrian – more precisely Transleithanian, medical departments, or (to a lesser extent though, as it will be seen) those in Germany or in German Switzerland. In 1881/2-1883/4, practically all (99%) medical students from Hungary studying abroad could be located in Vienna. Thirty years later, in 1911/12-1913/14 this was the case of ‘only’ 56% of them.²³

Compared to the previous, quasi-colonial type dependence, the dominance of training at home nevertheless primarily meant the growing hegemony of the University of Budapest as regards the intake of students. Though the share of the Kolozsvár/Cluj faculty in this segment of the academic market did not cease growing until the World War, it did so very slowly, basically in concordance with the overall numerical growth of the student population. Thus, all along the period under scrutiny, medical students in Kolozsvár/Cluj represented between one-sixth and one-eighth only of those enrolled in Budapest. In other words, in all these years Kolozsvár/Cluj retained just a modest share in the reproduction of the medical staff, although it enjoyed the same temporary boom coming up in the pre-war years as the capital city. Accordingly, in 1913/4 the student body in medicine had the same size in absolute numbers in Kolozsvár/Cluj as it had been in Budapest at the turn of the century. Nevertheless, this did not affect the persistently small share of Transylvanians among medical students.

What is more, this could not be compensated for by the number of diplomas either. In reality, if compared to its competitor in the capital, Kolozsvár/Cluj was even worse off in this respect than with regard to sheer student enrolments. Between 1896 and 1918, only 10.6% of medical doctors of the country graduated from the Transylvanian university, while 13.1% of medical students from the entire country attended this university during these years.²⁴ In the light of these figures, drop-out risks must have been considerably higher than in the capital city, or else it must have occurred more often in Kolozsvár/Cluj that students enrolled temporarily, for only a few semesters, to either abandon their studies later on or to earn their diploma elsewhere, possibly by having their Transylvanian semesters taken into account as part of their academic obligations leading to the final exams.

²³ Percentages calculated from *MSE* data.

²⁴ Shares calculated from the compilation of *MSE*'s annual data.

This fact bears a notable negative association; even more so since there is a whole set of details that indicate that the average students in Kolozsvár/Cluj benefited from relatively better conditions of study than those in Budapest. According to the logic of a more advantageous system of financial support and a far better student-teacher ratio than in the capital, it is exactly the contrary that could be expected to happen, as to routes of student migration. The 'familiar' type training implied by these two circumstances should have been conducive to better chances of completing a doctoral degree, if other conditions had not turned away some of the candidates (in any case more than in Budapest) from the *alma mater* in Kolozsvár/Cluj before graduation. It is worth comparing the indices relative to training conditions at the two universities as shown in Table 2.

As it can be seen from the table, the student/teacher ratio and the courses and classes offered to the students (although the latter indication is of a historically highly fluctuating value, which is natural, since the quotas – rigid and rising in absolute terms as they were – of the curricular offer were faced with a continuously fluctuating demand represented by the changing absolute numbers of students) secured far better conditions of study at the Transylvanian Faculty. According to other indications, the relative level of student welfare and clinical facility investments were much higher in Kolozsvár/Cluj than in Budapest. In 1880 for instance, as much as somewhat over half (53%) of the medical students of Kolozsvár/Cluj benefited from tuition waivers, while this percentage was only 29% in the case of the Budapest Faculty.²⁵ In the first ten years of its existence, that is, between 1872/3 and 1881/2, the total amount of yearly stipends offered to students rose from 10,110 to 12,300 forints, and that despite the low enrolment figures. In the first semester of the 1880/1 academic year, the total sum of stipends offered to the altogether 456 students in all departments amounted to 11,198 forints (25 forints per student on average);²⁶ at the same time the 3,252 students of the Budapest university received 48,180 forints (only 15 forints per student on average).²⁷ In 1889 students of the Kolozsvár/Cluj medical department received no less than one third of all the stipends, while in that year only 13% of the students at the university were enrolled in that department²⁸.

²⁵ *MSÉ*, 1880, pp. 12-15.

²⁶ *VKM report, 1880/81*, Budapest, 1881, pp. 362-364.

²⁷ *Ibidem* p. 350 and p. 353.

²⁸ *MSÉ*, 1889, p. 59 and p. 63.

Social and Educational Profile of the Student Body (1872-1918)

Table 2
Comparative indicators of teaching conditions in the Faculties of Medicine of Budapest and Kolozsvár/Cluj (1880-1910, selected years)²⁹

	1880	1889 ³⁰	1900	1910
Percentage of all lectures in medicine held in Kolozsvár/Cluj	31%	29%	26.2%	24.4%
Total number of medical lectures	90	131	168	201
Percentage of all weekly courses in medicine taught in Kolozsvár/Cluj	36.1%	39.0%	33.8%	28.5%
Total number of medical courses ³¹	319	495	568	776
Budapest: number of students per full prof.		58.1	32.5	74.3
number of full professors		17	19	26
Kolozsvár/Cluj: number of students per full prof.		12.2	7.5	23.3
number of full professors		11	13	14
Budapest: number of students per all staff	14.2	9.8	4.2	10.4
number of all staff	51	101	145	185
Kolozsvár/Cluj: number of students per all staff	3.6	4.8	2.3	4.3
number of all staff	25	28	42	60

In 1897/98 almost the same amount of stipends was distributed in Kolozsvár/Cluj as in Budapest (9,253 and 9,880 forints, respectively).³² For six years between 1878 and 1893, the set of sources quoted here indicates the number of stipend-holders and students at each department separately. Added-up figures for the spring semester reveal that a little more than a quarter (26.9%) of medical students in Kolozsvár/Cluj, but only 12% in Budapest received stipends in the last years of the century.³³ In the couple of years for which there is data regarding the exact amount of stipends offered to medical students as well, the nominal value of these stipends in Kolozsvár/Cluj (348 ft) seems to be over twice as much as in Budapest (168 ft).³⁴ If related to the numerical share of students and professors at the Kolozsvár/Cluj medical faculty, even the war-time investments into clinical facilities were a good deal larger in Kolozsvár/Cluj (29% of the total material expenses) than in the capital.³⁵ Unfortunately, as the usual statistical sources referring to the financial situation of universities do not give data broken down by faculties, it is impossible here to compare the funding of the two medical faculties either.

It is in this respect that measurable variations in the probability to take exams successfully (for which there are exact official data from the

²⁹ Calculations based on *MSÉ* data, unless otherwise stated.

³⁰ No data available for 1889/90 in *MSÉ*, 1889, pp. 58-60.

³¹ In Kolozsvár/Cluj during the two semesters of the academic year.

³² *VKM report 27* for 1897/8, p. 48.

³³ *VKM reports* for 1877-1879, 1879/80, 1881-1883, 1885/6, 1888/9 and 1892/3.

³⁴ *VKM reports* for 1881/2, 1885/6, 1888/9 and (only in the case of Budapest) for 1892/3. Overall situation in the second (Winter) semester.

³⁵ Zoltán Vitéz Nagy, *Erdély egyeteme*, Budapest, 1942, p.8.

end of the century onwards) must have played a peculiarly equivocal role. If we compare examinations attempted at Kolozsvár/Cluj to those in Budapest between 1898/9 and 1909/10, differences appear to be flagrant indeed. The proportion of failures in the Transylvanian Medical Faculty proved to fall regularly short of that in the capital. In Kolozsvár/Cluj, 35% only of the 'preliminary comprehensive exams' (later data on these were omitted) proved unsuccessful as compared to almost half of them (46%) in Budapest. Along similar lines it is true though that, during the 1898-1918 period, exactly 40% of candidates at the so-called 'first practical exams' failed at both faculties. Yet stark differences subsist as regards failure rates in the 'second practical exam': a mere 11% in Kolozsvár/Cluj versus 31% in Budapest. Differences were roughly similar for the 'third medical practice': 23% failures in Kolozsvár/Cluj as compared to 38% in Budapest. As for secondary examination sessions (remedial or make-up exams) made necessary after initial failures of many candidates, in almost half (26) of the 58 cases mentioned during the period, students in Kolozsvár/Cluj scored 100% success. In Budapest it occurred only three times that all the candidates passed the exam successfully.³⁶

Naturally, there are two hypothetical reasons for the low failure risks witnessed at Kolozsvár/Cluj. On the one hand, a milder treatment of candidates can be presumed in a university where familiarity must have prevailed in student-professor relationships, a characteristic of small group instruction. On the other hand, for the same reason, one can also suppose that more advantageous conditions of preparation, as presented above, could also be instrumental in the high rate of success. Only further, more specific research could dissolve this dilemma of interpretation.

In any case, we can state in general terms that towards the end of the Dualist period the medical training of Kolozsvár/Cluj remained *numerically marginal* within the nationwide production of medical knowledge as well as doctors (if, presumably, not so with regard to the quality of that training). For sure, the reason for this was due to two factors defining the situation of the Transylvanian Medical Faculty in the contemporary market of medical training.

The first factor was purely demographic. Since, as it will be discussed later on, the Faculty could not extend its attraction over the whole Carpathian Basin (like Budapest or, earlier, Vienna), the geographic scope of its recruitment remained restricted to Transylvania and adjoining counties (in Partium or the Banat, in particular), its actual demographic basis of student selection hardly exceeded one fifth of the population of contemporary Hungary.³⁷ This would mean that the Faculty

³⁶ Shares calculated from the totalisation of annual *MSÉ* data.

³⁷ Transylvania, comprised in the strict contemporary sense ("Counties behind the King's Pass"), represented in 1900, with a population of 2,477,000, some 14.7% of that of the Hungarian Kingdom. See *MSK*, 27, p. 9.

attracted approximately a 'normal' share of students, given its geographic location and zone of recruitment.

Second, the network of clinical institutions and medical teaching staff at the slowly developing Transylvanian university remained for long (approximately up to the end of the 19th century) at a disadvantage in comparison to the other medical faculties accessible to medical candidates either in Budapest, Vienna or elsewhere in the Monarchy or further abroad. Not only the historical prestige of the latter was more substantial, but so was their equipment, the possibilities of specialisation they offered as well as their promotional power for possible academic careers. At that time, as shown in Table 1, the whole European market of medical training was indiscriminately open for students from Hungary (just like from the rest of Eastern Europe).³⁸

Meanwhile, precisely because of its perpetually small student numbers, the Transylvanian medical department managed to avoid the dangers of 'mass character' together with the 'inflation of degrees' – a blame so vehemently set by contemporaries against the Law Faculty of the same university in Kolozsvár/Cluj.³⁹ Medical students there could always enjoy the advantages of training in small groups – together with its presumably beneficial effects on the quality of education, since all through the period under scrutiny (according to Table 2) the student/staff ration was substantially better (as well as the number of courses and classes pertaining to a fixed contingent of students was bigger) than in Budapest, even if we take the most prosperous periods of the latter.

The logic of recruitment differentials

It is very significant at this point to study some data (which, unfortunately, are but sporadically available) that help to clarify certain peculiarities of student recruitment at the Kolozsvár/Cluj Medical Faculty as compared to the selection process prevailing at the Budapest fellow institution.

³⁸ On dimensions of this truly international 'open academic market' see H.-R. Peter, N. Tichonov (Hrsg.), *Universitäten als Brücken in Europa, Studien zur Geschichte der studentischen Migration*, Frankfurt etc., Peter Lang, 2003.

³⁹ From the first years of the 20th century on, the university circles of the capital began mentioning the Kolozsvár/Cluj university as a 'diploma factory', a blame reinforced by the fact that despite the relatively low number of professors, by 1910 Kolozsvár/Cluj granted more doctoral degrees in law than the corresponding Budapest Faculty. Yet even if the quality of legal degrees may have been questionable in Kolozsvár/Cluj – due to the number of 'absentee legal students' (*mezei jogászság*) –, nothing like that could be heard about medical training there. See Andor Ladányi, *A magyarországi felsőoktatás a dualizmus kora második felében* [Higher education in Hungary during the second part of the Dualist period], Budapest, Felsőoktatási Kutatóközpont, 1969, pp. 74-75.

Such data may be mobilised to elucidate particularities of the regional background of students, their composition by the social standing of their parents ('social origins') or – more specifically but not less importantly in this historical juncture – as regards the participation of Jews and women, even if the scarcity of evidence does not allow the systematic elaboration of strictly comparative indicators for both institutions. However problem-laden or even incidental our evidence may appear (as the relevant information refers sometimes to different academic years), it well illustrates the peculiar nature of patterns of social selection in the Kolozsvár/Cluj medical school, much in contrast to that of the Budapest faculty.

From a regional point of view, according to the available indices (limited for the moment to the end of the century), the Transylvanian medical school was able to retain only the relative (not the absolute) majority of would-be doctors originating from counties of inner Transylvania, withdrawing them from the sphere of attraction of the Budapest university. Indeed, Kolozsvár/Cluj hardly reached beyond this narrowly understood Transylvanian territory. At any rate, in 1890/1 and 1894/5 the majority (56.3%) of its students originated from this region, another 17.6% came from counties in the immediate vicinity of Transylvania, that is, from historic Partium, and only a quarter of the students (26%) were extracted from elsewhere, mainly from the Great Central Plain. Thus the territorial range of student-selection at the Kolozsvár/Cluj Faculty was marked by its narrowness if not a properly parochial character, as compared to the Budapest medical school.

The latter recruited most (80%) of its clientele from outside Transylvania and the Partium, with only 5% coming from Transylvania proper and the remaining 15% from Partium. Yet these small percentages cover relatively great absolute numbers. Indeed, according to the previous count, the medical school of Pest gathered more than a third of the medical students of properly Transylvanian extraction (38% of them), while collecting the big majority (81%) of the students from counties adjacent to Transylvania. Yet even in the case of some 'inner Transylvanian' counties, the attraction of Pest proved to be decisive. Thus, in the two years mentioned, far more – almost twice as many – students from Brassó, Csík, Kis-Küküllő, Maros-Torda and Szeben counties sought medical training at Budapest than in Kolozsvár/Cluj. Only in the rest of the Transylvanian counties was the balance favourable for the local institution. Thus, the medical school in Kolozsvár/Cluj could duly qualify for being a 'Transylvanian institution' in the sense that it was only in its close neighbourhood, more precisely in counties east of the city, where it could compete efficiently with the otherwise domineering fellow-institution of the capital.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ *VKM report 21*, year 1890/1, pp. 244-245 and pp. 280-281, *ibidem*, 26, for 1895/6, pp. 19-20 and pp. 44-45. In the calculations, I used the sum total of data

As to the professional and social class position of students' parents, the recruitment of the Kolozsvár/Cluj medical students bore the marks of the Transylvanian elite, or rather the impact of those segments of it which adopted modern schooling and professional strategies.

This meant (according to the testimony of summary data for both semesters in the 1890/1, 1895/6 and 1896/7 academic years) that the Faculty attracted, on the one hand, relatively more children from peasant and small-holder parents (14% in contrast to the 8% in Budapest) or even families with estate (6% compared to 3.6% in Budapest), or else other 'bourgeois' categories like industrialists and wholesale traders (amounting to 9.4% of the parents here, as against only 1.8% among the Budapest contingent), that is, students whose families did not typically belong to clusters endowed with high-level educational credentials or cultural capital. On the other hand, elements of the urban petty bourgeoisie were seldom recruited to the Transylvanian medical school: only 7% were of such extraction here, while in Budapest – due particularly to the presence of large, mobile Jewish lower class brackets – these clusters filled almost one third (31%) of the seats in lecture halls.

At the same time, beneficiaries of the direct 'intellectual self-reproduction' were present in both contingents with nearly equal numerical strength. The share of children with parents belonging to the medical or other free professions was quite similar in Kolozsvár/Cluj and Budapest (11%), that of children of teachers was slightly larger (12.6% in Kolozsvár/Cluj, 8.5% in Pest), while the other free professions were almost half less represented among Transylvanian medical students' families than in Budapest (10% and 18%, respectively). Nevertheless, those coming from families of intellectuals taken together made up at least one third of the student contingent in both cases. There were relatively more of those descending from families of civil servants in Kolozsvár/Cluj (23.5%) than in Budapest (10%), but offspring of private employees (clerks) and those 'engaged in military service' (presumably officers) were equally rare (7%) among medical students in both places.⁴¹ So the recruitment patterns of the Kolozsvár/Cluj institution in the outgoing 19th century could hardly be considered as more 'democratic' than that in its Pest counterpart, despite the fact that an astonishing one fifth of its student-body was descendant of the rural (though mainly land-owning) population, a segment that was far less represented in Budapest.

By contrast, the Budapest Faculty performed an important role in the social promotion of the urban petty bourgeoisie, which was not at all

for both semesters, adding up the numbers of both ordinary and extraordinary students.

⁴¹ Database of the calculations: *VKM report 21*, 1890/1, p. 245 and p. 282, *ibidem*, 26, 1895/6, p. 22 and p. 47, as well as *ibidem*, 27, 1896/7, p. 20 and p. 43.

characteristic of the Transylvanian medical school. At any rate, regarding the majority of students under scrutiny in both cities, descendants of the 'new middle classes' tended to prevail numerically, that is, those coming from families of professionals and white-collar employees for whom this free intellectual profession represented a socially rewarding 'ascension' with regard to economic demand, profitability and public prestige. Students from these two categories made up nearly two thirds (63%) of the students at the Kolozsvár/Cluj Faculty, while in Budapest they provided a less sizeable contingent (but even that secured a slight majority at 54%). Thus, in Kolozsvár/Cluj, the global weight of the social recruitment fell more heavily on the tradition-bound class of public employees (24% here and only 10% in Pest) and the land-owning categories, with a by and large equally high level representation of the academically trained professionals.

Beyond the restricted numbers of students, recruited mainly on a local regional basis, it is important to note that Kolozsvár/Cluj exerted a rather moderate, if not properly weak, attraction on future doctors of Jewish origin, a segment constituting at that time almost the majority of the Hungarian medical doctors. In hardly changing yearly numbers, the capital of Transylvania hosted only 2-4% of all Jewish medical students in the country. The highest estimated share of Jewish medical students in Kolozsvár/Cluj⁴² around 1910 did not exceed 6% of the total number of Jews studying medicine. Year after year – at least from the end of the century in the case of Budapest – half or more of the whole medical student contingent consisted indeed of candidates of Jewish faith – formally 48% in 1900/1, 51% in 1905/6, 52% in 1910/1 and on average 56% during the four war-years.⁴³ (In fact these figures underestimate the real proportions of those of Jewish origin or background – who actually provided practically the majority all along the period – when all converts and descendents of converts concerned are also added to those of Jewish faith proper). Empirical estimations of the share of Jews among those who chose to pursue medical studies abroad confirm this result, since they made up a majority among them as well.⁴⁴

By contrast, throughout the period under scrutiny, the percentage of Jews in Kolozsvár/Cluj (21%) among their colleagues studying 'at home' (in Hungary), only very slightly exceeded one fifth of the whole student body, despite the fact that that there was a continuous growth there as

⁴² Regarding medical students trained abroad, there are as yet no global confession-specific data available, except as partial statistical estimations, quoted in Note 1.

⁴³ Shares calculated and rounded up from data in *MSÉ*.

⁴⁴ According to my survey of the Vienna medical school in the 1910 sample year, 48% of its students from Hungary were formally Jews. Hence a presumable majority of those of Jewish background. See the above-quoted study: "Funktionswandel der österreichischen Hochschulen...", p. 188.

well. If we divide the student contingent registered in the prosopographic listing into three generational clusters, there were only 17% of Jewish faith in the earliest group (those born before 1882), 21% among those in the central group (born between 1883 and 1893), and 25% in the last age-group (born after 1893).⁴⁵ This should be compared to the demographic share of Transylvanian Jewry (6,4% in 1900⁴⁶) in the Jewish population of the region. Thus, in the light of the demographic distribution of Jews, Jewish medical students at Kolozsvár/Cluj were in reality largely *over-represented* in this specialisation in an absolute sense, but of course without achieving such quantitative dominance there as they did in Budapest or even in Vienna.

It is true though, that Jewish over-representation among those enrolled in all kinds of elite training tracks was at that time very general (not only in Hungary), and this applied to most segments of the educated elite as well (with the exception of the publicly employed clusters), since Jews made up some 5% of the entire population of the country.⁴⁷

We have information about another minor but interesting detail concerning the further fate of the Jewish and non-Jewish medical students of Kolozsvár/Cluj, data that allow deductions regarding differences in group-specific willingness of migration following the change of empire in 1919. The 1941 list of Budapest doctors contains quite a number of practitioners, an estimated 10% of the total, who had graduated before 1919 from the Kolozsvár/Cluj medical school.⁴⁸ In a random sample of

⁴⁵ I shall use the same generational clusters further on to illustrate the historical changes that occurred among our students. For pragmatic reasons, these clusters have been formed in such a way that each of them roughly (including about one thousand observed cases) covers about one-third of the surveyed student population. So the first group mainly encompasses those who enrolled before 1900, the second one concerns those who started their studies between 1901 and 1911, while the third refers to those who were admitted to the Kolozsvár/Cluj medical school between 1912 and 1918. The temporal segmentation itself reveals the fact that the yearly averages of student numbers tended to grow in time, so much that the two peak figures were reached in the years exactly *before* the World War (530) and in the *last war year*, in 1917/8 (563), as it was already discussed above (following data of *MSE*). The reason why I used only an approximated generational classification to determine the yearly classes is that many in one specific age group, as we shall see, did not enroll to Kolozsvár/Cluj for the first year of study, or if they did, they did not enroll immediately after the *Matura*, or else from the start they were even of different ages in the moment of passing the *Matura*.

⁴⁶ See *MSE*, 1902, p. 19.

⁴⁷ Exactly 4,9% only in 1900. See *ibidem*, *loc.cit.*

⁴⁸ See *A budapesti orvosok kamara taglistája* [List of members of the Chamber of Doctors], Budapest, 1941.

133 from among them, 16% were registered separately as Jews (according to the discriminative anti-Jewish law of 1939), while a coding of surnames occurring in the rest of the sample reveals that a maximum of 57% were of ethnic Hungarian (when surname Magyarisations are disregarded), 17% of German and 14% of 'other Christian' background. Contrasted to Table 4 below, these data lead to a twofold conclusion. On the one hand, Jewish medical students of Kolozsvár/Cluj display but a little less willingness to emigrate as compared to their Christian fellow graduates, since their share among the Budapest doctors with a diploma from Kolozsvár/Cluj was but a quarter less than that of former medical students back in Kolozsvár/Cluj before 1918. This is even more striking because a small number of Jewish confessional converts (having been baptised before 1919) were not even regarded as 'Jews by law' in 1941, so they did not appear among the Jews in the list. Hence the contingent of those of Jewish background must have been somewhat larger here as shown by the figures. On the other hand, it is interesting in this connection that in 1941 there were fewer among the Budapest doctors with a diploma from Kolozsvár/Cluj who bore Hungarian surnames than among the students of the erstwhile alma mater. Accordingly, one may suppose that after 1919 the urge to emigrate was even stronger among those with a German, Slavic, or even Romanian background than the one witnessed in the case of doctors with a clearly Hungarian origin.

Our observations must be extended to women as well, who started to represent a significant contingent of students in the 20th century. It is well known, that they were admitted as regular students to the medical departments only in the last years of the 19th century (from 1895/6 onwards). Once allowed by law, women immediately appeared in the Budapest medical student body. Moreover, within a few years they were present there by the dozen. But the first female student was registered at the Kolozsvár/Cluj university only in the 1900/1 academic year. The Transylvanian university trained only 4% of all female medical students between 1900/1 and 1904/5, 10.3% in the 1905-1910 period, 8.9% between 1910/11-1913/14, and only 9.1% during the war years.⁴⁹ In other words, female students chose Kolozsvár/Cluj even less often than their male counterparts. Furthermore, there is but sporadic evidence to ground the supposition that shortly before and during the war the number of female students in the medical laboratories registered a substantial growth as compared to previous years, and that these students numerically completed the ranks of their male colleagues sent to combat. Starting with the first years of the century, women represented 2% to 4% of the whole contingent, and reached 3.4% in 1914/15 and 1915/16. It is true that in the following years this percentage grew by

⁴⁹ Shares calculated from *MSE* data.

leaps, reaching 8% in Budapest⁵⁰ and 11% in Kolozsvár/Cluj. In absolute numbers this meant 137 female students enrolled for the first semester of 1913/4 and 312 in 1917/8 in Budapest, yet, for Kolozsvár/Cluj the corresponding figures were but 10 and 26, respectively. Thus the growth was notable, but not dramatic. Up to the end of the Dualist period, women were rare in medical studies, a small minority, never exceeding 10% of future physicians.

The fact that the under-representation of women was even more significant in Kolozsvár/Cluj than in the capital may well be related to the relatively low proportion of Jews among students in the former; that is to say, it was connected to the (once again relative) thinness in Transylvania of the mobile Jewish social layers involved in educational mobility. Women of these strata appeared to be often even more prominently present in elite education than their male counterparts, especially in Budapest and some big cities, the residence of the most modern sectors of Hungarian Jewry. But this applied differently in various regions, certainly less to Transylvania than elsewhere, notably in the Central Plain. Our prosopographic summary reveals indeed, that women had a qualified relative minority only among the Jewish students of the Kolozsvár/Cluj medical school: globally 21.4% of all the male students were Jewish, but only 17% of female students. At any rate, such a rather marginal share of women in the Kolozsvár/Cluj Faculty (only 5% of the total) justifies the omission of further details concerning this narrow segment in our further inquiry.

All these recruitment peculiarities of the Transylvanian medical school (to some of which there shall be additional references below) were obviously and strongly related to the regional location of the university.

When the relative rarity of female or Jewish presence at the faculty in Kolozsvár/Cluj is contrasted to the much higher ratio of these categories at the Budapest university, we should not forget that the Transylvanian *alma mater* operated on a far smaller scale than that of the capital city. It was located in an under-urbanised region that fell outside the main centres of economic modernisation of Hungary. It is also for all these reasons that the potential clientele of the provincial university could not include such wide, modern middle class and bourgeois sectors liable, for instance, to carry the values and behavioural strategies of modernisation, such as the emancipation of women and, within this, the feminist movement that strongly fostered higher education for women.

On its turn, the lower degree of Jewish representation could simply be related to the fact – demonstrated above (see note 46) – that the Jewish

⁵⁰ The calculation is somewhat imprecise, inasmuch as, for the last two complete academic years, the *MSÉ* source gives data for the second, spring semester as regards the total number of students, while data for female students refer to the first one, the fall semester.

population of Transylvania and the Banat was less numerous in the local population than it was in the capital city, central or Western Hungary, and also presented, possibly, less proclivity to educational mobility than modernised Jews of the latter regions. Differences of recruitment between the medical school of Kolozsvár/Cluj and that of Budapest may then be interpreted largely by the regional inrootedness (and limitations) of the former, especially if one considers Transylvania and the Banat not only as sheer geographical entities, but as a local instance of the social set-up in a fragmented society. The ethnic, confessional and social strata-specific characteristics of this regionally-based recruitment pattern shall be discussed further on.

Thus, it is not only in a global sense that the clientele of the Kolozsvár/Cluj medical school may be considered somewhat marginal, but also in the sense that the newly emerged female audience (half of which was also of Jewish extraction at the beginning⁵¹) and the Jewish segment itself, making the backbone of the medical corps already at the turn of the century (as discussed above), were relatively under-represented in comparison to Budapest within its student-body. Thus, in this respect also the paradox prevails that the University of Budapest, despite its traditional organisational structure – with the Catholic Theological Faculty –, the symbolic values guiding its development and even the policies of appointing the teaching staff (policies retaining clerical elements outright) was of a far more ‘modern’, ‘middle class’ or ‘bourgeois’ character as compared to Kolozsvár/Cluj. These differences may be accentuated when the conditions of study, the way of life of students, their political and social activities, etc are taken into account. The paradox is apparent if we know that Kolozsvár/Cluj was founded following the model of French republican faculties,⁵² conceived of from the start as secular and ‘modern’ institutions.

Surely, such a contrast between higher education in the capital and in the countryside was at that time valid for other fields of academic instruction as well, at least where institutions of higher education operated with parallel functions both in the capital and in provincial towns (like between Faculties of Law and provincial Legal Academies).

⁵¹ In the first ten years when women were allowed to pursue university studies (data for first semesters), 53% of the female medical students and 48% of those enrolled into the Faculty of Letters in the capital were Jews; that is, their share was even greater (especially in letters) than within the total student-body. Cf. *Acta regiae scientiarum universitatis hungaricae Budapestiensis*, 1905, p. 85.

⁵² It is by no means a coincidence that the Kolozsvár/Cluj university – alone in contemporary Europe – followed the department-system of the post-Napoleonic French universities, a model that (with the exception of Paris until 1885) did not contain theology (a faculty traditionally central in the academic setup of universities grown out of Medieval predecessors) and where the humanities and the natural sciences were institutionally separated.

After having set the student-body of the Kolozsvár/Cluj medical school in the context of the medical training system in Hungary, we have to carry out a detailed survey of those constituent elements that determined the selection, educational background and training advancement of this clientele. In all of this, we are compelled to rely almost exclusively on the indices derived from the prosopographic survey. Hence this will be a study of collective characteristics of the target-population only 'from the inside', without a comparative perspective, since as yet no similar survey results are available for Budapest or Vienna and other major places of medical training for students from contemporary Hungary. (But in the future such comparative studies will be hopefully made possible by the exploration of hitherto untapped sources. If some most essential archival sources of the University of Budapest have been destroyed, others survive and remain exploitable. An important work of publication of source material – prosopographies – is also being accomplished on the presence of students from pre-1919 Hungary in universities abroad.)

Patterns of ethnic and confessional recruitment

It is but self-evident that under the uniquely multi-cultural surrounding presented by Transylvania (for which there was no other example in any greater region of contemporary Europe⁵³) the variations of ethnic and confessional composition of the clientele assume a specific importance. It is the segmentation of the student-body along these lines that mirrors the most acute social inequalities in the recruitment process in a society where those closely tied to the ruling Hungarian elite and endowed with the cultural assets of the hegemonic national civilisation

⁵³ Due to the confessional borders largely frozen since the Counter-Reformation and owing to migrations following the retreat of the Ottoman empire, all the emerging nation states of Europe (with the exception of the Netherlands and Switzerland – the latter being atypical since it was constituted on a federal basis) were practically characterised by the quasi-monopoly of a state religion (whether Catholic or Protestant) and the demographic hegemony of the 'titular' ethnic majorities declared to be constitutive of the nation state. By contrast, in Transylvania (and Hungary) none of the confessional-ethnic groups held a majority, although the Hungarian ruling classes did secure political dominance after 1867, a domination they oriented towards targets of Hungarian nation-building. To illustrate this unique situation one has to remember that, around 1900, the followers of the largest church in Hungary, the Roman Catholic one, made up only 48% of the population, while it was by that time only that – after a long process of linguistic Magyarisation of many alien groups – the proportion of those declaring at the census Hungarian as their native tongue exceeded half of the total population. As for Transylvania, Romanians did hold there a demographic majority of 57%, but they were divided between Greek Orthodox and Catholics themselves (*MSK*, 27, pp. 104-105.)

had almost ‘natural’ advantages in seeking and getting admission to the university and in asserting themselves there.

Table 3
Medical students in Kolozsvár/Cluj by the national character of surnames, mother tongue and religion in generational clusters

	Date of birth					
	Before 1855	1855-1864	1865-1874	1875-1884	1885-1894	After 1894
A. Nature of surname						
Hungarian	62.2	53.6	47.7	40.6	43.4	46.7
German	26.7	21.3	27.4	29.1	28.9	28.7
Romanian	6.7	10.8	14.8	16.4	15.8	15.6
Serbian, Slovak	4.4	10.8	8.0	9.8	8.1	6.5
Other ⁵⁴	-	3.5	2.0	3.8	3.9	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total numbers	90	287	350	347	1,180	789
Yearly average numbers	?	28.7	35.0	34.7	118	78.9
B. Mother tongue						
Hungarian	80.6	83.2	71.7	68.9	71.4	76.2
German	6.5	4.2	7.8	11.3	10.9	7.8
Romanian	8.6	10.9	19.0	16.0	15.9	15.8
Other ⁵⁵	0.4	1.8	1.6	3.8	1.7	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
C. Denomination						
Roman Catholics	25.5	33.0	21.9	24.9	26.6	23.7
Calvinists	36.7	29.8	25.4	21.1	18.5	19.2
Lutherans	7.8	3.9	10.0	16.7	14.3	9.8
Jews	13.3	18.6	19.6	17.3	20.0	27.0
Greek Catholics ⁵⁶	8.9	9.5	15.0	10.8	8.1	10.3
Greek Orthodox	1.1	2.4	3.4	7.4	9.9	7.7
Unitarians	6.7	3.1	4.8	2.1	2.5	2.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

According to various indices from Table 3, the Kolozsvár/Cluj Medical Faculty was populated with students in a highly uneven process.

At the beginning, the domination of students with Magyar background was manifest, since both those with Hungarian native tongue and surname made up the absolute majority in the newly founded medical school. Thus, at the outset, the socially and politically ruling minority had the upper hand in the student population. Consequently, all other ethnic groups (by all accounts a demographic majority in Transylvania during the long 19th century) started with a weak represen-

⁵⁴ The Magyarised and ‘typically’ Jewish family names included.

⁵⁵ Mostly Serbian.

⁵⁶ Together with the otherwise insignificantly small contingent of Armenian Catholics.

tation. But this initial situation gradually changed to the detriment of the Magyars. Those with Hungarian surnames (or of Hungarian ethnic origin) were invariably but a minority already within those born after 1864 (that is, entering the university by and large after 1882). Even the ratio of students with Hungarian as their native tongue diminished for a while. Among the youngest generations (joining the student corps before and during the war) the ratio of self-declared Magyar speakers stayed lower than among the oldest and earliest generations.

According to these findings, the representation of non-Magyar nationalities, especially that of Germans and Romanians, was gaining more and more significance over time. Yet the scope and interpretation of the two indicators of ethnic identity (or identification) resorted to here differ greatly. Among those of German linguistic or nominal affiliation, we have to include a number of Jews, groups whose varied in size along the years. The real ethnic identity (best approached, probably, by the distribution of surnames) and self-definition (indicated by the distribution by declared mother-tongue) of those with Romanian origin appear to be far less ambiguous. The difference lends itself to a reasonably 'objective' measurement in that while there was considerable statistical discrepancy between the two indices of 'Germandom', such difference is hardly observable in the case of the Romanians. For sure, the discrepancy can be accounted for by a difference in the assimilationist urge and the reactions to it. Jews and Catholic Svabians (from Banat, Partium and Transylvania proper) – yet much less the Transylvanian Saxons – among those with German surnames, certainly belonged to the ethnic clientele of Hungarian assimilation. This was even more so for those engaged in social mobility strategies by schooling. All the while, Romanians manifested much more visible resistance against symbolic (and political) forms of assimilation.

The same difference can be traced down in our data as well, since the representation of the two cultural and ethnic groups among Kolozsvár/Cluj medical students differed greatly from each other. While, from the beginning, proportions of 'Germans' rose but slightly up to the post-1865 generations and stayed roughly unchanged ever after, stagnating slightly over one quarter of the total student-body, the ratio of the Romanians started at a very modest level at the beginning, only to rise abruptly afterwards. Even so, once attained, their one-sixth to one-eighth share came almost to a standstill in the post-1865 generation. As regards the rest of the minorities, according to the analysis of surnames, only those with Serbian or other Slavic origin (Slovakians, Bulgarians) increased their share beyond one-tenth of the total. Nevertheless, the latter segments of the student population must have been composed of resolutely 'assimilationist' elements (with strong Magyar orientation), since, contrary to Romanians, their majority did not declare a mother tongue of its own.

At any rate, indices of ethnic background (as reflected in surnames) lead to the conclusion that the majority of the clientele of the second Hungarian medical school was of a non-Hungarian ethnic background, even if in the light of the distribution of the population along ethnic lines the statistical representation of those with Hungarian origin looks preponderant over the rest of ethno-cultural groups involved. A more accurate estimate of the representation of various local ethnic clusters would need further statistical elaborations, since – as we shall see below – one fifth to one quarter (depending on the different indices) of the Kolozsvár/Cluj medical students originated from outside Transylvania. Nevertheless, a good approach of ethnic provenance is to be found among data regarding the fluctuations of the confessional distribution of students shown in Table 3/C.

As regards religion, the student body under scrutiny was divided into three bigger (Catholic, Calvinist and Jewish) and two smaller (Greek Catholic and Lutheran) segments, roughly following the confessional composition of Transylvanian *urban elites*. It is only during the process of growth, registered over time, that the global numerical share of these segments changed considerably and in varying directions.

As it shall be seen below, close to two-third of the students were ethnic Hungarian Calvinists and Catholics at the beginning. Only the Jews exceeded (and quite a lot) with one-tenth of all students in the pre-1865 generations, which shows that, according to its old intellectual traditions, socially mobile Jewry lined up – hardly unexpectedly – among the first major users of Hungary's second medical school.⁵⁷ In the post-1865 generations, those belonging to the two 'Hungarian confessions' became a minority among students, to such an extent that the representatives of the Calvinist faith, regarded as 'purely Hungarian', were diminished to one-fifth, while those of the Catholics (among which a number of Svbian-Germans could be counted) stagnated around one-quarter of the whole. At any rate, as hinted at above, various groups belonging to 'ethnic churches' formed the majority of students in the generations born after 1865. The numerically largest and continuously growing group among them consisted of Jews. They were followed by those of Greek ritual with their roughly unchanging 18% share in the total, even though with internal changes. Precisely in the younger generations the Uniates (Greek Catholics) ceded their initially dominant position to the advantage of the Greek Orthodox contingent. In the last two generational groups treated separately here, the representation of the two latter confessions proved to be almost balanced (9% and 8.6%). This shows that the Uniates were paramount among the two Greek denominations to

⁵⁷ In constant growth, the proportion of Jews in the population reached only 4.9% by 1900. Cf. *MSK*, 27, p. 100.

preferentially pursue medical studies at Kolozsvár/Cluj, while the Orthodox tended somewhat to avoid that academic centre, since they made up a significant majority over the other Greek confession both in the population⁵⁸ and among high-school students and *Matura*-holders of those times.⁵⁹ Finally, the representation of Lutherans (equal here mostly to Transylvanian Saxons) among the enrolled students registered a gradual growth up to the years immediately preceding or during the war, when it abruptly diminished below one-tenth. For sure, the direct consequences of the war itself must have had an impact on this development, since the Saxon-inhabited south Transylvanian regions became zones of military conflict, which obviously disturbed the studies of many students from these territories.

These preliminary remarks may lead to a more precise survey of the above-mentioned connections between ethnic and confessional recruitment following Table 4.

Table 4
Religion and ethnic background of medical students in Kolozsvár/Cluj

A. Mother tongue

	Hungarian	German	Romanian	Slavic	Other	Number	%
Roman Cath.	23.6	1.3	-	0.4	0.4	786	25.7
Calvinists	21.3	-	-	0.03	-	652	21.3
Lutherans	4.6	7.0	-	0.1	-	356	11.7
Jews	20.3	0.7	-	0.1	0.1	646	21.1
Greek Cath. ⁶⁰	0.7	0.1	9.1	0.1	-	313	10.3
Greek Orth.	0.3	-	6.3	0.5	-	216	7.1
Unitarians	2.8	-	-	-	-	86	2.8
Numbers	2,253	278	471	35	18	3,055	
%	73.7	9.1	15.4	1.1	0.6		100.0

⁵⁸ In 1900 Greek Orthodox made up 13.1% in the population of the country as against 10.9% for Greek Catholics. See *ibidem*, loc. cit.

⁵⁹ In 1879 and 1880, there were exactly three times as many Orthodox students in the 'full' high-schools (leading to *Matura*) than Greek Catholics. (*MSÉ*, 1880, 57.) Already in the contingents earning their *Matura* between 1908/9 and 1914/5, the situation was reversed, insofar as the Greek Catholics prevailed in numbers over the Greek Orthodox (1,701 *Matura*-holders among the former as against 1,543 in the latter confessional segment). Data compiled from *MSÉ*.

⁶⁰ Together with 9 Armenian Catholics.

B. Character of surname

	Hungarian	German	Romanian	Slavic and other ⁶¹	Magyarised	%
Roman Cath.	14.0	5.9	1.4	4.2	0.1	25.7
Calvinist	18.8	1.2	0.3	0.9	0.1	21.3
Lutheran	2.3	7.8	0.3	1.1	0.03	11.7
Jewish	4.8	12.8	0.2	2.1	1.2	21.2
Greek Cath.	2.6	0.1	6.8	0.3	0.1	10.2
Greek Orth. ⁶²	0.7	0.03	5.8	0.8	0.03	7.1
Unitarian	2.5	0.2	0.1	0.1	-	2.8
Numbers	1,404	860	456	297	46	3,063
%	45.8	28.1	14.9	9.7	1.5	100.0

C. Mother tongue and surname

Names	Language (mother tongue)						%
	Hungarian	German	Romanian	Slavic and other	Magyarised	Typically Jewish	
Hungarian	42.6	20.1	2.2	6.5	1.4	1.0	73.8
German	0.5	7.5	0.2	0.9	0.03	-	9.1
Romanian	2.6	0.2	12.4	0.2	0.03	-	15.3
Slavic	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.8	-	-	1.1
Other	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.3	-	-	0.6
%	45.9	28.0	15.0	8.6	1.5	1.0	100.0

Table 4 offers a unitary representation of all data relevant to both mother tongue and surnames. Percentages are given here with reference to the total population (and not regarding sub-groups appearing in a given column or row). In this way all the comparative figures can be related to each other in the absolute sense, and they indicate the numerical weight (expressed by the corresponding values concomitantly for both variables) of the given group in the whole student body. Percentages given in the right-hand column and the last row below indicate separately the weight of each of the two variables in the sub-groups.

By mother-tongue, the three dominant groups (Table 4/A) were represented to an almost equal degree, that is, with a share of slightly over one-fifth by Catholics, Calvinists and Jews with Hungarian as their first language. With a share below one-tenth, they were followed by Romanian speaking Greek Catholics, German speaking Lutherans and Romanian speaking Greek Orthodox. Unitarians were but a small minority, yet one purely Hungarian with regard to native-tongue. Well below these, there were German Catholics and Jews, as well as Hungarian-speaking followers of the Greek confessions, each making up around 1% of the whole student-body.

Thus, regarding the declared native tongue of medical students, the above-mentioned intuitive projections and the connections frequently

⁶¹ Together with 32 Jewish names.

⁶² As in footnote 60.

mentioned by social historians are reinforced by these data. The great majority of the Kolozsvár/Cluj medical school clientele consisted of groups with Hungarian as their native-tongue or of linguistically assimilated segments. Notable exceptions to this rule were Romanians of Greek ritual commitment and Lutheran Saxons. Also, among Romanians, there was a significant difference between the Greek Catholic contingent, having quite a number of Hungarian-speaking elements, and the almost purely Romanian (or Slavic) Greek Orthodox. Catholics and various Slavic groups did not show a sizeable ethnic minority representation among medical students.

A combined analysis of family-names and native tongue (Table 4/C) allows an even more exact description of the ethnic recruitment of students concerned.

Those considered as Hungarians from both points of view make up, to be sure, a minority only. The second largest group, accounting for one-fifth of the total, consists of Hungarian-speaking students bearing German names. They are followed by those who are Romanians according to both nationality indices, amounting to one-eighth of the whole. According to this, the Transylvanian medical school was indeed important as to the training of a Romanian group of professionals, who could not be regarded as 'assimilees' by objective criteria. Beyond this unique non-assimilating bracket, the ethnic composition of the Faculty presented but smaller groups of this kind. The 'largest' among the latter were the 'truly German' contingent, equivalent in size to the Lutheran Saxon segment, and the mixed group of Hungarian speaking Slavs. Besides, there was a noteworthy minority of slightly above 2% in the student clientele with Romanian names but Hungarian mother tongue, and another group of similar size with Hungarian names but Romanian as declared first language. Hence a recognisable small population in these two groups that were assimilating Romanians, as well as a Romanianised fragment of Hungarian background or origin. The presence of students following these diverging roads of assimilation reminds one that behind the dominantly Magyarising assimilationist trend – presumably as a result of mixed marriages and local variants of territorial mixing, as for instance in Csángó villages –, in 19th century Hungary there must have been assimilationist drives pointing to the opposite direction as well.

Finally, it is worth confronting the data on confession to family names (as in Table 4/B), since the combination of the two sheds light on religion-specific ethnic origins and, in some marked cases, on certified participation in the assimilationist movement (indicated by the Magyarisation of surnames) of many in academically trained elite groups emerging in Transylvania. Summing up such survey results, one can arrive at the conclusion that there were alien (here non-Magyar) clusters even among students belonging to confessional communities commonly considered as 'most Hungarian' or 'purely Magyar', while – on the con-

trary – a part of the members of ‘ethnic minority faiths’ must have actually been of Hungarian origin.

These observations apply best to Catholics and Jews, though for utterly different reasons.

If a slight majority of Roman Catholic medical students bore Hungarian names, this majority was but a relative one, since one can identify among them up to almost half of those concerned German and Slavic clusters as well. To be sure, the German Catholic sector originated mostly from the Svbian population to be found in the Banat and in the so-called Partium. The provenance of the Slavic and other components appears to be far more ambiguous. Among them, there may have been Slovaks, Bulgarians and other elements as well (mostly residents in Banat and the South Eastern Plain) not listed under separate headings in the data-base. In any case, the relative variability of ethnic backgrounds in the case of the Catholic students mirrored the multi-cultural character of the population that inhabited some of the main recruitment zones of the medical school.

In the case of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) students, the distribution by surnames suggests a slightly different interpretation. Of course, ethnic Romanians dominated here too, but there was a group – sized up to a quarter! – among them bearing Hungarian names. As the share of those with Hungarian as their native tongue is irrelevant in this confessional cluster, it was presumably the Greek Catholic Church that had integrated most of the Romanianised Hungarian fragment (perhaps some of Csángó origin).

By contrast, surnames occurring among the Jewish students appear to respond to expectations, that is, they were mostly German, even though there was quite a number (from a quarter to one-third) of them with Magyar or Magyarised family names. Since, as a result of the 1787 law issued by Joseph II compelling Jews to adopt German names, there were hardly any Jews with Hungarian names at the beginning of the 19th century, the presence of Jews with Hungarian surnames is quite telling with regard the massive involvement of Jews striving simultaneously for cultural assimilation – ‘Magyarism’ proper – together with mobility through education. The Jewish assimilationist drive took, as it has been well demonstrated elsewhere, mass proportions in the last decades of that century. Anyway, according to the evidence cited, most of the registered cases of surname Magyarisations occurred with Jews, that is, as many as 38 out of the 46 such instances among the students under scrutiny⁶³.

⁶³ Details of the heavy Jewish over-representation among nominative Magyarisers around 1900 (up to some 60% of all involved in the movement) has been recently exposed in my book written with István Kozma, *Családnév és nemzet. Névpolitika, névváltoztatási mozgalom és nemzetiségi erőviszonyok Magyarországon a reformkortól a kommunizmusig* [Surname and nation. Nomination policies, the movement to change surnames and ethnic relations of forces in Hungary from Vormärz to Communism], Budapest, Osiris, 2002, especially pp. 76-100.

In addition, it is notable in the data compiled in Table 4/B that among the other 'ethnic minority faiths' there were fragments not quite insignificant in size that actually fell, according to the examination of surnames, outside the range of their expected ethnic origins. That is how we find 10% non-Hungarians among those registered as Calvinists – of supposedly exclusively Magyar stock –, just like in the (far smaller, to be sure) Unitarian contingent. In a similar way, among Lutheran students with a Saxon majority there were no less than one-third bearing non-German (mostly Hungarian) surnames. In Transylvania, this kind of ethnic mixture characterised even the Greek Orthodox community, less than one-tenth of which among our students having Serbian and other Slavic surnames, and a smaller fraction bearing Hungarian surnames. The South Slavic impact here is not unexpected, representing the significant presence of Serbians and other Slaves settled especially in Banat (South Eastern Plain).

All this is a clear indication as to how palpably the student recruitment of the Kolozsvár/Cluj medical school reflected the ethnic complexity of Transylvania, Banat and Partium, as well as the changing relationship that local elite strata maintained with the Hungarian nation state and the institutions in charge of the education of its elite. For the further clarification of actual recruitment patterns in question, we have to specify the particularities of the regional extraction of our medical students.

Paradigms of regional selection: place of birth, residence, locality of Matura-granting schools

The regional background of students has always carried much weight among material and other (social, psychological) cost factors of higher education: direct financial burden of living outside the family home, 'uprootedness' from usual family and otherwise human environment, unwilling changes in one's way of life, urban 'alienation', forced isolation, loneliness, etc.

Place of birth, dwelling place of the family or the geographical location of the *Matura*-granting school are, in an objectified form, expressions and various measures of one's distance (both physical and symbolic) from educational opportunities, and, through this, many specific difficulties or facilities in the way of getting to university. These factors constitute one, at times even crucial, but always independent source of inequalities regarding chances of access to higher studies in general, as well as to a particular academic institution, located in a well defined social and geographic space.

It was precisely in the Dualist era that, due to the boom of urbanisation, the direct effects of the capital city becoming a metropolis, represen-

tative of 'modern Hungary', came to be felt in the development of universities in Budapest. The very social construction of the opposition between big city, capital city and the provinces was realised in this period, affecting also negatively the symbolic standing and objective attractiveness of provincial centres of higher learning. Owing to rapid urban development, a constantly growing local demand for university training manifested itself in the capital, educational needs coming from the ever-greater size of city dwelling segments of the elite,⁶⁴ where the essential institutions of higher education remained properly centralised until 1872. (Until then indeed, the attraction exerted by foreign universities and provincial law academies notwithstanding⁶⁵, the Polytechnical university and the classical university with four faculties in Budapest retained a position of quasi-monopoly on the nationwide market of advanced training.)

In the case of the capital, the preponderance of 'local' recruitment was considerably strengthened by an ever-growing weight Budapest had in Hungary's secondary education-market as a whole, that is, in the overall 'production' of *Matura*-holders. Almost half, 26 out of 56 (if we count the Újpest and Rákospalota high-schools as well) of the gymnasiums, lycees, and girls' high-schools founded in Hungary in the 1870-1918 period happened to be located in or close to the capital.⁶⁶ Such a distribution accounts for the fact that, in 1895 for example, as many as one-quarter of all students enrolled to the Pest medical school were either inhabitants of the city (20.7%), or of Pest county (4.3%).⁶⁷

According to its objective possibilities, the capital of Transylvania could apparently not assume such a function in the reproduction of a locally based student clientele, since with all its historically well-established importance in matters cultural, political and symbolic (as the historic capital of the erstwhile independent principality), the town was far

⁶⁴ Measured in sheer numbers, the population of Budapest quadrupled between 1869 and 1920 from some 302,000 to 1,232,000. See *Budapest Lexikon*, Budapest, Akadémiai, 1993, 2, pp. 198.

⁶⁵ Except the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj, all through the Dualist age it was only in legal training that the Budapest Faculty had to meet considerable competition from the provinces. In 1891, for instance, a full 35% of the 2,692 law students were enrolled in the four state administered and three church managed law academies scattered around the country (*MSÉ*, 1893, p. 290). Later these proportions altered strongly, mainly to the advantage of the Kolozsvár/Cluj Law Faculty. By the beginning of the 20th century, the contemporary extension of demand for legal training tended even more to be transferred to provincial institutions, above all to Kolozsvár/Cluj.

⁶⁶ See István Mészáros, *Középszintű iskoláink kronológiája és topográfiája 1996-1948* [Chronology and Topography of our secondary schools, 1996-1948], Budapest, Akadémiai, 1988, pp. 357-358.

⁶⁷ A figure obtained from data in the winter semester. *VKM report*, 1896, no. 25, p. 85.

from occupying a preeminent position among urban centres of the region, either by the secondary-level education network it owned or, least of all, by the size of its population.⁶⁸ For instance, by the end of the surveyed period, Brassó/Braşov had more, while Temesvár/Timişoara had the same number of *Matura*-granting secondary schools.⁶⁹ If in earlier years more students attended local high-schools in Kolozsvár/Cluj than in any other similarly sizeable city taken separately either in Transylvania proper, the Banat or the Partium, these differences were either eliminated or turned into their opposite after 1900.⁷⁰ That is to say, following the demographic logic deriving from its geographical position in a strict sense, no specific 'capital town' mechanism of attraction should have been identified in the recruitment patterns of the Transylvanian university. If, despite expectations, such an effect still manifested itself, one must suppose the intervention of other mechanisms of production of specially located educational demand.

Some local mechanisms could, though, certainly affect the recruitment of the university among residents in the city or in its region in a positive sense: there was a relative concentration of Magyar elite around Kolozsvár/Cluj – both those of the freelance intelligentsia and civil servants, the town acting as a regional administrative and cultural centre

⁶⁸ We should not forget that the population of Temesvár/Timişoara registered a considerable growth in the Dualist period (from 37,800 in 1880 to 72,600 in 1910), as well as that Nagyvárad/Oradea (from 31,300 to 64,200 inhabitants), and even Arad (from 35,600 and to 63,200). The population of these towns indeed tended always to exceed that of Kolozsvár, which was 34,400 in 1880 and 60,800 in 1910. At the beginning of the period, even Brassó/Braşov (with 29,000 inhabitants in 1880) was comparable in size to Kolozsvár, albeit the former was left behind later on. See *Magyar statisztikai szemle*, 1929, no. 2, p. 84.

⁶⁹ There were, it is true, three classical high schools in Kolozsvár (the Piarist, the Unitarian and the Calvinist ones), but such was the case in Brassó/Braşov as well (with one German Lutheran, one Hungarian Catholic and one Romanian Orthodox gymnasium). Moreover, an additional Hungarian state high school was opened there in 1885. Throughout the period, Arad, Nagyvárad/Oradea and Temesvár/Timişoara had two high schools each, with only one gymnasium proper of the two, the other being a *Realschule* (that is, without the Latin *Matura* indispensable for enrolling in a medical faculty). In addition to the existing institutions, a state gymnasium was founded in Temesvár/Timişoara in 1897, but its first *Matura*-holders were released only as late as 1905. See the quoted book of István Mészáros, under the names of respective cities.

⁷⁰ In 1910 for instance, there were altogether 1,205 high-school students and 98 candidates to *Matura* in the boys' gymnasia in Kolozsvár/Cluj, while in Temesvár/Timişoara there were 1,464 students and 90 in their final (*Matura*) class and in Brassó/Braşov 1,017 pupils and 86 to take their *Matura*. See István Mészáros, *loc. cit.* That is, the earlier, rather prominent position of the Kolozsvár/Cluj gymnasia as regards *Matura*-granting disappeared by the early 20th century.

and attracting other traditional elite groups as well on the strength of its prominent symbolic position in the national patrimony and as focus of self-identification of the Hungarian population living in the vicinity or in Transylvania in general. But other factors exerted a detrimental affect. Among these, one must list the attraction that Budapest and, for a while, Vienna or other foreign universities exerted on the academic demand of the Transylvanian population living further away from Kolozsvár/Cluj, or – more specifically – on ethnic elite like Saxons and Romanians. It is only by the combined total sum of these effects that we can grasp the meaning of the observed regional selection of medical students. To make the interpretation smoother, secondary data with regard to regional provenance are grouped here in a summary form, listed in three main generational groups and according to denominational and ethnic origins (the latter being defined by the character of surnames).

Table 5
Indicators of regional background of medical students in Kolozsvár/Cluj
by denomination and ethnic affiliation (character of surnames)

5/A. Place of birth	Kolozsvár/ Cluj	Kolozs County	Transyl- vania elsewh.	Hungary elsewh.	Abroad	Total	Number	%
<i>Roman Cath.</i>								
Magyar	12.4	2.1	52.8	31.9	0.7	100.0	426	14.0
German	16.4	1.7	46.9	29.9	5.1	100.0	177	5.8
Other	10.7	1.1	41.8	39.0	7.3	100.0	177	5.8
<i>Calvinists</i>								
Magyar	5.9	3.5	62.9	26.7	1.0	100.0	574	19.9
Other	18.4	3.9	47.4	30.3	-	100.0	76	2.5
<i>Lutherans</i>								
Magyar	5.4	2.5	70.8	20.0	1.3	100.0	240	7.9
Other	8.5	-	34.7	55.9	0.8	100.0	118	3.9
<i>Greek Cath.</i>								
Romanian	1.4	10.1	83.2	4.8	0.5	100.0	208	6.8
Other	5.3	10.6	63.8	19.1	1.1	100.0	94	3.1
<i>Greek Orth.</i>								
Romanian	1.1	0.6	95.5	1.1	1.7	100.0	179	5.9
Other	2.7	2.7	67.6	27.0	-	100.0	37	1.2
<i>Others</i>								
(Unitarians)	10.5	3.2	77.9	8.4	-	100.0	95	3.1
<i>Jews</i>								
Magyar	6.9	3.4	57.2	32.4	-	100.0	145	4.8
Other	9.5	3.4	49.0	35.2	-	100.0	494	16.3
% total	8.2	3.3	59.8	26.9	1.8	100.0	3,040	100.0

Social and Educational Profile of the Student Body (1872-1918)

Place of birth by generational groups

Born before 1882	11.9	3.8	56.7	25.4	2.2	100.0	950
Born in 1883-1893	4.5	2.3	57.7	33.1	2.3	100.0	1,107
Born after 1893	9.0	4.0	64.9	21.5	0.6	100.0	957

5/B. Place of graduation (*Matura*) from secondary education

	Kolozsvár/ Cluj	Transylvania elsewhere	Hungary elsewhere	Abroad	Total	Number	%
<i>Roman Cath.</i>							
Magyar	26.6	49.9	21.8	1.7	100.0	353	13.9
German	22.0	60.0	17.3	0.7	100.0	150	5.9
Other	27.0	47.4	24.9	0.7	100.0	152	6.0
<i>Calvinists</i>							
Magyar	27.5	48.4	22.9	1.2	100.0	498	19.6
Other	24.6	50.7	24.6	-	100.0	65	2.6
<i>Lutherans</i>							
German	18.6	67.6	13.7	-	100.0	204	8.0
Other	18.0	57.0	24.0	1.0	100.0	100	3.9
<i>Greek Cath.</i>							
Romanian	23.2	49.7	27.1	-	100.0	177	7.0
Other	28.2	40.0	29.4	2.4	100.0	85	3.3
<i>Greek Orth.</i>							
Romanian	32.2	43.8	22.6	1.3	100.0	146	5.7
Other	16.7	36.7	46.7	-	-	30	1.2
<i>Others</i>							
(Unitarians)	26.7	45.3	22.7	5.3	100.0	75	2.9
<i>Jews</i>							
Magyar	25.4	50.0	24.6	-	100.0	122	4.8
Other	19.8	58.2	21.6	0.3	100.0	388	15.2
% total	24.4	52.1	22.6	0.9	100.0	2,545	100.0

Place of graduation from secondary education by generational groups

Born before 1882	24.6	52.0	22.6	0.9	100.0	802
Born in 1883-1893	23.7	52.3	20.6	3.4	100.0	921
Born after 1893	25.2	51.4	22.7	0.6	100.0	794

5/C. Father's residence

	Kolozsvár/ Cluj	Kolozs County	Transyl- vania elsewh.	Hungary elsewh.	Abroad	Total	Number	%
<i>Roman Cath.</i>								
Magyar	24.1	1.5	50.0	24.1	0.3	100.0	394	14.0
German	22.1	2.5	47.2	26.4	1.8	100.0	163	5.8
Other	19.0	1.2	46.6	31.9	1.2	100.0	163	5.8
<i>Calvinists</i>								
Magyar	14.0	4.1	57.7	23.8	0.4	100.0	541	19.2
Other	24.3	-	48.6	24.3	2.9	100.0	70	2.5
<i>Lutherans</i>								
German	8.2	2.3	69.9	16.9	2.7	100.0	219	7.8
Other	13.3	-	37.2	48.7	0.9	100.0	113	4.0

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<i>Greek Cath.</i>								
Romanian	4.2	9.9	80.6	5.2	-	100.0	191	6.8
Other	11.4	6.8	60.2	19.3	2.3	100.0	88	3.1
<i>Greek Orth.</i>								
Romanian	2.4	1.2	93.4	3.0	-	100.0	167	5.9
Other	-	2.9	70.6	23.5	2.9	100.0	34	1.2
<i>Others</i>								
(Unitarians)	16.3	3.5	77.9	2.3	-	100.0	86	3.1
<i>Jews</i>								
Magyar	16.7	2.3	53.0	28.0	-	100.0	132	4.7
Other	17.1	2.4	49.1	30.0	1.3	100.0	456	16.2
% total	15.1	3.0	58.2	22.9	0.9	100.0	2,817	100.0

Father's residence by generational groups

Born before 1882	17.8	3.7	55.7	21.9	0.9	100.0	866
Born in 1883-1893	10.0	2.6	56.3	30.2	0.9	100.0	1,033
Born after 1893	18.5	2.7	62.4	15.6	0.7	100.0	896

According to all the three indicators, the great majority of medical students concerned were Transylvanians. Yet their real share of the regional recruitment was probably somewhat smaller since we do not know the place of *Matura* in the case of those students who only 'transited' the medical school, enrolling here only for a few semesters. Since most of them had, presumably, no ties here, they may have more often than others attended high-schools elsewhere, too.⁷¹ With all this restriction – unfortunately impossible to account for (yet of no significant proportions, according to the registered data) – the quantitative preponderance of Transylvanians among our students is beyond doubt. Almost two-thirds of them (71.3%) were born in the region and even more (76.5 per cent among those for whom such information is available) received their *Matura* there. A quite similar majority (76.3%) appear to have had their parents' residents in the region. This must have been the situation from the very beginning, since alternations along generational groups are very small in this respect. The figures representing place of birth and dwelling place trace a kind of slightly curved 'U'-shape along the years, as there was a slight decrease in the number of those born in Transylvania in the middle generation. But even so, the figures in question oscillated around two-thirds of the total, except in the very latest generations, among whom the share of the locally born rose to unprecedented proportions. As to the place of earning the *Matura*, there was hardly any inter-generational alternation in the hegemonic position of graduates from Transylvanian schools. The degree and at the same time

⁷¹ This is in accordance with the fact that the data-bank registers the birth-place of 3,040 students, while it gives father's residence in 2,817 cases, but it only informs on the *Matura*-granting school of 2,545 students. This roughly one-sixth lacuna is above all due to 'transitory' students.

the limit of local (Transylvanian) recruitment is well illustrated by the fact that in 1895 only 16% of the students at the Budapest medical school originated from Transylvania, Banat or Partium, in the larger sense, as to their place of living (territories that mostly went over to Romania after 1919).⁷² Hence the statement is fully verified that the Kolozsvár/Cluj Medical Faculty primarily satisfied local needs of training. Beyond this general observation, our data shed light on some other significant connections as well.

The first derives from what has been stated above. The Faculty fulfilled a not insignificant function (though it was far from its central one) in training students originating from other parts of Hungary as well, since about one quarter of its clientele came from districts situated 'this side of King's Pass' (*Királyhágón innen* in contemporary geographic terms). Yet most of these students originated from the Banat or Partium, that is, from regions immediately adjacent to historic Transylvania. But the Faculty had its role in meeting academic needs deriving from territories outside Transylvania in this extended sense, and as such it competed (to a small but palpable degree) with its Budapest counterpart. It was only its foreign clientele (born or dwelling outside Hungary) that amounted to hardly any size.

The second interesting and – owing to the presumed weakness of the above-mentioned capital-town effect – quite unexpected observation concerns the number of those originating from Kolozsvár/Cluj proper (and, supposedly, from the whole Kolozs county), since they were visibly much over-represented in the student body. One-ninth of our students were actually born in the county, most probably more than one-sixth were also residents there (according to father's residence), and as many as a quarter of them got their *Matura* in Kolozsvár/Cluj as well. If, as seen before, in 1895 one quarter of the students at the Budapest medical school were from the capital or from Pest district (there again as measured by their family's residence), then the Kolozsvár/Cluj ratio of locally recruited students appears to be by all means very high. The share of those having earned their *Matura* from a local high school points indeed to a considerable 'capital-town effect', since the three such schools situated in the town proper could account only for a much smaller fraction of graduates. Even if, owing to the uncertain range of geographical attraction exerted by the Kolozsvár/Cluj faculty, an accurate calculation concerning the rate of over-representation of Kolozsvár/Cluj-residents is hardly possible at present, there is no doubt

⁷² Admittedly, the 133 medical students originating from eastern Hungary registered in this way in the Budapest faculty approached by themselves the total figure (141) of contemporary Transylvanian medical students. Cf. *VKM report*, quoted volume, pp. 125-126 and 85-86.

about the considerably greater chance or willingness of secondary school graduates to pursue medical studies in their home town. As a rough illustration of this point, in the 1890s there were altogether 26 high schools in Transylvania and 25 in the so-called trans-Tisza region (*Tiszántúl*, that is, between the river Tisza and the Western borders of historic Transylvania)⁷³. These regions equalled largely (if not completely) the geographical recruitment area of the Kolozsvár/Cluj medical school. Even if we assume that throughout the period most of the mentioned schools individually granted – say, by half – fewer *Matura* degrees than the three old classical high-schools, the latter would account only for 12-13% of the *Matura*-holders. Still, their representation at the medical school was twice that number. Moreover, the described centrifugal effect of the local educational network must have been valid not only for those already having a *Matura* but affected those preparing to take one as well. Part of the latter could be sent up to gymnasias in Kolozsvár/Cluj by their parents with the strategic aim of acquiring a wider network of intellectual relationships that would foster the pursuit of higher studies there.

The third interesting piece of information in Table 5 is related to the territorial mobility of students. On the one hand, the distribution of birthplaces is more widely scattered (29%) beyond the borders of Transylvania than that of places of residence (24%) or the location of *Matura*-granting schools (23.5%). That is to say, a fraction of the students (some 5-6%) presumably moved into Transylvania after their birth. (The ratio may be estimated to be even bigger, if we take into account inter-regional exchanges of population, in other words, those moving out of Transylvania as well.) On the other hand, the ratio of students or their families actually migrating towards Kolozsvár/Cluj is even more spectacular, since only 8% of the medical students were born in the town, while 18% had their families residing there and 24% took their *Matura* in the town.

At the beginning, this trend of immigration was weak: before 1894, the difference between proportions of locally born and local residents did not exceed 5-6%. By contrast, almost every tenth (9%) of the youngest generation of medical students under scrutiny were affected by this type of mobility. The difference in the share of those born in the town and those getting their *Matura* there became ever greater (16.6%) over time, tending to widen in comparison to the first generation, those born before 1883. In conclusion, it is reasonable to suppose that a small yet significant segment of the student body entered the Kolozsvár/Cluj medical school via strategic geographic mobility and urbanisation.

⁷³ See István Mészáros, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

Specific variants of results deriving from this inquiry into regional recruitment are worth elaborating on the selection of ethnic groups defined by religion and the national character of surnames.

The study of place of birth offers rather clear contours of the well-known patterns of regional distribution of prominent ethnic clusters. Almost all the students of Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic faith (97% of the former and 95% of the latter) are Transylvanians proper, just as well as the great majority (92%) of the group labelled as 'other Christians' (mostly Unitarians in this case), or the Saxon followers of the Lutheran church (79%). There was a Transylvanian majority, measured by birthplace, among Magyar and other Calvinists (70-72%). Such a territorial distribution did though not hold true for the other Lutherans, the only ethnic bracket among our medical students with a majority (57%) born outside Transylvania. Such majority did not apply to Catholics of Slavic or Romanian extraction either, only somewhat more than the half (54%) of whom were born in the region. Transylvanian origins in the strict sense occur less frequently (but still in roughly two-thirds of the cases) with Catholic students in general, most of whom were evidently from the Banat, and also with Jewish students, especially the non-Hungarian speaking ones, 38% of whom had moved into Transylvania from outside – many of them, presumably, in order to enroll in the university.

It is noteworthy (though not unexpected), beyond these main inter-relations, that one-tenth of the Greek Catholics came not from the town but the county of Kolozsvár/Cluj, and that among the Catholics of German (18%) and Hungarian (14.5%) extraction, as well as among the non-Hungarian Calvinists (22%) and the group of 'other Christians' (14%, dominated by Unitarians), the locally born ratio is relatively high. Yet among the latter those born in Kolozsvár/Cluj itself were represented well over the 8% average, amounting to 18% for non-Hungarian Calvinists and to 16% for Catholics with German names. Further light on all these relations could be shed only with the help of a more detailed research in local history and on the basis of precise evidence concerning the contemporary geographical dispersion of the ethnic populations concerned.

As we have seen, parents' residence shows an even greater concentration around Transylvania and Kolozsvár/Cluj. Within this range, the distribution of ethnic aggregates seems to copy the patterns of ethnic division by birthplace. Once again, parents residing outside Transylvania occurred in proportions beyond the average only for non-German Lutherans (50%), Slavic and Romanian Catholics (33%), and Jews with non-Magyar names (23%). By contrast, fewer Greek Catholic students had their father residing in Kolozs county than those born there. As regards the percentage of residents in Kolozsvár/Cluj, Catholics

(15%), especially students bearing Hungarian names (24%), and, equally, non-Hungarian Calvinists exceeded the average.

It is nevertheless worth noting that even parents of Jewish students lived more frequently (17%) in Kolozsvár/Cluj than the average, as did Jews with Magyar names (up to 9.8%) – that is, presumably the ‘more assimilated ones’ – who took part most frequently, coming right after Catholics with Hungarian names (11.7%) in mobility linked to urbanisation (measured by the difference in the share of students born in Kolozsvár/Cluj compared to their families’ residence). One can interpret the option for studies in the Transylvanian capital by this small sector of largely assimilated Jewry as part and parcel of a strategy of further symbolic Magyarisation, in contrast to or as against the choice of the ‘cosmopolitan’ national capital city (with one fourth of the population being Jewish), where the majority of Jewish assimilees got actually engaged in educational mobility at that time. The Kolozsvár/Cluj medical school, with its *par excellence* ‘Magyar’ character, with the majority of its students of Hungarian or provincial ethnic minority backgrounds (that is, not German or Jewish, as in Budapest⁷⁴) may have seemed more favourable a place for adepts of radical ‘Magyarism’ in terms of symbolic reinforcement of their national commitment. The same considerations may have had some weight in the choice of Svabian and Slavic assimilees⁷⁵ to go on studying in Kolozsvár/Cluj, all the more since these groups might have felt ‘aliens’ or ‘outsiders’ in the ‘cosmopolitan’ (that is, for many far too ‘Jewish’) atmosphere of the Budapest Faculty.

⁷⁴ My earlier survey results serve as an eloquent demonstration of the dominance of Jews (47%) and of those bearing German names (14%) in the 1900 student population of the Budapest medical school, as contrasted to the modest share of those bearing Hungarian names (26.5%), among whom there were, already at that time, presumably many Slavs and Germans with Magyarised names. It is not surprising if this recruitment-model lent a strongly ‘cosmopolitan’ character to the capital city institution. This was especially the case in comparing it to the Kolozsvár/Cluj medical school, where, according to the calculations based on Table 4/B above, the added-up share of those of Jewish (21%) and German (15%) extraction only slightly exceeded one-third of the whole student-population. The database for this calculation is in my book, *Iskolarendszer és felekezeti egyenlőtlenségek Magyarországon (1867-1945)* [School system and denominational inequalities in Hungary, 1867-1945], Budapest, Replika-könyvek, 1997, p. 200.

⁷⁵ If we omit the Catholics of German extraction and the various Slavic elements from tables 4/A and 4/B, we shall find that most of the students of these categories responded to the hereby objectified criteria of assimilation, since only 1.1% of the altogether 7.5% non-Jewish students with a Slavic or other name declared themselves as of other than Hungarian mother tongue, while only 1.4% of the Catholics bearing German names were also German speakers. That is, the great majority of both groups enrolled to the university as linguistically assimilated ‘Hungarians’.

As regards the place of earning the *Matura*, the contrasts are far less sharp between the groups represented under separate headings in the tables. In other words, almost every numerical characteristic followed – in a slightly magnified scale – the logic of the division by places of residence. Thus, every group demonstrated a considerable mobility between birthplace and place of *Matura* (especially so in the case of Kolozsvár/Cluj residents), and in almost every group the same mobility between family residence and place of *Matura* can be equally observed. The share of Hungarian Calvinist, German Lutheran and Unitarian ('other Christian') students who had received their *Matura* in Kolozsvár/Cluj was more than one-tenth higher than that of whose parents lived in the town. Even the geographical mobility (towards a Kolozsvár/Cluj high school) of Jewish students with Hungarian names comes close to these proportions. Even so, this tendency was most marked for members of the Greek churches, especially those bearing Romanian surnames. The phenomenon is further stressed among Romanian Orthodox students. They were seldom born in the town (1.1%) or resided there (2.4%), still, almost one third of this group (32%) had completed their secondary education in Kolozsvár/Cluj.

These differences tell upon a unique path of mobility, along which schools situated in the university centre played an unusually decisive role in securing a chance for higher studies. For members of the ethnic clusters in question, alien from the hegemonic Magyar elite, earning the Hungarian *Matura* itself (pre-university education in Kolozsvár/Cluj was available only in Hungarian) proved to be an exceptional, at least a rare performance. That is to say, had there been no such local/situational advantage, the majority of this segment would not have been able or inclined to pursue higher studies.

Circumstances of secondary studies ('educational selection')

The observation just made may serve as a good transition to the analysis of the next set of characteristics tracing the common profile of the Kolozsvár/Cluj medical students as far as high school studies were concerned. Our survey has provided indications related to the denominational affiliation and the regional setting of *Matura*-granting schools as well as the age of graduation (*Matura*) of the student population under scrutiny. The prosopographic listing would allow, in theory, to grasp further important information as to the marks obtained at the *Matura* exam, or, if that is missing in the sources, the marks received in the eighth form of gymnasium in various relevant subjects. One could gather insights about possible (and probable) inter-relations between secondary school achievements and later academic options and performances. Unluckily

enough, this highly valuable piece of information – which certainly operated in the surveyed period as a constituent of objective probabilities to pursue higher studies and to opt for specific disciplines and even professional tracks⁷⁶ – is not included in the surveyed archival sources. One could collect it from published yearly reports of each high-school involved, but such an exercise would have vastly exceeded the scope of the present essay.⁷⁷ In the present essay we use combinations of data referring to ethnic origins and religious creed, which are all the more relevant, since the great majority (four-fifths) of the *Matura* holders who may come into account here earned their entitlement to become university students from schools managed by an ecclesiastical authority.

Despite their apparent complexity, the main results of Table 6 reveal a basically simple, unitary pattern of educational background, since they display a strict confessional segregation discernible for the majority of students. The type of the *Matura*-granting school proved to be primarily and chiefly determined by religious affinities defined by identical or 'kin' religious affiliation of gymnasia and students. In the case of members of the 'non-dominant' ethnic groups in the nation-state, this primary arrangement was somewhat modified by varying, group specific chances and strategies of assimilation (that is, by their ever changing relationships maintained with the politically and culturally hegemonic Magyar elite).

Jewish students constitute in this respect a borderline case, since, as it is known, in the given period they disposed of no confessional secondary school of their own. To put it simply, generally, the vast majority of the hereby separately treated confessional clusters (except the Romanian Orthodox) possessing their own *Matura*-granting school took the *Matura*

⁷⁶ With a view to that, see my statistical surveys encompassing large samples of those having earned their *Matura* approximately during the first fifteen years of the 20th century. This is but an overall study of secondary school graduates and the social and educational determinants of the further educational and/or professional choices, whereby no distinction could be made between subgroups having graduated in various regions or cities of contemporary Hungary: „Felekezet, tanulmányi kitűnőség és szakmai stratégia: az érettségizettek pályaválasztása a dualista kor végén“ [Denomination, school excellence and professional strategies. Career choices of secondary school graduates at the end of the Dualist Era], in *Zsidóság és társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek (1867-1945)* [Jewry and social inequalities], Budapest, Replika-könyvek, 2000, pp. 193-221.

⁷⁷ These precious reports always contain the attained marks in an alphabetical order of pupils in each class. Often, but far from always (indeed only in one out of four cases) they also indicate by name of candidates, the marks obtained at the *Matura* exam, as well as some other social characteristics of students concerned (denomination, place of birth, etc). For technical reasons, the exploitation of this vast and abundant source cannot be considered before the completion of the prosopography dealing with all the four Kolozsvár/Cluj faculties.

in the latter, or at least chose one with some kind of confessional community with them. This majority was largest for Calvinists, amounting to over four-fifths of the students in question, and smallest with the Greek Orthodox, gathering a little less than half of those concerned. The Catholics were situated in between the two extremes: a little less than two-thirds of them took the *Matura* in schools of their own church. The above indicated main relation already circumscribes some characteristics of the unequal inter-confessional segregation in secondary schooling, the general patterns of which have been treated elsewhere.⁷⁸

Objective segregation was apparently the strongest against Calvinists, or else, they appear to have ‘locked themselves up’ more than others into their own, relatively wide educational network. This applied even for the small Unitarian church, though it had only one *Matura*-granting high-school⁷⁹ (but that precisely in Kolozsvár/Cluj). Roman Catholics were much more evenly distributed in the school market, including even Protestant schools as well (up to 16-18% of all Catholic students), from whom, though, they appeared to be by all indications at some distance – and often at loggerheads with – in the social, political and ritual sphere. This is a sign that Protestant schools demonstrated at that time less exclusivist discriminatory policies of admission than many others. Finally, it was among students of the Greek Orthodox faith that the dispersion appears to have been in this regard the greatest, as only a minority of them graduated from schools belonging to their own church. Part of them were educated in Greek Catholic schools (all the more since in the latter the language of instruction was Romanian, common for the majority of the Orthodox as well). As to Greek Catholics, they were even more scattered among secondary schools of various persuasion. They often attended Roman Catholic gymnasia that were anyway their closest ritual relatives. The ethnic-confessional categories mentioned in Table 6 are worth a closer scrutiny as regards the choice of school among the students.

⁷⁸ See my study, „Vallási szegregáció és iskolai piac: más vallású diákok a felekezeti gimnáziumokban (1867-1944)“ [Denominational segregation and school market. Students of different religion in denominational gymnasia], in *Zsidóság és társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek, 1867-1945, op. cit.*, pp. 169-192; „Felekezeti szegregáció a magyar gimnáziumi piacon (1867-1944)“ [Denominational segregation in the Hungarian secondary school market], in *Magyar történelmi iskolaszociológia* [Historical sociology of Hungarian schooling], ed. Péter Tibor Nagy, Budapest, Új Mandátum, 2000, pp. 209-232 and pp. 279-285.

⁷⁹ Still, there was another, more specifically an old Unitarian secondary school in Székelykeresztúr/Cristuru-Secuiesc as well, but it operated only as a five-class ‘sub-gymnasium’, which was developed into a ‘full’ (*Matura*-granting) gymnasium only by the end of the period (from 1915/16 onwards). (See István Mészáros, quoted book, p. 260.). However, from the list of those included in the prosopography, there were no students from here.

Table 6
National affiliation (by the character of surnames) and denomination of medical students in Kolozsvár/Cluj by the religious status of their *Matura*-granting schools.

	Gymnasium										Total
	State	Royal catholic	Transylvanian Catholic congregational status	Catholic congregational	Calvinist	Lutheran	Unitarian	Greek Catholic	Greek Orthodox	Other	
<i>Roman Catholics</i>											
Hungarian	17.0	6.5	21.6	37.0	9.2	6.2	1.9	-	-	0.5	100.0
German	25.5	4.3	18.0	33.5	8.1	5.6	3.1	0.6	-	-	100.0
Other	15.9	6.2	16.6	42.1	9.7	5.5	4.1	-	-	-	100.0
<i>Calvinists</i>											
Hungarian	9.6	0.8	3.7	1.8	73.3	8.0	2.3	0.2	-	0.4	100.0
Other	10.0	2.9	4.3	4.3	70.0	2.9	5.7	-	-	-	100.0
<i>Lutherans</i>											
German	6.1	1.9	1.4	0.9	11.7	70.9	6.1	-	-	-	100.0
Other	9.0	2.0	-	5.0	24.0	57.0	3.0	-	-	-	100.0
<i>Greek Catholics</i>											
Romanian	28.9	1.1	-	7.8	2.8	4.4	1.7	47.2	6.1	-	100.0
Other	25.9	1.2	3.7	21.0	3.7	7.4	4.9	30.9	1.2	-	100.0
<i>Greek Orthodox</i>											
Romanian	35.7	0.7	4.3	1.4	4.3	7.1	0.7	19.3	25.7	0.7	100.0
Other	13.8	-	3.4	6.9	24.1	-	-	13.8	37.9	-	100.0
<i>Other Christians</i>	14.5	-	1.2	2.4	16.9	1.2	63.9	-	-	-	100.0
<i>Jews</i>											
Hungarian	32.2	1.7	5.9	14.4	26.2	7.6	10.2	-	-	1.6	100.0
Other	27.7	4.4	3.9	14.5	22.3	13.2	11.7	0.8	-	1.3	100.0
% of total	18.9	2.9	7.4	14.7	26.5	14.5	6.5	5.6	2.3	0.6	100.0
Numbers	489	75	191	381	687	376	168	146	59	16	2.589

The Catholics followed a relatively open pattern of school choice, even if we count the so-called 'Royal Catholic' gymnasia – which were in reality state-managed schools – in the Roman Catholic network. (This inclusion is arguable from an administrative point of view, nevertheless the main clientele of these schools actually remained Catholic.⁸⁰) The 'openness' primarily meant that one-fifth of the Catholic students attended state schools. Moreover, about one quarter of those bearing German names among Catholics did the same, a phenomenon that may be accounted for by the more or less resolutely assimilationist orientation present in the Svbadian community of the region. Most striking in this respect is that one-sixth of Catholic medical students took their *Matura* in Protestant schools. That is to say, these Catholics had perhaps achieved an advanced level of secularisation or religious indifference, were not inclined to educational self-segregation and did not meet, at that time, radical discrimination in religiously 'alien' sectors of the school market. Such findings are confirmed on the nationwide level by studies cited above concerning the lack of reciprocity between Catholics and Protestants as to exclusivist admission policies in their schools, Protestant gymnasia remaining, as a rule, more open to their religious outsiders than their 'papist' counterparts...⁸¹

As we have signalled above, all this did not apply for Protestant students. Among them self-segregation prevailed, even for Unitarians (see 'other Christians'), who had attended (up to almost two-thirds) their Kolozsvár/Cluj gymnasium, while the remaining third was divided almost exclusively between the state sector (14%) and other Protestant schools (17%). Segregation was especially marked among Calvinists bearing Hungarian family-names, a large majority anyway among Calvinist students. They seldom frequented Catholic schools (6%), almost three-quarters attending their own confessional educational institutions, while about one-tenth earned their *Matura* in other Protestant schools.

⁸⁰ As it is known, the Royal Catholic institutions were state schools funded via revenues of the Catholic monasteries secularised by a decree of Joseph II in the late 18th century. They were similar to the schools administered by the 'Transylvanian Catholic Status', separately constituted at the time of this earliest thrust of secularisation. Yet, even in view of the present data, the former schools remained markedly Catholic as regards their recruitment policies (although less so than their Transylvanian counterparts). Hence 53% of medical students in Kolozsvár/Cluj emerging from 'Royal Catholic' schools were Catholic. By contrast, less than half (only 26%) of the total of the medical student contingent were of Catholic faith. (A full 70% of the medical students having graduated in schools belonging to the 'Transylvanian Roman Catholic Status' were Catholic by religion.)

⁸¹ See above in note 78.

In the case of the Lutherans, choices were a little more divided along the ethnic lines which partitioned the Lutheran community of Hungary into well-known ethnic segments – Germans, Slovaks and a qualified minority of Magyars. Students of German-Lutheran background, understandably, had studied most often (71%) in one of their own Transylvanian high schools (with German tuition language). A sizable rest of them (18%) had frequented other Protestant schools, while those choosing state schools were rare indeed (6%), and even more so those going to Catholic schools (4%). What was true of German Lutherans did hardly apply though to other students of this faith. Much fewer of the latter, only about half (57%) of the Hungarian and Slavic Lutheran medical students in Kolozsvár/Cluj had attended schools of their own faith: one possible reason being that in the region these schools were mostly of German language of instruction. This is why they had often graduated from schools of ‘kin’ confessions (27% in Calvinist or Unitarian institutions), as well as in state managed gymnasia (9%). They too had resorted only incidentally to Roman Catholic schools (7%). Here we grasp an aspect of the Catholic-Protestant opposition with its singularly unbalanced feature: educational segregation between Protestants and Catholics had nothing entirely symmetrical, strong against Protestants in Catholic schools but without similar reciprocity in Protestant schools.

Compared to the previous clusters, the distribution of students of Greek ritual may be considered as most complex. One evident reason for this was the poverty and scarcity of their own secondary educational network.⁸² All through the period, they could resort to only four ‘full’ (*Matura*-granting) secondary schools, but only two of these, the Greek Catholic school of Balázsfalva/Blaj and the Greek Orthodox one at Brassó/Braşov appear on the list of institutions preparing students for the Kolozsvár/Cluj Medical Faculty. Of course, in this case instruction in Romanian must have been a major factor in the choice of a school of one’s own denomination. But the fact that two-fifths of Greek Catholic medical students had earned their *Matura* in such schools is certainly a signal of a considerable degree of self-segregation. Nevertheless, owing to ritual proximity, the Roman Catholic school network was also wide

⁸² These were the Greek Catholic schools of Balázsfalva/Blaj (which conducted its first *Matura*-exam in 1853), that of Belényes/Beiuş (first *Matura* in 1853) and that of Naszód/Năsăud (earliest *Matura* in 1871) as well as the Greek Orthodox gymnasium in Brassó/Braşov (first *Matura*: 1866). In Brád/Brad there was only a sub-gymnasium (without *Matura*) administered by the Greek Orthodox church from 1869 onwards. See István Mészáros, *op. cit.* under the adequate cities. At the end of the era, in 1914/5, in Brassó/Braşov, the official source also mentions an ‘incomplete’ Romanian *Realschule* (see *MSÉ*, 1915, 266), but without Latin in its syllabus and not leading up to *Matura*, it could not prepare students to pursue a medical career.

open to them, an opportunity that students with Romanian names seldom (9%), while other Uniates (Greek Catholics) – among which there was a Hungarian majority anyway – more often (25%) had made use of. More than a quarter of this latter group sought their *Matura* in state run high schools as well.

The recourse to state schools was even more typical of Greek Orthodox Romanian students. More of them (36%) had attended state schools than their own Romanian language institutions (24%) or those belonging to Greek Catholics (19%), let alone those of Protestant (12%) or even Roman Catholic (6%) affiliation. Of the numerically small group of non-Romanian (mainly Serbian) Orthodox students, only a minority had pursued their secondary education in a school of their own. (This is understandable, since there was only one Serbian gymnasium at that time.⁸³) Instead, 24% of them had graduated from a Protestant, 14% from a Greek Catholic and 10-10% from state run and from Roman Catholic gymnasia.

Paradoxically, the ‘openness’ of enrolment patterns of the Greek Catholics illustrates that their predilection for educational assimilation thus demonstrated may have been an important factor of motivation in their option for the Transylvanian medical school itself. Accordingly, a *Matura* earned from an ethnically neutral or ‘alien’ (Hungarian or German) institution might have enhanced their chances of enrolling to medical studies pursued in Hungarian. In other words, while Romanian confessional secondary schools had a predilection to direct their graduates towards other careers (chiefly theology, for that matter⁸⁴), Romanian secondary school graduates from Hungarian (or German) high-schools more often entered, demonstrably, the Kolozsvár/Cluj Medical Faculty and chose – probably – other ‘modern’ professional tracks as well. In this way, beyond assimilationist functions, Hungarian and German high schools also performed a ‘modernising’ function for their pupils of Romanian and Serbian background.

The educational background of the Jewish students was, almost as a rule, more varied than that of all previous groups, since this community lacked elite training opportunities of its own, and the fact of choosing one schooling track against another one represented strategic actions on the road of social integration and cultural assimilation. It is hence understandable that the situation of Jewish medical students in Kolozsvár/Cluj differed radically in this respect from that of all other groups, even com-

⁸³ In Újvidék/Novi Sad first *Matura* class in 1868. See István Mészáros, *op. cit.* p. 272.

⁸⁴ 43% of graduates from Greek Catholic and 23% from Greek Orthodox gymnasia prepared for theological studies in 1899-1908 as against 5% from state run, 8% from municipal, 13% from ‘royal Catholic’, 21% from other Catholic (mostly congregational), 12% from Lutheran as well as 17% in Calvinist and Unitarian gymnasia. (Data from respective years in *MSÉ.*)

pared to other ethnic assimilees. All this went on in a period marked all around Europe (and perhaps for the first time in Hungary, signalled by the 1875 parliamentary intervention of Istóczy) by the appearance of organised movements of modern political anti-Semitism, a period during which, in 1882-83, the Tiszaeszlár blood-libel trial set a furiously anti-Jewish tone all around the country, attempts at pogrom included. It is highly significant under these historical circumstances that only a fraction (29%) of our Jewish medical students graduated from the confessionally neutral gymnasium, not much more than from Catholic schools (23%); meanwhile, almost half (46%) of them earned their *Matura* from Protestant schools. It is characteristic of the 'Magyar' assimilationist orientation of Jewish students that there were practically no high-school graduates among them from Romanian schools, and that they – especially those with Hungarian surname – were under-represented even among those from Lutheran schools (most of which were of course German in the region, as it has been already pointed out). By contrast, their over-representation in the schools belonging to the Lutheran and Unitarian churches (reputed to be 'Magyar faiths') went so far that – except for the Protestants themselves – the share (35%) of the Jewish students graduating from these schools well exceeded that of most other groups presented in the table (except the Calvinists and the Unitarians), but even the Lutherans included (21%). (Often in the 19th century there was a community of places of worship between Lutherans and Calvinists.) In short, the Jewish medical students of Kolozsvár/Cluj were the outcome of the 'most assimilationist' strategy of enrolment into pre-university education among all the students of non-Hungarian origin.

It is interesting to complete these conclusions with the only available set of data that clarifies at least partially group-specific inequalities of academic excellence or study performances. Unfortunately, as it was noted earlier, there were neither indications to grades attained at *Matura*, nor individual examination results during medical studies to be found among the archival sources of the prosopographic survey. The only indication of scholarly standing or achievement available is a highly indirect one, relative to the age of *Matura*. Luckily enough, previous research has proved that there is, as a rule, a direct and proportional correlation between age of graduation and level of academic excellence. According to a survey of the secondary school graduates at the end of the Dualist period, the younger the examinee, the higher the average of marks attained.⁸⁵ The correlation justifies the cautious use of *Matura*-age to at least approximately (if not exactly) determine students' grade of aca-

⁸⁵ See *Zsidóság és társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek*, *op. cit.*, 206-208. For the same relation, in terms of female and male students, see also *Iskolarendszer és társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek*, *op. cit.*, 64.

demic excellence. Furthermore, the group specific distribution of rounded *Matura*-ages may in itself be an important indication as to the circumstances of enrolment into the Medical Faculty, whether those concerned started their studies at a younger or a more mature age, 'in time' or 'late'.

Table 7

Age of taking the *Matura* among Kolozsvár/Cluj medical students by denomination and ethnic background (character of surname)

7/A. Age of *Matura* examination in years

	17 and under	18	19-20	21 and over	Total	Number	%
<i>Roman Catholics</i>							
Hungarian	6.4	40.3	43.4	9.8	100.0	357	14.1
German	8.9	44.9	44.3	1.9	100.0	158	6.3
Other	10.1	44.9	38.4	6.5	100.0	138	5.5
<i>Calvinists</i>							
Hungarian	6.0	42.5	44.8	6.7	100.0	504	20.0
Other	4.3	47.8	44.9	2.9	100.0	69	2.7
<i>Lutherans</i>							
German	2.0	40.6	53.5	4.0	100.0	202	4.1
Other	4.1	45.4	45.4	5.2	100.0	79	3.8
<i>Greek Catholics</i>							
Romanian	5.1	26.1	54.5	14.2	100.0	176	7.0
Other	6.5	29.9	48.1	15.6	100.0	77	3.0
<i>Greek Orthodox</i>							
Romanian	4.4	21.3	54.4	19.9	100.0	136	5.4
Other	10.3	24.1	48.3	17.2	100.0	29	1.1
<i>Other Christians</i> (Unitarians)							
	3.7	46.7	42.7	7.3	100.0	82	3.2
<i>Jews</i>							
Hungarian	13.7	51.3	27.4	7.7	100.0	117	4.6
Other	12.0	47.8	32.4	7.8	100.0	383	15.2
% total	7.1	41.0	43.5	8.3	100.0		100.0
Number	180	1,036	1,099	210		2,525	

7/B. Age of *Matura* examination by generational groups

Born before 1882	7.7	30.5	50.9	10.9	100.0	768
Born between 1883-1893	6.2	35.2	48.6	10.1	100.0	970
Born after 1893	7.8	58.6	30.1	3.6	100.0	787

Medical students can be clearly ranked into a well-defined hierarchy according to their age of taking the *Matura*. Jews were by far the youngest on the average. Almost two-thirds of them graduated from secondary school at the 'normal' age (at 18 years) or even earlier. They were followed at some distance by the Catholics of German and other (Slavic) origin, the slight majority (54-55%) of them having also left high-school at the 'normal' age. Close behind there came some Protestant categories (non-Hungarian Calvinists, Unitarians and non-German Lutherans) with

around 50% of normal age *Matura* holders. Hungarian Catholics, forming a majority within this confessional group, and German Lutherans were to a far less extent ranking among young gymnasium graduates. Finally, those of the Greek confessions were clearly relatively downgraded in this hierarchy of excellence, with the Greek Orthodox at the very bottom, with only one quarter of them having finished high-school at an early age.

If we look at the composition of the contingent who was 'late', that is, over 20 years old, in graduating, we find the rough reverse of the above-mentioned hierarchy. Students of the Greek confessions appear, for example, twice more frequently in the category of late-comers than the others. To rank these latter according to *Matura*-age is nevertheless a more complicated task, since in groups that are on top of the 'young category' – for example the Jews, Slavic Catholics or the Unitarians – there were considerable clusters of 'latecomers' as well. These relations can be further specified if, as below, parents' occupational standing (social strata) is also taken into consideration (Table 8).

It is worth noting for the interpretation of these results that other countrywide data reflect quite a similar hierarchy as regards group-specific excellence in learning among secondary school students: first, average marks attained by Jewish and Lutheran students were systematically better than in other clusters. Second, students of the Greek rites always came last in this order.⁸⁶ The two extremities of the hierarchy fully coincide and are shaped according to the previously described group-specific hierarchy. Variations can be observed only in the middle range of the hierarchy here, since only Slavic and Hungarian groups, both minorities within the Lutheran contingent, demonstrated a relative advantage in early graduation from high-school. This complex intermediate 'grey zone' of the scale of excellence does not lend itself to an easy interpretation. The contrasting positions taken by Jews and those of Greek confessions can illustrate the situation of the two clusters in the educational market as a whole. While the former offer a good example of

⁸⁶ The results pertaining to this, based on public and countrywide data, have been presented in several places. See, for instance, my *Iskolarendszer és felekezeti egyenlőtlenségek Magyarországon, op. cit.*, p. 22 and p. 96. For my own relevant survey results on Budapest and a number of other local samples around 1900, see also in the same book, p. 84 and *Zsidóság és társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-207. Details of similar survey results on achievement differentials in various subjects taught can be found in *Iskolarendszer és felekezeti egyenlőtlenségek...*, *op. cit.*, p. 120, p. 140 and in *Zsidóság és társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek, op. cit.*, p. 186. On all these problems see also my study: „Social Mobility, Reproduction and Qualitative Schooling Differentials in Ancien Régime Hungary“, in *History Department Yearbook 1994-95*, Budapest, Central European University, 1995, 133-156.

those successfully using elite education for the maximisation of their chances of upward social mobility, the compensation for their social handicaps and discriminations endured, as well as strategies of cultural assimilation, the latter rather manifest in the effects produced by the hardships of assimilation.

Of course (as I have attempted to show in the studies cited), the interpretation of these variations cannot be simply accounted for by the fact that, for average Jews, educational success was equivalent to 'assimilationist experiences' as well, since they served as both 'internal' and 'external' proofs of the fulfilment of assimilationist demands and expectations (linguistic and cultural Magyarisation, appropriation of the cultural values and markers of Christian middle-classes – like Latin, national literature, national history, etc). Their, by all means remarkable, attainments in schooling and spectacularly high percentage of those taking the *Matura*⁸⁷ represented the palpable legal license of formal integration into that new 'gentlemanly' middle class – heir to the feudal nobility: the right to duel, entitlement to be addressed as a gentleman ('Úr'), shorter ('voluntary') military service, access to the rank of reserve officer) exactly by taking the *Matura*. An early *Matura* also proved one's ability and fitness for medical studies, generally considered particularly difficult.⁸⁸ Such a reputation of medical studies represented a major symbolic asset and a proof of success among families of Jewish would-be doctors at a time when Jews themselves made up already about half of the medical corps in the country.

It is noteworthy that traces of similar mechanism of 'compensation' appear with members of some other confessional clusters as well, more precisely among specific minorities within them, that is, not necessarily only among alien outsiders, as compared to Magyars. Catholic Germans and Slavs, non-Hungarian Calvinists, non-German Lutherans, non-Romanian Greek Catholics and Orthodox, as well as Jews bearing Hungarian surnames all presented an average age at *Matura* lower than that attested for their confessional majorities. It is possible that these limited yet significant differences of educational attainments reveal pat-

⁸⁷ In 1910 for example already more than 23% of Jews of 18 years of age took a *Matura* degree (both from gymnasia, *Realschulen* and commercial high schools) in Hungary – as against only 3% of all others. See my study "Jewish Over-Schooling Revisited. The Case of Hungarian Secondary Education under the Old Regime (1900-1941)", in *Jewish Studies at the Central European University, Public Lectures 1996-1999*, Jewish Studies Program, Budapest, CEU, 2001, pp. 75-91, especially p. 78.

⁸⁸ As concerns the age of graduation from secondary schools in this period, the youngest average was displayed by candidates to the Philosophy Faculty and the Polytechnic University in Budapest, followed by those of the Medical and the Law faculties. See my *Zsidóság és társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek, op. cit.*, p. 209.

terns of behaviour precisely destined to compensate one's minority status. In the case of ethnic minorities within the same confessional contingent – like within Jewry at large – one such pattern of affiliation with the majority may have consisted in the given group's effort to optimise their educational output by efficiently surmounting the hardships of acculturation, for example in schools where the language of instruction was not their own native tongue. In any case, the key of success consisted of academic 'over-performance' achieved through extra efforts.

Yet the latter path was not equally available for all students in question. Here as elsewhere,⁸⁹ students belonging to the Greek rites completed their high-school studies at a later average age (as it has been seen above) presumably because most of them graduated from Hungarian high-schools, where they could overcome only with a lot of difficulties their linguistic and cultural handicaps. Indeed most such students not only bore Romanian or Slavic family names, but their native tongue was also Romanian or Slavic – and the price they had to pay for final success was, among other things, belated graduation. It is obvious that passing such barriers of assimilation was not only a matter of talent and determination but had to do with basic dispositions and competences transmitted by the family and the group of departure, like mother tongue, bilingualism or linguistic mobility, verbal culture, learning habits and expectations in the ritual culture, social and economic standing, levels of urbanisation, preliminary (primary) schooling, etc. Shortages or handicaps in all these matters could be instrumental in entailing later enrolment into Hungarian education, repetition of a form or two, or even a second attempt to take the *Matura*. All these circumstances could account for the average delay in one's earning the *Matura*.

Another interesting observation in this field concerns the continuous decrease in time of the average age at *Matura*, following generational groups, especially in the case of the youngest historical generations of our medical students. Those born before 1883 had graduated from secondary school at the average age of 19.1 years, somewhat above those born between 1883-1893 (just 19 years), but much above those in the youngest contingent (18.4 years). Before and during the war, the majority (66%) of the enlarged numbers of medical students of that period left high-school at the 'normal' age of 17 and 18 years old. It is nevertheless striking that, in this respect, there was little if any alteration over time in the above-mentioned hierarchical order of the different confessional groups. Almost every group 'moved forward' on the age-scale in an

⁸⁹ In the survey quoted in the previous notes, the rank scale reflecting age of *Matura* appears to be very similar. The average age of those belonging to the Greek faiths was 19.1 years, as contrasted to the 18.2 average of Jews bearing Hungarian names. Again, the other clusters were placed between these two extremities.

absolute sense (more precisely, their mean age decreased) without any serious change of their position related to the other groups. For instance, in the latest generation under scrutiny, 77% of Jewish students and those belonging to the Unitarian and other smaller confessions graduated from high-school at the age of 18 or earlier, while 62-68% of those of 'Western' Christian confessions, 56% of Greek Catholics and still a mere 26% of the Greek Orthodox students. All this demonstrates that though the scale of educational output expressed by the average age at *Matura* somewhat dilated over time, and the schooling circumstances of the majority witnessed improvement, the lagging-behind of the most disadvantaged went by and large unchanged.

As it has been seen, denomination seems to have been a major determinant of the age at *Matura* among the medical students. Yet the effect of this basic variable could be considerably modified by the social standing of their family, summarily identified with father's occupation in the prosopographic survey we are exploiting. One's position within this or that social stratum decisively marked or changed the given families' social position, material wealth and incomes and, obviously enough, its 'cultural capital' so important in defining proclivities and chances of schooling achievements of children. In this respect, specific effects derived from one's position in a given social stratum deserve our attention. Mechanisms of selection according to social group, confession and nationality shall have to be clarified by more detailed data in the next sub-chapter.

Table 8

Age at *Matura* examination⁹⁰ of the Kolozsvár/Cluj medical students, according to summary categories of religion and parents' occupation.⁹¹

Age in years at <i>Matura</i> examination	17 and under	18	19-20	21 and over	Total	Numbers	%
<i>Roman Catholics</i>							
lower	4.1	28.6	59.2	8.2	100.0	49	2.1
bourgeois	5.9	34.0	51.0	9.2	100.0	153	6.7
intellectual	8.6	48.5	38.0	4.9	100.0	163	7.1
public official	9.6	47.7	37	5.0	100.0	218	9.5

⁹⁰ The years were coded as the difference of the year of birth and that of the *Matura*, in round figures.

⁹¹ This is a simplified system of categories, the coding of which relies on the following sub-categories: 'lower' = peasant, land-owning peasant, worker, skilled worker, foreman; 'bourgeois' = craftsman, retail merchant, industrialist, property owner, self-employed; 'intellectual' = private white collar employee, higher-rank private official, medical doctor, lawyer, engineer, other free professional; public official = lower rank public servant, higher rank public servant, military officer, priest, professor, primary school teacher.

<i>Protestants</i>							
lower	1.9	24.8	59.0	14.3	100.0	105	4.6
bourgeois	1.5	36.9	54.9	6.7	100.0	195	8.5
intellectual	6.1	51.4	37.3	5.2	100.0	212	9.2
public official	6.8	47.2	43.8	2.3	100.0	352	15.3
<i>Greek confessions</i>							
lower	3.0	11.9	59.4	25.7	100.0	101	4.4
bourgeois	2.3	25.0	54.5	18.2	100.0	44	1.9
intellectual	11.4	48.6	37.1	2.9	100.0	35	1.5
public official	6.1	30.7	49.5	13.7	100.0	212	9.2
<i>Jews</i>							
lower	11.4	28.6	37.1	22.9	100.0	35	1.5
bourgeois	12.5	47.8	33.6	6.2	100.0	289	12.6
intellectual	16.3	57.0	23.3	3.5	100.0	86	3.7
public official	12.2	61.2	20.4	6.1	100.0	49	2.1

Table 8 unquestionably demonstrates that an early *Matura* was first of all a privilege of social class. More precisely, it was directly correlated with the size of the family's cultural capital presumably included in the given professional positions. While this relationship does not annihilate the religion-specific differences identified above, it nevertheless seriously qualifies them. Offspring of the 'lower classes' and, to a somewhat lesser extent, those coming from the so-called 'bourgeois' stratum, who – at that time – often originated from the lower middle class, and as such were 'novices' in educational matters, all obtained their *Matura* with some delay. (Not once, for instance in the case of students of Protestant and Greek faiths, this delay was rather considerable.) As a rule, sons of intellectual and public servant families took their *Matura* at the earliest years of age on the average.

Moreover, such social strata-specific contrasts in pre-university intellectual output were far sharper than those measured between ethnic groups, or – in the case of the Western Christians –, than those between confessional groups. If we consider our Catholics students, the percentage of those acquiring their *Matura* at the age of 18 or earlier oscillated between 33% and 57%, when we compare the 'lower' strata and the best-doing intellectual categories. With the Protestants, the same figures varied as widely as between 27% and 57% already. In the case of the Jews – as expected – the oscillation was at a higher level but hardly less significant, between 40% and 73%. By contrast, the equivalent values were situated between 15% and 60% among students of the Greek confessions. Thus, in general, denominational differences were much broader among students belonging to the 'lower' classes, while they tended to narrow down among those reputedly better endowed in terms of 'cultural capital'.

Proportions of 'mature' (that is, above 20 years) *Matura*-holders roughly follow the same logic of social strata-specific differentials. Such highest negative values were attained by the Protestant 'lower' class (14%), the

'lower' category among members of the Greek faiths (26%), the bourgeois layer (18%), and, as an exception, by sons of public servant family background (14%). Nevertheless, the list included the Jewish students belonging to the 'lower class' as well, not less than 23% of whom passed the *Matura* at a later age. It is possible that both in the case of the numerous sons of public servants belonging to the Greek confessions and the few children of Jewish peasants and workers, their relatively late high-school enrolment and graduation had the same cause, the competitive influence or disturbance of their educational track by confessional education proper.

Most Greek Catholics or Orthodox, for example, descended from families of minority priests, primary school teachers and (less frequently) secondary school professors,⁹² whose cultural capital was primarily theologically oriented and not infrequently limited to a low level written culture. If such students went to Romanian or Serbian gymnasias, they had to acquire additional elements of lay culture considered necessary for higher education and, in the perspective of further studies to be conducted in Hungarian, elements of Hungarian high culture as well. In many individual cases, all these may have led to delayed *Matura* exam. It may have also happened that some of these students, following their father's example, had started their education in theological seminaries before switching to medical studies. Those (relatively many, as we have seen) who attended Hungarian gymnasias, may have been prevented from quick graduation by the above-discussed hardships of linguistic acculturation they were faced with.

Basically the same distance from and strangeness towards lay culture may have presumably affected some Jewish peasants' and workers' families following a traditional way of life. Under such circumstances, the sons were sent to public *Bürgerschulen* ('*polgári*') and afterwards, at best, to higher-grade public trade-schools ('*felső kereskedelmi*'), but not to gymnasias, a strategy aiming to minimise the danger of cultural and ritual alienation from family and community culture. But this was only the most 'secular' educational track for many. More traditional families (especially in Eastern and North Eastern Hungary) sent their male offspring, as a rule, to old style Jewish elementary schools (*cheder*) and after that to a *yeshiva* (upper-level Talmudic school run by a recognised rabbinical authority), where young Jewish men used to spend long years, often up to their twenties, before starting adult life. Lacunae in lay education gathered in this way could of course be compensated for via the private study of gymnasium subjects, but mostly at the price of a delayed *Matura*. The data presented here must include a number of cases pointing to such educational background as well.

⁹² According to Table 9 below, almost half of the Greek Catholic students (46%) and more than a third of the Orthodox students (35%).

Table 9
Religion of Kolozsvár/Cluj medical students by their father's occupation

	Roman Catholics	Calvinists	Lutherans	Jews	Greek Catholics ⁸³	Greek Orthodox	Unitarians	Numbers	%
Farmer	4.5	10.2	5.4	5.2	17.5	31.4	13.9	258	9.5
Manual worker	4.2	3.2	3.8	2.8	1.5	3.0	1.4	87	3.3
Low rank civil servant	5.0	3.4	1.9	2.1	0.7	3.4	5.4	85	3.1
Craftsman	3.8	5.8	8.2	3.7	1.1	1.0	4.1	115	4.2
Retail trader	11.1	3.2	10.7	44.6	1.1	5.4	2.7	400	14.7
Private cleric, employee	12.8	9.3	6.6	8.0	4.8	3.9	10.8	238	8.8
High rank civil servant	18.7	14.4	11.4	2.6	12.4	8.6	16.2	330	12.1
Priest, minister, cleric	1.6	9.2	9.7	1.4	34.3	24.4	9.5	253	9.3
Teacher, professor	11.1	14.3	14.7	4.2	11.4	10.6	13.5	293	10.8
Physician	11.3	10.0	13.5	8.7	2.6	0.5	5.4	241	8.9
Other free professionals	5.1	5.6	5.0	2.7	3.0	2.0	2.7	115	4.2
Entrepreneurs, propertied	10.9	11.3	9.1	13.8	9.8	7.6	12.2	301	11.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0
Numbers	684	589	318	572	274	205	74	2,716	

⁸³ Together with 8 Armenian Catholics.

Social structure and social selection

We have thus touched upon the problem of social class background and social selection of our medical students, a question incidentally raised in Table 8. That includes some compact data that has not been commented as yet. Once again, we must attempt to correlate the distribution of students by confessional and ethnic background (that proved to be crucial in the analyses so far) with data referring to social origins.

The profile by social extraction of the student body can be classified into three confession specific models, though considerable secondary factors of differentiation were also active within these main patterns. The first model set apart 'Western Christians' (Catholics and Protestants) that formed actually most of the dominant elite of the Hungarian nation-state (and, as it shall be clearly confirmed below, consisted of a majority of Magyar stock proper). The second model included those of the Greek rites, gathering mainly Romanians and Slaves. The third model was embodied by Jews. The basis of the differences here is mainly the ratio of those emerging from layers of society owning certified (or verifiable) cultural assets and, (connected to that) the degree of proclivity to educational mobility.

The 'dominant' Christian groups were primarily characterised by a high proportion of those belonging to the categories of economically and/or intellectually well endowed, and a correspondingly low proportion of the presumably uneducated lower middle class and 'lower class' elements. If we add up the former (civil servants, higher ranking public officials, priests and teachers of all sorts, the intelligentsia and the wealthy elite), we find that about three-quarters (70% among Unitarians and Lutherans, 72% among Catholics, and 74% among Calvinists) of 'Western Christian' students were born in these social categories. In short, the majority of medical students belonging to the 'dominant' confessional brackets were also descendants of the 'dominant' classes, or at least belonged to categories either acting under the aegis of public authority or economically better off than the rank and file population. To some extent, the petty civil servants (office messengers, clerks, ushers, janitors) may also be included into this category, since they lived on the margin of the 'dominant' strata, acted as their subordinate and clients, and – as such – often benefited from advantages deriving from the position of the dominant classes proper, particularly as to special opportunities to school their children (via 'recommendations' for admittance to local gymnasia, material sponsorship, spare canteen tickets, tuition-waivers, stipends, etc). The share of this peripheral category among medical students belonging to the 'dominant' faiths remained rather small (2%-5%), but in general – especially among Catholics and Unitarians – it

was still twice as large as among their class brethren belonging to other, non-dominant confessions. Relatively most striking in this recruitment paradigm was the considerable share among students' parents of free professionals (from 10% to 18%) – with medical doctors among them exceeding that limit (over 10% with the exception of the Unitarians) – of public employees (from 11% up to 19%), of educators (11-14%), and to some extent of private officials (6-13%). These are actually the main sub-categories of the contemporary landless gentry and *gentroid* middle class, if we omit the surviving landed nobility proper, a layer that could be delimited in our prosopographic survey neither by their titles, nor by their occupational categories. The presence of the latter appears to have taken only insignificant proportions among Kolozsvár/Cluj medical students, since even the much more comprehensive category of those active in agriculture (including estate owning gentry) displayed a small share only (9.5% altogether) in the student body.

There are three factors that more or less significantly divided the recruitment model of 'dominant Christians'.

First, the numerical share of offspring of the clergy was both quite important – as compared to the small number of incumbents of clerical positions – and very strongly fluctuating. The Catholic contingent could only be insignificant and so it was for Jews – though obviously for reasons utterly different, having to do as to the latter, among other things, with the heavy trend of clerical 'self-reproduction' (the rabbinate being largely recruited among sons of rabbis, especially in Orthodox Jewry). But children of Protestant ministers abound in our student population (9-10%) and they make up the biggest or one of the biggest social category among students of Greek rites, with more than a third belonging to the cluster among Greek Catholics.

Second, there was a significant presence of fathers active in agriculture, but far less frequently among Catholics than among Protestants (especially Calvinists and Unitarians). Accordingly, children of the Transylvanian Hungarian peasantry (mostly the propertied ones) did, albeit to a modest degree compared to their representation in the global population (10% of all the Calvinist and 14% of the small Unitarian contingent), enter the Kolozsvár/Cluj Medical Faculty, while the rarity of sons of Lutheran peasants may be also remarked.

Third, self-employed lower middle-class elements (craftsmen to a smaller and tradesmen to a greater extent) were represented largely among the Catholic (15%) and Lutheran (19%) students, a phenomenon that mainly betrays the considerable willingness for educational mobility on the part of the German-Saxon and Svabian lower-middle classes in the region. The presence of the petty bourgeoisie may have been even more important in reality, since many of the relatively large category of 'entrepreneurs and property-owners' (over 10%) could also be counted

among them. But even more striking, though not unexpected, was the high representation of educated middle class elements, doctors to start with (much over 10%), higher civil servants, private employees and other intellectual professionals. These categories combine offspring of old and new elite and they made up for each of the 'Western Christian' clusters half or more of the student body concerned.

To sum up, the recruitment paradigm of the 'dominant Christian' groups had mainly a 'self-reproducing' function. In a narrower sense, it served purposes of 'horizontal' mobility and social re-qualification (that is, within the 'gentlemanly' strata) for children of the educated middle classes and the economically propertied or independent brackets themselves, medicine constituting one of the most rapidly developing contemporary markets of the modern free professions.

The segment of the student body comprising members of the two Greek confessions showed a radically different and an actually far simpler pattern. The dominant element in both clusters was the demographically minor stratum of publicly employed 'petty intellectuals', that is, the clergy (making up as much as 34% among fathers of Greek Catholics and 24% of Greek Orthodox students), and the teachers (11% in all). In other words, between more than a third and close to half of students of Greek ritual belonged to these categories constituting much less than 0.1% of active males in the population.⁹⁴ It is true though that clerics were relatively numerous in the generally weak middle class strata of the Greek confessions.⁹⁵ Beside them, and perhaps in a paradoxical way, the representation of the ethnic minority peasantry was of a striking scope: almost a third (31%) of the Orthodox and about one-sixth of the Greek Catholics or Uniates (17.5%). Even by themselves, farmers and lower-level intellectuals served as the main basis of selection of the student body in the Greek confessions, supplying some two-thirds (63-66%) of students concerned. (By contrast, only 22% of the remaining students stemmed from similar social background.) As a consequence, all other occupational categories could have but a small scale representation among the students of the Greek Churches. Higher-rank public servants'

⁹⁴ In 1910 the 2,262 Greek Orthodox priests represented a mere 0.076%, and the 2,026 Greek Catholic priests exactly 0.1% of active males in their respective denominational cluster. See *MSK*, 56, p. 741 and *ibidem*, 64, p. 178.

⁹⁵ In 1910 the two Greek religious clusters comprised 24% of the population, but their religious needs were cared for by not less than 38% of the clergy in the country. It is true though that primary school teachers belonging to these confessions were under-represented, (only 19% of their category in the country). See *MSK*, 56, p. 741 and p. 751. In 1900 some 32% of all Orthodox and 35% of all Greek Catholic active males in civil service and free professions (in the 'intellectual' middle class) were clerics, as against 11-13% in the other religious clusters. *MSK*, 16, p. 44 and p. 47.

sons were relatively well represented among them, especially among the Greek Catholics (12%), who were somewhat more often inclined to 'assimilationism', expected from those attaining such positions. Another contingent of some size was that of independent property owners' sons (8-10%). Meanwhile, the lower middle classes were almost totally absent here, despite the fact that this layer was relatively large among members of the two confessions. It appears to be highly significant in this respect that sons of Romanian and Serbian merchants and craftsmen (from 2% to 6% – 3.8% on average) enrolled three times more rarely into the Kolozsvár/Cluj medical school than their social equivalents of other Christian faiths, though the latter were themselves relatively weakly represented among their own co-religionists (around 14%).

To sum up, the recruitment paradigm of the Greek confessions demonstrates a considerable 'upward' mobility that started out from the peasantry and the petty intellectuals. For sure, there were sizeable mechanisms of institutionally 'organised mobility' behind this development (via, particularly, a scholarship-system of their own, which we shall discuss below). But various inter-dependent socio-historical factors must have also played some role here. First of all, members the Greek churches were under-represented among medical students in general, as compared to the demographic majority they held in Transylvania. (Nevertheless, this majority provided only a minority in the middle-classes.) Those who still got to the medical school from among them, could not, as in the case of other Christians, be to the same degree of middle class background, because of the above discussed utter weakness (almost absence) of the educated gentlemanly strata among members of the Greek Churches. The only exception from this rule was the category of petty intellectuals, hence the high percentage of students of this extraction. It is impossible here to carry further the interpretation of preferential mobility trends in these religious clusters without mobilising a number of data of quite different nature as well, like those concerning religious group specific cultural preferences, preliminary training (notably in scientific subjects in ethnic gymnasia) and market chances in the medical profession of social newcomers. Lacking here most of the relevant information of this sort, one may content oneself with the conclusion that – paradoxically enough – the socially mobile among those of Greek rite chose medicine as often or sometimes even more often than the average *Matura* graduates.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ According to my survey encompassing the career choice of *Matura*-holders at the beginning of the century (in the two decades before 1914), nearly every second Greek Catholic (48%) chose theology and only half as many of them (5%) as the average (10%) chose medical studies. This result fully corresponds to the *MSE*-data regarding the career expectations of graduates by type of gymnasium. According to these, between 1898/9 and 1907/8 (such detailed data is available

The third very different social recruitment pattern was illustrated by Jewish students. This one corresponds the best to some kind of 'bourgeois mobility' paradigm, to the extent to which the absolute majority of the Jewish students originated from independent bourgeois (mostly petty bourgeois) strata in the classical sense, that is, they descended primarily from merchants' (45%) or from the entrepreneurial and property owning categories (14%), but also, though to a lesser extent, from free professionals (11%) and private employees (8%). The scarcity of craftsmen's sons (4%) and children of the clergy (5%) is noteworthy here. The aptitude for mobility of the former may not have equalled that of merchants' sons. Anyway, there were far less craftsmen than merchants among Jewish males in the region (just like in the whole country). In the case of craftsmen, mobility preferences may have led elsewhere (clergy, education, the arts). It is even more interesting that – due to the heavy weight of merchants' sons – descendants of doctors' families (even though these doctors made up about half of the trade by the outgoing 19th century) were relatively less frequent among Jewish medical students (9%) than among 'dominant Christian' clusters (13%). Similarly, descendants of the other free professionals (a quarter to a third of which were made up of Jews by the end of the period) appear less frequently (3%) among Jewish students than among 'Western Christians' (5%).

All this reinforces the general conclusion that in the Jewish recruitment paradigm self-reproduction of those owning certified cultural capital held but a marginal role. On the contrary, the Kolozsvár/Cluj Medical Faculty contributed rather to the re-stratification of children of upwardly mobile bourgeois and lower middle class families in a prestigious free profession marked by a double characteristic: it demanded heavy intellectual investments and it led to positions in a 'service elite', the professional practice of which was far from traditional elite functions – like the administration of inherited social assets, exercise of public power, political representation. Considering the possible intellectual capital of most

only for these years) 43.4% of the students attending Greek Catholic gymnasias were preparing for the theological seminary as against only an average of 15% of all contemporary *Matura* holders. 10% of the Greek Catholic pupils chose here the medical career, just slightly more than the rest (9%). In my survey (where, unfortunately, the Greek Orthodox were grossly under-represented) 12% of the Greek Orthodox became priests and 11% became doctors. (This latter result appears to be of questionable value, since there were only 131 Greek Orthodox *Matura*-holders – 1.2% of the total – in the sample, while there were 1,009 Uniates, that is, 9.3% of the total.) See my *Zsidóság és társadalmi egyenlőségek, op. cit.*, p. 204. In all cases, in Greek Orthodox gymnasias, the share of self-declared candidates to theological studies was 23%, but that of medical candidates was 14.4% during the years 1898/9 – 1907/8. (Figures calculated from *MSE* data.)

Jewish families concerned – which, in these eastern regions of Hungary, still mirrored very traditional religious intellectualism, in-bred in the lower middle class –, Jewish medical students must have carried out a high level intellectual mobility, probably much more often than their Christian comrades, especially those belonging to the ‘dominant Christian’ faiths.

The alterations over time of social recruitment patterns are illustrated in Table 10. An analysis according to age-groups by periods of birth reinforces the general conclusions drawn above.

Within the ‘dominant Christian’ group, the ratio of children of free professionals first registered gradual growth, only to drop to a low level in the youngest generations of students (though within free professionals medical doctor fathers figure with the same ratio – 9.2% of the total at the beginning and in the end of the period). The proportion of those who may be classified in the educated middle classes⁹⁷ steadily grows (from 62% to 64.5% and then to 69.4%). That is, middle-class self-reproduction only became an ever more dominant trend with the years, primarily to the detriment of the wealthy bourgeois layer, whose representation in the latest generations of students was only about half of what it had been in the first contingents.

Table 10
The occupation of fathers of medical students in Kolozsvár/Cluj
by denominational and generational clusters

“Western Christians”⁹⁸

	Farmer	Worker	civil servant	Petty independent	Private clerk	Priest, teacher	Free professional	Entrepreneur, propertied	Total
Born before 1883	7.8	3.3	18.2	12.8	10.5	17.0	16.3	14.0	100.0
Born 1883-1893	6.8	4.4	16.5	13.8	9.4	19.8	18.8	10.6	100.0
Born after 1893	6.5	3.2	24.3	13.1	11.2	21.5	12.4	7.5	100.0

Greek Catholics and Orthodox

	Farmer	Worker	civil servant	Petty independent	Private clerk	Priest, teacher	Free professional	Entrepreneur, propertied	Total
Born before 1883	22.4	2.8	21.0	1.4	3.5	40.6	3.5	4.9	100.0
Born 1883-1893	28.1	1.6	7.6	5.4	4.3	40.0	3.2	9.7	100.0
Born after 1893	17.7	2.0	12.2	4.8	5.4	42.8	6.1	10.9	100.0

⁹⁷ Civil servants, private white collar employees, free professionals, priests, teachers.

⁹⁸ Roman Catholics, Calvinists, Lutherans and Unitarians.

Social and Educational Profile of the Student Body (1872-1918)

Jews

	Farmer	Worker	civil servant	Petty independent	Private clerk	Priest, teacher	Free professional	Entrepreneur, propertied	Total
Born before 1883	6.8	6.1	4.1	42.2	2.7	6.8	8.8	21.6	100.0
Born 1883-1893	6.5	1.0	4.0	49.2	7.0	7.0	16.6	8.5	100.0
Born after 1893	3.2	2.3	5.9	50.0	12.7	3.2	9.1	13.6	100.0

The structure of the social background of students belonging to the Greek confessions betrayed a great deal of stability, except that there was in the course of time some strengthening of the hegemony of petty intellectuals in the youngest generations of students. The only notable development was the lowering (yet only in the youngest generations) of the initially high representation of the peasantry, and the steady rise of the percentage of the independent lower and higher middle classes (*bourgeoisie*) from 5% to 15%, then to 16% among students' parents. The ratio of parents employed in the free professions also rose, albeit in a limited range. Altogether, the preponderance of recruitment remained from families of petty intellectuals and, to some extent, from the peasantry, together with a slight *embourgeoisement* over time of the social extraction of students of the Greek confessions.

The case of the Jewish students was quite similar in the sense that the dominantly 'bourgeois' (especially petty bourgeois) recruitment suffered little change in time. Taken together, the ratios of those coming from lower and higher middle class families amounted to the same 64% in the youngest generations just as in the oldest ones. Yet, the 'bourgeois' character of the background in the case of the youngest generation was considerably reinforced by the multiplication (by five) of those descending from fathers employed as white collar private officials (*Privatbeamten*). The 'bourgeois' or 'middle class' share, generated in this way in the youngest generation of Jewish students, exceeded three-fourths of the cluster. This obviously entailed the decrease of the share of those with fathers in free professional or intellectual careers. In other words, the weakness of intellectual 'self-reproduction' was accentuated in time as against the growth of upward mobility among Jews concerned.

The above observations regarding social recruitment can be further qualified if we confront (as in Table 11) the confessional and occupational categories with the presumably most significant group-specific categories of ethnic origins.

In the case of the Catholic students, selection-patterns divided along ethnic backgrounds primarily set up a contrast between the Svabian-German, the Hungarian and the Slavic block. Merchants, craftsmen and private white-collar employees together (totalling 36%) were far better represented among the Germans than among the other nationalities (25%); the discrepancy was even bigger in the case of free professionals

(23%, compared to the 14.6% of the rest). By contrast, public officials appear far more rarely (12%) in the social profile of the German Catholics than among the others (27%); the same holds good for independent higher middle-class elements (7% and 12%). The representation, modest by itself, of the peasantry (8%) among students of non-Hungarian and non-German backgrounds was twice as large than among other Catholics (3.6%).

Table 11
The main occupational categories of parents of Kolozsvár/Cluj medical students by religion and national background (nature of surnames)⁹⁹

	Farmer	Worker	civil servant	Petty independent	Private clerk	Priest, teacher	Free professional	Entrepreneur, propertied	Total
<i>Roman Catholics</i>									
Magyar	3.9	3.4	28.7	13.8	12.8	11.5	13.9	12.0	100.
German	2.7	5.4	12.2	19.6	16.2	13.5	22.9	7.4	100
Other	7.8	5.2	22.2	13.1	9.2	15.0	16.3	11.1	100.
<i>Calvinists</i>									
Magyar	11.1	3.3	17.8	8.4	8.6	25.2	14.5	11.1	100.
Other	3.0	3.0	18.2	13.2	15.2	9.1	24.2	13.6	100
<i>Lutherans</i>									
German	4.3	3.8	12.4	21.0	8.1	25.7	15.7	9.0	100.
Other	7.4	3.7	14.8	14.8	3.7	22.2	24.1	9.3	100
<i>Greek Catholics</i>									
Romanian	19.9	1.6	9.4	2.6	3.7	46.6	6.8	9.4	100.
Other	12.0	1.2	21.7	1.2	7.2	43.4	2.4	10.8	100
<i>Greek Orthodox</i>									
Romanian	33.3	3.6	9.1	5.5	1.8	37.0	3.0	6.7	100.
Other	21.9	-	18.8	9.4	12.5	25.0	-	12.5	100
<i>Other Christians</i>									
	12.2	1.2	26.8	7.3	11.0	20.7	8.6	12.2	100
<i>Jews</i>									
Magyar	3.1	1.6	6.3	36.7	13.3	8.6	14.8	16.4	100.
Other	5.9	3.2	4.3	51.4	6.6	4.6	10.7	13.2	100

Among Slavic and other Catholics the share of the clergy and especially of those employed in education was relatively more important (15%), as compared to other categories (12% for the rest). All in all, the

⁹⁹ We determined the categories of ethnic belonging or origins by approximation, with the aid of the national character of family names. For lack of space, the absolute numbers and percentages reflecting marginal distribution are omitted. With minor alterations due to lacunae in the data, these proportions can be found in the last rows of Table 10 with reference to constructed occupational categories and in Table 7/A with regard to confessional and ethnic clusters. The net total of surveyed cases is N = 2,716.

social class selection of students of German-Swabian background was characterised by a relative preponderance of lower and middle class elements together with certain sectors of the intelligentsia, while in the case of the other, mostly Hungarian Catholics, the marked over-representation of civil servants (making up roughly one-quarter of the category) and the higher middle classes prevailed.

The small-scale representation of Slavic and other groups among Calvinists (of dominantly Hungarian origin) questions here the statistical validity of a comparison according to ethnic background. Yet there are some contrasts between the two ethnically different blocks which lend themselves to a rather obvious interpretation. The minority of students from this church bearing non-Hungarian names and who – presumably – embraced this ‘Magyar faith’ out of assimilationist strategy, descended more frequently from the upper-level middle class (27%, as compared to 19.5%), from private white-collar employees (15% as against 9%) and from free professionals (24% compared to 14.5%), than Magyar Calvinist students. Medical doctors’ families were even less than half as frequent among Magyar Calvinists concerned than among those of alien background (9% compared to 20%). Thus the class profile of the latter was much more ‘bourgeois’ than that of the former. Magyar Calvinists were distinguished by the outstanding presence of those stemming from families of clergymen and teachers (25% as compared 9%), which alone could illustrate the significantly less ‘bourgeois’ character of the social extraction of Magyar Calvinist medical students in Kolozsvár/Cluj.

There was a somewhat similar alteration in the Lutheran segment of the student body, even though differences remained less marked here. The more ‘bourgeois’ side was represented by German-Saxon Lutherans. Accordingly, the German lower middle classes and private employees sent more of their descendants to medical studies (29%) than other Lutherans (18.5%). On the contrary, the free professional and public official segments, considered to belong to the more ‘gentlemanly’ layers of the middle class were considerably better represented among Lutherans of other (Hungarian and Slavic) background (38%) than among those with German origins (28%).

As to students belonging to both Greek faiths, the Romanian majority and the minority of ‘other’ (Serbian, other Slavic, Hungarian) ethnic clusters were opposed by significant differences, not unlike those discussed above. It is to be noted that categories of petty intellectuals and middle-class elements (even free professionals, private and public white-collar employees) generally figured far more frequently in the class-profile of the Greek Catholics than in that of the Orthodox. At any rate, Romanians of both faiths differed from the rest in that among them the presence of sons of petty intellectuals (47% and 37%, contrasted to 43% and 25%) and the peasantry (20% and 33%, contrasted to 12% and 22%)

was significantly higher, just as the somewhat less visible over-representation of free professionals (7% and 2%, as against 3% and approaching zero per cent). By contrast, non-Romanian elements of these two faiths comprised more children of civil servants among them (22% and 19%, contrasted to 4% and 1%) as well as private employees (7% and 12.5% as against 4% and 1%). The latter data presumably indicate a relatively higher degree of assimilation among non-Romanian Greek Catholics and Orthodox (and also the larger share of those with Hungarian origins), which made it easier for the parents in question to attain official positions in both the public and private sphere. At the same time, it lent a stronger motivation for those expecting such positions (by Magyarisation of family-names, for example) to accept Hungarian assimilation, in a configuration of social power relationships where both the apparatus of the nation-state and that of economic modernisation and industrialisation were dominated by elites of Magyar stock and their social allies, the Magyarised assimilees (whether Jewish, German or Slavic).

There was a similar contrast between openly assimilation-oriented Jews bearing Hungarian (that is, Magyarised) surnames and those with other family names. Students with German and other names – that is, the overwhelming majority – mostly belonged to the traditional low middle class (52% as against 37%), what is more, to peasant and manual worker categories (9%, as against 5%). By contrast, we find among the formally Hungarianised significantly higher ratios of fathers in public and private office (19% and 11%, respectively) and other middle-class intellectuals (23% vis-à-vis 15%), and even higher middle-class individuals (16% against 13%). It was among Jews bearing German and other non-Hungarian names that the above mentioned ‘bourgeois mobility’ could be best illustrated, while Jewish medical students bearing Hungarian family-names clustered within the more educated middle-class layers. Thus the latter got closer to the ‘dominant Christian’ paradigm, with one specification though: the category of ‘assimilated’ retail merchants and craftsmen appears among them too with the largest statistical frequency among students’ fathers. (Among Christian students, similar – though more modest – prevalence of the petty bourgeoisie could be observed only among German Catholics – Svabians – and German Lutherans – Saxons.)

Tuition and the conditions of study

Several indications among the available data refer to peculiarities of the academic career of our students while in Kolozsvár/Cluj. One cannot pretend to have collected all crucial type evidence in this respect. For instance, there are no data referring to the qualification of diplomas (e.g. marks received at final exams or those of the final degree) or at *Matura*, nor indications concerning eventual specialisation above basic medical studies leading to the doctorate. The information pertaining to the professional career track is of course missing as well, since they could not be gathered from university archives. Despite these lacunae, our prosopographic list can be regarded as an empirical starting-point for later research in such matters.¹⁰⁰

Part of the medical students in Kolozsvár/Cluj either did not start their studies there or did not complete them there. It could also occur that some students, who left the Transylvanian *alma mater* before the completion of their studies, did not pursue them further elsewhere at all. Finally, it is unclear to what extent the available archival data concerning enrolment to the Medical Faculty and the pursuit of medical studies elsewhere at a later date are reliable sources as to where students came from and what was their further destination. Data referring to commencement of studies seem more reliable, since those newly enrolled had to prove their qualifications, including a reference to the location and institution of their previous studies (may that be a *Matura* granting high-school or another university). On the contrary, there is a large degree of uncertainty about the destination of departing students without *absolutorium* (certification of the completion of all the semesters necessary for taking the doctorate). Exit data are full of lacunae. Only 108 students reported to leave Kolozsvár/Cluj for continuing their studies elsewhere, when only one-third (1,072) of students ever enrolled actually obtained their doctor's degree in the Medical Faculty of Kolozsvár/Cluj. Except those 108, most of whom asked for a final report (*absolutorium*) at their departure, there is no trace in the archival sources of the other (close to 2,000) students who actually left before the comple-

¹⁰⁰ One could easily identify data concerning the presumable marks attained at *Matura* from the lists of outgoing students (8th class) of gymnasias, since the *Matura* granting schools appear in the prosopography and secondary students' lists were systematically published in the yearly reports of each gymnasium (*Értesítő*k), often together with reference to the denomination of pupils. There may have been some difference between achievement data in class 8 and *Matura* (especially in denominational gymnasias in favour of pupils of their own confession), but this bias was probably a minor one only. Results in class 8 included, to boot, marks in a number of subjects not examined at *Matura* (like sports, religion, etc).

tion of their studies. That is to say, only one out of twenty students among those leaving prematurely the Faculty has left some archival trace of their destination. Since those who started or continued medical studies outside Kolozsvár/Cluj make only a small part of the total student contingent, let it suffice to present them in a denominational break-down.

Table 12
Religion of the medical students in Kolozsvár/Cluj who had started and possibly continued their studies elsewhere

Place of the beginning of medical studies	Kolozsvár/Budapest				Total	% of those continuing studies elsewhere ¹⁰²
	Cluj	Abroad	Other ¹⁰¹			
Roman Catholics	87.9	9.5	2.2	0.4	100.0	2.2
Calvinists	91.7	6.3	1.2	0.8	100.0	1.7
Lutherans	83.5	8.1	7.8	0.6	100.0	13.8
Jews	80.4	15.7	3.9	-	100.0	6.4
Greek Catholics	92.1	6.9	0.3	0.7	100.0	6.6
Greek Orthodox ¹⁰³	80.6	18.1	0.9	0.5	100.0	19.1
Unitarians	96.5	3.5	-	-	100.0	-
All	88.5	8.6	2.3	0.4	100.0	7.3
Numbers	2,657	310	56	13	3,061	108

Only a little more than every tenth of the medical students in Kolozsvár/Cluj started their studies outside the Transylvanian university, most of them in Budapest. Unfortunately much less is known whether those who would leave without a diploma ever studied further elsewhere. A markedly small fraction transferred to Kolozsvár/Cluj from a foreign university, and only a few departed to one from Kolozsvár/Cluj. The majority of those coming from foreign lands arrived from Vienna (50 cases out of 56), which smoothly fits into the image of the University of Vienna touched upon above, as having a dominant market position among would-be medical doctors from Hungary studying abroad. This is also a confirmation of the observation made above that the majority of the clientele of the Transylvanian Medical Faculty was of local origin as regards their previous schooling: it clearly explains why most of the students concerned started their university studies just there. It is possible that academic peregrination during medical studies occurred less infrequently among students of the Budapest Faculty of Medicine, but there is, as yet, no factual proof of this assumption.

¹⁰¹ In other faculties in Kolozsvár/Cluj or elsewhere.

¹⁰² Vis-à-vis the share of those who *did not* graduate at Kolozsvár, most presumably based on scanty indices.

¹⁰³ Together with 9 Armenian Catholics.

Confessional inequalities perceptible in this matter shed some light on the negative side related to why the phenomenon was so rare in Kolozsvár/Cluj. There were strikingly few students who started their studies outside Transylvania among Calvinists, Unitarians as well as Roman and Greek Catholics, while such cases occurred far more frequently among Lutherans, Jews and Greek Orthodox. The majority of both latter groups of students who commenced their medical training elsewhere enrolled first in Budapest. This is not surprising for the Jews, as the capital city was by far their greatest residential centre (what is more, the wealthy middle strata possessing or aspiring to secular learning and culture was even more concentrated here), but it is so much the more interesting in the case of the dominantly Romanian (and less often Serbian) Orthodox and the Lutherans, both of whose kin population was mostly, if not exclusively, Transylvanian. As for one-fifth to one-sixth of the Greek Orthodox students, they may have started their studies in the capital to avoid the 'Magyar' atmosphere of the Kolozsvár/Cluj university. Indeed, compared to that, the Budapest surrounding was far more 'cosmopolitan', a characteristic reinforced by the preponderance of students of non-Magyar ethnic stock or background in the capital city, particularly in its Medical Faculty.¹⁰⁴

Something similar must apply to Lutherans with a Saxon-German majority. These mainly German speaking students more often chose to start in Vienna or at some other foreign (mostly German) university. Our survey mirrors a secondary phenomenon which is yet a relevant historical paradox: a quarter of the students registered with Magyarised surnames in our prosopography (1.5% of all, most of whom being Jewish) started their studies in Budapest, and another 9% of them in a foreign university, that is, more than in any other category. In most of these cases voluntary assimilation expressed through name Magyarisation pre-eminently affected the socially best established or/and most mobile elements of Jewry and some other groups of non Magyar background, who concentrated in Budapest to an even greater extent than the others,¹⁰⁵ and

¹⁰⁴ In 1900 a mere 40% of Budapest medical students bore Magyar surnames (including many whose family had earlier Magyarised it) as against 48% in the whole university. Not unexpectedly, the Faculty of Medicine and the Polytechnic University (with only 38% of students with Magyar surname) were at that time the most 'cosmopolitan' institutions of higher education in Dualist Hungary. See my *Iskolarendszer és társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek, op. cit.*, p. 199. See also my original study on this topic "Assimilation and schooling: national and denominational minorities in the universities of Budapest around 1900", in G. Ránki (ed.), *Hungary and European Civilization*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1989, pp. 285-319.

¹⁰⁵ This is evident even according to my survey results, since, for instance, only 23% of the Jewish students enrolled to Kolozsvár/Cluj had Magyar names, while it was the case of as many as 40% of Jews attending the Budapest medical school

who often presented maximal demands in the field of mobility through education as well. Hence presumably their frequent studies abroad regarded as of a higher academic standing compared to Hungarian universities.

The university administration had probably kept a reliable record of how many semesters students spent in the Faculty. Taking into account confession-specific variables once again, Table 13 contains a summary collection of data regarding the matter. Nevertheless, the results of the comparison cannot be analysed without a proper interpretation of the intermediate factors affecting the number of semesters attended.

Both the dropping out of many enrolled (premature abandonment of studies) or – inversely – the special conditions affecting others in search of a rapid achievement of a degree in the local university, were instrumental in the production of global data on the actually observed average number of semesters spent in Kolozsvár/Cluj. The number of semesters spent in Kolozsvár/Cluj could depend on the frequency of shifts to another faculty or the departure to another university, of the validation of semesters accomplished in other medical faculties (external semesters could be counted into the compulsory period of study), of the abandonment of studies due to illness or death (far from a rare occurrence in those times, not even in peace time), of getting drafted to military service – especially in 1914 and after (which, for many, meant the end of their studies, at least in Kolozsvár/Cluj) –, finally, the absence of legal academic continuity (which implied the discontinuity in registering the semesters) that occurred often in 1919 or even before (an act that in most cases also led to the interruption of studies for the student body swollen in the last war semesters). At any rate, we do not have specific evidence regarding all these factors, so it is not possible to reliably evaluate their weight in the fluctuations in the numbers of semesters spent at the university. This is why it is difficult to suggest a fully satisfactory interpretation of available relevant data broken down by some of the main independent variables defining the social background of our students, like ethnicity or confession.

Since the 1875 regulations fixed the compulsory period necessary for completion of medical studies at five years (ten semesters), in the student population under scrutiny there must have been a correlation between the ratio of high (over 8) numbers of semesters accomplished and the frequency of doctors' degrees obtained. Yet even this presumable

around 1900. See *Iskolarendszer és felekezeti egyenlőtlenségek*, *op. cit.*, p. 200. For the relative domination of Budapest residents among contemporary Magyarisers of alien surnames, see István Kozma, "Családnévváltoztatás és történelem, 1894-1956" [Change of surnames and history], in *Századok*, 1997, pp. 383-452, as well as our book cited above.

correlation could be at most an approximate one only, since it was dependent on the actual frequency of transfers from other universities, on the number of semesters students had completed outside Kolozsvár/Cluj, and on the gap of time between the formal accomplishment of the prescribed number of semesters and the final exam for their doctorate. For instance, the process could easily be a much delayed one for students who completed their studies just before and during the war. The final exam could also be cancelled for one of the above mentioned reasons (death, military service, adjournment of studies). For the sake of illustration, the data referring to the number of semesters attended and those regarding the frequency of earning a doctor's degree in Kolozsvár/Cluj are placed next to each other in Table 13.

Table 13

Religion of medical students in Kolozsvár/Cluj by the number of completed semesters and the frequency of obtaining a doctorate in Kolozsvár/Cluj

13/A. Numbers of semesters in Kolozsvár/Cluj

	1-2	3-7	8 and more	
Roman Catholics	30.9	31.6	37.6	100.0
Calvinists	24.9	27.8	47.3	100.0
Lutherans	34.6	35.5	29.9	100.0
Jews	33.9	23.4	42.7	100.0
Greek Catholics	28.6	24.0	47.4	100.0
Greek Orthodox ¹⁰⁶	27.5	26.2	46.2	100.0
Unitarians	27.9	30.3	41.9	100.0
All	30.1	28.5	41.5	100.0
Numbers observed	921	866	1,269	3,056

13/B. Proportion of doctorates¹⁰⁷ by generational groups

	Before 1883	1883-1893	After 1893	Total
Roman Catholics	44.9 %	30.7 %	6.0 %	27.7 %
Calvinists	42.7 %	38.1 %	4.0 %	29.4 %
Lutherans	48.4 %	34.2 %	8.1 %	30.2 %
Jews	40.4 %	41.0 %	31.7 %	37.1 %
Greek Catholics	48.3 %	57.4 %	48.9 %	50.7 %
Greek Orthodox ¹⁰⁸	47.4 %	66.7 %	63.8 %	61.6 %
Unitarians	53.8 %	33.3 %	-	36.0 %
All	44.7 %	40.5 %	20.9 %	35.3 %
Numbers observed	428	450	194	1,075

Table 13/A is highly illustrative for the distribution of the number of semesters attended at Kolozsvár/Cluj. On the average, the sum total of those who attended at least 8 semesters in the Faculty exceeded, quite logically, the percentage of those who were granted a degree there. Yet

¹⁰⁶ Together with 9 Armenian Catholics.

¹⁰⁷ In the percentage of the total of students belonging to the age-group.

¹⁰⁸ Nine Armenian Catholics included.

this was not the case for some confessional clusters. The precise reasons of such inequalities could be found only by further investigation. It has to be kept in mind though, that a degree could be obtained from the local institution even for candidates having completed some of their semesters at another institution. It is important in this respect that not more than a minority only (two fifths) of the students attended all the compulsory semesters in Kolozsvár/Cluj (at least according to registry information), and an even smaller group took the final examinations necessary for the diploma there. Attaining the latter was far more probable (those studying during the war included) among the followers of the two Greek churches than among the rest. This may be an important clue, since it shows that this mostly Romanian and Serbian segment of the student-body, having strong regional ties and stemming mostly from petty intellectual and peasant background, remained among the most faithful clients of the Transylvanian university. Such a result contains an inherent criticism of the data in the last column of Table 12 as well. As we have noted, it is rather problematic to properly evaluate – because of their absolute scarcity – confession specific data regarding Kolozsvár/Cluj students departing to other universities. From the proportion of those who earned their diploma locally (gained from a far more reliable source) we may conclude that ‘Western Christians’ and Jews occurred far more frequently among the ‘departing’ students than other religious clusters.

We also have good data regarding the age of obtaining a medical doctorate. The scale of ages varied quite significantly, especially by denomination and social background, as shown in Table 14. By the same token there is a chance to check whether the probability of earning a doctor’s degree in Kolozsvár/Cluj was related to the global factors of social selection.

Table 14
Average age of students taking a medical doctorate in Kolozsvár/Cluj and the probability of their taking one by categories of denomination and social origin

	Proportion of doctorates in Kolozsvár/Cluj ¹⁰⁹	Age of doctorate ¹¹⁰			
		24 and under	25-26	27 and over	total
<i>Roman Catholics</i>					
lower	20.0%	41.6	33.3	25.0	100.0
bourgeois	26.7%	42.6	25.5	31.9	100.0
intellectual	35.7%	47.9	22.5	29.6	100.0
public official	26.1%	44.6	29.2	26.2	100.0

¹⁰⁹ As a percentage of the total of each category of enrolled students.

¹¹⁰ The basis of calculations was the age of graduation (in rounded years), expressed as the difference between year of birth and year of graduation.

Social and Educational Profile of the Student Body (1872-1918)

<i>Protestants</i>					
lower	31.9 %	29.0	44.7	26.3	100.0
bourgeois	33.9 %	38.1	38.2	23.7	100.0
intellectual	29.9 %	44.5	31.9	23.6	100.0
public official	29.9 %	42.4	37.3	20.3	100.0
<i>Greek rites</i>					
lower	59.2 %	12.6	42.3	45.1	100.0
bourgeois	50.8 %	19.4	35.5	45.2	100.0
intellectual	48.8 %	40.0	25.0	35.0	100.0
public official	58.0 %	30.1	33.6	36.2	100.0
<i>Jews</i>					
lower	41.3 %	31.6	26.3	42.1	100.0
bourgeois	37.4 %	40.1	27.3	32.6	100.0
intellectual	38.4 %	51.1	34.9	14.0	100.0
public official	32.2 %	68.4	21.1	10.5	100.0
All	36.2 %	37.8	32.6	29.6	100.0

As for earning the doctor's degree, there was no relationship whatsoever between social origins and the frequency of taking a local medical degree. The highest scores were shown by those belonging to the Greek confessions and by Jews originating from the lower social categories. A relatively large proportion Protestant 'bourgeois' (lower middle-class) students obtained local diplomas as well. Once again, denomination appeared to be the main determinant factor, but we are lacking as yet any means to offer a causal explanation of this correlation.

As to the age of completing the doctor's degree, the situation was quite different, so much so that both confession and social background appeared to exert here a sizable influence. (Obviously enough, we have evidence in this field only for students having graduated in Kolozsvár/Cluj.) As to denomination, a three-fold paradigm can be grasped in our data. Jewish students graduated at the earliest age. They were followed by 'Western Christians', with members of the Greek churches coming last. This distribution corresponds perfectly to the observations summarised above in Table 7/A regarding the age of passing the *Matura*. For technical reasons, there must have been a strong correlation between the two. Those who achieved the *Matura* at an earlier age, would have good chances to terminate their studies earlier as well, provided they earned their degree locally.

Another strong correlation may be observed in Table 14 – similarly to the one related to the age of the *Matura* – between social background in a general sense and the age of graduation from the university. The 'lower' the former, the later those concerned graduated. Irrespective of confessional membership (excepting the Jews), offspring of professional intellectuals graduated at a particularly early age from the university. The Jewish exception in this case is due to the fact that the few concerned that belonged among them to the civil servants' category (even though they were not the most privileged segment of the cluster) by all means exem-

plified the assimilated middle-class cultural ideal, according to which completing one's education 'in due time' was a 'must' of sorts, a compulsory condition of their social standing and success strategy. Jewish students completing their studies at the age of 24 or earlier descended twice more frequently from fathers in the civil service than from the socially 'lower' ranks of the Jewish community. But graduating at the same early age occurred nevertheless more than twice as often among lower class Jews than among candidates of Greek faiths descending from similar social brackets.

There is yet another important indicator regarding circumstances of study: the frequency and type of scholarships received by our students. As it has been mentioned in the introduction, stipends were relatively more common among students in Kolozsvár/Cluj than in Budapest. This may have been part of a government policy to strengthen the attractiveness of the newly started university, but of course there were initiatives of other nature as well in the same sense due to private foundations, communities and churches, that contributed to the 'social network' in support of medical students at Kolozsvár/Cluj. Furthermore, we cannot exclude that there may have been students benefiting from the financial sponsorship of unknown private individuals or agencies (escaping academic registration) – offered, for example, by members of the wealthy bourgeoisie, the aristocracy or various congregations. Thus it should be kept in mind that some (indefinable) part of the actually distributed stipends may have left no trace in the university archives.

However it was, the distribution of scholarships identified in archival sources displayed remarkable inequalities according to the main social background variables.

Most striking among the data in Table 15 is nevertheless the actual scarcity of scholarships, since on average only every sixth student could count on material aid from officially registered sources for his studies. Moreover, as time passed, the situation further worsened. While almost one-quarter of the first student generations were stipend holders – this proportion corresponded to the obvious 'policy of populating the new university' pursued at the beginning –, by the first decade of the 20th century a mere one-fifth only of medical students concerned received financial support, while during the war years or those preceding them one student out of twenty only was granted some assistance. Thus the development of organised generosity in support of students was far from keeping pace with the growth of student numbers.

Yet the most striking observations concern the very different levels of endowment of members of various denominational clusters. To boot, the structure of inter-confessional inequalities generated in this way at an early stage did hardly alter in time, whether absolute chances of earning stipends or the nature of these are considered.

Table 15
Scholarship holders among medical students in Kolozsvár/Cluj and the nature of their stipends by denomination

15/A. Nature of scholarships

	State	Naszód (Roma- nian)	Other Roma- nian	army- physi- cian	other Hun- garian	Other Ger- man	Number	Distri- bution %	% of grantees ¹¹¹
Roman									
Catholics	26.7	3.6	1.8	29.6	41.7	35.0	114	23.1	14.5 %
Calvinists	37.6	3.6	2.7	27.0	15.3	5.0	97	19.7	14.8 %
Lutherans	8.9	3.6	-	18.2	5.6	20.0	47	9.5	13.1 %
Jews	16.8	3.6	-	4.4	2.8	15.0	30	6.1	4.7 %
Greek									
Catholics	3.0	78.6	20.4	11.9	29.2	15.0	91	18.5	29.9 %
Greek									
Orthodox ¹¹²	2.0	7.1	75.2	5.0	4.2	5.0	98	19.9	45.4 %
Unitarians	5.0	-	-	3.8	1.4	5.0	13	2.6	15.1 %
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	16.1 %
Numbers observed	101	28	113	159	72	20	493		
%	20.5	5.7	22.9	32.3	14.6	4.1	100.0		

As regards chances of getting a stipend, we find here again a three-fold paradigm, but a rather specific one, as compared to the respective position of denominational groups.

Scholarships were most frequently earned by students of the Greek confessions, especially the Orthodox and those with Romanian ethnic background (according to data which have not been included in a table here): exactly half (49.4%) of Romanian Orthodox students were stipend holders, while ‘only’ 27% of the non-Romanian Orthodox received some grants. Furthermore, 34% of Romanian Uniates benefited from scholarships, while ‘merely’ 23% of the non-Romanian Greek Catholics were in such case. The evident reason for this relative over-endowment of Romanian medical students in Kolozsvár/Cluj was that the great majority of the foundations were established with the aim to sponsor the strengthening of an ethnic Romanian intelligentsia in Transylvania. Some of these foundations actually sent Romanian *Matura*-holders preferentially to the local university, the easiest accessible for them.¹¹³ If members of the Greek churches were so markedly supported during their studies, they may have also needed more assistance than others. Most *Matura* holders of Greek confessions were – as it was discussed above –

¹¹¹ As the percentage of all enrolled belonging to the corresponding categories.

¹¹² 9 Armenian Catholics included.

¹¹³ See Cornel Sigmirean, “Fonds et fondations de subsides pour les étudiants roumains de Transylvanie à l’époque moderne”, in *Colloquia, Journal of Central European History*, Kolozsvár University Press, 2000, vol. III-IV, no. 1-2, pp. 184-202, especially pp. 188-189.

of peasant or 'petty intellectual' families, who could enrol in the Transylvanian medical faculty only thanks to outside material aid. Often it was only at the expense of such advantages that those in question could be persuaded to pursue studies at all, or else, only a corresponding (and equally valuable) sponsorship could make those interested willing to 'shift' from other, shorter or intellectually less demanding branches of study (theology for instance, where they would have been supported financially anyway) to medical studies. Further investigation could lay out details of the network of motivations instrumental in such options.

At any rate, members of the Greek churches benefited from stipends two or three times more often than other Christians, and several times more than Jews. The frequency of the allowances obtained by the former oscillated between 10% to 15% of all students concerned. Among clusters of 'Western Christians', the chances of acquiring a sponsorship varied but little according to ethnic background, although such variations were not altogether absent. Those of Magyar and German origins enjoyed relatively more often (15% and 14%, respectively) than other Christians some assistance, but Magyars and Germans (by background, following the nature of surnames) formed anyway the majority of these confessional groups.

Finally, Jewish students appeared to be the 'big losers' in this game, since very few scholarships were granted to Jews from public sources. Yet it would be a mistake to take this fact simply and generally for some kind of anti-Jewish attitude, though the possibility of such cannot be excluded in some cases. It must be indeed kept in mind that most contemporary allowances from other than state sources were openly destined by the sponsors for certain target populations and, hence, could not be considered as denominationally or ethnically neutrally awarded. Church scholarships usually went to co-religionists or, on the contrary, were sometimes addressed explicitly to gifted students without religious preference: such voluntary neutrality of donations was typical of assimilated Jewish sponsors as part precisely of advanced strategies of social integration in the Jewish bourgeoisie which grounded its important philanthropic activities on universalistic or secular motivations. Stipulations of both kinds – with or without religious or ethnic bias or preference – were inscribed by founders of scholarships *expressis verbis* in their donation documents. All in all, the scarcity of stipends received by Jews should rather be interpreted as a consequence of the far more middle class and 'bourgeois' background of this segment of students as compared to other clusters of the student body. Jewish students thus needed maybe significantly less often outside support, either because they belonged to families with more means than the rest, or/and because investment in education and generally in assets available in the future of descendants had a particularly important role in Jewish social and eco-

conomic strategies. From every point of view, studying to be a medical doctor counted as a most advantageous investment and mobility strategy for those concerned. Such studies equally suited the existential projects envisaged by both modern and tradition minded lower or upper middle class Jewish families for their sons. This was why families often accepted to make every sacrifice to attain the goal, even if the students in question did not belong, academically to the best among their group.¹¹⁴

As a matter of fact, the distribution of different types of stipends permits a more thorough analysis regarding the ethnic confessional restrictions (or facilities) in the distribution of grants. State scholarships were visibly most evenly distributed, even though members of the 'Magyar faiths' (Calvinists and Unitarians) received such in a proportion well above the average, while those of the Greek confessions benefited from them far less often; Jewish students also obtained a sizeable amount of such stipends, close to the level of their share in the student-population. Although mainly Roman Catholics and Lutherans were endowed by the few scholarship founders bearing German names, such allowances were relatively equally offered to Jewish students as well. But as to scholarships coming from foundations run under Hungarian names, there was a marked discrimination in favour of Roman Catholics, Uniates and Calvinists. Only in exceptional cases did such stipends go to Jewish or Greek Orthodox (mostly Romanian or Serbian) students.

15/B. Frequency of scholarships by generational groups (in % of the clusters concerned)

Year of birth	Before 1883	1883-1893	After 1893	Total
Roman Catholics	9.3	17.4	5.6	14.5 %
Calvinists	17.1	22.2	7.1	14.8 %
Lutherans	19.1	15.7	-	13.1 %
Jews	8.4	6.0	0.8	4.7 %
Greek Catholics	52.6	21.3	10.0	29.9 %
Greek Orthodox ¹¹⁵	67.6	55.0	18.8	45.4 %
Unitarians	27.5	17.4	3.1	15.1 %
All	23.0	19.6	5.4	16.1 %
Numbers observed	221	218	52	491

¹¹⁴ This is presumably why, according to available survey results concerning the professional choices of *Matura* holders in the years 1900-1914 we found that, invariably, numerous Jewish gymnasium graduates (24%) were preparing to take up medical studies *irrespective of their grades obtained at Matura*. Other students would choose this difficult study track rarely from the start (7% to 8%, depending on confession) and if so, only the best graduates would as a rule get enrolled in medical faculties, that is, the better their *Matura* grades actually were, the more often they opted for medicine. See *Zsidóság és társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek, op. cit.*, p. 204.

¹¹⁵ 9 Armenian Catholics included.

Finally, the beneficiaries of the Naszód/Năsăud (formerly border-guard zone) Greek Catholic foundation – as well as those of the Balázsfalva/Blaj, Lugos/Lugoj and other Uniate foundations – were almost exclusively (up to three-quarters of all) co-religionists, while the stipends deriving from the other Romanian foundations (the most important of which being the Nagyszeben/Sibiu and the Gojdu funds) went in a similarly high proportion to Greek Orthodox students.¹¹⁶ The fairly great number of scholarships (29% of the total) reserved specifically for students of the Greek confessions may have put Romanian and Serbian applicants implicitly at a disadvantage when it came to the distribution of state allowances and those coming from other Hungarian and German sources. This was less so as to allowances earmarked for military surgeons: about one-third of all scholarships were of this kind. Yet here the pre-selection of the applicants themselves may have involved confessional inequalities, putting in an advantage those non-Magyar milieus that nevertheless made the cause of the Hungarian nation-state (and that of its Honvéd army) their own. There were few Jews, let alone Romanians or Serbians, who would seek their fortune in a military career. The latter did seldom do that, presumably out of political considerations, led by the intention to close themselves off the apparatus of the Hungarian state. The former tended to avoid the military career for a number of reasons – as an activity alien to their values, habits and historical experience – especially in contrast to the free professional market, which was a preferential option for Jewish doctors.

Our last table sheds light on some other, hidden sociological dimensions laying behind the distribution of scholarships. Once again, the message of this table points to the fact that even at the very end of the educational and social selection process – by which a tiny fraction of the younger population of the period attained *Matura* and reached the threshold of higher learning – the fundamental causal mechanisms of social origin, family owned cultural capital, etc. were still active. Naturally, in the present context – that is, regarding the conditions of winning a scholarship – determinant factors connected to independent ‘background’ variables must have met with the often openly political preferences active in the selection practices of scholarship granting institutions. In other words, stipends were given not only (or not necessarily) to those who needed them most from a sheer financial point of view, or to those who knew about such opportunities of sponsorship and applied for them, but to those whose religious, ethnic or social class profile and qualities responded to the expectations (not once clearly stated in the very foundation documents) of benefactors (whether individuals or institutions).

¹¹⁶ Cornel Sigmirean, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-193.

Table 16
Medical students holding scholarships in Kolozsvár/Cluj by summary categories of
parents' occupation and religion

	Types of scholarship			All students	Students with scholarship % ¹¹⁷
	general ¹¹⁸	Romanian ¹¹⁹	Army physician		
<i>Roman Catholics</i>					
lower	4.5	-	2.7	2.2	20.0 %
bourgeois	5.1	-	3.4	6.5	8.0 %
intellectual	8.5	0.8	7.5	7.3	13.6 %
civil servant	14.8	1.5	13.0	10.4	18.9 %
<i>Protestants</i>					
lower	5.1	-	8.2	4.4	17.6 %
bourgeois	9.1	0.8	8.9	8.3	13.3 %
intellectual	6.3	-	11.0	8.9	11.2 %
civil servant	16.5	3.1	23.3	14.6	17.0 %
<i>Greek rites</i>					
lower	1.1	36.6	2.1	4.4	44.2 %
bourgeois	1.7	5.3	2.1	2.2	21.3 %
intellectual	2.8	5.3	6.1	1.5	29.3 %
civil servant	12.5	45.8	13.7	9.5	39.7 %
<i>Jews</i>					
lower	1.1	-	-	1.7	4.3 %
bourgeois	5.7	0.8	3.4	13.0	4.5 %
intellectual	2.2	-	0.7	4.1	4.5 %
civil servant	2.8	-	-	2.2	8.5 %
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	16.7 %
Observed numbers	176	131	146	2,712	

Upon close scrutiny, details of Table 16 reveal two main connections, one of which refers to the strongly 'class-dependent' nature of scholarship distribution, while the other demonstrates the different mechanisms of distribution operative in the three main types of allowances specially distinguished. Percentages in the last column of the table express the average frequency of grants received by student clusters belonging to the various confessional and social class categories. These data obviously confirm statements made above regarding denomination specific inequalities in the dispensation of stipends, but also point at major inequalities due to social origins. Let it suffice here to focus the discussion on the latter.

Children of the 'lower' layers and officials in civil service in the broad sense (with priests and school-teachers among them) were privileged recipients of scholarships in every confessional clusters. Jewish stipend holders, a very small group anyway, constituted a partial excep-

¹¹⁷ Within each confessional and social group category.

¹¹⁸ State-foundations or those of German and Hungarian names.

¹¹⁹ The Greek Catholic foundation of Naszód/Năsăud and other Romanian Greek Orthodox foundations.

tion to that rule, since the rare offspring of civil servants among them received endowments even more exceptionally than sons of other Jewish social brackets. At any rate, the social strata specific disproportions in this field were almost as drastic as inter-confessional inequalities. Medical students of 'bourgeois' background of both the Roman Catholic and the Greek confessions received scholarships less than half as often than their co-religionists belonging to the 'lower' categories or those with fathers in civil service. Sons of free professionals figured strikingly rarely on the list of beneficiaries, yet a little more often than those of 'bourgeois' origin. If the allowances going to *Matura*-holders originating from the 'lower' classes may have been justified from a social point of view – most of them would otherwise be incapable of completing higher studies – the relatively privileged treatment of officials' descendants hints at the instrumental importance of networks of those with 'social capital' mostly of middle class background (the administrative committees of the foundations themselves being made up of 'officials', not once of civil servants proper – like priests, teachers, judges, notaries, county employees), hence the frequency of grants awarded to offspring of middle class families. Some foundations actually reserved their allowances expressly for this public official strata (sons of priests or teachers).

But these inequalities based on preferentially distributed grants shifted themselves considerably according to the type of scholarship. The distribution of the three categories of stipends figuring in Table 16 may be interpreted in comparison to the data regarding the general distribution of students, included in column 4. (If grant holders occur more rarely in the comparison than among the whole student body, we speak of the under-representation of the social category in question. In the contrary case, there is over-representation.)

Among recipients of non-Romanian 'general' grants (when the founders bore Hungarian or German names), the 'lower' categories were slightly over-represented only among the Catholics and the Protestants, while children of civil servants were always over-represented. This is valid even for Jews and members of the Greek confessions, clusters not often endowed with such benefits. It seems then that in this case the main governing principle of the dispensation of awards was nothing else but middle class connections – that is, a class solidarity of sorts – and an implicit belief in the importance to maintain and reproduce the 'nation sustaining strata'. (Of course, this latter consideration was hardly applicable to priests of the Greek churches who were included into this category of officials in the table.)

Such practices were resolutely appreciated by state agencies, too. Not infrequently, the argument to justify such allocations was that civil servants (especially in the lower echelons, like school-teachers) were not paid enough in concordance to their training, intellectual vocation and

middle-class status. Hence, the scholarships offered to their children could be conceived of as a veritable complementary gratification (just like regular yearly vacations, old age pension, housing allowance, health insurance, etc) which was 'due by right' to those categories.

The distribution of military doctoral scholarships followed approximately the same lines, with the one difference that the free professional categories among the Christian confessions, even students of 'bourgeois' background within clusters of Protestant and Greek rites, were somewhat over-represented among recipients.

Finally, still according to Table 16, Romanian students shared Greek Catholic and Orthodox scholarships in such a way that all the social strata of this ethnic contingent were over-represented among beneficiaries, the 'lower' category overwhelmingly (a nine-fold over-representation), though even students of 'bourgeois' origin enjoyed in this respect significant advantages (with an over-representation exceeding by two and a half times the average).

