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The Role of Denominational Education in Preserving the Hungarian Nation and the Hungarian Language in the Country of the Holy Crown, in Historic Hungary

Greetings, dear Reader!

In your hands you are holding an unusual study that departs from the norm: a study that was written about ten years ago. Its theme: How in the Carpathian Basin, in the heart of Europe, one state – Historic Hungary¹ – that for the past one thousand years was the home of many nationalities with different languages and different religions, remained so until it was carved up after World War I.² What made it possible for the foreign refugees, speaking different languages, who settled in Hungary and found a home here, to preserve their language, culture and religion, while the Hungarians had to defend their mother-tongue, culture and Protestant denominations from the empire-building politics of the Turks and the Hapsburgs?

It is certain that there were two conditions: the permissive, welcoming politics of the Hungarians and the efforts of the refugees and settlers to preserve the identity of their denominations. The means to do this were the schools, which according to the custom of the times were primarily operated by the churches, although there was some influence from the state, at first slight and then more strongly, in matters of education.

This study, as stated in the title, is an overview of the denominational education in Hungary up to 1918. It is fitting and necessary to present a glimpse of the situation since 1918, when the state itself took on the status of a minority, because huge numbers of Hungarians found themselves belonging to the neighboring expanded or newly created states.

This study purposely ends without a conclusion, because it requires further thought. Should the denominations have the right and the possibility to allow their national minorities to continue to preserve their language and their nationality?

Education, on the one hand as out-of-school activities, on the other hand as in-school activities, together with upbringing, appearing within the limits of denominational education, offers possibilities to the administrators as creators of the curriculum, which have an influence lasting to the present, and, under this influence, the government is driven to play „strange” games.

Within the unification of education and upbringing, the relationship between the two, and the balance between them, the emphasis on the one or the other causes a movement in one direction or another, which is manifested on the one hand in the relationship between the government and the administrators and, on the other hand, between the administrators and the community connected to the school.

To a great extent, this concerns the denominational education and, within this, the relationship between the religious denominations and the minorities. This relationship can be measured from many points of view, on the basis of many expectations and agreements. In this case it is practical to examine the legal system of conditions for the operation of the denominational schools, that is, from the point of view of the contents of the regulations. In so doing, however, it is not permissible to outline only the foundation of the school system of the Hungarian Christian State, which is at the same time the parent, the cradle of upbringing and

¹ Today, we use this adjective “historic” to distinguish Hungary before the enforced, dictated Peace Treaty of Trianon (1920) at the end of World War I and Hungary after the War.

² Az a result of the dictated Peace Treaty, parts of Hungary were annexed to several countries but these countries had a common connection: all of them became multi-national states, just as they were before (or else they did not exist, like Czechoslovakia).

partly the victim of the denominational education, from which sprang the multi-ethnic school-system that the state of Hungary permitted.

The Hungarian school system, based on Latin civilization, was formed alongside that of Christian Western Europe but followed its own path, which was at the same time a European path, until the recent past. The first traces of education, within the boundaries of an organized school system, can be found in written documents from 1010 and 1020, recording the foundation in the year 996 of the Benedictine school of Szent Márton-hegy (today Pannonhalma), which give us a glimpse into the **pedagogical document**³, that is the **curriculum**⁴ that was socially accepted at that time.

The establishment of this first center of Christian education was followed by others in a comparatively short time: Pécsvárad (1015), Zalavár (1019) and Bakonybél (1037).

After the defeat of Ajtony, Bishop Gellért – following the wishes of the King – founded a monastery in Csanád County, with four monks who came from Pannonhalma, together with two monks from each of the following monasteries: Vashegy (later known as Pécsvárad), Zalavár, Bakonybél and Zobor. In Marosvár (after 1003 known as Csanádvár) Master Valter from Bakonybél was the administrator of the school, where „there were so many students that Brother Maurice went to see the King” to ask for permission to expand the school.⁵

After the Benedictines, the Cistercians followed in a short time (1142), then the Premonstratensians (1130), the Dominicans (1221), the Franciscans (1229) and finally the Pauline order that was established in Hungary (1265).

The most important of these all organized their own schools, the most significant being the monastic schools of the Franciscans of Esztergom and the Dominicans of Buda.

These naturally indicated the characteristics of the rest of the schools that were established, and showed that the Christian Church was the organizer and administrator of the education system. It is obvious from the outset that, until the Reformation, the Christian Church of the Roman rite was the exclusive administrator of the school system.

The question of education in Hungary, however, was from the very beginning much more complicated, if we take into account that, according to the minutes of the 11th century Synod, Hungary was already home to people of other religions, speaking other languages: Muslims (böszörmény) and Jews, who can thank the Hungarians for allowing them to establish schools to preserve their languages, religions and their customs.⁶

Furthermore, it can be proved from sources in the archives that, already in 1218, priests of the Greek Orthodox Church asked the Pope to allow them legal use of their properties – therefore they recognized the authority of the Pope. Their presence proves that the Greek Orthodox Church nurtured the spiritual life of its faithful (with education, instruction and upbringing) within the Kingdom of Hungary.⁷

In the middle of the 12th century, at the invitation of King Géza II, Saxon settlers, who were called „Latins” arrived in the Kingdom. The privileges they received were reinforced in 1224 by King András II, and they laid the foundation for the growing demands for Saxon autonomy in later centuries.⁸

³ *Didaktika*. Editor: Falus Iván Nezei Tankönyvkiadó Bp. n. d. Bp. p. 470.

⁴ „Official, compulsory communication, which outlines the material for the subject matter appropriate for each class.”

⁵ Dr. Erdélyi László, Benedictine University Professor: *Magyar történelem* Atheneum Bp. 1936 Bp. Vol I. p. 200.

⁶ Mandl Bernát: „The Jewish school, as the foundation for Jewish culture, is the oldest cultural institution in Europe.” *A magyarországi zsidó iskolák állapota*. Klny az Izraeli Magyar Irodalmi Társulat Évkönyvéből Bp. 1909.

⁷ Before 1241 there were very few Serbs of the Orthodox Church living in Hungary, who had entered the country as a result of the marriage politics of our kings and ancestors. Karácsonyi János: *Magyarország egyháztörténete*. Könyvértékesítő Vállalat, Bp. 1985 p. 95.

⁸ In 1486, King Mátyás expanded the right of self-determination for the denominations. The Saxon University was established (Universitas Saxonum Transilvanias) which gave them complete autonomy. Karácsonyi: Op. Cit. p. 27.

At the beginning of the 13th century, the first Saxons from Silesia arrived as guests in the region of Szepes. These settlements opened up a new period in the development of cities. In 1271, King István V issued a document creating legal conditions for the Transylvanian Saxons that were similar to the autonomy of the Saxons of Szepes.⁹ The direct result of the growing self-determination was that the Saxons, although they practiced the same religion as the Hungarians who welcomed them, had a different language and culture and they were able to preserve these until 1876, developing into a national minority which survived until Trianon.

The first break in the homogenous social composition of the population of Hungary was during the time of the Mongol (Tartar) invasion. This resulted not only in a linguistic and cultural break and a difference in civilization, but also brought about important differences in regard to the administration of schools and the organization of education, because „our homeland experienced a huge change in the condition of religious matters”.¹⁰

After 1242, the Saxon immigrants, the resettled Jazygians and Cumanians, the Ruthenian migrants, and Serbs displaced by the wars in the Balkans, together with the increasingly large numbers of Romanians (at that time called Vlachs, Blaks or Oláhs) all settled in the sections of Transylvania that were depopulated as a result of the wars with the Turks.

From this time on, the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom was continuously settled by people speaking a different language and practicing a different religion, although this was not always a planned settlement.

During the struggle against the Turks, from the time of King Zsigmond to that of King Ulászló II, the Hungarian kings made allies of the Serbian princes and despots, as well as the rulers of the two Romanian principalities. As a result of these alliances, more than once, Hungarian properties came under Serbian or Romanian rule. Therefore, legally, large numbers of Serbs and Romanians, accompanied by their Greek Orthodox priests, arrived in the territory of Hungary.

Because of the supreme authority of the Greek Orthodox (Pravoslav) Church, its priests had a subordinate relationship with the Patriarch in Constantinople, which laid the base for the system of communication right up until Trianon.

The „Orthodox fault-line”¹¹ (about which it is now permitted to speak with natural simplicity) therefore, is not as simple as the line between Europe and Hungary, between the states that are located to the West or to the East, and it cannot be drawn with a pair of compasses or with a ruler, nor can its existence or its influence be established forcefully with boundaries, villages and cities.

In the territory of the patrimonial Hungarian Kingdom -- as in all of Christian Europe -- the preservation of religion and education was the responsibility of the Church. From this it follows, almost as a law, that the religious life and education of the non-Roman Catholics, followers of other religions, did not fall within the jurisdiction of the Hungarian Catholic Church, but the „guests” (Saxons), speaking another language, who were Catholics were the responsibility of the Hungarian Catholic Church.

From the beginning of the year 996, the Catholic Church established three types of school: the monastic school (e.g. Pannonhalma, Zobor), the collegiate school (belonging to the

⁹ The University or Province of the Saxons of Szepes (universitas v. provincia Saxonum de Scepus) encompassed 24 cities, and was governed by the so-called Szepes law. (Zipser Willkühr) Csánki Dezső: *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* MTA Bp. 1890 Vol. 1. pp.245-247.

¹⁰Karácsonyi: Op. Cit. p. 27.

¹¹ Gloria Man: *Az ortodox törésvonal* Háttér Kiadó, Bp (1996)

cathedral, e.g. Marosvár) and the parochial school (e.g. Kolozsvár). The primary and basic responsibility of the schools was to train clerics.¹²

Beside the universities, **the monastic schools** were the most advanced educational institutions. Their curriculum was composed of three levels,¹³ and, right from their inception, they existed as interior and exterior types of schools,¹⁴ which made it possible for the instruction of monks and the secular priests to be based on the same principles but they would be prepared for different aspects of the priesthood.

The organization of the episcopal schools that operated alongside the official **collegiate schools**, followed the three branches of the monastic schools but emphasized the study of **the records of the constitutional law**, and the dogma that emerged from the rhetoric. The parish priests of the villages were trained in the episcopal schools, and they were not only responsible for the religion of the villagers, but they also organized and administered the parish schools.

The parish schools, administered by the clerics, operated alongside the parish. Their basic responsibility was to train pastors. The most gifted students were ordained to the priesthood by the Bishop in the cathedral.

The students – no matter in which school they were trained – after learning the basics, were considered clerics in the monastic order in which they were trained but they were about 25 years-old before they could become priests who could celebrate Mass.

The priests and monks, with their simple Latin vocabulary, their literacy and knowledge of the liturgy, were able to fulfill their missionary, teaching and religious responsibilities: **all in the mother-tongue of the populace.**¹⁵

The operation of the schools and the quality of their teaching were regularly examined by the bishops. This can be shown in the minutes of the Synod of Buda in 1309, according to which the collegiate schools were praised for the high level of their teaching of law. It was further recommended „that they strengthen the teaching of grammar and include logic in their curriculum.”¹⁶

The prominent role of education was attributed to our rulers. This was recorded in certain minutes, which, for example, took into account the books the most significant monastic schools were using, drew attention to the placement of those who rose from poverty, the salaries of the teachers, and moreover, made into law the rights and responsibilities of the students.¹⁷

From the last decades of the 12th century, – although the basics of the curriculum based on three levels did not change – the three types of school slowly grew apart and underwent significant changes. The most significant achievement of the monastic and collegiate schools was the raising of a scholarly class of clerics.

¹² „... the training of the men of the various orders of the church – priests and monks – for their religious calling”, which was necessary from the point of view of building up the Church, the State and the economy. Mészáros István: *A katolikus iskola ezeréves története Magyarországon* Szt. István Társulat Bp 2000. p. 11.

¹³ In the elementary schools the children were taught to read, sing hymns, write and count. In the „secondary schools”, in addition to the seven free arts, they studied medicine, history, mechanics and rhetoric and, at the same time, they discussed the important issues in public life. At the higher levels, besides rhetoric, they studied dialectics and they became familiar with philosophy and theology in depth. The teaching of grammar included the Greek language and in the most prestigious schools, the study of the Arab language too. *Magyar Történelmi Fogalomgyűjtemény* Editor: Bán Péter Heves megyei Levéltár Eger, 1980. Vol. I. pp. 482-483.

¹⁴ In the inner school, the training of monks and priests was conducted, who could come from any section of society. In the outer school the teaching and upbringing of the children of aristocrats took place. From the latter came members of the church hierarchy; from the former came the parish priests.

¹⁵ Naturally, this meant that the non-magyar-speaking individuals were able to learn about the Biblical stories in their own language, and some of them became priests for their own population and they were also responsible for their own parochial schools. Mészáros: *Op. Cit.* pp. 24-30.

¹⁶ Mészáros István: *A magyar nevelés-és iskolatörténet kronológiája 996-1996*. Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó Bp. n.d. p. 15

¹⁷ The law-books of the time of Saint László (1092-1096) dealing with the thefts of the students, truly can be counted as the first books of law concerning discipline in the schools. Mészáros: *A katolikus iskola*. p. 31.

At the end of the twelfth century, monks and priests, who were occupied not only with the questions raised in literary and scholarly works but also literary genres and the Western-European style of the time, served in the royal court, in the collegiate schools and in the houses of the most eminent aristocrats, where they were often called upon to raise the children of important men. (They were the forerunners of the private schools.)

The parochial schools were also continuously undergoing changes. There was a big difference between the village and the city parochial schools. The parochial schools in the villages remained under the administration of the Church. Not so the settlements that were raised to the rank of city. Depending on whether they were in towns – and thus under the jurisdiction of the landed gentry --, in free royal cities, or free, that is royal mining towns that came into the possession of eminent people, they gradually became connected with the administration of schools and in this way the local demands were also enforced.

During the 15th and 16th centuries, some of the collegiate and parochial schools in the cities underwent certain changes in the administration that affected the curriculum. In many places, the schools were administered by the city magistrate and the cathedral chapter (e.g. in Zagreb). Of course, the local parish-priest retained his pedagogical, spiritual and professional jurisdiction; his role in supervising the school was strengthened. These institutions were no longer exclusively seminaries but also prepared their students to go out into the world. At the end of the 15th century, in Hungary, the collegiate and parochial schools in the cities were already using printed school-books (e.g. in Sárospatak).

In the first quarter of the 16th century, the collegiate and parish schools of the cities were renewed. The influence of humanism was evident both in the choice of subject matter and in the modernization of the departments (e.g. the Humanistic Collegiate School of Esztergom).

Before the beginning of the Reformation the data that was available about the parish schools gives us a complete picture and the tendency is quite clear: ¹⁸

Region		Century	
In Transylvania, Saxons	127	From the 13th cent.	2
In the north of Felvidék	92	From the 14th cent.	21
Transdanubia	28	From the 15th cent.	142
Trans-Dráva (Kőrös m.8.)	11	From the 4th decade of the 16th cent.	102
In Tiszamellék	9		
Total of schools	267	Total of schools	267

The development of the network of schools resulted in not only a numerical increase but also in higher standards. This can be seen from the „request” of King Lajos the Great in 1367, which was expressed in the foundation bull of Pope Urban V: „May the **studium generale** in the city of Pécs be made available to be used in Hungary and the neighboring countries, with all its faculties, canons, civil rights and departments, except for theology”. ¹⁹

In the same way, in 1389, during the rule of King Zsigmond, the Óbuda University was established; then in 1465, in the reign of King Mátyás, the Dominicans of Buda established the Istropolitanus in Pozony²⁰ and, in 1475, the Dominican University of Buda. The Cathedral was responsible for the upkeep of the universities; the King in each case merely gave his support.

¹⁸Dr. Erdélyi: Op. Cit. Vol. 1. p. 418.

¹⁹ The popes, who were based in Avignon, by withholding permission for the teaching of theology in the schools, wanted to increase the number of students at the University of Paris, to raise the prestige of this institution. Dr. Erdélyi: Op. Cit. Vol. 1. p.275.

²⁰ Pozsony was the capital of Hungary and coronation city for hundreds of years. After the Treaty of Trianon in 1920, it became the capital of Slovakia, and its name was changed to Bratislava.

This is shown in the fact that the frequent change of administrators and economic problems caused the universities to fall into decline.

During the first decade of the 16th century, the schools and their administrators underwent certain changes, in regard to the modernization of the curriculum, that laid the foundation for the later school-system. This is shown (from the point of view of the agreements made between the city magistrates and the schools), not by the absolute uniformity of the administrators, but **by the movement toward a permissive, diverse administration.**

The regulations of the remaining schools (Esztergom, Győr, Veszprém, Pécs, Várad, Gyulafehérvér and Pozsony), which formulated their own subject matter in detail, the responsibilities of the students, the cost of tuition, the salaries of the teachers, the possible reasons for the exemption from school-fees, as well as the number of professors, neither from the point of view of form nor of content could be called curricula in the classical sense of the word. At the same time, **taking their function into consideration, they fulfilled their role of „pedagogical program” and „local curriculum”²¹ in the system of powerful connections and legislative proceedings of that age.**

Hungary's ecclesiastical and educational politics in regard to the many minorities until 1777

From the 1630's, 300 years passed until the **Ratio-Educationis**, the first, open state intervention of a strategic nature. This period was unusually rich in events, with the scope of movement of the Hungarians in European politics, and not least of all this changeable period in their own homeland can no better be described than with the line from the “kuruc” poetry: „between two pagans blood is shed for one homeland”. (“két pogány közt egy hazáért ömlik vére”).²²

These two widely separated branches of this pair of political pincers (Vienna and Constantinople) themselves were caught in the grip of a political pincers. As a result of the colonization of new continents, the establishment of a world market, the technical developments and a new world view, the center moved from the Mediterranean Sea toward the Atlantic Ocean. On the one hand, Europe found herself divided between the places that were established for world economy, and on the other hand, at this time, the governmental systems of the European states changed from absolute monarchy to a confederative administrative form.

In this rapidly changing world, the Reformation evolved and in a few short decades it took new directions: Martin Luther in Germany (1517), Zwingli in Zurich, in Switzerland (1523), Calvin in Geneva (1537), Scottish Protestantism (1559) and the Anglican Church (1562).²³

These great changes naturally exerted an influence on the development of the feudal national consciousness too, which was, at the same time, the partner and parent of a new economic form, an important component of the establishment of a nation-state. In these modern states, the closer connections between the denominations, the mother-tongue and education placed the matter of licensing of the administrators of the educational institutions in a new light, as well as the structure and content of the educational system.

²¹ The pedagogical program or „pedagogical creed” of the school-teachers included those tenets of educational philosophy and scale of values, on the basis of which the school's pedagogical statement of purpose was founded. In the pedagogical statement of purpose belonged the entire cycle of teaching responsibilities with their severely circumscribed limits. *Didaktika*. Editor: Falus Iván Nezei Tankönyvkiadó Bp. n. d. p. 478.

²² This means that in the struggle between the „two enemies” – the Turks and the Hapsburgs, Hungarian blood was shed in defence of their homeland.

²³Szimonidesz Lajos: *A világ vallásai* Könyvértékesítő Vállalat Bp.1988. pp. 529.-629.

The rapid spread of the Reformation in Hungary seemed to coincide with break-up of the feudal state of Hungary into two (1526) or three (1541) parts. This break-up of the state, together with the loss of independence and limited autonomy was manifested in three ways. This limited autonomy circumscribed the possibility and character of the exercise of power, the three working conditions for government, the legislative, executive and judicial branches. From here originated those differences, the influence of which can still be felt centuries later. The separate paths however, came together in one respect: this was the knowledge of the Christian interdependence, which spanned borders and languages to confront the spread of Islam.

„...it is true that Germans, Spaniards, Italians, French, Czechs, Poles and Hungarians are separated by language but we are connected by the same religion, because we all believe in the same God.”²⁴ The Hungarian political state of affairs naturally placed its stamp on the ecclesiastical and educational situation: The Catholic and Protestant Churches „extended beyond” those political borders, which were on the one hand the result of the election of two kings in 1526 and, on the other hand, the presence of the Turks in Hungary. Therefore it is not possible to draw borders between the two or three parts of the divided state, between the religious and educational matters, or between the many minorities.

After 1526, in the kingdom of Hungary with its center in Transylvania, the Hungarian Catholic Church that had lost its best prelates on the battlefield in Mohács, did not perceive a serious threat in the rapidly spreading Protestantism, and saw only a temporary relaxation of morals, which could be reversed in a legal manner. Therefore, in 1548, at the National Assembly in Pozsony, a law came into effect that: „one part of the income of the properties of the cathedrals and monasteries that were destroyed during the war years, should be turned over to the Catholic hierarchy *for the reorganization of local schools, the founding of new ones and for the salaries of teachers.*”²⁵

The feudal assemblies of the **Kingdom of Hungary** between 1540 and 1560 passed several laws to support the spread of Protestantism.

Because of the Turkish advance, in 1553 Miklós Oláh moved the primate’s seat from Esztergom to Nagyszombat and the Hungarian Catholic Church organized its church government from this center. Recognizing the importance of education and upbringing:

- with a strong hand, it reorganized the collegiate school of Nagyszombat, entered into a contract with the city magistrates, making them responsible for its upkeep and appointed the teaching body according to their diplomas in continuing education,
- in 1560, the most important law passed by the Synod in Nagyszombat was for the foundation and expansion of the elementary schools and conditions,
- in 1561, it invited the Jesuits to come to Nagyszombat (six years later, they left because of the demands of the Bishop, and came back only in 1579).

In the second half of the 16th century, the Catholic Church had to face the fact that:

- it could never regain its earlier privileged position in matters of education,
- the Catholic and Protestant religions had forcefully placed their stamp on the subject matter of the teaching and on the interior life of the school,
- **not only was the teaching of faith and religion introduced as new subject matter but they also differed in their organization and curriculum. Actually, from the time of the introduction of these two subjects, we can really speak of denominational schools that have Christian roots but which are built upon different religious tenets and educational values.**

²⁴ R. Várkonyi Ágnes: *Magyarország keresztújtjain* Gondolat h.n. 1978 p 332. quoted by Zay Ferenc nápolyi követ szövegét

²⁵ Mészáros Í: *A katolikus iskolák.* p. 93.

- **In the field of education, the educational system of the Jesuits can be considered a milestone, as can the formulation and publishing of their religious precepts at the end of the 16th century.**

Considering the revolutionary, newly prepared contents, slowly evolving reforms can be appreciated in the *Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Jesu*, written in 1586 and **finally publicized in 1616, and in the widely circulated document for educational affairs, commonly known as *Ratio Studiorum*, printed in 1599. In the classical sense of the words, this was the first curriculum in Europe.**²⁶

Here I find it necessary, on the one hand to return to the concept of curriculum and its evolution and, on the other hand to compare the many directions the concept of strategy has taken. The intertwining of these two concepts and their appearance together represents the relationship between knowledge and power.

The word „tanterv” (curriculum) has a much richer²⁷ meaning than that which can be found in the dictionary, for it means more than simple „instructions for compulsory subjects”. The Jesuits raised this educational order above everything else, so that whereas it applied formerly to a few schools, it now became compulsory for all schools run by the Jesuits. The emphasis was therefore: **all schools operated in the same way.**

What made this necessary? What prompted this action? To what was this the answer? We can reply with one word: the Reformation. However, we know that we cannot accept the appearance of the Reformation disguised as a church, as the wish of the people for a simpler church, and we cannot identify the necessity of the curriculum just as a weapon in the struggle against the Reformation.

The curriculum determined the break-down of the subject-matter to be taught over several years. Consistent with the break-down of the subject-matter of all the subjects in the curriculum, the choice of the subject-matter created a logically justifiable system.²⁸ The Jesuit fathers saw the necessity of handing down scientific knowledge and organizing it into a system. Their goal was to keep the Jesuit schools in a public role, more exactly, through the knowledge of those who graduated from these schools, to ensure that the Catholic religion and Catholic way of thinking remain in power. This goes further and is different from the struggle against the Reformation, although of course that also entered into the plan.

The curriculum therefore, with the drafting of the subject-matter, and its formulation into a system „a comprehensive plan to achieve the appointed goal”²⁹, of reclaiming the shredded prestige of the Catholic Church to remain in power „with a system of planning and directing a struggle without weapons” as its guiding principles.³⁰

These goals are not aimed at the present, but in the present, they plan for the future. This is true only to the point that the Jesuit schools are regarded as simple institutions or organizations (with an apology to the creators of the great institutions of the past!) and it can be said about their curricula that: „they have strategic goals which the enterprise would like to accomplish”.³¹ With this the circle is closed.

²⁶ Mészáros István i.m. 103.p.

²⁷ The curriculum was developed over centuries and went through many changes. It was finally declared to have four basic forms. Falus Iván: Op. Cit. p. 470.

²⁸ *Magyar Pedagógiai Lexikon* Editor: Kemény Ferenc Vol. 3. p. 760. Révai Irodalmi Intézet, Bp. 1936

²⁹ Bakos Ferenc: *Idegen Szavak és Kifejezések Kéziszótára* p. 717. Akadémia, Bp. 2000

³⁰ ÉrtSz Vol. 5. p. 1281 Akadémia, 1980

³¹ Dobák Miklós: *Szervezeti formák és vezetés.* p. 134 KJK-KERSZÖV, Bp. 2001

The school, therefore, is just a service institution and, depending on the administrator, it is an enterprise that is market-oriented, and here we could list all the prevalent expressions. Therefore, we could also say that it was born to meet the needs of a given time and so its demise is inevitable. This would be true, even if the curriculum with its generally formulated strategic goals could be completely covered up.

As the means of attaining the formulated goal as a comprehensive plan, the strategic goals, just as the objectives intended to accomplish them, are in perfect agreement. However, **the strategy in pedagogy** has its own particular character: „**the ways, means, organizational methods and forms, which serve to attain its particular goals, have a complex system based on coherent, hypothetical principles, with its own syntax – with the determination and sequence of the steps to accomplish this – and it is realized in specific study environments.**”³²

To get into power by means of education and to remain there, there must be a system of connections between education and authority. The Church, with the methods it brought with it, already in Roman times acquired this „role”. This can be seen partly in the developing feudal society and in connection with literacy, and partly in the role of the Church established in Roman times. This role, however, was not simply one of service, because it meant much more in connection with the curriculum and the school.

The school, however, right from the start, at the same time raised and educated the children. Education in itself can be appreciated for passing on knowledge as developed and developing factual material. This could also take place outside the school. It is also possible to raise children outside of the school, and this takes place in the family. The school, therefore is a special institution and cannot be identified simply as a service institution, because at the same time it accomplishes education and upbringing. It is not merely that it does this at the same time, but it is through teaching that it raises the children, while it incorporates the forms, methods and characteristics special to a certain age into the system of goals that is the curriculum.

The content of the teaching can be appreciated as it is portrayed in the „position” of the sciences. A change in the subject matter kept in step with the demands and needs of the age. Thus, the church school changed into the workshop for the worldly culture; thus the ecclesiastical requirement, the training of priests, was differentiated from the need for training in worldly knowledge.

The role of the administrator was basically unchanged, if we consider that basically, the administrator continued to be the Church, or, on the basis of the earlier example, the Church and the city magistrate. At the same time, there was a huge change, for the Church itself broke apart, and accordingly one part took with itself and made Protestant³³ the collegiate and city or village parochial schools; or if a new school was founded, it fell into the possession of the Protestant community. As a result of this change of owners – besides the obligatory use of the Latin language – similarly to the earlier use, the language remained or became that of the administrative community.

The political uncertainty made its influence felt legally in the relationship between the denominations and the state, and in the relationship between the denominations too. While, in the Kingdom of Hungary that had fallen under ***Hapsburg domination***, the Catholic Church succeeded in becoming stronger³⁴ and, under the influence of the Synod of Trident (it could be

³² Didaktika: Editor: Falus Iván p. 274. Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, Bp. n. d.

³³ In 1552, landowner János Török of Enying gave the convent school operated by the Franciscans to the city of Debrecen and it became Protestant. A Pallas Nagy Lexikona Vol. 5. p. 88.

³⁴ Antal Verancsics, Archbishop of Esztergom (with a seat in Nagyszombat) asked the Austrian Bishopic and received priests to minister to his German-speaking parishioners, because the former ones had almost all converted to the new religion. In 1579, the Collegium Hungaricum was founded, and the Jesuit School in Kolozsvár, in 1581, with the support of István Báthory, was raised to the rank of academy (from this developed the University of Kolozsvár, whose incomplete fate is a new chapter in the history of the denominational schools).

said as a result of international interference) with great force, it forced back the spread of Protestantism; at the same time, *in the territory of the emerging Transylvanian principality*, the situation was the reverse.³⁵ The religious Peace of Augsburg in 1555, with the principle of „cuius regio, illius religio” virtually made possible **the territorial enforcement of religion**.

From the second half of the 16th century, the occupation by the Hapsburgs and the Turks, as well as the geopolitical position of the Principality of Transylvania, legally brought with them ethnic groups of the new power (Germans and Turks) and, taking into account the numbers, this was a considerable movement of people.

This movement of people was at the same time spontaneous, prompted by life-threatening conditions: thus an organized group migration (Serbs), or a continual infiltration, a continual immigration (Romanians), asylum seeking (Armenians) or an interior movement (Hungarians fleeing from the Turks) and **purposeful**. The purposeful, planned settlement (Germans=Swabians, Jews, Serbs and Romanians) on the one hand serving the political goals of the Hapsburgs, was not reserved for only one level of society (naturalization with feudal privileges, tax-free status among the citizens, territorial autonomy beside the self-governing Hungarian or magyarized ethnic groups); on the other hand, settlement serving the economic goals of the Hungarian aristocracy (Tots=Slovaks, Romanians). **Hungary, divided into three parts, became a host country for two Christian political groups.**

The role of the denominational schools as preserver of the nation and the language, became a truly determinative factor from the second half of the 16th century.

In Transylvania – for the first time in Europe – the feudal assemblies, in three steps (in 1557 the Catholics and Lutherans, in 1564 the Lutherans and Presbyterians and in 1568 the Unitarians) accepted freedom of religion in the spirit of the Peace of Augsburg.³⁶ With this, the Transylvanian Estates first surrendered the religious unity of the state and then the principle of the territorial or communal religious unity. This made it possible to pass a law that the settlement itself might choose which religion it wished to practice, choose its own priest, and made it possible that the priest should preach first of all the religion of the settlement, then his own – if that was different – and the community in turn should accept this because „faith is the gift from God, which is obtained by listening to the word of God.”³⁷

In effect, the Protestants, until the first decade of the 17th century, established their church organizations (Lutherans = Germans from Szeben 1542-1553; Calvinists = Swiss = Hungarians from Kolozsvár 1561-1597; Unitarians 1568-1570; Jews from Szombat 1570).³⁸ Together with the establishment of the church organizations came the raising of the priests to an appropriate social rank. István Bocskai took the first step with his charter, on September 16, 1605, and after several reinforcements and new concessions, it was completed with the help of Gábor Bethlen’s charter on July 13, 1629, according to which – **independently of their denomination** – „the preachers received the privileges of nobility”.³⁹

³⁵ In Transylvania, between 1542 and 1581, the progress of Protestantism was so great that first the income from Kolozsvár and then Nagyvárad were taken for the Assembly of the Estates, and in 1566, no Catholic priest was allowed to step into the Partium.

³⁶ Behind the decisions of the three national assemblies was the conversion of Prince Zsigmond János. After the death of his mother, Izabella, he converted from Catholicism to Lutheranism, then Calvinism and finally to Unitarianism. Dr. Erdélyi: Op. Cit. Vol. 2. p. 204.

³⁷ Dr. Erdélyi: Op. Cit. Vol. 2. p. 207.

³⁸ The Lutheran Saxons of Transylvania, in 1542 at the Synod of Brassó, and in 1546 at the Assembly of Eperjes and the Calvinists at the Synod of Debrecen in 1567, organized their churches. In 1568, the Unitarians formulated their independent religious beliefs.

³⁹ „The preachers and priests of Transylvania and the neighboring parts of Hungary, singly and together – with their sons and daughters, grandchildren and descendants will be considered of truly noble birth **and we consider it good to embrace them and count them among the ranks of the nobility...**” Barcza József: *Bethlen Gábor, a református fejedelem*. A Magyarországi Református Egyház Sajtóosztálya Bp. 1980 pp. 143-145.

Knowledge and culture flourished as the result of the teaching that the Catholic Church provided and the Church deserves praise in this area.

The independent Principality of Transylvania, however, in the second half of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century, because of the political views of its leaders, became anti-Catholic. It was in vain that the Catholic-Lutheran reconciliation followed in 1557, because the unified organization of the Hungarian Catholic Church was no longer restorable.⁴⁰ The detrimental differentiation meant that temporarily the Church under the three-decade rule of the Catholic Báthorys⁴¹ declined, but nevertheless it was possible for the Catholic Church to survive.

When the Transylvanian princes (- very quickly -) recognized the role of the Church in regard to the mother-tongue and education, they expected to see a solution to the numerous and continuous infiltrations of the growing Romanian (formerly called Vlach) population, who belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church with its disorganized religion.⁴² The decisions of the Assembly of Torda did not apply to them, and there were no constitutional guarantees for the operation of their church.

The presence of the Romanians in large numbers in Transylvania prompted the Hungarians, with their center in Transylvania, to assure that the religious life of the Romanians attained the same level as that of the Europeans, when they equipped the printing press in Brassó with Cyrillic letters in 1533.⁴³ The Catechism, which appeared in 1544 with „rác” Serbian letters, at the same time validated and canonized the Romanian language in the Orthodox Church. The authorities at that time made it possible for liturgical books to be published in the mother-tongue for the benefit of the Greek Orthodox Church and, with the establishment of Serbian and Romanian language publishers, they provided the possibility for their own culture to flourish in their own mother-tongue.⁴⁴

Zsigmond János, a firm believer in Protestantism, (although with changing tendencies) insisted that the immigrants change from the Old Slav liturgical language to their own mother tongues. The Reformation then, appeared in its individually interpreted forms with regard to the Transylvanian Romanians who practiced the Orthodox religion.

The 1566 Transylvanian National Assembly – since there was no established church organization for the Romanian population – nominated a Presbyterian bishop to minister to the Orthodox Christians and severely punished the priests (popa) who opposed this.⁴⁵ However, Protestantism achieved only temporary success⁴⁶ and was not able to effect a lasting change: „Strict rationalism and a liturgy devoid of ceremony, in spite of stronger measures, could not find a way „to negotiate with the priests (popa) and the monks of the Eastern Church”.”⁴⁷

⁴⁰ From 1526 on, the authority of the Archbishop of Esztergom became continuously weaker, and with the breaking of the state into three parts, it actually disappeared. The Transylvanian bishops had no authority over the Saxons who had converted to Lutheranism, and from 1542, their income supplemented that of the Prince. In a similar manner, in 1556, the college in Nagyvárad became „secularized”, and the Assembly of Torda in 1566 banished the Catholic priests from the Partium. The Jesuit order suffered a similar fate.

⁴¹ The rehabilitated Jesuit schools and the Jesuit missionary work saved the Catholic Church from complete extinction.

⁴² The majority of their priests themselves hardly understood the Old Szav liturgical language, and they had no organized churches.

⁴³ This made it possible that the Bible, translated into the language of the nationalities, helped the spread of the new religion.

⁴⁴ Between 1544 and 1588, they printed 19 books on behalf of the Romanians, of which 7 were in the Romanian language, the others in the Old Slav language. Domokos Pál Páter: *Édes hazámnak akartam szolgálni*. Szenz István Társulat Bp. 1979. p. 60.

⁴⁵ Dr. Erdélyi: Op. Cit. Vol. 2. p. 207.

⁴⁶ Between 1566 and 1567, with the support of Zsigmond János, the first Transylvanian Presbyterian Synod came into being. They accepted the Romanian language as the language of worship, and numerous priests were converted to the new religion. The renewed faith of the Romanians continued until the 1580's. Then it ceased to progress and even seemed to regress. *Erdély története* Editor in Chief: Köpeczi Béla. Akadémiai Kiadó, Bp.1986 Vol. I. p. 486.

⁴⁷ Tamás Lajos: *Az erdélyi oláhság* in: Asztalos Miklós: *A történeti Erdély* Erdélyi Férfiak Egyesülete h.n. 1936 p. 431.

However, the Orthodox Church, retaining its independence, without gaining autonomy⁴⁸, slowly gained ground.

With permission from Prince István Báthory, the two monasteries of the Eastern Church (kalugyer)⁴⁹, in 1572 (in Réve) and 1574 (in Felsőszilvás) began to operate under the Bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church (=vladica)⁵⁰ and, in the same year, the National Assembly at Torda recognized the right of the Orthodox Christians to elect their own bishops.

The organization of the Orthodox Church had begun to develop. Although the organization of the Transylvanian Orthodox Church took some steps backward, it did finally come into existence.⁵¹

In 1615, Gábor Bethlen not only protected the Romanian settlers⁵² and their churches, but he issued an order that „anyone who expropriated anything from the Romanian churches, should be punished with a fine”.⁵³ Recognizing the role of the Christian churches in organizing schools and their responsibility to the community, he formulated the same demands on the Greek Orthodox Church: e.g. they should pay attention to the purity of the morals, they should not allow disunity and they should organize schools on the example of the Catholic and Protestant schools.

The Protestant prince, at the same time, looked kindly on and supported, but did not enforce the spread of the Protestant religion on the Romanians. He announced in 1614 that he would support the conversion with a charter and, on December 24, 1616, he was present at the ordination of sixty Romanian Protestant pastors, as well as at the foundation of the Romanian boys' school in Gyulafehérvár on June 25, 1624.⁵⁴ The importance and significance of the religious life, conducted in the mother tongue, can be proved by the fact that „for the salvation and the nurture of the souls of the Olah (Romanian) peoples, he had the Bible translated by scholars into their own languages.”⁵⁵

⁴⁸ The organized bishoprics of the Greek Orthodox Church remained until 1864 under the authority of the Serbian (Karlóca) metropolitan, who in regard to the Serbs was not just their ecclesiastical representative, but was also the secular representative of his people. A separate study could be written about the relationship between the two peoples in the ecclesiastical symbiosis, and what level of activity the Romanians had in secular matters.

⁴⁹ Kalugyer/kalugyerisa was the monastery/convent of the Greek Orthodox Church. Their foundation took place at the same time as the foundation of the two principalities of Moldova and Havaselve. The monks of these monasteries served their faithful as preachers. Most of them were illiterate so they could not take part in teaching. The income of the convents was sent to Jerusalem and the Athos Mountain, so they had very little support from the princes. The monks were occupied with animal husbandry in addition to caring for the souls of their faithful, and the nuns were occupied in spinning and weaving. A Pallas Nagylexikona Bp. 1895 Vol. 10. p. 73.

⁵⁰ Vladica = vladika: the Greek Orthodox bishop, who was at the same time a governor, so he took care of „secular” matters for the community. The word is of Serbian origin. Only a monk could become a „vladica”, and in later times he was elected by the Synod of Bishops and was confirmed by the ruler. (Note: Compared to the holy orders of the Catholic Church, this was a „positive distinction!”) Révai Nagy Lexikona Hasonmás Kiadás Babits Kiadó 1995. Vol. 19. p. 431.

⁵¹ Zsigmond Báthory recognized the authority of the metropolitan (=archbishop) of Tirgoviste over the Orthodox bishops. The highest authority of the Transylvanian Orthodox Church, therefore, was connected to the Eastern European Orthodox hierarchy, for the consecration and supervision of the bishops was conducted here and this connection – even in other forms – remained in spite of the fact that Bocskai, instead of the Archbishop of Tirgoviste, made the Archbishop of Réve the Archbishop of the Transylvanian Romanians. There was another change in the ecclesiastical power circles, when György Rákóczi I, in 1640, made the Romanian Bishop of Gyulafehérvár subordinate to the Protestant bishop.

In 1609, Gábor Báthory, raised the priests of the Eastern Church from serfdom, so that they remained the only unifying force for the Romanians at that time, and through the Eastern Orthodox Church, they could aid the survival of the Romanian people as a community. Prince Gábor Bethlen, on two occasions, in 1614 and 1624, reaffirmed this distinction.

⁵² By 1602, in the areas inhabited by Romanians „a long chain chain of settlements was established from Máramaros to the Belényes Basin and across the Gyalui Alps to Fogaras, Hunyádmegye and to Szörény. According to the custom of the day, in their villages their own elected officials kept the law, and everyone was given the tax-free status allowed to settlers (e.g. unlike other religions they did not have to pay the tithe, even when it was raised to a state tax.) Erdély története Vol. 1. pp. 493-494.

⁵³Barcza József: Op.Cit.

⁵⁴ Demény Lajos: *Bethlen Gábor és kora* Politikai Könyvkiadó Bukarest 1982. p. 172.

⁵⁵Barcza József: Op. Cit.

A similar line of thought must have led Princess Zsuzsanna Lórantffy, when, in 1657, she founded a Romanian language elementary school on her property.

In 1672, a new ethnic group moved into the territory of the Prince of Transylvania: the Catholic Armenians, who were merchants and traders.

The Armenians first entered Moldova from the Crimean Peninsula, and then came into Gyergó, with its center in Gyergyószentmiklos, and Csíkszépvíz in Csík. With the permission of Prince Mihály Apafy, a group of them moved into the province of Görgényi and, later, Ebesfalva (which became Erzsébetváros) became their new home.

In 1686, their church united with the Roman Catholic Church. This union ensured equal rights for them and made possible the preservation of their church rituals, language and customs, which naturally led to the establishment of their own schools. They were able to retain these rights into the first half of the 20th century.

Protestantism, since it had broken down the exclusive power of the Catholic Church, and torn apart the medieval church organization, together with the school system, not only took over their rights but was forced to shoulder their responsibilities as well.

The Principality of Transylvania, by dint of its budding Protestant character, on the one hand, expected, within the bounds of the divine laws, the honor and obedience of its subjects; on the other hand, led by godly morals, it wished to attain security based on law and equality before the law. This represented the basis of its educational politics too. Thus the Protestant princes became responsible for the financial support of the Protestant churches and the school system connected to them; more exactly the churches and the network of schools connected to them.

They saw the security of their happiness in their educated leaders and, therefore, that particular educational system evolved, which survived after the Diploma Leopoldinum came into existence.

The educational politics of the princes established its own bipolar school-system. The schools remained in the possession of the churches, that is, teaching and training, which in part continued to serve the goals of the Church. The state budget, with various forms of support, ensured the state's presence in education. In actuality, secularization took place, which was the first step toward nationalization.

The Transylvanian princes (except for the Báthorys⁵⁶) wished to support education first of all by establishing Protestant schools (Gyulafehérvér, then Nagyenyed, rebuilt after the fire), expanding them (Sárospatak), raising their educational level (Kassa), and, with the establishment of different types of grants⁵⁷ and scholarships, bearing the expense of distributing foreign studies, and establishing schools with a whole list of privileges.

The educational politics of the Principality of Transylvania, while it conferred advantages on the schools of the Presbyterian denomination, did not withhold its help from the schools of the other Protestant denominations – including the German language school system of the Lutheran Saxons – however it forced the Romanian Church to establish schools. Without a doubt, the same disadvantageous discrimination was conducted against the Catholic Church, but this politically prompted difference did not prevent the remaining Catholic communities from operating their schools (e.g. in the Catholic community of Csík).

The controlling role of the state appeared in a new connection, when – besides the unchanging rights of the school administrators of the denominations – in 1622, using the renewal of the content, the National Assembly, in its Law No. VI, simply made obligatory the

⁵⁶ The Jesuits, returning in 1581, founded certain schools that, thanks to Prince István Báthory, developed into academies.

⁵⁷ The upkeep of the schools was possible with gifts (Zsuzsanna Lórantffy made gifts to Sárospatak).

„training for the secular life”,⁵⁸ and in the second half of the century a new type of school was established – the girls’ school.

Transylvania, at the beginning of the 18th century had become the home of many ethnic groups and the immigrants were allowed to practice their religion and their language, which allowed them to grow intellectually.

At the same time, in the territories occupied by the Turks, there was an unusual state of affairs. The Turkish public administration and social structure posed special difficulties and problems for the Christians who had remained in their homes. In the depopulated territories, the number of priests also declined. The Catholic Church was forced to rely on the self-sacrificing work of the „licentiatuș”⁵⁹, that is Franciscan and Jesuit monks, who were constantly changing and often declining in numbers. The Turks persecuted the Jesuits especially.⁶⁰ Under such circumstances, it was inevitable that the Catholic churches fell into disrepair, the number of schools declined and, without them, it is a wonder that they survived at all.⁶¹

The relationship between the Porta and the seat of the diocese of the Catholic Church posed a special problem, because the Turks did not recognize the rights of the leaders of the Catholic Church in regard to the religious life which extended beyond the border. Finally, Rome was forced to reorganize its dioceses temporarily with redrawn borders. This action was in fact too late, because the geographical connections established an uncomprehensive long range sphere of authority: many settlements converted to the Greek Orthodox faith.⁶²

The Protestants were in no better position. The Turks on more than one occasion used, for example, the discord between the Presbyterians and the Unitarians in their attacks against the churches of the Hungarians. The „senioratus” of the Maka and Tiszántul Presbyterians was the Transylvanian one, the others belonged under the „superintendents” of the two occupied zones⁶³, and in consequence the situation of their schools was no better than that of the Catholics.

In the occupied territories, **along with Turkish population came their religion too – Islam.** Their appearance did not depend on the „Hungarian readiness to welcome them”, but on their occupation.⁶⁴ Accordingly, in respect to their religion they introduced new constructions and, after they were driven out of Hungary, those who remained converted to Christianity.

In the Kingdom of Hungary, with the political support of the Hapsburgs, the Counter-Reformation emerged, whose political significance, by suggesting the choice between the „two pagans”, extended beyond „simple” religious arguments. It is a sad fact that this reflected the developing antagonistic situation, the occasionally armed Counter-Reformation. Whereas, in Transylvania, the Protestant schools, and among them the Presbyterian schools received local

⁵⁸ Asztalos: Op. Cit. p. 246.

⁵⁹ The „licentiatuș” was a secular, married man, who, after an examination by the bishop, was deemed to have appropriate theological knowledge and received permission to perform marriages, baptisms and funerals and to read the Gospel on Sundays. Karácsonyi János: *Magyarország egyháztörténete főbb vonásaiban 970-től 1900-ig* Könyv értékesítő Vállalat Bp.1985. p. 145.

⁶⁰ (e.g. György Vásárhelyi was imprisoned, and was only freed by Gábor Bethlen who was in Pécs and called him to his side.) Hermann Egyed: *A katolikus egyház története Magyarországon 1914-ig* Auróra Könyvek München. 1975 p. 291.

⁶¹ Official data from the time of the occupation survived only sporadically in certain records, because „it was not advisable to hold a census”, for the Turks might use it to impose new taxes. In 1649, in Kecskemét the Church knew of 1000 Catholics. In 1649, in Belgrade, the Bishop confirmed 241 people. Hermann Egyed: Op. Cit. p. 292.

⁶² Karácsonyi Sándor: Op. Cit. p. 146.

⁶³ Karácsonyi Sándor: Op.Cit. p. 146.

⁶⁴ They sometimes altered the Christian churches, and sometimes built new ones. In an important city, they built a Jama and in other places mosques. Their schools (medrese) were connected with their churches, just like those of the Christians. There the priests were trained. Smaller schools were the „mekteb”, where the teacher received a state salary. Dr. Erdélyi: Op. Cit. Vol. 2. p 210.

benefits, in the Kingdom of Hungary, the Catholic Schools were in a more advantageous situation.

In the last decades of the 17th century, in no matter which of the three parts of the divided country we refer to, the question of the schools was naturally not completely independent of the political struggles, but it did form its own rules from the situation of the churches and the general independence of the educational professions. Politics might rule on the number of schools, might decide the legal and economic position of the teachers, might decide upon the financial income of the institutions, and the state might formulate its expectations of the curriculum, but, in spite of the local or regional differences, the question of the schools basically underwent similar changes and, struggling with similar problems, the schools developed in similar measure.

In the first decades of the 18th century, the reorganization of the Hungarian schools took place.

The Catholic school system underwent huge changes. It was constructed on three circumscribed organizational elements differing from each other, which not only characterized the prescribed curriculum, but also the different conditions for the subject matter.

The lower level, the elementary school, the language of which was the mother-tongue of the pupils, became independent. The church diocese was administrator and supervisor.

The middle level would today be called the secondary school, and it was made up of two parts: the small high-school (6 years) and the big high-school (2 years). (High-school (US) = Grammar-school (UK).) After successful completion of the latter, the student might continue to the Academy or the University.

The upper level, the Academy⁶⁵, provided instruction in philosophy and theology. Today it provides specialized branches of learning. The time to complete each branch was two years, as opposed to the university which was three years. In both the secondary and upper levels, Latin was the language of instruction, but it was compulsory to use the mother-tongue of the students (which they had used in the elementary school) as an „auxiliary language”.

The **University** consisted of two faculties and the students were awarded a doctorate on completion of their studies.

The methods for maintaining and preserving the Catholic schools from the 16th and the 17th centuries on, were very changeable; they were expanded and then they began to differ from each other.

The diocese was the administrator of **the elementary school**, and the costs of running the school came from three sources: the money and natural resources collected by the inhabitants of the village; the regular donations of the landowner, exercising his right as patron, who determined the amount; and the tuition fees of the pupils (which usually the parents paid in addition to the taxes they paid as inhabitants of the village, although they could receive some help in the form of a grant, or later, a scholarship from the foundation).

The upkeep of the secondary schools, academies and universities was provided by a different method. Naturally, in this case the church was responsible for the upkeep but, from the beginning, the institutions were forced to procure the funds necessary for their foundation by independently managing their resources. It is worth noting that, contrary to the instruction in the elementary schools, **the tuition was free**.

The boarding schools (the precursor of today's college)⁶⁶ were initially organized to serve alongside the academies and universities, and later they became connected to the

⁶⁵ This was the precursor of today's college, and by reaching a certain standard it could be called a university. Thus Péter Pázmány, the Bishop of Nagyszombat and Benedek Kisdi, Bishop of Eger attended the foundation of the University of Kassa. Mészáros István: *A katolikus iskolák*, p. 122.

⁶⁶ Latin: convictorium. At first the Catholic universities came into being. These were institutions where the students of Catholic theology, ate together, studied together, and lived together. A Pallas Nagy Lexikona Vol. 10. p. 757.

secondary schools. The upkeep of these schools also came from various sources. The earlier custom (by which the Ruler or the Church itself, taking possession of the institution that was forced to manage its resources independently) was expanded with new elements, because the money-grants came into being⁶⁷ (economy based on accumulation of capital), and later, acquisition of wealth inherited from wills.⁶⁸

In many cases, the city magistrate, expanding the earlier agreements made with the religious orders, by taking over the costs of maintenance and salaries, was able to influence the monastic teachers he employed in his own schools. Thus, he was generally able to influence the subject content as well.

The Protestant school system took a different path than that of the Catholic schools. All the four denominations agreed that they would build a network of schools **on a system of colleges**.⁶⁹

The Lutheran schools were organized on a ten-year system: four lower and six higher levels. The three large centers of the Lutheran church showed a marked difference in the organization of the schools: those of the Transylvanian Saxons, those of the cities of the Highlands (Felvidék) and the school system of Pozsony and Sopron.

As a natural consequence of the Saxon autonomy, **the Saxon school system** became the most closed system with the most rules. The Saxon totality was not only built upon their economic and religious autonomy, but also on the schools, for they belonged exclusively to the church. The schools themselves were supervised in such a way that the elementary schools were the responsibility of the pastor of the village. The school in Brassó, established in 1543 by Johannes Honterius; the print-shop, the library and the school system established in Szeben, all followed the example of the Germans (thanks to the young people who attended university in Germany and who returned home). The school in Szeben, in a special course with academic content, prepared its students for foreign universities. The majority of the Saxon teachers obtained their teaching diplomas from German universities.

The Lutheran secondary schools in Hungary (the Highlands, Pozsony and Sopron), on the basis of their curriculum, can be recognized as having two types of school: the „high-school” (gymnasium) and the structured high-school, the **secondary school for girls (lyceum)**⁷⁰.

The general Synod wanted to establish the Lutheran higher education in the form of academies. They wished to start this form of education first of all in Eperjes. However, the school only received its certification as a “lyceum”.

The centers of the Lutheran school system in Transdanubia were in Sopron and in Pozsony, and similar to that of Eperjes, they first received certification as “lyceums” in the middle of the 17th century, and later they were raised to the rank of academy in the first half of the 18th century.

The upkeep of the Lutheran schools showed many similarities to that of the Catholics, but there was a basic difference. The Lutheran churches were responsible for the upkeep of their own schools, except for the Academy (lyceum) that was established in Eperjes.⁷¹ The general

⁶⁷ In this way, Péter Pázmány founded the University of Nagyszombat with 100,000 Ft. out of his own wealth.

⁶⁸ They often inherited libraries from wills, simple donations of money, income from property, or even buildings. Mészáros István: *A katolikus iskolák*, p.122.

⁶⁹ Those Protestant schools that were established as secondary schools developed into colleges, but they were not separated, like the Catholic academies; instead they remained in the same system.

⁷⁰ On the example of the ancient Greeks and Romans, this secondary school taught philosophy and theology. The Lutheran Church used the term „zrljrs”, organized secondary school, in reference to this school.

⁷¹ From the economic point of view this was a special situation, because the Church collected the necessary amount from a nationwide collection. *Hat évszázad magyar egyetemei és főiskolái*. Editor: Szögi László Magyar Felsőoktatás MKM 1994 p. 23.

Synod had the right to supervise the schools. This right of supervision, in the case of the elementary and secondary schools, involved the operation of the schools (financial and curricular) and was shared with the college that was directly superior to them. In other words, in the case of the high schools, acting as secondary schools and academies, the appointed 2-2 supervisors worked together with the Lutheran City Council.

In the last decades of the 18th century, noticeable differences developed between the Lutheran, the Presbyterian and the Unitarian schools.

The school-system established by the Presbyterians in the 16th and 17th centuries was preserved until the subsequent nationalization of the schools in 1948.

The importance of the persecution of the Presbyterian Church and its school system in the time of the Hapsburgs can be found in two factors. The one was the emerging use of the mother-tongue because: „*If they wanted to take into account the demands of the age, they had to express their independent activities from two points of view: they had to penetrate deeply into the spirit of the thoughts expressed in a foreign language and on the other hand, they had to achieve certain creative works, as well as make their own mother-tongue capable of expressing those thoughts.*”⁷² The other was the school system itself, which, on the one hand was unusually open, taking into account the different levels of society, and, on the other hand, the form of its instruction in the „Coetus”⁷³ which existed in the „Communitas Scholastica”⁷⁴ system of colleges, as well as the relationship between the mother school⁷⁵ and the branch schools⁷⁶, was the most influential indirect tool in the establishment of the community spirit.

The Presbyterian school system was composed of four individual units.

On the lower level belonged the (village and city) elementary schools, in which the teachers prepared only the local children to go on to the higher levels.

On the second level of schools (in smaller cities) the list of subjects expanded and the number of schoolbooks grew (11 books).

In the third level of schools (in larger cities) the study of philosophy and theology was introduced (reminiscent of the Lutheran lyceums). The secondary school prepared the students for learning on the higher level.

The higher level of instruction in the Presbyterian schools took place in the form of colleges. These colleges generally grew out of the third level of schools and were called „*illustrius schola*”.⁷⁷ The basic responsibility of the college was to prepare the teachers, professors and pastors. In a comparatively short period of time, the colleges established law academies too, and therefore provided well-prepared professionals.

Gradually, the maintenance, operation and supervision of the Presbyterian network of schools was established, which played a part in the autonomy of the church.

The local lower level and secondary level schools (the majority of which were the earlier village and city schools that had converted to Protestantism), and sometimes the third level schools too, were generally maintained and operated by the religious community of the settlement, and their supervision was the responsibility of the pastor and the secular leader, sometimes the bishop and the secular leader of the settlement.

⁷² Kármán Mór: *Közoktatásügyi tanulmányok*, Vol. 2. Franklin Társulat Bp. 1911. p. 36.

⁷³ Coetus (=cétus) – a kind of college where 6-10 students learned and lived together.

⁷⁴ A school community.

⁷⁵ A Presbyterian college, which operated with a curriculum, intructions, teachers and teacher’s aides, which administered the village and city schools connected to it and also provided teachers.

⁷⁶ A branch school of the Presbyterian college, operating in another place.

⁷⁷ The best example of this was the College at Sárospatak, which came into being in 1530 as a third class school to repkace the Franciscans who were leaving. It grew out of a lower ranked school in Transdanubia, the Presbyterian College of Pápa.

The upkeep of the colleges was the responsibility of their administrators and managers. At the time of their foundation, expansion, and development, they generally received donations, which were sometimes simple grants of money and sometimes income that came from property, which could be very unpredictable. The „coetus” as a society of students, through its voting rights, was offered the opportunity to involve itself in the operation and management⁷⁸. This applied to the households of the „convictus”⁷⁹ too. The students themselves took part in the upkeep of the college, or „convictus” by doing all kinds of work.⁸⁰

At the start of the Turkish expansion into the Balkans, Hungary welcomed the Serbs who were fleeing from the Turks, which comparatively ameliorated their situation, whether they settled in Hungary beside the other immigrants during the time of King Zsigmond⁸¹, or whether they settled on the banks of the Danube, or took advantage of the benefits which came from Szapolyai⁸², from the point of view of temporary trade in particular areas, they enjoyed those privileges, which already in the 15th century the Hungarian kings gave⁸³ to the immigrants.

Their language and their religion connected them to the Orthodox cultural circle; their situation was based on favors received as a result of the difference of their church. This religious differentiation was, however, not unbroken. In the Middle Ages, in Slavonia, which was called Tót country, between 1608 and 1663, an attempt was made by the Basilian⁸⁴ monks to have the Greek Orthodox Bosnians acknowledge the authority of the Roman Catholic Church.⁸⁵ A similar attempt was made among the Serbian peasants⁸⁶ who had settled around Pécs and

⁷⁸ „The entire governing power, the entire management and direction, all police supervision and judgment of the students was under the leadership of the rector, freely elected and sworn in senior and his „contraseriba”, as well as a council which belonged to them and was placed in their hands.” Kármán Mór: Op. Cit. pp. 36-39.

⁷⁹ Here the expression „dues” is appropriate. The students, for a small fee, received lunch. Révai Nagy Lexikona Bp. Révai Testvérek Irodalmi Intézet Rt. 1915. Vol. 12. p. 3.

⁸⁰ The institutions of *legatio* (celebrating embassy), the *supplicatio* (collection for the summer school) and the *rectoria* all operated like a college. The poor „servant students” received money and other goods.

⁸¹ The oldest Serbian settlement in Hungary – Kevevára=Kovinvára – was given a tax-free status and was **free to practice its religion**. Ács Zoltán: *Nemzetiségek a történelmi Magyarországon*. Kossuth Könyvkiadó h.n. 1984 p. 108.

⁸² The Zápolya family received its name from the Zápolya settlement in Pozsega County, which was destroyed under the Turkish occupation. It originated in Southern Hungary, and it was known that, at the time of the Transylvanian vajda, there was a large number of Serbs in the family. Ács Zoltán: Op.Cit. p. 11. Révai Nagy Lexikon Vol. 17. p. 360.

⁸³ King Ulászló I. gave them territories and temporary tax-free status, and accepted some exceptional individuals into the nobility. In 1481, King Mátyás exempted the Serbs who were in the Greek Orthodox Church from paying the tithe „so that they would become stronger under the rule of the Holy Crown, and so that such refugees should be an example to others, who are living under the rule of the Turks, so that they will be prepared to enter this country, where they can see that those who have already come here have received exceptional rights.” Ács Zoltán: *Nemzetiségek a történelmi Magyarországon*, Kossuth Könyvkiadó h.n. 1984. p. 110.

⁸⁴ Religious order of the Greek Orthodox Church, founded by Saint Basil around 361 AD- The most important rules were obedience, poverty and the renouncement of fine clothes and food and all worldly pleasures. The three levels of the order (the novitiates, those who swore a vow and the perfect ones) were appropriate with the customs of the times. There were very few initiates (although just enough for the leadership of the church).

⁸⁵ With the intervention of the Bishop of Zagreb, Pope Paul V assented to the affiliation. Thus, in Slavonia and in the southern part of Hungary, the Serbian Orthodox Church came into being. In the absence of suitable regulation, the basically permissible politics made it possible, from 1630 on, for one bishop or another to arrange for himself to be consecrated as Patriarch of Ipek.

⁸⁶ The Orthodox Serbian seminarians were trained at the Seminary of Zagreb. The Greek Catholic procuratorship ensured their financial situation with grants of land. Karácsonyi János: Op.Cit. p. 212.

Szigetvár. However, in 1690, Old Serbian refugees⁸⁷ were prevented from entering⁸⁸ and, in fact, with the aid of the Turks,⁸⁹ the flow of refugees was turned back.

In 1690 and 1691, Leopold I, with two patents, ensured collective rights for the immigrants. He gave them a tax-free status and religious autonomy, which made it possible for the Serbian church not only to have jurisdiction over the religious life and education, but the head of the Church⁹⁰, whose seat was initially in Szentendre, in 1739 moved to Karlóca and he took over the representation of secular matters too⁹¹. A further action of Leopold I, in 1694, which was entirely contrary to the Hungarian legal system, was to designate the land between the Danube and Tisza for their settlements. By doing so, it appeared as if the land had been acquired in war and it was torn away from the Hungarian public administration, no longer subject to Hungarian laws, and, drawn into the jurisdiction of the Viennese War Council, becoming established as the military border called Határőrvidék.

In the border military zone, the Serbian network of schools operated under regulations of military service instituted by the War Council. **In the other settlements**, the schools were organized according to the directives of the Church. Until 1703, in every settlement a parish and an elementary school were established, and the language of instruction was the mother-tongue of the specific ethnic group.

Soon after their settlement – perhaps because of the way of life of the settlers, and the organization of their church – the establishment of their network of schools was organized differently than that of the other denominations. As a result of their particular situation, their teachers immediately received certain benefits⁹², and their schools, which were outside of the military zone, received financial aid for repairs and new construction from collections of donations from the communities in the county and the county assemblies made decisions for them. In Karlóca the first Serbian High School was established.

The settlement of the ethnic group of people, who live at the foot of the north-eastern Carpathian Mountains, goes back to the 13th century. The privileges that they received from the Ruler allowed them to settle and remain there.⁹³ Among their privileges was that they were allowed to keep their religion⁹⁴, their language and their customs, and practice their own way of life⁹⁵. Orthodox bishoprics spread their influence on the growing number of settlements. The

⁸⁷ After the unsuccessful campaign of Leopold I – trusting the promise of the Emperor, and fearful of the revenge of the Turks, -- under the leadership of the Patriarch of Ipek, 2000-2500 families entered the country. Under the leadership of the Judge of Belgrade, 1000 families settled in Szentendre, and 600 families settled in the Tabán in Buda, where they generally lived together with their own kind in separate districts. The rest of the families joined the settlements of Serbs that had formerly been established. Ács Zoltán: Op. Cit. pp. 156-158.

⁸⁸ The Greek Catholic bishop was exiled to Pakrac in the County of Pozsega, and after his death in 1705, the union between the two churches was dissolved. Dr. Erdélyi László: Op. Cit. Vol. 2. p. 209.

⁸⁹ From 1660, with the permission of the Sultan, the Patriarch of Constantinople sent Greek Orthodox bishops, who sank to ransoming the immigrants and then, contrary to the Hungarian custom, where only the king might nominate the bishops, they consecrated six bishops from their own priests who were on the territory of Hungary. Dr. Erdélyi László: Op. Cit. Vol. 2. p. 209.

⁹⁰ Although it was illegal, the Patriarch named himself Metropolitan, and until 1864 took the Romanian Greek Orthodox Church under his jurisdiction.

⁹¹ The governing body of the Church was the National Ecclesiastical Congress, which was at the same time a religious, political and governing body. This would play a huge role in later years.

⁹² In each community, the teachers received a land grant of 25-30 holds.

⁹³ Their settlements were similar to those of the Romanians. They came with their leaders called „kenéz” who generally became the judges for the settlers and were exempt from the feudal responsibilities. Under the leadership of the „soltesz” they brought manual workers to the larger properties.

⁹⁴ The monks of the Greek Orthodox Church established their first monastery in honor of Saint Michael in the 15th century. The establishment of their diocese in 1458 was endorsed by a document from King Mátyás. Pirigy István, historian of the diocese of Munkács, in. Hodinka Antal *Emlékkönyv*. Nyíregyháza k.n. 1993. pp. 93-110.

⁹⁵ The immigrants were named after their occupations and their place of settlement. Thus the *Dolisnyák* received their name from the pastures where they grazed their flocks on the plains; the *Lemák* was the name of the people of the river valleys, who were farmers and

territories of the Principality of Transylvania came into contact with the Reformation but this was on the level of a legal relationship with the priesthood, as legal institutions and not with the bishops. The rapprochement between the Greek Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church began in the first half of the 17th century. The connection between the Jesuits, who settled in Ungvár, and the priests of the Orthodox Church, who were mockingly called „Batykó”, who were dragging out their lives in serfdom, indicated a leaning toward the Catholic religion. The consolidation took place on April 23, 1646. However, the union was not compulsory and the inhabitants of Máramaros kept their original religion.

In the second half of the 17th century, the spontaneous union of the Roman Catholic and the Greek Orthodox Church did not proceed without criticism. In the southern regions of the country, the united church withered away and left few traces⁹⁶, but at the foot of the north-eastern Carpathians, it became stronger. This progression, with strong support from Leopold I, became very successful. Rome contributed to this success by allowing the use of the Ruthenian and Romanian languages in the liturgy, and allowing them to preserve their rites and ecclesiastical organization. The rise of the priesthood that had become Greek Catholics and the „falling in line with the West” was able to come into force. This was primarily demonstrated in the legal status of their priests, their training and the development of their school system, which was similar to that of the Catholics. The use of the mother-tongue reflected that of the Reformation.

The acceptance of the Diploma Leopoldinum in 1691, legally followed the schism in the Transylvanian Greek Orthodox Church, because Anghel Athanáz, the Transylvanian bishop and his archdeacons, in the name of 2270 Romanian priests, joined the Catholic Church.⁹⁷

From the very beginning, the continuously immigrating Jews had their own special situation. Their settlements⁹⁸, privileges⁹⁹ and occasional restrictions¹⁰⁰; their way of life¹⁰¹, traditional occupations¹⁰² and legal status¹⁰³; their religious life and the culture¹⁰⁴ which went along with it did not change after 1526, 1541 or 1699. In all three parts of the country they continued to trade, all three powers allowing them in and even inviting them.¹⁰⁵

merchants; the *Hucul* were the mountain-dwellers who only came in the 15th century, and the *Bolykó* were occupied with animal husbandry and agriculture. Hévízi Józsa: *Autonómia-típusok Magyarországon és Európában* Püski Bp. 2001 p. 91.

⁹⁶ The *Sokác* and *Bunyevác* became Roman Catholics, but their rites do not resemble the „union” of their former churches.

⁹⁷ Karácsonyi: Op. Cit. p. 218.

⁹⁸ They usually settled in the border counties, in the place of the royal seat.

⁹⁹ The right to rent property

¹⁰⁰ In Buda, they were forced to wear a special sign on their clothes. In 1539, the Jews of Nagyszombat were accused and persecuted.

¹⁰¹ They were not integrated but lived in their communities, the *kehilla* which made possible a symbiotic connection with their hosts.

¹⁰² At that time, they belonged in three groups on the basis of their occupations. About 35% were merchants, a few wholesale merchants, the majority were door-to-door peddlars, hucksters and traveling salesmen. There was a considerable number who rented property from gentlemen to use as distilleries and many of them ran taverns and mills and served as tax-collectors. In comparison, there were very few Jews who became craftsmen and even fewer who were farmers.

¹⁰¹ They were not part of the feudal system, they considered their living quarters to be temporary, and this basically determined their situation, as to under whose jurisdiction they belonged. According to this, they belonged in three groups, under the jurisdiction of the King, the Lord or the City.

¹⁰⁴ They strongly preserved their autonomy within the community. Their community life operated on the basis of the law of the Talmud. Their customs, the *halácha*, unified them. The burial society operated as their own institution: *Hevna Kádísá*, court=*bédin*, ritual bath=*mikv*, and education took a central place. Gyurgyák János: *A zsidókérdés Magyarországon*.

¹⁰⁵ In 1623, Gábor Bethlen invited Jews from Turkey in the interest of obtaining their help with his economic policy. In the occupied territories the people welcomed the Jewish merchants. In 1663, two synagogues were operating in **Buda**. Dr. Erdély: Op. Cit. Vol. 2. p. 210.

Even today, the Jewish communities do not have a hierarchical church. Until 1868, the religious and economic-political units, the so-called **comitas judeorum**¹⁰⁶ held the Jews together. The religious communities were completely autonomous. Their schools, according to the custom of the times, were in the hands of the religious communities. They were organized in two parts: basic instruction (= chéder) and advanced instruction from the Talmud (= jesiva). The supervision of the schools was literally the responsibility of the rabbi; their upkeep was undertaken by the community.

After the expulsion of the Turks and the failure of the Rákóczi freedom fight, Hungary became a multi-national state, with many languages and religions. Its population decreased, and it was a state deprived of material goods:

	Cath.	Luth.	Presb	Unit.	Greek Cath.	GreekOrth.	Arm. Orth.	Jew.	
Hungarian	x	x	x	x					
German	x	x							
Slovak	x	x							
Ruthenian					x				
Romanian					x	x			
Serbian						x			
Armenian							x		
Wend	x								
Jewish								x	

This country, its three parts newly-reunited, was occupied by the Hapsburgs, and neither the resettlement nor the immigration decreased. Indeed, the interior migration, or transmigration¹⁰⁷ also served their political purposes, by dividing the Hungarian people. Charles III. prepared for his coronation, pledging „One religion – one country”, and pledging to unite with the Estates and modernize the state bureaucracy, while remaining faithful to the Constitution.

This modernization was just the modernization of the administration, which they used as a tool for their empire-building politics. Without a doubt, compared to the absolutism of Leopold I, the modernization of Charles III was a step forward but, if we take into account that all of this was accomplished by building it into the state bureaucracy, this detracts greatly from its value.

Under the rule of Charles III, the relationship between the State and the Church began to change, including a change in the jurisdiction of those in the State and the Church who were concerned with the maintenance and operation of the schools. As a necessary consequence of this change, on the one hand the hegemony of the Catholic Church ceased to exist but the Catholic Hapsburgs remained in power; on the other hand, the relationship between the Ruler and the nobles changed, partly because of the Peace of Szatmár and partly because of the changed international situation.¹⁰⁸ The Hapsburg territory of interest then became the Danube Monarchy, in which they planned a key role for Hungary, only in the role of a province. The

¹⁰⁶Balogh Margit-Gergely Jenő: *Egyházak az újkori Magyarországon 1790-1992*. História MTA Tört. tud. Int. Bp.1996 p. 143.

¹⁰⁷ In exceptional circumstances, from the nationalistic standpoint, Toth = Slovak. They did not enter Hungary as such a nationality, they did not live here as such a nationality, but here, in their original location, they became such. The influence of their Czech, Moravian, Ruthenian and Polish ancestors on them caused their language to become slaviced, but their religion became or remained Catholic. Pirigyi István: *Op.Cit. Ács Zoltán: Op. Cit. pp. 90.-94.*

¹⁰⁸ In connection with the change in the international opinion of the Hapsburgs (War of the Spanish Succession), their imperial position was shaky (the sudden advancement of Prussia), and the firm establishment of Protestantism throughout Europe (e.g. Holland as a Protestant state) necessitated a change in the form and content of the exercise of power.

social background of the Rákóczi Freedom Fight then offered enough warning to the kings who wished to rule. This had been subordinated to thirty years of the exercise of power. This was subordinated to the modification of the state bureaucracy and the Church politics.

The 1715 Law No. XXX, the second paragraph of which raised the administration of religious matters to the level of a royal prerogative, made it possible for the State to intervene „legally” in the matters of the Church. In this way, the Ruler could openly take measures legally in national and religious matters.¹⁰⁹ The Joint Commission for Religious Matters was established to examine mutual grievances. The Protestants were in a disadvantageous position in this Commission because of their numbers, and because it really did not wish to stray from the tenets of the **Explanacio Leopoldina**.¹¹⁰ The Joint Commission for Religious Matters (although the Ruler commissioned it in 1721), apart from nine (!) truckloads of documents, could not demonstrate any substantial work. Many Protestant churches were taken over by the Catholics, which generally accompanied the decline in the number of schools.

By „keeping the **Explanatio** in effect”, the freedom of worship limited the **operation of the schools**, by allowing it only in **articularis**¹¹¹ places. The facts at our disposal demonstrate this¹¹²:

Type of Institution	Number of institutions	Location
College	5	Debrecen, Sárospatak, Kolozsvár, Marosvásárhely, Nagyenyed
Full high school Third level	15	
Small high school Second level	13	
Elementary school = Folk school Lowest level	no data	

On March 21, 1731, the Ruler, „the protector of religion” passed the Carolina Resolution, which was actually the only governing apparatus for the operation of the Protestant Church until the law of religious tolerance passed by Joseph II.

This was the beginning of the overt State intervention. The law of Charles III occupied its own place and still today occupies its own place in the public mentality. Rightfully so. In spite of the limited character of the law (based on the restrictions of that of 1681) it was a step toward the rapprochement between the Protestant and Catholic Churches. Certain elements of the law concerning education were not made public; the Council of the Governor General received these in the form of secret instructions. On the basis of this, it was not only the rights

¹⁰⁹ While it strengthened the privileges of the Serbs, it did not raise their church into the ranks of the accepted churches. Before his coronation, Charles III promised to recognize the rights of the Protestants, but with the Law No. XXX of 1715, he stripped them of their collective rights, and they could only address their grievances individually. With the establishment of the Commission for Religious Matters, the handling of the problem was placed on a lower level but it did partly resolve some of the grievances. From 1722, the Council of the Governor General took over the authority to settle matters.

¹¹⁰ On April 2, 1691, the Ruler announced the explanation for the laws of 1681 and 1687 pertaining to religious matters, thus placing the Protestants at an exceptional disadvantage.

¹¹¹ These were the places of the Protestant congregations, which were listed by the Ruler in the religious law of 1681. Apart from these, it was not allowed for religious services to be held, and it was not allowed to operate schools.

¹¹² Bíró Sándor-Bucsay Mihály-Tóth Endre-Varga Zoltán: *A Magyar Református Egyház története* Kossuth Könyvkiadó Bp.1949. pp. 226-233.

of the school-administrators of the Protestant denominations that were limited.¹¹³ The limitations of the rights of administrators and founders of schools did not affect only the Protestants.

The construction of elementary schools was allowed without restrictions, whereas that of the secondary schools was not, and they were even closed down by the Ruler, because they did not receive the royal privilege to operate as „higher level schools”.¹¹⁴ Taking into account that the Ruler had not called a national assembly since 1730, on May 15, 1736, four representatives of the two Protestant churches, in a memorandum, asked for redress of their grievances. The fundamental points referred to the autonomy of the Protestant schools.¹¹⁵

The intention of the Ruler was unchanged in regard to the union of the Greek Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church. Although the Ruler had on several occasions strengthened the privileges¹¹⁶ of the constantly dissatisfied Serbs, the question of the union had never been taken off his agenda, and, when in 1731, the Greek Orthodox Metropolitan, formerly bishop, accepted the union, first the Bishop of Pétervár and then the peasants of Békés County, with his support, opposed the Serbs.¹¹⁷

The possibility of union significantly raised the standards of the educational system of the unified church, including the instruction of priests, to a higher level than that of the Greek Orthodox Church, and besides this, the raising of the languages of the ethnic minorities to the liturgical language resolved the question of the language of instruction of the educational system connected to the church.

While the powerful branches of the state machinery were separating¹¹⁸, this offered a legal possibility for the open and new kind of intervention of the state into educational matters. This was prepared for, on the one hand by the union of the churches, which allowed the non-Hungarian speaking peoples to preserve their own culture and, on the other hand, by the Carolina Resolution, which in the case of the Lutherans, limited them to the concept of „one religion, one state” and in the case of the Presbyterians, it was broadened from „one religion, one state” to one language, one culture. This was just the first step on this path.

Its development waited for the appearance of Maria Theresa.

Under Maria Theresa, who acceded to the throne in 1740, „the unlimited royal power, the centralization of the government, **the unity of religion that came with the unity of the Empire** was just as strong, and consistently applied fundamental political principles as it did earlier under Charles III.”¹¹⁹ This effort at centralization, this unifying of the Empire and religion, however, was only in the consequent attainment of its goal similar to that of her ancestors, her long-living grandfather and her father. This unlimited power no longer used outdated, obsolete methods in order to turn the rulers of the Protestant states against each other, but watched with jealous vigilance what was happening in the world, especially in the Prussia of the Protestant Friedrich II. For the Empire of Maria Theresa, whose cohesive force she saw in the Catholic faith, she considered the centralized public administration as a tool, and was not

¹¹³ Révész Endre: *Adalékok a Magyar Protestáns iskolák autonómiájának történetéhez* 2nd corrected and expanded edition. 1870. Debrecen-Nyíregyháza. p. 17.

¹¹⁴ Kármán Mór: *Közoktatásügyi tanulmányok*. Vol. 2. p. 53. Franklin Társulat, Bp.1911

¹¹⁵ Révész Endre: *Op. Cit.* pp. 17.-20.

¹¹⁶ From 1702 on, the Serbs had continuously petitioned Peter I to release them from the oppression of the Hapsburgs because they opposed their church. Acsády Ignác: *A Magyar Birodalom története*. Budapest, 1901 Vol. 2. pp. 463-465.

¹¹⁷ The Bishop of Pétervár (Újvidék) simply declared his diocese to be an independent military territory and it was possible to keep order only with military force. Then in 1735, Péro Szegedinác stood at the head of the malcontents in Békés County. Acsády: *Op. Cit.*

¹¹⁸ From the Attachment No. I, it can clearly be seen that the legislative, executive and judicial powers were separated, although independent.

¹¹⁹ *A magyarhoni protestáns egyház története*. Editor: Dr. Zsilinszky Mihály. Atheneum Irodalmi és Nyomdai Rt. Bp. 1907. p. 354

deterred from intervening in the spiritual and ideological matters of the Catholic Church or any other churches.

The 18th century was the century of the modification¹²⁰ of the concept of Europe, the century of the birth of the nation-states, and this legally altered the responsibility of the state, its role and its methods. In this process, although with huge differences, in time, with some slippages, the nation-states came into being, and one facet of this was obvious everywhere: this was the matter of education and its new connection with the state. This great difference was clearly expressed in the centralization of the administration of education.

The similarities, however, can reveal much more about the differences, for example the place and role of public education in the state politics, that is to say the expanded controlling role of the state and the governing organizations in matters of education. In the case of states unified in language and religion (because they had already „solved” this problem, or thought they had) it was comparatively simple for the public education to be used as a tool¹²¹ to establish a unified national political system (and it was not coincidental that Maria Theresa looked upon the Prussian¹²² educational developments with jealousy).

Public education became a political question decades later in France and centuries later in England. It is possible to accept the reasoning that those states that achieved fewer geographical discoveries, saw only one kind of „connecting” possibility in the embracement of science and the nationalization of education. We should regard the complicated system of the educational policy of the Hapsburgs and the Hungarians in this European process.

In Hungary, where the legislative language was Latin, and where the language of the settlers was the language of their religious liturgy, neither the concept of „one country, one religion” nor „one country, one language” operated on the scale of the Empire or of the State. The task in appearance was, in the long run, the unification of the languages of the state administration (the Chancellery and the Council of the Governor General), the legislation (the National Assembly) and the administration of justice (the courts). In reality, in the background were independence and self-determination, the connection between Hungary and the Danube Monarchy¹²³, between the Hungarians and the immigrants, those brought into the country and the relationship between the different groups of interior migrants, the language and culture as the trustee of self-identity, as well as the connection between science and intellectual progress.

Maria Theresa’s name is bound to the Hungarian educational matter with her all-embracing, comprehensive, well-constructed education law, the Ratio Educationis¹²⁴, published on August 22, 1777.¹²⁵ The question of education in the Hapsburg Empire, and beside it/within

¹²⁰ The „West” that in the 16th century became known as Europa Christiana or Christian Europe, and which did not fall apart with the adoption of Protestantism and its propagation, in the 18th century brought a new understanding to the concept of Europe. With the spread of the French Enlightenment, those who practiced dogmatic religions also found their place, although Europe’s culture and civilization continued to rest upon the Christian system of concepts and its geographical borders „expanded”. Peter the Great of Russia not only opened a window to the West with the founding of Saint Petersburg, but he also opened a door to the East, when „he drew the borders of the imperial power between Europe and Asia at the Ural Mountains or rather the Ural River.” (Dr. Bendefy László: *Az ismeretlen Julianus Stephaneum* Ny.R.T. h.n. 1928 147.l. The central zone of the „expanded” Europe was Central-Europe, which was bound to Western Europe by the culture and civilization of its states, but the West to East movement of the Orthodox fault-line upset the balance. The change in the number and quality of the ethnic indicators has resulted in problems that are insoluble even today.

¹²¹ Francisco O. Ramirez - John Boli: *A népoktatás politikai megteremtése*. Trans.: Pásztor György

¹²² In 1763, Friedrich II. (Frederick the Great) renewed the law of 1716, passed by his father Friedrich Wilhelm I, which dealt with public education. Europe’s first regulation dealing with „elementary and compulsory” education came into being in Weimar in 1619.

¹²³ The administrative independence of Transylvania in regard to educational matters has been demonstrated, although it followed from the characteristics of the denominational instruction, that the building of a network of institutions, the establishment of different types of schools, the educational content actually „crossed” the borders of the administration.

¹²⁴ Full name: Ratio educationis totiusque rei literariae per regnum Hungariae et provincias eidem adnexas (Educational system of Hungary and her attached states)

¹²⁵ Mészáros István: *A magyar nevelés -és iskolatörténet kronológiája 996-1996* Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó. Bp. n.d. p. 27. The *Magyar ország történeti kronológiája*, edited by Kálmán Benda. Vol. 2. Akadémia Kiadó, Bp.1982 p. 589. dated Aug.22.

it the Hungarian Kingdom, did not come to the fore randomly or on the level of symptomatic treatment. The Queen, who was a faithful devotee of the Catholic religion, had an unequivocal, clear and indisputable educational-political policy, according to which „**Education is a public concern of the State and will always remain so**”,¹²⁶ which determined **her strategy**¹²⁷ and the composition and prudence of which necessitated a whole string of laws. This subordinated the method of its achievement and the value of its message was the personal selection, and every carefully planned step in the educational politics.

The basis of her strategy was the unified and strong creation of an empire (vision), in which the new task (mission) of the new type of state was, in this case, to serve the „common good” (pledge) with the educational politics. This plan was broken down into intermediate (tactical) and short term (operative) steps.

The appearance of the Ratio was preceded by short term (operative) small steps in the educational politics which were influential in several directions and which showed compliance, when the elementary-schools¹²⁸ were taken into account. The teaching of law was expanded¹²⁹ and, between 1735 and 1777, new elements enriched the university education with superior professional training.¹³⁰

The Queen, who followed in her father’s footsteps, carefully watched over the legalities, or more exactly their appearances. In order to proceed on the legal route, by avoiding legislation yet working within the rules,¹³¹ and to be able to show results, it was necessary to build up the legal and economic background.

The establishment of committees disguised as legal bodies prepared the way for the regulation of the matter of education to proceed legally. This resulted from time to time in their passing measures that contradicted each other, but they solved this problem „legally” by rescinding the earlier decisions.¹³²

On the model of the Curriculum Committee of the Court,¹³³ established in 1760, following its direction and subsidiary to it,¹³⁴ the **Educational Committee** was established in 1764.¹³⁵ The jurisdiction of this body extended to all schools, even those administered by the

¹²⁶Hermann Egyed: Op. Cit. P. 336.

¹²⁷ “The strategy for the means, tools and organizational methods in the interest of a given goal, is the combination of the concrete conditions.” This decision was directed at the educational strategy in 1989. In any case it is hardly possible to decide on a better educational policy than that of the Queen. Editor of Didaktika: Falus Iván. p. 273.

¹²⁸ In November, 1761 the task of unifying the Catholic schools was begun, under the leadership of Archbishop Ferenc Barkóczy.

¹²⁹ In 1740, (with the permission of M.T.) György Foglár, Canon of Eger established a school of law, which in 1754 became an institute with three faculties. *Hat évszázad ...* p. 27.

¹³⁰In 1735, the Institute for the training of mining officers was established in Selmecbánya. In 1763, the Szencen Collegium Scientiarum politico Oeconomico Cameralium was established (which was based on the teaching of economics and accounting). *Hat évszázad Magyar Egyetemei.*: p. 30.

¹³¹ Charles III, with the establishment of the Joint Commission for Religious Matters followed the example of Leopold I (who with a legal explanation, the Explanatio Leopoldina, caused the Protestants to accept a more disadvantageous position than they had under the laws). The Committee, with its induction in the Council of the Governor General, prepared the way for the expansion of the jurisdiction of the ruler in educational matters. This soon became directed against the Protestant educational matters. Maria Theresa followed this same method when she began to intervene in the questions of educational matters.

¹³² e.g. The university that was established in Buda had a Faculty of Medicine but the diploma was valid only in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom, whereas the diploma awarded in Vienna was accepted in any territory.

¹³³. In German: Studien-Hofcommissio – the central body of the educational system in the Hapsburg Empire.

¹³⁴ In German, the Commissio Studiorum had its headquarters in Pozsony.

¹³⁵ This meant that it did not belong in the Council of the Governor General.

denominations. The significance of this was not only that it was superior to the denominations, but that **it began its operation under secular leadership.**¹³⁶

Behind the actions of the Queen, we can perceive the influence of the slowly victorious Enlightenment, and it hardly seems believable that in her immediate entourage or particularly in the church circles, the „febronianism”¹³⁷ would have had the greatest influence on her.¹³⁸

Maria Theresa, with her law of July 16, 1769, which moved the University of Nagyszombat to Buda and at the same time, by means of rich gifts,¹³⁹ established the Medical Faculty, not only extended her authority over the University **but also raised the entire educational system – from elementary education to the higher levels – to a royal prerogative.**

The law of November 9, 1775 created the economic background of the state-controlled educational system and the Educational Foundation for the seizing of the properties of the Jesuit Order,¹⁴⁰ which was dissolved in 1773.¹⁴¹

Also in 1773, the Council of the Governor General established the Educational Office from the earlier founded Educational Committee. The headquarters remained in Pozsony, where the Chamber was also in charge of the Educational Foundation.

The preparatory work for the educational reform was begun in January, 1774. The compulsory measures were outlined in an official royal document, according to which, on the basis of the guiding principles of the Educational Committee of the Court in Vienna, it was obliged to work with the Educational department of the Council of the Governor General. „To attain the common good and public welfare, it is necessary to raise good citizens”,¹⁴² stated the law which applied to all denominations, without exception, and to all educational institutions.¹⁴³

It automatically follows that because of „the diversity of the nationalities, ... the variety of the denominations and religious organizations... and the differences between the citizens of the state”, that the schools themselves would be very diverse and that the „organization of the subject matter would be varied and diverse”.¹⁴⁴ This was stated in general terms in the Preamble of the Law.

The Law itself was a combination of three large individual components:

- I. The basic system of the organizational and economic management of the schools,
- II. The organization and material of the actual teaching,
- III. The rules and regulations of the management of the schools, in other words the assurance of the administration of discipline.

¹³⁶ The President was Count Miklós Pálffy, Lord Chief Justice.

¹³⁷ The Archbishop of Trier expressed his opinion that the official authority of the Pope was just honorary, and therefore, in contrast to this he validated the power of the sovereign state, and considered the Pope just as the first among equals, and thus the power resided with the Synod of Bishops. This episcopal tendency stood in opposition to the papal system and granted the right to rule to the rulers of the enlightened absolutism.

¹³⁸ The Queen’s immediate advisor was a seminarian, the chief librarian of the court who was possessed of great knowledge, Ádám Kollár, who emphasized the ruler’s right to the ecclesiastical income, the taxes that were meant for the Church, and supported the elimination of the Church’s right to grant sanctuary. (1769) The state assembly ordered any scholarly studies containing such ideas to be burned. Herman Egyed:Op. Cit. pp. 361.-368.

¹³⁹ Donations from landowners made possible the modernization of the administration.

¹⁴⁰ The Foundation served the goals of the Catholic schools, and its administrator was the state – that is the Royal Chamber (with some modifications, it operated until 1948).

¹⁴¹ Under European influence, Pope Clement IV dissolved the religious orders.

¹⁴² The raising of good citizens could only be attained by well prepared teachers and professors, which the first Hungarian normal school provided in Pozsony. This school signified the combination of teacher training and teaching practise.

¹⁴³ Included in the modernization of public education, the situation of the entire elementary-schools was examined in 1770-1771.

¹⁴⁴ The translation and annotation of the Ratio Educationis was completed by Mészáros István Akadémiai Kiadó Bp.1981. p. 19.

Although the Law provided for the establishment of a single organization, it was not prepared all at once and it did not come into effect at the same time, but in a strict logical sequence, with sections built upon one another. The supreme authority, **organized in 1776**, with established study districts and their licenses for educational administration, and **in 1777, with the distribution of the detailed teaching materials, and the regulation of their content, the curriculum,**¹⁴⁵ the maintenance of the institutions, **achieved the regulation of the operation of the educational institutions.**

The educational administration, with educational districts made it possible that all educational institutions (even those which were independent), without exception, independent of administrators, come under the jurisdiction of the highest authority of the state. The legal consequence of this was **that an integral part of the scope of the duties of the highest authority was the regulation of the financing of the public education.**

The economic background of the educational system¹⁴⁶ in appearance scarcely changed in respect to the authorities, but in truth **the presence of the State and the support of the State**, as well as **the compulsory donations, the accountability and the social measures,**¹⁴⁷ all resulted in serious changes. Thus, the Queen, with the established unified educational administration, which did not allow independence but did allow self-determination, **introduced the role of the State as the regulating body, that is the state administration of the public educational system.**

The educational administration, through its supervision of the operation of the schools, really significantly curtailed the autonomy of all the patrons – including those of the denominations – **but the composition of the Educational Foundation, by introducing the usability and state aid separate from itself**, demanded economic „compensation” from the patrons in return.

On August 22, 1777, the second part of the plan for educational reform came into being with a prepared **curriculum** and a regulated **school organization**, with detailed information about the types of schools and the distribution of educational materials, broken down into grades.

The curriculum contained not only detailed, specific educational information about the types of schools and the subject matter, not only offered organizational help, but laid out the rules for the outfitting of the schools (library, laboratory etc.), prescribed the nurturing of talents,¹⁴⁸ allowed for the teaching of practical subjects¹⁴⁹ and skills¹⁵⁰ and introduced physical training. Within the compulsory teaching of history,¹⁵¹ it assured a special place for the national history¹⁵² and as a foreign language, referring to its practicality in everyday life, and its

¹⁴⁵ The distribution of the prepared educational materials corresponds to the concept that is still used today of the curriculum divided into four parts.

¹⁴⁶ „It is very good, and in large measure well thought out, and in addition it is inexpensive.” -- was the official opinion. Kármán Mór: Op. Cit. Vol. 2. p. 73.

¹⁴⁷ The retirement of teachers, from several points of view, was a noticeable provision. Of similar importance was the paragraph in connection with the orphanages.

¹⁴⁸ Preparation for the appropriate students for further education, by the study of Latin in high-school.

¹⁴⁹ Ordained the study of housekeeping and economics.

¹⁵⁰ The teaching of embroidery, drawing, singing and music.

¹⁵¹ Introduced by the Jesuits already in 1735, this now became a universal requirement. It is sure that Comenius' opinion about the plans for pan-sophist schools had an influence on the Queen and her educational advisors. He stated: „It is as if the teaching of history delights the sensibilities, stimulates the imagination, embellishes culture, enriches the language, sharpens the judgment of certain matters, and unnoticeably develops the intelligence. We wish that in all grades it should be the accompaniment of the first class subjects.”

¹⁵² The practical form of the Comenius concept appeared in the expectations of the teaching of history in the lower schools: „It awakens the love for the king and his family, that is toward the homeland, inspires in them the essential loyalty in the execution of their duties, and moves

usefulness, the teaching of the German language was made compulsory already in the elementary schools.¹⁵³

Within the bounds of the school system however, there was a basic point of view in regard to the elementary schools (= ethnic language or mother-tongue schools) taking into account the differences in the organization of the settlement, the language of instruction and the teaching of religion and morals in the language of the people,¹⁵⁴ as well as the organization of the teaching materials, the school year and the number of teaching hours (village, town and city schools).

The subject matter was divided in the same way in the smaller high-schools, the so-called grammar schools, the high schools and colleges (philosophy courses) according to the number of years.

A new type of school connected to the academies was introduced: the normal-common-school, which concentrated on the training of teachers, in addition to the so-called **normal-school**, which with its system of evaluation and teaching of methods, served as an example (standard) to the other schools. The creation of this was accompanied by conditions for the advanced training of teachers and professors, and the education of girls received a new emphasis in the **girls' school**, as a type of school. The organization of public health,¹⁵⁵ however necessitated the „middle-level” vocational training with the introduction of the **training of midwives in the mother-tongue**. The Educational Administration extended its jurisdiction over the boarding-schools,¹⁵⁶ which were established in Hungary, as well as the Collegium Theresanum in Vienna, with the awarding of scholarships.¹⁵⁷

However, the autonomy of the patrons of the schools was hurt more by the regulations of the content and the methods of organization than by the establishment of the educational administration.

The third section of the Ratio, which prescribed the operating system of the schools, combined three units together: the expectations of the teachers, professors and school-porters, the students and the parents of the students.

The sphere of authority of the patrons in the appointment of teachers and officials – depending on which type of school was in question – worked with various conditions, but it worked.¹⁵⁸ Likewise the permission to use certain schoolbooks worked under the auspices of the Educational Committee, with the exception of the religious schoolbooks of the denominations, which remained under the sphere of authority of denominations, but they were not allowed to contain any expressions or phrases that would set one against the other.

them to efforts to improve the common good, and creates a solid base for them, on which can be built an edifice of virtues worthy of citizens of the state.”

¹⁵³ One particularly important characteristic of the curriculum was that it made it compulsory for every type of school to include the mirror-paged schoolbook, with the specific instruction that the teaching of a foreign language be built upon the teaching of the mother-tongue.

¹⁵⁴ An earlier preparatory assessment of the „condition” of the village schools, on the basis of the language spoken by the pupils and their religious affiliations, listed them in 5 groups: 1. the same language and same religion, 2. the same language but two different denominations, 3. two different languages but the same religion, 4. two languages and two religions, 5. several different languages and several religions.

¹⁵⁵ On October 4, 1770, the Council of the Governor General published the Regulamentum sanitatis, the rules for the general health in several territories. *Magyarország történeti kronológiája*. Editor: Kálmán Benda. Akadémiai Kiadó Bp. 1982. Vol. 2. p. 584.

¹⁵⁸ The „convictus” was a type of boarding-school established for the education of the sons of aristocrats, as for example the one in Buda (from the autumn of 1777) or the one in Vác.

¹⁵⁷ . The Educational Foundation awarded scholarships to 20 young aristocrats every year.

¹⁵⁸ . The appointment of the administrators of the academies and normal-schools fell under the jurisdiction of the chief-administrator of the school-district. The directors of the denominational, city, community or village schools were appointed by the patron, but it was his responsibility to „inform” the chief-administrator of the school-district. The appointment of the various teachers, and recipients of scholarships, however, remained under the jurisdiction of the institution, that is the patron.

It cannot be disputed that the organization and modernization of the educational question in such a way was subject to the politics of the Empire,¹⁵⁹ and thus the opposition displayed to it, which was in certain respects considered justified, is understandable.

Some paragraphs of the Law, positive in themselves, but taken together show some contradictions, and should be pointed out. An example is the rule regarding the language of instruction in the schools of the ethnic groups. On the one hand, the right of the students to be taught in their mother-tongue conflicts with the right of the teachers to teach in their mother-tongue,¹⁶⁰ and, on the other hand, the movement toward „one state, one language” with the official teaching of the German language in all the different types of schools, shows some permissive characteristics in its regulated demand.¹⁶¹ The demands in connection with the language of instruction show a sad characteristic in that the acceptance of the Serbian language as a national language did not apply to all the Serbs living in the entire territory of the state.

The distribution of materials in the teaching of national history is also worthy of consideration! In the junior high-schools and high-schools, the teaching of our history begins with the rule of King (Saint) Stephen. Within the frame of national history is „the history of the imperial, royal empire ... to evoke love and respect...” (This was particularly emphasized in the Protestant churches, especially among the Lutherans, if they thought about their preachers who were sent to serve as galley-slaves.)

The unified state educational administration „agreed” with the economic differentiation between the denominations. The Educational Foundation only had to support the Catholic high-schools.¹⁶²

On the other hand, the Ratio had no bearing (half a century after the expulsion of the Turks!) on Transylvania, the Banate of Temes, the Military Border Territories¹⁶³ and the Hungarian sea-coast.

In the case of the Orthodox Romanian and Serbian ethnic language schools in the Banate of Temes, Maria Theresa, on November 2, 1776 ordered that „every independent Greek Orthodox Church community should establish a school”. On the one hand, recognizing the continuing demands of the Serbs¹⁶⁴ and keeping them in check,¹⁶⁵ and on the other hand, in

¹⁵⁹ With reference to the initiators of the Ratio, the name of József Ürményi is often mentioned. Without a doubt, he handed it over to the Ruler in the name of the Educational Committee, as it he, who was the one who formulated this goal. However, in the well known Catholic circles of that age, it is stated firmly that Jan Kollar, who placed the interests of the state above those of the Church, was the initiator. After the Estates had burned his book on this subject, they forced him to reappear in public, and he remained to the end one of the most trustworthy advisors of the Queen.

¹⁶⁰ The language of instruction in the elementary schools could not be any other than the language spoken by the local people. In the Preface (3. §-), in decisions about all the different types of schools (83-90.§), there was an emphasis on the role of the mother-tongue.

¹⁶¹ In the village schools, where because there was a lack of teachers, they could not lead in the teaching of German, they had a temporary exemption, but the elementary schools in the market-towns were not allowed this exemption!

¹⁶² Until 1850 these schools were called „royal” schools, then between 1861 and 1946 they were called „royal Catholic” schools. Mészáros István: *A magyar nevelés -és iskola...*p. 31.
With this, indirectly, the continuing violations of the territorial integrity of the state were perpetuated, and proved the fact of the state’s loss of independence

¹⁶³. It is a sad fact about this law that, while the Serbian language was listed among the ethnic-language elementary-schools, from time to time it forced a city school (e.g. Pécs) to establish a Serbian school, and it placed the country school in a favored position and treated it differently.

¹⁶⁴ Charles III, in 1729, 1732 and 1734. strengthened the Serbian autonomy to the point that he took over the right to appoint the Orthodox bishops (choosing between the three nominees of the Metropolitan), but he allowed the Metropolitan to exercise his right of representation in secular matters.

¹⁶⁵ The Queen, on two occasions (on July 20, 1771 among other things, she eliminated the secular power of the Patriarch of Karloca, and then on January 2, 1777, she disbanded the different Illyrian deputations, and ordered the matters to be placed under the jurisdiction of the state authorities) regulated the autonomy of the Church and the territory by redressing the abuses arising from their combination. Then, on July 16, 1779, she wanted to address the question finally in the *Declaratorium Illiricum*, according to which the Serbs, exclusively in religious matters, belonged to the Metropolitan, that is they belonged under the local authorities.

the knowledge of the political importance of the elementary schools, she gave considerable financial support for the law.

The modernization of the educational institutions in Transylvania was based on similar preparatory studies as was the Hungarian. The work was directed by József Mártonffi,¹⁶⁶ who later became the Catholic Bishop of Transylvania. All the members of the committee were experts in the matter of Catholic Education. As a result of the analysis of the situation, the Hungarian and not the Imperial Law in educational matters was introduced after many revisions. However, the Law – the *Norma regia pro scholis magni principatus Transilvaniae* -- did not come into effect until May 16, 1781, after the Queen's death. Following this, the Educational Committee, working within the frame of the Gubernium, was introduced, among whose members, representatives of the „accepted” religions were accepted. Although neither the Greek Catholic Church nor the Romanian Orthodox Church received the right to representation, Maria Theresa supported them from the beginning of her reign and showed her goodwill toward them with financial support and she proved this with generosity.¹⁶⁷

The large-scale educational reform among the Hungarians, however, was not the modernization of the educational structure, or the technical instruction, that is state undertaking of duties, but the development of a homogenizing imperial educational policy. **The Protestant churches were the first to feel the effect of this. This is why they determinedly opposed the introduction of the regulations contained in the Ratio. The basis of this reference was the Church's right to maintain the schools and carry out its duties. Although not simultaneously, and with basic differences, its introduction to Hungary and Transylvania evoked a similar reaction in both parts of the state.**

While the developments in Prussia were followed with great attention, the 18th century French model of the Enlightenment, or the English system of public education, left within the unofficial boundaries of the 19th century, trusting in charitable organizations, lived through the period of the creation of national states, Hungary, avoiding the pull of a new large power, was struggling with its efforts to assimilate it.

Here we see the main difference between the developing European national states and the Hapsburg politics of public education. The former concentrated mainly on the elementary education, whereas our Hapsburgs expended at least as much energy on the intermediate and higher education as they did on the elementary education. This was the reason for the indirect measures (by means of church politics) and the direct measures (with the Ratio) against the Protestant Schools, particularly against the Lutheran Hungarian schools and, at the same time, the Protestants made every effort to oppose them by modernizing their schools.

The welcoming Hungarians, who allowed the newcomers to retain their customs, language and religion, suddenly woke up to the fact that they were trapped between two fires: between the new power that came from outside and the newly arriving and settling nationalities.

A quick look at the change to multiple ethnic groups shows what bound these newcomers together: their religion and their language; in terms of institutions, the church and the school. This was no different in the case of the Hungarians. Between the 16th and 18th centuries, the Hungarians, caught between the „two pagans”, were able to preserve their Hungarian character on the one hand with the Christian religion in the face of the Turks and on the other, with the reformed religion and the mother-tongue in the face of the Hapsburgs

The **Ratio educationis** required careful examination of all its elements, and still requires this today, (This is a basic law that cannot be circumvented.) partly because it embraced both

¹⁶⁶ After the dissolution of the Jesuit Order, he became a secular priest and from 1779, he was the chief administrator of the Transylvanian Catholic schools.

¹⁶⁷ In 1754, the Bishop of Balázsfalva founded the Greek Catholic High School and seminary- The ruler provided for the education of sixteen Greek Catholic youths at the Pázmáneum of Vienna, and founded a seminary for fifty seminarians, and even sent the most exceptional ones to Rome.

teaching and upbringing, and because, besides the provision for teaching in the mother-tongue, there could be found the system of methods to make legal efforts at assimilation.¹⁶⁸ Even today this is one of the basic questions. Learning the culture in the mother-tongue is essential for the survival of a nation.¹⁶⁹ From this it can be clearly seen how the educational politics became one of the tools of the government.¹⁷⁰

The short ten-year rule of Joseph II, which he took over with a nice inheritance¹⁷¹, can be considered to be „eventful” in educational matters. There was not one year in which he did not pass a law to amend the Ratio, or any ruling in religious matters, which had no important effect on education. Although, until the reorganization of the public administration¹⁷², the educational administration in Hungary and in Transylvania, here under the auspices of the Council of the Governor-General, and there the Gubernium, by means of the Department of Education¹⁷³, took the same direction, with similar principles.

These measures, purposely forming groups, caused several serious problems for that period of time, because it became obvious that, although the orders were not built upon one another and did not appear to be related, just in their methods, the use of different measures, they were used to attain a greater goal, that of **empire-building**, ruling with **educational politics**. An „enlightened despot” like Maria Theresa, placed great importance on the educational question. The obtaining of useful knowledge took an easier direction, when, in the interest of raising the level of the **training of master-craftsmen** (= skilled laborers), in 1783, the apprentices of the guilds were obliged to attend Sunday classes in drawing at an Art School¹⁷⁴ and, connected to this, in 1786, it became compulsory for them to obtain a journeyman’s certificate. Of similar importance was the law which ordered them to be trained as **technical intelligentsia** in their homeland, by which on August 23, 1782, **the College of Engineering** was established in the Philosophy Faculty of the University of Buda.

The **Law of Religious Tolerance** that was passed on October 25, 1781, **did not have the same effect on all of the churches**. It did not bring an immediate, positive change to the question of Protestant education, for the supervisory system that was in operation remained unchanged. It did however, have indirect effects. There were two that took place quickly, one after the other: on August 31, 1785, a proposal for the establishment of **co-educational**

¹⁶⁸ For example, the Educational Foundation considered the support of the Catholic Schools to be legal, because it originated from the holdings of the Jesuits, that is the Catholics.

¹⁶⁹ It would be wrong to refer to assimilation here, because the natural assimilation requires a movement from two directions, which balance each other. Every political power that does not use forceful assimilation can count on this.

¹⁷⁰ In the present case, we are not talking about the deterioration of the productive force of the real sciences, nor the manipulative methods of the teaching of history, but the use of the mother-tongue in the service of assimilation.

¹⁷¹ On the fortieth anniversary of the coronation of Maria Theresa, the central point of the glorious holiday was the announcement of the reform of the educational system, which the Queen expanded with three official foundations (the University Foundation, the Educational Foundation for Public Education, and the Theresianum, an institution for the education of the sons of aristocrats,) which served the financial background of the Hungarian education.

¹⁷² As a first step, on April 2, 1782, an order was issued combining the Royal Hungarian Treasury and the Council of the Governor General; on May 27, also by official order, the Royal Hungarian Chancellery merged with the Transylvanian Chancellery, and on November 11, 1783, another order reorganized the combined Council of the Governor General, which from that time on, operated with 48 departments.

¹⁷³ In 1781, the Ruler established the Transylvanian Educational Committee, on the model of that of Hungary.

¹⁷⁴ It was later called a School of Professional Training, then a College of Technology.

schools¹⁷⁵ (with which the ruler hoped to achieve covert imperialistic goals¹⁷⁶), then a few weeks later, on October 4, a law establishing a **unified educational system** and (in contrast to the earlier permissive character¹⁷⁷ of the Ratio) placed the Protestant schools as a whole under the jurisdiction of the Royal Directors. The churches forcefully protested both initiatives, but in vain.¹⁷⁸

The religious tolerance law affected not only the Protestants.¹⁷⁹ It made compulsory the co-educational schools and the unified educational system, not only in organization but in intent, therefore it was partly advantageous for two different ethnic-religious communities: the Romanian and Serb ethnic minorities, who practiced the Greek Orthodox religion, and the Hungarian Jews.

The co-educational school, as a type of school, was not enforced but it received financial support (!), and the establishment of schools was an important task. It was not without success: on the basis of the collected data from the 1788/89 school year:¹⁸⁰

The 464 schools according to denomination							
number	Co-ed	Cath.	Greek Orth.	Luth.	Presb.	Orth.	Jewish
	46	98	47	15	7	248	3

Likewise, the situation of the Hungarian Jews moved in a positive direction for, until then, the only amelioration from their situation in the Middle Ages was in a change in numbers.¹⁸¹ On March 31, 1783, the "**Systematica Gentis Judaicae Regulatio**"¹⁸² was published, dealing with the situation of the Hungarian Jews, which was preceded by a two year collection of facts, information and a comprehensive research of the question. The comprehensive regulation, like every order, placed the imperial interests of the ruler in the foreground¹⁸³, and the beneficiary enjoyed only as much as was in agreement with these. The rules regarding education opened up two directions: on the one hand students would be allowed

¹⁷⁵ In the time of Maria Theresa, the necessity for these schools arose where the population was very low, speaking several languages, practising different religions, and where it was not possible to educate the children separately due to the lack of numbers and financial resources. The teaching of religion and morals in the language of the denomination, was conducted by their own teachers and priests, whereas the „worldly” subjects could be taught by someone from any denomination. Their upkeep, particularly the remuneration for the teachers came from many different sources.

¹⁷⁶ The government expected that: „If you break down the walls that separate the citizens, the new generation will smile at the cowardliness that led one man for no reason to hate another, a Christian to hate a Christian, and a colleague to hate a colleague.” Kármán Mór: Op. Cit. Vol. 2. p. 97.

¹⁷⁷The Ratio of 1777. § 64.

¹⁷⁸ Révész Endre: Op. Cit. p. 86.

¹⁷⁹ The Romanian Orthodox religion freely voted for the law, with the condition that the right of the appointment of bishops rest with the ruler – in line with the practice in the Empire.

¹⁸⁰ Kármán Mór: Op. Cit. p. 97.

¹⁸¹ Under the rule of Charles III, in the hereditary provinces, measures against the Jews increased. Under the political pressure allowed by the Ruler, in 1726, the „familien Gesetz” (family law) severely limited the settlement of Jews, by ruling that only the first-born would be allowed to establish a family in the hereditary provinces; the others had to move to other territories. Thus from the Czech state and from Moravia, that is from the territories of Austria, they might settle into Hungary. The Ruler proposed that a similar law be passed by the Hungarian Estates, but they did not wish to hear of it. Maria Theresa and her son did not mind that people speaking German and Yiddish settled there. Bosnyák Zoltán: *Magyarország elzsidósodása*. Bp. n.d. Held János Könyvnyomdája, Újkiadás: Gede Testvérek Bt. Bp.2000. Gyurgyák János Op. Cit. p. 721.

¹⁸² Gyurgyák János: Op. Cit. p. 722.

¹⁸³ The Law provided for economic relief (the renting of land, the attaining of professions hitherto forbidden), freedom to settle anywhere except in the mining towns, and essentially predominant permissions for the use of language in the schools. It did not give citizens’ rights in their own districts and, compared to those of that time, we cannot consider that it had a positive result. Gyurgyák János: Op. Cit. pp. 38-39.

to study in schools of other denominations, or other settlements and might attend higher schools¹⁸⁴; on the other hand, the newly established Jewish schools were obliged to teach secular subjects, just as the other schools did. In 1790, there were already thirty newly established Jewish schools¹⁸⁵ in operation in the country (excluding Transylvania).

The earnest reorganization of the public administration played a role in the plans of the Ruler.¹⁸⁶ Thus, fairly soon, in 1782, the reorganization of the educational districts took place, reducing their number from ten to six.

With the appearance of the law calling for forced assimilation, based on the principle of „one state – one language”, on May 11, 1784, there was a **„change from the official Latin language to the practical German language”**. This measure affected everyone without exception, even those who would be born in the future. The official language was the language of the legislature, the administration of justice, the army, the language of the state and public administration and that of the state-controlled educational institutions from the elementary schools to the universities, thus it was also the language of science and research. The explanation of the Ruler, which reveals his determined intention, from the point of view of the Empire was logical: „If Hungarian were the generally-used language of the country, then it would be used to deal with matters of common interest, but it is well-known that the German language, the Illyrian¹⁸⁷ and the Romanian are just as widely used. **Therefore, only German might be used as the official language, and none other.** Everyone can see what a benefit this will be to the Empire and **how it will encourage brotherhood, if within our borders there is only one official language**, as can be seen in France, England and Russia.¹⁸⁸

In the light of this, it was of no importance that the educational institutions were given three years' grace, because the Law allowed the teachers this time to become proficient in the German language, so that they could teach in German, and teach the language. None of the earlier measures that were similarly permissive were of any importance. Except for one: the Ratio of 1777, containing a clause about the learning of the German language, and its measure making it compulsory for the newly-settled Jews to change their family names¹⁸⁹ to German, adopt the unified syllabus, and conduct co-educational schools. These were all parts of the imperial politics.

Like Leopold I, Joseph II succeeded in doing what others had earlier been unable to accomplish: he created unity contrary to the imperial goals.¹⁹⁰ (Until that time, the imperial goal was to divide and conquer. Trans.) Whether we look at the sentences quoted from the preamble of the language law, or at the explanation for the co-educational schools, certain concepts such as „brotherhood” or „citizens of one homeland”¹⁹¹ clearly show the goal of forced assimilation.

¹⁸⁴ On February 21, 1782, at the University of Buda, with the permission of the Ruler, the first Jewish student was awarded his doctorate. Gyurgyák János: Op. Cit. p. 722. It is sad but quite understandable that, after the death of the Ruler, these schools appear to have disappeared, for the Jews themselves did not like the secular schools where the German language was compulsory as the language of instruction. Mandl Bernát: *A magyar honi zsidók tanügye II. József alatt*. IMIT Yearbook, 1901. pp. 218-219.

¹⁸⁵ Mandl Bernát: *A magyarországi zsidó iskolák állapota a XIX.sz-ban és fontos feladatai a XX-ban*. IMIT 1909 Kinyomat 1909. Yearbook. p. 5.

¹⁸⁶ First, governmental organizations were combined or reorganized, then the state was divided into districts, and Transylvania into counties and, independent of these changes, the educational districts were not established in accordance with these.

¹⁸⁷ The Serbian territories were called this.

¹⁸⁸ Kármán Mór: Op. Cit. Vol. 2. p. 100.

¹⁸⁹ This was implemented on July 23, 1787

¹⁹⁰ The mortally ill ruler (with the exception of two) rescinded those laws, which themselves might really have served the goals of technical training and research.

¹⁹¹ These are expressions that are useful even today, used to attain the homogenizing imperial goals, overtly or covertly.

If we look at the series of laws, **the developing noble-national movement becomes obvious, which was formed within the old noble boundaries, but the common language and culture became the link that slowly and imperceptibly drove the noble-national mentality toward the linguistic and cultural concept of nation.**¹⁹² Although it might seem to the superficial observer that hardly anything happened until the end of the 18th century, Leopold I, with a series of measures, himself created the justification for the outbreak of the Rákóczi freedom-fight.

This was just the surface. The substrata would not be silenced either. The thin stratum of intelligentsia of the incoming settlers (on the one hand, the bishops of the Greek Catholic Church, who had been in Rome; on the other hand, the Orthodox patriarchs, who arrived as envoys from the Czar from the Russian-Turkish peace conference in Kücsüj Kajnardzsi) immediately turned to the Hapsburg rulers to preserve their existing (territorial or church) privileges and expand them. The developing national consciousness among the Serbs, Romanians and Slovaks – in feudal communities, just as among the Hungarians, but beyond feudalism – moved in the direction of a linguistic and cultural national consciousness. That is in the direction of opposition to the aristocracy. In one direction but not from one direction. They were going in one direction but, because of the differences in their starting points, these paths sometimes crossed each other before reaching the goal. Between the 16th and 18th centuries, the affiliation to a denomination and the mother-tongue were weapons for self-defense against an expanding and assimilating Christian empire and an occupying, plundering power with a foreign religion. The defense of their affiliation to their nation was for the Hungarians a basic human right. Therefore, they did not take this from the incoming settlers; they were allowed to keep their languages (e.g. Armenians or Germans), they were given help to organize their religious lives (e.g. Romanians) and they continued to live under the direction of their spiritual leaders (e.g. Serbs)

At the time of the incoming settlers, the Hungarians, taking pity on the refugees, were themselves persecuted in their own homeland, and failed to do many things. For example, they did not record the names of the settlements and their official language (as Switzerland did); they did not adopt the concept that „this was one state, one language, and one religion” (as France did) and they did not force assimilation. They did not live with the possibility of proselytizing,¹⁹³ did not record how many refugees they accepted each year, and the unjust discrimination against the Jews, prevalent in the Middle Ages, took its mildest form in Hungary.¹⁹⁴

This was now the last decade of the 18th century, the time of the subversive French Revolution, which set in motion the political systems of the whole of Europe, when in Hungary there were many ethnic groups and many religions, and where an unfamiliar situation arose, bringing new problems. The younger brother of the Emperor (king), Leopold, Prince of Tuscany, was expected to solve these problems.

Leopold II's accession to the throne in 1790, and his barely two-year reign brought a true break and a new era in Hungarian legislation and politics.¹⁹⁵ In the Hungarian political life

¹⁹² From this in the 19th century developed the concept of the cultural-national-political nation, which would be capable of enlightening the cluster of problems of the European nation- state and multiple-nation-state.

¹⁹³ The reunification of the Roman Catholic and the Greek Catholic churches was promoted by Leopold I, who gave privileges and benefits in exchange.

¹⁹⁴ For example, the Hungarian feudal assembly did not vote in the „Familie Gezetz” of Charles III.

¹⁹⁵ On April 7, (barely a few months after his accession to power) he passed a law regarding the language of instruction in the middle and upper grades: he reinstated Latin, but at the same time he ordered that

- a) In the lower grades of the high-schools, the language of the students should be taught as an „auxiliary language.”
- b) The Hungarian language „should be given special attention, its study and spread however, should be scrupulously respected, especially in those places where now several languages are in use.”

that swung into motion, there was as a considerable factor, the nationalistic question that appeared in a new form.

Between September 1 and November 4, 1790, the Serbs held their National Congress in Temesvár. The Emperor benevolently guaranteed the Congress that he had initiated, and promised that after his coronation as King of Hungary, he would support their reasonable demands. The „reasonable demands”,¹⁹⁶ however, which the Congress presented on November 4, even on the part of the Court were not grantable in all respects. The demands in educational matters: Serbian language schools: 8 high schools, 10 teacher colleges, recognizing the general efforts in educational politics, were understandable and reasonable, but at the same time incomprehensible. Incomprehensible because Maria Theresa, at the time of the establishment of the Educational Foundation, supported the Serbian Church too, with a considerable amount of money. The faithful were excused from paying the tithe to the Church, so that the management of their finances from the beginning was an interior matter for the Church. The educational matters of those settlements of wealthy Serbs, who were not exempt, from 1777 on, were in the hands of the state and local public administration.¹⁹⁷

On March 11, 1792, the Romanian bishops in Transylvania¹⁹⁸ submitted their memorandum called *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*, in which, based on the Dako-Roman theory, they demanded recognition as the fourth nation in Romania.¹⁹⁹ This does not deal especially with the educational question, but indirectly, in connection with the „maintenance” (economic situation) of the Orthodox Church, that is its priests.

The Ruler denied the demand for territorial autonomy included in the petition of the Serbian Congress,²⁰⁰ but Leopold II referred the demands of the Romanians in their Memorandum directly to the jurisdiction of the Transylvanian State Assembly. The Diet, however, (in its own era, between the political relationships of the age, and not on the basis of ideas from later centuries) denied them based on reasonable arguments.²⁰¹

The Ruler, partly because of the confusing situation caused by the rescinding of the *Systematica*,²⁰² partly because of the renewed petitions of the Jews and the public sentiment, as well as the influence of the law passed by his great-grandfather, formed a committee to examine

¹⁹⁶ The „bundle plan” can be divided into three sections: public administration, political law and education. Political demands should be the work of the legislature „legal equality in official positions”. Public administration demands should be the work of the City Council after being nominated by the Emperor, and there should be territorial autonomy.

¹⁹⁷ For example, in 1778, the chief administrator of the educational district of Pécs urged the City Council of Újvidék to open new elementary schools. The salaries of the two Serbian teachers were to be paid by the City Treasury, and the Greek Orthodox Serbian Church district was given its own educational administrator (Ábrahám Mrázovitz and Máté Rudics); from 1697 to 1900, the Bács-Bodrog County archives note that the Greek Orthodox schools and buildings designated for schools, were paid for by order of the local assembly. Hévízi Józsa: *Op. Cit.* p. 47.

¹⁹⁸ The Greek Catholic Bishop of Balázsfalva and the Greek Orthodox Bishop of Nagyszeben submitted the petition **together**.

¹⁹⁹ Thus the Memorandum, by demanding recognition as the fourth nation, expected that, within the frame of the aristocratic society, the Romanian social strata (aristocrats, priests, merchants, and serfs) should receive the same rights as the same social strata in the three other nations, but in the pure Romanian or majority Romanian territories Romanian names should be used by law. (What the Hungarian aristocrats had „forgotten” to introduce from the beginning, now came to the foreground!)

²⁰⁰ On February 20, 1791, a law was passed to bring into being the Illyrian Court Chancellery, to which the Serbian border territories were attached.

²⁰¹ References to the Romanian historical arguments were not enough basis for their demands. According to the aristocratic State Assembly, the rights of the aristocrats and the freemen, as well as the serfs were not dependent on which national groups they belonged to, take the example of the maintenance of their priests – especially the tithe of the church and the maintenance of pastors by the faithful of the Protestant churches. The emancipation of the Church, however, only took place in the recent past, although it was not given a place among the other churches.

²⁰² A law regarding the Jewish people.

the position of the Jews and offer advice, to which he appointed Count Joseph Haller as leader.²⁰³

After the death of Joseph II, in the general political awakening, the use of the language and the educational question took its rightful place. The preparations for the coronation were still taking place, when Leopold, on April 7, 1790, passed a law concerning the language of instruction in the higher schools: he reinstated Latin and at the same time, he decreed that:

- a) In the lower grades of the high-school, the language of the students should be taught as an „auxiliary language”,
- b) The Hungarian language „should receive special attention; its cultivation and spread however, should receive special care, particularly in those places, where at present several languages are being used”.

Spring, 1791: The teaching of the Hungarian language was decreed by law in the teacher colleges. The appointment of teachers to the elementary schools was conditional on their knowledge of the Hungarian language, and the Israeli elementary schools were restored too, because they were „schools that served the refinement of the people”.

In the **1790-91** term of the State Assembly, the **Law No. XVI** ruled on the teaching of the Hungarian language in the academies and universities, the goal of which was to prepare teachers of the Hungarian language. Moreover, the **Law No. XXVI** emancipated the Protestant churches, the **Law No. XXVII**, however, **allowed members of the Orthodox Church to practice their religion freely**, so that it might be included as the fifth religion beside the four already recognized religions. Therefore, the free practice of religion allowed all the churches to have full autonomy in educational matters.

In 1792, the **Law No. VII** decreed that, in the secondary schools, the **Hungarian language should be taught as a „regular subject”**. Since there were no actual conditions or objectives, it had no result, but **like the apple of Eris (the golden apple of discord), it was there among the peoples of Hungary.**

From the point of view of educational politics, these steps led straight to the strategically important Law XV of 1792, which established the Committee on Cultural Matters, the most important duty of which was **„to work out the complete reform of public education adequate for the 'national upbringing'”**. This task was decided from two basic points of view: the one was the educational subject matter²⁰⁴, the other was related to the administration of educational matters.²⁰⁵

Emperor Franz I, King Ferenc of Hungary, who followed Leopold II, until the discovery of the Hungarian Jacobinic movement, saw no danger in the stronger propagation of enlightened ideas in educational matters. This seemed to be justified by the continuously expanding network of schools, which meant an increase in number and higher quality of new types of schools.²⁰⁶

²⁰³ The opening lines of this plan made it clear that Leopold II's measures exceeded the notable law that a stroke of the pen rendered invalid. Not only could the influence of the enlightened flood of ideas be detected, but rather the traditional Hungarian concept of „acceptance”. „Refine the Jews, facilitate their means of training, treat them like people, like inhabitants of our country, recognize that they have a home in Hungary, and then those complaints about them, will not be so common.” Gyuresák János: Op. Cit. p. 41. Quoted from the Jewish Lexicon, Bp. 1929. p. 192.

²⁰⁴ „All residents of the country, without discrimination to rank, nationality or religion, should be allowed to receive the same intellectual and physical education, and scientific training that agreed with the State Constitution and its political situation.”

²⁰⁵ „They established that, by law, according to which the public education and intellectual training of the entire nation, under the royal inspector general, by way of the legal government and by means of practical law, should extend to the goal of common welfare. Kármán Mór: Op. Cit. Vol. 2. p. 114.

²⁰⁶

Patron	Secondary school	Academy/ college
Catholic		Szeged- philosophy
Greek Catholic		Ungvár- teacher college
Lutheran	Mezőhegyes	Késmárk - law
Presbyterian	Kisújszállás	Nagyenyed-jogi law

The cultural and educational autonomy made it necessary for the churches to outline their strategies for educational politics, formulate their methodological instructions and draw up their own syllabus.²⁰⁷ Both the Presbyterian (1804) and the Lutheran (1805) churches welcomed the possibilities offered by autonomy.

The elected administrator of all the schools of the unified convent of the Lutheran church prepared the entire school system (1809), yet he did not establish a unified form for the public education, because he failed to introduce a unified system of learning. Even the initiator of the plan failed to work on a unifying endeavor: „This contradicts the true basis of Protestantism, which demands agreement only on the most important questions, and allows freedom of opinion. Moreover, for the intelligent teacher, it is just a burden, and for the less able teacher, it is useless, and finally it stands in the way of the development of the science of pedagogy.”²⁰⁸

The Presbyterian Church used its independence in a different way. The district this side of the Tisza (Sárospatak) accepted the work of the professor from Debrecen, the Ratio Institutionis. „**There is no use in imitating the foreign examples; if we do not want to assault the national genius, the rules should serve as a base for meeting the needs of the homeland.**”, wrote Professor Ézsiás Budai in his mandate describing the development of the syllabus and the organization of schools in the church district. One can scarcely grasp on the one hand the possibilities hidden in the denominational education and, on the other hand the existing national characteristic of the Hungarian Presbyterian Church, since its inception, which has now won acceptance in the strategy of the educational politics.

This thought is reflected in the establishment of the Presbyterian school system, which builds on the three „vernacular”²⁰⁹ elementary grades, a special fourth grade that can take several years to complete. It can be said that there is a unique possibility in the differences that can be found in the local, geographical neighborhoods, and by not taking the especial linguistic characteristics into consideration. The characteristic of the „Latin school” ensured the acquiring of a general education, an orientation to life in the world, followed by the four university years. The syllabus was appropriate for the institution. In the three elementary grades, besides religion, „ethical instruction” took its place as a separate subject. The fourth grade, which could be completed over several years, with the advantage of this time and the appropriate subjects of study,²¹⁰ offered the possibility of obtaining first rate social progress, built on learning and culture. The syllabus of this institution, based on growing and nourishing traditions, within the boundaries of the college, gave great significance to the Presbyterian denominational education. This is why the schoolboys who passed through Patak and Debrecen were right, and this is why the news and the opinions of writers about these schools were also right.²¹¹

	Csurgó	Marosvásárhely-jogi law
Unitarian	Székelykeresztúr	Kolozsvár-jogi law
City Council		Szombathely- philosophy
Special education	Vác- Hearing impaired	
Trade	Keszthely- agriculture	Keszthely Georgikin

Mészáros István: *A magyar nevelés-és iskolatörténet.* pp. 33-37.

²⁰⁷ The unified Lutheran convent asked Lajos Schedius, and the Trans-Tisza Presbyterian church district asked Ezsás Budai to prepare their plans.

²⁰⁸ Kármán Mór: *Op. Cit.* Vol. 2. p. 122

²⁰⁹ The local language spoken in a certain district.

²¹⁰ Religion, general geography, history of Hungary, knowledge of the laws of the land, exercise of the civil documents, mathematics, physics, economics, mechanics and the elements of construction.

²¹¹ „The Patak College was a very difficult school at that time. It was a good school, a nice school, a very prestigious school, but – it was a difficult school. Here the teachers wanted the students to learn.” Sárospatak Iskolamúzeum quotation from Zsigmond Móricz.

The Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches took advantage of the right to autonomy, which came with considerable state support.²¹²

Two of the denominations experienced a similar situation: the Catholics and the Lutherans. In the matter of language, they also showed a mixed picture: Hungarian, German, Slovak (Tót), Croatian,²¹³ and Vend (Slovenian). In the elementary schools, the mother-tongue, that is the vernacular²¹⁴ was used as the language of instruction, and the organization of the feudal society at the beginning of the nineteenth century did not mean that there was the possibility of equality that would have brought harmony between the language of instruction, the spoken language and the state language (official language).

On August 30, 1805, Emperor Franz I approved the Educational Law²¹⁵, widely known as the Ratio Educationis II.,²¹⁶ which did not appear to, but actually brought some basic changes. The composition of the Ratio itself demonstrated this. The emphasis was shifted from the educational administration to the structure of the schools and the apportioning of the related educational materials, although there were significant changes in the structure too, because the responsibilities of the administrators of the universities and the section leaders of the Council of the Governor General were divided up. This decentralization, however, was not successful because the separation of the administration as professional politics and the professions as scientific responsibilities, did not bring an overall positive change in the quality of education. The reason for this can be found in many sources. The recognition of the autonomy of the churches changed the content of the supervision but the generally unchanged structure even so created opportunities for the debate between the denominations and a series of forceful actions. In the last chapter of the Ratio, can be found a system of rules for the upkeep, operation and economic background, including the basis for pensions.

The Law, therefore, basically brought only half a solution. The rules for content and organization of schools, even so, applied only to the Catholic schools and the non-denominational schools. The supervisory role of the state did not disappear, although the professional independence of the other denominations continued to grow.

The administration of educational matters also made it possible for the general policies for upholding autonomy to come into force independently: with an effort to establish „suitable” schools for the village and city girls; with the eradication of the compulsory teaching of the German language and instead, the introduction of the teaching of the Hungarian language as a foreign language in the mother-tongue schools of the national minorities, as well as in the Latin schools.

One of the fundamental questions of the aristocratic-nationalistic movement was the question of the use of the Hungarian language as the language of instruction, or official language in the military academy.²¹⁷ The Law No. VII of 1808 finally not only ruled on the foundation of the academy, but also the goals of the instruction, the syllabus, the equipment and the acceptance of the administration.

²¹² The administrator of the Transylvanian elementary schools, George Sinkai, established 300 Romanian (Olah) elementary schools in a period of 12 years.

²¹³ There is a very big difference between the Croatian language spoken in the south and that spoken in the northwest, the so-called Gradista.

²¹⁴ In the case of the Croatians, the Slovaks and the Germans, there is no small significance in the differences between the national language and that of the local inhabitants (this is a problem that still exists today – but who dares to face up to this and examine it on the level of research?)

²¹⁵ The second Ratio actually ruled on educational matters until 1850

²¹⁶ Ratio Educationis Publicae totisque Rei iterarie

²¹⁷ As a temporary solution, the Law No. IV of 1802 made necessary the establishment of the Pest University. The question of the military academy using the Hungarian language as the language of instruction was only addressed in 1872.

Every step taken in the Reform Era, to make Hungarian the official language²¹⁸ at the same time resulted in the appearance of minority problems in educational matters. (In France, they did not have minority problems because they simply imposed the French language nationwide and did not allow the minorities to use their own languages. Trans.)

The National Assembly of 1825/27, with the Law No. VIII decided upon establishing a new Educational Committee, which re-emphasized the duty of „nation-building” and expected there to be a modernization of the plans. This actually meant drawing up a plan for a new law.²¹⁹ The new element in this plan was **free education in the mother-tongue**, and finally led to the compulsory teaching in the Hungarian language in all types of school, and the introduction of the German language as an optional choice.

However, the plan did not reach the level of a law, it just became the most important element of the reorganization of the elementary schools, with the title: „Rules for the Elementary Schools”, and became an order on July 16, 1845.

On December 31, 1846, there was an amendment to one point of the elementary school rules that had been introduced in the previous year: **In the elementary schools in the non-Hungarian territories, the compulsory teaching of the Hungarian language was revoked.** This „little” change had a huge significance, if we regard it in the light of the politics of the age.

The birth of the nation-states in the first half of the 19th century brought with it two different versions of the concept: the French²²⁰ and German²²¹ concept of the nation. The recognition of the cementing force of the religion, language and culture influenced the Hungarian public sentiment in the second half of the 16th century. This could have been the foundation for the permissive character of the Hungarian religious, educational and cultural politics, which did not follow the example of Western Europe in regard to the immigrants,²²² but gave them the possibility to evolve from an ethnic minority into a nation.

With the establishment of the immigrants’ religious institutions (Saxons), their upkeep (Ruthenians, Serbs), their organization (Armenians), their state-organized foundation (Romanians), and the educational institutions that developed around these, culturally integrated communities evolved in the first half of the 19th century. The next step, with the expression of political interests, was the separation into actual nations. This development was initiated, or rather was allowed to unfold by the denominational education. However, the Janus faces that had earlier developed, now, in the time of the modern change to a civil nation, this was not favorable for Hungary. Therefore, the state language and language of instruction, or rather the problem of the teaching of the state language became a central question.

In 1848, with the so-called April Laws, the creation of civil Hungary (would have!) legally signified a complete reorganization of the Hungarian educational system from the nursery schools to the universities. The political events, however, prevented the execution of the planned educational policy, linked to the name of József Eötvös. We cannot even say that the few months between the start of the Batthyány government and the resignation of the

²¹⁸ a) In 1825-27, the law No. XI established the Academy, and the law No. XXI the National Theatre. b) In 1730, the law No. VIII made Hungarian the language of the Council of the Governor General, the counties and the courts. c) In 1832-36, the original language of the Law No. III was Hungarian. d) In 1840, the law No. VI **made Hungarian the language of the birth registries.** (See Appendix No. I.) In 1843/44 the law No. II made Hungarian the official language in public administration and in public education (this did not apply to the ethnic language teaching, but to the teaching that took place in the Latin language.)

²¹⁹ The eight chapters of the proposed law reflected an entirely new concept. The first section referred to the economic background of the complete educational question, and then made plans for the various types of schools.

²²⁰ „The concept of state and nation are inseparably connected. One nation, one state.” Asztalos Miklós: Op. Cit. p. 304.

²²¹ „According to the German concept of nation, the nation is a cultural entity, which transcends the state borders and is therefore a comprehensive concept.” Asztalos Miklós: Op. Cit. p. 301.

²²² In the western half of Europe, the national groups came into being with the blending of several ethnic groups. In contrast to this, in the eastern half of Europe one or another ethnic minority became a culturally integrated and political community. Romsics Ignác: Op. Cit. p. 13.

Szemere government, nothing new happened, because, in line with the modern public administration, the Educational Office of the Council of the Governor General was closed down and, in its place – according to the European norms – with an expanded sphere of activity, the Ministry of Religious and Educational matters was created (which is what they called the Ministry of Culture). The financial costs of public education were to be the responsibility of the state. In the question of the freedom of the universities to teach what they wished, with a temporary order, the first step was taken in the direction of the modernization of the organization and content.

After the suppression of the Freedom Fight (1849), the Minister of Religion and Public Education in the Government in Vienna issued orders that brought new and far-reaching changes to the Hungarian public education, in two steps.²²³ In 1849, the „Entwurf” modernized the structural and organizational form of the secondary schools, the Catholic, Protestant, state or private schools without exception.²²⁴ It unified the previous departments, replaced the well-planned subject material, based on principles, and a detailed methodological guide in the high-schools as well as in the colleges, and introduced a graduation examination at the completion of studies, as well as a system for specialized teachers.²²⁵

In 1855, the modernization of the elementary schools took place: The village elementary schools were to teach to the third grade, the larger elementary schools, to the fourth grade. The teachers had to have a teaching certificate.

At the same time, these rules did not affect the autonomy of the Eastern Greek, Serbian and Romanian churches, that is to say their schools. Both initiatives left the Greek Catholic school system untouched.

The centralized, absolute Hapsburg power tried unsuccessfully to Germanize Hungary, not with the Entwurf, but between 1855 and 1858, with orders pertaining to the language of instruction.

Therefore, from 1861 on, the syllabus of the high-schools and secondary schools, based on the Entwurf, had a national Hungarian character. This is shown in the system of requirements for the subjects of Hungarian language and literature, history and geography. At the same time, in the question of the language of instruction, the earlier rules applied: in the elementary schools of the minorities, the vernacular would be used, that is the language of the autonomic Greek Orthodox Church.

The Court’s national politics did not reflect appreciation towards either the Serbs or the Romanians for their conduct in the Hungarian Freedom Fight. They asked in vain for an inspector of schools for Transylvania, an Academy of Law for Balázsfalva, a university, and for a replacement for the empty bishop’s seat, because generally nothing happened in the matter of education. Rome did not behave this way. The otherwise continuous competition between the Greek Orthodox and the Greek Catholic churches was temporarily suspended.²²⁶

The situation of the Hungarian higher education was not as simple at the time of the dictatorship. After the suppression of the Freedom Fight, a meaningful number of university professors and students left the country, partly for involuntary political reasons, and partly to follow their educational goals.

²²³ They introduced the high-school with eight grades, the secondary school with six grades, and the graduation examination. They placed educational administration within the boundaries of public administration and expanded the elementary school to three or four grades. Mészáros István: *A magyar nevelés-és iskolatörténet kronológiája 996-1996*, Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó. Bp.n. d.

²²⁴ The cultural and educational autonomy of the Greek Orthodox Serbian and Romanian churches remained untouched.

²²⁵ Mészáros István: *Középszintű iskoláink kronológiája és topográfiája 996-1948*, Akadémia Kiadó, Bp., 1988.

²²⁶ Pope Pius IX took the Greek Catholic diocese of Balázsfalva away from the jurisdiction of Esztergom, raised it to the level of an archdiocese, thus making it possible to build an independent church possession. At the same time, the Greek Orthodox Romanian Church was placed under the jurisdiction of the Serbian archdiocese, which only on December 24, 1864, became established as a Greek Orthodox archdiocese.

The imperial politics of Vienna immediately made themselves felt here²²⁷, in Hungary, directly and harshly, although the contradictory nature of their measures brought with them a few forward-looking, modern elements.²²⁸

In the 1850's, then, the Hungarian public education readied itself for the requirements and needs of the development of the bourgeois mentality: it was based upon the Christian system of values and modernized its educational materials and organization. In the use of the language, the right to learn in the mother-tongue was established, along with the right to teach in the mother tongue, which the country preserved alongside the compulsory teaching of the official language of the state, right up until the dismemberment of the country. The situation of the higher education was more complicated, because its organization could only be initiated within the frame of the dual-state.

From the dual-state to the dismemberment at Trianon

After the Compromise, the Law No. XXXVIII of 1868, made famous by the name of József Eötvös, **the first Hungarian Educational Law**²²⁹, formulated the teaching responsibilities, organized the elementary school with six grades, the repeated grade of the elementary school, the state instruction of teachers, and the network of supervisors of the elementary schools.

This law was actually expanded one year later – also based on the preparative work of Eötvös – by the **Nationality Law**.

The preparatory committee was guided by two principles:

1. **„Every citizen of Hungary, no matter his language, from a political standpoint belongs to one nation: the historical concept of the Hungarian state, and is represented by the unified and indivisible Hungarian nation”;**
2. All people living in the state, namely: ... are to be regarded as equal nationalities, whose different nationalistic demands, within the bounds of a political unity, on the basis of the individual and collective freedom, without any further restrictions might freely be enforced.”²³⁰

This solution, based on a compromise, made it possible for the introduction of **compulsory free education** in the elementary school, the right to choose one's school, a right which one section of the Law insured and which was the **freedom to study**. The freedom to study, on the one hand, was really the right of the younger children to choose the school that they would attend when they were older but, on the other hand, it was the moral and professional responsibility of the school administrator to establish the syllabus and the subject matter, as well as the language of instruction of the school and the compulsory choice of a foreign language. The language of the school was determined by the school administrator, and the church schools had the same right as the state schools. The law determined only the subjects. The choice of subject matter in the elementary schools, as well as their distribution and the

²²⁷ German became the language of instruction in all of Hungary. For seven years, in Hungary, the training of engineers was suspended and for one and a half years the agricultural training in Keszthely was suspended.

²²⁸ The branches of the faculty of philosophy were made equal, the system of accepting students was regulated (to come into agreement with the new examination for graduation, thus curtailing the autonomy of the universities).

²²⁹ A law that was formulated by experts, circulated by the departmental minister, and contrary to the earlier practice of law, it was enacted in a legal manner.

²³⁰ Galántai József: *Nemzet és kisebbség Eötvös József életművében*. Korona Kiadó, Bp. n. d. pp. 60-61.

choice of school books remained under the jurisdiction of the patron. One year later the syllabus for the elementary schools appeared, which in regard to the denominational education followed the spirit of the previous two laws.

The independence of the denominational schools actually came to be expressed in the school organization and the establishment of the syllabus. The basic difference between the syllabus of the denominational and the state schools was the language of instruction and, with the exception of the practice of speech built on this (today knowledge of the environment), it followed the denomination's religious education. The denominational independence also made it possible for the church to use its own borders (= possessions, church counties, church districts) in relation to those of the region.

The state syllabus was drawn up to apply to the whole state; its form today cannot be accurately expressed in technical terms, because, on the one hand, it lists in „precise order” the subjects, subject matter and methods, thus showing similarities to the „curriculum”; on the other hand, referring to the independence of the denominations, it lists only the subject titles: „religion and morals”,²³¹ and leaves the details to the patron, and allows the free choice of schoolbooks. Therefore, it resembles rather a „basic curriculum”. Consequently, the denominational syllabus had the characteristic of a broad curriculum, and from this developed the educational program and the local curricula.

The Presbyterian Church was a very good example of this, the basic educational principles of which were present in all the schools, but every church district prepared its own syllabus.²³²

In regard to the Orthodox churches, to the Law No. IX of 1868, in that same year, on August 10, an amendment was passed, which recorded emphatically the autonomy of the Serbian church. Beside the economic autonomy that was mentioned in this amendment, an important element was the statement in regard to the language of instruction: „In the Serbian elementary schools, the Serbian language is the language of instruction.”

The legislative role of the state continued to be strengthened in the last decade of the century, but this appeared first with the introduction of the Hungarian language as a compulsory subject in two steps, the right of supervision in educational administration, and the state support of the church schools which came with conditions.

The ethnic minorities strongly objected to the compulsory teaching of the Hungarian language.

The Romanian Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches absolutely did not want the Hungarian language to be taught, not under any circumstances. **In 1879**, when the makers of the Law **No. XVIII** made it compulsory for all elementary schools to teach the official Hungarian language, with clever tactics they stated that the teaching of a foreign language was not appropriate in the elementary schools. When, in 1883, the Law **No. XXX** introduced the Hungarian language in the secondary schools, they objected to this, stating that the word „compulsory” offended the autonomy of the Church, and promoted assimilation. Finding themselves in the sphere of attraction of the neighboring Romanian Kingdom, they voluntarily turned against the Hungarian state.²³³

The Slovakian intelligentsia first of all grew up in the lap of the Lutheran Church and a considerable majority of them were teachers and professors. The patron of their language schools was primarily the Lutheran Church, within which their linguistic difference was well-

²³¹ „Religion and morals. In the meaning of the Law No. 57. §-a, the teaching of religion and morals was left to the religious denomination. The partitioning of this subject over the course of the school year and the extent of its content belongs under the jurisdiction of the leaders of the religious denomination.” Mészáros István: *Felekezeti népiskoláink tanterveinek történeti alakulása* in: *A tanterv kérdésköre az elmúlt másfél évszázadban* pp. 38-39.

²³²Mészáros István: *Felekezeti népiskoláink* pp. 41-45.

²³³ Bíró Sándor: *Kisebbségben és többségben. Románok és magyarok 1867-1940*. Pro-Print Kiadó Csíkszereda 2002. pp. 154-158.

suited to the requirements of Protestantism. They did not have much to do with the legal regulations, they did not follow the rules that applied to the administration, nor those that applied to the teaching of the Hungarian language.

On June 6, 1907, the Law No. XXVII was announced, which was known as the Lex-Apponyi, and which is still today remembered in the most negative way.

The Law on the one hand again ordered the compulsory teaching of the Hungarian language in those schools not administered by the state and in the schools where the language of instruction was not Hungarian and, on the other hand, ordered severe curtailments of the state aid available to them.

Therefore, the school that taught four subjects according to the state syllabus, was legally able to receive the state aid to help pay for material expenses and for the salaries of the teachers. (At the same time, the utilization of it was not compulsory and the right of publication was reserved to the church that maintained it. The inconceivable things in today's world originate from here.²³⁴) The law itself precipitated great sympathy all over Europe toward the oppressed national minorities in Hungary. It is true that the French translation of the law contained a few small errors: **instead of the state syllabus for four subjects, the translation called for the teaching of four subjects in the state language.** (This mistake has not been corrected even today!)

This law, however, had a strong influence on the denominational schools that taught in the Hungarian language. The state syllabus was truly a centralizing, state-forming tool (let us say it was a guiding principle following the French model). Sadly, statistics from the Presbyterians indicate this. For them it actually meant handing over the schools into the hands of the state.²³⁵

The necessary conditions for the fulfillment of the educational responsibilities (personal, content, material and financial) laid the foundation for a large-scale improvement²³⁶ in the continued modernization of the cultural requirements for the spreading of the bourgeois civilization.²³⁷ The structure of the Hungarian vocational training also caught up to the requirements of industrialization and, similar to the western European practice, it became dualistic.

Neither the educational laws nor the minority laws were without errors. At the same time, it must be recognized that the laws gave the ethnic minorities in Hungary wide-ranging

²³⁴ Its announcement was not „easy”; it took a long time. For example, the Greek Catholic consistorium in Nagyszében only in 1910 announced the establishment of its school. Barabás Endre: *A magyar és román kultúrpolitika irányvonalai* in: Jancsó Benedek Emlékkönyv. pp. 291-298.

²³⁵ On the basis of the statistics of Imre Révész (Op. Cit. 375-376)

School year	Presb. Schools in Transylvania		
1867/68	587	1918/19	175
1891/92	433		
1896/97	352		

²³⁶ In 1912/13, there were 16,961 elementary schools (not counting the Sunday-schools and the continuation schools). According to the patrons of these schools, their distribution was as follows: denominational: 12,155 (72%), state: 3,296 (20%), community: 1,410 (8%). Distribution according to the language of instruction: Hungarian: 13,453, German: 447, Slovak: 377, Romanian: 2,233, Ruthenian: 59, Serbian: 270, Italian: 12, others: 10. The number of teachers: 34,574. According to the statistics in the census of 1910, 68% of the population older than 6 years old were able to read and write. Count Teleki Pál: *Magyarország gazdasági térképében*, p. 20.,21. Pallas Nyomda, Bp. 1921

²³⁷ The educational law of 1883 combined the previous educational laws, the system of high-schools and secondary schools, and the training of teachers for the secondary-schools. Besides the general secondary-schools then appeared the vocational secondary-schools. In 1884, with the passing of the industrial law, the compulsory establishment of industrial and professional training schools came into being. Naturally, there were other laws regulating the training of skilled workers, such as the training of agricultural, viticultural, wine-making, forestry and mining workers.

autonomy in the practice of their mother tongue and their customs, which meant an increase in the number of their educational institutions.

At the end of the century, the political climate of Europe had changed. Hungary, which two generations earlier was the champion of freedom, now became the symbol of tyrannical cruelty.²³⁸

Those nation-states that centuries earlier already „aided” their ethnic groups with the prerequisites for the establishment of the nation-state, now condemned Hungary for her nationalistic politics.

Parallel to this, they consistently tried to implant into the general consciousness (not without success) those particular reasons that, similar to the international relations of the given age, standing alone should not be judged according to the later-established norms that were only applied to some. From this came the concept of a „wicked people”. Added to this, the leaning toward the left, then the Hungarian Soviet Republic (1919) was another nail in the coffin of Trianon.

Not forgetting the mistakes or local problems, we need to take into account three facts independent of each other, before we can accept that a basically unsuccessful, arrogant nationalistic political policy, and the 133-day Communist dictatorship could have caused the dismemberment of the country. The data about the continuing movement of peoples in the territory of Hungary (in and out of the country, without the immigrant law, with just a restrictive law against emigration), the data about the schools where Hungarian was not the language of instruction, (in comparison with the data about the national language) as well as the secret agreement in Bucharest, between the Entente powers and Romania, on August 17, 1915, by which Romania would annex Bukovina (which at that time was informally possessed by Austria), the Bánát and the eastern part of Hungary, as far as the Vásárosnamény-Debrecen-Szeged line. The apparent, but sometimes legitimate but unjust anti-Hungarian politics spread by the ethnic minorities, the attraction of the neighboring countries which had the same language,²³⁹ the Orthodox break-line, the movement from East to West and the economic interests of the Entente powers, hidden under the guise of the Wilson points, all came together in Trianon, where, following the geographical data, the exceptionally economically potential Hungary was carved to pieces at the conference of the victors.

Two things demonstrated the quality of the denominational education: 1) At the end of World War I, the ethnic minorities had become nationalities. The former refugees had preserved their religion, language and culture and brought them with them into their nationality. 2) The Hungarians remaining in Hungary, while they welcomed the refugees from the separated territories, struggled to survive as a nation.

From a majority to a minority, from 1918 to today

It is worth considering, that within the limits of size, the traceability of the sources and the method, as well as that strange attitude (always finding excuses for ourselves: it is still prudent, even if there is no reason; it is still to be feared, even if there is nothing to fear; it is still good to show remorse, even if there is no sin, or at least none bigger than others have),

²³⁸ In 1908, in Munich, there was a peace-conference, to which Count Albert Apponyi was invited. Among those invited was Björnsterne Björnson, the world famous Norwegian writer. He chose not to attend. He stated that the reason was that Apponyi would be present: „To take away a child's mother-tongue is as bad as taking a hungry child away from his mother's breast.” Barabás Endre: *A magyar és román kultúrpolitika irányai* in: Jancsó Benedek Emlékkönyv Erdélyi Férfiak Egyesülete Bp. n. d. p. 291.

²³⁹ In 1918, the Transylvanian Romanians established their own Governing Council, and they hoped that they would be given a role in the leadership in exchange for their declaration of loyalty. They were sadly disappointed, at the reception in the Romanian Senate, but this did not change their position. Generally, the Bucharest government was not to be trusted.

which we generally experience, is it still permissible to condense the events of eighty years or longer? In my opinion it must be done. It is necessary because similar tendencies prevail, accompanied by various methods.

We might ask: What kind of laws might we establish today to deal with the situation of the denominations of the Hungarians living in the neighboring states? Let us examine this question!

It fell to the education experts of the new states to incorporate parts of the Hungarian school-system into their own school-systems. In Austria and Czechoslovakia, the school-systems were very similar; Poland just took over the Hungarian system and maintained it; Romania changed it completely. In the Serbo-Croat-Slovene state, there were differences between the member-states. Thus "Délvidék", the former Southern Hungary, was incorporated into three different school-systems.

None of the states that came into being around us had a homogenous population, and even today they do not have such. As a result of the unusually strong suction effect of Pan-Slavism, Czechoslovakia was established. The leadership from the first moment was in Czech hands, but this did not mean that the Hungarians did not become a minority with a disadvantageous position in the land of their birth. The Hungarians of Felvidék (the Highlands) and Csallóköz did not have historical roots as an independent state, as did the Romanians. Therefore, they experienced much more difficulty in settling down than did their fellow-sufferers in the east. In any case, Romania benevolently included in the first point of the Gyulafehérvár Decisions the acquisition of land, but to the Romanians in Transylvania it appeared very uncertain.

The Greek Orthodox Church and its faithful were especially qualified for this, since their ancestors, around 1691, besides the preservation of their interior autonomy accepted the authority of Rome. (This was for Rome, as for the Romanian Kingdom a tool to be used against the interests of Gyulafehérvár.) To the Transylvanians and now those of the annexed eastern parts, as well as those in the Bánát, the question of surviving within the borders of a foreign state was not unfamiliar. Even so, it took them a good two years to recover from the shock caused by Trianon.

The Hungarians who found themselves in the Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian kingdom, not only belonged to a foreign power, but even the measures brought against the Hungarian minority were not healthy for the new kingdom. We might say that here, the wounds were the deepest. Austria, on the losing side, was a winner compared to Hungary. The Castle Region (Várvidék) (which is now called Burgenland) which was annexed to Austria, was initially an agricultural region around Kismarton (Eisenstadt) and, accordingly, it remained to the minority, whose knowledge of it came by hearsay and rural intelligentsia, through the agricultural and industrial society.

The national minorities which, within the borders of the Hungarian state, became stronger and grew in numbers knew very well what they owed to their religious denominations and the denominational education. They also knew that, while in western Europe, the states „aided” the minorities living within their borders to assimilate, in Hungary a different kind of minority politics prevailed. Whether we speak of the „long” 19th century and the „short” 20th century, or the reason for the civil state, or the state language, the question of the official language was still awaiting a solution. Perhaps besides the use of the language, it was commonly known that the official Latin language was not not the language of any of the minorities and as the preserver of culture, it was foreign to the culture of all the Hungarian minorities.

The dualist state-machine provoked the division between the state and the Church(es), which was not demonstrated by the secularization of the properties of the religious Orders, but primarily by the management by the citizens of such administrative questions, which in a civil society, should have remained in the jurisdiction of the state. Such was the question of

education, especially the elementary education. The state intervention was characteristic of all the European states, although the extent of it, the methods and the timing of it were all very different. It was just the permissive character of the Hungarian educational politics that made it a very long process requiring much patience. It was typical of the whole of Europe. Even today, serious research is being conducted to discover what kind of reasons, comparable or different caused the state intervention to increase continually.²⁴⁰

In any case, the newly created (Czechoslovakia) renewed (Serbo-Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom) and expanded (Romania) states, when they forged an alliance with the losers of the First World War, by creating first of all the so-called Little Entente to act against Hungary, made the focal point of their interior politics the education of the national minorities. Anton Stefanek, the leader of the **Educational and National Culture Review of the Slovakian Plenipotentiary Ministry**, took every opportunity to „Czechoslovakize” the Hungarian language schools. The new apportioning of public administration changed the ratio of the nationalities, and so it was possible to reduce the number of elementary schools. In the absence of a language examination for the teachers, the immediate (!!!)²⁴¹ acquisition of the knowledge of the Slovak language was left to the streets. The opening of a class was dependent on the large number of dual language students, which was impossible in the smaller settlements. The text of the oath that the newly trained teachers and professors had to take was simply politically screened. The majority of the Hungarian language business and industrial schools were closed. Those remaining were able to operate only on the departmental level, and in comparison with the „Czechoslovakian” schools could only begin the school year late and with worse conditions.

Almost at the same time as the takeover of the elementary schools, began the attack against the Hungarian language secondary-schools. A particular target was the training of teachers. The Educational Committee of the Slovakian Eastern Lutheran Church District Council was itself anti-Hungarian. Particularly noteworthy was the Law **No. 189/1919** of April 3, 1919, which dealt with the elementary schools, independent schools and the educational institutions.²⁴² The law, naturally with the appropriate supervision of the state, allowed the organization of secular schools, with 400 students. Therefore, the Hungarian language schools were forced to move to the small towns in Felvidék (the Highlands). It is sad that with the immediate implementation of this Law, it was never introduced in the territory called Szlovenszók (Slovakia). After all it was the law. It was accepted by the League of Nations too.

In Romania, the methods were different, but the goal was the same. The Kingdom of Romania – for reasons beyond its control – only later on began to become interested in educational matters. Their schools were not run by the Church but were under the jurisdiction of the State and they reflected some of the problems of the age. After the initial enthusiasm of the union, the Transylvanian Romanians had to realize that they were previously in a more advantageous position.

Between the two World Wars, Romania churned out educational laws, making separate rules for graduation, which generally, in its own way regulated the increase in the number of failures. The direct result of one or two of the new measures was the reduction in the number of Hungarian language institutions. The Transylvanian Hungarians had institutions of higher education too and they had to notice with shock that, as a result of the occupation by the

²⁴⁰ According to some researchers, the development of industry caused the ever increasing presence of the state in educational matters. According to others, the state was expecting that education would provide a training in civic virtues. Surely both sides are right, and we cannot ignore the influence of the power of the Church and the roots of Protestantism, or the relationship between the two. All this appeared differently in the lives of those living in Central Europe. Francisco o. Ramirez-Jonh Boli. Op. Cit. pp. 11-34.

²⁴¹ In contrast to the Hungarian law, which gave the teachers three years' grace to take the language examination.

²⁴² The minorities could open a school where there was none, if there were 40 minority students. Popély Gyula: *A magyar iskolaiügy kálváriája Szlovákiában az impériumváltás után (1918-20)*in: *Studio Caroliensia* Bp.2002,1-2.sz.

Romanian administration and the army, the professors were not permitted to take even personal items with them.

Especially famous was the so-called **cultural zone**,²⁴³ which concentrated on breaking up the pure Hungarian populated areas along the borders. The hiring of teachers was tied to a competitive exam, which had as a main condition the proficient knowledge of the state language. This was just the beginning.

The situation was no different in the new South Slav state either. In just one year, of 700 Hungarian language schools, only 400 remained. In the remaining schools, Serbian teachers were appointed, who did not speak any Hungarian, or very little.

The states of the Little Entente used similar methods. For instance, the examination of names. The determination as to who was Hungarian was not made by the parents or the teacher, but the State determined on the basis of a Hungarian or non-Hungarian sounding family name. In such cases the student could only attend a school that used the state language. Generally, the shredded parts of the Hungarian nation living outside the borders had only three ways to go.

- 1) They could leave the land of their birth and cross into Hungary (living in railway cars, without anything).
- 2) They could remain in their social stratum and try to adapt and assimilate.
- 3) They could remain and accept whatever came with their adherence to their nation: in the long run the pauperisation of the majority.

From the societal point of view, the land-reform was truly an urgent task left over from before 1918. However, looking at it from the point of view of education, this question and the solution of it in the successor states put the denominational schools into an impossible financial situation, and the costs of maintaining the institutions fell partly or wholly onto the parents.

The relationship between the language of instruction and the language of the students also changed, expressly to the benefit of the state language: if the mother-tongue of the teacher was not that of the minority group, then he taught in his mother-tongue. If instead the mother-tongue of the student was the state language, then the teacher had to use that language.

The fate of the Hungarians living in **Burgenland** was no different. The educational institutions were under the jurisdiction of the Provincial Office, in Kismarton, and, on the basis of certain laws, depending on the ratio of souls, even in the office of the Provincial Inspector not one administrative position was allotted to the „tribal” ethnic groups!

Having learned about this small section of the fate of the ethnic minorities, the joy and relief expressed at the First and Second Decisions of Vienna can be easily understood, as well as at the „return” of Sub-Carpathia and the southern territories.

It is true that the new borders were drawn considering the ratio of the ethnic minorities, the geographical considerations and the political interests of those making the decisions – this last one is a basic point! In the territories returned to Hungary, neither the administration nor the population was in an easy position.²⁴⁴ The branches of the government and the language of instruction were maximally adapted to the local conditions. The Hungarian state spent a lot of money to replace the neglected, purposely destroyed or simply unused institutions. Public education sensitively and circumspectly organized its own schools and managed to ensure the educational political rights of those who were again in the minority.

The peace treaty at the end of World War II, to the benefit of the new great powers, restored the borders to those set by the Treaty of Trianon.

²⁴³ A Romanian teacher or notary moving into a pure Hungarian territory received a special stipend, because he chose to take on such a difficult task. Barabás Endre: Op. Cit.:291-320 in: Jancsó Benedek: *Emlékkönyv*.

²⁴⁴ The population, because of its voluntary movement from here to there, was placed in a specially complicated situation.

Hungary and the successor states, having fallen into the Soviet sphere, suffered a similar Calvary, although in different ways. Czechoslovakia, although it was on the side of the victors in Paris, simply handed over Ruszinszkó, that is Sub Carpathia to the Soviet Union.²⁴⁵

Romania lost Besarabia during the Soviet expansion, but she forgot her loss when she „got back” the whole of Transylvania and the attached territories. Yugoslavia did not do so badly either. She drew a veil over the right wing partisan movements.

Burgenland’s Hungarian population shared the same fate as the other citizens under the Soviet occupation. Only Hungary remained the guiltiest party in this region. What did this mean in the area of education? Unequal treatment.

Czechoslovakia, until 1948 did not give any kind of school to the Hungarian ethnic residents. They were even stripped of their citizenship.

Sub-Carpathia became completely isolated and was wrapped in the arms of the Soviet school system. The language schools were temporarily closed and then their organization, especially in regard to their ideology, was Sovietized.

Romania, between March 6, 1945 and September 1, 1948 continued its „friendly” education politics. The Hungarian higher level education, which had been revived in 1940, remained in part, and, infiltrated by the Romanian educational administration, was allowed to operate its own educational supervisory system. The Hungarian language occupational training schools and public educational network of institutions was allowed to exist.

Yugoslavia, after the initial bloody retaliatory actions, brought its minority question to a pause. Already in 1945, the reorganization of the educational question had begun, but only in 1948 was it actually implemented, and the Hungarian school system was not left out. The former school system was liquidated and the elementary education was expanded to seven grades. Following a permissive educational policy, the elementary and secondary school education, as well as the Hungarian language training of teachers was permitted. The state „following its own path” assured its minorities of more acceptable living conditions. This was true for the Hungarians living in Croatia and Slovenia too, although there the local laws prevailed.²⁴⁶

In September, 1948, in all the states in the Soviet sphere of influence, all at once the schools became nationalized. Naturally, where there were no schools (Czechoslovakia), where the efforts of the churches already since 1944 had been thwarted or suspended, the influence was felt in other ways. Truly the Romanian Hungarians suffered a really big blow.²⁴⁷

Slovakia together with the Czech-Moravian communities had become one state and, after 1948, the situation of the Hungarians, including the educational politics had ameliorated. The Hungarian network of schools included only the lower and some limited middle grades, and it did not include the Hungarian language occupational training or the organization of the upper grades. The use of the Hungarian language as language of instruction was practically closed out from the middle grades. In the upper grades, in Nyitra, in the Teacher Training College, the teacher training was conducted in the Hungarian language but this was only on the departmental level.²⁴⁸ After 1990, in spite of expectations, the Hungarian language education remained unchanged in the surrounding states.

The local initiatives, - if the environment possessed an appropriate ability to accept -- were tolerated, but a legal system of conditions was not put in place to establish a network of mother-tongue education. It is possible to establish a hierarchy on the basis of several points of

²⁴⁵ In exchange, Czechoslovakia received three villages on the right side of the Danube in the vicinity of Pozsony, and was able to accomplish an exchange of population, if not according to its original design.

²⁴⁶ Dr.Tóth Lajos: *Magyar nyelvű oktatás a Vajdaságban 1944-től napjainkig*. Életjel Könyvek. 1994

²⁴⁷ After the nationalization took place, out of 182 middle schools, only 90 remained, out of 15 teacher colleges, 11 and 35-40% of elementary schools were lost. The organization charged with safeguarding interests, the League of Nations, was powerless.

²⁴⁸ Janics Kálmán: *A hontalanság éve*. Hunnia Kiadó Kft h.n. 1989. Gyönyör József: *Éllamalkotó nemzetiségek*. Madách h. n.1989

view, but what is important, is that the system of conditions will not work on the level of the political will and the state power.

The denominational education, the right of the churches to establish schools, demonstrated a multicolored picture in the successor states. In permissive Ukraine, in fault-finding Romania, and not to speak of the remaining southern Slavic states, not even in Slovakia did it become autonomous. In Austria the situation of the Hungarian language in education also remained unchanged, or continued to decline, although for example in Felsőpulya there was an initiative to introduce a bilingual secondary school, for it was not possible to earn a livelihood with this language.

The survival of the mother-tongue, the question of developing science and life with the mother-tongue brought new connections in the ever weighty shadow of the European Union and the globalization. In this question, it is not just the state language and the languages of the ethnic minorities that we should be dealing with. The people of the Carpathian Basin, living in different states are all facing this same problem.

One of the measures of democratization in the surrounding states, is without a doubt the question of the education of the minorities in their mother-tongue. This measure is hovering around the freezing point, although it has moved up several degrees compared to the earlier situation. What would the famous Swedish writer say, if he were living? The representative of which state would he sit at the table with? With the one, where for years the training of teachers in the upper levels conducted by the denominations has not been allowed? With the one, where for years the diploma awarded in Hungary has not been accepted? With the one, where in principle the permissions only work if the motherland can give serious, long-distance aid, although it is a case of the education of the children of taxpaying citizens – of course in the mother-tongue? With the one, where bilingual education has succeeded in creating equality (because one can fail in the one language but not in the other)? Would he sit down with the one, where it is fashionable to mimic the large western European models and where, after centuries, the state „helps” the national minorities to assimilate? Or perhaps with the state, which passes language laws against the minorities?

Why do they not give to the minorities as many rights as they had before Trianon, and they encouraged all of Europe to rise up against this? Perhaps not because they know that they can thank the mother-tongue education for their survival? Because they know that the dismembered Hungary was not acting as a nation-state but rather as a state-nation???

(In spite of all the difficulties the public education endured throughout the centuries, the Hungarian education system has not only survived but has excelled, producing world famous inventors and scientists such as those who worked on the Manhattan project: Ede Teller, János von Neumann and Jenő Wigner, who all attended the same high-school. On their research team in Los Alamos were Leo Szilárd, Todor von Kármán and György de Hevesy, who were also educated in Hungary. Trans.)

APPENDIX I.

How Could it Have Happened?

Botos László

When we gave up our ancient beliefs, we, Hungarians, gave up our interests in our national survival and we „voluntarily” chose to defend western Christianity in Europe for a thousand years. During this time, we shed our blood, our numbers declined and we became weak, but we did this prompted by the knowledge that we did all of it for the Church and in the service of God, and we had to do it because we were called to do so.

Blinded by this belief, we did not realize that we were being used, that we were being deceived and tricked.

Here is a shocking proof of this, to which for centuries in large part the Roman Catholic priests and prelates contributed, by recording Hungarians as part of a foreign people, which finally resulted in our losing the nation at Trianon.

Already, since the 16th century, the Church wrote off, disowned or repudiated those Hungarians, who belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church.

Otto Homonnay writes²⁴⁹:

The compilation called: *Magyarország helység névtára (The catalogue of Hungarian place-names)* published in 1863, discloses in detail the place names in our homeland, their religious affiliation, their ethnic composition and the language spoken by the resident, and includes the number of inhabitants of the locality. Upon examining this catalogue of place names, published in 1863, together with its appendices, we can state that, in spite of the Hapsburg occupation, at that time the ratio of ethnic minorities to the ancient Hungarian population was very low.

The data of the census of 1890 shows a completely different picture of the ethnic minorities in Hungary. The reason for this change can be clarified by the actions of the Greek Orthodox Church that had separated from Rome, according to which, in the territories occupied by national minorities, the liturgy was to be celebrated in the language of the national minority. Since, in these territories, every religious announcement was to be made in the language of the territory, the Greek Orthodox Church took on a national character. Thus the religion of the Romanians, Serbs, Slovaks, Ruthenians etc. became a national religion. The church organizations were built into the national organizations. Those Rumanians who lived in Hungary, belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church, simply declared that they practiced the Romanian religion (the Serbs, the Serbian religion).

The taxation system of the Greek Orthodox Church was also more reasonable. It did not impose the “tithes” on its members as strictly as did the Roman Catholic Church. To the serfs, who had nothing, the adoption of the Greek Orthodox religion was a way to evade church taxes. This was also true of the Protestant churches.

As retribution, the Roman Catholic Church disowned those Hungarians who converted to the Greek Orthodox or Protestant religions, and closed them out of the Catholic family.

Therefore, the movement toward Romanization, Serbization etc. can be traced back to the nation-murdering machinations of the Catholic Church. The census was conducted by the

²⁴⁹ Homonnay Otto János: *A rideg valóság*, Hungarian Turul Society, Toronto, Canada, 1979. pp. 222-223.

Catholic clergy, or under their strict supervision, because the right to take care of the official documents of these places was given to the Catholic Church by the royal decree of King (Saint) László.²⁵⁰

I shall not go into the official Catholic statistics. However, if we take into account the material in the 1200-page, closely-typed catalogue of place-names, then it becomes obvious that the Hungarians of the Greek Orthodox Church, hundreds of thousands of whom lived in the pure-Hungarian territories, who had been Romanized or Serbicized by the Catholic Church, were separated from Hungary by the Treaty of Trianon.

Otto Homonnay quotes the words of Dr. Zsigmond Reiner:

All this took place because the Greek Orthodox Church was for a long time a suppressed, tolerated religion, and because the Romanian Orthodox religion was always treated as a national organization, whereas the Hungarians of the Orthodox religion were unable to withstand this and were forced to place themselves under the protection of the Romanian national church.

(...) Because of the national character of this church, the lack of organization of the Hungarians, and particularly their dependence on it, they themselves, used the expression utilized in the legislation and in official circles and stated that they were of the Romanian religion, and they still do this today.

(...) The result of this unfavorable situation was that Hungarians, were obliged to become members of a foreign national church and obliged to declare that they were members of a foreign national church.²⁵¹

Otto Homonnay continues:

Dr. Zsigmond Reiner noticed efforts in the country to give up Hungarian ways and he began his individual campaign to oppose this trend. The significance of the campaign was that it would only be possible to stop this anti-Hungarian movement, if the Greek Orthodox Church in Hungary could be recognized as an official church or religion. Therefore, he used all official means to organize this church and to have it recognized in Hungary, so that the pure-Hungarians, who had lost their Hungarian character, might be re-included among the Hungarians. (...) Among the leaders of the state, intent on saving the Hungarians (...) Dr. Reiner besieged the House of Representatives and the government with petitions and suggestions (...) but his cries for help did not get very far. (...) At the session on March 19, 1907, the proposal of parliamentary representative, Dezső Nagy, was on the agenda, that is the question of the official recognition of the Greek Orthodox Church. (...) However, in answer to his proposal, Count Albert Apponyi, Minister for Religion and Public Education, stated that he would “make every effort to correct the situation”.

Without considering any of this, Count Pál Teleki, our geographer and Prime Minister, the father of the Hungarian Revisionist Movement, drew **the now famous map, which is everywhere used against us – “the ethnic map of Hungary”**. It is inconceivable that Teleki did not take into account these facts at the time he prepared his map. On the basis of this information, how could Count Apponyi appear at the Peace Conference in Paris with this map, when both of them must have known that this map

²⁵⁰ U. o. 224 old.

²⁵¹ U. o. 226 old. This was a quotation from Dr. Zsigmond Reiner, who was the Secretary of the Royal Hungarian Presidium of Ministers, in his book: *Keleti vallású Magyar Nemzeti Egyház Szervezése*. 1907.

was inaccurate? On the basis of this map, the successor states demanded the territories that were annexed in Trianon, with all the alienated pure-Hungarians living there, claiming them as their own!

These are surely grave questions that should be deeply considered! The emigrant Hungarians have not taken the trouble in all their “anti-Trianon” efforts since 1945, to study the Catalogue of Place-names in Hungary, that was prepared at the turn of the century, and on the basis of indisputable documentation they could have convinced themselves of who was really responsible for preparing the “ethnic structure” at Trianon.²⁵²

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²⁵² U.o. 226-228 old.

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