

TAR ATTILA SZILÁRD:

THESIS OF THE DOCTORIAL (PHD)
DISSERTATION TITLED HUNGARIAN-GERMAN
HIGHER EDUCATIONAL CONNECTIONS AND
INTERACTIONS IN THE 18-19TH CENTURY

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I. SHORT INTRODUCTION OF THE DISSERTATION

Attending a university is a fantastic experience and opportunity. European people have had this chance for nearly one thousand years and thousands of them have taken the opportunity. Attending a university means more than learning at a higher level, the university is a social catalyzer as well. It can be one of the promoters of the social mobility in a way that its graduated students may get a higher position than their parents. This was the basic idea when I started to deal with the history of universities. I meant to find those Hungarian students who have learnt abroad at colleges or universities, and I wanted to examine the effect of these foreign studies on their lives. As a Germanist I have come to the idea to do it in respect of Hungarian university students in Germany.

To achieve my big-scaled goal I needed the exact data. That is why I explored old databases and students' name lists, then I published the database of the period 1694-1789 in book form,¹ for which I was requested by director-general Szögi László. With his help I could become a member of a team of enthusiastic historians who are researching the Hungarian university visisting in the modern era. Here I would like to thank him for his help, support and professional guidance. The period of my dissertational topic includes the period 1789-1919 as well, to which I got the possibility to use the database of Mr. Szögi published in 2001,² and to the comparative investigations I could use the volumes of the serial „Magyarországi diákok egyetemjárása az újkorban” („University visits of Hungarian students in the modern era”).

The hardest part came only after this: to reveal the reasons and consequences. Why the Hungarian students went abroad to learn, why they chose to visit those institutes of which we have the notes, what they became after their studies, what they brought home, and how big role they had in building the European relations of Hungarian scientific life.

In my essay I introduced the developement of the German university system and examined its changes until the beginning of the 20th century. I aimed to depict the strenghts, attractions and prestige of each institute. Based on the data I had I showed the main destinations of Hungarian students and tried to find the reasons for their choices of school. I analysed the carreer of the returning university students from two directions: 1. individually with the help

¹ Attila Tar: Magyarországi diákok németországi egyetemeken és főiskolákon 1694-1789. Budapest 2004, =Magyarországi diákok egyetemjárása az újkorban, 11. /Hungarian students at German universities and colleges 1694-1789. Budapest 2004. = University studies of Hungarian students in the modern times, 11./

² László Szögi: Magyarországi diákok németországi egyetemeken és főiskolákon 1789-1919. Budapest 2001. =Magyarországi diákok egyetemjárása az újkorban, 5. /Hungarian students at German universities and colleges 1789-1919. Budapest 2001.= University studies of Hungarian students in the modern times, 5./

of biographic encyclopedias, 2. examining the outward forms of the political and intellectual élite e.g. government, parliament, protestant episcopate, church magistracy.

In case of the 2nd direction I found support in the database of parliament and the national register and directories. In the third part of the dissertation I worked on political basis, at the level of institutes. I attempted to introduce how the national higher educational policy managed to exploit the experiences of university visits. To compile the referring parts I got significant help from the archives of some national universities, especially examining the process of awarding scholarships.

Finally I aimed to gather the signs of correlation of the Hungarian-German higher educational relations, for instance the registers of German honorary doctors from Hungary, and Hungarian honorary doctors from Germany. I will also refer to the presence of German university students in Hungary.

I know that the higher educational relations of the two countries are multifold, the scientific relations even have a wider spectrum. As a consequence I do not consider my work complete, rather a pioneer attempt to introduce the realizational levels of Hungarian-German scientific transfer in the modern era. My basic statements in the theme are to be discussed in the following part.

II. THESIS

THESIS 1: The extensive German higher education system which was completing during the 16-18th century had a potential attraction for foreign students, including the Hungarians.

In Hungary there was not a successful attempt for a long time to establish a permanently functioning university, although there were attempts to do it in Pécs (1367), Óbuda (1395), and Pozsony (1470). The archiepiscopal university in Nagyszombat founded by Pázmány Péter in 1635 was on the one hand a Catholic institute, so being this it expected the Catholic believers to become its students; on the other hand it had only philosophy and theology faculty which obviously encouraged the foreign studies of students with law or medical interests. In this situation the universities near Hungary upgraded, just like the protestant universities which had law or medical faculty. Surely met this criteria the universities of Vienna, Krakow, Prague, Graz and North-Italy, while protestant college/university could be found in Holland, Switzerland and on the protestant principalities of the Holy Roman Empire. According to our aims we examined the universities of German areas in detail.

After 1520 the Pope soon lost his right to give permission to universities in the protestant countries. In Germany local princes or town authorities could establish universities, provided the right to award the doctoral title or at least the right to have a higher-level education. Nearly each German principality, kingdom or bigger province could be proud of its university by the end of the '60s in the 17th century, which were of course not the same size or lifetime. The so-called „Landesuniversitäts“ had the task to provide a higher education to the youth of the province, producing the vicar- or clerk-replacement in this way. The own „regional university“ supported the increasing reputation of the provincial gentles as well. That did not make a difference if it was a secular or church province.³

At the time of the born of the first protestant universities we could observe new Catholic universities forming, thanks to the efforts of the order of Jesuits. The schools of Jesus' Society were organized on the basis of Ratio studiorum curriculum, had a qualified team of teachers and had no financial problems.

At the beginning of the 18th century 28 smaller or bigger universities existed in the German provinces if we do not include the Habsburg areas.⁴ Among these the first enlightened Halle university was founded latest, in 1694, which could have the highest number of students in the empire at the beginning of the 18th century. During the century several new universities opened, although not as many as before. In chronological order the first is the Breslau University which was founded by a Habsburg-sovereign in 1702. The Göttingen University from 1737 counts a milestone, because this was the first German college financed by the state and not by a foundation. It also had a declared independence of teaching and free of censorship.⁵ After that the local provincial prince brought Fulda (1734), Erlangen (1743), Bützow (1760), Münster (1780), Stuttgart (1781) and Bonn (1784) universities to life.⁶ The final result was a country with a good number of universities, with some dissensions in the network of universities.

The above described German university system had such capacity that made the higher education of foreign students possible, too. Moreover, it provided opportunity to Catholic,

³ Notker Hammerstein: Relations with authority. = Walter Rüegg (Gen. ed.): A History of the University in Europe. Volume II. Universities in the Early Modern Europe (1500-1800). Cambridge 1996, 113-153, here: 140.

⁴ See the list: Franz Eulenburg: Die Frequenz der deutschen Univeritäten von ihrer Gründung bis zur Gegenwart. Berlin 1994 (Photomechanischer Nachdruck der Ausgabe von 1904), 162.

⁵ Rainer A. Müller: Geschichte der Universität. Von der mittelalterlichen Universitas zur deutschen Hochschule. München 1990, 63. 63; „Halle an der Saale and Göttingen were the two model universities in the Holy Roman Empire. They made the dogmatic conflicts against the Calvinists gentle by getting based on a moderate Lutheranism, they raised the science of law to be a new leading science branch by history and the law of nature. That was instead of theology and the slow process of changing the educational language into German began.”

⁶ Müller, op. cit. 64.

Evangelic, Reformat and Unitarian students. Besides, its intellectual centres with European significance meant further attraction to foreign students. We can emphasize the theological prestige of Wittenberg, Heidelberg and Leipzig, and the enlightened intellectuality of Halle and Göttingen. Each factor carried the possibility that these universities become prominent destinations of foreign students as well.

The radical change of the German higher educational system on the turn of the 18th-19th century had a great significance, together with the appearance of the modern German (Prussian) university model - which is usually mentioned with the name of Humboldt – through the example of the University of Berlin. Most of the researchers mention four main features of the new type of university: 1. financed by the state with loose control, 2. the integrity of sciences, 3. freedom of teaching and learning, 4. the tight relation of education and research.⁷ Although the realization of the Humboldt program remained a long-term program, Berlin soon became the most visited university of the German system with the greatest prestige.

THESIS 2:

In the modern times Germany was one of the most significant destinations of Hungarian students who intended to get acceptance at a foreign university – in conformity with the susceptibility of peregrins to the new intellectual trends and modern scientific results.

The Hungarian students appeared already at the first universities, and their attendance can be shown all over the middle ages in the institutes of Paris, Padova or Bologna.⁸ Foreign protestant students with many Hungarians among them left for Germany to the first protestant universities. Since the appearance of Luther huge attention focussed on the university of Wittenberg, where the main follower of Luther, Melancton started teaching in 1518. The first supposed Hungarian student „*Gregorius ab Oppido Sancti Antonii*”, that is to say Saint-Antali Gergely arrived in Wittenberg in 1521, although his name is not mentioned in the album of Wittenberg students issued in 1841.⁹ One year later it is sure that two Hungarian

⁷ Rüdiger vom Bruch: Langsamer Abschied von Humboldt? Etappen deutscher Universitätsgeschichte 1810-1945. = Mitchell G. Ash: Mythos Humboldt. Vergangenheit und Zukunft der deutschen Universitäten. Böhlau Wien 1999, 29-57. Here: 35-36.

⁸ Mezey László: Deákság és Európa. Irodalmi műveltségünk alapvetésének vázlata. Budapest 1979, 145. / Student society and Europe. The sketch of the establishment of our literacy education. Budapest 1979, 145 / To the activities of Hungarian students in Bologna see: Bónis György: A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon. Budapest 1971. / The jurisconsultive intellectuals in Hungary before the Mohács battle. Budapest 1971./

⁹ Karl Eduard Förstemann, Otto Hartwig (Hrsg.): Album Academiae Vitebergensis I-III. Lipsiae-Hallis 1841-1905.

students, two years later four Hungarian students registered at that university.¹⁰ And this was just the beginning. Right before the examined period, between 1526 and 1693, altogether 4262 Hungarian students registered at a German university.¹¹

In the 18th-19th century the German universities were still popular among Hungarian students. We have data of 3944 registrations between 1694 and 1789,¹² then, between 1789 and 1919 we can observe 14548 Hungarian students' studies in Germany.¹³

The group of favoured universities by Hungarian peregrins changed several times during the examined 225 years, but the selecting attitude of students remained stable: to obtain quality knowledge, to respect and keep the previously built good relations, to obtain a qualification which is not available in Hungary. Between 1694 and 1789 Jéna, Wittenberg and Halle universities were the most popular among Hungarians.¹⁴ Jéna and Wittenberg could achieve this with their traditions, Halle with the new-spirit education.

In the years of 1770 and 1780 Göttingen was the favoured destination: the enlightenment became the Hungarian lawyers' emphasized aim, especially in order to learn the modern ideas of natural law.¹⁵ The high-level clerks of the Hungarian public administration, the teachers of the only university, colleges and academies learnt here at least one semester. In the 19th century parallel with the declining attraction of Göttingen, a plethora of Hungarian students turned to the University of Berlin.¹⁶ The popularity of the newly founded university of the Prussian capital can be explained with several factors. Some of these were already referred to before during the analysis of the number of students. Naturally there occurred that a „school” or an intellectual paraselene formed around a professor.

Between 1789 and 1919 501 Hungarian students registered at the Heidelberg University.¹⁷ Only 44 of them had learnt there before 1860, the other 457 students registered during the following 60 years. The popularity of the university was especially prominent in the years

¹⁰ Szabó Géza: Geschichte des ungarischen Coetus an der Universität Wittenberg 1555-1613. Halle (Saale) 1941, 15.

¹¹ The statement of Mr. László Szögi from the data-collection (1526-1693) which is before publication: Hungarian students at universities and colleges in Germany.

¹² Attila Tar: Magyarországi diákok németországi egyetemeken és főiskolákon 1694-1789. Budapest 2004, 18. =Magyarországi diákok egyetemjárása az újkorban, 11. /Hungarian students at German universities and colleges 1694-1789. Budapest 2004, 18. = University studies of Hungarian students in the modern times, 11./

¹³ László Szögi: Magyarországi diákok németországi egyetemeken és főiskolákon 1789-1919. Budapest 2001, 26. =Magyarországi diákok egyetemjárása az újkorban, 5. /Hungarian students at German universities and colleges 1789-1919. Budapest 2001, 26. = University studies of Hungarian students in the modern times, 5./

¹⁴ Jéna can show 984, Wittenberg 821, Halle 625 registered students in the examined period. See: Tar 2004, 22.

¹⁵ Katalin Gönczi: Juristischer Wissenstransfer von der Göttinger Universität in das Königreich Ungarn im späten 18. Jahrhundert. = Peregrinatio Hungarica, 175.

¹⁶ To the history of Berlin University: Max Lenz: Geschichte der Universität Berlin. Band I-III. Halle (Saale) 1910-1918.

¹⁷ Szögi 2001, 302-323.

of 1860-70-80. Probably we are right to assume that this phenomenon could be due to Robert Wilhelm Bunsen who was working in Heidelberg from 1852 until he retired in 1889.¹⁸

An interesting phenomenon is while the 3-decade long popularity of Heidelberg was because of its scientific role and its participants, the former times were determined by the traditions: the peregrins of a certain university created tradition during a given period, and their sons, grandsons or students also choose that university to have foreign studies, occasionally even if the institute is „sinking into decay”. This happened for example to Jéna in the 2nd half of the 18th century, or to Göttingen at the beginning of the 19th century.

THESIS 3: A huge number of our peregrins in Germany became later a part of the Hungarian intellectual élite.

In the biographic encyclopedia of Szinnyei József¹⁹ we could find data of 635 peregrins from Germany in the 18th century. This means 16.1 % of the whole (3944 persons). So it can be known of rounded every 6th peregrin what he had become, thanks to the fact that he published something during his life, so performed as an author. We can assume – exactly because of the publications – that they belonged to forefront, the qualified, scientifically demanding part of university students. Having analysed the data we obtained important information of the career of the peregrins in Germany, and this reinforced our previous assumption.

More than 45 % of the peregrins who were mentioned in the biographic encyclopedia were employed by the Evangelist Church as a vicar or a teacher. To continue, we can see that the ratio of the Reformed nearly reaches 15%, including the teachers and principals of Reformat schools, and the vicars. The Unitarians were much fewer of them, and it is true to the students in Germany in general as well. However, the ratio of doctors is prominently high.

It is connected to that Mary-Theresa ordered to set up the county municipal medical service. Thus carrier opportunities of doctors with university qualifications increased plus it became possible for them to take up posts at different parts of the state bureaucracy. Among the county municipal medical doctors ten former peregrins from Germany can be found. The following group of students include those who, after graduation, occupies a pos at town, county or public offices. Such group involved, among others, a govenor of Transylvania, royal

¹⁸ To the activities of Bunsen, Kirchoff and Helmholtz in Heidelberg: Wilhelm Doerr (Hrsg.): *Semper Apertus. Sechshundert Jahre Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg 1386-1986. Festschrift in sechs Bänden. Band II. Das Neunzehnte Jahrhundert 1803-1918.* Berlin, Heidelberg, New York, Tokyo 1985, Band II. 337.

¹⁹ Szinnyei József: *Magyar írók élete és munkái.* Budapest 2000. / *The lives and works of Hungarian writers.* Electronic document, Budapest, 2000. (Original edition: Budapest 1891-1914, 1-14 volumes./

councillor, a judge of the seven-membered Court of Appeal, an exchequer and a lord lieutenant of a county. Beside them our list shows the names of several university professors and principles of grammar schools, moreover of 34 former peregrins appointed members of scientific societies abroad, plus of 19 students publishing abroad or having operating contacts with either foreign institutions or citizens.

1261 individuals out of 14548 peregrins were recorded by Szinnyei among the Hungarian writers between 1789 and 1919.²⁰ It equals 8.67 percentage. The main fields of carriers between 1789 and 1919: church service, working as a doctor, clerk, politician, participating in state education, or other intellectual jobs. 57.49 % - which figure was not much less than 61.57 % of the previous term - of the peregrins decided on clerical service either as a priest or a teacher. Their division according to religion slightly altered: the number of people employed by the Evangelic Church drastically decreased (35.77 % instead of 46), while members of the Reform Church slightly increased (from 14.96 % up to 17.15 %). The rate of individuals joining the Unitarian Church grew from 0.63 % up to 1.43 %, and, as new elements the Israelites with 2.22 %, the Greek Orthodox Church members with 0.71 % and the Roman Catholic Church members with 0.32 % appeared. Few, 3.81 % German peregrins took up a job of physician in Hungary in the 19th century, together with pharmacists 4.04 % which fell short of the rate dating hundred years back.

THESIS 4: Studies of Germany, generally in semi- or post-gradual education forms, played an essential role in studies of the social-political élite in the era of dualism

The carriers of peregrins can be examined by concluding from the 'outcome'. Thus the biographical study, which involved the members of government, the members of parliaments and the bishops of the Protestant Church in the era of dualism has been carried out.

Out of the members of the 19 Hungarian governments, three prime ministers and other 15 ministers belonged to the circles of German peregrins.²¹ If the number of the governments is divided by the number of politicians having studied in Germany, the result is almost one – 0.95. The proportion is larger if it is also considered that each minister belonged to more than

²⁰ Based on the previously mentioned book by Szinnyei.

²¹ Due to biographical data (Bölköny József – Hubai László: Magyarország kormányai 1848-2004. Budapest 2004, 67. /The Prime Ministers of Hungary, page 67/ Lukács, László Prime Minister also studied at a German university, but such a fact is not included in the data base of Szögi, László. Most likely, no real registration was done.

one cabinet. According to the previous fact, 34 ministers can be taken into consideration in 19 governments resulting in 1.8. Therefore at least two ministers per government should be regarded as someone who were educated in the land of Germany. (In fact, it means a fluctation between zero and four in reality). The members of governments mostly frequented the University of Berlin with nine registrations, which is followed by others falling far behind: the University of Leipzig (three enrolments), the University of Halle, of Heidelberg, the College of Agriculture in Hohenheim (each with two registrations) and the Universities of Gießen, Königsberg and Strassburg (all with one – one enrolment).

Several members of the Hungarian parliaments in the era of dualism were known for their excellent education. A great number of them attended German universities. The largest percentages of them who could apply for acceptance at German universities were the members of the House of Lords. While the members of the Commons lagged behind a bit. However, as time goes ahead in the history of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the number of representatives of such group was steadily growing. The University of Berlin seemed to be the most favoured one. Yet the future figures of politics might not have followed the peregrinational wave of the majority. Among their destinations, some universities with excellent reputation, such as of Leipzig, of Heidelberg, Halle, Tübingen and few academies of economy can be found.

The same examination was carried out among the bishops of the Evangelic Church and the Reform Church. 72 evangelic bishops held an office between 1694 and 1919. Our conclusions are based on their biographical data.²² 54 individuals out of 72 well-known clerical personalities studied for a couple of semesters at a German university. It takes up to a very high, 75 percentage.

The protestant encyclopedia mentions 87 bishops of the Reform Church including Transylvania between 1664 and 1919. Out of them, 33 people studied at a German University. That takes one third of them – 37.9 %. However it is almost exactly half of the rate of the bishops in the Evangelic Church. There is a dominant difference, due to the fact that among the dignitaries of the Evangelic Church, Germany was the most peregrinational target country, the largest percentage of bishops selected it. While quite a few Reform Church prelates opted for universities of Switzerland, the Netherlands and Britain as well.

²² Jenő Zoványi: Magyarországi protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon. /Encyclopedia of the History of the Protestant Church in Hungary/, third revised volume , edited by dr. Ladányi, Sándor, Budapest, 1977.

THESIS 5: The reception of the German and Hungarian scientific results was only incidental before 1848, but it became evident in the 19th century

A prominent chapter of the thesis is that whether there was a scientific transfer between Hungary and the territory of German Empire in the 18th and 19th centuries. The mutual interest of the two countries' scientific opinion and the reception of scientific results have been searched by a sectional examination of scientific magazines. The magazines *Ungarisches Magazin*, the *Merkur von Ungarn*, the *Zeitschrift von und für Ungern* and the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* were drawn into the study selecting two diverse periods.

According to our experience, referencies to others' scientific results, events or work were made in scientific magazines at the end of the 18th century, as well. However, hardly can they be noticed, plus they mostly depend on the editors of the issues. Moreover their number declined much in the era of the Holy Union.

On the other hand, during the time of dualism, when academic life became livelier all over Europe, the exchange of views, and experience between the two nations' scholars turned to be more and more intense. The scientific societies set up after each other played a sufficient role in the Hungarian-German scientific transfer. The latest academic researches were brought to the knowledge of the Hungarian scholars by the Hungarian Royal Society of Science. From 1866, the previously mentioned society under the vice-chairmanship of Than, Károly organised scientific cases, then with the involvement of well-reputed scholars commenced translating and releasing the most essential scientific works.²³ The first Hungarian scientific magazine, the *Természettudományi Közlöny* (in English: Scientific Journal) started in 1869 through the agency of the Scientific Society.²⁴ Its content met their objects as it paid attention on the German academic life.

Naturally, not only did the Hungarian-German contacts involve written pieces, but also the majority of authors at the magazine so-called *Matematikai és Fizikai Lapok* (Maths and Physics Pages) carried out studies at German universities. Thus they could have managed to make contacts with scholars of their fields. Eleven out of 42 authors of the volumes in 1891-1892, which makes 26 %, attended German university, too. It means eight out of 22 authors of independent introductions, which makes 36 %. The following year, 53 author published in the

²³ The Hungarian Royal Society of Science existed from 1841. Its operation became more dominant after the period of absolutism.

²⁴ It was published in every month, edited by Kálmán Szliy.

magazine, of which 14 was educated in Germany (26 %). With an individual article 17 authors applied, five of them had learnt in Germany, which takes 29 %.

THESIS 6: The independent Hungarian higher education politics objects, then effectively realize the adaptation of the Humboldt university modell

The era of reforms could have come to the University of Pest, but history did not give enough time to introduce innovations. The Hungarian Ministry of Religion and Public Education demanded to take an active part in modernization. 17 submissions dealing with higher education as well were handed in the department.²⁵ Also using such ideas did Eötvös, József prepare his writing titled „*A magyar egyetem alapszabályai*” (The Basic Principles of the Hungarian University) which adapted some views of Humboldt (or Schleiermacher).²⁶

The freedom of studies and teaching introduced in 1848 could not be drawn back entirely during the period of absolutism. Soon linking education and research was brought up, but its technical and objective conditions were realized by the last quarter of the century. In comparison with Germany, the University of Pest and the Technological University experienced a dramatic increase in the number of students and the specification of sciences together with the necessary structural extension. Owing to the sophisticated system of state and private scholarships, field trips to Germany were taken before the Hungarian innovations of the era. University institutions and laboratories were founded, moreover seminars were introduced according to the German modell.

The practice system involving active participation of the students during certain scientific subject teaching and in some seminars held by the faculty of medicine had been applied well before. The other faculties' professors did not show interest in the new form of teaching at the beginning of the 19th century.²⁷

²⁵ Some considerable and new suggestions: József Petzelt suggested to set up a faculty of Engineering and Constructional Sciences, the staff of Faculty of Arts planned to form two independent departments in the faculty – of mathematics and philosophy, the submission of the Faculty of Law outlined the meaning of university educational independence and compared the university systems in Germany and Hungary. (Compare to editor István Sinkovics: *Az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem története 1635-1985*. /The History of the University of Eötvös Loránd between 1635-1985/, Budapest 1985, pages 158-160. And in the revised issue edited by László Szögi: *Az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem története 1635-2002*. /History of the University of Eötvös Loránd between 1635-2002/, Budapest 2003, pages 154-158.

²⁶ See the previously mentioned books by Sinkovics and Szögi.

²⁷ Sinkovics, op. cit. 206.

At the faculty of Arts, first Marczali, Henrik brought up the necessity of a newer form of education based on his experience in Germany in 1877.²⁸ Just like Marczali, the professors of the faculty stood up for the scholar-education. At the beginning of 1880s, their complaints about traditional teaching-learning methods were published. It became clearer and clearer that for being able to train for individual activities and carrying out experiments on their own, the university needed institutions of scientific thinking together with the students. The ex-pulpit-teaching and questioning the content of lectures were not enough, yet practical debates between students and professors became necessary. Therefore seminars seemed most proper. Eventually in 1886 – 150 years later than the German example – the first three seminars happened to be set up in the subjects of History, Classics-Phylology and Modern Phylology.

Introducing the model of university of Humboldt was attempted by the University of Kolozsvár, yet in a smaller grade and a bit late (1872). As a result, during the first decade after the Peace Treaty between Austria and Hungary in 1867, the Hungarian higher education could catch up with the Western European standard. The German connection of the technical higher education became extremely intensive in the period. The foundation of the Technical College in Karlsruhe, Germany, gave other technical colleges in many countries a boost to be set up. So did it happen in Hungary. However a university was set up only in 1871. The institute in Budapest, Hungary, had lively contacts with Austrian, Swiss and German universities and colleges of politechnics, which were promoted by scholarships and mutual programmes (conferencies, exhibitions, excursions, etc.).

²⁸László Szögi: 100 éves a pesti egyetemi történelmi szeminárium. / The Faculty of the University of Pest is Hundred Years Old/ = Felsőoktatási Szemle (37) 1988, volumes, 7.- 8, pages 475-481, here: 476.

THESIS 7: THERE WERE MUTUAL FORMS OF THE HUNGARIAN-GERMAN HIGHER EDUCATIONAL CONTACTS.

Evolution of interactions and mutual influence is more likely to happen between nations with similar numbers of populations and with similar level of development. French and Germans make a good example. In fact, there were mutual forms in the German and Hungarian relationship, theories flowed there and back, as well. In the thesis, the examination of the topic from a historical aspect has not been aimed, but the progresses occurring in reality have been concentrated on. The mutual existence of peregrination has been mentioned. In other words, according to Heilauff, Zsuzsanna's study, the Hungarian education of German students between 1694 and 1919 has been shown, as well.

The possibility of a mutual acceptance of scientific performances in reality with awarding the title of doctor honoris causa have been investigated. With the help of biographical data, the scene and forms of publications have been examined too. Although Hungary does not have a large population, it can proudly state that Hungarian scholars' results were observed by German scientific circles. Moreover Hungarian scholars participated in Germany's scientific life through their publications. Some could even gain a job in Germany.

III. THE RESULTS OF ORIGINAL RESEARCH

The main consequences and analyses of my work are based on individual research. The summary of the results in details, which I want to mention in short, could be read in the previous chapters.

First, due to the fact that the German higher education system had modern philosophy and protestant character which both attracted Hungarian students between 1694 and 1919. The Hungarian youth preferred those institutions which had a good reputation among their ancestors as well. Owing to my own research, it is known that between 1694 and 1789 at least 3944 enrollments of Hungarian students were registered in German educational records which means more than 2000 students' education in reality in less than 100 years. It concluded in their future carriers, which were collected from Szinnyei's encyclopedia²⁹ and the *Hungarian Biographical Encyclopedia*. I also showed the impact of studying at a university in Germany on the appearance of the Hungarian intellectuals. Although not being the first, it is the first

²⁹ Szinnyei, op. cit.

time that accurate data have been introduced to prove the relations between Hungary and German universities in connection with the governments and legislation of the era of dualism.

After examining Schleiermacher and Humboldt's view points and the development of the Hungarian university, I have revealed the points of the university structure's adaptation. Moreover examining some scientific magazines entirely, I have showed the depth and the intensity of the Hungarian-German scientific transfer from the end of the 18th century till the middle period of dualism. Such studies were completed by the analysis of the conference of German higher education representatives on the subject of foreigners' activities and the mutual phenomena such as the title of doctor honoris causa attempted to be revealed.

In conclusion, I reckon that my research may contribute to prove the Hungarian scientific life and the Hungarian elite intellectuals' European relationships.