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**CATHOLIC SECONDARY AND COLLEGE EDUCATION IN
TRANSYLVANIA
FROM THE 17th CENTURY TILL THE MIDDLE
OF THE 19th CENTURY**

THESES OF DISSERTATION

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I. CHOICE OF TOPIC AND MY REASONS FOR CHOOSING

(1.) The independent 'Principality of Transylvania' was formed at the age of Ottoman invasion. From this time on Transylvanians were educated along classical protestant lines but this does not mean that the Catholic Church played no part in Transylvanian education. For this reason I decided that in order to make the whole picture available for historic research I would conduct an objective examination of catholic schools in Transylvania during the above period.

(2.) The creation of the Transylvanian Principality opened the door to the Reformation and created an opportunity for the already dominant Protestants to play the major role in both cultural and educational affairs. During this period the barely tolerated Catholic Church was severely restricted in its operations, which adds greater importance to the fact that Catholic education continued in one form or another. The predominantly protestant image of Transylvanian history, in spite of the major role catholic education played during the 17th century, provides an incentive to modify this image by highlighting the lesser known part played by the catholic church in both culture and education.

(3.) The role and significance of catholic education in Transylvania is mentioned only in connection with the 18th century expansion and domination of the Habsburg regime and completely ignores the fact that Catholics had lived in Transylvania since the 11th century and continued to struggle through the persecution of the 'Principality' regime. Having survived they re-established the former educational institutes. This ensured teacher and clerical training continued, alongside the education of the elite intelligentsia in preparation for further studies in either Hungary or further afield. These catholic educational institutes centred firstly around the 'Kolozsvár Báthory Jesuit University,' until its demise in 1605. At this stage I am able to show (based on new sources) that the Kolozsmonostor secondary school continued to offer teaching of the latest educational materials and thus shine new light on and offer a more authentic picture of Catholic education during the 'Principality' regime.

(4.) During the 18th century, as a part of the Habsburg Empire the role of catholic education Transylvania increased greatly in significance assisted by the Habsburg-regime's policy of patronage and support for the restoration of Catholicism. This allowed the formerly severely restricted Transylvanian Catholics to compete on an equal footing with Protestants in both culture and education. The Jesuit Lyceum in Kolozsvár was now able to compete on an equal footing as an educational and cultural centre with

the Protestant universities of Nagyenyed and Kolozsvár, the Unitarians in Marosvásárhely, and the Evangelic Saxon College at Nagyszeben. This created healthy competition and its cultural inspiration was felt all over Transylvania.

(5.) While compiling and analysing a new student register of the Jesuit Lyceum in Kolozsvár from newly discovered sources - we took up new research into historical aspects of the of the Jesuit educational institute to form a more detailed and accurate idea of the functions and importance the Jesuit Lyceum played in Transylvanian intellectual and cultural life. At the same time as examining the student society we also sought to elaborate on traditions and study tendencies among the Roman Catholic Hungarians and the aligned Greco-Catholic or Uniate Church.

(6.) In the mid 18th century the Austrian empress Marie Teresa and her son Joseph began to adopt the concept of enlightened absolutism. A second Jesuit University was founded between 1774 and 1776 in Kolozsvár and was later taken over by the Piarist order in 1776. After 1777 the government changed its plans and did not develop Kolozsvár University any further. By 1784 under the now independent rule of the Emperor Josef II the university was finally downgraded to 'lyceum' (A type of secondary school). The lyceum continued to function as an educational institute until the beginning of the 19th century by which time it functioned as a non denominational state supported educational institute open to students of all nationalities and denominations.

(7.) In order to establish and define the Lyceum's place in Transylvanian education we carefully examined 19th century records with the purpose of establishing that even though the school had been downgraded and held no university status it continued to play a key role. The school was expanded to incorporate three different faculties. Rather than simply training clerks the school offered courses in Art, Law and Medicine and was the second most important centre of Hungarian language education after Pest University. As well as preparing students for further education at Pest University the school offered basic qualifications in both technical subjects and natural sciences and which were not available elsewhere in Transylvania. By examining the school records of the Lyceum's Student Society for the period, we have been able to completely reconstruct the entire register of names and educational records. Using these records we sought answers to questions regarding not only the students educational strategies but also the development of Transylvanian society and to gain a better insight to the economical, social and cultural challenges faced during this new age.

II. A REVIEW OF THE ARCHIVE SOURCES USED

(8.) The Primary task of my dissertation was to expand our knowledge regarding the Students at the Kolozsmonostor Jesuit Secondary School and establish the important role the school played as a Transylvania Catholic centre of education for two and half centuries and also that of the Jesuit and later Piarist Lyceum at Kolozsvár.

(9.) Though famous historians such as Bíró Vencel, Bisztray Gyula, Tóth Zoltán and Jakó Zsigmond have paid attention to the education institute, their research has been mainly focused on other aspects such as its cultural rather than educational importance.

(10.) For this research we took the unique step of re-assembling a complete student record from sources, including the educational institutes of Kolozsmonostor and Kolozsvár, and examined these statistics to produce a student profile of the period.

(11.) The school records which were kept by the Kolozsmonostor Jesuit Secondary School and Kolozsvár Lyceum, which would have provided prime sources of information in constructing a sociological and social-historical analysis of the student society, were destroyed during the turbulent events of the 20th century. Previous historical researchers into the Lyceum's history including Vencel Bíró, (Piarist head of order), the historian and writer Zoltán I. Tóth, and Zsigmond Jakó who researched into the national and cultural pursuits of the Transylvanian Romanian population were able to examine the Parish records kept by the Jesuits between 1703 and 1772. These documents were kept in the Hungarian national archives but were tragically destroyed by fire in 1956 when the building housing them was destroyed by an artillery shell.

(12.) For this reason other sources of information regarding students at these educational institutes have become much more valuable. This is the case with the 'Maria Congregation Parish records *'Sodalitatis Natae Reginae Angelorum Auctoritate Apostolica Kolos Monostorini in Residentia Societatis Jesu erectae'* kept at Kolozsmonostor Jesuit Secondary School of St Maria', established by the Jesuits in 1641 and continued by the Piarists until 1848. 'In the period, between the 2 world wars, the parish records was kept safe in Kolozsvár's Piarist monastery but though they were known to Historians dealing with the educational history of Transylvania, no scientific examination of the documents or student register took place. The documents were not examined until after the after the Romanian regime change of 1989 when the arranging, cataloguing and exhibition of the documents first became possible. At this time the main

clerical Gyulafehérvár Archives and the related Transylvanian Catholic Status archives were examined and the latter was found to include the parish records of 'The Maria Congregation' attending the Jesuit Secondary School. This discovery, bearing in mind the loss of the school register, is of important cultural and historical value and greatly advanced the task of compiling a list of the students who attended the educational institute in the 17th and 18th centuries and supplements the name register of 19th century students.

(13.) This fortunate discovery was of great assistance in building a record of students of the Kolozsvár Jesuit Lyceum during the 18th century. We used the parish register of 'convictus nobilium' '*Liber continens nomina et historia convictorum Claudiopoli anno 1703*' as our main source in the reconstruction of the Lyceum's student register. The mould covered manuscript had lain in the tower of Kolozsvár's St Mihály Parish Church and it turned up during the recent arrangement of the Catholic Status Archives. The name list contains the names of the students who lived in the 'convictus nobilium' from 1703 till 1786, prior to the decree of the dissolution by the Emperor Josef II and continued from 1791, during the Counter Reformation right up until 1848. The name list of the *convictus* provides an authentic picture of the education of the children of the Transylvanian catholic aristocracy and the patrician education of the period.

(14.) We used the public relation publications as the third group of source material for the reconstruction of the student register at Kolozsvár Lyceum during the 18th century. The publications were printed in honour of students receiving scientific degrees from the Philosophy Faculty at Kolozsvár University. The name list of those graduating (baccalaureus) is interesting in that this contains much information regarding the students, including their names, nationality, social status and family provenance.

(15.) The sources of information and profiles of the students at Kolozsvár lyceum in the 19th century provide much more detailed data than for earlier periods. The best records were kept at the lyceum. These contain information about the scholastic record as well as the student's personal data (name, age, religion, nationality, place of birth, social status, and parent or guardian's occupation).

(16.) Besides the printed reports, the annual school reports are of equal important and are a more laconic source material than the '*matricula*'. The school reports contain an alphabetical list of students divided to departments and enrolment year. This provided those of the interested public with information on the results of the end of term examinations and the ranks of those graduating. This source material is absolutely creditable in compiling a list of the student's names, but it is unsuitable for research into other

parameters of the student society. School reports from the academic department at the Kolozsvár Lyceum from 1830 to 1848 can be found full complete in the collection of the school reports at the National Széchényi Library.

III. THE STRUCTURE AND MAIN RESULTS OF THE THESIS

(17.) The main features of Transylvanian Catholic educational affairs are divided into in 4 parts. 1. The independent Transylvanian principalities (1526-1690), 2. Transylvania located under 18th century Habsburg rule until the dissolution of the Transylvanian Jesuit order (1690-1773), 3. The policy of enlightened absolutism, 4. Transylvanian education policy in the 19th century.

(18) Each section is divided into 2 parts. The first part covers the Transylvanian Catholic Church and the religious and political situation during that period of history, while the second focuses on highlighting catholic educational affairs. This includes an overview of the whole spectrum of catholic school affairs, including Franciscan and later the Piarist schools along with the Jesuits who from the middle of the 18th century also sustain school systems and the priest training seminar at Gyulafehérvár. Central to this analysis are the most important catholic educational institutes which were the Kolozsmonostor Jesuit secondary school during the Principalities period, the Kolozsvár Jesuit Lyceum during the 18th century, and the Kolozsvár Piarist Lyceum in the 19th century.

(19) Transylvanian catholic education has been inseparable Jesuit order since Báthory founded Kolozsvár University in 1581 and introduced an educational system which was praised throughout Europe as one of the best available. For two decades the quality of their classically trained teaching staff was the secret of their huge success but in the dominantly protestant environment, their success caused protestant concerns and they were exiled from Transylvania in 1605.

(20) The Jesuits returned Transylvania under the rule of Gábor Bethlen (1616). They continued to provide a limited version of the classic catholic education in the total 17th century in the Transylvanian principalities. They were able to operate in 3 places (Kolozsmonostor, Gyulafehérvár and Karánsebes) but at secondary school level

(21) They re-established the Transylvanian catholic centre outside of Székely land in Kolozsmonostor, and re-opened the educational institute in 1618, which in the time of the principalities was the most important Transylvanian catholic educational centre, even though it had only 6 classes

at secondary school level. Catholic nobles and the members of the Catholic Status supported the ‘nobles convictorium’ and provided seminars for poor students. In addition to the Kolozsmonostor School they also ran a secondary school at Gyulafehérvár with 4 classes and also prepared youths for higher education and clerical or secular careers at Nagyszombat University or further afield.

(22) The only source material regarding the student society at the Kolozsmonostor School is the Parish records of the Maria Congregation kept since 1641 at the secondary school. Maria Congregations were organised by the Jesuits at all their educational institutes to take care of students spiritual needs and to strengthening religion beliefs. The parish register contains the names of the students who enrolled each year. This has allowed us to re-construct a 90% complete list of students who studied at Kolozsmonostor secondary school.

(23) This new source material found in the Maria Congregation’s Parish records refutes the previously accepted theory in that the Jesuits left Transylvania in 1653, after the expulsion of Rákóczi György II. Regardless of expectations congregational registrations did not end in 1653 but continued right up to 1660, proving that Rákóczi György II’s regulation and expulsions though severely restricting the Jesuit mission’s activities did not force it to cease altogether in Transylvania. This is also supported by a copy of the school play dated in 1654, which also indicates that at this time the school continued to function normally after 1653.

(24) Since most Catholics at the time lived from the Székely area, the majority (80%) of students at Kolozsmonostor and later the Kolozsvár secondary school came from that region. The remaining 20 percent arrived from the few islands of catholic population, spread through the other Transylvanian regions. Considering the social status of the students, they are of noble descent (73%), and 7% of them are aristocrats. The most known catholic aristocrat families sent their sons there for an education such as the Apor, Bálinti, Boér, Csáky, Haller, Henter, Jósika, Kamuthy, Kálnoki, Kornis, Kun, Lázár, Mikers, Mikola, Petki, Prinyi, Száva, Tholdalagi, Torma, Torczkai and Wass families. The remaining 20% of the students who were not the children of noblemen could study without charge in Jesuit schools. We can say that without doubt that regarding nationality the students were predominantly Hungarians and Székely. 95 percent of pupils at the Jesuit Secondary School were from those to regions and remaining 5% were made up mostly of Romanians (before the religious union few studied there, and some Protestant Saxon students. It can also be verified that the Jesuits prepared their talented students for further education at other locations: 17-18% of students went on to study at university.

Though most continued their studies and graduated at Nagyszombat (90), other students went on to study in other corners of the Hapsburg Empire, Vienna (23 persons), Graz (11 persons), Olmütz (7%) with 5 students actually studying in Rome)

(25) In 1698 the Jesuits were able to re-introduce the sadly missing academic department of higher education and at last were able to provide the high quality catholic educational system that had been missing so long. The typical Jesuit higher education institute was made up of 2 faculties, Arts and Theology as was Kolozsvár Lyceum (Kolozsvár is located territory that was historically part of Hungary. Kolozsvár Lyceum was the third educational institute founded by the Jesuits in the region, the first being at Nagyszombat (1635) and the second at Kassa 1657). Kassa university was considered on an equal par with Kolozsvár Lyceum though neither could match the standards of Nagyszombat. Kolozsvár Lyceum was considered superior to Buda, Győr and Zagreb (1606) lyceums. Other Lyceums founded during the 18th century (Buda in 1713 and Győr in 1745).

(26) The Jesuits were able to offer the classical '*Ration Studiorum*' education through the 18th century and provided many and excellently trained members to the Kolozsvár order. The classical '*Ration Studiorum*' was possible at the Arts faculty only from 1698. The Theology Faculty was established in 1712 and offered a shorter course than that of other academies and universities to meet an urgent local need for members of the clergy. During the one or 2 year courses, students studied the subjects most needed for pastoral service. These were 'casuistic' and 'controversia'. These newly qualified students were able to fill the huge deficit for priests and clergy in Transylvania at that time.

(27) The Kolozsvár Jesuits ceased teaching theology in 1726. This serves as a great example of how catholic educational centres were able to transform themselves, at short notice, to mean the needs, requirements and possibilities of the times. The remaining two faculties were able to offer a more secular education which made the Lyceum much more attractive to the increasing protestant Transylvanian society. The character of the Lyceum changed in 1726 and only one of the original three theology professors remained solely to teach logic and rhetoric This was the only theological subject taught for four decades until 1767 but during this time the Arts Faculty was developed and expanded to include 5 professors rather than the former 3. The Jesuits sent their more talented students for clerical training at Nagyszombat or Kassa, with many of them subsequently returning to Transylvania to complete their studies. The clergy at Kolozsvár were able to maintain their theological studies through Diocesan Clerical Training Seminars at Gyulafehérvár from 1753.

(28) At this stage the Jesuits preferred to emphasize the role of the Philosophy faculty in order to make their Lyceum more attractive to more students. The secular education was very well attended attendance and the philosophy course considered necessary for those wishing to be successful in secular life. For almost 30 years (until 1753) an additional professor taught maths and ethics alongside the physics and metaphysics professors. Regarding the level of teaching, the faculty of arts at Kolozsvár Lyceum was as good as Kassa and Nagyszombat.

(29) As part of the Austrian Empire and following the new educational policy of 'absolute enlightenment' reforms were made in the Jesuit Order and in the educational system in the 18th century. The reforms were started at the University of Wien before spreading to Nagyszombat University, Kolozsvár Lyceum of all other Jesuit higher educational institutes. In the second half of the 1760's the government planned to expand the Jesuit University of Kolozsvár into the classical 4 faculty university structure. Marie Therese ordered the reestablishment of the theological faculty, and introduced new subjects according to the university standards, and increased the number of professions to 4 but the Jesuits were not able to complete the Lyceum's development and to receive university status. Pope Kelemen XIV abolished the Jesuit Order on July 21st 1773.

(30) The reconstruction of a list of students who attended the Jesuit Lyceum between 1698 and 1773 is slightly easier than the period when it had only higher education status because there are more sources available. 5,532 students' names and study data were collected. Based on all source material available for the period and taking into consideration the incidental deficiency of the sources, this number represents about the 90% of the total studentship at Kolozsvár Lyceum. In other words the Lyceum during the Jesuit period educated up to 6000 students.

(31) 89 percent of the students (4,744) enrolled in higher education courses. We have data showing that about 1,350 students (25%) enrolled in the arts faculty. 14 percent of the students (726) went on to become members of the clergy. It can be established that the Kolozsvár Jesuit Lyceum contributed significantly to the number of catholic priests and monks though its main aim was to offer education in secular subjects. 5% of catholic clergy in the region began their theological study there. Half of the 726 students who entered the clergy enlarged the members of an order while other half of them served in the diocesan. Altogether 378 students (7%) of Kolozsvár Lyceum, who studied primarily theology continued their studies at either (60 persons) Gyulafehérvár at the Transylvanian diocesan Episcopal seminars established in 1753, or in Hungary or other universities abroad. Most of the students (200 persons) of course went to Nagyszombat,

Hungary's first university or to Wien (57 persons), Kassa (27 persons), Rome (16 persons), Olmütz (12 persons).

(32) 7% of the students at Kolozsvár Lyceum in the 18th century were children of aristocrats. So (consequently) the aristocracy – however their numbers decreased in absolute numbers – was represented at the same proportion as previously in the 17th century. The rate of the nobles could be between 60%-70%, while 25%-30% represent plebeian students.

(33) Transylvania was the home of different nationalities living together and the studentship of Kolozsvár Lyceum mirrors this ethnic variation. In general the overwhelming majority of the studentship of the Lyceum were 75% ethnic Hungarian with 60% of those coming from the Székely region of Transylvania. 10% were Romanian, while 8% were Saxons. Other groups 4% represented Serbian, Slovakian and Russian the Jesuit Lyceum was also visited by Armenian catholic students (60 persons), sons of Greek merchants (9 persons), Bulgarian born students (15 persons) Italian (16 persons), Moravians (3 persons) and 1 bohemian. 8 French students also studied there. Kolozsvár Lyceum served mainly the catholic Székely, but at the same time played an invaluable role of the education of the Greek Catholic Romanians, who did not have their own secondary school until the middle of the century. Romanian personalities also studied there in the 18th century and the Jesuits educated the thin layer of the Romanian secular intelligencia as well as Unitarian bishops and ecclesiastical academics.

(34) After the dissolution of the Jesuit order, the state established a second university with 4 faculties at Kolozsvár under the responsibility of the Piarist priests meaning that the educational institute at Kolozsvár functioned at an accepted university level between 1774 and 1784 until the Emperor Josef II downgraded it to lyceum status.

(35) The administration began a serious program of expansion at the Lyceum in the 1790 expanding the three faculties of law, art and medicine by several departments, thus the educational institute had more or less reached its form at the beginning of the 19th century.

(36) At the Faculty of Law, made up of 9 departments, students were taught judiciary subjects and offered practical training as well including financial and economics. Mining being the most important industry in Transylvania at the time law students also received specific legal training in that field and some knowledge of administration, statistics and double entry book keeping. Agriculture – which was not taught anywhere else in Transylvania provided theoretical knowledge about the modern agricultural methods.

(37) At the Arts Faculty under the Piarists, education focused on the natural sciences with chemistry, mineralogy, natural history, botany and

technology, which suited the rising demands of the era. The Piarists valued modern subjects and by their intercession provided an excellent standard of teaching in the natural sciences thus Kolozsvár Lyceum was again able to provide the region with a quality catholic education.

(38) The medical faculty enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy inside the structure of the high school and were attached to the Medical Institute since 1817. In the first part of the 19th century the Kolozsvár Lyceum had a medical faculty with 7 departments. There were only two educational institutes where a medical education was available in Hungarian, The Lyceum and Pest University. Though the educational institute had no university status and could provide no university degree this does the standard of education on the contrary the surgeons received more natural science education in Hungarian both and German than at the surgery course of the Medical Faculty of the Pest University, where preparatory lectures such as chemistry and botany were only held later.

(39) Based on the available sources, in the period examined, a data base of 5276 academic students was reconstructed for the purpose of evaluating the importance of the role played by Kolozsvár Lyceum. We compared the attendance indicators with similar data for the Royal law academies, and from this we can make the conclusion that, in terms of student numbers, Kolozsvár Lyceum comes second after the Pozsony Law Lyceum and surpassed both Győr and Nagyvárad Academies. 20-22% of the legal society in Hungary was educated there. The cultural and intellectual influence of the Kolozsvár Lyceum is more complex than other academies in the region because of Transylvania's independence and a certain autonomic historical development in the region.

(40) If we define of the implications of the Kolozsvár Lyceum in the Transylvania higher education comparing with the protestant colleges, we can say that it was the largest higher education establishment in Transylvania during the first half of the 19th century and was open to all denominations and nationalities because it was state school.

41) 45% of the students studied philosophy, 46% studied law and 9% of the students enrolled on the medical course. 5,5% of the students continued their studies outside of Transylvania of which the majority, 238 students studied in Hungary while 56 students continued their studies further afield. We can show the effect of the secularization of the Transylvanian society. Both the number who chose to continue their studies and the choice of the professions highlight this tendency. Less and less entered the clergy preferring more secular vocational training. The majority of the students continued their studies in the field of the medicine, surgery, and pharmacy, while others chose technical subjects and mining engineering.