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Végjelentés az OTKA (SZO zsüri) számára a T/F 046852 számú kutatás végső eredményeiről.

Jogi, bölcsész és teológus diplomások Magyarországon (1867-1919)

Kutatásunk alapvetésnek készült az önállóvá vált honi nemzetállam első fázisának elsősorban humán értelmiségtermelésének empirikus feltérképezésére, melyre aztán - elképzelésünk szerint - számos további elmélyült társadalomtörténeti elemzést lehet építeni a politikai és gazdasági modernizáció (liberális parlamentáris demokrácia és iparosítás) korszakában bekövetkezett elitváltás és elit-reprodukció valamint az elitcsoportok felé vivő társadalmi mobilitás főbb trendjeiről.

Beszámolónk, mint a lentiekből ez egyértelműen kiderül, egy igen nagy volumenű adatfelvételre vonatkozik, mely ugyan a dualizmus kori honi értelmiségnek csak egy (bároly tekintélyes) szeletét foglalja magában, mégis több szempontból a magyar, sőt a nemzetközi szakirodalomban is párját ritkító (valószínűleg teljesen egyedülálló) vállalkozásnak minősül. Egyrészt ilyen volumenű prozopográfiai felmérésről jómagam egyáltalán nem tudok. Másrészt itt a projekt tág keretein belül teljesszűrésűen valósítottuk meg a mind hivatalosan (az iskolázottsági hierarchiát tekintve), mind az értelmiségi köztudatban 'magas' humán értelmiségként definiált rétegek megragadását. Harmadrészt, a megvalósítás közben máris sikerült felvételi eredményeinket elhelyezni egy a tervezettnél sokkal szélesebb történelmi összefüggésbe, az épülő nemzetállam egész értelmiségtermelésének keretébe.

Mindez nem realizálódhatott volna bizonyos szerencsés külső támogatások és együttműködési konstrukciók létrejötte nélkül. Ez elsősorban azt jelentette, hogy sikerült néhány tudományosan érdekelt diák és oktató kolléga érdeklődését felkelteni munkánk iránt akik önkéntes közreműködést ajánlottak fel. Ez főképp vidéken történt, nevezetesen Erdélyben, ahol olyan kompetens és odaadó munkatársakra leltünk, hogy a kolozsvári magyar egyetem diákságára vonatkozó munkálataink nélkülük minden bizonnyal nem sikerültek volna olyan kiválóan, ahogy végül tető alá sikerült ezeket hozni. Nagyszabású prozopográfiai alapvetést célzó projektünket a résztvevők lelkesedése révén így az előirányzott terv szerint (ennek célkitűzéseit több szempontból meg is haladva) valósíthattuk meg.

Jelentésem szerkezete a három nagyobb érintett értelmiségi csoporttal kapcsolatos részkutatások bemutatására épül fel.

1. Teológusok, papi értelmiség

A Budapesti Tudományegyetem teológiai karának hallgatóságáról a publikált adatbázis szerint elkészítettünk egy részletes kódoláson alapuló felvételt, amely számítógépes elemzésre készen áll. Ez az 1930 fő feletti adatbázis (pontosan az 1855-1918-as években beiratkozott diákokra vonatkozólag) azonban sajnos csak részben tartalmazza a kutatásunkban hasznosítható legtöbb információt, amennyiben az 1893 előtti évekre nézve csak a küldő egyházmegyét és a beiratkozás évét jelezték a matrikulák (no meg a vallást, amennyiben a hallgatók közel negyed része görög rítusú katolikus volt).

Kiegészítésképpen terven felül, külső közreműködés segítségével, elkezdtük az 1918 utáni teológus hallgatók összeírását az eredeti levéltári beiratkozási törzskönyvekből, melyre nem kis utánjárással a Hittudományi Főiskola jelenkori dékánjátók kellett különleges engedélyt szereznünk.

Ezen túl szintén gépi feldolgozásra kerültek az iskoláik számát és létszámukat tekintve legfontosabb katolikus tanítói rendek tagságának a levéltárakban sorozatban fellelhető életrajzi adatai 1880 és 1949 között. (Itt tehát a források minél teljesebb kihasználása céljából meghaladtuk időhatárunkat, de visszamenőleg nem mindig sikerült eljutni az 1867-től aktív rendtagokig a források hiányai miatt). A források tartalma igen eltérő gazdagságú, skálájuk az egyszerű születési és felavatási dátumtól (Jezsuiták) a pontos háttéradatokig és pályaképig (Piaristák, Bencések) terjed. Minden bizonnyal, tapasztalataink szerint, attól függött a források gazdagsága, hogy az érintett rendek fennmaradtak-e a kommunista korban, vagy feloszlásra kerültek 1949 után. A feloszlott rendek levéltári anyagának ugyanis nagyobbik része elveszhetett, mert az állami levéltárakban csak töredékeket találtunk, míg a fennmaradt rendek jórészt meg tudták őrizni saját múltjuk dokumentációját. Ezeket a forrásokat a rendi levéltárak anyagai alapján teljes egészében feldolgoztuk. A következő katolikus tanítórendekről volt szó :

- Piaristák (Kegyes tanítórend)
- Bencések (Pannonhalmi Szent Benedek tanítórend)
- Ciszterciták (Zirci Ciszterek)
- Premontreiek (Jászói és Csornai premontrei rendtagok)
- Jezsuiták

Terven kívül, protestáns ellenpélda gyanánt, szintén feldolgoztuk a Pápa-i református teológia diákjainak és diplomásainak személyi adatait a helyi levéltári források alapján. Ezen kívül kapcsolatba léptünk egy Kolozsvár-i református központtal, amelyben máris elvégezték az erdélyi református lelkészek prozopográfiájának előállítását 1892-től (amióta a teológia Kolozsvárra került). Igéretet kaptunk, hogy visszamenőleg begyűjtik az 1892 előtti nagyenyedi korszak diákjainak életrajzi adatait is s az egész anyagot kutatásunk rendelkezésére bocsájtják. Evvel remény van arra is, hogy a protestáns papi értelmiség nagyobb részlegei is bekerülnek kutatásunk fókuszába.

Evvel a teológus értelmiségre vonatkozó eredeti terveinket meghaladó módon kutatásunknak ez a részlege átmenetileg le is zárult. Csak anyagaink tanulmányok formájában való értékesítése maradt hátra.

2. Humán és reálbölcészesek

A dualista korban 1872 óta három bölcsészkar működött az országban, az egységes budapesti humán és reálbölcészeti kar (melyben a hagyományos középkori és koraujkori gyökerekből kifejlődő egyetemi rendszer szerint a humán és reálszakokat egyetlen intézmény képviselte) és az új kolozsvári egyetem két kara (melyek – talán francia példára – elkülönítették a humánbölcész és a természettudományos disciplínákat).

Itteni eredményeink szintén meghaladták előre jelzett időhatárainkat, mivel sorozatos forrásaink erre módot nyújtottak és a vidéki egyetemeken önkéntes munkatársakra találtunk, akik szívesen osztották meg kutatási eredményeiket.

Mindenekelőtt lezártuk a Kolozsvár-i Egyetem Bölcsészkar diákjaira vonatkozó teljes körű felmérést. A természettudományi karon cc. 1030 diákot, a humánbölcész karon cc. 2700 diákot találtunk. A pontos diákszám megállapítása azért kérdéses, mivel voltak mindkét karra beiratkozottak is, azonkívül teológus 'áthallgatók' és természetesen számos 'átmenő' diák,

tehát olyanok, akik csupán egy-két szemeszterre jelentkeztek be az erdélyi egyetem adminisztrációjába. Felvételünk mindenesetre nemcsak a tulajdonképpeni diplomásokat, hanem elvben az összes, 1872 és 1918 között Kolozsvárra beiratkozott humán és reálbölcészti magába foglalja. A beiratkozási matrikulák gazdag anyagát sikerült teljesen feldolgoznunk.

Fő nehézségünk a diplomák természetének és minősítésének megragadása volt, ugyanis erre nézve csak a doktorátusok törzskönyvét találtuk meg az inventáriumokban nem jelzett helyi levéltári anyagok között, de a tanárvizsgáló szigorlatok törzskönyvét vagy a kiadott tanári diplomák jegyzékét nem sikerült azonosítanunk. Az egész, igen gazdag, sokrétű és pontos életrajzi információkat tartalmazó anyagot publikációra készítjük elő. (A finanszírozás máris biztosítva van egy Erdélyben székelő tudományos kiadó révén, amely a Budapesti Középeurópai Egyetem kiadójával közösen vállalta anyagaink közzétételét önálló tematikus kötetek formájában.¹⁾

Sajnos a Budapesti Egyetem bölcseiseiről nem mondható el ugyanez, hiszen – köztudottan – az erre vonatkozó 1919 előtti beiratkozási matrikulák háborús viszontagságok áldozataivá váltak. Kutatásunk tehát másodlagos, kevésbé gazdag forrásokat használhatott csak fel, szigorlati jelentéseket, tanárvizsgáló intézeti vizsgaeredményeket, doktori diplomák törzskönyvét, melyekben sem a családi háttérre (szülők foglalkozása, lakhelye), sem a középiskolai tanulmányokra (érettségi) nézve nem található információk. Ezeknek nem túl gazdag adatforrásoknak a feldolgozását 1919 előtti fél évszázadra viszont sikerült teljesen lezárni. A tanár diplomások száma 4430, a bölcész doktorok száma 1950 volt 1919 előtt, de a két kategória között természetesen jelentős átfedés is tapasztalható.

Viszont az adathiányok felértékeltek az 1919 után már rendelkezésre álló féléves beiratkozási lapok tartalmát, hiszen ezekben a beiratkozottak összes fontosabb háttér-adata bennefoglaltatik. Ezért is kezdtük ezek tervén felüli feldolgozását önkéntesek és másfajta támogatások útján mozgósított munkatársak közreműködésével. Ebben a felvételben megkíséreljük az összes ténylegesen diplomát elnyerőket azonosítani, mégpedig – értelemszerűen – nem csak a budapesti valamint a kolozsvári bölcészkarok jogutódjaként fungáló szegedi rokon karon, hanem a két új egyetemen is, azaz Pécsen és Debrecenben. Az idevágó életrajzi információk 1948-ig gépi rögzítés alatt vannak. Az Világháborúk közötti években ugyanis teljesen átformálódott a bölcészképzés egyetemi piaca, amennyiben a korábbi két egyetem közötti munkamegosztás, amely a karok klientúrájának többé-kevésbé urbanizált, sőt 'urbánus' részét állította szembe a sokkal inkább vidéki gyökerű bölcész jelöltekkel, jelentős felekezeti dimenzióval is párosult, mégpedig legalább kettős értelemben. Egyrészt a továbbra is legnagyobb pesti bölcészkaron maradtak a *numerus clausus*-szűk szitáján átjutó zsidó bölcészjelöltek, de az ezekből kiszorulók gyakran még a zárt számok szűk keretein is túl vidéken (elsősorban Pécsen és Szegeden) nyertek felvételt, amennyiben nem kényszerültek külföldre (először Bécsbe és Németországba, 1933 után inkább Olaszországba, Svájcba és Franciaországba). Másrészt a vidéki karok felekezeti jellege egyre erősebben kidomborodott, különösen a debreceni kar református jellege, de valamelyest (az előbbinél sokkal kevésbé) a pécsi kar evangélikus jellege is. A szegedi karnak viszont jobban megmaradt felekezeti semlegessége, talán nem függetlenül attól, hogy 1928 óta Szegeden működött az ország egyetlen állami polgári iskolai tanárképzője, melynek diákjainak a bölcészkarokon is volt bizonyos óraszámú 'áthallgatási' kötelezettsége.

¹ Erre precedensül szolgál a kolozsvári magyar Egyetem orvostanhallgatóinak máris megjelent prozopográfiája : Karády Viktor, Lucian Nastasa, *The University of Kolozsvár/Cluj/Cluj and the Students of the Medical Faculty (1872-1918)*, Cluj, Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center, Budapest-New York, Central European University Press, 2004, 392 pages.

Terv szerint végeztük az Eötvös Kollégium diákjaira vonatkozó prozopográfiai adatbázis építését. Ennek 1895-1919 közötti része lezárult s az anyagok gépen vannak. Viszont a bölcsész elitcsoportok hosszú távú összehasonlíthatósága végett önkéntesek bevonásával ezt a kutatást is tervezzük tovább vinni 1949-ig, a régi rendszerű Kollégium felszámolásáig.

3. Jogászok

A jogász képzettségű diplomások a honi értelmiség legnagyobb, néha (a 19. században) még a többséget is kitevő részlegét képezték. Felmérésünk tehát volumenében a többi humán-értelmiségi csoportnál sokkal nagyobb munkával járt, ennek megfelelően eleddig kutatásainkban is kisebb súllyal szerepelt.

A Kolozsvár-i egyetem jogi karának összes hallgatójáról (a diplomát helyben nem szerzőkről is) elkészült a teljes adatbázis. A diplomások azonosítása a kolozsvári, a pesti és a külföldi egyetemeken (Bécs, Prága, német és svájci bölcsészkarok) beleértve a diplomák minősítését szintén megtörtént. Munkánk ezen része attól nyer nagy jelentőséget, hogy az Első Világháborút megelőző évtizedekben a második magyar egyetem voltaképpen az ország legnagyobb jogászképzőjévé nőtte ki magát. Az 1900-1914-es években Kolozsvárott már több jogi diplomást avattak fel, mint Budapesten. Igaz, hogy a diplomát nem szerző 'mezei jogászság' arányai is minden bizonnyal magasabbak voltak a vidéki 'diplomagyárban', de evvel csak megnőtt Kolozsvár súlya felmérésünkben : a nagymagyarországi vidéki kötöttségű értelmiség utolsó generációinak tetemes része Kolozsvárott jurátuskodott (még ha ideje nagy részét tanulmányai alatt sem mindig az előadótermek falai között töltötte). Az adatbankunba felvett kolozsvári joghallgatók száma így meghaladta a 12.700 főt.

Ezt az tetemes mennyiségű prozopográfiai anyagot is egy már meglévő kiadói megegyezés szerint publikációra készítjük elő.

Terv szerint elvégeztük a budapesti jogi fakultás diplomásaira vonatkozó levéltári felméréseket is mind a tulajdonképpeni s többségi jogi, mind a (volumenében sokkal kisebb) államtudományi szakokra nézve. Szerencsére az idevágó forrásokat nemrég az Egyetemi Könyvtár falai között lévő Egyetemi Levéltárban helyezték el, illetve a számunkra szükséges aktákat kérésünkre a külső raktárból ideszállítják. A munka menete így a teljes lezárásig tervszerűen haladhatott. Igaz, itt is meg kellett küzdenünk a pesti bölcsészkaréhoz hasonló forráshiányokkal, melyeket a szigorlati jegyzőkönyvek és a diplomák adataiból kísérelünk meg pótolni. Ez sajnos többszörös forráskutatásokat tesz szükségessé és egyes fontos adatok (pl. a szülők foglalkozása vagy – ritkábban – a vallás) ezekből a forrásokból nem lesznek előállíthatók. N = cc. 11.000.

Evvel azonban sajnos nem teljesen merült ki a dualizmus kor legnagyobb és a hatalmi elitcsoportok képzése szempontjából legtekintélyesebb diplomás részlegének, a jogásztársadalomnak a kutatása. A korban ugyanis, gyakran újkori de nemegyszer korábbi 19. századi előzményekre támaszkodva egy egész sor jogi főiskola (akadémia) is működött, még pedig a századfordulón három állami ('királyi'), négy református, két római katolikus és egy evangélikus jogakadémia. Ezek hallgatósága 1900 körül az összes joghallgató több mint negyedét tette ki, tehát a jogászképzésben szerepük nem tekinthető elhanyagolhatónak. Éppen ezért projektünk folytatásaként, ugyan eredeti tervünkön kívül, máris elkezdjük a jogakadémiai diákság felmérését is. Ez két okból is fontos kiegészítő kutatást képvisel.

Egyrészt az akadémiák hallgatói gyakran fejezték be tanulmányaikat az egyetemi karokon. Másrészt az akadémiai hallgatókra vonatkozó levéltári forrásanyag sokkal gazdagabb, mint a budapesti jogi karra nézve fennmaradt források, így az előbbieket nem ritkán az utóbbiak hiányát is képesek bepótolni.

Az egri római katolikus érseki jogakadémiáról már korábban készített egy történész kolléga prozopográfiai összeállítást. Megindultak munkálatok a pécsi katolikus püspöki rokonintézmény diákságára vonatkozólag is. Szervezés alatt állnak erdélyi kollégák segítségével felmérések a nagyváradi és a máramarosszigeti református akadémia hallgatóságára nézve. Szintén azonosítottuk a sárospataki és a debreceni református akadémia, az eperjesi evangélikus akadémia, valamint a kassai és a győri királyi akadémia levéltári lelőhelyeit. Reméljük, hogy a 2006-os évben a jogakadémiai hallgatóságot érintő munkálatokat külső támogatással le tudjuk zárni s ezzel teljes körűen megvalósulhat a dualizmus kor egész jogásznépességének prozopográfiai felmérése. Egy ilyen felmérés eredményei közvetlenül hozzájárulnak majd a honi politikai és adminisztratív elitrétegek kollektív életrajzának radikális átrajzolásához, hiszen eddig még a nemzetgyűlés tagjainak képzettségére és társadalmi, felekezeti vagy etnikai hátterére nézve sem állt rendelkezésre egy megbízható s a jogászokat illetőleg teljeskörű adatbázis.

Kiegészítő felmérések és egyéb munkálatok

A diplomás értelmiség felmérése nagy méretű alapkutatás jellegű munkálatokat követelt meg. Ezeket azonban számos más forrásból is ki lehet és ki is kell egészíteni, részben az adathiányok pótlása végett, részben pedig az értelmiségképzéssel s a szakértelmiségi műveltség modernizálódását kísérő egyéb modernizációs jelenségek feltérképezése végett, mely utóbbiak segítségével válik egyedül lehetővé adataink megfelelő társadalomtörténelmi értelmezése. A lentiekben röviden bemutatnám azokat a párhuzamos adatgyűjtéseket és kutatásokat, melyekkel igyekeztünk a fenti követelményeknek megfelelni jórészt jelen projektünkön kívülről szerzett anyagi források mozgósításával

Publikációk és az eredmények bemutatása

Prozopográfiai kutatásainkat az adott másfél évnél is kevesebbre nyúló munkálatok alatt épphogy sikerült a terv szerint lezárni, sőt ezekhez szigorúan kapcsolódva még néhány fent jelzett kiegészítő munkálatot is elvégezni, de a hatalmas tömegű prozopográfiai mélyfúrásunk folyamatos (részben külön kódolási munkálatokkal járó) statisztikai feldolgozása nem fejeződhetett be. Így oknyomozó publikációk sem születhettek elegendig anyagainkból. Kutatási eredményeinket azonban közvetve vagy közvetlenül máris több publikációban felhasználtuk, illetve több tudományos fórumon előadtuk.

Az utóbbiakra jó példa a kutatás vezetője által a 2005-ös év alatt szervezett három nemzetközi tanácskozás, melyeken angol, francia és kismérszt német nyelvű előadásokban került sor a kutatás eredményeinek bemutatására és magának a kutatássorozat prozopográfiai módszertanának népszerűsítésére.

2005 április 8-9-én a nemzetközi diák-migráció kérdéskörében rendeztem konferenciát a Középeurópai Egyetemen a Pasts Inc. alapítvány anyagi támogatásával (21 résztvevő Kelet és Nyugat-Európából). A konferencia központi kérdése a külföldi tanulmányok funkciója volt a nemzeti értelmiség kialakulásában, képzésében, szellemi és ideológiai útkeresésében.

2005 június 4-5-én szintén a Középeurópai Egyetemen s a Pasts Inc. alapítvány támogatásával rendeztem nemzetközi tanácskozást az Erdély-i elitek és értelmiség

kérdésköréből a 19. és a 20. században. Itt román, magyar, német, francia és holland résztvevők adtak elő. Az előadásokból azóta elkészültek a nyomtatásra kész tanulmányok, melyeket a CEU University Press gondozásában kívánunk megjelentetni.

Végül a harmadik általam rendezett nemzetközi konferencia (Középeurópai Egyetem, Történelmi Intézet, 2005 május 28-30) csak közvetetten illetve részlegesen érintette kutatási témámat, amennyiben a középeurópai zsidóság 1919 utáni helyzetével foglalkozott, különös tekintettel az elitcsoportok helyzetére. A konferenciát a *European Science Foundation* támogatta.

Kutatási eredményeinknek mindenesetre máris nem jelentéktelen nemzetközi visszhangja támadt tehát, annyira, hogy - úgy tűnik – elvégzett munkánk egy sor külföldi kutatást indított el vagy segített elő, nevezetesen ezek kibővítése és módszertani gazdagítása szempontjából. Ennek megfelelően két nagyobb nemzetközi kezdeményezés főszerzőjének kértek fel.

Az első a SCOPES program keretében a svájci Fonds de Recherche Scientifique három éves pályázatát nyerte el az általam irányított nemzetközi csoport (bulgár, orosz, román és szerb kutatók részvételével), amely lényegében ugyanolyan típusú kutatásokba kezd illetve fog folytatni a négy országban, mint amelyeket mi a jelen OTKA által támogatott programunkban elvégeztünk. Ez az összesen egyelőre 14 munkatársat mozgósító kutatói hálózat hivatalosan 2006 január 1-én kezdett működni, de már 2005 decemberében tartottunk a Középeurópai Egyetemen egy bevezető műhely-összejövetelt.

A második kezdeményezés szervezés alatt áll egy nagyobb nemzetközi konferencia formájában (Középeurópai Egyetem, 2007 május 3-5), melynek fő témája a nemzeti elitek kialakulása lesz az 'európai periférián', kelet-nyugati és észak-déli összehasonlító szempontok érvényesítésével. Erre mind Kelet-Európából, mind a Balkánról, a földközi tengeri, a balti, a skandináv és a nyugat-európai államokból várunk előadókat. A téma központjában az elit-kutatások prozopográfiai eredményei és módszertani lehetőségei állnak. Itt is számítunk a *European Science Foundation* anyagi támogatására.

Publikációk, melyek közvetve felhasználták a projekt eredményeit

Karády Viktor

Budapest iskolaváros a magyarországi képzési piacon 1944 előtt.² (*Educatio*, tavasz, 14/1, 95-119.)

A modern korban teljesen általános, hogy a nagyvárosok s így a fővárosok is kiemelt szerepet játszanak az illető országok iskolázási piacán. Ez különösen vonatkozik az iskolai hierarchiák felső grádicsaira, a nemzetállamok elitképzési mechanizmusainak legfőbb letéteményeseire – az egyetemekre, a szakfőiskolákra, illetve a legigényesebb előképzést nyújtó középiskolákra – melyek nemcsak, hogy gyakran a fővárosokban összpontosulnak, de amelyek nemegyszer monopólium-szerűen csak a fővárosokban szerveződtek meg, legalábbis a képzési apparátus történelmi kiépülésének egyes fázisaiban. Így volt ez Közép- és Kelet-Európában mindenütt, bár a főváros ilyenfajta túlsúlya a magas iskolázás funkcionális intézményei szempontjából eltérő mértékű lehetett és távolról sem azonos körülmények között alakult ki.

² A tanulmányhoz nagy segítséget nyújtottak az OKTK és az OTKA kutatási pályázataiban elért eredmények.

Két társadalomtörténelmi tényező bizonyosan nagy szerepet játszott e téren.

Mindenekelőtt a premodern fejlődés iskolai hozama érdemel említést, hiszen a legmodernebb iskolai intézményhálózat is őriz archaikus elemeket, legalább annyiban, hogy az ipari társadalom iskolai intézményeinek jelentős részét még az iparosításhoz és a feudális rendszerek felbomlásához kötődő társadalmi modernizációs folyamatok beindulása *előtt* alapították. Ezek legtöbbször (bár nem mindig) helyben maradtak, mi több, képzési funkcióikat nemegyszer megtartották még akkor is, amikor az alapítás helyek társadalmi pozíciója erősen átalakult. Angliában Oxbridge, Svédországban Uppsala, Olaszországban egyes régi (város)államok központjai (Bologna, Miláno, Nápoly, stb.), Németországban a gyakran kisvárosi regionális központok (Göttingen, Halle, Heidelberg) továbbra is a legjobb képzést nyújtó s e tekintetben az esetleges nemzeti fővárosi intézményekkel konkuráló alma materek székhelyei maradtak. Ugyanez a tényező azonban másutt, például Franciaországban, a korán kialakult fővárosi iskolai túlsúlyt erősítette fel, sok szempontból napjainkig.

Mindenesetre, tendenciálisan, a fővárosok iskolai funkciói mindenütt felerősödni látszanak az ipari társadalmak kiépülése során. Ennek legfőbb oka az volt, hogy a fővárosokban tömörültek a növekvő tömegű elitcsoportok, melyek politikai és adminisztratív uralkodó helyzetük mellett egyre bővülő iskolai keresletet is mutattak fel. Így érthető, hogy a kialakuló modern világi értelmiség reprodukciójában a nagyvárosok s különösen a fővárosok gyakran népességi arányaikat messze meghaladó szerepet játszottak. Ennek felel meg például a fővárosok előkelő státusa a születési helyek szerint számított 'tehetségtérképeken' külföldön is, akárcsak Magyarországon.³ A fővárosi túlsúly persze még számottevőbbnek mutatkozna a vizsgált szempontból, ha nem az érintett 'tehetségesek' születési helyét, hanem intellektuális pályájuk legfőbb színtereit vennénk számításba, hiszen – konkrétan – a legtöbb értelmiségi tevékenység elsősorban városi érvényesülési piacokhoz kötődik. Ezek között (kivételektől eltekintve) a legfontosabbat mindig a főváros képviseli. Ennek következtében a műveltségi tőkével jól dotált rétegek migrációja a nagyvárosokba és a fővárosba a legújabb kori városiasodási folyamatok alapvető eleme, mint ahogy erre a későbbiekben számos jelzést mozgósítunk.

A fővárosi túlsúly a honi iskolai piacon különösen érvényesnek látszik. A kiegyezés utáni évekig csak Pest-Budán volt egyetem s a szakképzés túlnyomó része is kizárólag itt történt – a papképzés, a jogakadémiai tanfolyamok és bányász- és erdőmérnöki szakoktatás (Selmecebánya) kivételével. Ugyanez azonban nem teljesen állhatott a középiskolázásra nézve, hiszen e téren Pest-Buda 1777-ig a 42 később is fennmaradó latin iskolából csak kettőt működtetett s ezután az 1850-ig alapított újabb 10-ből mindössze eggyel többet. Az 1850 és 1918 között megszervezett 56 klasszikus gimnáziumból és reáliskolából azonban már 26 Budapesten született meg.⁴ Az ilyen adatok értelmezéséhez természetesen elengedhetetlen a főváros népességi súlyának növekedésének módszeres számbavétele is.

Dolgozatomban ezen fővárosi iskolai túlsúly egyelőre munkahipotézisként felvetett témájának pontosabb valóságtartalmát szeretném körüljárni, mégpedig főképp az eleddig kevésbé kihasznált történelmi-statisztikai szakirodalom bőséges

³ L. Hantos Gyula, *Magyar tájak, magyar kiválóságok*, Budapest, 1936 (a *Pallas Nagy Lexikon* életrajzi adatai alapján); Somogyi József, „Magyarország tehetségtérképe”, *Társadalomtudomány*, 1942, 1, különösen 8-19 oldal (a *Révai Lexikon* életrajzi adatai alapján).

⁴ L. Mészáros István, *Középszintű iskoláink kronológiája és topográfiája 996-1948*, Budapest, Akadémiai, 1988, 354-359 o.

idevágó eredményeinek segítségével,⁵ mégpedig úgy, hogy a felhasznált elsősorban kvantitatív jelzések a városi társadalom különleges modernizációs körülményeinek logikájában váljanak értelmezhetővé. Háromfajta tematikus megközelítést kísérelnek meg.

Mindenekelőtt – s ez a viszonylag legegyszerűbb feladat - tisztázni kell a fővárosi iskolázás tényleges s történelmileg talán nem mindig egyirányú mennyiségi súlyának változásait – erősödését vagy esetleges gyengülését – az ország iskolarendszerében, különösen az elitképzés piacain, ahol feltehetőleg a legjelentősebb eltérések (s ezeknek legszámottevőbb hatású történelmi átalakulásai) mutatkozhatnak.

Másodsorban, a beiskolázási gyakoriság és az intézményhálózat nyers mennyiségi mutatóin túl, meg kell határozni a fővárosi képzési rendszer sajátos minőségi funkcióit az ország iskolázási piacán.

Végül néhány jelzés erejéig megkísérlem jellemezni a fővárosi iskolázás társadalmi funkcióinak sajátosságait. Ez elsősorban publikumainak rétegsajátos (felekezeti, etnikai) összetételére vonatkozó elemzésekkel történhet, amely sokféle szálon kötődik a fenti második pont alatt vizsgálandó 'belső' iskolázási jellemzőkhöz (mint pl. az intézményhálózat fenntartói szerinti – közület vagy egyházak - szerkezetéhez, az érettségizettek pályaválasztásához és vizsga-minősítéséhez, a nők arányához az iskolai népességekben, stb.).

Mindhárom megközelítés a honi iskolarendszer történelmileg viszonylag későn beteljesülő funkcionális differenciálódására, hierarchikus rétegződésére illetve átrétegződésére fog illusztratív példákat felmutatni Budapest és a vidék ellentétének vagy eltéréseinek prizmján keresztül.

× × ×

A mennyiségi túlsúly elemei

A budapesti népesség, az iskolai piacon szereplő legfontosabb intézmények és a beiskolázottak számának mennyiségi alakulását a két alábbi táblázaton lehet követni. Egyszerűség kedvéért eltekintettünk egyes ritkábban előforduló, illetve történelmileg csak később kialakult vagy jelentőségre jutott iskolák számbavételétől (mint a felső kereskedelmik, a tanoncképezdek és az óvó- és tanítóképezők).

1. táblázat.

Egyes iskolatípusok valamint tanulóközönségük számainak és számarányainak változásai Budapesten és országosan (1890-1940)

A/ Iskolák

	e l e m i k			p o l g á r i k			k ö z é p i s k o l á k		
	Magyar- ország	Budapesten %		Magyar- ország	Budapesten %		Magyar- ország	Budapesten %	
1890	16.558	136	0,8	164	19	11,6	164	14	8,5

⁵ Lásd különösen – a teljesség igénye nélkül, csak a ténylegesen felhasznált műveket említve : Dr Elekes Dezső, *Budapest szerepe Magyarország szellemi életében, Statisztikai közlemények*, Budapest, 1935; Illyefalvi I. Lajos, *A közoktatásügy Budapesten a Világháborút megelőző években, Statisztikai közlemények*, 71/3, Budapest székesfőváros háziinyomdája, é.n.; Hamvas József, *Budapest Székesfőváros iskolaiügye 1920-tól 1938-ig, Statisztikai közlemények* 91/3, Budapest főváros háziinyomdája, 1940; Dr Thirring Lajos, *Budapest Közoktatásügye az 1907/8-as tanévben, Budapest Székesfőváros statisztikai közleményei*, 48, Budapest, 1912. Itt kell hivatkozni Mann Miklós újabb s szintén gazdag statisztikai tárházzal rendelkező iskolatörténeti áttekintésére : *Budapest oktatásügye 1873-2000*, Budapest, Önkönet, 2002.

1900	16817	166	1,0	296 ⁶	30	10,1	197	17	8,6
1910	16455	202	1,2	460 ⁷	50	10,9	245	24	9,8
1920	6158	178	2,9	312	70	22,4	152	41	27,0
1930	6856	183	2,7	378	69	18,3	161	48	29,8
1940	17079	173	1,0	514	65	12,6	362	58 ⁸	16,0

B/ tanulók

Iskolák

	elemi			polgári			közéiskolák		
	Magyar- országon	Budapesten	%	Magyar- országon	Budapesten	%	Magyar- országon	Budapesten	%
1890	1 624 872 ⁹	37 727	2,3	22 585 ¹⁰	5 333	23,6	40 673	5 407	13,3
1900	1 755 197	56 395	3,2	48 169 ¹¹	10 638	22,1	59 302	9 017	15,2
1910	1.942 438	62 086	3,2	82 796 ¹²	18 583	22,4	79 357	12 369	15,6
1920	881 046 ¹³	63 144	7,2	75 351 ¹⁴	24 515	32,5	56 927 ¹⁵	19 369	34,0
1930	849075 ¹⁶	54 103	6,4	78 633	21 524	27,4	64 218	22 052	34,3
1940	1 542 105 ¹⁷	51 928	3,4	131 399	22 533	17,1	93 932	29 734	31,7

Források : Budapestre nézve Kalmár Ella gyűjtése. L. *Iskolák, diákok, oktatáspolitikai a 19-20. században. Tanulmányok*. Szerkesztette Feitl István és Sipos András. Budapest, Napvilág Kiadó, 2004, 160-217 o. A legtöbb országos adat leelőhelye a *Magyar statisztikai évkönyvek*. A polgári iskolákra l. ezenkívül Asztalos József, „Polgári iskolánk az 1925/26-os évben”, *Magyar statisztikai szemle*, 1927, 10. szám, 928-941 oldal, különösen 929. oldal; Jánki Gyula, „Polgári iskolák”, *Magyar statisztikai szemle*, 1934, 1. szám, 26-29 oldal, különösen 27. oldal.

Az 1. táblázat, bármilyen egyszerűek is adatai, jól demonstrálja a budapesti iskolai koncentráció egyes, az egész iskolai piac szerkezetére jellemző sajátosságait.

Egyrészt már maguk az elemi szinten beiskolázottak nyers számai mutatják a budapesti népességszám gyors növekedését. Igaz ugyan, hogy a beiskolázottak az összes iskolázottsági kötelezettnek csak egy részét tették ki, bár a 19. század végétől már túlnyomó részét is, különösen a városi népességekben. (Budapesten 1895/6-ban például a 6-12 éves tankötelezetteknek becslés szerint nem kevesebb, mint 97,8 %-a ténylegesen elemibe járt.¹⁸) Mindenesetre az elemi iskolák népességéből kerültek ki a felsőbb népiskolák (így a polgári) vagy a közéiskolák látogatói is.

A számszerű összehasonlításhoz e megállapításból kifolyólag célravezetőbb tehát az elemista népességet alapul venni az össznépeesség helyett, akkor is, ha a különböző iskolatípusra vonatkozó, dátumszerűen egyidejű adatok az iskolai hierarchia

⁶ 1899/1900-ra. L. Asztalos József, „Polgári iskolánk az 1925/26. tanévben”, *Magyar statisztikai szemle*, 1927, 10. sz., 929 o.

⁷ 1909/10-re. L. u.o.

⁸ Az újabban szervezett (ipari, mezőgazdasági és kereskedelmi) szakközéiskolák nélkül.

⁹ Csak 1892/3-ra találtam adatot.

¹⁰ 1889/90-re.

¹¹ 1899/1900-ra.

¹² 1909/10-re.

¹³ Az elemi mindennapi iskolákba járó 6-11 éves tankötelezettek.

¹⁴ 1919/20-ra.

¹⁵ A vizsgát tett tanulók.

¹⁶ Az általános és gazdasági továbbképző (ismétlő) iskolák tanulói nélkül:

¹⁷ Mint az előbbi jegyzetben.

¹⁸ A *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1896, 416 oldalán szereplő adatok alapján.

részben egymásra épülő intézményeinek tanulószámban nem tükrözik teljes pontossággal az alsóbból a felsőbb intézménykategóriákba belépni képes csoportok nagyságát : ez utóbbit az életkorhoz kötött (és történelmileg is változó) halálozási kockázat és a migrációs gyakorlat (a családok el- illetve bevándorlása, a diákok elküldése nem fővárosi, illetve bejárása fővárosi intézményekbe) is befolyásolhatta. Ha tehát az elemisták megfigyelt számai csak nagyságrendileg jelzik a felsőbb iskolákba igyekvő potenciális diákjelöltek mennyiségét, a felsőbb iskolázásra kész népességnek mégis ez szolgáltatja leghűbb kvantitatív megközelítését. Ezek szerint a Világháború előtt a fővárosi elemisták az összes elemistának apró, 2-3 %-nyi töredékét képezték, s arányuk a Trianoni országban sem haladta meg ennek az értéknek a dupláját, hogy aztán az 1938 utáni területnagyságokkal ismét lesüllyedjen a század elejei szintre. Ez utóbbi számokban persze már a városokban általában eluralkodó demográfiai depresszió (kis család-modell) éreztette hatását, annak ellenére, hogy a főváros globális népességszáma az 1890-es 487 ezerről 1910-re 880 ezerre¹⁹, 1930-ra 1.006 ezerre és 1941-re 1 164 ezerre nőtt.²⁰ (A budapesti gyerek utánpótlásnak a világháborúk közötti évtizedekben megfigyelhető apadására jellemző, hogy míg az 1930-as népszámlálás még 45500 6-9 éves iskoláskorút regisztrált²¹, addig ez a szám a globális népességgyarapodás ellenére 1941-re jó 15 %-kal lecsökkent és 38400-ra süllyedt.²²)

A csökkenő számú beiskolázandó vagy iskolaképes fiatal azonban a fővárosban átlagosan egyre magasabb iskolázottság kedvezményezettje lett. A fővárosi iskolázottság szintemelkedése, mi több, lényegesen gyorsabb is volt a vidékinél. Itt is többfajta összefüggés eredőjéről van szó, melyek között a demográfiai a kutatásban legtöbbször feledés övezi. Pedig fontos máris leszögezni, hogy a kisebb családokban egy 'gyerekfőre' átlagosan egyre több művelődési beruházás jutott, függetlenül minden egyéb iskolázottsági tényezőtől (melyekre később térünk ki). Mindenesetre a táblázatból kiviláglik a fővárosi iskolai keresletnek a vidékiét lényegesen meghaladó *színvonal*a. Habár a polgárik és a klasszikus középiskolák iránti kereslet a vizsgált évtizedek során mindenütt sokkal gyorsabban emelkedett, mint az elemikre irányuló, ami természetes folyamat egy olyan történelmi helyzetben, melyben – mint fentebb ez már említést nyert – az elemista korúak nagy része kezdettől fogva iskolába járt, országosan a beiskolázottak túlnyomó többsége a legutolsó jelzett időpontban is (1940-ben 87 %-a) elemista maradt. Budapesten egészen másként alakultak ezek az arányok. 1890-ben a táblázatban megfigyelt beiskolázottaknak máris 22 %-a középiskolás vagy polgárista volt. 1940-re ez az arány az összes beiskolázott felét is (50,2 %) elérte. Ráadásul az idők során számottevően módosult a nyolc osztályos középiskolások és a 4-6 osztályos polgáristák egymáshoz viszonyított aránya. Míg országosan a polgáristák száma 1910 után mindig magasabb volt a gimnazisták és a reáliskolások összességénél, addig Budapesten 1930-tól egyre nagyobb a klasszikus középiskolákba járók számbeli fölénye a polgáristákkal szemben.

Ebben az összefüggésben lehet utalni az elemi népoktatás felsőbb osztályaiban tapasztalható fővárosi sajátosságokra, melyek leginkább a városi néptömegek középiskolázási esélyekkel nem rendelkező részlegeinek modernebb, a hagyományos mezőgazdasági mesterségek helyett az ipar és a kereskedelmi munkapiac felé irányuló képzési választásait tükrözik. Így az összes kereskedő-tanonc 46,5 %-a már 1925/6-ban Budapesten készült mesterségére s ez az arány 1934/5-re többségi lett (54,7 %). Az iparos-tanoncok megfelelő fővárosi arányai ugyanakkor 30 %-ról 33,1 %-ra emelkedtek. Evvel szemben érthető, hogy a fővárosi tanulóiifjúság sokkal ritkábban (1925/6-ban az országos szám 4,9 %-a erejéig) keresett mezőgazdasági alapképzést a gazdasági

¹⁹ Budapest székesfőváros statisztikai közleményei 53, 14 oldal.

²⁰ Budapest székesfőváros statisztikai évkönyve, 1944, 31 oldal.

²¹ Magyar statisztikai közlemények 96, 284-285 oldal.

²² Budapest Székesfőváros statisztikai évkönyve, 1944, 38. oldal.

ismétlőiskolákban s ez a szerény – habár az elemista átlagot azért jócskán meghaladó – arány az évek során egyre gyengült is (1934/5-re 3,3 %-ra).²³ A viszonylag magas de még elemi szintű szakiskolák iránti kereslet tehát a budapesti iskolai piac legszűkebb rétegeire is rányomta bélyegét.

Az urbánus közönség pragmatikusabb, a munkaerőpiacra közvetlenebbül orientált iskolaválasztását tükrözte a középiskolázás szintjén az érettségi minősítést nyújtó felső kereskedelmi iskolák iránti különleges fővárosi kereslet. 1911/12-ben például az akkoriban működő 51 ilyen típusú intézményből közel egy hatodik (9) budapesti volt, de arányosan az összes kereskedelmistáknak ennek mintegy duplája (31,4 %) tanult bennük.²⁴ 1934/5-ben hasonlóak voltak a számarányok. Ekkor a trianoni ország 49 felső kereskedelmijéből közel harmad részük, 15 volt Budapesten, de ezekbe a trianoni ország összes felső-kereskedelmistájának már többsége (51,4 %) járt.²⁵

Ez előbbi összefüggésből is felsejlik a könnyen általánosítható megfigyelés a budapesti iskoláknak a vidékiekéknél nagyobb méreteit illetően. Tekintve, hogy a fővárosi iskolák aránya az ország iskolái között mindig sokkal kisebb volt, mint a fővárosi tanulók számának megfelelő arányai, nyilvánvaló, hogy az itteni intézmények mindegyike átlagosan sokkal (az elemikben legalább kétszer) több tanulót fogadott be, mint a vidékiek. Ez az eredmény, láttuk, a felső kereskedelmikre is és - táblázatunk adatai szerint - a többi magasabb szintű iskolatípusokra nézve is állt, hiszen a budapesti polgárik és a középiskolák is rendre ritkábbak voltak mint az általuk foglalkoztatott aránylag lényegesen (ha nem is az elemikhez mérten) nagyobb tömegű diákság.

Márpedig az intézmények méretei az oktatás minőségére nézve egy sor igen konkrét következménnyel jártak. Az elemikben például az oktatók egyes osztályok kezelésére szakosodhattak, szemben a vidéki, zömmel sokáig egytanítós többségű iskolákkal. 1907/8-ban a budapesti elemik 76 %-a osztott osztályokkal s több mint 5 tanítóval működött, szemben a mindössze 6,7 %-nyi országos átlaggal.²⁶ Ha a középiskolákban kevésbé drámaiak is az eltérések, 1912/3-ban Budapesten átlagosan 19, vidéken csak 14,9 tanár jutott egy intézményre. Huszonkét évvel később ezek a számok Budapesten már 24,2-re, vidéken 17,6-ra emelkedtek, azaz az eltérések mértéke alig változott. Hasonló ütemben nőtt az egy intézményre jutó átlagos diáklétszám is, Budapesten a két előbbi dátum között 455-ről 516-ra, míg vidéken 297-ről 363-ra.²⁷ Ha a nagyobb tanári karban akár csak hallgatólagosan előálló belső szakosodás és konkurencia javíthatta az oktatás pedagógiai minőségét, gyakrabban fordulhatott elő a nagyobb iskolákban, hogy egy tanárra átlagosan több diák jutott, s ezzel alkalom adtán csorbulhatott az egy diákot megillető oktatói figyelem – mint ahogy ez a zömmel osztatlan vidéki egytanítós elemikben nem ritkán drasztikusan nyilvánult meg. Ilyenfajta eltérés ténylegesen tapasztalható a vidéki középiskolák előnyére, de csak szerény és az idővel radikálisan csökkenő mértékben. Budapesten 1912/13-ban egy tanárral szemben átlagosan 24, 1934/5-ben már csak 21,3 diák ült az osztálytermekben, míg vidéken kezdetben 20, tehát valamivel kevesebb, ez azonban 1934/5-re 20,7-re nőtt²⁸ s így az e téren mérhető különbségek a világháborúk között tulajdonképpen elenyészővé váltak. A tanárral való ellátottság szempontjából a fővárosi középiskolások korábban csekély hátránya – ha ugyan lehet tényleges hátrányról beszélni - ezzel tendenciálisan jelentéktelenné zsugorodott. Valószínű ugyanis, hogy a diák/tanár arányban mért különbségek annak tudhatók be, hogy vidéken 1919 előtt még ú.n. nem teljes, négy vagy hatosztályos és érettségit nem nyújtó

²³ Elekes Dezső, id. mű, 44. oldal.

²⁴ A Magyar statisztikai évkönyv, 1912, 158 oldalán lévő adatokból számított arányok.

²⁵ U.o. 36. és 41. oldal.

²⁶ A Magyar statisztikai közlemények 31, 230-256 oldalakon található adatokból számított arányok.

²⁷ A számítások forrása Elekes Dezső, id. mű, 36. oldal.

²⁸ U.o.

gimnáziumok és reáliskolák is működtek.²⁹ Budapesten a kiegyezés után rohamosan kiépülő középiskolai hálózatban viszont már eleve csak érettségiztető intézményeket alapítottak, melyeknek átlagos tanár- és diákszám, érthetően, így eleve meghaladta a megfelelő vidéki átlagokat.

A budapesti túlsúly a táblázatban nem érintett felsőoktatásra nézve még a közép- és alsóbb iskolázásban megfigyeltnél is sokkal nagyobb mértékben érvényesült.

Ennek a folyamatnak történelmi előzményei részben már említést nyertek. Műegyetem a tárgyalt régi rendszer végéig csak Budapesten működött (bár a honi mérnökképzésben az osztrák, német, cseh és svájci műegyetemek is nagy szerepet játszottak a II. Világháború előestéjéig). Tudományegyetem is csak Budapesten működött 1872-ig s az 1918-ig aktív (kolozsvári) második magyar tudományegyetem sokáig másodlagos, néha (Bécs után) csak harmadlagos szerepet töltött be a honi értelmiség képzésében. 1880-ban például a magyarországi születésű orvosok 54 %-a Budapesten, 31 %-a Bécsben, 8 %-a egyebütt külföldön (főleg más németnyelvű fakultásokon) tanult s mindössze 7 %-a Kolozsvárott.³⁰ Az orvosképzésben Budapest szerepe később állandóan erősödött (1910/11-1913/14-ben már 76 % erejéig), bár inkább a külföldi, mint a kolozsvári testvérkar kárára (mely utóbbiban a világháború előtti években orvostanhallgatóink 12 %-a járt).³¹ Csak a Kolozsvári egyetem jogtudományi kara került az 1900-as években a kétes értékű 'diplomagyár' vagy a 'mezei jogászság' 'szanatóriumának' hírébe, amennyiben alacsonyabb vizsgakövetelményei segítségével, a pesti fakultásnál összességében kevesebb jurátussal néhány évig a fővárosinál jóval több jogi és államtudományi doktorátust adott ki.³² Például 1903/4 és 1906/7 között az első jogi alapvizsgán Budapesten a jelentkezők 44,7 %-a, míg Kolozsvárott 81,4 %-uk ment át. Az utolsó szigorlaton már megszűntek ezek az eltérések, csupán Kolozsvárott négy évvel később (1907/8 és 1910/11 között) már több vizsgázó jelentkezett a diplomához vezető harmadik vizsgán (2222) mint Budapesten (1621) és pótvizsgázóból is több volt.³³ A trianoni országban a vizsgázók siker-rátája az egyetemek között látszólag kiegyenlítődött, de 1934/5-ben a Pázmány Péter egyetem jogi karán még mindig csak a szigorlatozók 71,5 %-át engedték át, szemben a vidéki jogi fakultások vizsgázóinak 80 %-ával.³⁴

A Világháborúk közötti korban a Kolozsvári egyetem Szegedre kerülésével és pécsi és a debreceni egyetemek felfejlesztésével a honi tudományegyetemek hálózata formálisan megduplázódott, majd átmenetileg 1940 után a Kolozsvári magyar fakultások visszaállításával tovább nőtt. Ugyanakkor az 1920-ban bevezetett zsidóellenes *numerus clausus* brutálisan leállította a korábban viszonylag messze legnagyobb főiskolai keresletet felmutató társadalmi kategória, a zsidóság egyetemi beiskolázását, különösen Budapesten, ahol a *numerus clausus*-t szigorúbban érvényesítették mint vidéken³⁵ s ahol a modern beállítottságú honi zsidóságnak a világháborúk között már többsége élt s így tanulmányi kereslete is elsősorban az itteni főiskolákra és egyetemekre

²⁹ L. Egyház és Tanügy 1885-1889. Magyar statisztikai évkönyv, 1889, 117-118 oldal.

³⁰ L. Victor Karady, Lucian Nastasa, *The University of Kolozsvár/Cluj and the Students of the Medical Faculty (1872-1918)*, Budapest-Cluj, CEU Press és Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center, 2004, 75. oldal.

³¹ U.o.

³² L. Ladányi Andor, *A magyarországi felsőoktatás a dualizmus kora második felében*, Budapest, Felsőoktatási Kutató Központ, 1969, 74. oldal.

³³ A Magyar statisztikai évkönyvek megfelelő éves adatai alapján végzett mérések.

³⁴ L. Elekes Dezső, id. mű. 50. oldal.

³⁵ L. erre többek között a korabeli kitűnő szélsőjobb statisztikus megállapításait: Kovács Alajos, „Értelmiségünk nemzeti jellegének biztosítása”, *Társadalomtudomány*, 1926, 257-269, különösen 264 oldal.

irányult.³⁶ Mindennek a budapesti főiskolai túlsúly globális meggyengülésével kellett volna járnia. A valóságban azonban ez nem történt meg. A főváros továbbra is nemcsak a legtöbb egyetemi polgárt összpontosító város maradt, de sokáig az összes **egyetemi és főiskolai diplomás többsége** is a fővárosban nyerte el kiképzését, nem szólva arról, hogy itt oktatott az egyetemi tanári személyzet **nagyobbik hányada** is. Ami az egyetemi diákság létszámát illeti, „a budapesti arány a háború után csökkenő : míg 1921/22-ben 85,6 %-kal kulminál, 1934/35-ig 53,1 % alá esik”.³⁷ Ez az arány azonban a későbbiekben sem változott számottevően, annak ellenére, hogy az 1940 után újraalapított Kolozsvári Egyetem új pólusát képezte a főiskolai kínálatnak és a háború alatti megnagyobbodott országban a férfi diákság számára már a bevonulást elkerülő stratégiaként is érvényesült egyfajta erős beiskolázási hullám. Ennek súlypontja szükségszerűen – a területnagyságból egyenes következményeként – vidékre esett. Márpedig 1941/42-ben a második félére beiratkozott 19.900 összes főiskolásból és egyetemistából továbbra sem kevesebb mint 10330 (51,9 %) a Budapesti Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem és a Műegyetem hallgatója volt.³⁸

'Minőségi különbségek', iskolázási egyenlőtlenségek és piacszerkezet

Már az eddigiekben is jeleztünk több 'minőségi' különbséget a budapesti és a vidéki iskolai kínálatban. A továbbiakban a fővárosi és vidéki iskolahálózatok mintegy belső szerkezeti sajátosságai közötti eltéréseket vizsgáljuk, illetve azokat a művelődésbeli s pályaválasztási eltéréseket, melyek a kétfajta iskolai hálózathoz kikerült diplomásokat és egyéb képzeteket némely tekintetben igen radikálisan megkülönböztetni engedik.

A szerkezeti különbségek között elsősorban az intézmények fenntartóinak eltérő jellegzetességeit kell említeni. Ezek természetesen csak elemi és középiskolai szinten érvényesülhettek, hiszen a magyar felsőoktatás már gyakorlatilag Mária Terézia alatt a jezsuiták nagyszombati egyetemének államosítása (és a rend feloszlatása, 1773), majd az első *ratio educationis* (1777) óta állami kézben volt - s kivételektől eltekintve – ez a helyzet máig sem változott. Tárgyalt korszakunkban a kivételek néhány vidéki intézményre korlátozódtak. Ezek között voltak a kiegyezés előtt alapított s akkor még fontos, de az idővel egyre kisebb tömegű diákságot mozgósító egyházi jogakadémiák és – értelemszerűen - a különböző egyházak papképző teológiai főiskolái. Az egyházi jogakadémiák hallgatóssága, marginálisan ugyan, de a régi rendszer végéig sajátos színezetű részlegét képezte a honi jurátusságnak : 1895/6-ban az összes joghallgató mintegy 18 %-ával,³⁹ 1910/11-ben 14 %-ával⁴⁰, 1934/5-ben 12 %-ával (miután a trianoni országban állami jogakadémiák már nem működtek)⁴¹, 1941/2-ben ismét 16 %-ával (második fél éves hallgatók).⁴² De a teológiákra is csak részben állt a felekezeti önállóság, hiszen a budapesti egyetem katolikus hittani kara – akárcsak a premodern korban alapított hasonló európai egyetemek nagyrésztében, sokáig még a forradalom után messzemenően szekularizált Franciaországban is (itt 1885-ig) – szintén állami intézményként fungált. Hasonlóképp állami alapítású a neológ zsidóság budapesti Rabbiképző Intézete (1877). De Trianon után az állami egyetemekhez csatolták külön karok formájában az evangélikus teológiát (Sopron-i székhellyel, de a Pécsi Egyetem keretében) illetve a Debreceni református Kollégium

³⁶ L. Karády Viktor, „A numerus clausus és a zsidó értelmiség”, in *Iskolarendszer és felekezeti egyenlőtlenségek Magyarországon (1867-1945)*, Budapest, Replika Könyvek, 1997, 235-245 oldal.

³⁷ L. Elekes Dezső, id. mű, 47. oldal.

³⁸ *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1942, 233 oldal.

³⁹ *A Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* 1896, 395. oldalán lévő adatok szerint.

⁴⁰ *A Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* 1910, 385. oldal adatai szerint.

⁴¹ *A Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* 1935, 321. oldal adatai szerint.

⁴² *A Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* 1942, 233. oldalának adatai szerint.

teológiáját. A felső szakoktatás szintjén tehát Magyarországon az állami intézmények monopóliuma a legutóbbi (1989 utáni) időkig ezzel végig majdnem teljes maradt.

Nem így az alsóbb iskoláztatás intézményrendszere mely, tudjuk, történelmileg kizárólag egyházi alapítású volt s bár az első *Ratio educationis* óta az állam egyre inkább meghatározta működési feltételeiket, a kiegyezésig majdnem teljesen egyházi felügyelet alatt is maradt. 1868/9-ben még állami elemi nem volt és az ország 13948 elemi iskolájából közel 96 %-ot a felekezetek működtettek.⁴³ Ekkoriban az országban mindössze néhány újonnan alapított állami reáliskolát találni, de közületi gimnázium még egyáltalán nem létezett.⁴⁴ Az első 'császári-királyi állami gimnáziumot' ugyan hivatalosan már az abszolutizmus alatt (1858-ban, Pesten) megalapították, de mivel a katolikus Tanulmányi Alapból tartották fenn, ennek is katolikus jellege maradt 1897-ig.⁴⁵ A későbbi pesti 'mintagimnázium' megjelenésével (1872) vette aztán kezdetét a közületi gimnáziumi hálózat kifejlesztése.⁴⁶ Az alsóbb intézményhálózatok fokozatos (bár a régi rendszer végéig teljessé nem váló) államosítása tehát tulajdonképpen a tárgyalásunk alá tartozó korban ment végbe. Ez a fejlődés azért kell, hogy érdekeljen minket, mivel az állami intézményhálózat kiépülése, illetve a meglévő iskolák részleges államosítása területileg igencsak differenciált folyamatnak bizonyult. Röviden, vidéken erősen megmaradt az egyházi intézmények túlsúlya, míg Budapesten a kiegyezés óta már elsősorban a közületi (állami és községi) vagy kisképzés az egyéb nem egyházi (egyesületi és magán) intézmények uralták az egész iskolai piacot.

Elemi szinten a folyamat könnyen leírható. A kiegyezés után, illetve közvetlenül az 1868-as népiskolai törvény következtében a zömmel katolikus fővárosi elemi iskolai hálózat városi kezelésbe került. „Pest sz. királyi város képviselőtestülete már 10 nappal a törvény kihirdetése után, 1868 dec. 17-én tartott közgyűlésén kimondotta, hogy a város iskolái többé nem róm. kat. felekezetiek, hanem községiak.”⁴⁷ Az ehhez nemsokára csatlakozó felsőbb népiskolákat, illetve a polgári iskolákat már eleve túlnyomó részt a főváros szervezte meg. Mindez megalapozta a fővárosi népiskolai piacnak a régi rendszer végéig fennmaradt közületi dominanciáját. 1900/1901-ben a 208 budapesti 'népiskolából' (köztük 29 polgári iskola) nem kevesebb, mint 77 % közületi (köztük 156 egyenesen községi) és 7 % egyesületi vagy magán jellegű volt, szemben 13 római katolikus, 9 izraelita, 6 evangélikus és 2-2 református illetve görög keleti iskolával.⁴⁸ Vidéken ekkoriban a 16938 'népiskolából' csak 3293, azaz 19 % volt közületi és mindössze 1,6 % egyéb nem egyházi intézmény.⁴⁹ A világháborúk közötti időszakban ezek az arányok csak kissé módosultak, főképp a Klebelsberg-féle állami beruházások révén, melyek azonban majdnem kizárólag a vidéki elemi iskolai hálózatot erősítették meg. 1934/5-ben a 180 budapesti elemiből még mindig 82 % (71 % közületi és 11 % más) nem felekezeti kezelésű volt,⁵⁰ míg vidéken továbbra is az egyházi iskoláknak jutott a fő szerep az intézményhálózat 69 %-a erejéig.⁵¹ Magán Budapesten a világháborúk közötti években csupán néhány újabb római katolikus elemi megjelenése figyelemre méltó. Ez minden bizonnyal a militáns katolicizmus térhódításának s főképp a zsenge női lelkek felekezeti domesztikációjára tett kísérletnek felelt meg, hiszen a fővárosi katolikus iskolák publikumának túlnyomó része (1939/40-ben nem kevesebb, mint 84 %-a⁵²) lány volt, ami a többi felekezeti iskolára nézve nem bizonyult jellemzőnek.

⁴³ *Magyar statisztikai közlemények*, 31, 27* oldal.

⁴⁴ L. Mészáros István, id. mű, 298 oldal.

⁴⁵ U.o. 163. oldal.

⁴⁶ U.o. 164. oldal.

⁴⁷ *Magyar statisztikai közlemények*, 31, 29* oldal.

⁴⁸ *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1901, 318. oldal.

⁴⁹ U.o. 320-321 oldal.

⁵⁰ *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1935, 298. oldal adatai alapján.

⁵¹ L. u.o.

⁵² A *Budapest székesfőváros statisztikai évkönyve*, 1940, 600. oldal alapján.

Megjegyzendő, hogy bár a zsidó elemik száma a világháborúk közötti években nem nőtt, az ezeket frekventáló közönség számaránya tetemesen megemelkedett a fasizálódás és az antiszemita hisztéria erőre kapása során. Míg 1925/6-ban a fővárosi zsidó iskolakötelezetteknek még csak 23 %-a járt felekezeti elemibe⁵³, 1942/43-ra ez az arány már 39 %-ra emelkedett.⁵⁴

Nem kevésbé látványosnak tekinthető a közületi intézmények túlsúlya a főváros középiskolai piacán a dualista kortól kezdődően. Míg 1890-ben még csak 7 közületi gimnázium és reáliskola állt az 5 felekezettel szemben,⁵⁵ 1917-18-ban már 18 mindössze héttel szemben.⁵⁶ A lányközépiskolák megszervezésével az első világháború körüli években rohamosan megnőtt a fővárosi középiskolai hálózat, 1924/25-re már 13 felekezeti és 27 közületi illetve más nem egyházi intézménnyel.⁵⁷ Ugyan a 'neobarokk társadalom' újraklerikalizálódása Budapesten újabb katolikus középiskolák nyitását is eredményezi, az államosítás előtti 1947/48-as iskolaévben a 48 fővárosi középiskolának továbbra is csak kisebbsége (40 %) volt felekezeti kezelésben.⁵⁸ E tekintetben a vidékkel való kontraszt messzemenően fennmaradt a régi rendszer végéig, habár ott is megtörtént a közületi, főképp az állami középiskolák fokozatos térnyerése. 1932/3-ban például a 117 vidéki középiskola közül (fiú- és lánygimnáziumok, reálgimnáziumok, reáliskolák és líceumok együtt) 55 % még felekezeti kezelésben működött.⁵⁹

Igen szignifikáns különbségek figyelhetők meg a budapesti és vidéki iskolák belső 'promóciós' képességében s erre nézve az iskolarendszer minden szintjén összefüggő és egyöntetű jelzések felett rendelkezünk. Ezek szerint a fővárosi intézmények diáksága a vidékinél lényegesen nagyobb arányban jutott el a diplomáig vagy az érintett tanulmányi ciklus végéig. Az ilyen jellegű mérések mögött persze nemcsak a fővárosi iskolák közönségének alacsonyabb lemorzsolódási rátája áll, hanem alkalom adtán egyes budapesti iskolák felé való 'iskolai bevándorlás' vagy egyenesen 'felvándorlás' is a tanulmányi ciklusok magasabb grádicsain.

Az effajta vándorlási többlet az elemi iskoláztatásban csak gyengén érezthette hatását, hiszen a gyermekkorú iskolakötelezettek kevéssé voltak annak kitéve, hogy az elemi iskolai tanulmányok esetlegesen igényesebb intézményben való abszolválása végett szüleik őket vidékről egy fővárosi iskolába telepítsék át. Külvárosokból viszont már nem lehetett ritka a 'bejárás', főképp nem az előrehaladottabb tankötelezettségi korban (polgáriba, tanonciskolába, stb.). Erre egyenes bizonyítéknak tűnik az a tény, hogy például 1930/31-ben a törvényhatóságú jogú városokban mindenütt többen (105,6 % erejéig) jártak iskolába, mint ahány helyi tankötelest összeszámoltak, míg a megyékben az iskolaköteleseknek csak 88,5 %-át lehetett az iskolákban ténylegesen fellelni.⁶⁰ Az alsóbb elemi iskolásoknál szintén magasabb a városokban a beiskolázási ráta (95,8 %) mint a vármegyékben (92 %), és néha (Győrött, Sopronban, Pécsen) több a beiratkozott tanuló mint a tanköteles,⁶¹ ez azonban ritkán fordul elő. Persze ebben az összefüggésben nem lehet elhanyagolni a nyers (nem kifejezetten az iskolázást célzó) vándorlási többletet, mely egyes túrurbanizált etnikai csoportokban – Magyarországon a zsidóságban – statisztikailag is kimutathatók. Az a tény, hogy Budapesten például 1907/8-ban valamivel több zsidó elemista

⁵³ U.o. 1926, 436 oldal adatai szerint.

⁵⁴ U.o. 1943, 228 oldal adatai alapján.

⁵⁵ U.o. 309. oldal.

⁵⁶ U.o. 321. oldal.

⁵⁷ U.o. 326. oldal.

⁵⁸ U.o. 335. oldal.

⁵⁹ L. Asztalos Sándor, *A magyar középiskolák statisztikája az 1932/33 tanévig*, Magyar statisztikai közlemények 91, (Budapest, 1934), 53-57 oldal.

⁶⁰ *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1931, 252. oldal.

⁶¹ U.o. 251. oldal.

volt a 4. osztályban (3112), mint az 1.-ben (3080), csakis bevándorlási többlettel magyarázható.⁶² Ez a jelenség mégis inkább kivételes, a szabály az elemista osztályok közötti többé-kevésbé masszív lemorzsolódás maradt. Egyes - igaz történelmileg behatárolt jelzések szerint - éppen az elemi elvégzésének esélyeire nézve találhatók a legdrasztikusabb eltéréseket Budapest és vidék között. Ha összevetjük például az 1904/5-ös év 1. osztályosainak számát a négy évvel későbbi negyedik osztályos elemistákéval, akkor a fiúknál az utóbbiakra nézve 87,5 %-ot, a lányoknál 83,9 %-ot találunk a fővárosban. Ezzel szemben vidéken a megfelelő arányok a vármegyékben mindössze 52,9 %-ot tettek ki a fiúknál és 51,4 %-ot a lányoknál, a vidéki városokban pedig 68,4 %-ot és 66,8 %-ot.⁶³ Az így mért 'lemorzsolódási ráta' fényesen bizonyítja az iskolahasználat markáns területi sajátosságait. Míg a fővárosban az utolsó századelőn induló elemisták túlnyomó része láthatóan be is fejezte tanulmányait (különösen, ha az osztálylétszámok közötti eltérésbe gondolatban az e korban még nem jelentéktelen gyermekkori halandóságot is számba vesszük), s feltehetőleg pl. megtanult írni és olvasni, addig vidéken az elemisták közel többségi részlegére ez nem mondható el.

Ha az elemi szintjén a lemorzsolódási egyenlőtlenségek ilyen döntően megkülönböztetik a fővárosi és vidéki tanulók esély-elvárásait, ugyanez szintén kimutatható – ha sokkal halványabban is - a középiskolázásban egyes, itt is történelmileg behatárolt (tehát talán nem általánosítható) jelzések alapján. 1932/3-ban például Budapesten a gimnáziumi és reálgimnáziumi érettségizők számaránya az összes tanuló 10,8 %-a volt, míg vidéken csak 9,2 %. Az ekkoriban már kihalóban lévő reáliskolai hálózatban a megfelelő eltérés sokkal kisebbnek, de ugyanolyan értelműnek bizonyult (9,8 % szemben a vidéki 9,6 %-kal).⁶⁴ Ez a becslés ugyan nem olyan pontos, mint az elemikre vonatkozó, mivel itt az 'induló' osztályok 'érkezési' esélyeit igencsak közvetve tudtuk megállapítani. Így is valószínűsíthető, hogy a világháborúk közötti években a budapesti középiskolások vidéki társaiknál gyakrabban jutottak el az egyetemi polgárság előszobáját jelentő érettségig.

Amikor eljutottak azonban, előnyeik további tanulmányaik során is érvényt nyertek, amennyiben a fővárosi fakultások hallgatói gyorsabban, illetve a vidékiekéénél lényegesen nagyobb arányban diplomáztak, illetve jutottak el hallgatói pályájuk végére (a negyedik, illetve – medikusoknál – az ötödik évfolyamba). Mindenekelőtt a fővárosi tudományegyetem hallgatóinak valamivel nagyobb többsége kezdte el tanulmányait rögtön az érettségi évében (1935/6 és 1941/2 között 62 %-uk) mint vidéki társaik (57 %).⁶⁵ Mihelyt beiratkoztak, bár az évfolyamokban való előre haladás során számuk a lemorzsolódások, év- és vizsgahalasztások következtében állandóan és jelentősen csökkent, a budapestiek mégis többen (az 1929/30 és 1937/38 között tudományegyetemre iratkoztak közül 51,8 %) jutottak négy év után a normális tanulmányi pályának megfelelő negyedik évfolyamba, mint vidéki társaik (45,3 %).⁶⁶

De a jelzések szerint tanulmányi választásaik is elég markánsan elkülönítették a fővárosi és vidéki érettségizetteket, ami azt mutatja, hogy a fővárosból származó értelmiség érvényesülési stratégiái jelentősen eltértek a többiekétől. Itt nem tárgyalhatjuk a magyar statisztikai apparátus által látszólag pontosan gyűjtött (s a nemzetközi szakirodalomban párját ritkító) pályaválasztási adatok sajátos és sokrétű

⁶² Budapest Székesfőváros statisztikai közleményei, 48, 60* oldal.

⁶³ Magyar statisztikai közlemények, 31, 190, 194, 206 és 210. oldalainak adatai alapján.

⁶⁴ Asztalos Sándor, id. mű. 53-56. oldalain található adatok alapján számított értékek.

⁶⁵ A Magyar statisztikai évkönyvek megfelelő éveiből gyűjtött adatok szerinti számítás.

⁶⁶ U.o.

értelmezési nehézségeit, nevezetesen a bevallott pályatervek és a megvalósított továbbtanulási stratégiák közötti eltéréseket.⁶⁷ Tekintsük tehát adatainkat előzetes elképzeléseknek vagy akár csak szakmai vágyaknak s csupán hozzávetőleges illusztráció gyanánt hozzuk fel a századelő éveire nézve néhány idevágó információt. A 2. táblázat fő tanulságait úgy lehet összefoglalni,

2. táblázat. Az érettségizők pályatervei az érettségi helye szerint (1901-1906)⁶⁸

	Budapesten	vidéken
Hittudomány	2,0	15,6
Jog	27,9	24,0
Orvosi	7,8	8,2
Bölcész	10,8	9,9
műegyetem	17,5	9,0
mezőgazdasági	5,3	5,9
erdő vagy bányamérnöki	1,4	2,9
ipari, kereskedelmi	4,3	3,1
katonai	2,8	6,9
művészeti	3,9	0,9
egyéb tanulmányok	16,3	13,6
összesen	100,0	100,0
nyers szám	4503	20 385

hogy a budapesti érettségizők pályatervei globálisan sokkal modernebbek voltak, amennyiben elhanyagolták a leghagyományosabb középosztályi pályákat (papság, katonaság, erdő- és bányamérnökség) s ezek helyett a műegyetem, a szabad művészeti szakmák és a többi szakképzési terület kerültek előtérbe. Igaz, a három legfontosabb értelmiségi választás, a jogászság, az orvosi pálya és a bölcészet (tanárság) mindkét érettségiző csoportnál közel egyforma súllyal szerepel. Az eltérések inkább csak a többenél érvényesülnek, de ott eléggé látványosan.

A tanulmányi választások eltérései minden bizonnyal egyik (bár talán nem a legdöntőbb) tényezőjét képviselik a fővárosi és vidéki egyetemisták előképzettségében megfigyelhető igen jelentős *színvonalbeli* különbszetnek. Míg a budapesti tudományegyetemre ritkán került be (1931/2 és 1937/8 között mindössze 27-32 %-ban, változóan az évek szerint) elégségesen érett hallgató, addig vidéken ez az arány a felvettek felét is elérte (Debrecenben 46% és 53 % között ingadozva a jelzett években), illetve rendre többségi volt (Pécsett 48 % és 63 % közötti, Szegeden egyenesen 54 % és 62 % közötti ingadozással).⁶⁹ Pontosabb mérésekkel 1928/9 és 1941/2 között kiszámíthatjuk a különböző egyetemekre felvett elsőévesek érettségi átlagjegyeit. Ezek szerint a budapesti tudományegyetem átlagosan 1,99-es eredménnyel vette fel hallgatóit, szemben a Debrecen-i egyetemre bekerülők 2,32-es, a Pécs-i 2,46-os és a Szeged-i 2,43-as átlagával.⁷⁰ Ezek már nagyságrendi különbségek, melyek értelmezéséhez számba kell venni az egyetemek

⁶⁷ Erre nézve l. Szandtner Pál, *Érettségizőink számának és pályaválasztásának fontosabb kultúr- és szociálpolitikai tanulságai*, Budapest, Szent István Akadémia, 1933.

⁶⁸ A *Magyar statisztikai évkönyvek* megfelelő éveiből gyűjtött adatok szerinti számítás.

⁶⁹ L. Ladányi Andor, *A gazdasági válságtól a háborúig, a magyar felsőoktatás az 1930-as években*, Budapest, Argumentum, 2002, 45 oldal.

⁷⁰ A *Magyar statisztikai évkönyvek* idevágó adataiból számított átlagok. A jeles érettségizők a korabeli szokás szerint 1, a jól érettek 2, az elégséges érettek 3 pontot kaptak a számítás skáláján. Így az átlagjegy annál jobb, minél alacsonyabb, azaz közelebb van az 1-hez. 1939/40-re és 1940/41-re nem találtam adatot.

szimbolikus hierarchiában elfoglalt helyérték, az újabb vagy régebbi intézményes lét, a kisebb és nagyobb alma mater s a történelmileg felhalmozott intellektuális tőke hatásmechanizmusait (nevezetesen vonzerejét) az egyetemi kínálat oldalán, de az országban megmutatkozó tanulmányi kereslet lokalizálását is (például a vidéki érettségizettek érettségi teljesítményeinek a fővárosiaktól való eltéréseit), valamint az egyes intézményeknek esetenként változó felvételi politikáját, melynek számbeli kereteit a *numerus clausus* általános keretszámai e korban sajátos erővel határozták meg. Mindenesetre egyértelmű, hogy a fővárosi tudományegyetem sokkal erősebb 'minőségi szelekcióval' válogatta ki diákjait mint a vidéki testvérintézmények. Ezek az adatok is hozzájárulnak a fentebbi jelzések tanulságainak megerősítéséhez, mely szerint a fővárosi diákság képviselte az eminens érettségizettek túlnyomó részét. Ez utóbbi megállapítás szó szerint értendő s könnyen demonstrálható. A fenti számítások szerint az 1928/29 és 1941/42 között a tudományegyetemre felvett jeles vagy kitűnő rendű diákok nem kevesebb, mint 69 %-a a fővárosban kezdte tanulmányait, míg az elégséges rendűeknek mindössze 38 %-a. És ekkor még nem szóltunk a többi fővárosi intézmény rekrutációs politikájáról, mely valósággal lefölözte az eminens diákság tanulmányi keresletét. A pesti Műegyetem például a Pázmány tudományegyetemmel egy szinten, 1,98-as érettségi jegyátlaggal vette föl 1928/29 és 1942/43 között hallgatóit.⁷¹

Az ilyen objektívált 'minőségi túlsúly' fényében nem meglepő, hogy a fővárosi diákság egyéb jellemzői is azt mutatják, hogy ez az értelmiségi elit jegyeit kiemelten hordozta. Magyarországon ennek egyik legfontosabb kritériuma a régi rendszerben (s részben azután is) az ún. kultúrnyelvek ismerete volt. Márpedig a nyelvismereti skálán ugyanúgy szembeállíthatók a pesti és a vidéki egyetemek, mint az érettségi kitűnőség számléraján. 1930/31 és 1941/42 között⁷² a budapesti tudományegyetem minden hallgatójára átlagosan 1,98, a Műegyetem diákjaira 1,88 ismert nyelv esett (az anyanyelvet is beszámítva⁷³). A nyelvtudásra vonatkozó azonos módon számolt jelzés a vidéki egyetemeken összesítve csak 1,58 volt : Debrecenben 1,46, Pécsen 1,60 és Szegeden 1,66). A budapesti diákságnak csak kisebbsége – a tudományegyetemen 42,6 %-a, a Műegyetemen 46,9 %-a – nem beszélt idegen nyelvet, míg vidéken éppen fordítva a többség egynyelvű volt : Debrecenben 68,7 %, Pécsen 58,7 %, Szegeden 57,6 % erejéig.⁷⁴

Végül magukra az egyetemek személyzetére nézve idézzünk egyetlen mutatót, amely ismét az előbbi jelzések értelemben engedi szembeállítani a fővárosi és a vidéki felsőoktatás szerkezetét, illetve ennek az oktatási kínálat gazdagságát is meghatározó jellemzőit. A magántanárok számáról és a tanári karban elfoglalt helyükről van szó. Tekintve, hogy a tudományszakoknak az egyetemi karokban leképzett mindenkor kanonizált beosztás szerint meghatározott alaptárgyait minden egyetemen és minden karon a megfelelő tanszékek keretében tanították s ezek élén egy kinevezett 'rendes' (kivételesen egy 'rendkívüli') tanár állt, ez eleve megszabta a 'rendes' tanárok s ezek asszisztenciája (tanársegédek, adjunktusok) minimális számát. E tekintetben nem lehetett nagyobb eltérés a kisebb (vidéki) és nagyobb (fővárosi) intézmények között. Ténylegesen például 1910-ben a fővárosi tudományegyetemnél kevesebb mint harmadannyi diákot (2307-et 7479-el szemben) képző kolozsvári alma materben fele annyi 'rendes' tanár volt (50 szemben 101-gyel) s így egy diákra sokkal kevesebb diák is jutott (46 szemben 74-gyel). Viszont Kolozsváron az előadást hirdető magántanárok száma a pestieknek csak töredékét képezte (40 szemben 153-

⁷¹ Ugyanaz a forrás. Az 1940/41-es évre nincs adat.

⁷² 1938/39-re és 1939/40-re nincs adat.

⁷³ Minden érintett annyi pontot kapott az átlagszámításhoz, amennyi nyelv ismeretét bejelentette, tehát a csak anyanyelvet beszélők 1-et, az egy idegen nyelvet is tudók 2-t, stb. A 4 vagy több idegen nyelvet deklarálnak 5,5 pontot adtunk.

⁷⁴ A *Magyar statisztikai évkönyvek* megfelelő éves adataiból számolt jelzések.

mal).⁷⁵ Ezek az arányok jellegükben nem változtak a vidéki tudományegyetem-hálózat kiépülésével. 1941/42-ben, amikor az országban a Kolozsvár-i magyar univerzitás újraalapításával immár öt tudományegyetem működött, a vidéki 'rendes' egyetemi tanárok száma (180) alig volt kevesebb, mint a két budapesti egyetemen (99 a Pázmányon és 92 a Műegyetemen). A magántanárok száma viszont a fővárosban (222 a Pázmányon és 116 a Műegyetemen) együttvéve a vidékieknek több mint háromszorosát tette ki (338 szemben a vidéki 105-tel).⁷⁶ Márpedig a régi egyetemeken a szakosodás, új szakkollégiumok és tudományágak bevezetése s általában a kanonizált tananyagok felfrissítése, megújítása gyakran a magántanári előadásokban valósult meg. A magántanárság nemcsak az államilag dotált 'rendes' és 'rendkívüli' előadók intézményes szelekciós bázisát képezte, de a magántanárok száma és tevékenysége a fakultások tudományos tőkájének s ebből származó intellektuális tekintélyének is egyik fő forrásául szolgált. Az így leírt kontraszt jól érzékelteti a fővárosi és vidéki intézmények közötti szellemi munkamegosztás két pólusát: a pesti egyetemek tendenciálisan az országos főiskolai piacnak mintegy 'tudományos pólusát' alkották, míg vidéki megfelelőik inkább csak egyfajta, az alapképzésre beállított 'kiszolgáló pólust'

Ezek után, az iskolai kereslet és kínálat 'minőségét' illetve 'szerkezetét' érintő területi egyenlőtlenségek bemutatása után, meg kell kísérelni az iskolai piac működési mechanizmusai mögött azonosítani azokat a társadalmi erő és érdekviszonyokat – elsősorban az iskolai kereslet csoportosajátos jellemzőit, amelyek a főváros mennyiségi és minőségi túlsúlyát az országos iskolai piacon értelmezni engedik.

Társadalomszerkezet és iskolai funkciók

Tételszerűen azt lehet előre bocsátani, hogy a főváros prominens helyzete az iskoláztatás különböző szintű piacain messzemenően a budapesti társadalom által indukált iskolai kereslet függvénye volt. Itt elsősorban a fővárosban mindig is – legalábbis a rendiség bukását követő modernizáció kezdete óta – koncentrált művelt középosztályi rétegek iskolai önreprodukciójáról van szó. Persze a fővárosi iskolákat, akárcsak a többi városi iskolát – különösen, ahogy ez már fentebb említést nyert, az egyetemeket, szakfőiskolákat és kisebb részt a középiskolákat – nem csak helyi közönség használta. Mégis, s ez még a trianoni országban is kimutatható, a fővárosi egyetemek mutatták fel (már a fővárosi lakosság népességi súlyánál fogva is) a vidékiekkel szemben a legnagyobb mértékű helyi rekrutációt. 1941/42-ben például, a vidéki főiskolai hálózat eleddig egyedülálló felduzzasztása idején, a budapesti tudományegyetem hallgatói szüleinek 42 %-a és a műegyeteméinek 32 %-a helyi lakos volt, szemben a vidéki egyetemi diákság helyi illetőségű 23 %-ával.⁷⁷ Az is feltételezhető a fentebb bemutatott adatokból a fővárosi iskolák magasabb eredményességi rátáiból illetve a diákság viszonylagos intellektuális túlszelektálásából, hogy a 'felvándorló' diákkereslet maga is túlszelektált lehetett (pl. ami a legjobb érettségizőket illeti). Érthető, hogy az ilyenfajta rekrutációs kitűnőség az ország legmodernebb középosztályi rétegeiből sokféle (itt minden részletében nem is elemezhető) szállal kapcsolódott a fővárosi iskolai piac szerkezeti sajátosságaihoz. A továbbiakban tehát a budapesti iskolák sajátos társadalmi bázisát kísérlem meg néhány objektív indikátor segítségével körülírni.

Előzetesen is hangsúlyozni kell azonban, hogy a fővárosi társadalom lentebb tárgyalandó csoportosajátos jellemzői távolról sem a helyi iskolai hálózattól független változók. Az értelmiség magas arányai, az idegen nyelvtudás elterjedtsége, az

⁷⁵ *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1910, 385. oldal.

⁷⁶ U.o. 1942, 227. oldal.

⁷⁷ A számítás forrását l. *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1942, 23. oldal.

általában magas iskolázottsági ráta, a neológ zsidóság fajlagos súlya a helyi társadalomban, a nők koncentrációja a helyi magas iskolázás intézményeiben mind egymást támogató, kölcsönösen erősítő, mintegy körkörös determináción alapuló összefüggések, de egyben a helyi iskolai hálózat kínálati sajátosságaival – pl. oktatásbeli igényességével, szekularizáltságával, 'modernségével' is összefüggtek.

A fővárosi népesség foglalkozási szerkezete mindenekelőtt annyiban bővítette a hosszú iskolázás keresletét, hogy majdnem teljesen hiányzott belőle a szakmai és iskolai mobilitási stratégiáktól legidegenebb s ugyanakkor a régi rendszer végéig többségi réteg, a parasztság. Ennek a negatív meghatározottságnak a hiánya a gyors urbanizáció 19. századi kezdeteitől fogva összekapcsolódott a középosztályi, illetve kifejezetten értelmiségi csoportok viszonylag magas képviseltségével, ami nyilvánvalóan a főváros adminisztratív és gazdasági funkcióinak állandó növekedését tükrözte. Már 1890-ben a budapesti aktív népesség 2,8 %-át képviselik a széles értelemben vett 'értelmiségiek' (beleértve a közalkalmazottakat és a szabadfoglalkozásúakat), szemben az országos 0,8 %-os aránnyal. De a tudományok, a művészetek, az irodalom és más alkotó vagy szervező értelmiségi foglalkozások művelői (mint a közérdekű intézmények és emberbaráti társaságok alkalmazottjai) között a budapestiek az összes kerek egy harmadát tették ki.⁷⁸ A művelt középosztályi kategóriák túlképviseltsége a város növekedésével, rohamos iparosodásával és az állami adminisztráció térnyerésével egyre emelkedett. A trianoni ország fővárosában már az ország közszolgálatának és a szabadfoglalkozásoknak 28,5 %-a tevékenykedett, az ügyvédek fele, a nevelők, korrepetitorok 57 %-a, a magánmérnökök 67 %-a, az orvosok 45 %-a, az állami tisztviselők 49 %-a.⁷⁹

Nem meglepő, hogy az igazolt műveltségük révén maguknak középosztályi státuszt biztosító rétegek viszonylag tömeges jelenléte a fővárosi népesség iskolázottsági szintjét messze a vidéki népesség fölé emelte. Akár fővárosi honosak és itt iskolázottak, akár tevékenységük végzése végett bevándoroltak voltak, 1910-ben a budapesti férfi lakosság 24 évet meghaladó minden korcsoportjának átlagosan egy hatoda a nyolc osztályú középiskolának megfelelő vagy e feletti iskolázottsággal rendelkezett: a 25-34 évesek között 18,6 %, de a 60 év felettek között is 18 % volt az érettségi szintű műveltséggel bírók aránya.⁸⁰ Ha a legalább négy középiskolai osztálynak megfelelő képzettségüket vesszük számba, ami a korban már a 'nadrágos ember' minimális kritériuma volt, közel egyharmados (az évcsoportok szerint 28-31 %) arányt kapunk. Igaz egyes vidéki városokban is találunk e korban hasonló szintű műveltségi rátákat, de a városokon kívül sehol. 1930-ban Budapesten élt az összes érettségizett vagy főiskolát végzett népesség 44-45 %-a.⁸¹ Így, ha a budapesti művelt rétegek számarányban nem is tűntek ki az ország többi urbanizált népességéből, összességükben egy olyan páratlanul nagy, helyileg koncentrált kritikus tömeget képviseltek, hogy önreprodukciós igényeik közvetlenül hathattak az őket kiszolgáló iskolai kínálatra.

Ennek a műveltségi többletnek egyik, a főiskolások esetében már tárgyalt, igen lényeges minőségi összetevője volt az idegen nyelvek ismerete. Magyarországon a német volt a feudalizmus utáni modernizációs korszak legfőbb kultúrnyelve. Ezt Budapesten még 1930-ban is, a város teljes elmagyarosodása után is, több, mint kétszer olyan gyakran (a népesség 38 %-a erejéig) beszéltek mint vidéken (ahol csak 15 %). Míg vidéken a többi nyugati nyelv ismerete egészen ritkán fordult elő (a népesség 1 százaléka alatti arányban), a budapestiek 5,9 %-a franciául is, 3,5 %-a angolul is és 1,3 %-a

⁷⁸ *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1894, 285-286. oldal.

⁷⁹ L. Elekes Dezső, id. mű., 21-22. oldal.

⁸⁰ Nagy Péter Tibor kiadatlan kutatási eredményei szerint az 1910-es népszámlálás levéltári anyagán.

⁸¹ Elekes Dezső, id. mű., 19 oldal.

olaszul is tudott.⁸² Ezek az aránykülönbségek jól emlékeztetnek s főiskolások nyelvi kompetenciájára vonatkozó **fejtegetéseinkre**. Nyilvánvaló, hogy a konkrét nyelvtudás és az idegen nyelvek ismeretére vonatkozó igény a középosztályi családok egyik lényeges kulturális örökségét képezte, amely nemzedékeken át (egészen a kommunista 'népi káderek' megjelenéséig, de minden bizonnyal még annál is tovább) messzemenően elkülönítette a mindenkori 'régi' és az 'új' értelmiséget, nem beszélve arról, hogy a 19. századi 'új' értelmiségen belül is számottevő cezurát vont az allogén háttérűek (zsidók, németek, stb.) – akik sokkal erősebben igényelték és birtokolták is az idegen nyelvi kultúrát - és a többiek között.

De a főváros iskolai közönségének jellemzői között sajátos szerepet játszott a nők korai megjelenése és viszonylag gyors 'térhódítása', ami vidéken a régi rendszer végéig csak igen mérsékelten figyelhető meg. Az iskolai közönségek elnöiesedése az intézményhierarchia alsó grádicsain természetesen sokkal gyorsabban zajlott le, mint a felsőbb oktatásban, de mindenütt látványos e téren a főváros korai előretörése és a vidék kései és sokkal lassabb ütemű felzárkózása. Ennek persze egyik objektív összetevőjét a nők gazdasági aktivizálódásának regionális eltéréseiben lehet megragadni. Igaz, hogy a mezőgazdaságban a háztáji 'besegítő' női aktivitást az adatok nagyon pontatlanul regisztrálták, amennyiben a paraszti gazdaságokban tevékenykedő családtagokat a statisztikák nem tekintették 'keresőknek'. De a hivatalosan elismert 'keresők' között 1930-ra már nyilvánvaló, hogy ezeknek sokkal nagyobb százaléka (20,8 %) élt Budapesten, mint ahogy erre a fővárosi lakosság országos arányából (11,6 %) következtetni lehetett volna.⁸³ Ha a fővárosi női 'keresőknek' jelentős hányada vidéki házicseléd is volt, hiszen az összes magyarországi házicseléd harmad része (33 %) Budapesten talált alkalmazást⁸⁴ s a többiek nagy része egyebütt a városokban, a főváros a többi, modernebb női alkalmazási területeken is élen járt. A 'polgári és egyházi közszolgálathoz és az ú. n. szabadfoglalkozásokhoz' tartozó kereső nők 20 %-a már az 1900-as népszámlálás szerint is budapesti volt.⁸⁵ A trianoni országban (1920) a főváros ugyanennek a női 'értelmiségi' kategóriának már 44 %-át koncentrált (minden bizonnyal a középosztálybeli menekült nőkkel együtt)⁸⁶, és – az összeomlást követő konszolidáció után - 1930-ban is 40 %-át⁸⁷ - amikor az összes keresőnek mindössze 14,3 %-a élt Budapesten.⁸⁸

Az értelmiségi vagy 'félértelmiségi' (iskolázott hivatalnok) alkalmazásban lévő aktív nők budapesti túlreprezentációját jól tükrözik a **nők iskolázottságára** és **műveltségére** vonatkozó információk. Már 1910-ben a 25-40 év közötti fővárosi nők egy ötöde legalább négy középiskolai osztálynak megfelelő műveltséggel rendelkezett.⁸⁹ Ez a korabeli vidéki városok átlagában még Nyugat-Magyarországon is sokkal alacsonyabb volt, például mind a Dunántúlon,⁹⁰ mind Nyugat-Szlovákiában⁹¹ 14 %, a két Erdélyi nagyvárosban, Kolozsvárott és Marosvásárhelyen 17 %.⁹² 1930-ban már a főiskolát végzett nők abszolút

⁸² U.o. 20. oldal.

⁸³ Elekes Dezső, id. mű., 22. oldal.

⁸⁴ U.o. 21. oldal.

⁸⁵ A *Magyar statisztika közlemények* 15, 42. és 46. oldal adatai szerinti számítás.

⁸⁶ A *Magyar statisztikai közlemények* 72, 373. oldal adatai szerint.

⁸⁷ A *Magyar statisztikai közlemények* 96, 74 oldalán lévő adatok szerint.

⁸⁸ L. a *Magyar statisztikai közlemények*, 114, 166. oldal adatait.

⁸⁹ Nagy Péter Tibor kiadatlan kutatási eredményei az 1910-es népszámlálás levéltári összesítéseiből.

⁹⁰ V. Karady, P.T. Nagy, *Educational Inequalities and Denominations – Database for Transdanubia, 1910*, II. Research Paper nr. 253, Budapest, Oktatókutatató Intézet, 2003, 231. oldal.

⁹¹ V. Karady, P.T. Nagy, *Educational Inequalities and Denominations – Database for Western Slovakia and Northern Hungary, 1910*, Budapest, John Wesley Publisher, 2004, 199. oldal.

⁹² Nagy Péter Tibor kiadatlan kutatási eredményeiből az 1910-es népszámlálás levéltári anyagán.

többsége (53,4 %) és a 8 középiskolai osztályt végzetteknek is 44,3 %-a budapesti volt,⁹³ szemben a teljes női népesség mindössze 9,6 %-ával.⁹⁴ Ezeknek a jelzéseknek fényében nem meglepő, hogy a nők társadalmi, műveltségbeli, családi, gazdasági, szexuális és egyéb szerepvállalásának 'modern' modelljei, melyek közé a magasabb iskolázás is tartozott (hol előfeltételül, hol következményképpen), elsősorban, mindenesetre legkorábban a fővárosban alakultak ki. Így értelmezhető a női iskolázottság korai fővárosi térhódítása is, melyre vonatkozóan könnyen találni egyértelműen demonstratív adatokat.

Elemi szinten a fiúk és a lányok közötti iskolázottsági egyenlőtlenségeket ugyan nyomokban még az 1930-as években is kimutathatók, de ezek már a 19. század vége óta egyre jelentéktelenebbek, különösen a városok és a vidék között továbbá is markánsabb egyenlőtlenségek mellett. Az elemi iskolázás alsó szintjén (első négy osztály) 1930-ra a tanköteles fiúk (92,6 %) és a lányok (92,3 %) közötti beiskolázási esélyegyenlőség országosan is (92,6 % szemben 92,3 %-kal), Budapesten is (95,6 % szemben 95 %-kal) gyakorlatilag megvalósult.⁹⁵ A népiskoláztatás magasabb szintjein, a 'továbbképző iskolai tanköteleseknél' azonban még nem volt ilyen kiegyensúlyozott a helyzet sem országosan (hiszen 93,3 % fiú, de csak 89,5 % lány járt ténylegesen iskolába), s különösen nem Budapesten (ahol a fiú tankötelezettekénél többen, 110,3 % erejéig jártak a helyi továbbképző osztályokba, míg a tankötelezett lányok között csak 93,8 %).⁹⁶ Ezen a szinten tehát a fővárosi lányok statisztikailag mért jobb esélyei a vidékiekkel szemben már figyelemre méltóak, de messze elmaradnak a fiúkétól, akikre vonatkozóan a jelzések – minden bizonnyal a fiúk sajátos 'bejárásai többlete' folytán – torzítva tükrözik a valóságot. Serdülő lányokat nehezebben küldtek be szüleik külvárosokból vagy vidékről egy fővárosi iskolába jobb képzés reményében, mint az azonos korú fiúkat.

Más volt a helyzet a polgárikban, ahol mindig lánytöbbség uralkodott országosan is, a fővárosban is (a női polgáristák arányai hosszú távon itt is, ott is 55-62 % között mozogván⁹⁷) és amelyek tanulói között a fővárosi polgáristák, különösen a lányok már a 19. század vége óta tetemesen túl voltak képviselve a helyi népességszámhoz viszonyítva. A nőképzés felfutásának Magyarországon a polgári iskolák hálózata biztosította legfontosabb első intézményes keretét, elsősorban a városokban, de egészen a kis mezővárosokig bezárólag. 1910-ben már nem kevesebb, mint 296 lány polgári működött, ebből 30 Budapesten.⁹⁸ Nem meglepő, hogy az elemi feletti lányképzésben a polgárik domináns szerepet töltöttek be. 1910/11-ben például Budapesten még csak 692 lány járt klasszikus középiskolába és 892 óvó- és tanítónőképzőbe (amelyhez elsősorban a polgári iskolák elvégzése vezetett), de már 10 992 polgáriban.⁹⁹ A fővárosi polgárik kiemelkedő szerepét a helyi lányközönség iskolai mozgósításában jól illusztrálják a budapesti lány polgáristák számarányai az ország összes polgárista lánya között. Ez az arány már 1900/1901-ben 25 %-ot ért el, majd 1910-ben megközelítette az egy harmadot (32,7 %), s a világháborúk között, a vidéki polgári iskolai hálózat további fejlődése mellett, valamint a női publikum részleges de fokozatos átcsoportosulásával a klasszikus középiskolákba (mely, látni fogjuk, legerőteljesebben szintén a fővárosban zajlott le) megtartotta ezt a szintet (1930-ban 31,1 %-

⁹³ A *Magyar statisztikai közlemények* 114, 228 oldal adataiból számított arány.

⁹⁴ U.o.226. oldal.

⁹⁵ *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1931, 251. oldal.

⁹⁶ U.o. 252. oldal.

⁹⁷ A *Magyar statisztikai évkönyvek* idevágó adatai és Kalmár Ella már idézett budapesti iskolai adatbázisa szerint.

⁹⁸ A polgári iskolák teljes listája után. L. *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1911, 359-362. oldal.

⁹⁹ Kalmár Ella gyűjtötte adatok, I. *Iskolák, diákok, oktatáspolitikai...*, id. mű, 184., 198. és 208. oldal.

kal).¹⁰⁰ A budapesti lány polgáristák tehát nem csak – mint a vidékiek – a fiúkkal szemben, hanem a vidékiekkel szemben is különlegesen magas túltreprezentációt mutattak fel végig a vizsgált koron.

A középiskolákban voltaképp hasonló, bár még ennél erőteljesebb fővárosi túlsúlyt eredményező fejlődést lehet megragadni – igaz, több évtizedes elcsúszással a polgár iskolázáshoz képest. Ha az ország első lány középiskoláját Eötvös József támogatásával az Országos Nőnevelő Egyesület már 1869-ben megalapította Budapesten, a lányok középiskoláztatása csak a századfordulón nyert igazi lendületet, amikor az érettségizett nők (1895-ben) jogot kaptak bizonyos felsőbb tanulmányok folytatására. Az első lányiskolai érettségit 1900-ban tartották éppen az előbb említett s 1904 után Veres Pálné Lányiskolának (később gimnáziumnak) nevezett intézményben.¹⁰¹ Ekkor indult meg az érettségit nyújtó lány középiskolák alapítása, elsősorban Budapesten, ahol a nők magasabb iskoláztatására vonatkozó modern polgári kereslet legmarkánsabban jelentkezett. Ennek folytán a sorra alakuló felsőbb lányiskolák és a középiskolázás egész női közönsége között sokáig igencsak számottevő budapesti túltreprezentációt lehet azonosítani. 1918-ig nyolc későbbi lánygimnázium alakult a fővárosban¹⁰² s a régi Magyarország összes 1917/18-ban már működő 32 lányközépiskolájából 7 Budapesten székel.¹⁰³ Ennek megfelelően 1910-ben már az összes lány középiskolás negyede (24,2 %-a) fővárosi volt.¹⁰⁴ Ez az arány a megkisebbedett Trianoni országban 1930-ra éppen a felére nőtt (49,8 %), ugyanakkor, amikor a fővárosi fiúk az összes középiskolásnak csak kerekén 30 %-át tették ki.¹⁰⁵ Az érettségihez vezető nőképzés tehát sokkal nagyobb mértékben koncentráldott Budapestre, mint az elitiskolázás egésze.

Ezek után nem meglepő, hogy még ennél erősebb budapesti koncentrációt érhetünk tetten a felsőoktatásban a 20. század első évtizedeiben, amikor az érettségizett nők – ugyan nem ellenállás, sőt (1920 után) diszkriminatív intézkedések ellenére – néhány más főiskola mellett az egyetemek bölcsész és orvosi karaira teljes jogú egyetemi hallgatókként nyerhettek felvételt. A női felső iskolázás felfutását itt csak a Trianoni országban elért (bár már a kezdetektől fogva megnyilvánuló) budapesti túlsúly szempontjából vizsgáljuk néhány kemény adat segítségével. 1934/35-ben az összes magyarországi egyetemista diáklány 66 %-a a fővárosban végezte tanulmányait (míg a fiúknak csak 51 %-a).¹⁰⁶ „A nőhallgatók az ország összes főiskoláin 13,5 %-ot képviselnek. Budapest főiskoláin a nők aránya magasabb : 16,6 %. A nők leginkább a bölcsészeti, gyógyszerészeti és az 'egyéb' szakokat látogatják; Budapesten pl. a bölcsészeti kar nőhallgatói épen csak hogy kisebbségben vannak (47,5 %).”¹⁰⁷

A fővárosi iskolai piac keresleti oldalán látványosan megnyilvánuló női térhódítás a régi rendszer utolsó évtizedeiben egyre inkább kifejezést nyert a kínálati oldalon is, elsősorban az iskolarendszer alsóbb szintjein. 1935-re például Budapesten a tanítói kar már (75, 5 %-ban) messzemenően elnőiesedett¹⁰⁸ - a fővárosi tanítóképzők közönségének korai s a fenti aránynál 1919 után már sokkal súlyosabb s egyre

¹⁰⁰ A *Magyar statisztikai évkönyvek* idevágó adatai és Kalmár Ella már idézett budapesti iskolai adatbázisa szerint.

¹⁰¹ Mészáros István, id. mű., 167. oldal.

¹⁰² L. u.o., 167-171. oldal.

¹⁰³ U.o. 316. oldal.

¹⁰⁴ A *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* 1911, 331 és 333. oldalainak adatai szerint.

¹⁰⁵ Kalmár Ella gyűjtése (id. mű., 210. oldal) és a *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1931, 265. oldal adataiból számított arányszám.

¹⁰⁶ L. Elekes Dezső, id. mű., 52. oldal.

¹⁰⁷ U.o., 53. oldal.

¹⁰⁸ *Budapest Székesfőváros statisztikai évkönyve*, 1936, 76. oldal.

súlyosodó nőtöbblete függvényében is : az ott tanulóknak már 1910-ben is 67 %-a lány volt. Ez az arány 1930-ra 81 %-ossá, majd 1940-re 90 %-ossá válik.¹⁰⁹ De elnőiesedett Budapesten 1935-re, ha mérsékeltebben is (az oktatók 47 %-a erejéig), a polgári és középiskolai tanári pálya is.¹¹⁰ Ugyanezt persze a felsőbb oktatásra már nem lehet elmondani, hiszen ezt a piaci szektort majd a szocialista rendszer nyitja csak fel teljesen a nők előtt. 1935-re ezen még inkább csak férfiaknak fenntartott álláslehetőségek voltak : az összes főiskolai adjunktus és tanársegéd között mindössze 14 % volt nő (44 a 317-ből), míg a 307 egyetemi és főiskolai tanárból nem több mint 2 (!).¹¹¹

A nők különlegesen gyors térnyerése a fővárosi iskolai piacon mindenesetre szorosan összefügghetett a fővárosi iskolák közönségének a felmenők foglalkozásszerkezete és igazolt műveltsége szempontjából 'magasabb' rekrutációjával és az egész budapesti iskolai piacnak iskolai teljesítményekben is megnyilvánuló fentebb tárgyalt 'minőségi túlsúlyával' az ország többi régiójához képest.

A lányok ugyanis az összes idevágó jelzés szerint sokkal jobb iskolai minősítéssel – úgy is mondhatni, ennek árán – jutottak magasabb iskolázáshoz a régi rendszerben. A nők így kialakuló intellektuális túlszelekciójának az elnőiesedett szakmákban automatikus többletet kellett eredményezni az egész érintett tanulmányi vagy tudományágak közönségének szellemi színvonalára nézve. Ezt jól lehet demonstrálni többek között az érettségiző lányoknak a fiúknál sokszor csak felényi bukottsági s a jeles rendűek dupla annyi arányában, korábbi egyetemre jutásával és diplomázásával, gyakoribb egyetemi kollokválásával, az alacsonyabb lemorzsolódási rátával vagy az egyetemi könyvtár intenzívebb használatával.¹¹²

A szellemi túlszelekció természetesen nem választható el a **társadalmitól**, hiszen meggyőző jelzéseink vannak arra nézve, hogy az iskolai teljesítmények mennyire kötődnek a diákok társadalmi háttéréhez, nevezetesen vallásához (amire még visszatérek) és a szülők foglalkozásához. Így 1925/6-ban az érettségizők általános átlagjegye 2,39 volt (az 1 = jeles, legjobb jegy, 4 = bukás, legrosszabb jegy által behatárolt skálán), de a pap, tanár és tanító apák gyerekeinél 2,20, a más önálló (szabadfoglalkozású) értelmiségi szülő leszármazottainál 2,29, és a nyugdíjas tisztviselők sarjainál 2,32, míg az alsóbb foglalkozási kategóriákból származóknál ennél lényegesen alacsonyabb (pl. az ipari munkássághoz tartozóknál 2,46 vagy a kisbirtokos apáktól származóknál 2,43).¹¹³ Ezeknek az összefüggéseknek értelmében nem meglepő, hogy az átlagnál mindig lényegesen jobban teljesítő diáklányok társadalmi kiválasztása is a többinél sokkal 'polgáribb'nak', nemritkán 'arisztokratikusabbnak' bizonyult. Ezt a trianoni ország fővárosában egy sor közvetett vagy közvetlen szociális mutató is bizonyította. A budapesti tudományegyetem diáklányai így 1924/5-ben férfi kollégáiknál számottevően többször voltak városi vagy egyenesen fővárosi születésűek és budapestien lakó szülők gyermekei, gyakrabban jártak színházba, koncertre vagy akár moziba, sokkal gyakrabban játszottak valamilyen hangszeren, kétszer gyakrabban tudtak franciául és általában jóval több idegen nyelvet ismertek,¹¹⁴ de közel négyszer gyakrabban fizettek teljes tandíjat is, ugyanakkor amikor csak harmadannyian laktak

¹⁰⁹ Kalmár Ella adatgyűjtése, id. mű., 198., 200., 202. oldal.

¹¹⁰ A *Budapest Székesfőváros statisztikai évkönyve*, 1936, 76 oldalán található adat szerint.

¹¹¹ U.o.

¹¹² Mindezekre az összefüggésekre nézve lásd a számszerűleg objektívált jelzéseket tanulmányomban : „Nők a modern felsőbb iskolázás korai fázisában”, *Iskolarendszer és felekezeti egyenlőtlenségek Magyarországon (1867-1945)*, Budapest, Replika könyvek, 1997, 57-74 oldal, különösen 59., 62 és 63. oldal.

¹¹³ Asztalos József adataiból számított eredmények. L. „Középiskoláink az 1926/27. tanévben”, *Magyar statisztikai szemle*, 1928, 9. szám, 960-974. oldal, különösen 973. oldal.

¹¹⁴ A diáklányok különleges idegen nyelvi készségeire nézve l. idézett cikkem („Nők a modern felsőbb iskolázás...”) 65. oldalán lévő részletes táblázati anyagot.

albérletben vagy egyedül és sokkal ritkábban voltak betegek.¹¹⁵ Az idegen nyelvtudás szempontjából az egész elitképzés női és férfi diáksága drasztikus különbségeket mutathatott fel, bár erre nézve kevés pontos jelzéssel rendelkezünk. Talán a legszignifikánsabb közöttük a középiskolásokra vonatkozó éves adatok 1927/28 és 1932/3 között. E szerint a lány diákok a fiúknál három-négyszer gyakrabban beszéltek idegen nyelven : pl. 1930-ban németül 35,1 % a fiúk 11,5 %-ával szemben, más nyugati kultúrnyelveket (franciát, angolt, olaszt) 12,7 % a fiúk mindössze 2,6 %-ával szemben.¹¹⁶

Ebben az összefüggésben lehet végül szót ejtenünk a budapesti iskolai piac társadalmi bázisának felekezeti sajátosságairól, melyek körkörös meghatározottsággal függtek össze a női diákság budapesti túlsúlyával, a művelt középosztályok helyi szerepével az iskolai piacon, s a fővárosi iskolák 'minőségi' előnyeivel is. Hogy a diáklányok rekrutációs sajátosságánál maradjunk, még a szigorú antiszemita *numerus clausus* alkalmazása alatti 1924/25-ös iskolaévben is feltűnő, hogy míg a budapesti tudományegyetem férfi hallgatói között csak 8 % zsidó volt, a lány hallgatóknál ez az arány 13 % felett állt.¹¹⁷ A nők egyetemre bocsájtásának történelmi kezdeteinél, 1895 és 1905 között a lány orvosok nem kevesebb mint 53 %-a és a bölcsész lányok 48 %-a volt zsidó.¹¹⁸ Számos más jelzést lehet felsorakoztatni a zsidó és a női felsőbb iskoláztatás összefüggéseire,¹¹⁹ de éppúgy a viszonylagos zsidó 'túliskolázás' egyéb következményeire az iskolai teljesítmények¹²⁰, az érettségi eredményessége,¹²¹ a korai diplomázás,¹²² az idegen nyelvek ismerete,¹²³ a pályaválasztás 'modernsége',¹²⁴ az érettségi korai letétele,¹²⁵ stb. szempontjából.

Mindezek jelen összefüggésben azzal jutnak jelentőségre, hogy a fővárosi iskolai piac a magyar zsidóság messze legfontosabb iskolai befektetéseinek terepuma volt. Igaz könnyű gyarapítani a zsidó 'túliskolázás' mennyiségi jelzéseit az elitképzés minden szintjén, mely történelmileg addig fejlődött, amíg az oktatási piac szabadpiacként működött, azaz amíg ennek egyes intézménykategóriákban mesterséges korlátozásokkal gátat nem vetettek : 1919 után az egyetemi és főiskolai *numerus clausus*-szal, 1939-ben a középiskolák induló osztályaira is rendeletileg kiterjesztett zárt számokkal.¹²⁶ Ha a zsidó 'túliskolázást' egyetlen felekezeti különbségeket számba vevő adatsorral kíséreljük meg jellemezni, elég arra utalni, hogy 1910-ben a budapesti 20 és 29 év közötti férfiak 55 %-a legalább négy középiskolát végzett, szemben a katolikusok 19 %-ával, a reformátusok 18 %-

¹¹⁵ Az adatokat l. idézett cikkemben, „Nők a modern felsőbb iskolázás korai fázisában”, id. mű., 63. oldal.

¹¹⁶ Asztalos Sándor, id. mű., 58. oldal.

¹¹⁷ U.o. id. hely.

¹¹⁸ L. V. Karady, L. Nastasa, id. mű. 90. oldal. L. még *Acta regiae scientiarum universitatis hungaricae budapestiensis*, 1905, 85. oldal.

¹¹⁹ L. például tanulmányomat „A zsidó túliskolázás társadalmi körülményei az 1945 előtti középiskolákban” in *Iskolarendszer és felekezeti egyenlőtlenségek...*, id. mű., 145-165. oldal, különösen 154. oldal.

¹²⁰ U.o., id. könyv 21., 118-120. valamint 137-138. oldal.

¹²¹ U.o., id. könyv, 22. és 96. oldal.

¹²² U.o., id. könyv, 23. oldal.

¹²³ U.o., id. könyv, 143. oldal, 13. jegyzet.

¹²⁴ L. tanulmányomat : „Felekezet, tanulmányi kitűnőség és szakmai stratégia. Az érettségizettek pályaválasztása a dualista kor végén”, in *Zsidóság és társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek (1867-1945)*, Budapest, Replika-könyvek, 200, 193-221, különösen 204 oldal és folyt.

¹²⁵ U.o., id. cikk 206-207. oldal. L. még a kolozsvári orvosokra nézve V. Karady, L. Nastasa, id. mű., 121-122. oldal.

¹²⁶ Számos erre vonatkozó munkám közül mindkét idézett könyvemben többet találni. L. *Iskolarendszer és felekezeti egyenlőtlenségek*, id. könyv, 95-165. oldal és *Zsidóság és társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek...*, id. könyv, 169-256.

ával vagy az evangélikusok – a viszonylag legiskolázottabb keresztény csoport – 33 %-ával.¹²⁷

A zsidóság fővárosi 'túliskolázásának' mértéke ugyan az ország többi nagyvárosának hasonló jellemzőihez képest távolról sem volt rendkívüli, vagy egyedülálló, hiszen hasonló rátákat – nemegyszer magasabbakat is - lehet találni ugyanebben a korban nem egy vidéki városban pl. az Alföldön, a Dunántúlon vagy Horvátországban.¹²⁸ Jelentőségre avval jut leginkább, hogy a budapesti zsidóság – nyers (1919 előtt egy negyednyi vagy ötödnyi, az után közel felényi) népességi súlyánál is túl - a 'modern' beállítottságú, tehát az elitiskolázáson keresztüli érvényesülési stratégiákat alkalmazó honi zsidóság valószínűleg legdinamikusabb részlegét alkotta. A budapesti zsidó középiskolások már 1900-ban is az összes zsidó középiskolás 28 %-át adták s ez az arány a trianoni országban 1930-ra többségi lett (57 %).¹²⁹ Ezek a túlképviseltettségi arányok ráadásul még erősen alá is becsülik fővárosi zsidóság tényleges iskolai fölényét, mivel a helyi elitiskolázás zsidó közönségét a 19. század végén elkezdődő s 1900 után elsősorban az urbanizált középosztályokat érintő rohamosan csökkenő gyerekszám (1890 és 1920 között az 1000 főre eső zsidó natalitás Budapesten 30 ezrelékről 16 ezrelék alá esett¹³⁰), valamint a 'kiterések' is (mely főképp 1918 után – 1919-20-ban a budapesti felnőtt zsidóság mintegy 5 %-át érintve¹³¹) számottevően ritkították. Az egyetemjárás szintjén a zsidó egyetemisták mindig preferenciálisan a budapesti egyetemek és főiskolákat frekventálták mindaddig, amíg ennek a numerus clausus mesterséges gátat nem szabott. Így a fővárosi zsidó elitiskolázás közönségének számaránya a fenti számoknál is nagyobb mértékben haladta meg a vidéki rokonnépeség megfelelő jellemzőit.

A zsidóság kiemelt mennyiségi részvételének bemutatásával, melyet – mint fentebb is illusztráltuk, a budapesti zsidó diákság iskolai kitűnőségével mért 'minőségi' jelzésekkel is ki lehet egészíteni¹³² - bemutatást nyert a fővárosi iskolai piacon jelentkező kereslet utolsó fontosabb szerkezeti összetevője. Konklúzió helyett is hangsúlyozni kell, hogy a tárgyalt piaci tényezők egymással való viszonyát sohasem egyoldalú meghatározottsági kapcsolat jellemezte, hanem – mint már jeleztük - a körkörös determinációk rendszere. A tudományos Nobel-díjak honi születésű jelöltjei vagy kitüntetettjei (majdnem kizárólag fővárosi zsidók) nem véletlenül keresték szellemi kifutópályájukat egyes helyi iskolákban (pl. a fásori evangélikus gimnáziumban) s a belvárosi középiskolák oktatási kínálatának színvonala sem volt független a helyi iskolai közönség képzési igényeitől és az intézmények között kialakult kompetíciós helyzetétől. Az érintettek későbbi pályája persze szintén nem értelmezhető a *numerus clausus* katasztrófális következményeinek számbavétele nélkül a honi értelmiség reprodukciója szempontjából. Ezeknek a valószínűsíthető kapcsolatoknak pontos elemzését itt nem vihettük végbe. De az egész fővárosi piac sajátosságainak bemutatásával megpróbáltuk felvázolni az ilyen természetű s minden bizonnyal mikro-szintre is kiterjesztendő elemzéseknek legfőbb objektív társadalomtörténelmi kereteit.

¹²⁷ Nagy Péter Tibor kutatási eredményeiből az 1910-es népszámlálás kiadatlan, iskolaügyi levéltári anyagai nyomán.

¹²⁸ A zsidó férfi iskolázás területi jelzéseire l. egyéb munkáimat : *Iskolarendszer és felekezeti egyenlőtlenségek*, id. könyv, 148 oldal; *Zsidóság, modernizáció, polgárosodás*, Budapest, Cserépfalvi, 1997, 266. oldal.

¹²⁹ A z összehasonlítás Kalmár Ella fővárosi adatai (*Iskolák, diákok, oktatáspolitikai...*, id. könyv, 207 és 211. oldal) és a *Magyar statisztikai évkönyvek* idevágó felekezetsajátos adatai alapján készült.

¹³⁰ L. tanulmányomat : „Felekezet és születéskorlátozás Budapesten (1880-1945)”, in *Törések és kötések a magyar társadalomban*, szerk. Elekes Zsuzsa és Spéder Zsolt, Budapest, Századvég kiadó, 2000, 375-388. oldal, különösen 377. oldal.

¹³¹ L. *Zsidóság, modernizáció, polgárosodás*, id. könyv 134. oldal.

¹³² A fővárosi középiskolások érdemjegyeinél tapasztalható felekezetsajátos eltérésekre egyes tantárgyakból l. különösen *Iskolarendszer és felekezeti egyenlőtlenségek...*, id. könyv, 118-119. oldal.

Victor Karády

***Two regional paradigms of the accumulation of educational capital
: Eastern and Western Slovakia in comparison***¹³³

¹³³ This research has benefited from results gained from the project supported by the Hungarian Research Support Scheme OTKA on 'Graduates in Theology, Law, the Arts and Sciences in Dualist Hungary'.

(in Peter Tibor Nagy, Viktor Karády, *Educational Inequalities and Denominations. Database for Eastern Slovakia, 1910*. Budapest, Wesleyan Theological Seminary. 2006, pp. 9-34 – megjelenés alatt.

This second volume of our educational data collection deriving from the 1910 Hungarian census calls for a comparative exercise, since it offers the relevant information on Eastern Slovakia representing data equivalent to those already published on the Western counties and cities of the region ('Upper Hungary' at that time)¹³⁴. A comparison is worth making on all major variables combined in our tables : regional districts, urban and extra-urban residence, gender, confessional groups and age cluster (the latter representing the major social variables mobilized here) as well as ethnic divisions (not combined with but including religion) on the one hand - as supposedly independent factors -, and levels of education on the other hand - as the dependent factor, following our principal working hypothesis. But, at least implicitly or hypothetically, one also has to draw into the picture some rather composite external variables, like degrees of 'assimilation' and integration in the Magyar dominated nation state and its 'titular elites', levels of 'modernisation' of various brackets under scrutiny, their urbanisation and migration patterns as well as their professional or social class stratification.

Our comments will focus on some general features and relationships regarded as essential and cannot dispense with a closer study of local differentials and correlations on the country or city level proper (which are also permitted by the detailed information presented herewith). Some of our findings may help to complete the results of recent research accomplished in Hungary, Slovakia proper and elsewhere on the problem area of the development of the educational provision in Slovakia before the foundation of the Chechoslovak state.¹³⁵ But this is essentially an 'internal study' drawing almost exclusively on data contained in our three statistical volumes dedicated to Slovakia.

One can start with some first hand observations about educational inequalities broken down by larger regions. (References will be made to the two volumes on Western Slovakia as WS and to the present volume on Eastern Slovakia as ES).

The most trivial one concerns gender differentials. Women display in every category featured in our data significantly lower educational scores than men. This is a common pattern in pre-industrial or poorly modernized societies. Elementary schools catered for long preferentially and advanced education remained primarily (if not exclusively) reserved for young males, since they were the only public agents able to put educational assets to professional or symbolic social use. Obviously enough in the early 20th century families still invested much less in the education of women in the sense that most girls were granted primary schooling only. Access of girls to primary schools started in fact to be

¹³⁴ Viktor Karády, Péter Tibor Nagy, *Educational Inequalities and Denominations, 1910, Database for Western Slovakia and North-Western Hungary*, Budapest, John Wesley Publisher, 2004.

¹³⁵ A major study in this respect compares the development and the ethnically specific social functions of the educational provision in pre-1919 Slovakia to contemporary Transylvania, also part of the Hungarian Empire. See Joachim von Puttkammer, *Schuhalltag und nationale Integration in Ungarn. Slowaken, Rumanen und Siebenburger Sachsen in der Auseinandersetzung mit der ungarischen Staatsidee, 1867-1914*, München, Oldenburg Verlag, 2003.

generalized quite early. In 1880/81 already 48,1 % of all primary pupils were females in Eastern Slovakia and 47,7 % in West Slovakia, attesting to an almost completely balanced sex ratio basic education.¹³⁶ Though even in the early 20th century the over-representation of girls remained the rule (with 52,4 % of all in 1907/8) among those Hungarians in the age of school obligation escaping schooling, in West Slovakia there were actually less girls than boys in such a case.¹³⁷ More generally, drop-out rates among girls (45,6 %) remained only slightly higher in the whole country than among boys (44,3 %) if we compare the cohorts of pupils joining the 1st classes of primary schools in 1907/8¹³⁸ with those in classes 4 in 1910/11.¹³⁹ Thus gender differences appear to be rather limited at lower grades of education, if there were any by 1910, as reflected in our data bank too. Global levels of illiteracy (for all age groups, including infants) remained very close, both in the West (41 % for women as against 33 % for men in the counties – see WS p.180 and 198) and in the East (50 % for women and 42 % for men in the counties – see ES p.125 and 131), but their discrepancies tended to diminish radically in the younger age groups.

On the contrary, such disparities grew decisively at more advanced levels of schooling, in a period when secondary education for women had just started to be organised. Even by 1917/8 there were no more than two schools (in Kassa and Miskolc) offering secondary graduation – *érettségi* - in East Slovakia, but only one (in Pozsony) in West Slovakia.¹⁴⁰ The admittance of women graduates from secondary schools to a few branches of higher education had only recently (1895) begun. It is not astonishing hence, that in our data banks too men achieved six to eight times more often than their female counterparts 8 secondary classes or more (same references).

Such initial results give already important insights, to be specified later, as into the disparities in the social mechanisms affecting the development of lower as opposed to higher schooling. Though, in principle, the expansion of the second depended on the first, in the historical circumstances of a relatively under-industrialized, under-urbanized and generally under-modernized country the primary and the secondary levels of education – the last one being reserved for a small elite - remained basically detached from one another. Women, for example may have achieved in some cities, regions, social or ethnic clusters a decent level of literacy without really participating in secondary or higher education. The contrary could also be true for men, among whom illiteracy could remain important, as in the West Slovakian towns (19 %) while almost as many of them (16 %) attained at least 4 secondary classes (same references as above). Elite training – from which women were virtually excluded at that time – could well be of high quality and popular in some economically and institutionally under-developed eastern or southern societies even compared to Western standards¹⁴¹,

¹³⁶ Calculated according to data in *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* (henceforth *MSÉ*) 1880, IX., pp. 94-99.

¹³⁷ Following data in *Magyar statisztikai közlemények* (henceforth *MSK*), 31, p. 34.

¹³⁸ *MSÉ*, 1908, p. 349.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* 1911, p. 353.

¹⁴⁰ See István Mészáros, *Középszintű iskoláink kronológiája és topográfiája, 996-1948*, /Chronology and topography of our schools of secondary level, 996-1948/, Budapest, Akadémiai, 1988, p. 316.

¹⁴¹ For data see for example Andrea Camelli, „Universities and Professions” in Maria Malatesta (ed.), *Society and the Professions in Italy, 1860-1914*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1955, p. 53, Christophe Charle, *La crise des sociétés impériales*, Paris, Seuil, p. 144, Nicolas Manidakis, *L'essor de la mobilité étudiante internationale à l'âge des Etats-nations. Une étude de cas : les étudiants grecs en France (1880-1940)*, these de doctorat, Paris, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 2004, p. 351. Maria M. Kovács, *Liberal*

alongside utter backwardness in popular primary education. Hence the paradox that the 'density' of doctors or lawyers could, in the early 20th century, be greater in Greece, Hungary or Italy than in France or even Germany...

The gender differences involved here are important in other respects too.

Women show indeed what could be called a 'normal' educational pyramid with a large basis of more or less great proportions of literate people, a small strata of those having accomplished at least four (or six) secondary classes, and a tiny remaining group (around 1.5 % in towns and a mere 0.2-0.3 % in the countryside) with more advanced educational assets.

For men, the set-up is quite different and to some extent intriguing. The basis of literate people is larger though and the proportions of secondary school alumni is indeed much larger, but among the latter, those with 8 classes *exceed* regularly the number of those having only 4 classes. Thus the 'normal' pyramid appears to be inversed for men both in cities and in the counties. This calls for explanation, since it is common knowledge - for this and as well as for later periods - that the internal structure of the student population in classical secondary schools (leading up to graduation after 8 classes) was marked by a large enrolment in the initial lower classes, and a narrowing down of class size with the more advanced classes. In most gymnasiums or *reáliskolák* of the period the 8th class represented only a third or less of students as compared to class(es) 1 or 2. Moreover, the popular *polgári* stopped at the fourth (or sometimes at the six) secondary class for most of its clientele, increasing the proportions of those with only four (or six) secondary classes. So for men too, the 'normal' educational pyramid should have a large basis and a far smaller summit.

The fact that we generally (with some exceptions for Jews, which will be discussed later) do not find this in our data, may be probably accounted for by three convergent circumstances.

First, the level of 8 class could be reached not only via gymnasiums and *reáliskolák*, but also via at least two other institutions starting with class 5 of secondary schooling, the commercial high school (*felső kereskedelmi*) and the Normal School (*tanítóképző*) training primary school teachers. This could somewhat boost the proportions of those with 8 classes of education by the mere fact that there were teachers (mostly certified) in every village. Second, the cluster '8 classes' represents in reality all those having achieved some kind of secondary education *or equivalent* together with actual graduates – this concerns the majority of students having completed a classical gymnasium or a *reáliskola* - of universities and higher vocational colleges (including professionals, priests, army officers, most civil servants and a number of private executives). Many of them could actually declare education of 8 classes without any formal secondary graduation, since this was not demanded (or not systematically controlled) with respect to priests, army or police officers or even teachers¹⁴², certainly not before the formal 'systematization' of elite educational provision due to the enforcement of the Austrian *Entwurf* of 1849. Moreover, some of those having achieved some kind of vocational courses after 4 secondary classes qualifying them – even on exceptional or special terms, as it happened often after the enactment of the 1883

Professions, Illiberal Politics. Hungary from the Habsburgs to the Holocaust, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 5 and 53. Id. , *The Politics of the Legal Profession in Interwar Hungary*, New York, Columbia Institute of East Central Europe, 1987, p. 23.

¹⁴² In 1895/6 some in Western Slovakia 14 %, in Eastern Slovakia 17 % of primary school teachers did not have formal qualifications. See *MSÉ*, 1896, p. 411.

'qualification law' – for a civil service position (county or city clerks, secretaries, administrative assistants) or private employees in positions formally requiring secondary graduation, would feel themselves entitled and tacitly incited to class themselves, during the census, in the category of those with 8 years of secondary studies. Third, some of the civil servants, army or police officers, etc. with formal schooling of 8 secondary classes or more could have been specially transferred to Northern Hungary - a typically non-Magyar area as regards ethnic diversity - from other territories of the multi-ethnic but Magyar dominated nation state, in order to secure the political and administrative control of the region (civil servants, army or police officers) and advance the process of Magyarization (teachers, clerics). Those affected by such transfers were practically all males, so that they could not help contributing to an increase in the proportion of men in our '8 classes and above' cluster.

Still, gender differences between regions appear to be striking enough, though differently at the lower compared with higher educational levels. In Western Slovakia male illiteracy plummets to one tenth in the youngest age groups in the countryside as against the double that number (some one fifth of the total) in Eastern Slovakia. Similarly, illiteracy ratios are much higher among women, but the differences between the West (13 % illiteracy in the 20-24 years cluster) and East (24 % in the same age group) are quite comparable for them too. Interestingly enough, general regional differences tend to disappear or even reverse to some extent (to the benefit of women, for example, in Eastern Slovakian towns) at the more advanced levels. Thus, globally, since the large masses of the population are affected by primary education only (around 98 % in both regions, except in the towns) Eastern Slovakia displays some indices of educational backwardness when compared to Western Slovakia.

At first sight, there should be nothing astonishing in this observation since it corresponds to the traditionally postulated opposition between East and West in terms of economic development and social modernization. We must come back to this problem when dealing with denominational inequalities proper, but some global references to it appear to be in order, since they demonstrate that various aspects of the modernization process in the Magyar led nation state did not, by any means, go hand in hand – as the ruling elite expected.

We may start with the schooling data proper, which show a comparable but not quite identical basic situation in Eastern and Western Slovakia for the period. Some of the educational provision appears to be of better quality in the East as against the West, as shown in the table.

The number of primary schools was throughout the period under scrutiny somewhat lower in the East than in the West, but Eastern Slovakia had almost completely caught up with the West by 1910. Western Slovakia was twice as well endowed by 1880 with higher primary institutions (most of them being *polgári iskola*). Still in both regions the very large majority (close to all in the West) of primary schools offered tuition up to 6 years (classes), covering the years of obligatory schooling age. Moreover, the relative over-endowment of Western Slovakia with *polgári* schools was in part compensated by the fact that Eastern Slovakia had throughout the period a somewhat more developed network of classical secondary institutions (24 as against 22 in the 1890s and 30 by the end of the Dualist period as against 25 in Western Slovakia).¹⁴³

¹⁴³ See István Mészáros, *op. cit.* pp. 305-306 and 317-318.

The size of the population to be educated – which can be grossly identified as those aged 6-11 years old – was also somewhat bigger in the West, thus an average primary school in the East catered always for significantly less pupils than in the West. The same applied to teachers as well. An average teacher – though somewhat less often professionally trained and certainly more poorly paid during some of the period - was in charge of far fewer pupils in the East than in the West. Public investment in primary education appears to be quite comparable, since in 1910 18.5 % of schools were directly under state or municipal management in the East and 18.9 % in the West, the rest being run – as in the provinces everywhere at the time – mostly by religious authorities. But public agencies had to invest more heavily in schooling in Eastern Slovakia, since the number of publicly run schools (only 11.4 % in 1896/6 in the East) grew there from 100 to 161 (in relative figures) in fifteen years, while the corresponding growth in the West (13,4 % of public primary schools in 1895/6) was only from 100 to 136. Overall, therefore, the proportion of pupils of compulsory schooling age actually attending school was systematically but only slightly higher in the West than in the East. Globally, regional differences in the size of the schooling provision were not spectacular and certainly far from being systematically unfavorable for the Eastern Slovak counties.

Such basic schooling data thus do little to explain global educational inequalities between the two regions.

Table 1.

Western Slovakia		Eastern Slovakia				
		1870 ¹⁴⁴	1880 ¹⁴⁵	1890 ¹⁴⁶	1896 ¹⁴⁷	1910 ¹⁴⁸
1870 ³	1880 ⁴	1890 ⁵	1896	1910 ⁷		
1. primary schools						
numbers			2307	2424	2347	
1987	2347	2327				
higher primary schools ¹⁴⁹				50		
25						
% of non confessional schools ¹⁵⁰				15,6		
12,1						
% of those with tuition in Hungarian only				47,1	85,4	
61,5	97,4					
% of those with tuition in Hungarian						

¹⁴⁴ *A Vallás és közoktatásiügyi miniszter jelentése* /Yearly report of the Ministry of Religion and Education/ (henceforth *VKM jelentés*) 1870-re, pp. 356-359.

¹⁴⁵ *MSÉ* 1880, IX., pp. 94-99.

¹⁴⁶ *VKM jelentés* 1890, pp. 154-157 és 162-163.

¹⁴⁷ *VKM jelentés* 1896, pp. 236-243.

¹⁴⁸ *MSÉ* 1911, pp. 34-345.

¹⁴⁹ So called *felsőbb népiskola*, *polgári iskola* and *felsőbb lányiskola*.

¹⁵⁰ Schools run by the State, municipal governments, associations or private persons.

combined with another language	78.5
86.1	
% of undivided (1 class) schools	62.5
77.6	
% of those with 5 or 6 classes	94.1
88.1	
% of those working 8 months or more/year	82.4
85.3	

2. teaching staff

<u>number of teachers</u>	3072	3546	4067
2307	2954	3560	
teachers/100 schools	133	146	173
116	126	152	
% of certified teachers		86	
83.5			
average salary of teachers	334 Ft		282
Ft			

3. pupils of primary schools

of school obligation age¹⁵¹	306	289	316	364	212
199	228	302			
numbers attending school¹⁵²	155	246	278	314	106
152	195	245			
% of those of school age					
attending schools	50.7	85.0	87.9	86.2	50.1
76.6	85.7	81.2			
% of those in school age not					
enrolled in schools				6.1	
7,4					
number of pupils/school	107	130	133		
77	104	113			
number of pupils/teacher	80	88.5	77		
60	83	74			

Some other indices may bring us closer to the relative degrees of development of the two regional populations. One indicator quoted in the table, that of average teachers' salaries

actually hints at rather crass economic differentials. If in the East teachers were seriously underpaid as compared relative to their Western colleagues, this was clearly linked with the means at the disposal of school authorities (most of them ecclesiastical ones): in the East they were apparently worse off, so that they could not grant teachers the same pay as in the West – a fair reference to East Slovakian poverty and economic backwardness. Still, instead of mobilizing here data on production and industrialisation, as it could be done at the price of a complex analysis of comparative degrees of regional economic development, I prefer to resort to far simpler indicators of development of a demographic nature,

¹⁵¹ In 1000.

¹⁵² In 1000.

offering global estimations of degrees of 'modernity' of the regional populations concerned.

Birthrates combined with rates of survival in young age as well as – even more demonstrably – death rates may be adduced here, since family size and rates of survival can be directly correlated to educational opportunities: the greater the number of children, the less the chances of them securing advanced training. With diminishing death rates 'investment' in the education of the offspring can be expected to have higher returns. But signs of birth control and the diminishing incidence of mortality are by themselves indicators of modernization. The following table offers calculations related the average size of generational cohorts (1 year age group) in proportional terms (as a percentage of the total population) surviving in 1910 in the 0-5 age group - following our data banks and several indices of mortality.

Table 2.

		Western Slovakia				East	
		Counties		towns		together	counties
Western Slovakia	towns together	Men	women	men	women	men	women
% of 1 generation among those of 0-5 years of age ¹⁵³		2.8	2.65	1.97	1.9	2.9	2.67
male death rate per 1000 ¹⁵⁴		26.0					
% of deaths under medical control		46,1					
		55,7					

Our data show apparently no major disparities in terms of birth rates, though they do indicate that birth control must have started by 1910 in urban settings, especially in some West Slovakian population clusters. The size of the surviving youngest generations are somewhat smaller in West Slovakian counties and significantly smaller in West Slovakian towns, as compared to East Slovakia. This is all the more remarkable given that East Slovakia was, during this period, a region of increasing *mass emigration*, as witnessed by the relative rarity of those cohorts of males likely to participate in such migration: in East Slovakian counties

¹⁵³ *Rat.* line – last but one at the bottom of our tables - WS pp. 180, 186, 192, 198 and ES pp. 126, 131, 137, 143.

¹⁵⁴ Yearly proportions of the dead in 1912 and 1913 (source : handwritten reports from the Archives of the Central Statistical Office in Budapest) as compared to the 1910 population from our data banks, as in the preceding note. Tiny denominational diasporas, hardly represented in Upper Hungary (like Unitarians) are disregarded in these indices.

men of 20-39 years of age represent only 22.3 % of the whole male population¹⁵⁵ as against 25 % in Western Slovakia¹⁵⁶. These young men make up the bulk of those establishing families and producing children. A smaller young male cluster with higher rates of fertility is a sign of the prevalence of less 'modern' demographic strategies in the whole group.

Mortality data show even more significant discrepancies in the same sense. General rates of male deaths are already significantly lower in Western Slovakia. But global death rates depend on a number of specifically demographic factors (essentially on gender ratios and birth rates in the past and at present determining the structure of the age pyramid), which escape close technical examination here. Such is not the case of the *degree of medicalisation* of the population as indicated by the much higher proportion of deaths occurring under medical attendance in the West. This attests implicitly to higher living standards permitting less restricted recourse to medical aid when necessary. One could suppose that a better medical equipment and, possibly, a higher 'density' of doctors was also to be found in the West, but this was – however paradoxical it appears to be – not the case following relevant data. The two regions under scrutiny had similar health provisions in 1910 with even some advantage for the East where there were 2164 people for for one member of the medical and para-medical staff (doctors and pharmacists) as against 2581 in the West.¹⁵⁷ More research is warranted to clarify these relationships.

All these signs of more advanced 'modernity' could influence educational standards and investments in the West, which brings us closer to the interpretation of observed general educational inequalities between the two regions (especially on the primary and lower levels). We will find some even more spectacular regional differences when analysing educational disparities between denominational clusters.

Still one more generally applicable hypothesis should be tested as to possible correlations between national assimilation and schooling achievements. In a multi-ethnic region with a majority or quasi majority (if we discount 'assimilated' Hungarians) of non Magyars, it is to be expected that the increase in the ratio of self-declaring Magyars would correlate with the growth of incorporated educational capital in the population, since advanced schooling of all sorts beyond primary education was available locally in Hungarian language only (with the partial exception of the training of primary teachers and clerics). Data on linguistic skills and, implicitly, on linguistic Magyarisation do not unambiguously confirm such a relationship. In Western Slovakia a mere 31 % of women and 34 % of men were of Magyar mother tongue in 1910 (see WS p. 181 and 187), while there was only a quasi majority of Magyar users as a first language in Eastern Slovakia, since among the 51 % of women and 53 % of men declaring to be Hungarian speakers, many (especially Jews and Lutherans of German or Slovakian background) must have belonged to 'assimilated' clusters (see ES p. 126 and 132).

Given such ratios, it is remarkable to observe in Table 1./1 that as early as 1896 (ten years before Lex Apponyi) exclusively Hungarian tuition was imposed

¹⁵⁵ See ES p. 126.

¹⁵⁶ See WS p. 181.

¹⁵⁷ Calculations following data in *MSK*, 56, pp. 764-769 (for the size of the medical staffs) and *MSK*, 64, p. 84 (for the size of the relevant populations).

upon as many as 47 % of primary schools in the West and 61,5 % in the East,¹⁵⁸ affecting a much higher percentage of children than those of Magyar mother tongue. The extension of primary schooling was beyond doubt serving the assimilationist policies of the Magyar elites, as enforced by the would-be nation state. As a consequence, by 1910 (subsequently to the 1907 Apponyi Law on large state subsidies granted to primary schools on condition that they switch to Magyar tuition), such policies must have been fully implemented, since almost all schools of the two regions (85 % in the West and as many as 97 % in the East¹⁵⁹) operated by that time in Hungarian. Still, all these investments – apparently more substantial in Eastern Slovakia – could not generate a corresponding growth in educational credentials. Eastern Slovakia continued to lag behind the West with its relatively high illiteracy ratio, for both men and women, the young as the not so young, in counties and in towns. The case could be better defended for more advanced levels of education since - compared to the West Slovakian counties and towns - East Slovakia did display, as already observed, somewhat higher proportions of those with secondary education or more. If, manifestly, a general correlation between assimilation and schooling cannot be stated here, the assimilationist efforts of many clusters could still be related to more advanced schooling investments in secondary or higher learning, since this was exclusively supplied in the state language in both regions.¹⁶⁰ Thus, perhaps paradoxically, the better educational scores of East Slovakia at the level of advanced schooling could have resulted in part from the greater number of classical Magyar secondary institutions operating in the region.

But, still remaining with observations of a general type, one has to comment on the differences between cities and counties and the trend of educational development in the long run, also inscribed in our data – on condition that we consider age specific educational achievement data as historical indicators, informing about levels of schooling in former times.

The contrast is strong indeed in every respect between towns and counties in our data banks, even if the categories of urban population are related in both regions to two cities – not even necessarily the largest ones – due to their administrative status as cities with autonomous municipal councils - so that it is far from covering all urban clusters. Still it is no surprise that, at all levels of education, urban clusters surpass the rural majority of both regions. Interestingly enough, differences are much bigger for women and organised differently along educational levels and age groups as for men.

At the lowest level, rates of illiteracy tend to decrease convergently for men and women very fast everywhere, but in the counties in Eastern Slovakia one fifth, in Western Slovakia around one tenth of young adults of both sexes were still illiterates in 1910. In cities illiteracy is around half the above figures, but differences between men and women tend to narrow as well.

At the higher educational levels residential differences are maintained, though they also tend to narrow among the younger age groups. Cities clearly attracted the educated for at least three rather obvious socio-historical reasons. First they were places of advanced learning, containing the most prestigious

¹⁵⁸ Cf. *MSÉ*, 1896, p. 411.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 345.

¹⁶⁰ All the non Magyar (mostly German and Romanian) gymnasiums and reáliskola were indeed located in Transylvania or Southern Hungary (with one Serbian gymnasium in Ujvidék/Novi Sad and since 1870 an Italian one in Fiume).

secondary schools and university colleges, attracting a large clientele engaged in long educational careers, thus fixing a big number of those with higher education (whether during their studies or afterwards). Second, cities were seats of major public agencies run by a highly educated staff, like the administration itself, schools, hospitals, tribunals, etc. Thirdly, cities constituted the main economic markets of their regions, hence they also concentrated all those running the private economy - like private managers, executives, lawyers etc. - most of whom contributed to boost the proportions of educated clusters. Men directly, women indirectly shared the benefit of these factors - the latter due notably to the trend of educationally homogamous marriages and to the process of social self-reproduction of the educated classes (including their daughters), bringing many educated women into cities even when - which was the rule for most of them in these times - they would not become active in an intellectual profession.

This is precisely while age group specific levels of education tended to grow tremendously for women both in towns and (on a much more moderate scale) in counties, reflecting the long term historical growth of educational capital in elite circles, *while this did not apply at all to men in the cities* ! Indeed the proportion of men with 4, 6 or 8 classes and more did actually remain approximately the same for all age clusters above 24 in cities, that is above one fourth in Eastern Slovakia (ES p. 138) and between one fifth and one fourth in Western Slovakia.(WS p. 193). The very contrast between certified educational credentials of men of 20-24 years (only 14 % with 4 classes and more in the East, 20 % in the West) as against 25-23 % in the next age group suggests that age specific proportions of the educated depended on the whole in cities *less* on the generalization of advanced schooling and *much more* on the transfer, immigration and concentration of educated professionals, civil servants and executives - who, following the logic of their professional mobility - found themselves more often in cities at an advanced stage of their career (when they were older) than as young career starters. Hence the maintenance of relatively high but quasi constant proportions of educated men in cities, as opposed to the ever increasing (though in absolute terms much lower) proportions of women in the same case.

Two important remarks are in order as to age clusters.

The first concerns teenagers and young adults in cities. Global educational achievements (% with 4-6-8 or more classes) tend, in a more or less regular fashion, to grow among men and women in the counties with the diminution of age, down to the 20-24 age group. Those of 15-19 years show lower scores for two rather obvious reasons : 'mature students' among them could not yet finish their secondary studies, technically, on the one hand, and most students from the region pursuing studies in a university or a post secondary vocational college must have been, during census time, outside the region, hence not counted, on the other hand. This is why there is a gap between the rather tiny proportions of 8 or more classes alumni in the 15-19 years old age group (only 0.8 % of men both in Eastern and Western Slovakian counties - ES p. 125 and WS p. 180) as compared to the next age group with proportions 5-6 times higher (4.7 % in the East, 4.1 % in the West). Such data clearly describe the 'normal' trend, following which the younger adult generations in 1910 were better endowed educationally than the elderly. Now, this trend is *absolutely not true for men in cities* of either region. There the 15-19 age group is distinguished by its very high score of secondary education, especially for 4 classes : this age group appears to be exceptionally 'normal' as compared to the above discussed 'reversed' educational pyramid in

other male age groups. But the following age group is just as clearly distinguished with its low score (the lowest of all other age groups), as already mentioned.

Such apparent anomalies can be accounted for by the special educational functions of cities. Those in the 15-19 years age group liable to pursue secondary studies remain concentrated in the towns, since gymnasiums, *reáliskolák*, *polgárik*, commercial and Normal Schools, or even seminaries for the training of clerics, are also located there. But many of those going to universities or higher vocational colleges, mostly belonging to the 20-24 years age group, had to leave their cities for further studies in a region which lacked both universities and most other institutions of higher education. Hence the relative scarcity of men with advanced education in the 20-24 years urban age group. The case of Selmecebánya, a small town with its Academy of Mining and Forestry, a unique institution with nation wide recruitment, confirms *a contrario* this analysis. Here the 20-24 years age group displays the absolutely highest proportion of men with 8 or more classes (32 % as against 15.5 % in the 25-29 years age group and a mere 7 % in the 30-34 years cluster), obviously due in large part to students of the Academy coming from all over the Monarchy. (See WS p.73.)

The second remark concerns the growth of knowledge in historical terms, as reflected, hypothetically, by educational credentials of successive generations. It was discussed above why such growth could not be observed in cities. But the other important observation we have to make here is that even in counties the growth appears to have been slow, often problematically discontinued, and on the whole *far from being decisive*, especially for men, the main targets of educational investments made by the state, the municipal authorities and families as well. If we lump together those with 4-6-8 classes or more, their proportions in the oldest generations born before 1860 and among the youngest adults, born after 1890, *less than doubled* (growing from 4.3 % to 8 % in the East – see ES p. 126 – and from 4 % to a mere 6.7 % in the West – see WS p. 181). Progress was similarly slow and discontinued for some time – with older generations showing higher scores than younger ones - at the 8 classes or more level. Indicators of a quasi stagnation of educational achievements over longer periods are particularly striking for male cohorts born between 1860 and 1875 (35-50 years of age in 1910), that is, precisely among those which should have been the first to benefit from the educational investments and developments carried out by the independent nation state.¹⁶¹ There was no growth at all, for example, in the counties between male clusters of 45-49 and 40-45 years (with 5.1-5.2 % endowed with at least 4 classes in both regions – see WS p. 181 and ES p. 126).

This observation is conducive to our main topic, confessional schooling inequalities, the very target of our data banks. Indeed, to make any sense, the type of educational stagnation indicated above must be broken down by denominations because of the discrepancies shown by religious clusters in this respect. Analysed

¹⁶¹ This included, among other things, the foundation of the public sector of secondary education with many state and city run gymnasiums, *reáliskola*, *polgári* – a sector utterly lacking before 1867 – as well as the second Hungarian university in Kolozsvár. If the number of gymnasiums and *reáliskola* did not much increase from the 1860s to the 1890s (remaining the same – 22 - in Western Slovakia and moving from 20 to 24 in Eastern Slovakia – see Mészáros, *op. cit.*, pp. 298, 305 and 306), by 1897 not less than 49 *polgári* and *felsőbb népiskola* were founded in Western Slovakia and 22 in Eastern Slovakia – see *MSÉ* 1898, p. 296). Thus the number of secondary schools producing alumni with at least 4 secondary classes doubled or tripled respectively in the two regions, even if the equally new higher commercial schools (founded after 1868) are disregarded here. In the whole country some 36 new classical secondary schools were added in the Dualist period up till 1910 to the hitherto operating network of 67. (See István Mészáros, *op. cit.* pp. 354-458.)

more closely once again, the stagnation under scrutiny will reveal itself as utterly selective : significant for most Christian groups, inexistent for Jews.¹⁶²

The discrepancies between Jews and Christians, but also among Lutherans and other 'Western Christians' (essentially Roman Catholics and Calvinists) as against 'Eastern Christians' (Greek Orthodox and Catholics) were at that time the most marked forms indeed of educational inequality both at the State and at the regional level. In every respect – whether observed by genders, residential districts, regions, etc. – there are convergent indications of a clear cut *hierarchy of educational accomplishments*, especially objectivated in the youngest age groups in the Dual Monarchy. Jews appeared to be by far the best performers, followed by Lutherans (as well as Unitarians, whenever data were significantly rich to attest to the educational performance of this small cluster, diasporic outside Transylvania) and – at some distance – by Catholics and Calvinists, with Christians of Greek persuasion coming last. Some aspects of such a hierarchy can also be observed in our data, though Unitarians are utterly lacking in the two regions under scrutiny and the Greek religious groups are significantly represented only by Catholics in some counties in the north-eastern corner of Eastern Slovakia (especially in Bereg, Sáros, Zemplén), the Greek Orthodox being practically absent. Data on small brackets do not lend themselves to serious interpretation, except in terms of local history, since members of them may appear in our data due to contingent, local or otherwise specific reasons, outside general trends in social history: such was the individual appointment of maids or the arrival of housewives following the transfer of their husbands as civil servants, the immigration of manual work force,¹⁶³ etc.). But for the main denominational clusters (sometimes close to being identical to ethnically separate brackets) we can sum up our findings here in a simple table. It reproduces, on the one hand, the main 'representation indices' of our table at two educational levels - demonstrating the educational attainment of each category concerned as compared to the average and, on the other hand, proportions of men having reached at least 4 secondary classes as compared to those identified in the 1910 census as members of the 'intellectual professions' (*értelmiség*). Since the latter were almost exclusively males and access to most brackets of 'intellectual professions' was subject to educational credentials (with a minimum of 4 secondary classes as defined by the 1883 'law on qualifications')¹⁶⁴, the 'excess proportions' of

¹⁶² I tried to account for the long, denominationally differential stagnation of secondary and university enrollments between the 1860s and the late 1880s on the country level in my study : „A középiskolai elitképzés első történelmi funkcióváltása (1867-1945)”, /The first functional transformation of elite training in Hungarian secondary schools/, in *Iskolarendszer és felekezeti egyenlőtlenségek Magyarországon (1967-1945)*, /School system and confessional inequalities in Hungary, 1867-1945/, Budapest, Replika-könyvek, 1997, pp. 169-195.

¹⁶³ For some small clusters in our data banks, the hypothesis of such occasional, seasonal or final migrations can be ascertained by the fact that demographically improbably large proportions of them belonged to categories of young adults. Thus around half of Greek Catholic (53 % - WS, pp. 176-177) and Greek Orthodox men (49 % - WS pp. 178-179), representing together a mere 0.20 % of the West Slovakian male county population belonged to age groups 15-29, as against less than half as many (23 %) of Roman Catholics, Lutherans or Jews – those who made up the majority in the region. In cities similar disparities can be found, especially in Western Slovakia, with as many as 59 % of Greek Catholic and 67 % of Greek Orthodox men in the young adult age groups as against 33 % for all other men (WS p. 188-193). Significantly enough, another somewhat bigger group, the Calvinists (2 % of the population) also shared such over-representation among young adults (with 45 % - see WS p. 188).

¹⁶⁴ With the exception of a small group of assistants, janitors and servants attached to public agencies (administrations, schools, hospitals, tribunals, etc.) as well as to professionals – also classified in the census in branch of 'intellectuals'.

educated men beyond 4 secondary classes constitute a good approximation to evaluate the proportion of those educated for entry into not publicly regulated 'intellectual' free markets or without real professional purposes – so to say, for the sake of some advanced learning as such, together, of course, with all its social benefits not directly oriented towards economic success.¹⁶⁵

Table 3

Western Slovakia						
Cities			counties			
more	Representation of those with 20-24 years old among		those with 4 classes for 100 'intellectuals',¹⁶⁶	Representation of those with 20-24 years old and more among		and
	Illite-Rates	4 classes and more		Illite-Rates	4 classes and more	
Roman Catholics 178	1.2	0.74	245	1.12	0.72	
Greek Catholics 180+	1.78+	2.45+	400+	3.83+	0.93+	
Calvinists 188	0+	1.23	335	0.32	1.43	
Lutherans 194	0.44	1.28	304	0.62	0.91	
Jews 423	0.16	2.58	706	0.07	6.48	
Together 212	1	1	285	1	1	

Eastern Slovakia						
Cities			counties			
more	Representation of those with 20-24 years old among		those with 4 classes for 100 'intellectuals'	Representation of those with 20-24 years old and more among		and
	Illite-Rates	4 classes and more		Illite-Rates	4 classes and more	

¹⁶⁵ Obviously enough, the social benefits of advanced learning consisted not only in professional usage but could also be employed – among other things – in fields as different as integration in middle class circles, share of the scholarly culture of ruling elites, cultural assimilation of those with alien ethnic culture (Jews, Germans, Slavs, Romanians in the Hungarian nation state), entitlement to fight in duels and become 'reserve officers' following 'voluntary' army service (for those with secondary school graduation – *érettségi*), etc.

¹⁶⁶ For the size of the category 'intellectuals' in the two regions by denominations see *MSK*, 64, p. 308.

Roman Catholics 151	0.61	0.92	240	0.87	0.92
Greek Catholics 162+	3.16	0.23	400+	2.06	0.43
Calvinists 168	0.93	0.64	335	0.84	0.46
Lutherans 168	0.13	1.73	303	0.28	1.68
Jews 387	0.21	2.89	706	0.35	2.96
Together 183	1	1	284	1	1

+ calculated upon less than 200 cases.

Levels of male illiteracy are indicated herewith in an opposing scheme of over-or under-representations compared to the average (1). Lower figures qualify here for better educational performances and higher figures for poorer ones. The data in table 3 confirm to a large extent the aforementioned general educational hierarchy of denominational clusters. Jews and Lutherans were decisively ahead of the rest, Roman Catholics and Calvinists being positioned somewhat above average in the East, below average in the West, but Greek Catholics remained in the worst position in both regions.

Of course, one can and should go beyond these elementary indications and identify a more complex hierarchy, in which age specific levels of literacy are also scrutinised. Indeed the basic hierarchy outlined above applies much better to the elderly age clusters than to the youngest ones. The main shifts affect the 6-14 age groups, rather than the older ones. They are related to gender differentials and the relative position of the two Protestant denominations in terms of literacy.

What has been pointed out previously about the occasional reversal of the gender hierarchy in respect to literacy, is relevant for some religious groups, notably among 6 years old quite generally to Catholics, to Jews in West Slovakian counties, to Calvinists and Lutherans in Eastern Slovakian counties, as well as – more surprisingly – to Greek Catholics in Eastern Slovakian cities. The same phenomenon of a larger proportion of literate girls compared to boys may be found once again among Catholics in most residential areas for the 7-11 years old and the 12-14 years old, but it also occurs among Protestants and Jews, especially in Eastern Slovakia. It may well be that in many peasant or other homes boys were somewhat more often needed than girls for child work in or outside the household economy and thus withheld from schooling. In Orthodox Jewry girls may have been sent to secular primary schools more often than boys, who were obliged to follow more strictly the traditional religious track of education (via *cheder* and *yeshiva*), hence their sometimes lower level of certified literacy in a 'recognised' national language (that is, essentially in Hungarian or German). But such gender differentials require further exploration in local studies.

Another significant observation in the youngest age groups concerns the frequent reversal of the customary hierarchy of educational performance between Protestants. While Lutherans did perform better than Calvinists in most clusters, there were exceptions – especially in Western Slovakia, where Calvinists were present only in diasporically small numbers. More importantly, Lutheran and

Calvinist achievements in terms of literacy in the youngest age groups remained very close to each other everywhere in the Slovakian regions and proved to be *much superior* to those of Catholics both for boys and girls. Thus, Calvinists join the '*Protestant pattern*' of significantly greater educational investments which is represented at more advanced levels of schooling by Lutherans alone.

For secondary education, the figures of Table 3 must be interpreted directly : the higher they are, the better performance they demonstrate. Here again, Jews and (though to a lesser extent) Lutherans display far better results than do the other groups, Catholics remain close to the average, though significantly below it in both regions, while Calvinists oscillate between a higher than average position in the West (where they represent a small minority of 2.9 % of the population) and a much lower than average position in the East (where they are present in large numbers – 18.3 % of the population). The overall poor educational attainment of this 'purely Magyar' denomination proves – if a proof was needed here – that Magyar ethnic status by itself was no guarantee of educational achievement in the Hungarian nation state. The only correlation to be expected (and which remains to be further explored) concerns the Magyarization strategies of minorities (whether Jews, Germans or Slavs). Indeed assimilation or acculturation may be demonstrably connected to educational mobility. Whatever the case may be, the reputedly less assimilated Greek Catholics (mostly Ruthenians and sometimes Romanians) show the far lowest representation among those with 4 secondary classes or more in Eastern Slovakia, where they constituted a sizable cluster (some 24 % of the population). Their apparently high score in Western Slovakia cannot be of much relevance, since it has to do with their status as a tiny minority (0.10 %) the specific aspects of which have been addressed above.

But probably the most interesting findings of Table 3 are contained in the third column of each sub-table relating to the number of members of officially defined 'intellectual professions' as compared to men with at least 4 secondary classes. The 'intellectuals' as listed here and following census data, are of course only an approximation of the real cluster of those actually active in the 'intellectual professions' linked (for example in the 1883 'Law on qualifications') to some level of secondary or higher education. Women are disregarded here, though at that time some 'intellectuals' were already females, especially doctors or – more often – teachers, some fifteen years after the opening of universities to women. Some uneducated staff of public agencies or the liberal professions are included among 'intellectuals'. More importantly, all the professionals of the private sector (whether managers, executives and property holders in industry, commerce, banking or transportation) are excluded from the count, representing a significant distortion as to the real numbers of those whose education permitted their access to an elite position in private business. Though these biases must be kept in mind, our data offer an interesting approach to the problem of educational inequalities of a denominational or ethnic nature.

In this respect the indicators of table 3 show a highly dualistic pattern. All Christian denominations are grouped somewhat below the average in counties or dispersed around it in cities. But there is no clear cult hierarchy among them in this respect. The main differences lay between Jews and Gentiles, the former showing a representation among the educated 2-3 times higher than the scores of the latter. Understandably enough, the 'excess' of the educated in comparison to professional 'intellectuals' is much larger in cities than in counties. The reasons of

this privileged position of the cities and of Jews may be linked. In both brackets there was, on the one hand, a concentration of vocationally trained educated men in private business, who were not counted officially in the 'intellectual' category. On the other hand, cities were the melting pots of cultural assimilation attracting would be assimilees, many of whom adopting advanced schooling as a strategy of mobility towards established middle class positions in the ruling Magyar strata. Jews were particularly numerous, hence their spectacular over-representation among apparently non-professional educated men. But there may be more in this remarkable Jewish presence among those with seemingly 'unfunctional' education. Many of them may have regarded advanced secular schooling as a form of conversion of their habits and acquisitions in terms of 'religious intellectualism' for the sake of or as an expression of their positive attitude to 'modernity' or modernisation. This is what may lie at the root of the gap between Eastern and Western Slovakian Jewry : the size of their 'freely educated' clusters being much more substantial in the West as compared to the East.

This is not the place to analyse in greater detail the historical causes of these large scale educational inequalities – which has been attempted elsewhere¹⁶⁷ - and for which cluster specific social class stratification and drive for professional mobility, degrees of urbanisation, strategies of cultural assimilation and social integration, pre-established cultural patterns (like habits of learning, forms of 'religious intellectualism' among Jews and some Protestants), commitment to demographic modernization and also, no less importantly, the very structure of the schooling provision as well must also be adduced. One should not forget that there was practically no Jewish secondary schools, except a few polgári, during the whole Dual Monarchy, while all Christian students could benefit from their own respective networks of gymnasiums – which actually dominated the market of classical secondary schooling with Latin until the end. As a consequence, Jews could rarely profit from special facilities granted to coreligionists in denominational schools (preferential admission, tuition wavers, grants, symbolic distinctions). On the contrary, they were often overtaxed by increased fees (especially in Protestant institutions), sometimes discouraged to apply, submitted not infrequently to proselytizing pressures to convert (especially in Catholic schools) and even exposed to antisemitic harassment, occasionally – though the Hungarian elite education system generally maintained liberal standards throughout the long 19th century. In this respect the Slovakian regions were no exceptions.¹⁶⁸ Thus, additionally to their general 'educational alienation' (as compared to their native religious culture) in secular learning, Jews had to attend non-Jewish institutions when they were seeking advanced (post-primary) schooling. Of course, this handicap could be turned into a challenge, generating positive reactions and compensatory learning strategies, likely to lead in favorable

¹⁶⁷ See notably my books : *Iskolarendszer és társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek...*, *op. cit.* and *Zsidóság és társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek (1867-1945)*, /Jewry and social inequalities, 1867-1945/, Budapest, Replika-kör, 2000, pp. 169-256.

¹⁶⁸ In the 1890s there were in the two Slovakian regions only 4 public (state or city run) gymnasiums as against 10 Protestant and 15 Catholic ones. It is true though that among the 6 *reáliskola* in these regions all but one were under public authority. Interestingly enough, the only exception was a Jewish *alreáliskola* (not directly preparing for *érettségi*) in Vágújhely, the only Hungarian-Jewish secondary school before 1919. (See István Mészáros, *op. cit.* pp. 299-302.) By the end of the Dualist era in 1917 the number of public secondary schools in Slovakia rose to 15 as against 25 Catholic ones, with 10 Protestant schools (see *ibid.* pp. 312-314.), whereby the dominance of the Churches over the elite educational market remained basically unchallenged.

circumstances to intellectual over-performance – which the Hungarian and other educational statistics clearly attest...

Leaving the complex problem area of socio-historical interpretations aside, let us content ourselves here with identifying the major denominational differences apparent in our data banks and spectacular enough to make their summary worth while.

The main upshot of all our previous observations has to do with the Jewish-Gentile contrast - manifest in every respect. Still, there are considerable differences between the various regional or demographic clusters, so that the variations must also be accounted for. The best approach to this complex problem area is suggested by our representation indices (columns 3-5 in each table in SW and SE).

Let us start with age clusters, since they allow to continue our discussion about the historical 'stagnation' of educational investments in the post-1867 decades.

Jewish educational pre-eminence proved to be regularly more marked among the younger generations than among the older ones and this was true in towns and counties for Jewish men in both regions, and especially in counties for Jewish women (while they maintained an almost average representation in the two West Slovakian towns listed in our survey – see WS p. 198). Thus, in Western Slovakian counties, some 12 % of Jewish men born before 1850 (above 60 years of age) accomplished at least 4 secondary classes, a proportion multiplied by four (!) in the age groups under 30, reaching close to half of all males (WS pp. 180-181). This is in sharp contrast to Christians, among whom similar proportions grew much less (for Roman Catholics and Lutherans – the two major denominations in the region – from 3.1 % both to 4.8 % and 6.2 % respectively – see WS pp. 176-177 and 178-179). In Eastern Slovakian counties however, overall Jewish educational levels remained far behind those of West Slovakian Jewry, but the proportion of those men with some secondary education nevertheless increased over the same period (that is, between the oldest and the youngest age groups concerned) equally, more than 4 times (from 5 % to 23 % - ES pp. 125-126), while comparable Christian scores moved much less (from 4 % to 7 % for Roman Catholics, from 4.3 % to 6.5 % and 9.1 % for Calvinists, from 8.5 % to 12.6 % and 15.6 % for Lutherans – see ES pp. 121-124).

In the cities the discrepancy was even more greater between Jews and Christians. Educational credentials of Jewish men actually doubled over the long period both in the West (from 17 % with some secondary training up to 51-52 % - see WS pp. 192-193) and in the East (from 22 % to 41-43 % see ES pp. 137-138), while they actually tended to oscillate, stagnate or even not insignificantly decline (!) for all the youngest adult Christian clusters. Among Roman Catholic men only 13 % had a smattering of secondary schooling among the 20-24 years old as against 24 % among the 25-29 years old and as much as 27 % of those over 60 (see ES pp. 148-149). Here we have an empirical demonstration of the statement about 'stagnation of enrolments' in the early Dualist period, meaning that *Christians did stagnate to a large extent while Jews did not*, so that the latter became over time by far the best educated religious cluster in both regions.

But this general Jewish 'over-schooling' of sorts had a number of specific aspects and qualifications.

As mentioned above, it was much more decisive in the West than in the East of our region, denoting the major cultural and social opposition between

Jewish Orthodoxy and 'Neology' (Reform Jewry) on the one hand – the break between the two having gained an overall importance since the 1868 Jewish Congress in Pest -, and Eastern and Western Orthodoxy, the former being strongly influenced by Hassidism. The Jewish authorities of strictly Orthodox persuasion would more or less adamantly oppose secular schooling till late on in the long 19th century. The spectacular manifestation of such attitudes was the scarcity of Jewish primary schools of public status in Eastern Slovakia. In Western Slovakia by 1895 not less than 126 such schools were sponsored by Jewish communities, while there were only 48 in Eastern Slovakia. But in counties like Bereg and Ung, with sizable Orthodox Jewish communities, there was just one public school of this sort in each county¹⁶⁹. This meant that many Jewish kids continued to attend the traditional *cheders* only, avoiding secular education and also escaping, by the way, registration in state organized schooling statistics : this is why we find an average of as many as 460 (!) Jewish children of 6-11 years for one primary school (whether public, denominational or private) in Eastern Slovakia, as against 118 in Western Slovakia. This is also the obvious source of educational differences, still very marked in our data banks, between Eastern and Western Slovakian Jews. They were manifest in the continued high rates of illiteracy in the East even among the youngest Jewish generations (7.8 % among men and 12 % among women of 20-24 years of age in the counties – see ES pp. 125 and 131), as against the quasi disappearance of Jewish illiteracy in Western Slovakian counties (0.8 % among men and 1.8 % among women of 20-24 years old – see WS pp. 180 and 186).

Two remarks about this problem area are in order.

First, data on Jewish illiteracy may have borne the brunt of administrative bias against Yiddish and Hebrew, the native languages of most of the Orthodox and many other Hungarian Jews during most of the 19th century. Jewish languages not being recognized among ethnic mother tongues (just like Jews were not considered to be an ethnic minority), most non-Magyar speaking Jews were clustered with 'Germans' in ethnic statistics based on mother tongue or 'first language'. This could imply that their literacy in Hebrew letters was also ignored by census inspectors, thus artificially reducing the proportion of literate Jews. Hence, levels of Jewish literacy observed in our data, especially among the Orthodox, may actually minimize real levels - once writing and reading knowledge in Hebrew is accounted for.

Second, the level of writing and reading knowledge attributable to Eastern Slovakian Jewry may have been affected by the *selective emigration* to other (Southern, Central or Western) parts of Hungary, or abroad (to Vienna, for example, or overseas). This is what declining figures of those enrolled in primary schools actually suggest. Indeed the proportions of Jewish kids enrolled in primary education among those in the age of obligatory schooling grew fast from 1870 to 1890 (from about 25 % to 74 %) in counties of Eastern Slovakia, *it then declined afterwards* (to 69 % by 1896), just at the point when mass emigration from Eastern Hungary gathered momentum. In counties like Borsod, Szepes or even Ung there was no decline, but in some other counties like Abaúj-Torna (a decline from 76 % to 58 %), Sáros (a decline from 52 % to as little as 36 %) or Zemplén (a decline from 73 % to 64 %)¹⁷⁰ the increasing rarity of inscriptions was sharp indeed. Unlike the general increase in the accumulation of educational

¹⁶⁹ See *MSE* 1896, p. 411.

¹⁷⁰ Data from *VKM jelentés* of respective years as quoted above for Table 1.

capital, such phenomena should be submitted to more detailed and localized scrutiny.

As to more advanced learning, in the West about half of young adult Jewish men (precisely 50 % among the 20-24 years old in the counties – see WS p. 176) had accomplished some level of secondary education or training, compared to less than half of this ratio (22.6 % in Eastern Slovakian counties for men of the same age group – see ES p. 125). In some Eastern counties like Bereg (with only 12 % of men achieving some secondary schooling – see ES pp. 29-30) Jewish educational performance was indeed much poorer, so that it failed to reach that of Lutherans (with 21 %) or even of Roman Catholics (16 %) for similar clusters (see ES pp. 25 and 27). The regional oscillation of Jewish educational levels were thus large, following the nature of locally dominant community obediences, a factor of less significance within Christian clusters.

Among Jewish specificities one must count the limited distance between urban and rural levels of educational attainment, especially as measured by indicators of advanced learning, quite atypical among Gentiles, notably in Western Slovakia. While among Christians in the West the average proportion of those with 4 or more secondary classes in cities exceeded by between three up to five times that in the counties, particularly among men, such differences would never go beyond one to two among Jews (for women with 8 classes), but there were most of the time actually no significant differences at all : 24 % of Jewish men in the Western counties achieved 8 secondary classes as against 26 % of them in the two Western cities for the 25-29 years old (see WS pp. 181 and 193). Among Western Slovakian Jewish women, there were more of them in the counties (31 %) with at least 4 years of secondary training than in cities (30 % - see WS pp. 187 and 199). In Eastern Slovakia discrepancies in this respect were sharper in the two environments, but as a rule much less than among Gentiles of the same categories. Thus Jewish educational capital appears much more equally distributed and the 'excess' of educated - beyond those using education professionally – much more frequent everywhere, irrespective of the residential milieu, than it was among Christians.

Paradoxically enough, though women's education was by the end of the Dual Monarchy much more advanced among Jews than among Christians, Jewish women were far behind Jewish men as to their chances of elite education (8 years of secondary schooling or more) than were their Gentile sisters in relation to Christian men. There were 10-13 times more Jewish men in such a case than were Jewish women in both big regions, while similar disparities did not exceed a level of 3-4 times more men than women among Christians. Such differences may be perhaps connected to the effect of Jewish religious learning habits – reserved for men, whereby women remained practically excluded -, habits that were liable to be translated into gender specific differentials in secular higher education, especially on the strength of assimilationist strategies – promising more professional rewards for men than for women.

Another aspect of Jewish-Gentile gender differentials is reflected by the much larger basis of the Jewish female educational pyramide, as compared to that of Gentile women. This was especially true outside cities. Both in Western and Eastern Slovakian counties in the 25-29 age group the number of Jewish women with only 4 secondary classes was 12 times (!) higher than the number with 8 secondary classes (see WS p. 187 and ES p. 126). Similar disparities did not exceed 1 to 4-5 for Christian women. This meant, manifestly, that the educational

mobilisation of Jewish women was in general both much larger than among Christian women, but also that it targeted in the first place a level of basic secondary schooling, instead of graduation proper. In the West, nine to thirteen times more (!) Jewish than Gentile women of the 25-29 age group achieved 4 secondary classes, but only two-three times more the 8 classes level... (See WS pp. 183, 185, 187.) In the East, Jewish women's advance was much more limited to the 4 classes level (2-3 fold), due obviously to Orthodox restrictions on secular training as such. But Roman Catholic and Lutheran women actually surpassed them somewhat at the level of 8 classes ! (See ES pp. 128, 130, 132.) The main reasons for this may be looked for in the different educational strategies, much like for men. Jewish women attended much more often initial secondary classes (among others those of the *polgári*), not infrequently with the purpose of applying the skills obtained as trade attendants (possibly in family businesses) or otherwise, without seeking further 'useless' or purely decorative secular learning in graduation.

A final important difference separating Jews and Christians in the educational market has to do with the shape of the educational pyramid of men in the two regional settings. Christians typically had more of those with 8 secondary classes than with only 4 classes. The Jewish pyramid was all but the inversion of the Gentile one, except in the age groups of young adults. Though Jewish men were strongly over-represented among secondary graduates, even more or as many of them had only 4 classes education. This is clearly demonstrated by the fact that 'representation indices' (the columns of figures 2 and 3 on left pages of our data banks) are always higher for Jewish men for the category of '4 classes and more' than for '8 classes and more'. Jewish educational investment had thus a much larger basis than that of Christians. Such differences may reflect, once again, thoroughly divergent educational strategies. Jews sought much more often than Gentiles enrolment throughout the period in schooling options of shorter length, like *polgári*, *reáliskola* (many of these not leading to graduation, being only 'incomplete' or *alreáliskola* with 4-6 classes), since this offered immediate access to appointments as clerks, managers of family businesses, private executives, etc. Even when the classical track (gymnasium) was pursued, Jewish pupils would more often abandon their studies before graduation in case of serious scholarly failure. They were also statistically much more rarely engaged in schooling options conducive to 'petty intellectual' positions like priests or primary teachers. This gave rise to a very large proportion of young Jewish males with incomplete secondary education, a fact particularly striking for the elderly generations in Eastern Slovakia (see ES pp.126 and 137). In Orthodox Jewry classical secondary studies with Latin - associated with pagan or Christian civilisation and crowned by graduation (*érettségi*), liable to lead to integration in the Christian middle classes - appeared to be much less desirable or even tolerable as secular education in a *polgári* or, possibly, in a commercial highschool. The latter were justified by the practical knowledge they taught, useful in trade and less likely to 'alienate' alumni from their Jewish roots. Gentiles, on the other hand, sought more often education for purposes of social 'gentrification' best guaranteed by graduation from a gymnasium with Latin. This is why Christian families (especially Magyar ones with gentry background or aspirations) tended to disregard or even despise 'practical' job prospects (as opened up by the *polgári* or the *felső kereskedelmi*) outside the occupational sphere of the gentlemanly middle class and pushed their offspring towards the *érettségi* at any price, notably

regardless of their scholarly achievements. Moreover, Gentiles also headed often for semi-intellectual careers in the Churches and in public schools requiring 8 secondary classes (or permitting one's self-qualification as such, as if one had completed them).

Compared to the contrast between Jews and Christians, disparities among Christians appear to be minor indeed, the main one consisting in the hierarchy of achievements – with Lutherans above the others - discussed above. A central issue in this respect, opposing Lutherans and other Christians on the one hand, against those of Greek persuasion on the other, is related to ethnicity. It would be interesting to check empirically the hypothesis related to the impact of ethnically defined performance patterns on educational accomplishments observed among denominational clusters. In concrete terms it would be worth exploring to what extent the German-Zipser or Slovak majority among Lutherans and Roman Catholics in several counties of the regions under scrutiny – well objectivated in the last column of the left side in the tables of our data banks – could affect the educational attainments of the clusters concerned. A systematic study of ethnic dimensions cannot, alas, be undertaken on the basis of our data due to the absence of specific information about schooling simultaneously for both variables (religion and ethnicity) and even more so in respect of Magyar assimilees of alien background. 'Assimilated' status can though be estimated for some clusters (like Jews declaring Magyar mother tongue, and sometimes for others too). Our present data combinations mix up some of the possibly most relevant distinctions between Germanizing and Magyarizing Jews, between German-Zipsers and Germanizing Jews, or between Lutheran and Catholic Slovaks or Slovak-Magyar assimilees. Still some insights (albeit not necessarily conclusive ones for our purposes) about the 'ethnic impact' may be drawn from our data.

Let us resort to indications of 8 years of secondary studies or more for men as a basis for the following experimental comparisons.

Among Roman Catholics in Eastern Slovakia two cases of 'over-representation' can be found in Bereg and Ung counties (see the county indices on columns 3 and 4 on the left side of each table in ES and WS). In Bereg the majority of them were Magyar (65 %) with probably some assimilated Germans among them, since over one quarter of the Catholic population (27 %) was German proper. But in Ung there were no Germans at all in the cluster, made up by Slovaks (42 %) and Magyars (47 %) including, it would seem, some Slovak assimilees. No 'ethnic impact' can be thus detected in these figures.

Among Lutherans in Eastern Slovakia the most striking occurrence of over-representation concerns the same counties Bereg and Ung, but the Lutheran cluster is present there in very small, quasi-diasporic numbers only (0.4 % of the population). In Bereg Lutherans are divided between Magyars (50 %) and Slovaks (41 %), while in Ung there was a Magyar majority among them (68 %) with smaller German and Slovak shares. The only Eastern Slovakian county historically dominated by a German-Lutheran majority (68 %) was Szepes, but the educational score of Lutherans there hardly attained the regional average. On the contrary, in the 'most Slovak-Lutheran' counties of Gömör (67 % Slovaks among Lutherans) or Sáros (84 % Slovaks among Lutherans), or even Abauj-Torna (40 % Slovaks with 55 % Magyars, including Slovak assimilees among Lutherans) educational performances were actually even much below average, though Lutherans in general remained even there somewhat over-represented among the best educated.

This short report on the main general findings identifiable in our two data banks on Slovakia must be considered experimental by nature. No similar attempts have ever been made to study, let alone to produce, such a complex set of figures on the social conditions of differences in educational attainment, combining not less than four independent and decisive variables (counties or cities, religion, gender, age) together with levels of education and – separately for residential districts – ethnicity. The difficulties of interpreting such data are of the same order as the complexity of the information contained in them. Still, this summary exploration of some of the major dimensions of educational inequalities in Slovakia will help scholars to explain forthcoming similar results to be published soon on other regions in the present collection. This should apply notably to Transylvania, the Banat or the Trans-Tisza region, where ethnic background and denominational status coincided historically more often (even if not always unambiguously) than they did in the two regions which have just been discussed.

Victor Karady

The Social Functions of Education in a Multi-Cultural and Post-Feudal Society. The Transylvanian Paradigm..

(megjelenés alatt in V. Karady, Peter-Tibor Nagy, *Denominational Inequalities in Transylvania, 1910. A Data bank*, Budapest-New York, Pasts Inc. with Central European University Press, 2006).

One can easily detect, even at the most superficial sight, a number of denominational dimensions of the supply and the demand of education in modern times. A religious community is, obviously enough, a cultural cluster providing for the organised reproduction of its members by inculcating in their young generations its main belief tenets, values and ritual competences. These may include intellectual assets applicable in the secular domain too. Religious cultures thus promote particular skills and distribute cultural goods, but also generate various forms of *habitus* more or less favorable to learning. They may give rise – due to purely religious needs – to sophisticated networks of organised schooling for the training of believers and clerics. A confessional congregation also has specific social set-up in terms of the insertion of its clientele in the given power structure, professional stratification and class fabric which defines to a large extent both its educational needs, ambitions and expectations as well as the means the group can invest in education.

In the forthcoming study of the educational scenery in early 20th century Transylvania all these topical issues will be – mostly implicitly – touched upon in order to explain the extraordinary diversity of educational attainments and performances identified in our statistical findings along denominational lines. For the interpretation of our data we also have to resort to a number of institutional, demographic, economical and even political variables. But first of all we have to locate the educational system of Transylvania in that of the emerging Hungarian nation state of which it was an integral part.

Education supply and demand in Transylvania.

Regional inequalities of development have usually historical roots, often related to long established factors of which only some visible consequences or outcomes can be controlled by socio-historical investigation. This cannot be the target of the present inquiry. We are going simply to confront, thanks to a small number of objective indicators, the glorious historical image of the province with its social reality in the Dualist Era.

Transylvania has kept, as it is well known, an exceptional status in the Hungarian Kingdom both due to collective imagination and socio-historical circumstances.

It was, to be sure, the only part of the historic state to have almost continuously preserved a measure of political autonomy against outside powers, with its medieval townships developing without major breaks in spite of various vicissitudes, unlike most other (especially central) parts of the country, where many ancient institutions and community structures (like the Churches, elite colleges, the 'Saxon University') survived from medieval or post medieval origins till modern times. Hence its public image as the eastern outpost of Magyar civilisation embodied among other things in *Kincses Kolozsvár*, the 'city of treasures', the legendary landscapes of the Carpathian Mountains, the myth of the 'tricky Széklers', the 'truly Magyar nature' of Calvinism and Unitarianism originating from the region and their cultural and material impacts (buildings, temples, libraries, other 'places of memory'). All this belongs indeed up to the present to the staple source of nationalist pride in Hungary and regarded as an essential part of the symbolic patrimonium of Magyardom.

But the singularity of the province 'beyond the King's Pass' was also linked to the fact that the demographic minority status of the politically and socially dominant 'titular ethnic group', the Magyars, was among the worst of all other regions in the would be nation state'. In 1880, after decades of intensive policies of linguistic Magyarisation, Hungarian speakers

made up a mere 30,2 % of the population in Transylvania, as against 46,6 % in the whole country.¹⁷¹ These proportions did not evolve very fast by 1910, indeed they grew less in Transylvania – with only 34,2 % of speakers of Hungarian (as a first language) – than in the general population of the country (54,4 % altogether).¹⁷²

Denominational heterogeneity contributed to enhance the uniquely complex nature of post-feudal Transylvanian society. This was certainly the most idiosyncratic regional mixture of confessions in a country known to be unique among modern European state formations on account of its religious multiplicity, exemplified especially by the lack of a religious cluster carrying demographic majority. The erstwhile Roman Catholic 'state religion' – while it remained the faith of the court and a good part of the landed aristocracy¹⁷³, fell just short of the majority, not gathering more than 47,3 % in 1880 and 48,7 % in 1900 of the whole population¹⁷⁴. This meant however that at least in most larger regions of the kingdom Roman Catholics did represent a qualified majority, even if – on county level - Greek Catholics (like in Máramaros) and Greek Orthodox (like in Arad, Krassó-Szörény, Hunyad and Temes) could locally do so as well. But Transylvania was the only larger territorial unit in the kingdom without any confessional group coming close to majority positions. Here, in 1880 for example, Roman Catholics (12,7 %) and Calvinists (14,2 %) stood, as sizable minorities to be true, much behind the Greek Orthodox (31,8 %) and the Greek Catholics (27,6 %), while Lutherans (9,6 %), Unitarians (2,6 %) and Jews (1,4 %) remained in a quasi diaspora situation, even if they were often concentrated in some local communities or sub-regions.¹⁷⁵

Whatever this complex situation and the collective representations therewith attached may be (or may have been in the past), we are concerned here only with social realities in a comparative perspective, the basis of reference being the rest of Hungary proper (outside Croatia), in order to substantiate images and expectations about the state of development reached by the province at the end of the Dualist Era. The level of educational expansion is an integral part of this exploration which, by hypothesis, can be brought into correlation with other indices of modernisation. This exercise might produce controversial results in the sense that their significance can vary and their message differ, hence the importance of their circumstantial interpretation. They are indeed liable to offer cues for the understanding of denominational inequalities identifiable in the data bank published in this volume.

Table 1.
Comparative Indices of Educational Development in Transylvania in the Dualist Era

		Transylvania	Hungary
% of children of schooling age	1870 ¹⁷⁶	40,6	
	1880 ¹⁷⁷	71,4	77,2

¹⁷¹ *Magyar statisztikai közlemények* /Hungarian statistical reports/ (henceforth *MStK*) 27, 104. All quantified informations cited henceforth for Hungary concern the territory without Croatia.

¹⁷² *MStK* 64, 146.

¹⁷³ Holding in 1900 a slight majority among landowners over 1000 *holds* (49,5 %) and a somewhat larger one (51,1 %) among owners of 100-1000 *holds*. But if we consider Christian landowners only, representing the old gentry and aristocracy, Roman Catholics made up as much as 60,8 % of those with 1000 *holds* and above and 54,2 % of those with 100-1000 *holds* at that time. Cf. *MStK* 27, 96-100.

¹⁷⁴ *MStK* 27, 86-87.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid. Op. cit.*

¹⁷⁶ *A m. királyi Vallás és Közoktatási Miniszter jelentése* /Yearly Report of the royal Minister of Cults and public instruction/ (henceforth *VKM jelentés*), 1870, 356-359.

¹⁷⁷ *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* /Hungarian statistical yearbook/ (henceforth *MStÉ*), 1880, IX, 94-98.

attending a school	1890 ¹⁷⁸ 1900 ¹⁸⁰	70,9 71,4	81,5 ¹⁷⁹ 84,6
average salary of teachers	1880 ¹⁸¹	250	367
% of non qualified primary school teachers	1895 ¹⁸²	12,6	
% of literate (with writing and reading skills) among 6 years old and above ¹⁸³	1890 1900 1910	36 44 54	51 59 67
<hr/>			
% in the population	1900	14,7	100,0 (= 16.722.000)
<hr/>			
% among primary schools in Hungary	1880 ¹⁸⁴ 1900 ¹⁸⁵ 1910 ¹⁸⁶	18,9 17,6 16,2	100,0 (= 15.824) 100,0 (= 17.146) 100,0 (= 16,530)
% among primary school teachers	1880 ¹⁸⁷ 1900 ¹⁸⁸ 1910 ¹⁸⁹	18,0 16,2 14,3	100,0 (= 21.664) 100,0 (= 29.063) 100,0 (= 32.865)
% among primary school pupils	1880 ¹⁹⁰ 1900 ¹⁹¹	12,5 13,0	100,0 (= 1.620.000) 100,0 (= 2.315.000)
% among pupils of schooling age not enrolled in a school ¹⁹²	1913	25,9	100,0 (= 127.415)
% of lower secondary schools (<i>polgári</i> and <i>felső népiskola</i>)	1898 ¹⁹³ 1910 ¹⁹⁴	11,9 12,0	100,0 (= 268) 100,0 (= 482)
% of pupils in lower secondary schools (<i>polgári</i> and <i>felső népisk.</i>)	1898 ¹⁹⁵ 1910 ¹⁹⁶	10,9 9,8	100,0 (= 38.824) 100,0 (= 88129)

¹⁷⁸ VKM Jelentés 1890, 145-155 and 162-163.

¹⁷⁹ MStÉ 1893, 313.

¹⁸⁰ MStÉ 1901, 314.

¹⁸¹ MStÉ 1880 IX, 95-99.

¹⁸² MStÉ 1896, 412-413.

¹⁸³ Nagy Mária, „Magyar tanító 1911-ben” /Hungarian teacher in 1911/, *Iskolakultúra* (Pécs), 2006 február, 34.

¹⁸⁴ MStÉ 1880, IX, 94-98.

¹⁸⁵ MStÉ 1901, 320.

¹⁸⁶ MStÉ 1911, 346.

¹⁸⁷ MStÉ 1880, 95-99.

¹⁸⁸ MStÉ 1901, 321.

¹⁸⁹ MStÉ 1911, 347.

¹⁹⁰ MStÉ 1880 IX, 95-99.

¹⁹¹ MStÉ 1901, 314.

¹⁹² MStÉ 1915, 240.

¹⁹³ VKM Jelentés nr. 27, 1898, 270. 1898

¹⁹⁴ MStÉ 1911, 332. The same source applies to all other data on secondary schooling in 1910.

¹⁹⁵ VKM Jelentés 25, 1898, 270.

¹⁹⁶ MStÉ 1911, 332.

% of classical secondary schools 1900 ¹⁹⁷ (gymnasiums and <i>reáliskolák</i>)	1910	19,1 19,0	100,0 (= 198) 100,0 (=210)
% of students in classical secondary schools (as above)	1900 1910 ¹⁹⁸	15,0 15,8	100,0 (= 65.589) 100,0 (= 71.301)
% of commercial highschoo (<i>felső kereskedelmi</i>)	1889 ¹⁹⁹ 1900 ²⁰⁰ 1910 ²⁰¹	6,9 10,2	100,0 (= 29) 100,0 (= 39) 100,0 (=)
% of pupils in commercial highschools (<i>felső kereskedemi</i>)	1889 ²⁰² 1900 ²⁰³ 1910 ²⁰⁴	5,2 10,0 5,0	100,0 (= 2000) 100,0 (= 5.333) 100,0 (= 8.841)
% of normal schools (teacher training colleges)	1900 1910	10,8 14,4	100,0 (= 83) 100,0 (= 90)
% of students in normal schools	1900 1910	15,2 13,1	100,0 (= 8799) 100,0 (= 9744)
number of students in the Budapest Polytechnical University per 100 000 Inhabitants (1899/1900-1917/18) ²⁰⁵		3,3	8,6 (7,8 outside Budapest)
% of students in the Budapest Polytechnical University	1889/90-1897/8 ²⁰⁶	6,7	100,0 (= 5879)
% of students in the two classical universities	1890 ²⁰⁷ 1894 ²⁰⁸	14,4 13,9	100,0 (= 4624) 100,0 (= 3755)

This set of educational data demonstrate a dual structure of sorts, related to educational investments in Transylvania. On the one hand the educational equipment of the province, as far as the number of primary and secondary schools and teachers is concerned,

¹⁹⁷ *MStÉ* 1901, 302-305. This source applies to all other data of the table related to secondary education, in 1900 including normal schools, if not otherwise indicated.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid. Loc. cit.*

¹⁹⁹ *MStÉ* 1889, IX, 166-168.

²⁰⁰ *MStÉ* 1901,

²⁰¹ *MStÉ* 1911, 171.

²⁰² *MStÉ* 1889, IX., 166-168.

²⁰³ *MStÉ* 1901,

²⁰⁴ *MStÉ* 1911, 355.

²⁰⁵ *Magyar királyi József Műegyetem programja az 1909. tanévre /Program of the Royal Hungarian József Polytechnical University for 1909)*, Budapest, 1909, 47 and following. See subsequent years as well. The numbers are based on a complete inventory of Transylvanian students and on that of the whole country for 1899/1900, 1905/6, 1911/12, 1913/14 and 1917/18.

²⁰⁶ Computed for the academic years 1889/90, 1890/91, 1891/92, 1893/4, 1894/5 and 1897/8 from the *VKM Jelentések* of the years concerned.

²⁰⁷ *VKM Jelentés* 1890/91, II. 280-281 and .,

²⁰⁸ *VKM Jelentés* 1894/5, 84-85 and 125-126.

was mostly better than the country wide average, except for vocational and normal schools. If, as in table 1 above, the region benefited in general more primary schools than expected, following the size of its population, it had indeed more villages without any schools (180) around 1907 than any other region in the country.²⁰⁹ Transylvania had much more classical gymnasiums and *reáliskolák*, but much less vocational secondary schools (mostly commercial ones – *felső kereskedelmik*) and teacher training colleges (normal schools) than expected, following its population size. Since 1872 the province had a classical university of its own in Kolozsvár/Cluj, the second Hungarian university in the whole country. The Franz-Joseph University seems to have been in fact attended for long mostly by students from beyond the King's Pass (up to two thirds of the student body in the 1890s²¹⁰), before the big wave of 'invasion' of law students from Budapest, Western and Central Hungary in the mid 1900s. Anyhow, the existence of the university and a large network of classical secondary schools secured serious facilities for advanced training in the province, given the importance of locality for the probability to enroll and graduate from a local institution of elite training.²¹¹

Thus, as compared to the share of the province in the population most of the indicators of the schooling supply are above their mean value in quantitative terms. As for the quality of the same, doubts may be raised when the very low salaries of teachers, or the relatively high percentage of primary teachers without qualification (graduates from a normal school) are taken into account. There is no reason to think though that the quality of secondary school training differed significantly from one region to another in those times, since the school networks (whether state or church managed) were organised on a nation wide basis and closely controlled by the state educational authorities (via a vast body of inspectors) with professors of the same education being appointed everywhere. As to universities, contemporaries considered the Transylvanian faculties, especially the Law faculty in the 1900s, as a 'factory of graduates' granting special facilities for students passing exams.²¹² The rate of success at exams was indeed systematically higher in Kolozsvár/Cluj as in the University of Budapest.²¹³ Still the supply side of the educational market seems to have been in a satisfactory state on the whole.

The demand for education shows a very different, indeed a complex and partly contradictory picture.

On the primary level the demand objectivated in the numbers and proportions of pupils was systematically below the level of the supply and well below the country wide average. Children of schooling age attended schools throughout the Dualist era much less often in Transylvania than in the rest of the country. (Differences between the region beyond King's Pass and the rest were actually larger in reality than suggested by some of our data, since the country wide averages also included the low Transylvanian averages themselves.) Consistently enough, this observation applies to the low share of pupils in Transylvania enrolled in primary schools, together with – logically – the very high share of those who were

²⁰⁹ *MSiK* 31, 43*.

²¹⁰ For the academic years 1890/91, 1894/5 and 1897/8 the precise proportion of students from Transylvania proper was 64,5 %. Computed from data in *VKM jelentés* of the years concerned. The medical students of the university emanated (by father's residence) even more often, up to 76 %, from Transylvania between 1872 and 1918. See V: Karady, L. Nastasa, *The University of Kolozsvár/Cluj and the students of the Medical Faculty (1872-1918)*, CLuj, Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center, Budapest-New York, Central European University, 2004, 104.

²¹¹ During the three years, as in the precedent note, some 22 % of students of the Franz-Joseph University originated from Kolozs county, mostly from the very city of Kolozsvár. As for medical students before 1919, this was the case of 18 % of them. Cf. V. Karady, L. Nastasa, *loc. cit.*

²¹² Cf. Andor Ladányi, *A magyarországi felsőoktatás a dualizmus kora második felében /Hungarian higher education in the second part of the Dualist Era/*, Budapest, Felsőoktatási Pedagógiai Kutatóközpont, 1969, 72-75.

²¹³ See on this point as regards the medical faculties my study in V. Karady, L. Nastasa, *op. cit.*, 81-82.

not attending. As a direct consequence Transylvania lagged behind the rest with its rates of literacy. At the end of the period hardly more than half of the population of 6 years old and above knew how to read and write, as against more than two third of the general population.

The situation was different on the level of secondary education. Here, as for the supply, two patterns prevailed. The proportion of Transylvanian students in classical secondary schools exceeded regularly the country wide average. These were *érettségi (Matura)* granting institutions leading to higher studies. Still, the size of the student body in the classical track (gymnasiums and *reáliskolák*) fell behind the size of the network of accessible institutions. In contrast, some non classical highschoools²¹⁴ (normal schools) even a measure of over-crowding could be observed at times thanks to the rather high number of pupils as against a low share of Transylvania in the country wide institutional network. In *polgári* schools and in commercial highschoools Transylvania was also seriously under-represented both in terms of institutions and students. Thus, the Transylvanian educational system was weak as to the demand for primary, lower secondary and some vocational (commercial) secondary schools, but rather strong as to the demand expressed for secondary elite training.

Higher education, intellectual professions and modernity in Transylvania

Such duality can be observed in higher education as well.

While the two classical universities seem to have gathered approximately as many Transylvanian students as the share of the province in the population of the country, Transylvanians attended very rarely the Polytechnical University in Budapest. If one looks closer at study options, it appears clearly that Transylvanian students, when enrolled for elite training, invested mostly in the most classical track, the legal one preparing both to civil service and political careers and the bar. An overwhelming majority of Transylvanian students indeed attended a Faculty of Law, and a substantial proportion of them even an Academy of Law. (For the latter we have as yet no data, though.) In Budapest University this applied to 74 % of students from Transylvania as against 57 % of the rest of the student body in 1895/6²¹⁵. If one combines such data with the very low showing of Transylvanian students at the Polytechnical university, it appears that the emerging 'modern' intelligentsia from the region engaged on elite training tracks kept a basically conservative profile, opting in their absolute majority for Law, inadvertently exemplifying the classical intellectual incinations attributed in nationalist mythology to the 'Magyar nation of jurists'.

Such 'pre-modern' or classical proclivities identified in the demand for elite training cannot be disconnected from the level of industrialisation of Transylvania and, may be also, more generally, from the level of modernization observable outside the economic domain proper. This can be directly linked to the size and the composition by branches of activity of employed members of the middle classes whose professional position rests upon a measure of professional skills acquired by elite training.

Table 2.

The Share of Transylvania in the Hungarian Intellectual Professions in 1910²¹⁶.

²¹⁴ They truly deserve this name since they represented the equivalents of the highest three or four grades of the 8 year post primary tracks, the intake of commercial and other vocational institutions being constituted of pupils with 4 years of classical or non classical (*polgári iskolai*) post-primary training.

²¹⁵ Computed from *VKM Jelentés* 1896, 84-85.

²¹⁶ All data, if it is not indicated otherwise, was computed from *MStK* 56, 434-609 (for private employees) and 674-781 for free professionals and publicly employed (in state, Church, municipal or county services). These data refer fundamentally to the main educated middle class sectors of contemporary Hungarian society. Private employees */magánhivatalnokok/* were included here rather than owners of private enterprises, because they were

	Transylvania	Hungary
Active population ²¹⁷	15,2	100,0 (= 7.750.973)
Private employees in forestry	8,9	100,0 (= 1735)
Private employees in mining	24,8	100,0 (= 1.538)
Private employees in industry	7,3	100,0 (= 26.498)
Private employees in trade	7,2	100,0 (= 37.312)
Private employees in transportation	7,5	100,0 (= 20.624)
Private employees in agricultue	9,4	100,0 (= 9.611)
All private employees	7,8	100,0 (97.318)
Lawyers	10,2	100,0 (= 6.743)
Other legal employees, judges, attorneys	16,2	100,0 (= 12.591)
Medical doctors	9,9	100,0 (= 5514)
Other medical and para-medical professionals	12,5	100,0 (= 18341)
Private ingeneers	7,2	100,0 (= 1.353)
All free professionals (including those not cited above)	11,5	100,00 (= 48.344)
Employees in military forces ²¹⁸	14,6	100,0 (= 9.687)
All Church and educational services	16,2	100,0 (= 57.713)
All civil services	14,2	100,0 (= 49.155)
All intellectual professionals	13,7	100,0 (181.788)

The table on the intellectual professions displays a singular duality indeed thanks to the weak presence of 'modern' intellectuals and the relative over-representation of traditional brackets of those performing non manual services, even when they cannot necessarily be qualified as intellectual activities proper. Transylvania appears here seriously backward, as compared to the rest of Hungary, since in most professional branches cited the region was heavily under-represented.

This weakness is particularly striking as to the managerial staff of the private economy, where most often the share of Transylvania hardly exceeded the half of its proportion in the active population (male and female). In industry, trade and transportations – that is, in the recently developed sectors of the post-feudal era – the Transylvanian proportions remained below half of the share of the province in the active population of the country. Only in the most traditional sectors was the region somewhat better staffed on the executive and managerial level, with rather poor scores though even in agriculture and forestry, but with a spectacular over-representation in mining. This latter fact had to do with the central position of the region in the sector of mineral extraction sector in Hungary, due to its exceptionally rich material resources : the 'intellectual' staff of mining was however the

at that time holding much more generally educational assets than members of the 'independent' bourgeoisie themselves. In 1910 for example 76 % of employees in agriculture as against 7 % of landowners, 82 % of industrial employees as against 11 % of craftsmen and industrialists, 77% of employees in trade and banking as against 20 % of traders and bankers, 75 % of transport employees as against 20 % of entrepreneurs in transportation had accomplished at least 4 classes of secondary school. Cf. *MStK* 64, 270.

²¹⁷ *MSTK* 64, 309.

²¹⁸ *Ibid. Loc. cit.*

smallest of all sectors statistically distinguished, a mere 1,6 % of non manuals (white collars) in private employment..

A similar observation can be made for the 'real intellectuals' (*tulajdonképeni értelmiség*²¹⁹) in indigenous statistical terms, that is, free professionals, civil and semi-civil servants (teachers, clerics). In Transylvania free professionals were generally under-represented, and this rather heavily, especially in the best qualified professions, the income of which depend on personal skills and commitment, like doctors and lawyers. This was much less the case of less qualified non manuals in the same professional branches, in law (where assistant lawyers and employees formed the majority of the sector) or in the para-medical sector (where midwives made up the vast majority of the sector). Thus the higher the qualification, the lower was the share of Transylvania in the sector. This observation applies also to the civil service (in state, county and municipal employment), military as well as in semi-public (teachers' and clerical) professions, where the province was much better represented (in administrative civil service actually somewhat over-represented). Most of those concerned here (priests, primary school teachers, county or municipal employees, military officers²²⁰) did not have full university training, often lacking secondary school graduation as well.²²¹ Not even all teachers in activity could prevail of a due qualification as demanded by state regulations, though normal schools offered only secondary level training. Thus the bulk of Transylvanian intelligentsia was relatively under-qualified, compared to the county wide average.

This conclusion raises the much more general problem of the degree of modernisation of Transylvania in the Dualist Era. Modernisation is of course a manifold notion with a number of different meanings, following essentially the ways and means of its appreciation or measurement. But some aspects of modernisation – like urbanisation, the development of public services (such as health care or education proper) regarded as vital in a post-feudal society, - are demonstrably connected to the local availability of educational capital either as a cause or a consequence. Herewith I have collected a number of very different indicators of modernisation converging towards an overall definition of the level of development liable to affect education which the province had reached by the final phase of the period.

Table 3.
Indicators of Modernisation in Transylvania related to Hungary as a whole

	Transylvania	Hungary
% of the population in 1900 ²²²	14,7	100,0 (= 16.722,000)
% of the population outside Budapest in 1900 ²²³	15,6	100,0 (= 14.447 000)

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 309.

²²⁰ Officers of the national Honvéd Army were, in principle, trained at the Ludovica Akadémia with a three years curriculum, but access to the Academy did not require *érettségi (Matura)*, only the completion of eight years secondary education. But many officers of lower career expectations had only a much more modest cadet school training. See Tibor Hajdu, *Tisztikar és középosztály, Ferenc József magyar tisztjei /Officer corps and middle class, the Hungarian officers of Franz Joseph/*, Budapest, História-MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1999, 215.

²²¹ According to one recently identified contemporary document 51 % of city and county employees did not possess in 1881 a degree of higher education and 24 % of them not even a full secondary school training. See the *Főkimutatás arról, hogy a megyei és városi törvényhatósági, továbbá a rendezett tanácsú városi választott tisztviselők a megjelölt állomásokban 1881-ben tényleg milyen képzettséggel (qualificatioval) bírtak /Statement about the real qualification of elected officials in county, city and other municipal employment in 1881/*, in *Képviselőházi irományok, VI. kötet 1881-1884 (141. számú iromány)*, Budapest, 1882, 114. I am indebted to Peter Tibor Nagy for the discovery of and the permission to use this document.

²²² *MStK* 27, 6-7.

% of deaths under medical control ²²⁴		
men 1901-1902	28,6	49,1
men 1912-13	31,0	53,3
women 1901-1902	27,5	48,1
women 1912-1913	28,9	53,1
% of pharmacies outside Budapest in 1905 ²²⁵	12,6	100,0 (= 2004)
% of hospital beds outside Budapest in 1905 ²²⁶	17,4	100,0 (= 23.403)
% of deaths due to tuberculosis (outside Budapest) in 1914 ²²⁷	14,9	100,0 (=52.198)
% of the urban population (outside Budapest) ²²⁸		
in 1869	9,1	12,6
in 1900	11,0	14,4
in 1910	13,1	16,3
% of all mail received (outside Budapest) in 1905 ²²⁹ 300.995)	12,0	100,0 (=
% of telegrams received (outside Budapest) in 1905 ²³⁰	11,2	100,0 (=50,412)
% of telephone conversations (outside Budapest) ²³¹ 52.777)	15,7	100,0 (=
% of condemnations for crimes against persons in 1905 ²³²	19,3	100,0 (= 68.360)
% of condemnations for crimes against property in 1905 ²³³	17,8	100,0 (= 42.891)
% of condemnations for petty offences in 1905 ²³⁴ 507.353)	21,1	100,0 (=
% of electors among men above 20 years (elections of 1906) ²³⁵	12,4	24,4
% of capital in institutions of credit (outside Budapest), 1905 ²³⁶ ..	12,5	100,0 (=1.879.000)
% of institutions of credit (outside Budapest), 1900 ²³⁷	18,4	100,0 (= 2.523)
% of capital insured against fire (outside Pest county) 1900 ²³⁸ 4.134.000)	9,8	100,0 (=
% of capital insured against frost (outside Pest county), 1900 ²³⁹	3,8	100,0 (245.527)
% of emigrants in 1905 ²⁴⁰	15,2	100,0 (139.000)

²²³ *Ibid. Loc. cit.*

²²⁴ Medicalisation files in the Archives of the Central Statistical Office in Budapest.

²²⁵ *Ibid. Loc. cit.*

²²⁶ *Ibid. Loc. cit.*

²²⁷ *MSÉ* 1914, 43.

²²⁸ Computed from a combination of data in *MStK* 27, 7, *MStK* 27, 98 and *MStK* 64, 19.

²²⁹ *Kormányjelentés* 1905, 264.

²³⁰ *Ibid. Loc. cit.*

²³¹ *Ibid. Loc. cit.*

²³² *Ibid.* 477.

²³³ *Ibid. Loc. cit.*

²³⁴ *Ibid.* 457.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 421.

²³⁶ *Ibid.* 293.

²³⁷ *MStÉ* 1900, 277.

²³⁸ *Ibid.* 305-306.

²³⁹ *Ibid.* 307-308.

²⁴⁰ *Kormányjelentés* 1905, 56.

Transylvanian women benefited almost half as often as in the whole country from medical care when suffering from fatal illness. It is true though, that the province could prevail of a relatively good score as far as fatalities due to tuberculosis were concerned, which could be attributed to the 'natural living conditions' in an under-urbanized and under-industrialized region.

Another interesting issue has to do here with crime. If one cannot do justice to the consistently high Transylvanian crime rates with a summary interpretation, this may be among other things the sign of a measure of under-administration of the population, generating a certain lack of domestication and social control of the rank and file, as well as – possibly – a conflictual coexistence of various ethnic and cultural clusters. One can perceive this particularly in the frequency of petty crime as well as in that of aggressions against physical persons.

It is not astonishing that such a mixture of under-modernization could result in a growing trend of emigration by the very end of the period.

Such a multi-faceted snapshot of Transylvanian society could only cautiously be summed up by such a far too overwhelming (and in several details incorrect) generalisation, that economic under-development, industrial under-equipment and a relative under-education of the population (at least in terms of literacy rates and levels of applied skills) were consistent with archaic features of the school system as well.

If the presentation of this overall picture of selected aspects of Transylvania society is regarded as indispensable – in form of a fundamental background information - for the study of educational disparities in the region, one has now to turn to - behind this apparently uniform facade – to the appreciation of extraordinary disparities of educational performances observable inside the region between denominational groups. One should not forget though, that much of our findings in the following can be interpreted only in the framework of the general under-development of the province, dually reflected – contrary to appearances – in the state of educational capital pertaining to the clusters under scrutiny. This means that we should not be astonished to face – logically enough, to be true - aspects of relative 'under-modernisation' within some of the denominational brackets dealt with, as compared to other territorial fractions of the same bracket in contemporary Hungary.

The general denominational hierarchy of education in Transylvania (by gender and residence).

The first observation concerns the very sharp hierarchical order of educational attainments by denominations in Transylvania which can be best observed in the combined region wide data published in the final pages of our book or in table 4, where all the relevant information is synthetically presented, including disparities due to gender and residence.

One has to remark here that our urban category is a rather shaky one, referring only to Kolozsvár/Cluj and Marosvásárhely/Trgu Mures, the two cities distinguished in contemporary statistics as settlements with 'autonomous legislative entitlement' *'önálló törvényhatósági jogú város'*.²⁵¹ Thus, obviously enough, the urban-rural (city-county) opposition serves here

²⁵¹ This is a serious bias in our data bank, impossible to overcome, given the preorganised nature of the raw data. It is especially harmful that cities like Brassó/Brasov – the biggest educational center in the region (and even in the whole country outside Budapest) with five classical secondary schools for boys by 1910 (hosting 1314 pupils)- and Nagyszeben/Sibiu - with two secondary schools, hosting 724 pupils - could not be classified in the urban population. Kolozsvár/Cluj had at that time three similar institutions with 1216 pupils and Marosvásárhely/Trgu Mures two, with 735 pupils. These were to be sure the only places with more than one gymnasium and/or *redliskola* in contemporary Transylvania. (*MStÉ*, 1911, 375-378.) If Kolozsvár/Cluj was certainly the largest settlement in the region with close to 61.000 inhabitants in 1910 (though far from the biggest among cities of the same administrative status in the country), Brassó/Brasov came second with 41.000 and

merely as a reminder of the importance pertaining to the residential distribution of relevant observations, without being capable of a proper exploration of this dimension of educational inequalities. In historical reality, the weight of Kolozsvár/Cluj is certainly exaggerated here, as compared to other Transylvanian urban populations, because of the unique 'locality' or vicinity effect of the University of Kolozsvár to attract students who had been born, educated or living in the city itself. Among medical students of the University between 1872 and 1918 for example, some 8 % were born there, 15 % lived there with their family and 24 % had been educated in one of the gymnasiums of the town²⁵² which hosted around 1900 less than 3 % of the Transylvanian population.²⁵³ Thus the level of education of urban clusters in our tables is excessively inflated, as against the level liable to be observed in other urban environments in the region.

Table 4.
Estimation of the global differentials of confession related inequalities of education in Transylvania (mean number of years of school attendance, 1910)²⁵⁴

	m e n		w o m e n	
	counties	towns	counties	towns
Roman Catholics	3,0	5,85	2,1	3,8
Greek Catholics	1,1	2,0	0,45	1,1
Calvinists	2,7	4,3	1,9	2,8
Lutherans	3,6	7,35	2,9	5,2
Greek Orthodox	1,3	3,3	0,7	1,4
Unitarians	2,9	6,3	1,9	3,1
Jews	4,3	6,1	2,9	3,9
together	2,0	4,7	1,3	3,1

The message of the table must be combined with the stratified data of our book for a proper interpretation.

Considering first the evidence related to men, the general educational scores of Jews proved to be manifestly the best, since their representation among those with the highest attainments (8 secondary classes and more) exceeded by a factor surpassing 3-4 times the average. Taken as a whole, as on table 4, the advantage of Jewish men appears to be more limited, but still far ahead of all other clusters considered.

Nagyszeben/Sibiu third with 33.500, both of the latter outnumbering Marosvásárhely/Trgu Mures with 25.500 souls only. (*MStK* 64, 19.)

²⁵² V. Karady, L. Nastasa, *op. cit.* 102-104.

²⁵³ The special 'locality' effect of Kolozsvár/Cluj is clearly demonstrated by the fact that in the years 1890/91 and 1894/5 as many as 177 students of the three Hungarian university (including the Pest Polytechnic) originated from Kolozs county as against 49 only from Brassó/Brasov county, but 75 % of the former and only 33 % of the latter attended the University of Kolozsvár/Cluj. Data computed from the *VKM Jelentés* of respective years.

²⁵⁴ The schooling period in years is estimated via a coding system whereby a mean number of years of schooling was calculated by a system of equivalences as follows : 8 years of secondary education and above = 13 years, 6 years of secondary education = 11, 4 years of secondary education = 9, literacy (Writing and Reading) = 3, illiteracy = 0. The higher the score, the better the estimated average educational performance of the whole group. Such an estimate is an empirical construction of an obviously somewhat arbitrary nature, so that it cannot be taken at face value as a true account of actual schooling investments in years. However, since this the empirically uncontrollable bias applies equally to all groups under scrutiny, it offers fair guarantees for a reliable comparison.

Roman Catholics come second on this ladder with approximately twice as many educated males above 4 secondary classes than the average, but they are followed closely by Lutherans - with almost as good levels for men with some secondary training, and indeed much better scores for those with primary school education. This is why the global score of Lutherans in table 4 is significantly above those of Roman Catholics.

Unitarians were somewhat below them, but with very high ranking in the generation of the youngest adults. Their general scores come fourth in the scale presented on table 4. Calvinists found their position much lower on this rank order. However, they too significantly exceeded the mean level of attainments.

The regional average, obviously enough, was most heavily depressed by the two Christian groups of Greek persuasion, which displayed rock bottom levels, with a slight advantage for the Greek Catholics (Uniates) in higher levels of education. Limited as it may be, this advantage for the Uniate group appears to be significant indeed only for those with 8 or 6 and 4 secondary classes, the proportions of which exceeded systematically those among Orthodox (Greek Oriental) men. But, contrary to expectations, the Uniates were rather markedly over-represented among illiterates as well. This is why their overall scores in table 4 are regularly the lowest of all, below those of the Orthodox.

Thus, one is duly entitled to sum up the hierarchy of male educational achievements in Transylvania by referring to a polarised structure with Jews and the Oriental Christians representing the two opposite poles. But a case should be equally made for exceptions and deviances according to levels of measurement. The hierarchy may be somewhat (but not fundamentally) different following the message carried by different indicators of different kind.

This general hierarchy applies largely to women as well, but there again, with some variations.

The overall feminine pattern denotes of course a level incomparably beneath that of men. We are still in a period, when women's formal training was under-institutionalised with very few secondary schools accessible for girls²⁵⁵, and generally neglected as compared to young males. The higher the level of education concerned, the more pronounced gender differences may appear, with the exception of the 4 secondary classes level, where women remained more often gathered than men in absolute numbers and proportions. On the level of primary education, inequalities of gender tended already to vanish in the early 20th century country wide²⁵⁶, which will be to some extent manifest in our Transylvania data bank too, but probably less than elsewhere in Hungary— due precisely to local circumstances depressing in large regional and confessional sectors the demand for primary education.

Jewish preeminence was not at all so pronounced for women as for men. It asserted itself above all on the lowest levels of certified training, among the literates and those with 4 secondary school classes (but there exceeding the average by a mean factor of 5). But Jews fell slightly behind Roman Catholics among those with 8 secondary school classes or more and behind Lutherans in terms of literacy. This is why the global Jewish scores in table 4 appeared to be modest on the whole, in the same range as those of Roman Catholics and slightly even below those of Lutherans. For the rest, the hierarchy proved to be quite similar to the one observed among men. with a stronger relative preeminence of Lutherans, but also with good positions of Roman Catholics, a somewhat poorer performance of Unitarians together very closely with Calvinists and, at the bottom of the rank order, a relatively less bad

²⁵⁵ In 1910 girls constituted a mere 8 % of all secondary school pupils (*MStÉ* 1911, 382) and even less (2,3 %) among those taking an *érettség* (*Matura*) exam. (Data from *MSÉ*, and *A magyar középiskolák statisztikája 1932/33 tanévig*, /Statistics of Hungarian secondary schools till the year 1932/3/, Budapest, 1934, 55.

²⁵⁶ In 1913 for example there were less girls than boys in schooling age among Magyars, Germans and Slovaks failing to attend a school. See *MStÉ* 1915, 240.

showing of the Greek Orthodox as compared to the Greek Catholics. There again, the relative advantage of the Orthodox was exclusively due to a less desastrously low proportion of illiterate women, still making up the majority in both clusters – except among the youngest Orthodox girls. The two Greek denominations were actually lacking almost entirely a highly educated feminine bracket, with less than 0,1 % with 8 classes or above (that is, one out of some 1700 Orthodox and 2100 Greek Catholics !).

Taken as a whole, two remarks may help to qualify gender differences in our findings.

The first one concerns the absolute rarity of women with advanced elite training (8 classes and over) as compared to men. If this was spectacular, worth of a special mention, for denominations of Greek ritual, the same applies – though to a lesser degree to be sure – to all the other clusters. Transylvanian women at that time reached rarely and for obvious reasons (deficit in elite schooling facilities offering a training to girls equivalent to that reserved for boys²⁵⁷) the level of higher education, from which they had been formally excluded till 1895 and where they suffered to all kinds of incapacities and limitations till much later, in some fields till the end of the old regime in 1945. The lack of girls' secondary schools seems to be particularly flagrant in Transylvania, since as late as 1910, there were only two such institutions (in Kolozsvár/Cluj and in Marosvásárhely/Trgu Mures) out of 35 in Hungary, and – accordingly - they hosted a mere 5,6 of female secondary school pupils of the country.²⁵⁸ Thus the scarcity of highly educated women may be regarded as a 'structural' consequence of sorts of the available educational supply.

The second remark has more specifically to do with Jews, for which the gender differentials in educational performance were maximum, as most clearly displayed in table 4. In terms of the estimated average number of years of school attendance the difference between Jewish men and women in the counties was 1,4 year while in all other clusters the same disparity did not exceed 1 year (with 0,6 and 0,7 year for Greek Catholics, Lutherans and Orthodox). Such relative neglect of women's education may be attributed to the survival or the repercussion of traditional patterns of educational strategies particular to Orthodox Jewry, possibly with some long term effects on those families remaining in its orbit, without breaking with established ways. In this pattern boys' advanced training used to be over-stressed while women were not particularly encouraged to share it, being properly excluded from the benefit of higher religious instruction in *yeshivot*. As a consequence, among other things, Jewish women possessed on the whole less special surplus of educational proclivity drawn from 'religious intellectualism' than Jewish men, liable to be converted into secular educational assets. If women were evidently much less educated than men among Christians as well, their under-education can be viewed more as a result of educational 'market conditions' and their own class, confession, sub-culture and region specific 'social condition' (as it shall be explored further on) than as the outcome of a cluster specific anti-feminine bias of sorts.

At this point we have to dwell shortly on residential differences, although, as stated above, our evidence on urban groups is restricted to two cities, Kolozsvár/Cluj and Marosvásárhely/Trgu Mures. Residential disparities are indeed a regular feature of educational inequalities for at least two major reasons. Cities offer the widest variety and the highest quality of educational opportunities on the supply side – in the case of Transylvania, Kolozsvár hosted throughout the Dualist period three classical gymnasiums together with the second university of the country -, on the one hand. On the other hand, major urban functions in terms of regional administration, legal and health services, big investments in industry, banking and trade, etc. provide for the concentration of the highly skilled manpower in or around cities. Both of these circumstances increase the presence of the educated in urban

²⁵⁷ Though girls were allowed to take exams in boys' gymnasiums as 'private (not attending) pupils'.

²⁵⁸ *MSiÉ* 1911, 333.

settings. Hence there is nothing surprising about the big distance separating educational scores between the two Transylvanian cities and the remaining territory of the region, as shown in table 4. The gap is particularly striking among Unitarians, Greek Orthodox and Lutheran men but also, more generally, among all the Christians as against Jews. Thus educated Christians of all denominations appear to have been much more concentrated in cities, while the education of Jewish men and women seems to have been more balanced or equally distributed in different residential environments.

Given these well perceptible religious cluster specific differences in Transylvania, the question arises about their local specificity. In more concrete terms, one can wonder whether observed educational attainments of various denominations in this region correspond to the general educational level of respective clusters in the whole country or not, and if not in what sense? Table 5 is destined to yield responses to this interrogation through a synthetic comparison of our findings in Transylvania to those of the rest of Hungarian territories outside Budapest. The exclusion of Budapest is justified here, like above, by its special position in the contemporary Hungarian social space as well as in the educational market. We apply here a comparison between provinces unbiassed by the enormous weight of the capital city, the inclusion of which would have introduced a basic disequilibrium between the terms of our comparison.

Table 5.
The Share of Transylvania by Denominations in the Educated clusters²⁵⁹ and the General Population of Hungary outside Budapest²⁶⁰ (1910)

	% of Transylvanians among those of the same religion in Hungary outside Budapest						
	literate men ²⁶¹	men with 8 classes	men with 4 classes	literate women ²⁶²	women with 8 classes	women with 4 classes	population
Roman Catholics	4,1 %	9,9 %	11,0 %	3,7 %	9,8 %	8,7 %	4,4 %
Greek Catholics	35,6%	34,2 %	35,5 %	30,7 %	29,9 %	27,7 %	37,5 %
Calvinists	13,6%	21,9 %	27,7 %	12,5 %	27,5 %	24,9 %	15,9 %
Lutherans	17,9 %	24,6 %	33,2 %	18,9 %	33,1 %	25,9 %	18,1 %
Greek Orthodox	28,8 %	38,3 %	44,4 %	31,8 %	26,4 %	22,1 %	34,1 %
Unitarians	93,4 %	76,1 %	81,6 %	97,2 %	82,8 %	81,6 %	91,2 %
Jews	9,0 %	8,1 %	8,8 %	8,6 %	7,4 %	7,9 %	9,1 %

The message of table 5 refers to the comparison between the share of Transylvanians among the educated and the general population in provincial Hungary belonging to the same religious clusters. The indications drawn from the table are demonstrative enough.

The educated display a stark over-representation among Transylvanian Roman Catholics (much exceeding the double of the share Transylvanian Roman Catholics in the country's population, except for the merely literates), but also – though to a somewhat lesser degree – among Lutherans and – still significantly enough – Calvinists (there again except for literates only). Thus the three big 'Western' Christian groups have more or less in common to show a high level of over-education in Transylvania on the advanced levels of elite training relative to their coreligionists in the remaining country. This very fact may be, by the way, the

²⁵⁹ Data computed from our book and *MSiK* 61, 536-543.

²⁶⁰ Computed from *Kormányjelentés* 1914, 14.

²⁶¹ In the census category 'other literates' outside those with more advanced learning.

²⁶² As in the precedent footnote.

reason why they appear to be mediocry represented among those with basic literacy only, since the letter exclude those with more advanced learning. Interestingly enough, the same applied to some extent to Greek Orthodox men as well (except for those with basic literacy only), while Greek Orthodox women shared with their Greek Catholic sisters a severe under-representation among all the educated, compared to other women of the same religious clusters in provincial Hungary. The three other groups – Transylvanian Jews, Unitarians and Greek Catholics for once united - appear to have been significantly under-represented among their educated coreligionists in the country. Jewish and Greek Catholics women in Transylvania suffered much more from relative educational disadvantages than men. This means that for the bulk of 'Western Christians' Transylvania was an educational stronghold in the country, while for Eastern Christians and Jews it was rather an intellectual backwater of sorts, especially for female members of their communities. This observation offers a direct explanation for the generally mediocre schooling scores of Transylvania, particularly in the primary sector, observed above in the first sub-chapter of this study. If the Transylvanian majority groups of Greek ritual were globally under-represented among the educated of their clusters in the country, together with Jews – the otherwise intellectually best endowed religious cluster -, this was a sufficient cause for the less than passable state of education in the region.

At this juncture one would need a circumstantial historical investigation into the roots of such regional inequalities, that is, the reasons for which Transylvanians of various denominational brackets benefited more from or, on the contrary, were handicapped as regards to educational opportunities compared to other regional clusters of their denomination in provincial Hungary. One could refer here to the special promotional effect for matters educational of the political, economic and otherwise 'social' competition between 'Western Christian' elites (the three privileged 'nations' – Magyars, Széklers – both divided between Catholics and Calvinists - and Saxons, almost exclusively Lutherans) dominating the region during the last feudal centuries. Rather than resorting to such sweeping generalisations of doubtful heuristic efficiency, I would reserve a tentative interpretation thanks to the recourse to a number of local socio-historical variables in the last chapter of this essay.

Sub-regional inequalities.

It is time to achieve the presentation of the global educational inequalities with a view focused on local variants in counties and the two cities. Table 6 offers a synthetic overview of this kind of data.

Table 6.
Estimation of local differentials of confession related inequalities of education in Transylvania (mean number of years of school attendance, 1910)²⁶³

<i>I. <u>MEN</u></i>								
<u>Counties and cities</u>	<u>Roman Cath.</u>	<u>Greek Cath.</u>	<u>Calvinists</u>	<u>Lutherians</u>	<u>Greek Orth.</u>	<u>Unitarians</u>	<u>Jews</u>	<u>All</u>
Alsó Fehér	4,7 (5,0)	1,25 (38,8)	3,0 (10,3)	2,9 (3,3)	1,2 (40,2)	4,2 (0,6)	5,0 (3,3)	1,75 (100,0)

²⁶³ The average schooling period in years is estimated like above for table 4. In brackets are indicated, like in each page of the data bank, the proportion of respective denominational groups in the population of the county or the city concerned. The total (100,0) includes small denominational groups not specified in the data.

Beszterce-Naszód	4,4 (4,0)	1,5 (57,4)	3,4 (3,0)	3,1 (4,0)	1,4 (13,0)	4,1 (0,2)	3,1 (5,4)	2,04 (100,0)
Brassó	4,8 (11,7)	2,9 (1,3)	3,9 (7,7)	4,0 (41,7)	2,4 (34,5)	3,5 (1,6)	7,7 (1,6)	3,61 (100,0)
Csík	2,3 (79,7)	1,0 (16,6)	4,6 (1,3)	5,1 (0,2)	2,1 (0,2)	4,6 (0,1)	5,0 (1,7)	2,14 (100,0)
Fogaras	4,7 (3,4)	2,1 (25,0)	3,7 (2,60)	3,9 (2,9)	2,0 (64,4)	3,1 (0,6)	5,9 (2,9)	2,29 (100,0)
Háromszék	2,7 (33,7)	1,4 (2,7)	2,9 (39,9)	4,2 (0,5)	1,5 (18,8)	2,9 (3,4)	6,0 (0,9)	2,60 (100,0)
Hunyad	3,7 (10,2)	1,0 (17,8)	3,8 (5,1)	4,9 (1,2)	0,9 (63,5)	3,35 (0,5)	5,1 (1,7)	1,49 (100,0)
Kis-Küküllő	3,4 (5,5)	1,1 (35,7)	2,4 (18,9)	3,1 (17,4)	1,15 (16,8)	2,8 (4,1)	4,4 (1,5)	1,97 (100,0)
Kolozs	3,2 (4,2)	0,8 (52,1)	2,2 (20,0)	2,9 (2,7)	0,9 (17,9)	3,5 (0,7)	4,1 (2,3)	1,35 (100,0)
KOLOZSVÁR	6,1 (29,8)	2,05 (15,7)	4,45 (33,1)	7,5 (3,6)	3,4 (2,8)	6,8 (3,0)	6,05 (11,9)	4,85 (100,0)
Maros-Torda	2,4 (12,3)	1,1 (24,9)	2,4 (38,0)	3,6 (2,9)	0,95 (15,8)	2,8 (3,6)	4,0 (2,4)	1,9 (100,0)
MAROSVÁSÁRHELY	5,3 (27,8)	2,0 (11,5)	4,1 (41,3)	6,7 (2,6)	3,0 (3,8)	5,0 (2,7)	6,2 (10,2)	4,37 (100,0)
Nagy-Küküllő	4,1 (3,6)	1,5 (11,7)	3,0 (5,7)	3,5 (41,5)	1,6 (34,7)	1,8 (2,1)	5,7 (0,7)	2,61 (100,0)
Szeben	5,1 (6,0)	1,9 (9,8)	4,05 (2,4)	4,1 (25,7)	2,1 (54,9)	3,95 (0,3)	5,7 (0,9)	2,89 (100,0)
Szolnok-Doboka	4,25 (3,6)	0,8 (61,9)	2,4 (12,8)	2,8 (0,9)	0,6 (15,4)	7,0 (0,1)	3,15 (4,8)	1,24 (100,0)
Torda-Aranyos	4,05 (3,8)	0,9 (41,9)	2,8 (14,7)	7,0 (0,2)	1,0 (32,5)	3,1 (5,5)	4,5 (1,4)	1,54 (100,0)
Udvarhely	2,45 (36,5)	1,6 (1,4)	2,7 (33,5)	3,7 (2,4)	1,5 (3,2)	2,6 (22,0)	4,7 (2,4)	2,56 (100,0)

II. WOMEN

<u>Counties and cities</u>	<u>Roman Cath.</u>	<u>Greek Cath.</u>	<u>Calvi-nists</u>	<u>Luther-ians</u>	<u>Greek Orth.</u>	<u>Unita-rians</u>	<u>Jews</u>	<u>All</u>
Alsó Fehér	3,0 (5,1)	0,75 (38,1)	2,05 (10,4)	2,2 (3,3)	0,6 (40,7)	2,5 (0,5)	3,45 (1,8)	1,04 (100,0)
Beszterce-Naszód	3,1 (3,9)	0,7 (56,0)	2,3 (2,9)	2,65 (18,1)	0,7 (13,0)	1,6 (0,1)	2,1 (6,0)	1,31 (100,0)
Brassó	3,6 (11,8)	2,2 (0,7)	3,4 (5,9)	3,2 (43,1)	1,6 (35,9)	2,8 (1,3)	5,8 (1,4)	2,73 (100,0)
Csík	1,6 (80,8)	0,6 (16,0)	3,2 (1,0)	4,1 (0,2)	1,6 (0,1)	3,1 (0,1)	3,8 (1,6)	1,49 (100,0)
Fogaras	3,5 (2,9)	0,95 (24,8)	2,8 (2,5)	3,3 (2,9)	0,9 (65,6)	1,9 (0,5)	4,0 (0,9)	1,16 (100,0)
Háromszék	2,0 (33,3)	1,2 (1,4)	2,3 (41,2)	4,8 (0,5)	1,2 (19,1)	2,1 (3,6)	4,7 (0,8)	2,0 (100,0)
Hunyad	2,8 (10,2)	0,4 (17,5)	2,6 (4,7)	3,6 (1,2)	0,3 (64,4)	1,9 (0,4)	3,6 (1,2)	0,74 (100,0)
Kis-Küküllő	2,4 (5,3)	0,4 (35,5)	1,45 (19,0)	2,5 (17,3)	0,5 (16,7)	1,6 (4,4)	3,0 (1,5)	1,19 (100,0)
Kolozs	2,3 (4,1)	0,3 (52,0)	1,5 (20,1)	2,1 (2,7)	0,3 (17,8)	1,8 (0,6)	2,75 (2,6)	0,75 (100,0)
KOLOZSVÁR	3,9 (32,5)	1,0 (12,7)	2,9 (35,1)	5,1 (3,1)	1,5 (1,7)	3,3 (3,4)	3,85 (3,1)	3,15 (100,0)
Maros-Torda	1,6 (12,0)	0,4 (24,2)	1,6 (38,7)	2,7 (3,1)	0,4 (15,7)	1,7 (3,8)	2,4 (2,5)	1,19 (100,0)
MAROSVÁSÁRHELY	3,6 (28,7)	1,3 (5,7)	2,8 (47,4)	5,5 (2,1)	1,2 (2,1)	2,25 (2,5)	4,0 (2,1)	3,08 (100,0)
Nagy-Küküllő	3,6 (3,2)	1,3 (11,3)	2,8 (5,5)	5,5 (42,3)	1,15 (34,7)	2,25 (2,2)	4,0 (0,8)	3,08 (100,0)
Szeben	4,1 (4,7)	1,0 (8,4)	3,1 (1,6)	3,3 (26,2)	1,3 (58,0)	2,8 (0,2)	4,2 (0,8)	1,98 (100,0)
Szolnok-Doboka	3,0 (3,7)	0,2 (61,4)	1,6 (12,7)	1,9 (0,8)	0,2 (15,3)	3,6 (0,1)	1,9 (5,4)	0,6 (100,0)
Torda-Aranyos	2,8 (3,7)	0,25 (41,4)	1,9 (14,6)	5,6 (0,2)	0,4 (32,6)	1,9 (5,9)	3,0 (1,6)	0,8 (100,0)

Udvarhely	1,8	0,9	1,8	3,0	0,9	1,8	2,75	1,79
	(36,2)	(1,1)	(33,5)	(2,4)	(3,3)	(22,4)	(1,1)	(100,0)

One may question the usefulness of such a detailed presentation of our main results as summarised above. Our essential justification would rest on its heuristic potential for local and sub-regional studies of social history. This can certainly not be our focus here. But such an overview of county-wide denominational data on levels of education may also lead to some general insights into unsuspected social conditions of over- and under-investment in education otherwise impossible to attest.

The most manifest of such territory related correlation has to do simply with gross residential inequalities. In this regard cities must be treated separately, since – for reasons recalled earlier – their educational status was different from all other residential environments. Still, contrary to expectations it is worth to be stressed that the two cities distinguished in our data bank did not display a highly privileged situation in the rank order of our sub-regions (counties and cities). If they obviously belonged to the administrative units with the best educational scores – Kolozsvár/Cluj somewhat being ahead of Marosvásárhely/Trgu Mures – their pre-eminent position was mostly limited to the performance of men, much less to that of women. For the latter, Nagy-Küküllő county, for one, had identical scores than Marosvásárhely and not significantly below the level of Kolozsvár/Cluj at that.

Now this remark about differentials opposing cities and counties may be extended distinctly to most denominational groups, one by one. Indeed if one considers the rank order of educational attainments cited, the two cities came almost exceptionally first (in four cases among twenty eight !) among territorial units with the highest scores for both genders. None of the denominational groups (men and women) under scrutiny showed their best scores respectively in Marosvásárhely/Trgu Mures, while this was the case of Roman Catholic men and women as well as Lutheran and Greek Orthodox men in Kolozsvár/Cluj only. Thus, the residential privilege of cities did not apply as regards each specific territory, but only globally and, as such, must be challenged as a universal working hypothesis. One main reason for this might however be linked to nothing else but the problematic and indeed insufficiently inclusive and discreet character of the urban category at our disposal – with only two cities included, and at that not even the biggest ones, or those best endowed with schooling facilities, as stated above.

Considering counties only, outside the two cities, one can identify a systematically valid rank order with Brassó, Nagy-Küküllő and Székely on top of the list (with the best educational scores both for men and women), followed more or less closely by the Székely counties (Háromszék, Udvarhely and lastly Csík), while Szolnok-Doboka and Kolozs, together with Torda Aranyos were relegated to the bottom of the ladder. Now in this geographic hierarchy of educational achievements it is not difficult to perceive the impact of social and ethnic particularities. The three top counties represented territorial reservations of the historic *Universitas Saxorum*, with the largest share of German Lutherans in their population (ranging from 26 % to 42 %), as compared to all other counties. The Székely counties were almost exclusively inhabited by the privileged Székely ‘nation’ with a Roman Catholic majority (of 80 %) in Csík, Háromszék and Udvarhely being made up of a majority almost equally shared by Roman Catholics and Calvinists.

Now one does not need to resort to any kind of ‘ethnicist’ variables to interpret such differences. Let it suffice to state that the three ‘Saxon’ counties hosted more than a third (12 out of 33) of gymnasiums and *reáliskolák* as well as *polgárik* (10 out of 31) at the end of the

Dualist Era²⁶⁴ (with a mere 16 % of the Transylvanian population in 1910²⁶⁵). At the bottom line of the educational hierarchy Kolozs (outside Kolozsvár/Cluj), Szolnok-Doboka and Torda-Aranyos had altogether 2 gymnasiums and 4 *polgári* only to serve for not far from one fourth – 24 % - of the Transylvanian population...²⁶⁶ This is not to attempt a comprehensive explanation of the observed geographic inequalities, only to warn against ‘culturalist’ simplifications and generalisations when there are well established infrastructural realities to account for such findings.

A more general remark about geographical inequalities concerns the relationship between the size and the proportion of respective clusters in the local population and their educational attainments. In diaspora situations, when the group in question makes up a small fraction only of the population, educational scores can be unexpectedly high. This applies for example rather well to Lutherans, whose best scores were not identified in their demographic strongholds but in counties like Torda-Aranyos, Csík or Hunyad, where their share in the local population hardly exceeded 1 %. A negative variation to this apparent regularity can be observed with Jews, whose lowest scores were registered in counties where they remained present in larger numbers, beyond 5 % of the local population, that is Szolnok-Doboka and Beszterce-Naszód. In this case however we have to do with the most traditionalist communities, an extension of the ultra-orthodox North-Eastern counties of the Hungarian Kingdom (Máramaros, Szatmár and Szilágy), with their established Hassidic brackets and other clusters pursuing archaic ways and, among other things, not only disregarding but openly forbidding secular studies for their offspring. In these counties, in spite of a relatively large concentration of Jews, there was just one Jewish primary school of public status. Jews could of course attend other schools as well, whether state or municipality run or even Christian ones, but this is precisely what many strictly Orthodox Jewish families would rule out. Now, traditional education would less often (in *chederim*) or not at all (in *yeshivot*) include girls on the one hand and, offered in Yiddish, would not always be conducive to certified literacy or higher levels of instruction recognised by public authorities, on the other hand.

Thus, obviously enough, such regional inequalities cannot be accounted for in purely ‘culturalist’ terms. The social inequalities behind ethnic and regional differences must be first made responsible, as a working hypothesis, for geographic as well as other, notably denominational disparities of educational performances. This will be attempted below, in our last subsection. However, before getting engaged in such an interpretation, we have still to report on two kinds of both technically and socio-historically intriguing aspects of our data bank, relationships between levels of education and age specific inequalities.

Disparities by levels of education : literacy and advanced learning.

Taken as a whole, the evidence of our tables manifests an extraordinary diversity of levels of certified education, the gap between the most and the less advanced groups being substantial. To boot, in each denominational cluster the proportion of those with the highest attainments was far from correlating regularly with similarly high proportions of those with 4 or 6 secondary classes or simple literates. We can pursue the study of this diversity on the basis of some details of our tables allowing further qualifications of the given general hierarchy. They indeed bring into the picture elements capable to modify to some extent the main patterns hitherto identified.

²⁶⁴ Computed from *Magyar városok statisztikai évkönyve* /Statistical Yearbook of Hungarian cities/, I, Budapest, 1912, 480-481. Data for 1907/8.

²⁶⁵ Computed from *MStÉ* 1911, 14.

²⁶⁶ Same references as in the preceding footnotes.

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

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

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

The first concerns the specific status of Lutherans in Transylvanian society, since our data call partially into question the commonly accepted idea of a general Lutheran over-education, an apparent truism, if not a fallacy, of Transylvanian history.²⁶⁷ All but a few Transylvanian Lutherans were German speaking Saxons (formally 87 %, even in 1910, after decades of 'assimilationist' policies in the country).²⁶⁸ The 'Saxon University' – heritage of the medieval organisation of the privileged Saxon community in feudal times -, did provide apparently for the generalisation of literacy from very early on. Male Lutherans of the elderly generations in 1910 for example, born between 1851 and 1860, displayed already a merely marginal proportion of illiterates – 11 %, as compared even to Jews – 19 %, let alone Roman Catholics – 39 %. Moreover, such early spread of basic education was equally extended over Lutheran women, since in the same generations the latter had only 15 % of illiterates as against a majority still (54 %) of Jewesses and as many as 63 % of Roman Catholics. The efficiency of the Lutheran-Saxon school network is thus far from being a historical myth. Merely it cannot be regarded as fully applicable to the same extent to the more advanced levels of education, at least in Transylvania, may be in contrast – at least in some measure - to what could be established in this respect for the whole Dualist Hungary.²⁶⁹ In table 5 above,

²⁶⁷ See Joachim von Puttkamer, *Schulalltag und nationale Integration in Ungarn*, München, Oldenburg, 2003, 149-152.

²⁶⁸ The most competent authors considered that practically all Lutherans in Transylvania were German Speaking Saxons. See for example Nyárády R. Károly, *Erdély népesedéstörténete /History of the population in Transylvania/*, Budapest, Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 2003, 178.

²⁶⁹ If measured by various criteria, like the qualifications of *érettségi* exams, other marks obtained in the main gymnasium subjects, access frequencies to higher education, Lutherans were on top of the hierarchy of school excellence during and, indeed, even after the Dualist era in historic Hungary. See some of my studies relevant in this respect : "Social Mobility, Reproduction and Qualitative Schooling Differentials in Old Regime Hungary", *History Department Yearbook 1994-1995*, Central European University, Budapest, 134-156; „Zsidók és evangélikusok a magyar iskolarendszerben” /Jews and Lutherans in the Hungarian educational system/ in

one can realise that the relative over-representation of Transylvanians among Lutherans of the whole country was quite limited on the level of those with 8 secondary school classes or more as compared to those with 4 classes.

The second remark is related to Jews who, though largely Magyarised by 1910 (with 74 % Magyar speakers in Transylvania) achieved this status only lately. This involved two important qualifications of Jewish linguistic and educational skills. First, still one quarter of them continued to profess Yiddish mother tongue or 'first usual language', so they appeared in statistical data as 'German speakers'. Indeed Yiddish was not recognised by the state as one of the 'national' or 'ethnic' languages of the Monarchy, following the legal fiction that Jews did not constitute a 'national minority' (*nemzetiség, Nationalität*) but a religious cluster only. Second, Jewish male literacy, especially in the elderly generations, was considered rather general, but acquired in traditional religious schools – *chederim, yeshivot* – and thus often limited to Yiddish. Census inspectors, who did not, most of the times, have means to control Yiddish literacy, such skills were not acknowledged as equivalent to literacy in one of the official languages of the Empire. *Yeshivot* often trained their students in talmudic studies up to an age beyond 20 years without issuing certifications accepted by state authorities (except the exam for Orthodox Rabbis in the Pozsony *Yeshiva*). We do not know as yet, without further research, whether such advanced religious learning qualified students for a classification in the category of those with 6 or 8 secondary classes, but it is most probable that some Jewish literate in Yiddish and/or Hebrew could be easily recorded as illiterates. Hence the officially observed rate of Jewish literacy (as well as, possibly, more advanced levels of learning) must have corresponded to actually higher (may be indeed much higher) intellectual competences, which however lacked the usual certifications by recognised scholarly bodies. This remark, far from modifying our conclusions, confirms one of its main findings, the relative Jewish preeminence in matters educational in Transylvania which, as it has been established elsewhere, corresponds to similar conclusions for the whole Dualist Hungary.²⁷⁰ One can add that, possibly, a part of the relative under-education of Transylvanian Jews as compared to the

Iskolarendszer és felekezeti egyenlőtlenségek Magyarországon (1867-1945), Budapest, Replika-könyvek, 1997, 95-110 és „Nemzeti és felekezeti kisebbségek a budapesti egyetemeken a századfordulón” /National and denominational minorities in the universities of Budapest around 1900/, u.o., 195-215.

²⁷⁰ See, besides my book in Hungarian, cited above, some of my other relevant studies : "Social Mobility, Reproduction and Qualitative Schooling Differentials in Old Regime Hungary", *op. cit.* (with István Kemény) : « Antisémitisme universitaire et concurrence de classe : la loi de numerus clausus en Hongrie entre les deux guerres », *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, 34, sept. 1980, 67-96; « Jewish Enrollment Patterns in Classical Secondary Education in Old Regime and Inter-War Hungary », *Studies in Contemporary Jewry* (Bloomington), 1984, 1, 225-252 ; « Assimilation and Schooling : National and Denominational Minorities in the Universities of Budapest around 1900 », in G. Ránki (ed.), *Hungary and European Civilisation*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1989, 285-319; « Jewish Over-Schooling in Hungary. Its Sociological Dimensions », in V. Karady, W. Mitter (eds.), *Sozialstruktur und Bildungswesen in Mitteleuropa / Social Structure and Education in Central Europe*, Köln, Wien, Böhlau Verlag, 1990, 209-246; "Schulbildung und Religion. Zu den ethnisch-konfessionellen Strukturmerkmalen der ungarischen Intelligenz in der Zwischenkriegszeit", in Christoph Kodron, Botho von Kopp, Uwe Lauterbach, Ulrich Schäfer, Gerlind Schmidt (Hrg.), *Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft, Herausforderung, Vermittlung, Praxis. Festschrift für Wolfgang Mitter zum 70. Geburtstag*, Köln-Wien, Böhlau Verlag, Band 2., 621-641. " Jewish Over-Schooling Revisited : the Case of Hungarian Secondary Education in the Old Regime (1900-1941)", *Yearbook of the Jewish Studies Programme, 1998/1999*, Budapest, Central European University, 2000, 75-91; (with Lucian Nastasa) *The University of Kolozsvár/Cluj/Cluj and the Students of the Medical Faculty (1872-1918)*, Cluj, Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center, Budapest-New York, Central European University Press, 2004, 392 pages.

provincial average of their coreligionists in Hungary, identified in table 5, may be attributed to the above exposed ‘dissimulation effect’ exerted by traditional schooling.

For an illustration of the fact that Jewish literacy could be acquired outside the official school channels, let us quote data on the rates of schooling by denominations in 1890, an early period when – following our generational data in this book – male Jewish illiteracy reached already the level below 10 %, but when still close to one third of Jewish children subject to obligatory schooling would not turn up in public schools. The findings show that 95 % of Lutherans, 82 % of Roman Catholics, 78 % of Unitarians, 77 of Calvinists of compulsory school age were actually enrolled while only 65 % of Greek Catholics, 66 % of Greek Orthodox and not much more than 69 % of Jews²⁷¹. The hierarchy of enrollment frequencies followed thus very closely that of educational performances observed in the generational groups concerned in various denominations - except for Jews ! This could happen only if we take into account those Jewish kids who attended *chederim* and *yeshivot* only, instead of primary schools of public status. This occurred probably more often in Transylvania than elsewhere in the country, since the network of Jewish primary schools of public status proved to be indeed very small (7 altogether in 1900²⁷²). This involved also, by the way, that Jews could attend practically only state or municipal schools, due to their occasional difficulties to be accepted in Christian schools and/or their reluctance to attend them. Preference for non confessional schools was a general and very special trend of Jewish primary schooling at that time.²⁷³

These circumstances of Jewish schooling are well reflected in the vast regional differences of Jewish presence in primary schools of public status. As already recalled above, in counties representing the main track of migration and settlement of the most traditional Orthodox Jewry, the regional extensions of *Galicianers*, just South of Máramaros county, the settlement center of Hungary’s *Ostjuden* – there were no Jewish schools of public status at all. The rate of attendance of Jewish kids in the age of school obligation also remained for long very low in the Eastern type Orthodoxy. For 1890 the proportions were only 52 % in Szolnok-Doboka, 25 % im Maros-Torda (equal to that of Máramaros...) and 27 % in Kis-Küküllő counties.²⁷⁴ Some 37 % of Transylvanian Jewish children concerned lived in these counties at that time.

Discontinuities between levels of elite training : the Jewish and the Gentile patterns.

Disregarding problems of regional disparities, the position of Jews remains singular as to the distribution of those with various levels of schooling, compared to Christians.

Starting with the evidence on levels related to men, one striking difference opposes Jews to all other groups as to their proportions with lower grade secondary schooling and those with 8 classes or more, the latter representing the clusters having achieved education due to the gentlemanly ruling class – including fully completed secondary school training

²⁷¹ Calculations made on the basis of information on the size of denominational populations subject to obligatory schooling in *A magyar királyi Vallás és Közoktatásügyi miniszter jelentése az 1890-es évről*, /Report of the royal Hungarian minister of cults and public instruction for 1890/, Budapest, 1891, 154-155, and on those among them who actually attended state recognised schools (*ibid.* 162-163).

²⁷² Cf. *MSiÉ*, 1901, 320.

²⁷³ Indeed Jews were the only confessional group around 1900 which sent a mere minority of its offspring to its own confessional schools (37 % in 1904), the majority attending state or municipal schools (48 %) or those of other denominations (13 %) or private institutions (3 %). See my study : « Szegregáció, asszimiláció és disszimiláció. Felekezetek az elemi iskolai piacon (1867-1942) » /Segregation, assimilation et dissimilation. Denominations in the Hungarian school market, 1867-1942/, in *Világosság* (Budapest) 2003, XLIII/8-9, 61-83, especially 78-80.

²⁷⁴

with or without *érettségi* certification (*Matura, Abitur*)²⁷⁵ or equivalent²⁷⁶, together with, occasionally, higher studies in universities, vocational academies or theological seminaries. It is certainly a pity that the '8 classes' category is not defined more clearly, especially that those having begun or graduated from universities, academies or seminaries are not listed discernibly here.

However imprecise our data may be, the main result in this context is that the percentage of graduates of 8 secondary classes and above exceeded for all Christian males in each age group that of those with only 4 secondary classes. The educational pyramid of Christians proved thus to be grounded on a narrow basis with an enlargement on its top, with the obvious exception for the 15-19 years age group in 1910 (most of its members being yet technically unable to reach a level of 8 classes or beyond). Such an 'inverted pyramid' with narrow basis was particularly striking for Unitarians, for whom men with 4 classes represented mostly less than a mere third of those with 8 classes and above. For men of Greek ritual similar discrepancies, insignificant or even inexistent in the oldest generations, also tended to grow excessively in the younger age groups. Such 'inverted pyramid' of educational attainments cannot be found for Jews in the older age groups, but only in the youngest ones (below 30, and even there, not of the same scope as among Christians). This meant that relative Jewish over-representation in elite schooling rose much more above average on the 4 classes level than on that of 8 classes and above. This applied to some extent - though in a much milder way - to Lutherans and Roman Catholics, the two other best educated clusters, while Unitarians showed significantly less over-representation as compared to the average on the 4 classes level than on the 8 classes level. Men of Greek ritual were also, similarly, as a consequence, more poorly represented on the 4 classes level than among those with 8 classes or above. This is illustrated in the following table, summarizing our findings among relevant census data.

Table 7.

A summary of age group specific proportions of men with various levels of schooling by denominations in Transylvania (1910)²⁷⁷

	mere literates among those above 6 years ²⁷⁸	4 classes among 15 years of age and above	among 20 years of age and above with 4 classes	with 8 classes
Roman Catholics	64,7	4,7 %	1,9 %	6,9 %
Greek Catholics	34,8	0,7 %	0,4 %	1,4 %
Calvinists	69,0	3,4	1,4 %	4,8 %
Lutherans	83,8	4,6 %	0,35 %	6,1 %
Unitarians	74,6	2,3 %	1,1 %	5,5 %
Greek Orthodox	43,2	0,8 %	0,3 %	1,1 %
Jews	69,9	11,9 %	4,6 %	11,9 %
All	52,9	2,3 %	0,9 %	3,1 %

²⁷⁵ In the contemporary educational system the *érettségi* was already made (since the 1849 *Entwurf*) a necessary condition for university studies, but not yet for every other post-secondary studies, like military schools or some theologies. In the Ludovica Akadémia (training institution for officers of the Honvéd Army) for example, the completion of eight secondary classes was a requirement, but not the final grade, the *érettségi* proper.

²⁷⁶ The obvious and popular equivalent could be the completion of a normal school (*tanítóképző*) for primary school teachers. But it could also be a higher commercial school (*felső kereskedelmi*) offering a special *érettségi*.

²⁷⁷ All relevant evidence used for calculations here are to be found in the tables annexed.

²⁷⁸ Outside those with higher learning.

In the study of table 7 some of our data are interdependent, having the same reference populations (the last two columns), others are not (like the two first columns). Thus the proportion of 'mere literates' depends, on the one hand, on the degree of alphabetisation of the group, as well as, on the other hand, on the proportions of those having higher training. This should not be forgotten in the interpretation of the discrepancies attested to, demanding a special inquiry.

Logically, the 'normal' pyramid of educational attainments should have been the rule based on a large proportion of those with primary education, a smaller layer with 4 secondary classes and a select few going further in the educational ladder up to 6 and 8 classes and above. This is precisely what observed numbers of the size of gymnasium and *reáliskola* classes actually reflected for the Dualist Era. In the years 1882 for example there were 4383 pupils in the 4th forms of gymnasiums and 558 in those of *reáliskolák*. Four years later in 1886 only 2316 and 218 of them, respectively, were enrolled in the 8th forms of these institutions, the drop-out rate being 51 % for gymnasiums and as high as 58 % for *reáliskolák*.²⁷⁹ If comparable evidence is difficult to be mobilized on a country wide level for later periods of the Dualist era, other data demonstrate that the quantitative relationship between the size of the lower forms of secondary education and that of the higher forms had not evolved momentarily by that time. In 1912 among male students 47.426 attended the 1-4th classes of secondary schools as against only 22.572 – some 48 % of the latter – in the 5-8th classes.²⁸⁰ For girls the proportions in the higher classes were even much smaller, since girls did not often extend in those times their studies beyond lower secondary school level. Our own finding cannot thus be explained with reference to drop out rates, since they would rather suggest the generality of the 'normal' pyramid.

Such an argumentation ignores however the existence of non classical secondary educational tracks, open to candidates during the Dual Monarchy, which could occasionally qualify students for the category of those with 8 classes. These were the already mentioned commercial high schools, the Normal Schools, the military secondary institutions (*kadétiskolák*) and several other vocational schools of uncertain status in the educational hierarchy (agricultural, horticultural, forestry, vineyardist, mining, etc.), which would train higher technicians mostly after their having graduated from the 4 years *polgári iskola*, often up to 4 supplementary classes. Most of the graduates of these schools could thus claim to have completed 8 years 'secondary' classes.

Just for the sake of illustration, in 1910/11 3906 male students graduated with *érettségi* from gymnasiums and *reáliskolák*²⁸¹, while 1150 young men took a teacher's degree from a Normal School out of 4877 enrolled students.²⁸² In 1911/12 1397 students were registered on the files of vocational secondary schools (men and women not distinguished here), out of which, one can estimate that one fifth (some 240) could actually graduate. Thus, there may have been in the final decade of the Dualist era a large group of young men, corresponding approximately to as many as one third of holders of the classical *érettségi*, who had accomplished the equivalent to 8 secondary school classes in a vocational track. Now all but a few of the former were demonstrably Christians, since Jews did not represent more than 2,8 % of Normal School and even less – 1,1 % - of other vocational school students at that time,²⁸³ even if they made up country wide close to half of the pupils of 'higher commercial'

²⁷⁹ See Lajos Láng, *Középkutatás hazánkban, 1867-1886, /Secondary education in our fatherland/* Budapest, 1887.

²⁸⁰ Cf. Joseph Asztalos, *La statistique des écoles secondaires hongroises jusqu'à l'année scolaire 1932/33*, Budapest, 1934, 36.

²⁸¹ Cf. *MStÉ*, 1911, 385.

²⁸² *Ibid.* 373.

²⁸³ Same sources as in the precedent footnotes.

schools. But there were few 'higher commercials' (4 out of 51) with an even smaller share among pupils (4,8 %) in Transylvania²⁸⁴. Consequently, all this could substantially enhance the proportions of Christians in a position to declare 8 classes of secondary education at the census, as against Jews as well as those Christians who declared the completion of 4 or 6 secondary classes only.

Secondarily - and certainly to a very limited degree only - the relative proportion of those with 8 classes or above as compared to those with lower school qualifications may also be due to inequalities of mortality benefitting the better educated. But this could not much affect denominational differentials in this respect.

One has to stress that, systematic as these discrepancies appear to be, since they could be identified in other provinces of contemporary Hungary too²⁸⁵, the difference between the Jewish and the Gentile patterns appears to be the rule in counties only. In cities Jews too were regularly found more often among those with 8 secondary classes and above (as in Budapest) or else their proportions with 8 classes and above did not always, especially in the older generations, exceed those with a lower education. The 'urban trend' of the concentration of the best educated in every denominational group as against those with incomplete elite training (general among Gentiles, selective or inexistent among Jews) was probably grounded in a number of socio-historical developments in modern cities conducive to the gathering of educated elites fulfilling the main 'urban functions' (administration, free professionals, health, intellectual, artistic, educational and social services, capital intensive industries managed by a staff with high qualification, students pursuing secondary and higher studies, cultural salons).

However it was, the divergence of the two patterns carry important messages as to different educational strategies of denominational groups or even different regimes of education peculiar to them.

For Christian men (since women were not involved here), members of a demographically narrow elite – ranging from 1,5 to less than 8 % in the youngest adult generations, the main target of their educational investment aimed at elite training proper with 8 years of secondary school and, possibly higher studies and degrees. This was the socially recognised criterium for a gentleman's standing, especially when it was certified in a gymnasium with Latin tuition. Completed secondary schooling crowned by the *érettségi* (even one passed in a *reáliskola* without Latin or a 'commercial highschool') provided important social and in many respects state guaranteed formal entitlements in middle class circles: the claim to be addressed by members of lower strata as 'gentleman' (Sir), the right to fight duels (*Satisfaktionsfähigkeit*), to be admitted to middle class salons (*Salonsfähigkeit*), to wear a distinctive arm braid even as a simple soldier (*karpaszomány*), to 'volunteer' for a shorter military service and, ultimately, to become a reserve officer – the equivalent of a 'gentlemanly' certification in the Army. Even if graduates of a normal school could not always claim similar social distinctions, they represented often alone or with few others (the priest, the local judge) the 'gentlemanly class' in villages without any other members of the middle classes. Anyhow, such 'gentlemanly' educational strategy demanding secondary school training left few offspring of the Christian middle classes who would content themselves with 4 or 6 secondary classes only. These levels of education could, in principle, appeal to 'children of the people' originating from the peasantry, the emerging urban working

²⁸⁴ Data for 1911/12. See *MStÉ* 1912, 188.

²⁸⁵ See V. Karady, Peter-Tibor Nagy, *Denominational Inequalities of Education in Dualist Hungary. A Data Bank for Transdanubia, 1910*. Budapest, Oktatáskutató Intézet. ('Kutatás közben'); *ibid. Educational Inequalities and Denominations. Database for Western Slovakia, 1910*. Budapest, Wesleyan Theological Academy; *Educational Inequalities and Denominations. Database for Eastern Slovakia, 1910*. Budapest, Wesleyan Theological Academy, 2006. The difference between the Christian and the Jewish educational pyramid proved to be even sharper in other Hungarian provinces as compared to Transylvania.

class or intermediary lower strata (janitors, porters, petty officers, office messengers), but there were few of them. The absolute scarcity of those with 4 classes only among Christians – particularly flagrant among the globally less educated groups (Calvinists, Unitarians, those of Greek persuasion) - can thus be interpreted as the sign of the weakness of upwards educational mobility of the gentile masses. This should represent a central factor to account for the ‘inverted educational pyramid’ among Christians.

The ‘normal pyramid’ of Jews (or close to normal since it was balanced between those with 4 and 8 classes) should, accordingly, be decoded as the manifestation of progressive, much larger scale educational mobility, accompanying – as we shall briefly refer to it later – the ground swell of Jewish modernisation, acculturation and status mobility which took momentum following legal emancipation (1867). Indeed the initial and the most significant educational shift upwards – as observable in our data bank - touched the generations of Jewish men born in the 1850s and the early 1860s.²⁸⁶ Jewish mobility also involved – as equally manifest in our data - much larger sectors of the cluster and indeed a large proportion of men without ‘intellectual’ or middle class social claims, including many of those whose educational credentials were not at all destined for economic or professional use. The large Jewish pyramid was, however, subject to a progressive change in the latest Dualist generations, born after 1870 or 1875 and coming of age in the outgoing decade of the 19th century as fully emancipated members of an ambitious upstart ‘new middle class’ with no feudal connections or nostalgia. There was in this period another upwards shift in Jewish strategies of social mobility towards ‘gentlemanly’ middle class status. This trend brought about the partial reversal of the ‘normal pyramid’ thanks to the rapid acceleration of the demand for elite training. Part of such demand emanated, obviously enough, from fathers having only 4 secondary classes, whose sons opted for a further educational step including classical secondary or even higher studies. Hence a reversal of the ‘normal pyramid’ among Jewish youth in the last decades of the 19th century, a trend which can be identified first in cities (in Transylvania like elsewhere) and then everywhere as witnessed in our educational data banks published on other Hungarian provinces. In Budapest, for one, Jews had followed since the oldest generations recorded the ‘gentlemanly’ educational path with an overwhelming stress on (and a corresponding majority among the educated of those with) 8 classes secondary schooling and above.

Generational inequalities (by age groups)

An intriguing difference separates Jews from Gentiles also when one compares age group specific educational performances.

Age groups represent generations in retrospect, or at least those remaining alive in 1910 from their generations. Since certified formal education, as registered among census data, was almost exclusively earned in the youngest age brackets, one can resort to the evidence in this respect as characteristic of educational investments in the given generational groups. But this can be only done on the condition of neglecting or ignoring – that is, taking for equal – differences of death rates between groups unequally endowed with educational capital inside generational clusters. This hypothesis is not only unverifiable, but it can be easily falsified, with the benefit of hindsight. The intellectually better off belonged certainly more often than the less endowed to the higher social milieu with longer life expectations. This means practically two things. First, the retrospective study of educational attainments of

²⁸⁶ The proportion of Jewish men with some secondary training (4 classes and over) more than doubled (from 10,2 % to 22,1 %) between those born before 1850 and those born in 1860-64. There will be no such sudden shifts even for Jews within a matter of fifteen years later and, of course, it would be useless to look for traces of anything similar for Christians any time.

age groups surviving in 1910 distorts the actual position of age clusters with different levels of schooling in the sense of maximising the share of those with higher accomplishments and minimising the proportions of those with less accomplishments. Second, such a distortion should increase, logically, with the age of the generations observed, due to the growing span of time during which the social selection by death could have operated.

But once these obvious reservations are kept in mind, one can use the study of the educational achievement of age groups as a historical documentation on denominationally diverging patterns of educational achievement in former times.

Logically there must have developed within the dynamics of the modernisation and the subsequent growth of the school network a general expansion of educational qualifications for the whole population. This can indeed be observed in Transylvania as well in the sense that the oldest generations had usually lower proportions of formally educated members as compared to the younger ones. This is also generally true of women, whose progress, in relative terms, was constant and for most denominations regular from one age group to the other and on each level of education.

Still, and this is an indeed astonishing observation, the actual increase proved to be rather limited for men, amounting to a mere doubling of their proportions with 8 classes and above, and an even much lower extension of educational assets for those with lower grades over the time span covered by our data: proportions of those males with 4-6 classes grew from 1,9 % to 2,8 %-2,9 % only from the generations born before 1850 to those born after 1880. General illiteracy rates of men were also somewhat less than halved over those forty odd years separating by the birth dates of the oldest and the youngest adult or adolescent generations appearing in our tables (the only ones old enough already in 1910 to acquire such qualifications).

For the latter, especially for men under 35 in 1910, the standstill in the development of general educational performances is particularly visible. If progress was manifestly rather rapid for the preceding generational clusters, stagnation or even decline seems to be the rule for the youngest age groups. Illiteracy rates were 35,6 % for the 30-34 years old men and 34,1 % for the 20-24 years old men – not much above the 32,7 % for the 15-19 years old men, who could have, by that age, completed their study cycles necessary for the acquisition of basic writing and reading skills. But the decline is even more manifest for those men with 4 secondary classes, since their proportions remained exactly the same (2,2 %) in the 40-44 years group as in the 20-24 years or the 25-29 years group. Among men with 6 classes no systematic change, only oscillations between 0,6 % and 0,8 % can be observed in all age groups (except for adolescents under 20 in 1910).

Progress between generations and in time proved to be much more significant for women following our data, even if the very high initial illiteracy rate came only to be halved by the youngest adult generation. More advanced levels of training however, though significantly growing over time, remained desperately low in 1910 even for the younger groups (hardly exceeding 4 % for those with any kind of secondary education or above). For women too, signs of stagnation seem clearly established from the generational cluster of 30-34 years down to the 20-24 years old in the proportions of those with 8 classes or above (a mere 0,7 %-0,8 %).

For our purposes the most interesting target is of course to note that these general trends of limited progress or even stagnation over generations and time were very unevenly distributed among denominational groups. This is a complex issue, since historical developments were different for each cluster following the level of education by which progress was measured in our tables. Still, allowing for some simplifications, several more or less markedly contrasting patterns can be discerned, if we ground our analysis on evidence concerning men. For women progress was indeed slower but also more smooth and regular.

Drastic differences oppose, as usually, Jews on the one hand, displaying a rapid and spectacular increase of their educational assets over generations and Christians as such, with a much slower growth, if any. A secondary differentiation can be introduced between somewhat faster developing Lutherans together with Roman Catholics and the other gentile groups, for the latter lesser progress appearing on the whole to have been the rule. But this secondary division is slightly controversial at instances and definitely less spectacular than the first one.

The development for Jews was unilinear and constant indeed in the field under scrutiny, though their general educational scores were already among the best for the oldest generations as well. More than 9 % of Jewish men over 60 (born before 1850) had a smattering of secondary education, but 31 % were still illiterate. Among the youngest adult Jews (20-24 years old) almost one third (32,5 %) held in 1910 some secondary school qualifications and the rate of illiteracy was diminished by five times (down to 6 %). The proportion of those with 8 secondary classes qualification was also multiplied by a factor exceeding five. For Jewish women the cadence of growth was obviously even more spectacular, since the proportions with secondary traing (4 classes and above) increased over time from less than 2 % in the oldest generations to more than 21 % in the youngest ones. The Jewish pattern of constant progress over time is well exemplified in our data.

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

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

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

Calvinist and Unitarian men, relatively well educated in the oldest generations (on approximately the same level as Roman Catholics), fell significantly behind Catholics in the youngest adult generations, though they too benefitted from a radical diminution of their rates of illiteracy. Their proportions in the youngest adult generations of those with 8 classes and above grew by a mere half of what they had been among men born before 1850. The same limited progress applied to Calvinist and Unitarian women.

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

Now it is worth to break down these observations by residential settings, opposing there again cities and counties, even with the formerly formulated reservations in mind as to the poverty of our urban category.

In the two cities distinguished in our data bank the progress of education for men proved to be in relative terms much more modest and often properly erratic (with ups and downs among successive generational clusters) as compared to the counties where, on a lower general level to be true, it was permanently upwards directed over time almost on every level and in each denomination. The same observation can be made in other city populations for which we have similar information (Transdanubia, Western and Eastern Slovakia²⁸⁷, the region between Tisza and Maros and even Budapest²⁸⁸) But here again the general trend applied only to Christians and the pattern was different for Jews. The proportions of the educated among the latter was multiplied by a factor of three to almost five (!) on various levels of advanced education from the oldest to the youngest adult generations. There again similar indications of regular progress can be found among urbanised Jewish men in other provinces or in Budapest too. As a logical contrast, the counties recorded for every denomination a regular, even if slow progress, except for the already noted very dynamic growth of educated groups among Jews.

There again our results enforce the opposition of two trends peculiar to Christians and Jews respectively.

For Christians such 'urban functions' as staffing the administration and other social and political institutions of urban elites always generated the presence in cities of their most educated clusters to a large and indeed historically unchanging measure. Hence the apparent immobility of the relative size of their urbanised educated population, growing more or less only together with the development of the city populations themselves.

The educational investment of Jews in cities increased on the contrary sharply with – as we shall see below – the fast unfolding movement of Jewish urbanisation itself – thanks presumably to the combined effect of a number of well identified factors either hitherto mentioned or to be dealt with below : Jewish 'over-schooling' multiplying the presence of Jewish pupils and students in cities, migration trends of 'modernised' Jews with or aspiring to secular education into urban centers, embourgeoisement and economic ascent of urban petty Jewry, rapid increase of the size and the relative proportions of the Jewish intelligentsia performing urban functions in the medical, legal, cultural, artistic and otherwise intellectual services.

Frameworks of interpretation : the educational supply and its accessibility

Certified knowledge is always linked to its main vehicle and transmission belt, the school system on at least two scores, thanks to its functions of both dispensing and certifying educational assets. Thus, one should look at the organisation of schooling and its differential usages by denominational groups when attempting to interpret our findings. Such an investigation must concern first the very particularities of educational supply and raise the question whether they allow an interpretation of denominational differences in school performance.

The obvious starting point here should be the denominational nature of the school network, that is, its composition regards the impact of religion. It is indeed common knowledge that institutional education remained in the Dualist period largely the privilege of ecclesiastic authorities in Hungary both on the primary and the secondary level. Some church influence – if not a decisive one – survived even in higher education, which, however was

²⁸⁷ As in the publications cited above in note 111.

²⁸⁸ The publication of educational data banks for the remaining Hungarian provinces for 1910 are forthcoming.

almost fully nationalised since the 18th century. Clerical training (seminaries, theologies) remained, logically, within the orbit of the churches, but the University of Budapest also maintained its old Faculty of Catholic Theology and, to boot, the allegedly somewhat preferential promotion of Catholic candidates to its teaching positions. In the once important sector of legal academies seven ecclesiastical institutions continued to compete with four state managed ones for law students.²⁸⁹ In primary schooling the policy of often openly preferential selection of pupils of their own denomination remained the rule in church schools.²⁹⁰ A differently biased preferential recruitment system could occasionally prevail in secondary schooling as well.

Table 8.
Distribution of Transylvanian secondary and primary schools by controlling authorities (1900)

		p r i m a r y s c h o o l s ²⁹²		gymnasiums ²⁹¹
State	507	16,9		5
Municipal_	167	5,6		1
Private, 'associational'	32	1,1		
Roman Catholic	234	7,8	10,2	6
Greek Catholic	788	26,2	34,3	3
Greek Orthodox	760	25,3	33,1	2
Lutheran	271	9,0	11,8	7
Calvinist	202	6,7	8,8	6
Unitarian	33	1,1	1,4	2
Jewish	8	0,3	0,3	-
<hr/>				
all	3002			32
% with public schools		100,0		
% without public schools			100,0	

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

As to primary schools, formally, both Greek Catholics and Orthodox had a somewhat larger share in the institutional market than expected, given their share in the population (28 % and 29 % respectively), if we suppose that they could enter state and municipal establishments in proportionally equal numbers as well. Lutherans also had a larger primary school network than expected due to their smaller share (8 %) in the population. Thus for Lutherans their very good scores of literacy can to some extent be correlated to the large size of their school network, but this cannot apply to the primary schools run by Churches of Greek ritual. All other denominational clusters appear however to be crassly under-

²⁸⁹ In the outgoing 19th century there were state run Legal Akademis in Győr, Kassa, Pozsony and Nagyvárad. The ecclesiastical sector of similar akademis consisted of two Roman Catholic (in Eger and Pécs), one Lutheran (in Eperjes) and four Calvinist institutions (in Debrecen, Kecskemét, Máramarossziget and Sárospatak). Altogether they trained in 1891/2 for example exactly one third (33,3 %) of students in law. See *MStÉ* 1893, 290.

²⁹⁰ On this problem see my study : « Szegregáció, asszimiláció és disszimiláció », *op.cit., passim*.

²⁹¹ Cf. *Ibid*, 337-338.

²⁹² Cf. *MStÉ*, 1900, 332.

represented in the school market, especially the Roman Catholics and the Calvinists holding not much more (or even less) than half as many schools (in proportion of all schools) than their share in the population (14 % and 15 % respectively). The case of Jews is particularly striking with their negligible presence in the market of Transylvanian primary schools.

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

Thus the above detailed educational hierarchy is far from being clearly reflected in the supply of Church schools, which is more astonishing for the primary than the secondary level. The primary sector operated indeed following principles of a quasi complete denominational segregation, each religious cluster using basically its own schools, with some exceptions. But the distribution observed granted apparently enough occasions for education for all in their own denominational schools, except for Jews. This was counterbalanced by a relatively large state and municipal school network providing training for those who did not have or could not reach a school of their own at their disposal. 17 % of primary schools belonged in 1900 to the state sector in Transylvania, as against only 10 % in Hungary, and this was complemented by a municipal school network of smaller size (5,5 %).²⁹³ Manifestly, the quantitative availability of primary schools cannot be made responsible for inequalities of literacy or further education. This statement confirms the finding made above in table 1, that the quantitative distribution of primary schools could not explain relative general under-education in Transylvania.

The situation was different however in secondary schooling. This was indeed organised following principles of a fairly 'open market', though not without significant rigidities. Among the latter the first thing worth mentioning concerns the very uneven availability of schools in various languages. Hungarian elite training was a fundamental instrument of 'nationalisation' and social integration of would-be ethnic elites thanks to the quasi complete monopoly of Magyar tuition in the country. The quasi unique exceptions to this were actually concentrated in Transylvania due to the presence of German-Saxon and Romanian institutions²⁹⁴. But, visibly, if Lutheran Saxons were privileged due to the relatively large number of gymnasiums, Romanians were clearly underprivileged in this respect. Magyar and German gymnasiums and *reáliskolák* were, to be sure, also open to them, but it is undeniable that studies in institutions with alien tuition language represented – specifically for Romanians – a supplementary hardship and could obviously put a brake on their efforts at upwards educational mobility as well as, consequently, on their willingness to enter into such an 'alienating' educational track. Secondary education was, at that time, hardly marked as yet by trends or policies of denominational segregation, if preferential school choices related to the 'social distance', cultural differences and 'ritual alienation' between religious clusters are disregarded. Greek Catholic or Orthodox students would, hence, allegedly prefer Roman

²⁹³ *MStÉ* 1901, 320.

²⁹⁴ In Újvidék/Novi Sad there was a Serbian gymnasium too.

Catholic gymnasiums, when they accepted Hungarian training²⁹⁵ and Protestants and Catholics would mutually tend to avoid enrollment in institutions of the other faith. Similarly Jews could, occasionally, prefer state gymnasiums or Protestant ones to other ecclesiastical institutions, when they had the choice, but they did not suffer any discrimination proper in this period.²⁹⁶ There was probably no discrimination but certainly a strategic avoidance of Romanian gymnasiums of Greek ritual by all non Romanian pupils, among other reasons because tuition was offered there in a language lacking much promotional value in the Magyar nation state ruled by Hungarian and German speaking elites. This proved to be much less reciprocated - for exactly the same reasons - by Romanians – often accepting or even seeking Magyar or German cultural and social assimilation in gymnasiums of the ruling ethnic clusters.²⁹⁷ Ambitious and intellectually mobile Hungarians could, similarly, aspire to German instruction in Saxon-Lutheran gymnasiums.

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

In the educational efficiency of the school supply there has always been of course an essential qualitative aspect as well. There are reasons to suppose that the various denominational school networks – especially on the primary level - were differently endowed with pedagogical means. Unfortunately regional evidence is seriously lacking for a demonstration of such discrepancies in Transylvania proper. The few indications we have to this effect concern the whole country. They do confirm that state primary schools were generally better endowed than ecclesiastical ones and among the latter Jewish schools were far better off than all others. In 1898 for example all but 8 % of primary school teachers on average had a normal school degree, but as many as 21 % of teachers were still without qualification in Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic schools as against only 2,5 % in Jewish schools.²⁹⁸ Similarly, as late as 1910/11 some 39 % of pupils of primary schools on the average benefited from a normally (9-10 months) long school year, but only 12 % of pupils in Greek Catholic and 23 % in Greek Orthodox schools as against 84 % of pupils in Jewish schools and 63 % of pupils in state schools.²⁹⁹ The same applied to the endowment of schools with libraries³⁰⁰ or, more generally, to the expenses made for each pupil : these varied widely, in 1907 for example from a very low 17-19 crown in Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox schools to as much as 54 crowns in Jewish schools and 39 crowns in state schools (with an

²⁹⁵ To this point see Simion Retegan, „Scolarizare si desvoltare. Elevii Romani ai Liceului Piarist din Cluj, intre 1850-1910”, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie*, Cluj-Napoca, XXXII (1993), 121-139. Still, by 1900, students with Romanian mother tongue would behave like students of most other ethnico-denominational groups. Their attended mostly a gymnasium of Greek religious persuasion (46 %), public gymnasiums (29 %) and only to a limited extent a Roman Catholic (12 %) or another Protestant institution (13 %). This data includes students in Hungary from outside historic Transylvania as well. Calculated from *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* /Hungarian statistical yearbook/, 1900, 353.

²⁹⁶ On this point see some empirical findings in my *Iskolarendszer és felekezeti egyenlőtlenségek*, *op. cit.* 162.

²⁹⁷ As referred to above, a qualified majority of Romanian students actually opted for Magyar and German gymnasiums. The most concrete reason for this may have been the fact that Romanian gymnasiums directed their students mostly towards Greek Catholic or Greek Orthodox ecclesiastic status and less to modern intellectual professions.

²⁹⁸ *VKM Jelentés* 1898, 252.

²⁹⁹ *MStÉ* 1911, 351.

³⁰⁰ See my study, « ‘The People of the Book’ and Denominational Access Differentials to Hungarian Primary School Libraries in the early 20. Century », *Jewish Studies Yearbook*, 2000/2001, Budapest, Central European University, 193-201.

average of 22 crowns).³⁰¹ All this may be connected to major denominational inequalities observed in the general length of primary school studies in the early 20th century, closely connected to drop out rates. Thus in 1906/7 class 4 of primary schools had only 52 of pupils as compared to class 1. But, if we suppose that the number of pupils enrolled in different forms did not change significantly over four years, Jewish schools has kept in class 4 as much as 90 % of their pupils as against 53 % in state schools, 64 % in German-Catholic schools, 71 in German Lutheran schools, but a mere 31 % in Romanian Greek Catholic and 33 % in Romanian Greek Orthodox schools.³⁰²

Such country wide data may bring us insights into the relative under-education of Greek Catholics and Greek Orthodox, since over a third of them in Hungary lived in Transylvania (as indicated in table 5 above), but they can be much less extrapolated to other denominational clusters in Transylvania with a much lower share in the region's population.

But one should, in this context, also consider another aspect of the educational supply, its regional or local distribution, as compared to that of its potential denominational clientele. If cultural distance between denominational groups could not be a decisive factor of inequalities, physical distance from schools occasionally could. Such distance, in terms of access facilities, could also be overcome, obviously, but at a price which all the families concerned were not ready or in a position to accept. Hence the importance of urbanisation as a good approach to the problem area.

Table 9.
Urbanisation by denominations in Transylvania (1869-1910)

	Urban population 1869	1900 ³⁰³	1910 ³⁰⁴	growth % 1869-1910 ³⁰⁵	population 1900 ³⁰⁶	% of city dwell- ers, 1910
Roman Catholics	25,9	25,1	27,1	187	13,4	42,5
Greek Catholics	11,4	12,2	12,3	193	27,9	5,7
Greek Orthodox	16,8	18,7	14,2	151	30,2	6,2
Lutherans	19,3	19,0	14,0	130	9,0	21,4
Calvinists	22,2	17,9	22,7	182	14,7	19,9
Unitarians	1,7	2,1	2,6	266	2,6	13,4
Jews	2,7	5,1	7,1	469	2,1	38,7
All	100,0	100,0	100,0	177,7	100,0	13,1

The accessibility in terms of both physical distance from schools and the cost of schooling investment depend manifestly upon the location of the schools and the respective settlement of their clientele. The primary school network was, by that time, fairly decentralized, so that direct access to schools could be provided for most if not all pupils, even in many if not all remote villages. This was not the case of secondary and higher educational institutions almost exclusively established in towns with 'established councils'

³⁰¹ *MStK*, 31, 89*.

³⁰² Computed from *MStK* 31, 172.

³⁰³ Calculations made for 1869 and 1900 on the evidence published in *Magyar városok adminisztratív évkönyve* I. /Administrative yearbook of Hungarian towns I/, Budapest, 1912, 75-77. The data refer to the two cities with 'legal independence' (*önálló törvényhatósági jogú város*), Marosvásárhely/Trgu Mures and Kolozsvár/Cluj as well as to the 26 towns 'with established municipal council' (*rendezett tanácsú város*) in Transylvania.

³⁰⁴ *MStK* 64, 110-111.

³⁰⁵ 1969 = 100.

³⁰⁶ Calculated following Károly R. Nyárády, *op. cit.* 466-474. These results are somewhat different from what can be read in our tables, without altering their relative size.

(small townships) or cities with administrative autonomy. The unequal urbanisation of potential school clienteles could, thus, be a factor defining to a large extent positively or negatively the chances of access to post-primary schooling. The table above shows the basic data to this effect for 1869-1910 related to all towns and cities in the region.

These data show clearly a strong statistical relationship between degrees of urbanization and the level of school performances. Significantly over-urbanised groups (with more than double share among the urban population compared to their proportions in the general population – like Jews -, or with close to the double – like Roman Catholics and Lutherans) belonged to the best educated clusters as well. Those slightly over-urbanized (like Calvinists and Unitarians) displayed equally close to average (but higher than average) educational scores. On the contrary, the firmly under-urbanized brackets – the Greek Orthodox and – even more – the Greek Catholics – appear among the clusters with the poorest educational attainments. In other terms, when the geographical disposition of the schooling supply was to some extent matched with a similar distribution of the potential demand by denomination, there was a positive response in forme of a measure of over-schooling. The contrasted geographical composition of the supply and the demand generated sharp trends of under-investment in education. This correlation remains relevant even for globally over-urbanised groups, like Lutherans actually in Transylvania, whose urban population was historically rather stagnating, contrary to Jews, for example, who tripled their share among city dwellers of the region over the fourty odd years under scrutiny. Still, there was no direct and constant relationship between schooling assets and urbanisation since the most strongly urbanised cluster, the Catholics, was not on the whole the most educated one. Moreover this was even less true of some those – Unitarians and Greek Catholics – which espoused the most dynamically the settlement movement in towns. Jews on the contrary offer a throughout positive correlation between over-urbanisation and over-schooling.

Frameworks of interpretation : social stratification and degrees of modernity of denominational groups

Still, residential distribution does certainly not explain all the observed denominational inequalities, since on the whole a fraction only of the Transylvanian population (not more than a mere one sixth of it in 1910³⁰⁷) was actually urbanised in the Dualist Era. For a better interpretation of our main results one has to look thus closer into the demoninational set-up of the potential demand, that is, the main social strata providing for advanced school clienteles in this period. Thus we must resort to an analysis – let alone a summary one -of the socio-professional composition of Transylvanian society in the early 20th century broken down by confessional clusters. This can be cautiously completed by references to some selected demographic indicators of ‘modernity’, specific to denominational groups, liable to contribute to the understanding of educational differentials.

Educational investments are always dependent on at least two circumstances: first they are conditioned by its costs and, implicitly, the mere capacity of families to come up to the expenses involved in the broad sense (as far as financial and organisational sacrifices or the use of the families’ and the young peoples’s time budget are concerned); secondarily but not less importantly, the readiness of families to invest in education instead of other things. Both conditions are heavily class related or properly class dependent. The higher social strata have usually more means and more readiness to spend on education for a number of reasons. In the post-feudal era of industrialisation and construction of the apparatus of the nation state, their educational investments are easier to realize due to facilities guaranteed by the

³⁰⁷ *MSiK* 64, 110.

reproductiveness of their own 'educational capital' and also expected to carry more immediate profits in terms of careers in the civil service, the professions or the private economy. Still in this shortcut of educational sociology one should not neglect anthropological culture specific factors, notably those linked to religious cultures, not liable to be reduced exclusively to social stratification. All this can be exemplified to some extent in our last tables.

Table 10.
Some basic data on social stratification by denominations in Transylvania, outside 'intellectual' professions (1900)³⁰⁸

	Roman C a t h o l i c s	Greek Orthodox	Greek Orthodox	Luthe- rans	Calvi- nists	Unita- rians	Jews	all	N
All active men	13,4	28,7	30,2	8,8	14,5	2,6	1,8	100,0	822.030 ³⁰⁹
Landowners with 100 <i>holds</i> or above	57,9	5,5	8,8	14,1	7,8	1,0	5,1	100,0	11.410
landowners with 50-100 <i>holds</i>	16,6	31,3	15,1	10,9	21,2	4,9	2,9	100,0	3829
petty landowners with less than 50 holds	8,5	29,6	35,5	12,5	11,1	2,7	0,2	100,0	307.171
manual workers in agriculture	10,9	36,1	32,8	3,0	14,6	2,6	0,1	100,0	293.384
manual workers (mining, industry, trade, transports)	28,7	13,2	17,3	12,8	19,9	2,6	5,5	100,0	71.767
craftsmen, industrialists	23,1	12,5	18,0	15,0	20,5	2,3	8,4	100,0	37.447
traders, credit agents	17,9	5,1	9,8	11,5	7,7	0,9	47,1	100,0	6.360

Table 10 offers an overview of major trends of professional stratification of Transylvanian society outside the 'intellectual professions' in the last phase of the Dualist Era. Visibly, here again the demonstration is made of the relative under-development of Transylvania as compared to other provinces in the country, since the primary sector (agriculture) occupied close to three quarters of active men (73 %) in the region as against 66,5 % country wide.³¹⁰ Hence two clusters of almost equal size dominated the professional scene, petty landowners and agricultural workers of various status. The main social inequalities among religious groups can be measured already by the extremely divergent representation of various denominational clusters in these two groups. Only the two Greek ritual clusters were more or less significantly over-represented in both agricultural populations, the Greek Catholics more among the workers, the Orthodox somewhat more among landowners. The presence of Lutherans proved also to be rather strong among propertied peasantry, but very weak among agricultural blue collars. The Calvinists, on the contrary showed an average representation among the petty landowners and a much higher one among the rural working class. Unitarians were also over-represented among the landowners. Jews could be found only exceptionally in agricultural professions in Transylvania. The most interesting finding in this respect concerns Roman Catholics, prominently under-represented in both peasant categories.

³⁰⁸ Men in activity without small denominational groups only. Computed from *MStK* 27, 82-257, *passim*.

³⁰⁹ Including categories not listed in the table, like those of the 'intellectual' professions..

³¹⁰ *Publications statistiques hongroises (MStK)* 27, 125*.

These data can serve for a preliminary interpretation of our observations related to educational inequalities. The Greek ritual clusters, over-represented among the poor peasantry, were among the less educated. Those others, under-represented in the peasantry, can be characterised by degrees of educational attainment rather closely correlated to their share among petty peasants. All this is confirmed – as a contrast - by the distribution of big landowners (over 100 *holds*) among whom Roman Catholics, Lutherans and Jews had a share of over three quarters (77 %), while all the others were under-represented. Among landowners with middle-sized properties (50-100 *holds*) the distribution was more balanced, with a strong presence of Calvinists and even Greek Catholics. But the absolute numbers of big landowners were insignificant as compared to the peasants, so that they could but weakly modify the major negative correlation between educational achievements and representation in the peasantry. The basic structure of Transylvanian society was still forcefully marked by the feudal heritage with its erstwhile privileged Magyar and German-Saxon layers of ‘Western Christians’ forcefully represented among the propertied, especially in the landowning strata. This socio-professional set-up contributed to determine much of the educational inequalities observed above.

This is not the place to expand on the causes of this correlation, some well known conditions can however be reminded of hereafter. Peasant children of mostly rural residence had a more difficult physical access to schooling than others, since secondary schools were at that time exclusively located in townships and cities, many small villages were lacking primary schools and peasant households were often dispersed in the open country, outside villages. The poor peasantry belonged in the post-feudal society to the economically most deprived social categories and thus could not always afford even the slightest investment in education. Peasant families were also obviously less motivated than others to make heavy educational investments since they could hardly expect from it due social rewards. Peasant society was marked by a number of in-bred mechanisms directed against residential and/or professional mobility. Technical knowledge necessary for the pursuit of peasant work was transmitted along family lines. Chances of upwards social mobility via formal education were poor, unforeseeable and indeed impossible to be planned given the lack of educational capital in the families. In peasant culture there could survive or be even developed, occasionally, a measure of mistrust proper of educational assets ‘reserved for the gentlemen’, ‘not for us’ or even capable to alienate ‘our children from their homes’. Such mistrust could, of course, be efficiently counter-balanced by specific denominational motivations, like the presence of religious teaching institutions, the appeal of denominational vocations (priesthood) – especially when it was supported by Church managed grants -, ‘religious intellectualism’ (as among Jews³¹¹) or influential models of ‘intellectual careers’ in the Churches (like in Catholic congregations or as teachers of the *Universitas Saxorum*).

Considering the minority groups in non agricultural occupations, it is easy to perceive a logical negative homology in the distribution of denominational clusters, compared to their proportions in agriculture. The extreme case here is clearly presented by Jews, over-represented by a factor of more than three in all such occupations, the less among urban workers and the most among traders - providing close to a half of the latter. But one can observe a very strong over-representation of Roman Catholics and Lutherans among ‘independents’ (business proprietors) in industry and trade, Calvinists being also exceptionally over-represented among (mostly petty) craftsmen, while all these ‘Western Christian’ groups were heavily present among the urban blue collars too. The contrary was true of those of Greek persuasion, rarely present in any of these typically urban occupations, though the participation here of the Orthodox exceeded significantly that of the Greek

³¹¹ See the relevant sub-chapter of my book *The Jews of Europe in the Modern Era, A Socio-Historical Outline*, Budapest-New York, Central European University Press, 2004, 57-61.

Catholics. Now all these mostly urban strata were more prone to educational mobility than their peasant coreligionists, so that their distribution can serve as an additional factor to explain the disparities identified in their educational investments.

Similar conclusions can be made regarding the presence of various Transylvanian denominations in the ‘intellectual professions’, as displayed in Table 11. The study of relevant data should be started with the last two lines of the table, comparing the overall representation of denominational groups among ‘intellectuals’ and in the active population. Here again, Jews were very strongly over-represented (by a factor of more than four), but also Roman Catholics and Lutherans, the presence of Calvinists and Unitarians also exceeding considerably their share in the population, while those of the Greek persuasion appeared to be crassly under-represented. This is another general confirmation of the observation that the higher were the participation of groups with intellectual capital in a confessional cluster, the better were the educational performances achieved in the cluster.

This interpretation can be refined by considering the group specific structure of the ‘intellectual professions’, as indicated in table 11. Here again the most singular pattern is shown by Jews, with an absolute majority of their ‘intellectuals’ among private employees (including engineers, executives, managers in the upper echelons down to petty shop assistants) and with a strong presence among free professionals (doctors, lawyers, vets, etc.). Jews proved to have thus the most ‘modern’ profile here in the sense of being concentrated in professional tracks developed mostly recently due to the growth of capital intensive industries, trades and agencies of credit, demanding specialised intellectual manpower. Lutherans and Roman Catholics were also relatively over-represented among experts of the private economy, but their strongholds were constituted rather in public or semi-public employment, as in the teaching professions. This applied even more to Calvinists and Unitarians, over two-thirds of whom were concentrated in public or Church service. Greek Orthodox and Catholics on the contrary remained almost exclusively (up to close to four fifth of them) clustered in the most traditional intellectual professions in Church service (priests, primary school teachers).

Table 11.
The distribution of selected ‘intellectual’ professions in Transylvania by denominations (1900)³¹²

	Roman Catholics	Greek Orthodox	Greek Orthodox	Luthe- rans	Calvinists	Unita- rians	Jews	all
Private employees (in- dustry, trade, banks)	20,6	4,6	6,3	29,3	10,4	5,9	62,0	18,6
free professionals	5,3	4,8	3,2	7,0	5,9	6,6	8,6	5,7
employees in transports civil servants, public	20,9	2,3	1,6	6,5	14,4	12,4	12,3	10,6
employees	28,0	15,0	17,5	13,5	27,7	26,8	6,0	17,9
priests, clerics	6,6	40,5	42,6	13,9	15,2	18,5	4,7	20,1
primary school teachers	14,0	36,0	37,5	24,9	23,1	25,9	6,0	24,0
highschool teachers	4,5	1,8	1,8	4,9	3,6	3,9	0,5	3,2

³¹² Cf. *MStK* 16, 134-236 *passim*. ³¹² Women could not be distinguished in the sources from male professionals but, obviously enough, most of these ‘non manuals’ were men at that time for reasons related to the subsistence of a quasi-exclusion of women from most educational tracks leading to intellectual professions.

all	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
numbers	3295	2364	2012	2260	2848	541	1309	14.629
%	22,5	16,2	13,7	15,4	19,5	3,4	8,9	100,0
% in the population	13,4	27,9	30,2	9,0	14,7	2,6	2,1	100,0

The distribution of ‘intellectuals’ in denominational groups, though on the whole an almost negligible minority (less than 2 %) in the active population, reproduced once again the same four tiers structure – opposing Jews, ‘developed’ (Roman Catholics, Lutherans) and ‘less developed’ (Calvinists, Unitarians) Western Christians as well as, lastly, those of Greek ritual - precisely as it has been observed in our educational data. The primary and most spectacular differences separate Jews from all others on the one hand, the Greek religious clusters from other Christians on the other hand.

As to the first pattern of opposition one may stress the fact – which, unfortunately, cannot be duely elaborated upon in this context – that the stratification of the Jewish intellectual cluster, with a probable majority share of self made, not officially certified ‘semi-intellectuals’ in private employment prepared for the enormous educational mobility of future generations belonging to the confessional cluster. Their Christian counterparts held much more often ‘official’ intellectual positions as priests, teachers, civil servants – the mere appointment of whom was more and more strictly connected, following the 1883 ‘Law on qualifications’, to their educational certifications. The development of Christian educational mobility was thus, from the outstart, linked mostly to the movement of self-reproduction of ‘certified intellectuals’, even if this could mean some progress in terms of the accumulation of educational capital (when, for example, the son of a petty intellectual - a teacher or a protestant minister - became professor in a gymnasium or a legal academy). As a contrast, Jewish educational mobility was destined to be the outcome of overall mobility strategies of non intellectuals (like traders) or ‘proto’- or ‘semi-intellectuals’ (like trade employees) on a trajectory of migratory mobility (urbanisation), cultural adaptation (Magyarisation), secularisation (growth of ‘modern’ Jewry as exemplified in the birth and increase of ‘neologue’ communities after the 1868 Jewish Congress) and identity change (assimilation and integration in the Hungarian middle classes).

The contrast between ‘Western’ and ‘Eastern’ Christians is clearly reproduced in the stratification of their respective ‘clusters of intellectuals’. This opposition can be clearly demonstrated if we compare the size of the 8 secondary school classes clusters in each denominational group with the numbers of ‘officially certified intellectuals’, that is those who were expected or could claim to have completed 8 secondary classes or more, as in table 12.

Table 12.
Certified intellectuals and the clusters of men with 8 secondary school classes and above in Transylvania (1910)³¹³

	Roman C a t h o l i c s	Greek O r t h o d o x	Greek O r t h o d o x	Luthe- r a n s	Calvinists	Unita- r i a n s	Jews
1. Certified intellectuals ³¹⁴	7389	2980	2589	3939	5427	1081	1961
2. Men with 8 secondary classes and above	2073	2201	1853	1451	2150	442	506
3 = 1 : 2 X 100	356	144	140	271	252	244	388

³¹³ Data sources from our book and from table 11.

³¹⁴ Priests, teachers, civil servants, free professionals.

The table shows three patterns, corresponding incompletely but still largely to the disparity of educational attainments observed among denominational groups. The 'Eastern Christian' clusters had in a quite uniform manner almost only 'official intellectuals' among those with full secondary school qualifications. Western Christians had in relative terms an at least three times larger section of secondary school graduates or equivalents outside 'official intellectuals'. The share of the latter among Jews, together this time rather exceptionally with Roman Catholics, was even larger, approaching the double of 'non intellectual graduates' (that is the double of the proportion above 100 % in table 12). The case of Roman Catholics needs further research for an explanation, but the rest of these findings simply confirm our previous results concerning educational inequalities among denominational groups. For Jews similar observations have been made in Eastern and Western Slovakia.³¹⁵

One should add though that the Greek oriental pattern owed its more pronounced immobility to at least three specific factors. Special facilities operated for self-reproduction in the large Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox clerical cluster (the biggest category among all other 'intellectuals' of Greek ritual listed in Table 11) via Church schools, grants and family incitements (the latter being absent among Roman Catholic clerics obliged to celibacy). Such facilities via big Romanian foundations (among them the famous Gojdu and the Greek Catholic Naszód/Nasaud foundations³¹⁶) did exist for secular learning too, to be sure. The very fact that young Greek Catholic and Orthodox men, engaged in secular higher studies, appear to benefit much more often than others from 'sponsored educational promotion' thanks to scholarships, tuition waivers and the like³¹⁷, is a demonstration of the otherwise large scale educational immobility in these clusters. But this may have been also due to the weakness of their secondary school network and the very tight scope of institutions of higher education (practically limited to theological seminaries) in Romanian or Ruthenian (as for the Ruthenian Greek Catholic minority in North Transylvania). Romanian Orthodox or Catholic pupils were exposed to various forms of symbolic violence, not to speak of the inescapable linguistic and cultural alienation, when they accepted or decided to make headway in Hungarian or German majority schools. This is why the most successful of them, if they reached Matura level, appear to have graduated much later in age than their Western Christian or Jewish counterparts.³¹⁸ Thirdly, even if overcoming the above mentioned difficulties of adaptation and alienation, Romanian intellectuals – whether free lance or employed – had a hard time to get integrated in Magyar and German dominated Transylvanian gentlemanly elites. This is objectively manifested in the striking rarity of their presence among state dependent professionals like employees in transports (railways and city transports belonging mostly to public industries by that time), highschool teachers (whose career market, though Romanian in part, was largely dominated by the Western Churches and the state sector, as shown in table 8 above) and other civil servants (as in Table 11).

³¹⁵ See V. Karady, „Two regional paradigms of the accumulation of educational capital : Eastern and Western Slovakia in comparison” in V. Karady, Peter-Tibor Nagy, *Educational Inequalities and Denominations. Database for Eastern Slovakia, 1910*. Budapest, Wesleyan Theological Seminary, 2006, 9-34.

³¹⁶ Cornel Sigmirean, „Fonds et fondations de subsides pour les étudiants roumains de Transylvanie á l'époque moderne” in *Colloquia, Journal of Central European History*, Kolozsvár University Press, 2000, III.-IV., nr. 1-2, 184-202.

³¹⁷ In the Faculty of Medicine of the Hungarian University of Kolozsvár/Cluj 30 % of Greek Catholic and as many as over 45 % of Orthodox students were scholarship holders as against less than 15 % of other students. Cf. V. Karady and L. Nastasa, *op. cit.* 145.

³¹⁸ See on this point V: Karady and L. Nastasa, *op. cit.* 117. Among students of the Medical Faculty in Kolozsvár/Cluj (1872-1918) a large majority of Greek Orthodox (74 %) and Greek Catholic (69 %) students earned their Matura later than 18 years of age as against 53 % of Roman Catholics, 51 % of Calvinists, 57 % of Lutherans and a mere 35 % of Jews.

Frameworks of interpretation : multiple modernities, traditionalisms, identity management and the special Jewish case.

The final scheme to interpret our data on educational inequalities represents the most complex approach resorting to indicators which refer either to the group specific patterns of demographic (that is existential) modernization or to linguistic competences linked to strategic actions of assimilation. The key concepts applicable more or less directly to all those conducts underlying these indicators is self-control, discipline, rational action and - more specifically - strategic adoption of skills beneficial to the social integration and advancement in a multi-cultural nation state undergoing a process of modernization and exerting pressure for its cultural homogeneization. These key concepts are clearly connected to educational achievements as well either as the expression of conditions of educational success (discipline, self-control, rational action) or as a consequence expected from schooling (acquisition of linguistic skills of the dominating national elites). Most behaviours referred to in all these concepts can be qualified as 'modern' in the sense that they attest to a positive relation to the future, the acceptance of investments (in terms of endeavours, expenses, deprivations, self-mobilisation or commitment) for future rewards. We will however encounter in this exposé, paradoxically enough and however sketchy it may be, very traditional forms of behaviour as well, which could (especially in Jewish clusters) demonstrably lead to the development of some decisively 'modern' – notably educational - behavioral strategies.

Table 12.

Indicators of modernisation and assimilation in Transylvania in the early 20th century.

	Roman Catholics	Greek Orthodox	Greek Orthodox	Luthe- rans	Calvin- ists	Unita- rians	Jews	all
% of deaths with medical care ³¹⁹	49,7	15,2	19,5	60,7	37,6	?	56,2	28,1
1901-1902								
1912-1913	50,3	18,1	22,2	57,4	42,7	?	60,6	30,0
birth rates/1000 in 1913 ³²⁰	36,3	39,2	35,2	29,2	35,1	32,6	31,6	35,8
deaths/thousand by tuberculosis (1901-1905) ³²¹	3,78	3,85	3,41	2,95	3,41	2,93	1,71	3,15
distribution of births in 1913 ³²²	14,1	30,6	29,2	7,0	14,6	2,3	2,1	100,0
distribution of deaths under 7 years of age (1901-1905) ³²³	14,3	30,5	31,0	5,8	14,5	2,4	1,6	100,0
% with Magyar mother tongue (1880) ³²⁴	89,9	2,0	1,3	9,9	96,3	98,0	44,7	30,3

³¹⁹ Computed from the medicalisation files in the Archives of the Central Statistical Office in Budapest.

³²⁰ Computed from data on the population in 1910 as in the final tables of the book and *MSiK* 70, 36.

³²¹ Non weighted averages computed from *MSiK* 62, 130*.

³²² Computed from *MSiK* 70, 36.

³²³ Computed from *MSiK* 68, 23.

% with Magyar mother tongue (1910) ³²⁵	92,6	3,4	1,6	10,9	98,4	99,2	73,3	34,3
% of those with Magyar mother tongue speaking another language too (1910) ³²⁶	19,5	42,4	27,2	45,0	36,5	15,9	67,8	19,5
% of those with Magyar mother tongue speaking German or other non local language ³²⁷	9,9	5,6	5,2	19,5	6,8	3,7	60,4	10,1
% of non Magyars speaking Magyar too (1910) ³²⁸	56,6	14,0	63,6	29,9	9,7	21,2	52,8	15,2

There are two types of data on table 13 : indicators of demographic modernization or development on the one hand, indicators of linguistic competence, loyalty and mobility on the other hand. This is not the place to propose an in-depth study of them as such, in their specific significance, but only as far as they express degrees of collective behavioral modernization of various denominational groups liable to be connected to observed differentials in their educational performances.

The case of demographic indicators is relatively simple.

Some of them are clearly correlated with the hierarchy of educational achievements. This applies to the frequency of medical treatment granted to the dying (first two lines of table 13). Jews, Lutherans and Roman Catholics - in this order - appear to be in this respect notably privileged, since by 1912-13 the majority of their deceased had been taken care of by the medical personnel. One should remark nevertheless that there was a decrease in the probability of benefiting from a doctor's assistance for Lutherans during the first decade of the 20th century, while the proportion of comparable Roman Catholics hardly moved in this period as against a sizable rise for Jews. Calvinists are situated lower on this scale and those of the Greek ritual much lower, especially the Uniates (Greek Catholics). This last difference between the two populations of Greek ritual can be probably related to their somewhat different socio-professional set-up. The Orthodox presented an indeed significantly more 'middle class' profile, in the sense that 44,5 % of their active men belonged to the landowning class as against only 39,3 % of the Greek Catholics, while the share of craftsmen, entrepreneurs and traders represented 3 % of the Orthodox, but only 2,1 % of the Greek Catholics.³²⁹ The former might have been slightly more often in a position to protect themselves against ill health by resorting to medical services due to their presumably less depressed economic situation. One can impute, more generally, to differences in social stratification (inclusively degrees of urbanisation as in table 9 above) the above drafted hierarchy of access chances to medical care, so that the dimension of modernity or development involved which correlated closely to the hierarchy of educational attainments, may be attributed to the former.

³²⁴ *MStK* 27, 135.

³²⁵ *MStK* 64, 139.

³²⁶ *MStK* 61, 448-523.

³²⁷ *MStK* 61, 448-471.

³²⁸ *MStK* 64, 155.

³²⁹ Computed from *MStK* 27, 82-257 *passim*.

Such was not exactly the case of the other demographic indicators listed in table 13.

As for birth rates only Lutherans and, more moderately, Jews showed a pattern plainly under the average, demonstrating the fact that they had entered in Transylvania too into the second phase of 'demographic transition', entailing the limitation of family size. Death rates by tuberculosis and of young kids display quite comparable dissimilarities between Jews and Lutherans on the one hand, all the other denominational groups lumped together on the other hand. Following these indicators it is striking that Roman Catholics did not prove to be particularly advanced in this respect. Thus data on 'demographic modernisation' of Jews and Lutherans would confirm the hypothesis of a link between modernisation and educational achievements, but such correlation cannot be detected for Roman Catholics.

The singular status of Jews and Lutherans can be also demonstrated in the indicators of linguistic skills.

As to declarations of Magyar mother tongue at various dates, the denominational clusters under scrutiny offer a four tiered set-up. Three 'Western Christian' clusters (Calvinists, Unitarians and – somewhat less – Roman Catholics) consisted almost exclusively of Magyar speakers, which is a well established fact of Transylvanian history. It is not less well known that Lutherans were Saxons in their large majority, hence most of them (up to 90 %) German speakers. Those of Greek ritual were just as exclusively (or almost) Romanians, while Jews were divided between Yiddishists and Magyarizers. But the main message of our data concerns the linguistic mobility and the multiplicity of language usages and linguistic competences imbedded in the figures. Mobility and multilingualism may, in fact, be interpreted with some indispensable contextual qualifications as outcome of strategic actions, investments of sorts, intended to bring various social profits such as professional mobility, integration in elite circles, acquisition of middle class status, public 'normalisation' or neutralisation of erstwhile alienated, isolated or stigmatised identity assigned from outside to some socio-historically marginal clusters, especially Jews.³³⁰ Such strategic actions can be regarded as of the same nature as – and indeed often clearly the result of - educational investments.

In table 13. linguistic mobility can be observed over thirty years in various sectors of Transylvanian society via two kinds of indicators : the progress of Magyarization from 1880 to 1910 and the maintenance or the development of multi-linguism.

In this largely non Magyar population of Dualist Transylvania (with, officially only 31 % of Magyar speakers in 1890³³¹ in the whole province) the high assimilationist phase of Hungarian nation building did not generate much linguistic mobility in terms of a shift from indigenous tongues to Magyar outside Jews. In the ethnically non Magyar groups of Christian persuasion such progress touched less than 3 % of those concerned (1 % only among Saxon Lutherans), while among Jews the minority proportion of Magyar speakers became a majority of close to three fourth. It is not far-fetched to state thus, that Jews were the only denominational cluster in Transylvania to seriously commit itself to and actually succeed in linguistic assimilation. Hence only the Jewish case is worth here a special study.

The same applies to a large degree to indicators of multilingualism as in table 13. The large majority of Jews declaring Magyar mother tongue (68 %) – that is the great majority of all Transylvanian Jews in 1910 - spoke other languages too, as against a minority only of members of all other comparable denominational clusters : this minority remained relatively sizable for Magyar Lutherans (45 %) and Magyar Uniates (42 %). Something similar applied to those with non Magyar mother tongue who could speak Hungarian. There again a qualified

³³⁰ Gypsies or, possibly, Armenians, Greeks and other 'Levantine' groups could, in some historical junctures, share the marginal situation of Jews as 'radical aliens' in Transylvanian society, but there is no statistical evidence to attest to the remnants or traces of it in our period.

³³¹ *MStÉ* 1896, 42.

majority of such Jews (52 %) also spoke Magyar, as against only 30 % of Lutherans and a much smaller proportion of members of other denominations, except Roman Catholics. But Roman Catholic non Magyars represented in 1910 a mere 8 % of the group, a rather negligible proportion as compared to the overwhelming majority of Lutherans, Uniates and Greek Orthodox. In both of these cases – Magyars speaking another language and non Magyars speaking Hungarian - we may identify the effect of assimilationism among people composed presumably mostly of Saxons, Swabians and Romanians. But the actual numbers of these Magyarised Christian clusters were so small, that they do not deserve further consideration, contrary to Jews. An almost similarly large majority of Magyar Jews (60 %) continued to speak Yiddish³³², German and/or non local languages (presumably Western tongues). The contrast between the actual weight of Jewish and non Jewish multilingualism in Transylvania can be well evaluated when comparing figures related to Jews and the average figures (last column of table 13.). Now the significance of extended competence in Yiddish or German (and French) was obviously different, except in one sense. They both gave access either to commonly recognised ‘high civilisations’ (of Germany or France), admired as models to be followed in Eastern Europe, or to the Eastern European Jewish world – ‘Yiddishland’. This was at that time beginning to emerge as a non territorial, national and secular ‘high culture’ of its own, thanks to the cultural agency of Jewish political organisations (Zionists, ‘folkists’ á la Simon Dubnow, Agudat Israel, Bundists) specific of the demographic bulk of world Jewry, which continued to live this side of the European continent (in spite of continued waves of emigration from the 1880s onwards).

At least four aspects of the connection between education (Jewish over-schooling, to be true) linguistic mobility and multilingualism should be taken here into account.

The first aspect is hypothetical, though experimentally demonstrated in many instances. To boot it did not directly affect the intensity of schooling efforts. Since most Jews in Hungary including Transylvania were engaged in the process of acculturation, this involved the development of various forms of ‘linguistic loyalty’, as – for example – the fact that Jewish kids, even when they were factually bilingual or rather Yiddishists as to their mother tongue) would be more inclined than others to declare Magyar as their first language.

The second connection rested upon strategic school choice, especially in the primary school network. According to their assimilationist or anti-assimilationist engagements respectively, Jews would in both cases refrain from developing their own school network of public status – or keep it indeed embryonic, as observed in Transylvania. The most traditionalists (especially in the northern counties of the province) would thus opt for exclusively religious training in *chederim* (considered by state authorities as illegal pirate institutions), while the assimilationists would preferentially look for state or municipal schools, in borderline cases even Christian institutions with Magyar tuition. Linguistic assimilationism or loyalty thus became a criterion for school choice.

But once upon a Magyar language tuition track, Jewish kids like others entered the national educational system leading them up to university and academy studies, since at that level Magyar tuition was paramount. This became thus an elementary initial condition (though neither a necessary nor a sufficient one) of over-schooling in the elite educational track.

Lastly, since linguistic mobility for Jews did rarely represent a complete switch from Yiddish (or, more rarely, German) to Hungarian, as demonstrated in the data related to multilingualism in table 13, manifesting thus the possession of an operational linguistic capital

³³² Yiddish was regarded and classified in census data as German, since the statistics of the Habsburg Empire granted particular linguistic status to languages of groups recognised as ethnic entities. Jews were not in this category, being merely identified to a religious cluster, but not to a national group (*nemzetiség, népfaj, Nationalität*).

convertible also, at least in part (as for German and Western languages) into increased chances and proclivities for scholarly excellence in languages (among them German proper) the accomplishment of further studies abroad (basically in Austrian or German universities with German language tuition) and easy access of Western technological and otherwise intellectual skills beneficial for success in free market professions. But the connection worked obviously the other way round as well. More Jews received advanced elite training, more they were expected to collect linguistic capital. German and Latin in gymnasiums, German and French or other Western languages in *reáliskolák* and commercial highschoools constituted staple subjects of secondary education at that time. Student peregrinations in Western universities (mostly in Transleithenian Austria, Germany and Switzerland, less often in France or Belgium) represented a quasi normal way to complete graduate studies, especially in medicine (Vienna) with an exceptionally high Jewish participation.³³³

We must return shortly to both of these problems of rapid Jewish linguistic mobility and multilingualism. If the latter was less exclusively typical of Jews than the former, still, as we have seen, Jews were incomparably more frequently marked by them than any other denominational cluster. Now both can be directly linked to the traditional Jewish heritage at least in three ways : as a natural extension of customary multilingualism, the cultural habit of learning and, more generally, in-built mechanisms of preparedness for strategic actions via existential discipline.

Customary Jewish multilingualism was indeed an essential cultural feature of the male world of Yiddishland (much less that of Jewish women) thanks to their dominantly commercial or otherwise ‘mediatory’ activities as well as their education. Traditional Jewish schooling, both primary (in *chederim*) or higher (in *yeshivot*) was always based on literate bilingualism, with Yiddish as the language of tuition and Hebrew as that of the sacred literature and its commentaries made by erudite scholars over several generations, which constituted the main target of studies. To this must be counted a measure of familiarity with the language of the larger population with which Jewish traders and, more rarely, craftsmen and professionals (like medical doctors) maintained a relationship of often more or less symbiotic exchange of sorts. Far from being an exception as in Gentile circles, multilingualism was thus an integral part of the living conditions and social relations of traditional Jewry. Not much had to be added to or changed of this traditional frame of cultural habits to generate modern multilingualism with secular intellectual, economic or symbolic objectives. Indeed, in this respect, Jewish linguistic superiority³³⁴ encountered a fundamental

³³³ On this see among recent studies : László Szögi, „ A külföldi magyar egyetemjárás a kezdetektől a kiegyezésig” /Academic peregrinations of Hungarian students abroad since the beginnings till the 1867 Compromise/, in *Educatio*, XI/2, Summer, 2005, 244-266; V. Karady, « Funktionswandel der österreichischen Hochschulen in der Ausbildung der ungarischen Fachintelligenz vor und nach dem I. Weltkrieg », in V. Karady, Wolfgang Mitter (eds.), *Sozialstruktur und Bildungswesen in Mitteleuropa / Social Structure and Education in Central Europe*, Köln, Wien, Böhlau Verlag, 1990, 177-207; id. „Les migrations internationales d’étudiants avant et après la Grande Guerre.”, *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* (Paris) 145, décembre 2002, 47-60; id. “Student Mobility and Western Universities. Patterns of Unequal exchange in the European Academic Market (1880-1939)”, in Ch. Charle, P. Wagner, J. Schriewer (ed.), *Transnational Intellectual Networks. Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities*, Frankfurt, New York, Campus Verlag, 2005, 361-399.

³³⁴ This could be demonstrated empirically for large samples of secondary school graduates in the early 20. century via surveys on scholarly excellence. Jews and Lutherans earned on the average the best marks in all subjects (except in gymnastics as for Jews). But Jews distinguished themselves particularly as far the best achievers in German (and somewhat less in Latin) as well as in the study of the national language and literature. Differences between Jewish and Gentile students were the biggest in German, much more than in the sciences or other subjects. See my *Iskolarendszer...*, *op. cit.* 118-121, 136-143,

drive of the new East Central European Gentile middle classes for Western cultural assets, among them the knowledge of Western languages (with German as a must and French as a desirable supplement). Self-distinction and instrumental learning merged among social rewards expected from strategic multilingualism.

With this another essential ingredient of traditional Jewish life has been mentioned, learning. The study of the classical texts of Jewish religious tradition used to be a lifelong obligation of Jewish males since early childhood (4-5 years of age). Such learning habit was most of the time (except for practising rabbis) lacking any practical target but served as a major source of social prestige and authority – not infrequently competing with or equivalent to wealth. It is easy to realise that such religious learning habits, the basis of Jewish ‘religious intellectualism’, could be directly converted into secular educational assets in the course of the process of secularisation (entailing secular schooling) and modernization (setting secular targets to intellectual pursuits).

Last but not least, the rapid Jewish educational advancement as observed in our data, together with its corollaries (linguistic mobility and multilingualism), represented during the process of modernisation a complex development which would be impossible to account for without considering religious discipline as a multifunctional form of social capital in traditional Jewry. The organisation of daily, weekly and yearly time budget, kosher food, the lack (or quite marginal nature) of alcohol abuse, the omnipresent and overwhelming occurrence of ritual obligations in and outside family life – all this represent signal features of a *Lebenswelt* grounded in the veritable cultivation of self-control and rational behaviour both as regards religious values and aims (in the sense of Max Weber). But rational conduct and discipline belonged to the staple of economic activities of Jewish traders, professionals, financiers and other entrepreneurs - excluded as they were from the protective and restrictive scope of corporations and forced to operate in free market conditions, even before the fall of feudalism. Once such habit of self-assertive rationality was coupled with a positive attitude to the collective future of Jews, thanks to the relaxation of anti-Jewish limitations during the process of emancipation and - even more decisively - afterwards, it could often give rise to strategic behaviours aimed at social mobility. Linguistic mobility, secular multilingualism as well as concomitant endeavors of ‘over-schooling’ proved to be important pieces of the behavioral complex of Jews in the era following Emancipation, to which precisely the data bank of this book are dedicated.

* * *

As a conclusion of this essay one cannot but confirm the main hypothesis to which converge all the indices resorted to, which, as it has been demonstrated, explain at least in part the extremely outstretched denominational hierarchy of educational attainments. On this scale one could distinguish Jews at the top, together with Roman Catholics and Lutherans somewhat below from Calvinists and Unitarians in the middle range and Greek Orthodox and Catholics at the bottom. Levels of education appear indeed as a more or less direct product of degrees of modernisation of the clusters concerned. Aspirations for modernity, professional and cultural mobility (‘assimilation’ as among Jews or some Germans) or resistance to it (as among Saxons and Romanians alike) and similar other factors were instrumental in generating or maintaining most of the educational demand under scrutiny. This demand had of course to meet the available supply. But the school supply seems to have been large enough for most potential denominational clienteles on the primary level. In spite of indeed heavy confessional segregation or self-segregation exercised in ecclesiastical primary schools, the rapid growth of the public network provided for a large (if not complete) compensation for disadvantaged minorities (like Jews) to get access to elementary education, especially when they accepted

Magyar tuition.³³⁵ As to secondary and higher education, they remained open to and easily accessible for all almost indiscriminately (at least for urbanised groups). This implies that the very nature of the school supply did play a role, but probably a subordinate one only in the emergence of denominational inequalities. Its functions should not however be completely neglected for the explanation of the rather low region general level of educational capital acquired by the Transylvanian population by the end of the Dualist Era. For the interpretation of several specific aspects of educational inequalities observed in our data bank one must though go back to the anthropological subculture of various groups as well as the survival of feudal rigidities and privileges reflected also in the educational demand and other social strategies of various layers belonging to Transylvanian society.

³³⁵ While the language of tuition in confessional schools of public status was largely determined by the language use of the local religious community concerned, except for Jewish schools – paragons of 'self-assimilation' of sorts - state schools almost exclusively promoted Hungarian tuition. In 1896/7 for example only a mere 1 % of state primary schools admitted non Magyar tuition as against 5 % of Jewish schools, 28 % of village community schools, 34 % of Roman Catholic schools, 69 % of Lutheran schools, 86 % of Greek Catholic and as much as 99 % of Greek Orthodox schools. Data calculated from *MSiÉ* 1897, 346.