

Romanians from Transylvania and Higher Education in the first Half of Nineteenth Century

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UNIVERSITY, ELITES, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CHANGES
UNIVERSITÉ, ÉLITES, CHANGEMENTS POLITIQUES ET SOCIAUX
UNIVERSITATE, ELITE, TRANSFORMĂRI POLITICE ȘI SOCIALE

ROMANIANS FROM TRANSYLVANIA AND HIGHER
EDUCATION IN THE FIRST HALF
OF NINETEENTH CENTURY

CORNEL SIGMIREAN

Abstract (Romanians from Transylvania and Higher Education in the first Half of Nineteenth Century): The Romanians in Transylvania accomplished in the 19th century the transition from the old self-sufficient rural society to a society dominated by bourgeoisie values. The intellectual elite, trained in the educational institutions of the Habsburg Empire, in Vienna, Budapest, Oradea, Cluj, Schemnitz, is the expression of the assumption of these new values. Overall, more than 2041 Romanians studied in the first half of the 19th century in the colleges and universities of the Empire.

Keywords: Romanians, intellectuals, universities, cultural projects.

The nineteenth century was marked by the transition from the old society of orders, dominated by aristocratic values and hierarchies dictated by the size of the properties, to a more fluid society governed by bourgeois values (Charle 2002, 50). The expression of the new model of society was represented by the development of education, which had become a priority in the policy of the Austrian State since the 18th century. After the dissolution of the Jesuit Order in 1773 and Vienna's reforms by the two laws, *Ratio Educationis* (1777) and *Norma Regia* (1785), there was a restructuring of education through the creation of modern institutions for education.

Over one century after the union with the Church of Rome, the Romanians from Transylvania had made important steps towards the formation of an intellectual elite trained in the colleges and universities from Transylvania, Vienna, Trnava, Bratislava, Trenčín, Lemberg, Rome and other cities from the Habsburg Empire. Only in Rome, as interns of the Germanico-Hungaricum College and especially of the Urban College *De Propaganda Fide*, in the 18th century, 23 young Romanians – future priests, teachers, canons, bishops of the Greek Catholic Church – had already completed their studies (Szögi 2011, 178-180; Szlavikovski 2007, 75-126). Gheorghe Șincai and Petru Maior were among

these Romanian alumni from Rome. 41 Romanian Greek-Catholics from the dioceses of Alba Iulia and Făgăraș and from the Dioceses of Oradea studied in Vienna between 1775 and 1784, at the College from “Sancta Barbara”, founded in 1775 (Protopopescu 1966, 263). Petru Maior, himself an intern at “Sancta Barbara”, assessing the College's role in forming the Romanian theological elites from Transylvania, wrote: “It is from there that the numbers of erudite and adroit priests began to grow among the Romanians” (Cipariu 1855, 131).

Thus, through the contact established with the European culture of the eighteenth century, Romanian intellectuals, most of them belonging to the Greek Catholic religion, prepared the Romanians' entrance into the nineteenth century, envisaging the modern era. Through the work of the *Școala Ardeleană* (*Transylvanian School*), they provided scholars with the ideological foundations of the national movement, foreseeing the conceptual roads of their quest of self-rediscovery. They founded the consolidation of their nation on the idea that the assertion of national identity is dependent on the development of national culture, education and training. School became a priority for the Romanian elites, as for all the elites from the Central European space. The literary historian Virgil Nemoianu assigns to the ethos of training a major role in creating modern society in Central Europe (Nemoianu 1997, 168-192).

For the Romanians, however, school remained under the confessional protection of the church. In addition to the denominational schools, in the second half of the nineteenth century schools were founded for the education of teachers and officers in the neighbourhoods of the border regiments of Năsăud, Orlat and Caransebeș. Between 1766-1768, trivial schools were created in five localities from the territory of Năsăud Regiment, in 1771 a normal school was opened in Năsăud, often called the Latin - German School, and the Institute of Military Growth (*Militär-Erziehungshaus*) was founded in 1784. Undoubtedly, the National Institute of Military Growth from Năsăud, inaugurated on November 22, 1784, played an important role in the formation of an educated class in Năsăud area. Initially, 50 students attended this institute, where above its entrance, a tablet read: *Literae et virtus vestra Felicitas* (Șotropa&Drăgan 1913). The Normal School was also moved to the new building of the Institute. Each year, the General Command from Sibiu would choose its students for the Institute out of the sons of border guards. At enrolment, the students were aged 10, ending their studies at 18 years old. Studies were carried out in German; thus by their graduation students possessed a good knowledge of the official language of the Habsburg Empire. Afterwards they were enrolled in the militia. In time, the Institute accepted also “external students”, from the Hungarian noble families, Germans, Armenians and Romanians from Solnoc, Dăbâca, Cluj, Turda counties, from Bistrita district and even from Chioar, Maramures and Bucovina.

A work available until recently only in manuscript, dedicated to the graduates of the Institute of Military Education from Năsăud, comprises 195 biographies of Romanian officers and teachers who studied in the Institute: 137 biographies of officers (121 originating from the Năsăud area and 16 from other regions of Transylvania and Banat), 12 non-commissioned officers, 27 teachers, 12 priests and vicars and 7 clerks (Onofrei&Rus 2009, 16). The officers' biography section includes those of a major general, 3 colonels, 4 lieutenant colonels, 12 majors, 43 captains, 40 major lieutenants and 33 lieutenants. In an article published in *Transylvania Magazine* in 1884, George Barițiu recorded in a list (taken after Gustav Ritter von Treuennfels) the names and ranks of 174 Romanian officers in the Habsburg Empire's army originating from the former regiment of Năsăud (Șotropa 1975, 106). For sure, many of the Military Institute's graduates continued their studies at the military academies of the Danubian Empire. Among them, Major General Leonidas Pop distinguished himself: baron of the Empire, born in Monor, in the present county of Bistrița-Năsăud, where his father was a captain, after completing his studies in Năsăud, he attended the Military Academy in Wiener Neustadt. In 1881, as chief of staff of the division commanded by Baron Philipovich, he led the military campaign from Bosnia and Herzegovina. After returning the campaign, he was ennobled with the title of "Baron", promoted to major general, became commander of the Second Operative Army, and for eight years he was the head of the Austro-Hungarian Military Chancellery, aide general of Emperor Franz Joseph (Onofrei&Rus 2009, 157-158).

Similar schools were also created on the territory of the border regiments from Orlat and Caransebeș. In *The Chronicle of Banat*, written by Nicolae Stoica of Hațeg, a series of Romanian names with ranks of officers is mentioned, illustrating the phenomenon of crystallisation of few military elites among Romanians: Capt. Calo Todor, Capt. Cocea, Major Lieut. Pârvu Jumanca, Second Lieut. Ioan Groza, Lieut. Pele Mihai, Lieut. Ilie Armășescu, and others. Officers, along with priests, represented the highly educated elites among the Romanians from Banat and Transylvania.

After the re-establishing of the Orthodox Dioceses, numerous schools were founded; 125 orthodox confessional schools were thus mentioned in the early nineteenth century. In Banat, statistical records show the existence of 360 schools by the end of the eighteenth century.

In spite of all these, Romanian education continued to suffer in comparison with the German and Hungarian systems. The only Romanian institution of high education in the first half of the 19th century was the Episcopal High School from Blaj, established by Imperial Decree no. 3387 of 11 September 1831 (Mârza 1987, 62). The High School had two faculties, one of theology, which included the old seminar, created in 1754, and one of

philosophy. 782 priests studied at the Faculty of Theology between 1806 and 1850 (Sigmirean 2007).

Many members of the Romanian intellectual elite were educated in the Catholic, Protestant and Lutheran colleges and law academies from Cluj, Oradea, Sibiu, Târgu-Mureș, Alba Iulia, Sighetul Marmației, etc.

Three high colleges functioned in Cluj, in the first half of the nineteenth century: the Piarist High School, the Reformed College and the Unitarian Gymnasium. Romanians, most of them, enrolled in the Piarist High School, institution that claimed its origin from the old university created by Báthory in 1581. Reopened in 1694, it functioned as the *Collegium Claudiopolitanum* or *Claudiopolitan Academy* (Balog 2000)¹. In 1753, the College was elevated to the rank of University Academic College. The Catholic elite of the Transylvanian society hoped for the transformation of the College into university. The Protestants, in turn, tried to found a protestant university. Also, the Saxons wanted to establish a German university for themselves. But in 1784 Emperor Joseph II relegated the Catholic College from Cluj to the level of a high school. Thus, it functioned under the name of *Piarist High School*. Within it, there were three departments: Philosophy, Law (since 1774) and Medicine (since 1775). Romanian ophthalmologist Ioan Molnar Piuariu worked as teacher in the department of medicine, and Romanian Professor Ladislau Vajda of Glod taught at the Law School at the end of the eighteenth century.

According to historian Tonk Sándor, 1961 Romanians in total studied in the Piarist High School from Cluj between 1794 and 1848 (Tonk 1968, 55). This included the inferior courses. Superior classes, those of philosophy, law and medicine, were attended by 639 Romanians. In 1844, the Law Faculty numbered 44 Romanian students (Popea 1889, 37-38). Among the students of the Piarist High School one could count George Lazăr, George Barițiu, Ioan Maiorescu, Vasile Popp, vicepresident of the *Guberniu*, president of the Royal Curia and president of ASTRA, Alexandru Papiu Ilarian, Aron Pumnul, Avram Iancu, Iosif Hodoș, Axente Sever, Alexandru Bătrâneanu, Nicolae Popea, Florian Micaș, Ion Buteanu, and others.

A relatively large number of Romanians, about 318, mostly from the Western parts of Transylvania, from Partium, studied in the Law Academy of Oradea (Bozoki 1889; Varga 2006). The presence of Romanian students was recorded in the confessional secondary schools and colleges from Sibiu (Catholic), Satu Mare (Catholic), where, for example, in 1814 there were 9 Greek Catholic students, and in 1830 there were 7 students in the philosophy class. In 1809, 9 students had been enrolled at “Valachus” (Bura 1994), in the Protestant Law Academy from Sighetul Marmației (Balog 2000), in Bistrița (Catholic), Aiud

¹ For the history of Piarist High School, see: Márki 1896; Károly 1898; Ghibu 1929; Pascu 1972; Pușcaș 1999; Varga 2007; Varga 2000; Ghitta 2012.

(Protestant), Târgu-Mureş (Catholic), Cristuru Secuiesc (Unitarian) etc. An important role in the formation of Romanian intellectuality was played by the Law Academy from Sibiu and the Catholic High School from Timișoara.

The first half of the nineteenth century registered a significant increase in the number of Romanians who had studied beyond Transylvania and Banat. In this regard, in support of young Romanians in colleges and universities, foundations and scholarship funds had been created, both by Greek Catholics and Orthodox. In 1802, the Greek Catholic bishop Ioan Bob set up a foundation from which were awarded scholarships for studies in the Catholic secondary schools from Alba Iulia, Cluj and Târgu Mureş (*Fond Capitlul Mitropolitan Blaj*, ff. 166-167). Petru Maior, Martin Micu and Petru Munean had also established foundations administrated by the Greek Catholic Church. Of all the initiatives dedicated to the creation of funds for scholarships stands up the Foundation *Simion Romanțai (Romantzai)*, created by doctor Simion Romantzai, who left his entire fortune of 45.000 florins by testament for scholarships dedicated to young Greek Catholics for the study of philosophy, law, medicine, painting, architecture and forestry (*Testamentul lui Simion Romontzai*). Having a value of 300 florins per year, a scholarship was attributed to those young people who graduated from high school with the mark "excellent" and knew the German language very well. Renewal of the scholarship at the beginning of each academic year was conditioned by the qualification of the scholar among the first ones from his year. Thus, Romanțai Foundation would prove to be an important financial support for studies in the European universities. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Romanian Orthodox Church, less favoured by the authorities of the Habsburg Empire, created the first scholarships for academic studies from the *Sidaxial Fund* (Roșca 1911, 7; Păcurariu 1986, 43-44). George Lazăr studied in Vienna with such a scholarship. A fund for scholarships, with a value of 10.000 florins, was created in 1832 by bishop Vasile Moga, who added other 30.000 florins in 1835 (Gyémánt 1986, 351).

Following the model of the two churches, Greek Catholic and Orthodox, the urban communities also created funds for scholarships. Thus, the Romanian community from Braşov, which counted a large number of merchants, created a fund out of which they supported young men during the entire period of their studies in the law faculty upon condition that after graduation they should protect its interests (*Transylvania* 1870, 166-167). In 1837, Romanians from Râşinari created a fund of 2000 florins in order to help young people pursue higher education (Gyémánt 1986, 352).

The steps taken by the Romanians to create an educated layer of intellectuals represented ways of synchronisation of the Romanian society with the European cultural phenomena of the first half of the nineteenth century. In addition, there was the power of the model offered by the Central European

society. Thus, everywhere in Europe there were growing numbers of universities and students, as some occupations considered old fashioned (army, ecclesiastic careers) fell into decline, and as the juridical professions, engineering, medicine, etc. prevailed. From the point of view of the students' number in the first half of the 19th century, about 7.400 were registered in France in 1830, 9.867 in Spain in 1826 to which were added the 3.810 pupils from the secondary schools functioning beside universities. In Russia between 1836 and 1847 there was a doubling of the number of students, from 2.000 to 4.000. Italy was estimated to have about 5.000 students. Romanians from Transylvania, although they did not have a high education in their mother tongue, experienced a significant growth in the number of students, as one had take into consideration the pupils of the academic high schools from the Transylvanian Principality, too.

For the Romanians, the main centres from outside Transylvania for the formation of intellectuality were Vienna and Pest. At the University of Vienna, institution founded in 1365, between the years 1801 and 1850 81 Romanians carried on with their studies, out of which 46 studied theology, 19 medicine, 13 law and 3 philosophy. In the German space of Austria in the first half of the century Romanians were registered at the Technical University of Vienna (15), Institute of Veterinary Medicine (3), Academy of Fine Arts (13), Augustineum Theological Institute in Vienna (5), Vienaer Neustadt Military Academy (20), Academy of Military Engineering (7), University of Lemberg (2), University of Zagreb (2). 148 Romanians studied in the education institutions from Austria between 1801 and 1850. Among them were Moise Nicoară, Constantin Alutan, August Treboniu Laurian (who studied also in Hanover and Göttingen), Ioan Vancea (the future Greek Catholic bishop), Aron Pumnul (professor), Simion Bărnuțiu, Iosif Hodoș, Al. Papiu Ilarian, and others. The highest number of students among Romanians was registered in the Faculty of Theology.

Particularly spectacular was the increase in numbers of those who had studied at military academies. The army and military careers had long been reserved for the aristocracy. But, beginning with the famous order given by Maria Theresa, military careers became accessible even to the young men coming from the bottom layers of society. At the Military Academy from Wiener Neustadt, founded by Maria Theresa on 14 March 1769, intellectually gifted young men were received, if they originated from families who had served at least 20 years in the Austrian army and had proven their loyalty towards the Emperor during their service (Maior 2004, 133). For the Romanians, the real chance was represented by the border regiments created between 1762 and 1770. Thus, among the border guards from Nășăud, Orlat and Banat 27 young people were selected who had attended the military academies, some of them reaching the rank of general, as noted above (Sigmirean 2012).

Outside the Habsburg Empire, during 1800-1850 only 3 Romanian students had been registered, in Jena, Padova and Rome.

But it increased the number of Romanians who had studied at the University of Pest and at academies of law, agriculture, and forestry from Hungary. Based on the recompositions of the attendance of education institutions from Hungary (including also the nowadays Slovakia) it results that in the first half of the 19th Century, these were attended by 112 Romanians. Out of them, more than half, namely 63 students, had completed studies at the University of Pest. In the first half of the nineteenth century, University of Pest represented the only university from the territory of the historical Hungary. It was founded in 1635 in Trnava (Nagyszombat) in the present Slovakia by the archbishop of Esztergom, Pázmány Péter. In 1777 it was moved to Buda and afterwards, in 1784, in Pest. Since 1842 teaching language has been Hungarian. It worked with four faculties: Law and Administrative Sciences, Medicine, Theology (Catholic) and Philosophy, faculty that included both the humanist sciences, history, philosophy, languages, and physics, mathematics, chemistry, natural sciences etc. Damaschin Bojincă, Eftimie Murgu, Andrei Mocioni, Gheorghe Ioanovici, Paul Vasici, Ioan Rațiu, etc. studied at the University of Pest.

Between 1801 and 1850, a number of 2041 Romanian students results in total, cumulating both the pupils from colleges and secondary schools from Transylvania, and students at the education institutions from Hungary and Austria, Germany and Italy. Of course, to these graduates were enrolled as students at the secondary schools and superior colleges from Satu Mare, Bistrița, Sibiu, Brașov, Timișoara, etc. and in the priests' classes in Sibiu, Arad, Catholic Seminary from Oradea and from other institutions for which we do not possess concrete data yet. For example, in Ungvár (today Ujgorod in the Low Carpathian Ukraine), where in 1787 there were registered 14 Romanian students.

On the eve of the revolution from 1848, according to the estimations made by the historian Ladislau Gyémant, in Transylvania and in its western parts, the intellectual layer of Romanians was raised up to 5.343 intellectuals (Gyémánt 1986, 358-359; Hitchins 1987, 90-91). Most of them were priests, 2.036 Orthodox (with brief studies of theology, of few months) and 1.733 Greek Catholics, in total 3.769, representing 70,5 % of the Romanian intelligentsia. In the order of percentage, they were followed by teachers with 23,8 % and to a lesser extent (95) by clerks with 1,8% and 86 lawyers with 1,6%. Statistics did not include doctors, engineers, graduates of fine arts academies, officers and categories of intellectuals who completed the spectrum of Romanian intellectuals in the mid nineteenth century. Of course, because of the conditions from this multi-ethnic and multi-confessional empire spread from Italy to Galicia, it is very difficult to make absolute assessments. A number of 2.500-3.000 Romanians with at least secondary education would represent a more correct

and closer approximation to what was representing the category of Romanian intellectuals in the mid nineteenth century.

One thing is certain, in a century and a half of history, from the union with the Church of Rome in 1700, Romanians, as integrant part of community of peoples from Central Europe, have undertaken a decisive phase for their culture. Reforms from the Habsburg Empire, especially the Iosefin reformism, for Romanians have created the possibility that, within the new modern society, in which took place the transfer of power from the old model of socio-economic elite to the socio-intellectual one, to take the first steps towards promoting the intellectual elite. “Thousands of young men – wrote George Barițiu – not only from the bourgeois class, but also among the peasants' sons, have begun since Joseph II to attend the secondary schools successively, many joining the academic establishments, too; they felt strongly about their dignity of human beings and citizens, therefore any aristocratic prerogative privileges were unbearable to them” (Barițiu 1989, 2).

The Revolution from 1848, which marks a historical period, event perfectly integrated in the timeline of events from Central and Western Europe, was in great part the work of intellectuals, with contributions to the ideological level, in contact with the innovative ideas of Europe from the first half of the nineteenth century. Christophe Charle, quoting, as he says, “malicious authors who have made a conservative reading of the nineteenth century” (as Sir L. Namier; Namier 1992), retains the idea that revolutions from 1848 were revolutions of intellectuals, in the sense of dreamers and utopians' revolution (Charle 2002, 172). Of course, he also shows reserve taking into account the complexity of the events from 1848, when “social movements, urban and rural riots, bourgeois revolutions, petitioner movements, etc., converged”. But with regard to the Romanians from Transylvania, we cannot ignore the evidence of the moment. The entire ruling elite, in the case of Romanians, was comprised of young intellectuals, priests and lawyers, undertaking the idea of nation, who formulated a political programme, claiming equal rights with the other nations from Transylvania for the Romanian nation and the autonomy of the province against the project of the Hungarian elite for Romani's union with Hungary.

The year 1848 represented a milestone for the creation of Romanian intellectuality. In the central document of the revolution from 1848, *The National Petition* from Blaj, intellectuals claim an education for the Romanians at point no. 13, including a university: “Romanian nation demands the establishment of schools in all villages and communities, secondary schools, military and technical institutes and priests' seminaries, as well as a Romanian university equipped by the state” (Păcățian 1904, 332). The idea was afterwards assumed into a new petition, elaborated by the National Assembly from Sibiu, on December 28th, 1848. Point no. 6 states: “To open the schools, to establish temporary juridical classes in Blaj and Sibiu, until it can establish the university

required by the monarch” (Păcățian 1904, 512). Simion Bărnuțiu in his speech held on May 2nd in the Cathedral of Blaj, emphasised the importance of school for a nation: “Do not doubt in the least that, if Romanians do not have national schools, nor words in their language for all branches of human knowledge, they will have no politics, no jurists, no good lawyers, no orators and poets to respond in their name” (Bărnuțiu 1924, 33).

Such claims were the expression of a national need, a state of mind that characterised the Romanian elite, its connection to the models of cultural development of modern nations from Europe. The necessity of a national university was also the follow up of the awareness in an increasingly measure of the intellectual's role in the life of a society, nation, in an era in which the academic phenomena experienced new dimensions. In Europe, in the middle of the nineteenth century there were 250 universities.

Shortly after the pacification of the country, on August 1st, 1849, by the surrender of the Hungarian revolution, a delegation of the Transylvanian Romanians forwarded a Petition to the Minister of Religious affairs from Vienna in which they demanded “to be opened for Romanians, until the later organisation of schools, a national juridical faculty in Blaj from October 1st of the current year” (Păcățian 1904, 630). On the 10th of January 1850, by a new petition forwarded by the Romanian elite to Vienna, they requested: “For the education of the Romanian nation and for the development of its nationality, let there be erected a *Romanian university* in a proper place, as well as other institutions of training and education” (Păcățian 1904, 656). The claim for an education system fit for Romanians is also included into the Petition of April 10th, 1850, elaborated by Andrei Șaguna, and sent to the emperor on behalf of the Romania clergy and people. At point no. 7 the monarch is summoned “to build schools, both elementary and academic”. Under the conditions in which Vienna approved the reopening of the Law Faculty from Sibiu in 1850, on December 21st, 1850, a Romanian delegation composed of the two bishops, Andrei Șaguna (Orthodox) and Alexandru Sterca-Șuluțiu (Greek Catholic), accompanied by Avram Iancu, George Barițiu and Timotei Cipariu presented to the Minister of Religious Affairs, Leo Thun, a memoir in which they demanded the establishment of a *faculty for juridical sciences in Cluj*. The memoir had the same fate as the previous ones, although the petitioners emphasised the unfavourable consequences brought by the lack of an academy with Romanian as teaching language. “If the petition is refused – showed the members of the delegation – then this would lead to the regression of the Romanian nation”. Not discouraged by the attitude of Vienna, on January 16th, 1851, a new delegation consisting among others of Avram Iancu, Simion Bărnuțiu, Timotei Cipariu, August Treboniu Laurian, Ioan Maiorescu, etc. addressed a memoir to the emperor in which they requested “to be given a Romanian university, where all sciences be proposed in Romanian and by Romanian professors...”.

The issue of a university for the Romanians was present in the media, in private correspondence, in different projects regarding Romanians' cultural development. Avram Iancu himself, the Romanians' hero from 1848, in his will wrote on December, 2nd, 1850, destined his entire fortune for the establishment of a law academy: "I desire and firmly dispose that, after my death, all my movable and immovable fortune be passed for the benefit of the nation in order to help the establishment of the Law Academy, strongly believing that the fighters in the name of law will ensure the rights of my nation" (Ghibu 1929, 853).

While he was still a student in Pavia, Simion Bărnuțiu drafted a project of university for Romanians in the fall of 1852, which was published in the spring of 1953 in the magazine "*Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură*" under the title "*Word of a student about the necessity of an Academy for the Romanians*" (*Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură*. 1853, 108). He suggested the creation of a university for Romanians following the classical model of the universities on the continent, with four faculties: philosophy, law, medicine and theology. In the case of the philosophy faculty to be included also a "whole polytechnic", solution applied in other European universities, too.

Petitions and projects regarding the creation of places of higher education capture the internalization of the university ideal by the elite of Romanians from Transylvania, but also the reflection of a reality. In an article published by George Barițiu in the *Gazeta Transilvaniei (Transylvanian Gazette)* in early 1853, in which he was analysing a statistics of the education from the Habsburg Empire, he found out that large differences persisted between the number of Romanian students and pupils and the students of other nations from the monarchy. Out of 74.813 secondary pupils and students from the monarchy, Romanians were 1.108, while the number of German pupils and students was 16.385, Slavs, generally speaking, 20.054, Hungarians 11.052, Italians 21.732, and Jews 3.196 (Netea 1974, 114).

Thus, the idea of a Romanian university represented a leitmotif of the Romanians' political claims in the second half of the 19th century. In January 1861, at the National Conference in Sibiu, political leaders considered that "today is of the most urgent and supreme necessity the establishment of a juridical faculty, and this should be expedited" (Păcățian 1904 vol. II, 208). In the fall of 1866 a call was launched for supporting a public bequest to create a fund for establishing a law academy (Retegan 1967, 313). At the meeting of the Central Committee of the Association on April 5th, 1870, the former aulic chancellor, Iacob Bologa, asked the Committee to recognize, through a solemn declaration, the necessity to establish an Academy of Romanian rights within the Austrian Monarchy (*Federațiunea*, vol. III, 1870, 116). The proposal being accepted, a commission was created, which published a project on how to procure the necessary means of establishing and supporting a law academy for the Romanians (*Gazeta Transilvaniei* 1870, 21). In 1883, the fund amounted to

20.065 florins, however insufficient to build a high education institution. As a result, it was decided that the fund be devoted to the building of a Higher School for Girls in Sibiu (*Transilvania* 1883, 121).

The issue of a high education into Romanian came back on the agenda of the Romanian elite in 1872, when it was decided to establish the University of Cluj. At the National Conference of Romanians from Transylvania, held in Sibiu on May, 5th and 6th, 1872, it was requested that in case a Romanian university could not be created “at least at the University of Cluj, then language teaching should be parenthetic with the Hungarian one” (*Telegraful român* 1872, 190).

The Romanians' claim for superior education into Romanian language supported by the Austro-Hungarian Empire remained an unfulfilled goal. As a result, during the entire period between 1850 and 1919, the Romanian intellectuality from Transylvania was educated in the academies and universities from the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Germany, with few exceptions in Rome, Belgium and France. The majority, however, attended the universities and academies from Hungary. The Transylvanian intellectuals, educated in the first half of the nineteenth century, represented the premise of development for the national culture in the second half of the nineteenth century, including the high education from Romania. A good part of the first teachers from the universities of Iași and Bucharest originated from Transylvania, such as Titu Maiorescu, Simion Bărnuțiu and Ștefan Micle at the University of Iași.

TABLE
with Romanian Students from Transylvania in Institutions of High Education
between the Years 1801 and 1850

Institution of Education	Faculty	Years 1801-1850
Greek Catholic Episcopal High School Blaj	Theology	782
Superior School of Theology Esztergom	Theology	11
Piarist High School from Cluj	Philosophy	380
	Law	253
	Medicine	6
Royal Hungarian University from Budapest	Law and Political Sciences	11
	Languages and Philosophy	4
	Medicine and Pharmacy	4
	Theology	44
Royal Law Academy from Bratislava	Law	8
Protestant Law Academy from Debrecen	Law	15
Protestant Law Academy from Kecskemét	Law	4
Royal Law Academy from Oradea	Law	318
Royal Law Academy from Sárospatak	Law	20
Protestant Law Academy from Sighetul Marmăției	Law	21
Mining and Forestry Academy Shemnitz (Banska Štiavnica)	Mining Section	7
Royal Academy for Agriculture from Keszthely	Agriculture	2

University of Vienna	Theology	46
	Medicină	19
	Law	13
	Philosophy	3
Technical University of Vienna	Engineering	15
Institute of Veterinary Medicine Vienna	Veterinary Medicine	3
Academy of Fine Arts Vienna	Arts	13
„Augustineum” Institute of Theology Vienna	Theology	5
Military Academy Viennaer Neustadt	Officers	20
Military Engineering Academy Vienna	Officers	7
University of Zagreb	Philosophy	1
	Law	1
University of Lemberg	Philosophy	1
	Law	1
University of Padova	Philosophy	1
University „Urbaniana” Roma	Theology and Philosophy	1
University of Jenna	Theology	1
Total		2041

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