

GERMAN STUDENTS FROM TURDA AT GERMAN UNIVERSITIES BETWEEN 1848 AND 1918

Abstract: In the second half of the 19th century, there were 12 students from Turda who attended German universities. The most frequented university was the one in Berlin, which received six students from Turda; 3 studied at Marburg, 2 studied at Jena, one at Göttingen and one in Munich. There was a higher interest in theology (seven students) and a more modest one in philosophy (three), natural sciences and the fine arts-sculpture (one student each). The phenomenon of academic peregrination was very limited among the students from Turda who opted for one of the German universities, like in the case of their fellow-townsmen encountered in other universities. Only two scholars went to two university centres: Debreczeni Joseph studied philosophy in Zurich (1870-1871) and then in Berlin (1871-1872) and Wiski Julius studied theology at Marburg (1892-1893), and then in Berlin (1893). All of the 12 students from Turda were of Hungarian nationality, the Romanian element being altogether absent in this respect. Most of the students returned to Transylvania, even if they did not necessarily reside in their hometown, and they carried out their activity in the spirit of what they had studied in Germany. Among the personalities of Turda who studied in Germany, mention should be made of Rédiger Árpád, a Unitarian priest at Târnăveni, Debreczeni Joseph, a Professor at the Reformed College in Cluj, Apáti Abt Alexander, a sculptor and ceramist, as well as a Professor at the School of Applied Arts in Budapest, and Varga Adalbert, a Professor at the University of Cluj, Unitarian Bishop of Transylvania and Corresponding Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Keywords: students, Turda, German space, universities, the 19th century.

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At the beginning of the 19th century, the German space was a heterogeneous conglomeration of several states, most of them under the influence of Napoleonic France. Among them, Prussia stood out through its military, economic and political power. At the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Prussia was in the camp of the victorious states, fully benefiting from this status at the Peace Congress of Vienna (1814-1815). Following this, Prussia received a large part of Saxony, the Grand Duchy of Posen, Rhineland and Westphalia. According to the decisions reached in Vienna, instead of the Holy Roman German Empire dismantled by Napoleon in 1806, the German Confederation was established, with 39 states (four of which were free cities), under the leadership of Austria and Prussia. Starting from the first half of the 19th century, Prussia took the initiative of unifying the German space under its aegis. Following this process, the German Empire was proclaimed in 1871, in the wake of the defeat of Napoleon III's France.²

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² For the history of Germany from the 19th century until World War I, see: Andrina Stiles, *Unificarea Germaniei 1815-1890*, București: Ed. All, 1998 and Geoff Layton, *De la Bismarck la Hitler: Germania 1890-1933*, București: Ed. All, 2002.

The German space has a strong university tradition. The transition from the medieval to the modern occurred relatively late, as the University of Göttingen replaced Latin with German in the teaching process only in 1734. At the same time, the university was removed from the leadership of theologians, a growing emphasis being placed on the study of law and politics. All this led, in the late 18th century and the early 19th century, to the University of Göttingen acquiring a high degree of academic freedom. This trend was adopted by the University of Jena, especially in the field of speculative thought. Among others, those who studied at this university included: Friedrich Schiller, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling, and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel.³ German universities laid emphasis on science (*Wissenschaft*), seen as an organic totality of knowledge. In the 19th century, there was a profound reform of the German universities, an important role in this process being played by the secularisation of the episcopal principalities. In the case of Prussia, the most important German state, the loss of the town of Halle, following the Peace of Tilsit (1807), left only two universities within its borders: Frankfurt on Oder and Königsberg, but both had a rather provincial character.⁴ In this context, Wilhelm von Humboldt founded the University of Berlin in 1810, aiming to attract students from the entire German space. In parallel, the great scholar conducted a rigorous reform of the higher education system. Thus, in 1811 the University of Frankfurt on Oder was moved to Breslau (the present-day Wrocław, Poland) and in 1817 (after the town of Halle was returned to Prussia), the University of Halle reopened and merged with the University of Wittenberg. In order to attract young scholars from the Rhenish parts of Prussia, the University of Bonn opened in 1818.⁵ Prussian universities were conceived as institutions whose primordial aim was the development of the human intellect. Humboldt believed that the experience the professor communicated to the student made the latter an informed individual and helped him in his personal development. Professors had complete freedom in choosing the lectures they gave, and students could choose their university, professors and courses. It should be noted that the liberal arts were replaced with the rational sciences, with history, politics, economics and linguistics, and that the Faculty of Philosophy was now on a par with the schools of theology, medicine and law.⁶

Upon the establishment of the University of Berlin, there occurred a genuine revolution in the Prussian (German) higher education. Wilhelm von Humboldt took over the example of the Universities of Göttingen and Halle, laying particular emphasis on the importance of research in the professors' teaching activity, which allowed the introduction of seminars in addition to the regular courses, ensuring the students' initiation in the activity of research and preparing them for their subsequent

³ Hajo Halborn, *A History of Modern Germany 1648-1840*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964, p. 479.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 480.

⁵ Christophe Charle, *Intellectualii în Europa secolului al XIX-lea*, Iași: Institutul European, 2002, p. 68.

⁶ Hajo Halborn, *op. cit.*, p. 481.

careers and professions.⁷ The foundation of the University of Berlin brought about a true revolution in the German educational system. First of all, the Faculty of Philosophy was, from the beginning, the equal of the other traditional faculties (law, medicine, etc.). An important role was the link between teaching and research. At the level of political ideas, the University of Berlin advocated the ideas of liberalism promoted by Schleiermacher and Humboldt, being open to the new intellectual and social developments of the 19th century.⁸ A fundamental feature that was specific only to the German university system was the emergence and development of the institution known as *Privatdozenten* (private tutors, who had the necessary skills and knowledge to teach at the university, but did not hold a chair and did not receive wages), from the ranks of which the teaching staff was recruited. This system promoted the renewal of the education process, but its potential for innovation was limited by the fact that the state decided on appointments and could reject the undesirable candidates.⁹

One of the important characteristics of the German educational system in the 19th century was the great mobility of the university system. There was a competition among the many German states, including in the academic domain, which generated a competition among the universities, increasing, in effect, their competitiveness. The university competition between the German states gave professors greater freedom to negotiate their wages and working conditions, especially regarding the admission of assistants and the equipment of the research laboratories. By attracting famous professors, the German states could enhance their prestige, which was not possible in a centralised state model, as was the case of France. The number of students and, implicitly, the professors' salaries increased. While at the end of the 18th century, a professor from the University of Leipzig earned 225 Thalers, between 1820 and 1830 the professors from the Universities of Berlin, Tübingen, Marburg and Rostock were paid 400-1,400 Thalers.¹⁰ The adequate remuneration of the professors encouraged the quality of the courses they taught because they relinquished their other jobs, dedicating themselves exclusively to the teaching activity. In the evolution of the German universities throughout the 19th century, one may notice the decline of several traditional specialisations, such as the law and theology and the growing importance of philosophy and medicine. At the Faculty of Philosophy, the proposed seminars included theology, classical and modern philology, history or economics.¹¹ In the Catholic countries, the state apparatus exerted a very strict control over the university. Thus, in the conference of the German states from Karlsbad (1819), at the request of Austrian Chancellor Metternich, there was introduced a post of commissioner of the state in each university to oversee the manner in which the

⁷ Walter Rüegg, *A History of the University in Europe*, volume III *Universities in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries (1800-1945)*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 47-48.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 49.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 50.

professors and the students complied with the official imperatives.¹² After 1848, in Prussia this commissioner was replaced by a curator, who had responsibilities limited to matters that directly concerned the state.

From the second half of the 19th century, the German university model was copied in Europe and beyond, but it was clear that it was going through a crisis, especially in the German Empire, a crisis caused by the difficulty of integrating modern technology in the university and by the tendency of the faculty to form a strict hierarchy. Notwithstanding all this, the number of students increased considerably; in 1914 there were 61,000 students in Germany.¹³ In the second half of the 19th century, the number of technical universities increased. At first, they were perceived as second-class universities, but in 1865 they received the right to self-administration and in 1899 they were granted the right to issue doctorates, thus becoming equal with the others.

Regarding the students in Germany during the 19th century, they adopted a pragmatic outlook. They studied so that they would later have a certain career, enabling them to earn a living. This outlook clashed with the academic conservatism promoted by the professors, who became more specialised in their fields, references being made even to a sort of academic proletariat.¹⁴ At the turn of the 20th century, German professors became a privileged caste, which prompted the great philosopher Max Weber to state, after World War I, that a career in the academic life of Germany was based on plutocracy. On the other hand, after the proclamation of the empire, the state was involved in university life by appointing professors and funding scientific and medical institutes, university libraries, etc. State interference in universities also had an anti-Semitic connotation, as shown by the *Aron affair* (1899-1900). Leo Arons, who came from a Jewish family, became *Privatdozent* in physics at the University of Berlin (1889). For his exceptional qualities as a researcher, his colleagues proposed him, in 1892, for the title of Extraordinary Professor, but the Prussian Ministry of Religious Denominations and Education was opposed to this. Arons was a member of the Social Democratic Party, which was looked down upon by the officials in Berlin. The professors did not give up their original position despite ministerial pressures and did not want to restrict the rights of a *Privatdozent*, who was not a state official. Kaiser Wilhelm II intervened in this scandal, imposing a law (1899) whereby the Minister could issue a penalty against the academics' will. In any case, the professors from Berlin refused to revoke Arons.¹⁵

Another case that highlighted the involvement of the state in academic matters was the *Spahn affair* (1901). The German government had decided to appoint Martin Spahn, the son of a deputy from the Zentrum Party (Catholic), as Extraordinary Professor at the University of Strasbourg, without the consent of the professors there. The government's gesture amounted to a reverent bow to the Holy See and to Alsace, which had a Catholic majority population. The Alsatian professors addressed a protest

¹² Christophe Charle, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

¹³ Walter Rüegg, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 58.

¹⁵ Christophe Charle, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

to the Kaiser, who ignored them, sparking a great media campaign. One of the whistle-blowers of the infringement committed against academic freedoms was the historian Theodor Mommsen.¹⁶

As regards the financing of universities, while in 1860 the largest part of the budget of the University of Berlin had been directed towards professors' salaries, in 1910 half of the budget was spent on various institutes, the maintenance of buildings and equipment.¹⁷ In 1887 there was created the Imperial Physical-Technical Institute and in 1911 the Kaiser Wilhelm Society was founded, bringing together the state, the industry and the research institute outside the framework provided by the university.

The students from Turda and the German universities. The German universities were also attended by students from Turda. We have discussed about them in our study dedicated to the students from Turda in the modern era. We will confine ourselves now to saying that there were ten such students in the period 1796-1842. Of these, seven studied at the University of Göttingen, two in Jena and one in Berlin. In the period analysed in this study, the number of students from Turda who went to German universities registered a slight increase, 12 cases being relevant in this regard. The most frequented German university was the one in Berlin, which received six students from Turda; 3 studied at Marburg, 2 at Jena studied, one in Göttingen and one in Munich. What should be noted is their higher interest in theology (seven scholars) and a more modest one in philosophy (three), natural sciences and the fine arts - sculpture (one student). The phenomenon of academic peregrination was very limited among the students from Turda who opted for one of the German universities, like in the case of their fellow-townsmen encountered in other university centres. Only two scholars went to two such centres: Debreczeni Joseph studied philosophy in Zurich (1870-1871) and then in Berlin (1871-1872) and Wiski Julius studied theology at Marburg (1892-1893) and then in Berlin (1893).

The first student of the period subject to our analysis was Kasza Daniel. He studied theology at the University of Berlin between 13 April 1853 and 12 July 1854 and he came from a family with a good social position, his father being a lawyer.¹⁸ Unfortunately, at the current stage of research, no other information about his life and activity is available.

About the second student from the analysed period, the data are more numerous and conclusive. This was Rediger Arpad (13 March 1836-28 March 1894). He came from a family with financial possibilities, his father being a landowner. Arpad belonged to the Unitarian confession. He enrolled in the Faculty of Theology at the University of Göttingen on 20 November 1860.¹⁹ We know that he returned to Transylvania, where he carried out his activity as a priest (dean, archdeacon) of the Unitarian community of Târnăveni (at that time, Târnavă Mică County, today Mureş

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 372.

¹⁷ Walter Rüegg, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

¹⁸ Szögi László, *Magyarországi Diákok Németországi Egyetemeken és főiskolákon 1789-1919*, Budapest, 2001, p. 81 (hereinafter *Magyarországi Diákok Németországi Egyetemeken*).

¹⁹ *Magyarországi Diákok Németországi Egyetemeken*, p. 240; Kovács Sándor, *A Magyar Unitárius Peregrinatio Academica Vázlatos Története* in Keresztény Magvető, 2009/4, p. 566.

County). Rediger Arpad distinguished himself particularly as a philanthropist, making numerous donations. Thus, in 1875 he donated, together with the priests from the Unitarian parishes in his suborder, the sum of 3 florins and 62 crowns for the David Ferencz Foundation, representing the amount of money collected from the parishioners on Christmas day 1874.²⁰ This man did not forget about his native places, since in 1875, as the Unitarian Archdeacon of Târnava, he donated 14 florins for building the Unitarian secondary school in Turda.²¹ He also was part of the Supervisory Board of the construction of this school.²² In 1880, Rediger Arpad chaired a Unitarian assembly of Târnava Mică County, where issues related to education and ecclesiastical life were discussed.²³ The prelate from Turda was a founding member of the David Francisc Foundation, donating 10 florins thereto, in 1888.²⁴ He died in Târnăveni in 1894.

The Turda-born Debreczeni József studied philosophy in Berlin (1871-1872). He was born in 1844 and before his Berlin stage, he began his educational training at the college from Aiud and at the Reformed College in Cluj, prestigious secondary education institutions from Transylvania. The young man from Turda had a predilection for letters and the law. Debreczeni József began his activity as a primary teacher at the Reformed College in Cluj and, with the support of this institution, he was sent to study abroad in 1870. Thus, in a first stage, Debreczeni went to Switzerland, where he studied philosophy at the University of Zurich between 22 October 1870-31 July 1871.²⁵ Subsequently, Debreczeni József continued his study of philosophy at the University of Berlin between 22 July 1871-18 July 1872.²⁶ In the Berlin University, he also served as President of the Hungarian Students at this higher education institution. In 1872 he returned to Transylvania, being appointed Professor of Natural Sciences at the Reformed College in Cluj, a position that he held until his death. Debreczeni József's work was not confined to teaching, as he also carried out social-scientific work. From this point of view, in 1876 he was a member of the Transylvanian Museum Society, the medicine and natural sciences department.²⁷ He was editor of the magazine published by the Reformed high school from Cluj, *Bulletin (Ertesítőjét)*. Debreczeni József died at Cluj on 14 January 1883, at the age of only 39 years.²⁸

²⁰ *Keresztény Magvető*, 10 köt, (1875), 3 füzet, p. 201.

²¹ *Keresztény Magvető*, 10 köt, (1875), 4 füzet, p. 279.

²² *Keresztény Magvető*, 24 köt, (1889), 3 füzet, p. 172.

²³ *Keresztény Magvető*, 15 köt, (1880), 2 füzet, p. 137.

²⁴ *Unitárius Közlöny*. A vallásos és Erkölcsös Élet Ébresztésére Kiadja a Dávid Ferencz Egylet, Kolozsvárt, 1888, p. 25.

²⁵ Szögi László, *Magyarországi Diákok Svájci és Hollandiai Egyetemeken 1789-1919*, Budapest, 2000, p. 98.

²⁶ *Magyarországi Diákok Németországi Egyetemeken*, p. 92.

²⁷ *Orvos-Természettudományi Értesítő* II. Természettudományi Szak a Kolozsvári Orvos-Természettudományi Társulat és az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet Természettudományi Szakosztályának szakuléseiről és népszerű természettudományi estélyeiről, 6, vol. 3, no. 1, 1881, p. 157.

²⁸ Szinnyei József, *Magyar Írók. Élete és munkái*, 2 Kötet, Budapest, 1893, p. 703; *Orvos-Természettudományi Értesítő* I. Orvosi Szak, 8, vol. 5, no. 1, 1883, p. 72; *Keresztény Magvető*, 18 köt, (1883), 1 füzet, p. 75.

In the transcripts of the University of Berlin there also appears the name of Bornemisza Karl (Karolyi). Interestingly, he is recorded as having been born in Turda, even though his birthplace was another. The man in question was born on 26 November 1840, at Apalina (today a part of the town of Reghin, Mureş County, which, at that time, was a part of the county of Turda). The erroneous reference to Turda as his birthplace was due, of course, to the one who filled out the academic transcript, as he was not familiar with the administrative realities of Transylvania. Returning to this student, we consider that he deserves being presented. Karolyi was a member of the famous noble family Bornemisza²⁹ and he studied at the University of Berlin from 12 October 1880 until 6 August 1881, at the Faculty of Theology. He returned to Transylvania, settling in Solnoc-Dăbâca County, where most of his estates were found. He was actively involved in political life and in 1887 he represented the town of Târgu Lăpuş in the Budapest Parliament. In 1890, he was appointed Comes of Solnoc-Dăbâca, resign from this post in April 1902. Bornemisza Karolyi was a member of the Roman Catholic Status in Transylvania and Head of the Hungarian Railways, in the sector between Jibou and Baia Mare. From the point of view of social science activities, Bornemisza Karolyi was a member of the Transylvanian Museum Society, the Philosophy department, being mentioned as such from 1907 on. The 1911 lists of members of the Transylvanian Museum Society refer to Bornemisza Karolyi as deceased. He was married to Mikes Etelka and had two sons: Karolyi, who briefly took over his mandate as deputy of Târgu Lăpuş, and Elemér, who was deputy of Cehu Silvaniei between 1905-1910.³⁰

One of the most important personalities of Unitarian confession in Turda was Varga Adalbert (23 October 1886-10 April 1942). He came from a family with strong Unitarian traditions, his father being headmaster of the Unitarian gymnasium in Turda. He began his studies in Turda, and then entered the University of Cluj. Between 8 June 1906 and 7 August 1906, he studied philosophy at the University of Berlin.³¹ After his Berlin stage, the young Adalbert also studied at the Universities of Leipzig and Ghent. Following the studies he completed, Adalbert became a fine intellectual, active in the fields of theology, philosophy and pedagogy, and obtaining a PhD in Philosophy. In 1911, he became a professor at the Unitarian secondary school in Cluj, and in 1915 he became a professor at the University of Cluj, holding the chair of Logic. After the union of Transylvania with Romania, he carried out his activity at the Unitarian Theological Academy, where he taught courses of theology and philosophy. In 1926 he specialised himself in theology at the Universities Oxford and Manchester.³² Varga Adalbert was appointed Unitarian Bishop of Transylvania, pastoring from 16 January 1938 until 7 November 1940. As a result of his scientific merit, in 1939 he was elected as a Corresponding Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. During the Horthyst occupation, he returned as a professor at

²⁹ In Romanian translation, this name means *the one who does not drink wine*.

³⁰ *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet évkönyvei*, 1907, p. 105; *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet évkönyvei*, 1911, p. 141; Pál Judit, *Erdélyi főispánok a Tisza-éra végén (1890-91)* II in *Korunk*, series 3, year 20, April 2009, pp. 70, 74-75.

³¹ *Magyarországi Diákok Németországi Egyetemeken*, p. 152.

³² Kovács Sándor, *op. cit.*, p. 571.

the re-established Hungarian University of Cluj, relinquishing the episcopate. He taught a course in pedagogy at the Faculty of Arts, Languages and Historical Sciences at the Hungarian University of Cluj.³³

The artistic concerns, though rare, were not entirely absent from the concerns of the young scholars from Turda. In this field, the one who made a nice career was the Turda-based Apáti Abt Sándor, born on 14 January 1870. His parents were Apáti Abt Jenő and Vilma. The young man became an important Hungarian sculptor and ceramist in the early 20th century. He studied at the School of Applied Arts in Budapest and at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, where he was mentioned on 15 October 1889. From his university transcripts, we learn that the young man from Turda was 19 years old and was of the Roman Catholic confession.³⁴ After graduation, between 1893 and 1896, Sándor worked alongside Stróbl Alajos, one of the greatest sculptors of the period, and he later designed the Zsolnay factory in Pécs. From 1908 until his death (1916), he worked as a Professor at the School of Applied Arts in Budapest. He distinguished himself as a creator of fine ceramic art and decorative art, creating jewellery as well. One of his important works is the bust of the industrialist Zsolnay Vilmos (the owner of a porcelain factory), inaugurated in Pécs in 1907. The sculptor and ceramist from Turda died in Budapest, during World War I, on 23 March 1916.³⁵

Unfortunately for the rest of the students from Turda who went to Germany, the data are missing and we do not know what their postgraduate career was or any other information about their life and work, except what is recorded in the university transcripts. In what follows, we shall present them as they appear in the documents of the universities where they studied. Wiski Julius belongs to this category. He studied theology initially at Marburg (24 October 1892-6 March 1893) and then in Berlin (26 April 1893-14 July 1893). According to the transcript from Marburg, he was born in Turda on 18 April 1870, and he studied at the secondary schools from Cluj and Târgu Mureş.³⁶ Viski Eugen, a relative of his, studied natural sciences at the University of Jena, where he was recorded on 7 May 1908. About him, the academic transcript mentions that he was 21, so he was born in 1887, and that he had also studied at the Universities of Cluj and Budapest.³⁷

Kálmán Johann studied philosophy in Berlin between 17 April 1913-14 March 1914, also attending the University of Cluj.³⁸ Molnár Adalbert, the son of a primary teacher from Turda, studied theology at Jena, where he was recorded on 24 October 1867 at the age of 24 years (so he was born in 1843). It is known that he had attended the gymnasium in Aiud.³⁹ Somkerei Nicolaus studied theology at Marburg (1867-1868).

³³ *Unitárius Közlöny*, XLVIII évf. Cluj-Kolozsvár, 1938 február, 2 szám, pp. 26-29; Jakubinyi György, *Romániai Katolikus, Erdélyi Protestáns és Izraelita Vallási Archontológia*, Kolozsvár: Verbum, 2010, p. 139; Ovidiu Ghitta (ed.), *Istoria Universităţii "Babeş-Bolyai"*, Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Mega, 2012, pp. 189-190.

³⁴ *Magyarországi Diákok Németországi Egyetemeken*, p. 665.

³⁵ Information about the life and work of Apáti Abt Sándor has been taken from the site: http://nevponth.hu/content/publikacio/Apati_Abt_Sandor.html accessed on 1 July 2014.

³⁶ *Magyarországi Diákok Németországi Egyetemeken*, pp. 116, 435.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 367.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 184.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 351.

The transcripts of the German university attest that he was born in Turda on 6 February 1841 and that he had attended the gymnasium in Târgu Mureş.⁴⁰ Tóth Ladislaus studied theology also in Marburg, 2 November 1888 and 3 August 1889. He was born in Turda on 3 November 1860 and attended the gymnasium in Târgu Mureş.⁴¹

Based on the records of academic transcripts, we can acquire a conclusive idea of the social environment from Turda, the students' birthplace. As a general finding, we should note that they were members of wealthy families, as in the cases of Kasza Daniel, whose father was a lawyer, Bornemisza Karl, a member of the homonymous noble family, whose father was a great landowner and a renter, and of Rédiger Árpád, whose father was also a landowner. There were also cases of young people from Turda who came from middle-class townsmen (craftsmen, teachers, officials): Debreczeni Joseph's father was a craftsman, Kálmán Johann's father was a blacksmith, Wiski Julius's father was a clerk, while the parents of Varga Adalbert, Molnár Adalbert and Somkereki Nicolaus were professors/teachers. Tóth Ladislaus was the son of an architect. Viski Eugen's father was deceased at the time his son registered at the University of Jena, while about the father of Apáti Abt Alexander we have no data.

If we were to analyse the confessional situation of the students from Turda, we would encounter a series of difficulties compared to other periods, because the academic transcripts no longer always recorded the students' religion. This aspect can be ascertained based on their future careers, where data are available in this regard. Thus, religion cannot be ascertained for four students from Turda, but for eight of them, their confessional option is clear: three Protestants (Somkereki Nicolaus, Molnár Adalbert and Debreczeni Joseph), two Roman Catholics (Bornemisza Karl and Apáti Abt Alexander), two Unitarians (Rédiger Árpád and Varga Adalbert) and an Evangelical Lutheran (Tóth Ladislaus). This religious statistic is conclusive for the religious landscape of Turda, dominated, since the 16th century, by pluri-confessionalism.

From an ethnic vantage point, it should be noted that all the students from Turda who went to Germany to study were Hungarians, all the other elements specific to Turda (Romanians, Jews, Armenians) being altogether absent from such universities. This brings to mind their other academic preferences, demonstrating the dynamism and the economic prosperity of the Hungarian community in Turda.

Conclusions. In the 19th century, the German space was one of the most dynamic in terms of higher education. This contributed to the development of higher education institutions that attracted students from the Austrian (Austro-Hungarian) monarchy. In the second half of the 19th century and in the early 20th century, the town of Turda was represented in the German universities by 12 students, all of them Hungarians, who opted, in general, for the study of theology and philosophy. The most frequented German university was the one in Berlin, other centres that received students from Turda being Marburg, Jena, Göttingen and Munich. Most of the students returned to Transylvania, even if not necessarily to their hometown, and they carried out their activity in the spirit of what they had studied in Germany.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 433.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 434.

Appendix.**Chronological list of the students from Turda at universities in Germany 1848-1918.**

No.	Name of the student	University	Field of study	Subsequent career
1	Kasza Daniel	Berlin (1853-1854)	Theology	
2	Rédiger Árpád	Göttingen (1860)	Theology	Unitarian priest at Târnăveni
3	Molnár Adalbert	Jena (1867)	Theology	
4	Somkerekí Nicolaus	Marburg (1867-1868)	Theology	
5	Debreczeni Joseph	Berlin (1871-1872)	Philosophy	Professor at the Reformed College in Cluj
6	Bornemisza Karl	Berlin (1880-1881)	Theology	Deputy of Târgu Lăpuș in the Parliament from Budapest, Comes of Solnoc-Dăbâca (1890-1902)
7	Tóth Ladislaus	Marburg (1888-1889)	Theology	
8	Apáti Abt Alexander	Munich (1889)-Academy of Fine Arts	Sculpture	Sculptor, ceramist, Professor at the School of Applied Arts in Budapest
9	Wiski Julius	Marburg (1892-1893) Berlin (1893)	Theology	
10	Varga Adalbert	Berlin (1906)	Philosophy	Professor at the Unitarian gymnasium in Cluj (1911), Professor at the University of Cluj (from 1915), Professor at the Unitarian Theological Academy (after 1918), Unitarian bishop of Transylvania (1938-1940), Corresponding Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (elected in 1939)
11	Viski Eugen	Jena (1908)	Natural sciences	
12	Kálmán Johann	Berlin (1913-1914)	Philosophy	