

Transylvanian Students in the Faculty of Medicine Nagyszombat, Buda and Pest (1770-1848)

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I. Brief overview of the history of the Faculty of Medicine in Hungary (1769-1848)

In the first half of the 18th century, the number of doctors of Medicine and barber-surgeons was very little. Doctors studied in foreign universities or in private medical schools, which were mostly in the Northern parts of Hungary. These were schools of volunteer doctors or doctor-dynasties¹. Surgeons were trained in guilds or in the army. First attempts by the state to regulate the conditions in Hungary were made in the middle of the century. The milestone of this process was the edict, *Generale Normativum in Re Sanitatis (Sanitätshauptnormativ)* in 1770. It was valid in the entire Habsburg Empire, and it concerned every part of the field of public health². In the same year, 1770 opened the Faculty of Medicine in Nagyszombat (now Trnava, Slovakia), which was moved to Buda in 1777 (in the same year, when the educational edict, *Ratio Educationis* was published), and finally to Pest in 1784³. The conditions in Nagyszombat were not perfect. The building of the faculty was finished in 1772, but clinical education and practice in dissection was impossible

¹ Katalin Kapronczay, *Orvosi művelődés és egészségügyi kultúra a XVII. századi Magyarországon*, Budapest, 2007, p. 62-71.

² According to this edict and another one in 1773, each province of the Habsburg Empire had to establish an institution for education of surgeons and midwives. From 1773, these provincial lycea gave certificates, which were valid only in their province, unlike the qualifications of the universities. Franciscus-Xaverio Linzbauer, *Codex Sanitario-Medicinalis Hungariae. Tomus II.* Buda, 1852, p. 535-571 (541) and Evelyn Kulhanek, *Wundärzte, ein verdrängter Beruf. Zur Sozialgeschichte des Sanitätspersonals im Tirol des 19. Jahrhunderts.* Innsbruck, 1996, p. 95.

³ In the same time, 1769, Károly Eszterházy, bishop of Eger gave permission to Ferenc Markhot to open a medical school in Eger. They wanted to develop the institution into university there, but their plan failed after three years, due to the new Faculty of Medicine in Nagyszombat. The university had to move from Buda to Pest by reason of the Hungarian government took their place in the castle. Tibor Györy nádudvari, *Az orvostudományi kar története 1770-1935. A Királyi Magyar Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem Története III.*, Budapest, 1936, p. 185; György Gortvay, *Az újkori magyar orvosi művelődés és egészségügy története*, Budapest, 1953, p. 74; K. Kapronczay, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

there⁴. According to the *Generale Normativum*, every practising doctor or surgeon had to get a certificate from the Faculty⁵. The education of surgeons began in 1774⁶.

In the era of Emperor Joseph II many positive effects allowed the development of the Faculties. Between 1782 and 1784 the Emperor downgraded almost every University into lycea, but the Faculty in Pest with Vienna, Prague and Lemberg remained intact⁷. The translocation and the new seat of the University was an apt choice, as Pest and Buda were among the most progressive cities in Hungary. The certificates of Pest were equally accepted in the entire Habsburg Empire from 1793⁸.

Joseph II also reformed the educational system in 1786. From that session – until the death of the emperor – students of medicine and surgery studied together for four years. He divided surgery into superior and inferior surgery. The latter one was taught via independent courses in the faculties, where people could get a certificate as *Civil- und Landwundarzt*. This kind of certificate was introduced in the University of Pest in 1816. From that time, three kind of surgical diplomas were extradited: doctor of surgery, master of surgery and civil surgeon⁹. When a new order of education came into force in 1806, studies of medicine were raised again for five years. Studies of surgery were similarly raised in 1816 for three years (actually, the courses were held in two classes in Pest, where students repeated the second class)¹⁰.

The Faculty of Pest also had some modern institutions: the department of Veterinary, the department of state medicine (*politia medica*, since 1793, it was earlier, than the same institution in Vienna, which was founded in 1807 and the same one in Prague, since 1805). Ophthalmology was taught in Pest from session 1803/4, it had a common department with Obstetrics until 1817/8. In comparison, lectures on ophthalmology were held in Prague since 1778, but the first department of

⁴ Gy. Gortvay, *op. cit.*, p. 76; László Molnár, *Rectores Medici. Nagyszombat – Budapest*, Budapest, 2005, p. 11; K. Kapronczay, *op. cit.*, p. 74-75.

⁵ *Semmelweis University Archives* [hereafter, SUA], Books of Promotions [hereafter, 1/f], 2, p. 397-569.

⁶ Since 1761, surgeons had to do an exam of anatomy for their master title in the guilds in Hungary. András Daday, *Sebészérelmek a XVIII. században*, "Orvostörténeti Közlemények" 18 (1960), p. 168-174; Hans-Heinz Eulner, *Die Entwicklung der medizinischen Spezialfächer an den Universitäten des deutschen Sprachgebietes. Studien zur Medizingeschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts Band IV.*, Stuttgart, 1970, p. 296-299 and 306; Michael Sachs, *Geschichte der operativen Chirurgie. Vom Handwerk zur Wissenschaft. Die Entwicklung der Chirurgie im deutschen Sprachraum vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Band 4.*, Heidelberg, 2003, p. 3-4.

⁷ Walter Zirker, *Ärzte und Wundärzte in Voralberg von 1814 bis 1914*, Vienna, 1996, p. 29; Ev. Kulhanek, *op. cit.*, p. 43-49; M. Sachs, *op. cit.*, p. 90 and 119.

⁸ T. Györy, *op. cit.*, p. 142-144 and 195-196.

⁹ F.-X. Linzbauer, III, I, p. 259-261 (no 985).

¹⁰ The order of education was changed in 1813, 1819 and 1833. T. Györy, *op. cit.*, p. 241; Imre Bolányi & Imre Palatkás, *Táblázatok a Budapesti Orvostudományi Egyetem történetének fontosabb adatairól*, "Orvostörténeti Közlemények" 20 (1961), p. 427. For sophister surgeons the faculty had an independent third class between 1817/8 and 1820/1. In the next two sessions they had a 'repeater' (*repetens*) class. After that, the faculty did not start a class for them, they were simply among sophister surgeons. For more details about the education of surgeons, see: Katalin Simon, *Sebészet és sebészek Magyarországon (1686-1848)*, Budapest, 2013, p. 65-147.

ophthalmology in the world was founded in Vienna, only five years before the same department in Pest was instituted¹¹.

In the first half of the 19th century, the Faculty of Pest became more popular for peregrinants. At the time of the Napoleonic wars, it was more secure than Vienna, and after that, due to the Carlsbad decrees of 1819, the visitation of other universities inside the Habsburg Empire became more relevant. In this time, most provinces of the Empire had still only medical schools. Padua and Pavia were mostly important for the Italians and for those citizens, who lived in the southern parts of the Empire, while Kraków with its University was annexed to the Habsburg Empire only in 1846¹².

Lessons were held in Latin from the establishment of the faculty. During the reign of Joseph II, German was introduced, but after his death, the original system was introduced again. Lessons of surgery were held in Latin (*ordinary* course), German and Hungarian [repeater (*correpetens*) course] from session 1804/5. Thanks to the growing popularity of the vernacular courses, Latin lessons were dissolved in 1808/9¹³. According to the act II of 1844, use of Hungarian language became obligatory in the Faculty, too. The disposition caused difficulties, especially among students of medicine. Finishing their studies became almost impossible for peregrinants, not to mention, that Hungarian medical terminology was newly created in that time¹⁴. Midwives studied in vernacular languages – in Hungarian or German – in the faculty since it was founded, later, from 1815 'Slavic' courses were introduced¹⁵.

II.1. Students and graduated persons in Nagyszombat and Buda

For analysing the the students and graduates of the Faculty of Medicine, we have two essential archival resources: a) the so-called books of Promotions about the graduated persons and b) the *Protocolla Classificationum*, which show the notes of the immatriculated students (including fall- and spring semesters until session

¹¹ In 1793 a new order of education was introduced in the faculty. T. Györy, *op. cit.*, p. 203, 220-224; Walther Koerting. *Die Deutsche Universtät in Prag. Die letzten hundert Jahre ihrer Medizinischen Fakultät. Schriftenreihe der Bayerischen Landeärztekammer Band 11.*, Bonn, 1968, p. 156, 226-227, 255.

¹² In 1840/1 Pest was the fifth largest university in the Habsburg Empire (following Vienna, Prague, Padua, and Pavia). If we analyse the number of students of surgery by archival sources, we can say, Pest followed directly Vienna and Prague. Felicitas Seebacher, "*Primum humanitas, alterum scientia*". *Die Wiener Medizinische Schule im Spannungsfeld von Wissenschaft und Politik*, Klagenfurt, 2000, p. 87 and M. Sachs, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

¹³ T. Györy, *op. cit.*, p. 243, 265.

¹⁴ We have to admit that lectures on anatomy, theoretical and practical medicine for surgeons, surgery, obstetrics, veterinary and forensic medicine and extraordinary courses were already held in Hungarian. Chemistry stayed Latin for a while. So, they had to translate the lectures on *encyclopaedia*, mineralogy, geology, zoology, botany and *politia medica*. The list of lectures are in "Orvos-Sebészi Évkönyvek", I, II, 8 (August, 1844), p. 99; T. Györy, *op. cit.*, p. 413-415.

¹⁵ F.-X. Linzbauer, III, II, p. 471-472 (no 1982).

1825/6)¹⁶. The first one contains data from the foundation of the Faculty, so since session 1770/1, on the contrary, the earliest extant book of Classifications is from 1787/8. For this reason, we can use practicably only the books of Promotions to analyse the period of Nagyszombat and Buda, and the first years of Pest. Although we have a list of names in the book *Protocolla sessionum Facultatis Medicae*¹⁷, but it does not contain any other data about the students.

Session	Students of Medicine	Students of Surgery	Students of Pharmacy
1772-1773	8		
1773-1774	4		
1774-1775	15		
1775-1776	7		7
1776-1777	9		4
1777-1778	12		7
1778-1779	13		2
1779-1780	6		8
1780-1781	1		2
1781-1782	25	5	2
1782-1783	16		4
1783-1784	31	2	27

Table 1. Students in the Faculty of Medicine in Nagyszombat and Buda (based on SUA, 1/a, 1)

Before particularly analysing the data, we should mention that these resources contain the place of birth of the students, and not their residency, although these two were not necessarily the same (especially in case of surgeons, who usually left their place of birth, according to the guild's 'wandering years', or due to their work in the army).

As we can see, during the first decades of the Faculty, only a few students came here. Qualification of doctors of Medicine was not an attractive opportunity, thanks to difficulties about the new educational system and the disadvantageous and isolated location of the city (it is situated near the western frontier of Hungary, close to the popular University of Vienna). Although the Faculty later moved to the center of Hungary, Buda, it did not become more popular among Transylvanian peregrinants. One reason for this, that since 1775 the expensive medical education was also available in Transylvania (although they were more pre-studies, as the institution – *Institutum Medico-Chirurgicum* – was not University, but lyceum)¹⁸. Another explanation of this phenomenon, that the mostly Protestant Transylvanian peregrinants did not prefer the University, which remained strictly Catholic after the

¹⁶ SUA, *Libri classificationum Facultatis Medicae in Regia Universitate Pestinensi* [hereafter, 1/d] and 1/f.

¹⁷ SUA, *Protocolla sessionum Facultatis Medicae* [hereafter, 1/a], 1.

¹⁸ About the lyceum see János Maizner, *A kolozsvári orvos-sebész tanintézet történeti vázlata 1775-1872*, Kolozsvár, 1890.

dissolution of the Jesuit Order in 1773 too, and, in contrary to this, the peregrinants had strong, traditional connections with other famous Protestant European universities, where they possibly could go with special scholarships. Therefore among 83 doctors of Medicine, who graduated in Nagyszombat and Buda, only three persons were born in Transylvania. The question is, why did they choose Buda, as all three were Protestants, and came from the south-eastern part of Transylvania. Two persons' latter course of life is unknown: one, Martinus Lupini surely, the other, Andreas Wolff was probably Saxon. The third one, Sámuel Benkő became one of the greatest doctors of Medicine in Hungary by the beginning of the 19th Century¹⁹. He was born in Kisbacon (*Băţanii Mici*)²⁰ in 1743, and as a Calvinist peregrinant, he studied in German and Netherlandish universities (the book of Promotions mentions just Utrecht by Nagyszombat and Buda). He became doctor of Philosophy in 1775 in Leiden, and doctor of medicine in Buda, 11 December 1778. After the graduation, he did not moved back to Transylvania, but shortly settled down in Miskolc, catholicized, and became chief physician (*Physicus ordinarius*) of Borsod county in 1783 until his retirement in 1824. He died here one year later, in 1825²¹.

Nagyszombat			Buda		
Session	Doctor of medicine	Among them Transylvanian	Scholar year	Doctor of medicine	Among them Transylvanian
1770-1771			1777-1778	10	1
1771-1772	3		1778-1779	2	2
1772-1773	4		1779-1780	5	
1773-1774	5		1780-1781	1	
1774-1775	2		1781-1782	7	
1775-1776	12		1782-1783	8	
1776-1777	13		1783-1784	11	
Summa	39	--	Summa	44	3

Table 2. Doctors of Medicine in Nagyszombat and Buda

(based on SUA, 1/f, 1, kötet 1-13. p. and Endre Högyes, *Emlékkönyv a budapesti Egyetem Orvosi Karának multjáról és jelenéről*, Budapest, 1896, p. 130)

Comparing the number of graduating doctors of Medicine and masters of Surgery, we can say, that much more surgeons got their degree in Nagyszombat and Buda, than doctors, although their number did not exceed a couple of dozen per year. 129 diplomas of Surgery were extradited in Nagyszombat and 205 in Buda. This number is a consequence of the edict *Generale Normativum*: according to that, the permission of every surgeon's further practice depended on the acquisition of the degree. Both the Faculty, the Royal Council (*Consilium Locumtenentiale Regium*)

¹⁹ Wolff and Lupini were Lutheran the latter was called Transylvanian Saxon in the sources (*saxo transylvanus*). SUA, 1/f, 1. p. 6 and 8 (no 35, 47-48).

²⁰ The sources use generally the Hungarian or the Latin name of the settlements. Therefore we used the Hungarian version of them, putting in parenthesis their Romanian name.

²¹ Gy. Gortvay, *op. cit.*, p. 19, 71, 171-172, 214.

and the counties, free royal cities tried to help their surgeons to get this certificate: the latter contributed to the travel expenses (another 'form' of support was, if they did not mention in their regular annual reports their surgeons' education or qualification)²². The Faculty could release the examination fee²³. Thanks to this edict, the Faculty operated more as an organization, which gave certificates for the Hungarian medical personnel, and less as an educational institution. Thanks to this, similarly to the doctors, there were only few Transylvanians among the surgeons: in Nagyszombat three, in Pest five. The issue is more complex, if we analyse, how much of them belonged actually to Transylvania. In case of masters of Surgery, in the book of Promotions were notated, where and when were the surgeons trained and by which master were they employed. Checking these data makes clear, that among these eight surgeons two definitely pertained to Hungary: Thomas Mihálc, who was born in Szeklerland, had worked in Tata until 1767 (where was a so-called *filiale* of the guild of surgeons of Pest). Károly Mócsy, who was born in Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş), was granted in the guild of Győr in 1770, and after this, he became master of Surgery in Nagyszombat, in 1776. Both were Catholics²⁴.

Mócsy chose to stay in the Faculty after graduation: he was allowed to teach obstetrics in 1784 as *correpetitor*, therethrough he was the first of this kind of private teacher. He was citizen of Buda since 1779 and he was mentioned as 'first-class surgeon' of Buda in the conscription of 1785²⁵. So, he finally settled down in Hungary.

The Calvinist István Nagy came to Buda to get a certificate of Surgery in 1784, one year before the foundation of the lyceum in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca). He was Hungarian, born in Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş), and probably moved back to his homeland after the graduation²⁶. The other four Transylvanians were Lutheran Saxons, all of them came from Nagyszeben (Sibiu), where they were born and trained as journeymen in the local guild²⁷. Due to the strong Catholic dominance in the Faculty, the number of Transylvanian students was not too much. We can clearly see this, if we analyse the religion of all the surgeons in these decades: among the Catholic ones there were only 22 Lutheran, 17 Calvinist and 4 Jewish surgeons. That was the other reason why the Faculty of Nagyszombat and Buda was not so popular for Transylvanian peregrinants, who were mostly Calvinist Hungarians and Lutheran Saxons.

²² Elder surgeons were absolved of the examination, in case they were not able to cover the expenses of the travel and the exam. Until 1774 the Council allowed chief physicians to examine surgeons. K. Simon, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

²³ One case is known in Nagyszombat and three in Buda. SUA, 1/f, 2, p. 414, 423, 440 (no 126, 199-200, 329).

²⁴ In the book of Promotions his name is written as *Mocsi*, but he is well-known as *Mócsy*. SUA, 1/f, 2, p. 408-409 (no 89, 121).

²⁵ Budapest City Archives, *Matricula Civium Budensium* (IV.1002.u), 1, fol. 85v; National Archives of Hungary [hereafter, NAH], *Consilium Locumtenentiale Regium, Departmentum Sanitatis* (C 66) 1785, Fons 1, no 79. (Buda royal free city to the Council, 11 Februar, 1785), T. Győry, 1936, p. 147-148. and I. Bolányi & I. Palatkás, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

²⁶ SUA, 1/f, 2, p. 408 (no 74).

²⁷ SUA, 1/f, 2, p. 418-419, 423-424, 433 (nos 156, 162, 206, 215, 275).

Nagyszombat			Buda		
Session	Master of Surgery	Among them Transylvanian	Session	Master of Surgery	Among them Transylvanian
1770-1771	7		1777-1778	26	1
1771-1772	10		1778-1779	23	1
1772-1773	18		1779-1780	31	1
1773-1774	19		1780-1781	20	1
1774-1775	32	1	1781-1782	21	
1775-1776	24	1	1782-1783	17	
1776-1777	19	1	1783-1784	67	1
Summa	129	3	Summa	205	5

Table 3. Graduated masters of Surgery in Nagyszombat and Buda
(Based on SUA, 1/f, 2, p. 397-441)

II.2. In Pest from the beginning until the end of Napoleonic wars

Thanks to the moving of the University to Pest, the reforms of Joseph II and last, but not least, the Napoleonic wars, the Faculty became more popular among foreign students and internationally well-known. Due to this, number and composition of students and graduating people also changed. The books of Classifications clearly show, how the number of students of medicine started to increase gradually from the end of the 18th Century: in session 1787-1788 34 persons attended the course of medicine, ten years later their number reached 50, in 1803-1804 65 persons matriculated, and by the end of the Napoleonic wars (1815-1816) already 73 students studied medicine in Pest²⁸. Even so, we can find among them only a few from Transylvania, on the average, one or two persons came to Pest per year. Their number increased slowly by the end of the Napoleonic wars, so in 1813-1814 three Transylvanian students matriculated as freshmen of medicine in Pest. In spite of this, the number of graduating Transylvanian peregrinants was higher: in these three decades 23 of them became doctor of medicine and two doctor of surgery. As *Table 3* shows, most of them got their certificate at the end of Joseph II's reign, after 1793-1794 they showed less interest to get their diploma here. The reason of their major attendance until 1793 is, that during the era of Joseph II Pest was one of the few universities, which were not downgraded into lyceum. Most of the graduating doctors studied elsewhere previously.

Among the graduating Transylvanians were 6 Catholic Hungarians, of whom two were Szeklers and one was born in Szamosfalva (Someşeni); 11 Calvinist Hungarians, mostly from larger Transylvanian cities, so two were born in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) and two in Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş), one in Fogaras (Făgăraş), Szászváros (Orăştie), Nagyszeben (Sibiu). Beside them 6 Lutheran Saxons came to Pest, also from larger cities: two from Nagyszeben (Sibiu), two from Brassó (Braşov) and one from Segesvár (Sighişoara), one from Medgyes (Medias). A Unitarian

²⁸ Based on SUA, 1/d, 1-4.

Hungarian also matriculated in Pest, Ferenc Szikszay was born in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), he studied medicine in the Lyceum there, and afterwards he studied medicine and superior surgery ('*chirurgia altior*') in Pest and finally became doctor of medicine and surgery in 1807²⁹. The Calvinist András Fodor lugosi, who was born in Szászváros (Orăștie), was a classmate of Szikszay, he also studied superior surgery in Pest³⁰. There are no data about his pre-studies, he is not mentioned neither among the doctors of medicine in Pest, nor in the database of German institutions, nor among students in Vienna (although it is unlikely, that he went to Vienna, in view of his Calvinist religion), and it seems he did not have pre-studies in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca)³¹. However, he should have got a certificate somewhere, because he went back later to his homeland, and became ordinary physician of county Doboka before 1817, and after that, chief physician of county Hunyad (he fulfilled this position until his death). He published an obstetrical coursebook in Pest, 1817 (*Szülést segítő tudomány és mesterség*). In the title of this book, he calls himself *doctor* and *obstetrical aidant*. According to this, he possibly earned only degree as doctor of surgery and master of obstetrics³². He also did an exam as veterinarian, as he is mentioned in a list at the end of session 1807-1808³³.

Many Transylvanian students were outstanding, talented persons of this era. For Example the Roman Catholic Ferenc Nyulas [b. 1758, Köszvényes-Remete

²⁹ The educational system of superior surgery was immature that time, because after the death of Joseph II, instead of the five-year common studies of becoming doctors of medicine and surgery, the course of medicine was decreased into four-year studies. Becoming doctors of surgery – which meant only one or two persons in practice – studied together with the medical. This system shortly disappeared, the Faculty gave the title 'doctor of surgery' after a special exam, and not by separate qualification. Due to this, Szikszay was not an 'ordinary' student: he studied surgery among freshmen and sophomores of medicine in 1803-1804, in next year, he was among sophisters, and after two years, he studied also with freshmen and seniors. Previously he was among sophomores of medicine in Kolozsvár, 1802-1803. SUA, 1/d, 2. p. 238-241, 254-257, 277-278, 297-298, 316-317, 322-323, 336-337, 342-343, 404; Júlia Varga, *A Kolozsvári Királyi Líceum Hallgatósága 1784-1848. Felsőoktatástörténeti Kiadványok, Új sorozat 1. Szerk.: Szögi László, Budapest, 2000, p. 92 (no 743), K. Simon, op. cit., p. 86-87.*

³⁰ Fodor was freshman in 1804-1805, next year he attended simultaneously courses of Medicine, of first and second scholar year. Finally, he became doctor of surgery in 1809. SUA, 1/d, 2, p. 273-274, 293-294, 316-317, 336-337, 364-365, 386-387, 524; 1/f, 1, 77 (no 365).

³¹ László Szögi, *Magyarországi diákok a Habsburg Birodalom egyetemlein 1. 1790-1850. Magyarországi diákok egyetemjárása az újkorban 1. Budapest-Szeged, 1994; J. Varga, op. cit.; Attila Tar, *Magyarországi diákok németországi egyetemeken és főiskolákon 1694-1789, Budapest, 2004.**

³² Among masters of obstetrics, who were examined in Pest, there is a person with the same name (András Fodor), who earned his degree in 1793, but these two are not the same: this one was born in Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky), and became previously master of surgery in 1783. The Transylvanian one was engaged in balneology, epidemiology and mineralogy. He died in 1859, according to his obituary, he was former regional physician. SUA, 1/f, 2, p. 451 (no 436); *ibidem*, 2, p. 295 (no 247); http://www.orvostortenet.hu/tankonyvek/tk-05/pdf_Szallasi/vegyes_123.pdf [accessed on November 18, 2013], [http://www.rakovszky.net/D1_DisplRemImg/Rako_DRI_ShowRemotelImages.shtml?SLSG_F17@0500 \(F17:508, Fodor, András\)](http://www.rakovszky.net/D1_DisplRemImg/Rako_DRI_ShowRemotelImages.shtml?SLSG_F17@0500 (F17:508, Fodor, András)) [accessed on November 18, 2013].

³³ SUA, 1/d, 2, p. 459.

(Eremitu)-d. 1808, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca)], a descendant of an eminent Szekler family, who studied medicine in Vienna, but interestingly, instead he would had stayed there, he came to Pest to get his diploma in 1787. Thereafter he went back to Transylvania, and was medical practitioner in Szamosújvár (Gherla), later in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca). He promoted Jenner's smallpox vaccine, and was designated for chief physician of Transylvania from 1806 until his death³⁴.

Sámuel Pataky (Pataki) Sárospataki had a similar course of life as Nyulas. He was born in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), 1765. He studied in Göttingen and Vienna³⁵, and later finished his studies in Pest, where he became doctor of medicine 11 February 1794³⁶. He was born into an illustrious doctor-dynasty, his father and grandfather (with the same name) were also doctors of medicine. His father taught him. He learned the method of smallpox vaccine in Vienna, and successfully promoted and used it in his homeland. He worked as chief physician of Transylvania from 1812 until his death in 1824³⁷.

The Calvinist Mihály Incze (Intze) [b. 1787, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca)-d. 1836, Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia)] also played an important role in Transylvania. He got his certificate as doctor of medicine in Pest, 1787, and therefore educated physiology, pathology and medicine in the Lyceum of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca)³⁸.

Of course, on the other hand, there were less dedicated persons in the Faculty, too. Most of them dismissed their studies and chose themselves another profession, but some of them came back after a few-years pause, and finished their studies in Pest. An interesting example for this is the life of the Calvinist Márton Soós [b. around 1766, Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş) – d. ?). As a student of medicine, he became interested in acting and theatre in 1791, and temporarily gave up his studies for acting (he also wrote some drama in this period). After a few years, he changed his mind, he got his diploma as doctor of medicine in Pest, 1794, moved to Dés (Dej), and became chief physician of county Belső-Szolnok³⁹.

Session	Doctor of medicine		Doctor of surgery		Master of Surgery	
	Transylvanian	All	Transylvanian	All	Transylvanian	All
1787-1788	4	15			2	36
1788-1789	3	19				16
1789-1790		10			1	44
1790-1791	2	7		(1)	2	46
1791-1792	2	10			2	52
1792-1793		5		1	3	19
1793-1794	3	12				41
1794-1795		6		3	3	45

³⁴ SUA, 1/f, 1, p. 17 (no 102).

³⁵ He matriculated to Göttingen in 1787. A. Tar, *op. cit.*, p. 118. (no 720).

³⁶ SUA, 1/f, 1, p. 32 (no 174).

³⁷ Gy. Gortvay, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

³⁸ SUA, 1/f, 1, p. 15 (no 91); J. Maizner, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

³⁹ SUA, 1/f, 1, p. 34 (no 182); <http://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html/index.htm> (Soos, Márton széki) [accessed on November 21, 2013].

1795-1796		7		1	2	51
1796-1797		16			2	50
1797-1798		3			1	57
1798-1799	1	18			1	41
1799-1800		12			2	37
1800-1801	1	8				25
1801-1802		21			6	90
1802-1803		11			4	46
1803-1804	2	19			2	44
1804-1805		12	(1) ⁴⁰	(2)	1	34
1805-1806		15		(1)		30
1806-1807	1	8	(1)	(3)		48
1807-1808		14		(1)	4	37
1808-1809	1	9		(4)	1	35
1810-1811		9		(1)	2	30
1811-1812	1	11		1	1	30
1813-1814	2	5			2	6
Summa	23	282	2	19	44	990

Table 4. Graduating Transylvanians in the Faculty of Medicine, Pest until the end of Napoleonic wars (1783/4-1815/6)

(based on SUA, 1/f, 1; *Ibidem*, 1/d, 2 and E. Hőgyes, *op. cit.*, p. 130-131)⁴¹

Surgery was less popular than medicine among Transylvanian peregrinants. In the 1790s and 1800s only one or two Transylvanian students matriculated in Pest to study surgery per year. After session 1808-1809, due to the introduction of verracular courses, people showed more interest in surgery: in this year, among 54 freshmen four were born in Transylvania. After one year pause until the end of Napoleonic wars, there were few Transylvanian students every year. The reason of

⁴⁰ It is not listed in the book of Hőgyes, but SUA, 1/d, 2, p. 270 mentions Jakab Frankenburg, who became professor of obstetrics a few years later in Pest. However, the book of Classifications listed him in the end of session 1803-1804 and next year, too. It is interesting, because in the book, at the statistical figures of year 1804-1805 they suggest that no one graduated as doctor of surgery in the previous year. *Ibidem* p. 311-315. We should notice, that sometimes the data in the books of Classifications (they made a list and a statistical table at the end of the sessions) and of Promotions are not concordant. Only a few person earned the title 'doctor of surgery' in these decades, and all of them had a special, successful life thereafter – probably thanks to their high-level expertise. By Frankenburg we should mention Ignác Stáhly and János Weleczky: they were inaugurated as doctors of surgery in 1804 and 1811 and later both of them became professors in the Faculty of Pest. SUA, 1/d, 3, p. 320; *Ibidem*, 1/f, 1, p. 60 (no 305), p. 85 (no 388).

⁴¹ The table contains only those sessions, when were graduating Transylvanian in Pest. The numbers in parenthesis are based on the archival sources, and not consent with the data of Hőgyes. As the books of Classifications does not contain these lists for every session, it is not possible to compare all data.

their absence in 1809 is that probably some of them gone with Ferenc Eckstein to the battlefield at Győr against Napoleon⁴².

In spite of the low number of students of surgery, there are many other Transylvanians among graduated surgeons, because there were other methods of getting a diploma that time: a) they could study and make their exams in the same place, b) after pre-studies in guilds or in other universities, they could get their certificate in the Faculty of Pest and c) pre-studies in another university, and taking only their last exam in Pest. According to this, among 44 examined Transylvanian surgeons were 12, who took pre-studies in guilds: five were journeymen in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), and two in Hungary⁴³. Eight peregrinants were in guilds and also took pre-studies in the university. They did not study in the ordinary course, but took private lessons and surgical practice in the military hospital – not accidentally, due to relations of military medicine of the Hungarian insurrections of the Napoleonic wars. The practice of students of the faculty in the military hospital was most popular between 1796 and 1798.

Only four case is known, where Transylvanian peregrinants took pre-studies in other universities (or lycea): two of them matriculated in Vienna, and two in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) antecedently. At the turn of the 18th and 19th century, before the formation of the title 'privat-docent', it was widespread to accomodate *correpetitors* (or as the first privat-docents appeared, the correpetitors disappeared). At the beginning of the 19th century, this form of private teaching ensured the cost of living for some students, until they got their diploma. In these decades, four Transylvanian "private correpetitors" are known⁴⁴.

Analyzing their denomination (if it is known, because the sources does not always mention it), we can say, that almost half of the Transylvanian masters of surgery were Calvinist (18 persons) and Catholic (15 persons). Beside them, ten Lutheran came to Pest. This marks the tendency, that there was a part of Protestants, who gave up their former, traditional path of peregrination and recognized the significance of the Faculty of Pest. According to their place of birth, it is clearly seen, that they also came from major Transylvanian cities to Pest in these decades, too:

⁴² From among the graduated surgeons and students of superior surgery, Eckstein took 16 persons to the battlefield. Their inferior personnel was composed of 61 'inferior surgeons' (*inferiores chirurgi*) and 23 students of surgery. As a matter of course, members of the latter group had to go to the front line, many of them died there. Eckstein replaced them with seven inferior surgeons and two trainee. Franciscus Eckstein, *Relatio officiosa generalis de nosocomiis pro nobili insurgente militia hungarica anno 1809 erectis et administratis*, Buda, 1810, p. 23-25.

⁴³ József Eperjesi was born in Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) in a Calvinist family. He was journeyman in Szeged until 1789 and became master of surgery in Pest, 1797. The Catholic József Mátéfi was born in Segesvár (Sighişoara), and was journeyman in Nagyvárad (Oradea) until 1782, and did his final exams for the certificate from the Faculty of Pest in 1790. Pre-studies in guilds not necessarily meant less knowledge, among the Transylvanian peregrinants were only two, who got mediocre qualification (one of them was the above mentioned Mátéfi), the others were eminent at their final exam. SUA 1/f, 3, p. 485 (no 674) and p. 539 (no 954).

⁴⁴ With the following remark by their name: "*privatim correpetiti*". Correpetitors were from Transylvania: Pál Székely (master of surgery in 1800), János Herczinger (1801), Péter Koszorus (1802) and Sámuel Várady (1802). SUA, 1/f, 3, p. 561, 573, 577, 579 (no 1099, 1153, 1190, 1197).

from Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) 7 persons, from Nagyszeben (Sibiu) 6, from Torda (Turda) 5, Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş) 3 and from Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) 2 persons.

Despite of all, the interest toward the Faculty of Pest was modest. From 1787-1788 until the end of Napoleonic wars, only six Transylvanian peregrinants studied here from the beginning, in the two-year course of surgery, and also got their certificate here.

Not every Transylvanian students went home after they earned their degree. Some of them stayed in Pest and took their chance here. Among them should be mentioned Sebestyén Rumbach. He was born in 1761 in Nagybánya (Baia Mare). He studied surgery both in guild and university: he was journeyman at István Kiss, a master of surgery in Buda until 1778. After pre-studies of philosophy he matriculated in the Faculty of Medicine, where he was student of medicine and surgery in the same time. It turned out during these years, that he was quite talented and sedulous. He was assistant in the military hospital at first, then by the *prosector* of anatomy. He took his final exams with excellent results, and became master of surgery and obstetrics in 1786⁴⁵. After that, he became ordinary physicus of city Pest, and founded the first medical bath there. He was a member of the Faculty of Medicine both in Pest and Vienna. His operant life ended January 16, 1844 in Vienna⁴⁶.

II.3. Peregrinants in the Faculty until the revolution in 1848

After the Napoleonic wars, Europe radically changed, peregrination became uneasy, moreover, impossible for a while outside the Habsburg Empire. However, paradoxically thanks to this, the Faculty of Medicine of Pest got more popular inside the empire this time. Medical professions also became more beloved. But the standard of the education and the capability in Pest was modest, if we compare it to the 'great old' universities of the empire (Vienna, Prague, or Padua and Pavia, which were also part of it at this time). In the so-called Hungarian 'age of Reforms' the connection between Hungary and Transylvania livened, there were many questions, which made the contemporary colleagues think about together: creating the Hungarian medical terminology, reformation of medical education (including the conflict between doctors of medicine and masters of surgery), reorganization of health-care system (claim of districts according to the number of patients and not to civil parish), plan of labour organization etc. In the 1830s and 1840s many scientific associations were founded, where both Hungarian and Transylvanian colleagues took part, for example Association of Hungarian Doctors of Medicine and 'Nature-searchers'⁴⁷ (*Magyar Orvosok és Természettudományi Társasága*, since 1841) and Scientific Association (*Természettudományi Társulat*, it was also founded in 1841).

⁴⁵ The qualification of his final exam for the title 'master of Surgery': *cum laude eminentiae*. SUA, 1/f, 2, p. 281 (no 35); *Ibidem*, 3, p. 449 (no 419).

⁴⁶ His necrology in: "Orvosi Tár", 3, 5, no 5 (January 28, 1844) p. 80, and his obituary: [http://www.rakovszky.net/D1_DisplRemlmg/Rako_DRI_ShowRemoteImages.shtml?SLSG_R19@0405\(R19:423,Rumbach,Sebestyén\)](http://www.rakovszky.net/D1_DisplRemlmg/Rako_DRI_ShowRemoteImages.shtml?SLSG_R19@0405(R19:423,Rumbach,Sebestyén)) [accessed on November 19, 2013].

⁴⁷ Their name was inspired by the German precedent: *Gesellschaft Deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte* (which was founded in 1822).

The first Hungarian medical journal, *Orvosi Tár* was founded in 1831 and refounded in 1838, where Transylvanian doctors of medicine and surgeons also had a chance to publish their researches.

These lively and intense connections had an impact on medical education, too. Thanks to this, the Faculty of Pest became an important institution of the Habsburg Empire, which is clearly visible, if we analyze the constantly increasing number of students⁴⁸. In session 1824-1825, the number of students of medicine reached 100 (in this year 105 person studied medicine in Pest). It reached its peak in session 1833-1834, when roundly 400 student of medicine matriculated in the Faculty⁴⁹. From session 1838-1839, due to the renewed peregrination outside the Habsburg Empire, to the debates about the future of medical education, and to the fact, that it became evident, that they have less and less opportunity, to coast after they earned their degree, the number of students started to decrease. We have the last archival source before the revolution of 1848 from session 1846-1847. In this year, only 219 students matriculated to study medicine in Pest. The same tendencies can be seen at Transylvanian peregrinants, only with lower numbers. From the beginning of the 19th century, averagely two or four Transylvanian students of Medicine were in Pest per year. From session 1828-1829 their number reached 7, and between session 1831-1832 and 1839-1840 it was between 10 and 16 (16 Transylvanian students matriculated in 1837-1838). In the 1840s, their number decreased and was between 3 and 7 per year.

Before the revolution in 1848, 20 Transylvanian students got their certificate as doctors of medicine in Pest (or more exactly, 19 students, because one of them was doctor of medicine and surgery, too)⁵⁰. Most of them were Catholic (14 Roman- and 1 Greek Catholic). Protestants obviously tried to evade Pest: only 3 Lutherans and 1 Calvinist became doctor of medicine here that time. Regarding their regional distribution, it is evident, that they furthermore came from the same major cities to Pest, so, for Example Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) and Szamosújvár (Gherla) (4-4 persons), Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) and Medgyes (Mediaş) (2-2 peregrinants) and Szászváros (Orăştie) (one student).

Having a look at the life of these doctors we can find those important personalities, who served the health care of Transylvania, while some of them deployed their talent in Hungary or Pest.

János Meskó was born in Szamosújvár (Gherla) in 1805. After his studies in Pest, he stayed in Hungary. On the other hand, he also had strong connections to the Hungarian capital by his family. He became doctor of medicine in Pest, 1830. He was designated for ordinary chief physician of county Csanád in 1835, and he stayed here until his death. Due to his self-abnegation in work, he received the title royal

⁴⁸ Based on SUA, 1/d, 4-47 and *Protocolla susceptionis juventutis - scholasticae in Facultate Medica Regiae Universitatis Pestinensis* [hereafter, 1/e], 2-12.

⁴⁹ It should be noticed, that the matriculation of course did not always meant the perfection of the studies, people often gave up their studies, especially in lower classes, so in session 1831-1832 156 persons matriculated as freshman, but 35 of them dismissed the Faculty (and one did not do his exams, another one died). SUA, 1/d, 20, p. 2-37.

⁵⁰ Based on *Ibidem*, 1/f, 1, p. 101-410 (nos 468-1401).

counsellor in 1878. Seven years later he and his family became noble with the first-name 'csanádi'⁵¹. His closest family-members and relatives were also dedicated doctors, his daughter's, Malvin's husband was the founder of the first orthopaedic institution in Pest, Sámuel Batizfalvy⁵².

One of the most talented students was Frigyes Eckstein. He was born in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) in 1803. However, he did not have strong connections to Transylvania, his father, Ferenc was professor of the Faculty of Medicine in Pest (assistant professor of surgery and obstetrics from 1799, professor of practical surgery since 1803). Frigyes stayed in Pest after his father's early death in 1812, he studied medicine here between 1820-1821 and 1824-1825, became adjunct from 1825 in the hospital of the Faculty, and got his diploma as doctor of medicine in 1826⁵³. He dedicated his life to brisken the public medical discourse in Hungary: he took part in the journal "Orvosi Tár" and worked for the association *Magyar Orvosok és Természettvzsgálók*. He was a 'science-loving' member of *Természettudományi Társulat* since 1842 and an active member of the Royal Medical Association of Budapest from its beginning. He was the secretary general of this association between 1837 and 1838, and its chairman between 1839 and 1841. He took part in many sessions of the association and also held many lectures⁵⁴.

Although János Theophil Fabini [b. 1791, Medgyes (Mediaş)-d. 1847, Pest], the famous Hungarian oculist did not studied in Pest, he and his brother, Frigyes [1788, Medgyes (Mediaş)-d. 1864, Giurgiu] had strong connections to the Faculty. Their father was a Lutheran priest, but János Theophil became the head of a multi-generational doctor-dynasty, whose members had close ties to Transylvania, and also to Budapest. János Theophil studied medicine in Vienna between 1811-1812 and 1815-1816, became doctor of medicine in 1816 there, and after his graduation he worked in the *Allgemeines Krankenhaus* as intern and oculist. He went back to his homeland for a while, but he was already in Pest from June 1817, where he was promoted to professor of ophthalmology in the Faculty of Medicine, and two years later to chief oculist of Hungary⁵⁵. He was dean of the Faculty of Medicine in 1838-

⁵¹ He was promoted as doctor on May 10, 1830. In his diploma of nobility in 1885 it was emphasized his forty-years sedulous work and his merits in the foundation of the hospital of the county in Makó. He died in Makó, on January 10, 1891. SUA, 1/f, 1, p. 151 (no 569), <http://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html/index.htm> (Meskó János csanádi) [accessed on November 21, 2013]; NAH, *Libri Regii* (K 19), 68, p. 464 (991/1878, February 3, 1878) and p. 667-669 (177/1885, February 12, 1885), [http://www.rakovszky.net/D1_DisplRemlmg/Rako_DRI_ShowRemoteImages.shtml?\\$LSG_M21@0488](http://www.rakovszky.net/D1_DisplRemlmg/Rako_DRI_ShowRemoteImages.shtml?$LSG_M21@0488) (M21:488, Meskó, János) [accessed on November 21, 2013].

⁵² Malvin Meskó, the daughter of János Meskó and the wife of Sámuel Batizfalvy died in 1920 in Budapest. [http://www.rakovszky.net/D1_DisplRemlmg/Rako_DRI_ShowRemoteImages.shtml?\\$LSG_B20@0568](http://www.rakovszky.net/D1_DisplRemlmg/Rako_DRI_ShowRemoteImages.shtml?$LSG_B20@0568) (B20:567, Batizfalvy, Sámuelné) [accessed on November, 21, 2013].

⁵³ January 10, 1826. SUA, 1/f, 1, p. 124 (no 505).

⁵⁴ K. Simon, *A Budapesti Királyi Orvosegyesület a kezdetektől a forradalomig*, "Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából" 38 (2013), p. 148.

⁵⁵ Ophthalmology was taught in Pest since 1818. Students of medicine had to study ophthalmology in their last session, becoming masters of surgery could choose it freely. Terms of getting a diploma

1839, and rector of the University in session 1845-1846. He lived an active scientific life, he also had international relations across Europe. Ferdinand V awarded him with nobility in 1840⁵⁶. A promising career ended with his early death⁵⁷. His brother, Frigyes chose the classical path of peregrination of Transylvanian Protestants. He studied medicine in the famous Protestant University, Tübingen, and he earned his diploma as doctor of medicine there. For the authorization of his practice inside the Habsburg Empire, he also matriculated in the Faculty of Medicine, Pest – where his brother was already professor by this time –, and he was promoted as doctor of medicine in 1822 here, too⁵⁸. Like his brother, he also specialized himself on ophthalmology, but did not stay in Hungary. He moved back to Transylvania, where he was a practitant in his hometown at first, and became physician of district Beszterce (Bistrița), and finally, chief oculist of Transylvania between 1823 and 1835. After that, he had private practice for a short time, later undertook an office as quarantine-doctor in Romania. Due to family reasons (his daughter married to a local pharmacist), he stayed there until the end of his life, he deceased in Giurgiu, in 1864⁵⁹.

Bogdán Korbuly (b. around 1816-d. 1870) had strong ties to Transylvania. He was born in Szamosújvár (Gherla) in a Roman Catholic family, and practically, he was far away from his homeland only during his studies. He studied medicine in Pest and became doctor of medicine in 1840, also there⁶⁰. After his promotion, he moved back to Transylvania, and served as chief physician of county Alsó-Fehér. He practiced here, in Nagyenyed (Aiud), until his early death⁶¹.

As we have seen in the Example of the Fabini-brothers, specialization in medicine became even more significant. By this time, surgery was not alone anymore as special medical knowledge, other special fields of medication also became independent. Some doctors of medicine, so the Transylvanians, were interested in these new specialities. As the Fabini-brothers were specialized in ophthalmology, so did other doctors search other new fields for their interest. For Example, Demeter Radulovics chose physiotherapy as issue of his thesis⁶².

as master of ophthalmology was listening two semesters of it and making a successful cataract-operation. Lessons were held in Latin or in vernacular language. Simon, 2013, p. 94-95.

⁵⁶ Gortvay, 1953, p. 191-192, Szögi, 1990, p. 78. (Nr. 987), Molnár, 2005, p. 62-63, NAH, Libri Regii (A 57) Vol. 66, p. 841-844. (1466/1840, 23 January, 1840).

⁵⁷ He had stroke in 1847. [http://www.rakovszky.net/D1_DisplRemImg/Rako_DRI_ShowRemoteImages.shtml?\\$LSG_F01@0647](http://www.rakovszky.net/D1_DisplRemImg/Rako_DRI_ShowRemoteImages.shtml?$LSG_F01@0647) (F01:649, Fabiny, Teofil János) [accessed on November 21, 2013].

⁵⁸ He was promoted as doctor of medicine in Pest, 15 January 1822. SUA 1/f Vol. 1, p. 108 (Nr. 468).

⁵⁹ <http://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html/> (Fabini, Frigyes) [accessed on November 21, 2013].

⁶⁰ He was graduated as doctor of medicine, 2 April, 1840. SUA 1/f Vol. 1 p. 309 (Nr. 1035).

⁶¹ [http://www.rakovszky.net/D1_DisplRemImg/Rako_DRI_ShowRemoteImages.shtml?\\$LSG_K41@0129](http://www.rakovszky.net/D1_DisplRemImg/Rako_DRI_ShowRemoteImages.shtml?$LSG_K41@0129) (K41:137, Korbuly Bogdán) [accessed on November 21, 2013].

⁶² Radulovics [Greek Catholic, b. around 1816, Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia)-d. ?] became doctor of medicine in 14 March 1842. The title of his dissertation was *Dissertatio inauguralis medica, qua febris in genere de gymnastica medico, physiologico et dialectico respectu*, Pest, 1842. SUA, 1/f, 1, p. 333 (no 1114).

Summarizing the data, it seems, the Faculty of Medicine in Pest did not become much more popular for Transylvanian students in the first half of the 19th century, their presence is modest in the Faculty in the studies of medicine. Although scientific relations between Hungarian and Transylvanian doctors from the 1820s got stronger, it did not influence too much the number of students of medicine. Looking at personal lives of the peregrinants, this issue seems more complex. Though a small number of Transylvanians studied and graduated here as doctors of medicine, but after their studies were finished, they readily stayed in Hungary, respectively in Pest⁶³. In case of surgeons, what was the difference?

There were many factors, which promoted the popularity of courses of surgery, which were held in vernacular language (Hungarian or German). Their certificate (master of surgery or civil surgeon) guaranteed them almost the same rights as doctors of medicine had, and education of surgeons also took less time. After the Carlsbad decrees in 1819, peregrination inside the Habsburg Empire became more relevant. The Faculty of Medicine in Pest was mainly important for peregrinants from Bohemia, Moravia and Galicia, who arrived here en masse from the 1820s. Many families – especially craftsmens' – started to reckon medicine as a device, which ensures them social recovery. Considering time and price of the studies, surgery seemed the easiest way to get a medical certificate. According to this, total number of students of surgery often was higher, than of medicine per year, not to mention the number of extradited diplomas. When the Faculty was most popular, in the early 1830s, so, in session 1831-1832 the difference between number of students of surgery and of medicine was 71, in the next session 76 (in 1831-1832 448 persons studied surgery and 377 medicine, in 1832-1833 494 and 418)⁶⁴.

Due to the new order of courses in 1833, and offense against surgeons, number of students of surgery started to decrease. In session 1846-1847 there were 219 students of medicine, and only 127 becoming surgeons in the Faculty.⁶⁵ According to this, number of Transylvanian surgeons also fluctuated, but, in contract with the doctors, they found surgery more interesting: from 1829-1830 the average number of Transylvanian peregrinants in the courses of surgery was averagely 10 persons per year. Based on the books of Classifications and the Matricula, between session 1815-1816 and 1846-1847 109 students matriculated from Transylvania in Pest. Most of them attended the Hungarian courses (80 persons)⁶⁶. 25 peregrinants came here to finish their studies in Pest, and 44 Transylvanians studied surgery in this faculty from the beginning.

⁶³ The multitude of settling surgeons and doctors in Pest did not ease their living and subsistence, which caused debate among contemporary colleagues. Particularly see: K. Simon, *Sebészet és sebészek Magyarországon* cit., p. 231-240.

⁶⁴ The greatest difference (126) was in session 1823-1824. In that year 221 people matriculated to the courses of surgery, and only 95 to medicine. SUA, I/e, 1.

⁶⁵ Based on SUA, I/e, 12.

⁶⁶ A reason for the small increase of number of Transylvanians in 1844-1845 and the next session (11 and 16 persons) was the introduction of Hungarian national language in the education. SUA, I/e, 12.

We have to admit that almost quarter of them (32) gave up the course and probably finished it in another place. Three of them died during their studies. Only four peregrinants did pre-studies in the lyceum of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), and interestingly, not all of them got his certificate here. József Bak (Bakk) from Nagyenyed (Aiud) studied two years in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) from 1834/5, he matriculated in Pest as Hungarian sophomore in 1837-1838, but finally, became civil surgeon in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), in 1840-1841⁶⁷. Similarly, Károly Péterfy was also sophomore in Pest in 1837, he started the courses of surgery in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), and also moved back there for his qualification⁶⁸. Antal Lengyel studied in the lyceum from 1827-1828, too, and five years later matriculated in Pest as sophomore in the Hungarian course of surgery⁶⁹. Wolfgang Lukáts studied with him in the same time in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) and Pest, he was sophomore in Pest in 1832-1833 and the next session, and became master of surgery in Hungary in 1835⁷⁰. We should mention as an interesting fact, the six Transylvanian peregrinants chose to study surgery after pharmaceutical pre-studies⁷¹.

Almost half of the students were Calvinist (42) and Catholic (36, including one Greek Catholic)⁷². There were 28 Lutherans (most of them were Saxons, so not surprisingly 23 of them chose the German course of surgery), 2 Israelites and 1 Unitarian⁷³. So the former proportion changed, the Catholic predominance moderated. This proportion reflects better the denominational relations of Transylvania, and also refers, that the Catholic character of the University effaced in the first half of the 19th century, and thanks to this, the University became more popular for Protestants, too.

We have little information about the family background of these peregrinants. The profession of the father was mentioned only in that case, if he was still alive that time and the student was not grown up. But 45 peregrinants were already independent adults (*sui juris*) in the time of their studies, 15 persons' mother was widow, 7 had tutor, 3 were completely orphans. Eight students' fathers were generally identified as 'craftsmen', and beside them were 5 cooperers, 2 taylors, 1

⁶⁷ SUA, 1/d, 32, p. 95-96 and *Ibidem*, 1/e, 6, p. 95-96; J. Maizner, *op. cit.*, p. 76; J. Varga, *op. cit.*, p. 201 (no 3478).

⁶⁸ He was freshman in 1833, started newly two years in 1835, and finally turned back to Kolozsvár in session 1839-1840 and got his certificate as civil surgeon in the same year. SUA, 1/d, 32, p. 162-163; *Ibidem*, 1/e, 6, p. 99-100; J. Maizner, *op. cit.*, p. 76; J. Varga, *op. cit.*, p. 200 (no 3441) and 211 (no 3709).

⁶⁹ SUA, 1/d, 22; J. Varga, *op. cit.*, p. 167 (no 2651). We have no data whether he had finished his studies or not.

⁷⁰ In Júlia Varga's book he was mentioned as sophomore in Kolozsvár, but the matricula of Pest says, that he was only freshman there. SUA, 1/d, 22 and 25; *Ibidem*, 1/e, 3; *Ibidem*, 1/f, 3, p. 10 (no 1762) and J. Varga, *op. cit.*, p. 168 (no 2658).

⁷¹ Actually, it was a common practice.

⁷² György Teflán served at the army previously, he matriculated to the Hungarian course in 1844, where he studied three years.

⁷³ Nagy Moyses was born as nobleman in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), probably Hungarian. He attended the Hungarian course between session 1825-1826 and 1827-1828. He was graduated as civil surgeon and obstetrician in 1828. SUA, 1/f, 2, p. 788 (no 303).

weaver, 1 bootmaker, 1 hatter. Eight students had officer or white-collar worker father. Two fathers were merchants, and only six students followed their fathers' profession as surgeons (tutors of two peregrinants were also surgeons). One student came from a pharmacist's family. According to their social rank (if it was mentioned in the sources), we can say, that five peregrinants had civil-, and three had noble background. Six of them was originally peasant. So, most of them originated from craftsman-families. By their place of birth, most of them came here from major Transylvanian cities, for example from Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, 20 persons), Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureș, 15), Nagyszeben (Sibiu, 7), Beszterce (Bistrița, 4), Brassó (Brașov, 12), Medgyes (Mediaș, 4), Nagyenyed (Aiud, 3), Fogaras (Făgăraș, 3), Erzsébetváros (Dumbrăveni, 3) and Szászváros (Orăștie, 3).

The history of the Faculty of Medicine of Pest before 1848 shows, how the small institution grew into an internationally relevant establishment. According to this, more foreign students matriculated there in time. Among Transylvanians it was not popular in the beginning, but after the Napoleonic wars, thanks to several positive circumstances, it became a beloved place. Analyzing the course of life of these students after their graduation, we can say, that wheter they went back to their homeland, or settled down in Hungary, they significantly contributed to the contemporary health care system, and deepened the fellowship between the Hungarian and the Transylvanian healers.