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CERCETAREA MINORITĂȚILOR  
NAȚIONALE DIN ROMÂNIA

WORKING PAPERS IN ROMANIAN  
MINORITY STUDIES

MŰHELYTANULMÁNYOK  
A ROMÁNIAI KISEBBSÉGEKRŐL

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GIDÓ ATTILA

SCHOOL MARKET AND  
THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS  
IN TRANSYLVANIA, PARTIUM  
AND BANAT BETWEEN  
1919 AND 1948



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INSTITUTUL PENTRU STUDIAREA  
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GUVERNUL ROMÂNIEI

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**Gidó Attila**

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STUDIAREA PROBLEMELOR  
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Cluj-Napoca, 2011

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## Abstract

■ This paper proposes to offer the statistical presentation of the Transylvanian educational system and culture-generating institutions between 1918 and 1948, relying primarily on the hitherto published statistical summaries, censuses, annals, and studies, without carrying out any fundamental research or analysis. The paper fits into the first phase of a larger European comparative research project supported by the European Research Council. The documentation needed for the detailed analyses in the second phase is collected by other colleagues working on this research. Hopefully, their findings will be published in the near future.

## Kivonat

■ Az alábbi tanulmány kizárólag az erdélyi oktatási rendszernek és a kultúratermelő intézményeknek 1918–1948 közötti statisztikai bemutatására vállalkozik. Mindezt elsősorban az eddig publikált statisztikai összesítések, népszámlálások, évkönyvek, szaktanulmányok felhasználásával teszi meg anélkül, hogy alapkutatásokra és elemzésekre vállalkozna. A tanulmány egy nagyobb európai összehasonlító kutatás első fázisába illeszkedik bele. A második fázis mély elemzéseire szükséges dokumentáció összeállítását a kutatás további munkatársai végzik, és eredményeik remélhetőleg a közeljövőben napvilágot látnak.



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# SCHOOL MARKET AND THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN TRANSYLVANIA, PARTIUM AND BANAT BETWEEN 1919 AND 1948

## Introduction

■ This paper proposes to offer the statistical presentation of the Transylvanian educational system and culture-generating institutions between 1918 and 1948, relying primarily on the hitherto published statistical summaries, censuses, annals, and studies, without carrying out any fundamental research or analysis. The paper fits into the first phase of a larger European comparative research project supported by the European Research Council.<sup>1</sup> The documentation needed for the detailed analyses in the second phase is collected by other colleagues working on this research. Hopefully, their findings will be published in the near future.

The situation of public education in Transylvania after 1918, the issues related to schools and cultural rights of the national minorities were not only the subject of scientific debates and disagreements, but the debates were also present at the political level. The source of the disagreement was primarily the clash between the grievances of the ethnic Hungarians from Transylvania/Romania concerning educational affairs and the point of view of the Romanian state at that time, which denied these. In the present paper I do not wish to deal with these debates and grievances; I will only refer to them.<sup>2</sup>

In the first part of the paper, I will review the statistical data of the Transylvanian educational institutions and student population, and the changes in the social structures and legal regulations. Before addressing the main subject of the paper, I find it necessary to give a broad outline of the ethnic composition and occupational structure of Transylvania at the time.

## 1. Ethnic and Social Relations

### 1.1. The Ethnic and Denominational Distribution of the Population of Transylvania

The functioning of Transylvania's network of educational and cultural institutions and their intellectual background was greatly influenced by the ethnic diversity of the region. The starting date of the present investigation is 1918. This date represents a turning point in the history of the region. In the au-

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1 The title of the research project: *Culturally Composite Elites, Regime Changes and Social Crises in Multi-Ethnic and Multi-Confessional Eastern Europe. The Carpathian Basin and the Baltics in Comparison – cc. 1900–1950*. Coordinator: Viktor Karády.

2 On the debates and grievances see: Balázs 1929; Rónai 1934; Mikó 1941; Nagy 1944; Balogh 1996; Bíró 2002; Bárdi 2004; *Transilvania, Banatul, Crișana, Maramureșul* 1929; Caliani 1934; Drăgoescu 1999: 890–893 and 1016–1226.



tumn of 1918 Hungary, finishing World War I on the side of the defeated, started to gradually withdraw from the eastern and north-eastern territories inhabited by Hungarians, Romanians, Germans, Jews and Serbs. The territory we refer to as Transylvania today, contains three regions which prior to 1918 belonged to Hungary: the historical Transylvania, the Banat and the Partium (Crişana and Maramureş). These regions have different characteristics regarding their ethnic composition, economic development, network of cultural institutions and level of urbanisation. In the present paper the name Transylvania refers to these three regions collectively. The historical denominations will be used in cases where the presented data series do not refer to all these territories, but only to one or other of the regions, thus, referring to historical Transylvania, Banat or Partium (Crişana and Maramureş).

Before 1930 there are no statistics about the ethnic composition of Transylvania. The Hungarian censuses inquired only about mother tongue and religion. The Romanian census of 1930 already published data referring to ethnicity. In 1910, according to the census, the population of the historical Transylvania, the Banat and the Partium (Crişana and Maramureş) was 5,247,205 inhabitants. 53.6% (2,811,719 persons) declared that their mother tongue was Romanian, 31.5% (1,653,943) that their mother tongue was Hungarian, 10.7% (562,079) that their mother tongue was German, 1% (50,370) that their mother tongue was Serbian and 0.6% (31,034) that their mother tongue was Slovakian (Varga 1998: 364–373).

Considering the fact that the time frame of the present investigation contains mainly the period between the two World Wars, I wish to present the data from 1930 in more detail. By 1930 – in comparison to 1910 – the population increased by more than 300,000. Along with this, there were changes in the ethnic proportions, too. In 1930, 58.3% (3,233,216 persons) declared that their mother tongue was Romanian and somewhat fewer, 57.8% (3,207,880) that their ethnicity was Romanian. The proportion of those who declared that their mother tongue was Hungarian dropped to 26.7% (1,480,712), while that of ethnic Hungarians to 24.4% (1,353,276). They are followed in number by those whose mother tongue was German with 9.7% (540,793), and the ethnic Germans (543,852), amounting to 9.8% (Recensământ 1930, vol. 2: XXVIII–XXIX).

### 1. The ethnic composition of Transylvania in 1930:

|                      | Romanian  | Hungarian | German  | Jewish/<br>Yiddish | Roma    | Ukrainian,<br>Ruthenian | Serb,<br>Croatian,<br>Slovenian | Czech,<br>Slovakian | Other  | Total     |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------|---------|--------------------|---------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|--------|-----------|
| <b>Mother tongue</b> | 3,233,216 | 1,480,712 | 540,793 | 111,275            | 43,653  | 24,217                  | 42,359                          | 40,630              | 31,508 | 5,548,363 |
| <b>Ethnicity</b>     | 3,207,880 | 1,353,276 | 543,852 | 178,699            | 109,156 | 29,607                  | 43,342                          | 46,786              | 35,765 | 5,548,363 |

### 2. The distribution of the ethnic groups of Transylvania in 1930 (in percentages):

|                      | Romanian | Hungarian | German | Jewish/<br>Yiddish | Roma | Ukrainian,<br>Ruthenian | Serb,<br>Croatian,<br>Slovenian | Czech,<br>Slovakian | Other |
|----------------------|----------|-----------|--------|--------------------|------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|-------|
| <b>Mother tongue</b> | 58.3     | 26.7      | 9.7    | 2.0                | 0.8  | 0.4                     | 0.8                             | 0.7                 | 0.6   |
| <b>Ethnicity</b>     | 57.8     | 24.4      | 9.8    | 3.2                | 2.0  | 0.5                     | 0.8                             | 0.8                 | 0.6   |

In 1941, during the Romanian and Hungarian censuses, a total of 5,882,600 persons were registered in Northern and Southern Transylvania: 55.9% (3,288,400) was ethnic Romanian, 29.5% (1,735,700) was ethnic Hungarian, 9.1% (533,600) was ethnic German and 1.4% (82,500) was ethnic Jew (Varga 1998: 364–373). It can be observed, that the number of ethnic Jews was well below the number of those of Jewish/Israelite denomination. This can be attributed to the fact that the majority of the Transylvanian Jewry was culturally Hungarian and had Hungarian, or Hungarian-Jewish identity. During the Romanian census in 1930, pressure was exerted on the Transylvanian Jews to declare themselves ethnic Jews and not ethnic Hungarians. In many cases the commissioners who carried out the census arbitrarily decided to register the Israelites as ethnic Jews. Consequently, the census of 1930 shows that in Transylvania 192,373 people were Israelites and 178,284 were ethnic Jews. In the case of the Hungarian census of Northern-Transylvania in 1941, far fewer Israelites declared themselves to be ethnic Jews.

If we examine the Northern and Southern-Transylvanian data from 1941 separately, it can be observed that in the regions which were reannexed to Hungary the Hungarian population outnumbered

all other ethnic groups. From the 2,590,811 inhabitants 1,069,242 persons (41.3%) declared that Romanian was their mother tongue, and 1,029,493 (39.7%) were ethnic Romanian. 52.1% (1,349,545) declared that Hungarian was their mother tongue and 53.5% (1,386,670) declared themselves ethnic Hungarians. The majority of the population whose mother tongue was German lived in Southern Transylvania, thus, the 1941 census in Northern Transylvania showed only 1.8% (47,556) of German mother tongue. Those who declared themselves ethnic German were even fewer (1.7%, that is 44,704 persons). The proportion of those who declared Yiddish as their mother tongue was 1.9% (49,970). Ethnic Jews made up 1.9% (48,704) of the population.

In Southern Transylvania the ethnic relations were significantly different. Here, out of the 3,332,898 registered inhabitants 68.2% (2,274,561) was ethnic Romanian, 10.9% (363,206) was ethnic Hungarian, 14.7% (490,640) was ethnic German and 1.2% (40,937) was ethnic Jews (Rotariu 2002: 121, 332–335; Gyémánt 2004: 127).

In Transylvania the denominational division roughly followed the ethnic boundaries. The majority of those of Orthodox Christian and Greek Catholic faith were Romanians. Serbs and Ruthenians were also of either Orthodox or Greek Catholic. Roman Catholics and the followers of the Protestant denominations were Hungarians and Germans. According to the data of the 1910 census, those of Orthodox faith were in majority in Transylvania with 34.4% (1,806,960 persons). They were followed by Greek Catholics with 23.7% (1,244,928). The Roman Catholics made up 18.9% (994,748), the Calvinists 13.2% (694,895), the Lutherans 5% (262,383), the Unitarians 1.3% (68,752), and the Israelites 3.5% (182,484) (Kepecs 2001: 20–21).

In line with the earlier tendencies, in 1930 the proportion of those of Orthodox and Greek Catholic faith made up 60% of the population, they were followed by the Roman Catholics, the Lutherans and the Israelites (Kepecs 2001: 22–23).

### 3. The distribution by religion of the population of Transylvania in 1930:

| Orthodox  | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Lutheran | Unitarian | Baptist | Israelite | Other  | Total     |
|-----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------|-----------|---------|-----------|--------|-----------|
| 1,932,356 | 1,385,445      | 947,351        | 696,320   | 274,415  | 68,330    | 37,829  | 192,833   | 13,484 | 5,548,363 |
| 34.8      | 25.0           | 17.1           | 12.6      | 4.9      | 1.2       | 0.7     | 3.5       | 0.2    | 100%      |

In Northern Transylvania a territory which was reannexed to Hungary in 1940, according to the 1941 census there were 37.2% Greek Catholics (960,329). The proportion of the Calvinists was of 22.9% (591,761), that of the Roman Catholics 20.8% (536,204). The majority of the Orthodox population remained in Southern Transylvania, and this can account for the fact that in the territories reannexed to Hungary the Orthodox made up only 8.9% (228,804 persons) of the population. The proportion of the Israelites was 5.9% (151,312), that of the Unitarians 1.9% (49,193), and that of the Lutherans 1.7% (44,313) (Kepecs 2001: 28–29).

It is important to describe the level of urbanisation and the social characteristics of the different ethnic groups in Transylvania from the point of view of the network of educational institutions and the cultural infrastructure of the region. In 1920, 721,546 inhabitants lived in the 40 Transylvanian towns and cities, representing 14.1% of the population. Ten years later the proportion of the urban population grew to 17.2%,<sup>3</sup> and by 1941 to 19.4%. This growth was not only due to demographic changes but also to the fact that some settlements gained town status. Between 1920 and 1941 the number of towns in Transylvania grew by ten (Varga 1998: 187). Examining the level of urbanization of the different ethnic groups, significant differences can be observed on this level. The Jewish population represents one extremity of the continuum, which, due to migration from villages to towns and cities, became typically urban by the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1910 45.3% of the Jewish population lived in towns and cities. By 1930 the urban Jewish population surpassed 56%. According to the 1941 Hungarian census 57.6% of the Northern-Transylvanian Jewry lived in towns and cities. On the other hand, according to the data of the Romanian census of 1941 80.2% of the Jewry from Southern Transylvania lived in towns and cities. This means that 69% of the Jewry of Northern and Southern Transylvania lived in towns and cities (Erdélyi Magyar Évkönyv 1930: 112, Gyémánt 2004: 256). After the Holocaust the proportion of the urban Jew-

3 In that year, that is, in 1930, 20.2% of the population of Romania lived in towns and cities, and 79.8% in villages. Considering the proportion of the urban population, Transylvania was preceded by the following regions: Wallachia (27.1%), Dobrogea (23.8%), Moldavia (24.3%), Bukovina (26.6%). Scurtu 2003: 125.





ish population continued to grow since the majority of the Jews who were deported from villages and survived the Holocaust settled in towns and cities. In 1947, 85.1% of the surviving Jews lived in towns and cities, and by 1956 more than 90% (Gyémánt 2004: 142–143).

As far as the two largest ethnic groups are concerned, namely the Romanians and Hungarians, one can observe significant changes after 1918. In 1910, 55.6% of Transylvania's urban population was Hungarian, 17.6% Romanian, 14.2% German and 9.6% Jewish. In the first few years following Transylvania's annexation to Romania, there was a significant emigration of the Hungarian population to Hungary, and this affected mainly the urban inhabitants. At the same time, the migration of the Romanian population from villages to towns and cities intensified, and there was also a growth in the number of settlements with town status. Under such circumstances, significant shifts in proportions had occurred by 1930. At this time 37.9% of the urban population was Hungarian, and 35% was Romanian. In the case of the German population a slight decrease can be observed (13.2%), while there was slight increase (10.4%) in the case of the Jewish population. This means that at the ethnic Romanian population, which was predominantly rural at beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, underwent a significant process of urbanisation. In 1910, 5.4% of the Romanian population lived in towns and cities and this number grew to 10.5% by 1930. In 1910 the proportion of the urban population among Hungarians was 28.9%, and among Germans 21.7%. By 1930 this number dropped to 27% in the case of Hungarians, and grew to 23.3% in the case of Germans (Livezeanu 1995: 135). In spite of the changes following World War I, the urban societies were still dominated by the Hungarians, Germans and Jews; they were the ones who defined the image of the Transylvanian towns and cities. Consequently, one of the chief priorities of the Romanian nation-building endeavours between the two World Wars was to change the urban ethnic structure. This was attempted by swelling the urban ethnic Romanian class of civil servants and state employees (Kiss 2010: 17).

## 1.2. The Level of Education

In the following I will try to present the level of education and structure of occupation of the population of Transylvania based on the Hungarian census from 1910 and the Romanian census from 1930.

In 1910 51.1% of the population of Transylvania aged over 6 was literate. However, if we examine only the data of historical Transylvania, this number is slightly higher (54%). Still, these figures are well below the total average of the whole of Hungary. In 1910, 67% of the population of Hungary aged over 6 were literate. This indicates a considerable lag of the population of the Transylvanian territories (Karády–Nagy 2009: 12). Yet, by 1930 considerable positive changes had occurred. At this time, 67.4% of the population of Transylvania (the historical Transylvania, the Banat and the Partium (Crişana and Maramureş) aged over 7 was literate, and this represented the highest rate of literacy in contrast with the other regions of Great Romania (Recensământ 1930, vol. 3: X–XI):

### 4. The rate of literacy in Romania's different regions:

| Literacy                              | 1897–1910    | 1930  |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|-------|
| <b>Transylvania</b>                   | 51.1% (1910) | 67.4% |
| <b>Bukovina</b>                       | 45.2% (1910) | 65.7% |
| <b>Old Kingdom</b>                    | 39.3% (1912) | 56.1% |
| <b>Southern Dobrogea (Cadrilater)</b> | 27.9% (1910) | 45.5% |
| <b>Bessarabia</b>                     | 19.4% (1897) | 38.2% |
| <b>On average</b>                     | –            | 57.1% |

The level of literacy varied also at the level of villages and towns, as well as at the level of smaller regions. Taking the population aged over 7 as a basis, the highest proportion of literacy was among the urban population of the Banat (87.5%), and the lowest among the rural population of the Partium (Crişana and Maramureş) (55.1%) (Recensământ 1930, vol. 3: XXVIII–XLIX).

5. The rate of literacy in Transylvania in 1930:

|  | Towns and Cities       |           |      | Villages               |           |      | Total                  |           |      |
|--|------------------------|-----------|------|------------------------|-----------|------|------------------------|-----------|------|
|  | Population aged over 7 | Literates |      | Population aged over 7 | Literates |      | Population aged over 7 | Literates |      |
| <b>Historical Transylvania</b>         | 455,411                | 401,002   | 88.1 | 2,171,979              | 1,397,067 | 64.3 | 2,627,390              | 1,798,069 | 68.4 |
| <b>Banat</b>                           | 151,234                | 132,261   | 87.5 | 663,169                | 455,219   | 68.6 | 814,403                | 587,480   | 72.1 |
| <b>Partium (Crişana and Maramureş)</b> | 244,965                | 210,561   | 86.0 | 910,147                | 501,921   | 55.1 | 1,155,112              | 712,482   | 61.7 |
| <b>Total</b>                           | 851,610                | 743,824   | 87.3 | 3,745,295              | 2,354,207 | 62.9 | 4,596,905              | 3,098,031 | 67.4 |

The gender distribution of literacy among those aged over 7 was the following in 1930 (Recensământ 1930, vol. 3: XXVIII):

6. The gender distribution of literacy among those aged over 7 in Transylvania:

|  | Villages and towns altogether |      |           |      |           |
|--|-------------------------------|------|-----------|------|-----------|
|  | Men                           |      | Women     |      | Total     |
| <b>Historical Transylvania</b>         | 962,435                       | 53.5 | 835,634   | 46.5 | 1,798,069 |
| <b>Banat</b>                           | 317,214                       | 54.0 | 270,266   | 46.0 | 587,480   |
| <b>Partium (Crişana and Maramureş)</b> | 384,651                       | 54.0 | 327,831   | 46.0 | 712,482   |
| <b>Total</b>                           | 1,664,300                     | 53.7 | 1,433,731 | 46.3 | 3,098,031 |

According to the 1930 census, 85.6% of the literate population aged over 7 of Transylvania had primary education. 9, 2% had secondary education, and 1.4% had university or college degrees (Recensământ 1930, vol. 3: XXVIII).

7. The level of education of the literate persons aged over 7 in 1930:

|  | Education outside school or unknown |     | Primary education |      | Secondary education |     | Vocational education |     | University education |     | Other higher education |     | Total     |
|--|-------------------------------------|-----|-------------------|------|---------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|------------------------|-----|-----------|
|  |                                     |     |                   |      |                     |     |                      |     |                      |     |                        |     |           |
| <b>Historical Transylvania</b>         | 16,329                              | 0.9 | 1,542,028         | 85.8 | 162,663             | 9.0 | 40,400               | 2.2 | 18,780               | 1.0 | 8,346                  | 0.5 | 1,798,069 |
| <b>Banat</b>                           | 5,439                               | 0.9 | 508,006           | 86.5 | 53,099              | 9.0 | 11,457               | 2.0 | 4,244                | 0.7 | 2,380                  | 0.4 | 587,480   |
| <b>Partium (Crişana and Maramureş)</b> | 8,415                               | 1.2 | 601,138           | 84.4 | 70,531              | 9.9 | 17,650               | 2.5 | 6,423                | 0.9 | 2,394                  | 0.3 | 712,482   |
| <b>Total</b>                           | 30,183                              | 1.0 | 2,651,172         | 85.6 | 286,293             | 9.2 | 69,507               | 2.2 | 29,447               | 1.0 | 13,120                 | 0.4 | 3,098,031 |

We have accurate data from 1910 only about the historical Transylvania. Since the Hungarian census did not ask about the ethnic identity, we will deal with the 1910 data referring to religion. The overschooling of the Transylvanian/Hungarian Jewry in comparison with other denominations/ethnic groups is a phenomenon commonly known from previous research (Karády 1997: 79). For example, in 1910 on the territory of historical Transylvania only 3.5% of the male population of Jews aged 20-to-24 living in settlements with autonomous legislative entitlement (Cluj, Târgu Mureş) were illiterate, 12.4% of them finished 4 grades and 28.4% finished 8 grades. Among the female Jewish population aged 20-to-24, 2.7% were illiterate, and 2.3% finished 8 grades. In contrast, 44.4% of the urban Greek Catholic male population aged 20-to-24 was illiterate, 1.1% finished 4 grades and 2.8% finished 8 grades. 56.3% of the Greek Catholic female population of the same age was illiterate, and only 0.5% of them finished 8 grades. The figures referring to other denominations are between these two extremities: 6.5% of the urban Roman Catholic male population, 7.2% of the Calvinist male population and 39.2% of the Orthodox male population was illiterate (Karády–Nagy 2009: 278–289).

If we examine this age group at county level (including the villages and the settlements without autonomous legislative entitlement) similar proportions can be observed: 7.2% of the Israelite men and



10.3% of the women were illiterate. 12.2% of the men finished 4 grades, and 13.8% finished 8 grades. In the case of Israelite women these figures are 16.1% and 1.6%. In the case of the Greek Catholic population the lag is even more salient than in the case of the urban population. 56.7% of the Greek Catholic men aged 20-to-24 living in villages or settlements without autonomous legislative entitlement on the territory of historical Transylvania and 73.5% of the women could not read and write. 0.6% of the male population finished 4 grades and 1.6% finished 8 grades. 13.2% of the Roman Catholic men, 16.9% of the Calvinist men, 3.4% of the Lutheran men, 45% of the Orthodox men and 13.4% of the Unitarian men were illiterate (Karády–Nagy 2009: 290–301).

### 1.3. The Social Structure and Professional Elites

Before presenting the educational system itself, I would like to briefly refer to the occupational distribution of the population. In 1930 69.7% of the population were local farmers, 12.6% earned their living from mining and industry and 6.1% from commerce and credit. The public administration and the army employed 1.5–1.5% of the population. The proportion of casual workers was 1.7%, those working in public education made up 0.8% and those in the service of the different denominations 0.6%. All this shows a complex picture in ethnic breakdown. Local farming was the most prevalent occupation among Romanians (81%), while in the case of Hungarians and Germans the occupational distribution was much more balanced. 58% of Hungarians and 54.1% of Germans were local farmers. In line with the earlier tendencies, the proportion of local farmers among Jews continued to be extremely low (9.2%); in turn more than two-thirds of the Jews earned their living from mining and industry (26.7%) and commerce, credit and transport (40.4%) (Kiss 2010: 21).

Consequently, it is evident that the majority of the total population of Transylvania earned their living from agriculture, but the occupational distribution on the level of the different ethnic groups differed greatly. Consequently, there were shifts in the ethnic proportions within the different occupational sectors. All this is closely related to the level of modernisation, the rate of literacy, the level of education and the school and career choices made within the different ethnic groups.

Our data referring to the number of professional elites both in Transylvania and Romania are very scant since the census statistics contain only data referring to the branches of production and occupation (e.g. agriculture, industry, commerce and credit) and do not publish the number of individuals working in the different professions.

With regard to doctors information is offered by the Hungarian Statistical Review [Magyar Statisztikai Szemle]. According to the analyses of Tivadar Szél, in 1937 there were 2,658 doctors in Transylvania. 41.1% of them were ethnic Romanian, 15% ethnic German and 11.1% ethnic Hungarian. Jewish doctors made up 32.1% (Szél 1940: 696). Tivadar Szél's study was published in 1940 after Northern Transylvania was reannexed to Hungary. At that time the law Nr. 1939:IV. on the restrictions in the social and economic area of the Jewry, namely the so called second anti-Jewish law, which discriminated against Jews on racial grounds, was already in force. Szél's statistics reflect this since he publishes the number of the Jewish doctors separately from the Hungarian doctors, although the majority of them were culturally Hungarian and their mother tongue was Hungarian. This is probably the reason why, according to the report, the number of Hungarian doctors was even below the number of German doctors (Szél 1940: 696):

#### 8. The ethnic distribution of doctors in Transylvania in 1937:

|  | Hungarian |      | German |      | Romanian |      | Jewish |      | Other | Total |
|--|-----------|------|--------|------|----------|------|--------|------|-------|-------|
|  |           | %    |        | %    |          | %    |        | %    |       |       |
| <b>Historical Transylvania</b>         | 217       | 14.2 | 226    | 14.8 | 689      | 45.2 | 386    | 25.3 | 7     | 1,525 |
| <b>Banat</b>                           | 23        | 4.9  | 140    | 29.7 | 183      | 38.9 | 120    | 25.5 | 5     | 471   |
| <b>Partium (Crişana and Maramureş)</b> | 56        | 8.5  | 32     | 4.8  | 221      | 33.4 | 348    | 52.6 | 5     | 662   |
| <b>Total</b>                           | 296       | 11.1 | 398    | 15.0 | 1093     | 41.1 | 854    | 32.1 | 17    | 2,658 |

In the Northern-Transylvanian territories annexed to Hungary in 1940 there were 1,136 doctors. They represented 9% of the total number of Hungarian doctors. At the same time, there were 250 pharmacies and 5,130 hospital beds in Northern Transylvania (Szél 1940: 695):

**9. The number of doctors, pharmacies and hospital beds in Northern Transylvania in 1940:**

|                              | Doctors |      | Pharmacies |       | Hospital beds |      |
|------------------------------|---------|------|------------|-------|---------------|------|
| <b>Northern Transylvania</b> | 1,136   | 9.0% | 250        | 12.7% | 5,130         | 8.7% |
| <b>Total of Hungary</b>      | 12,554  | 100% | 1,973      | 100%  | 58,700        | 100% |

Following the reannexation of Northern Transylvania to Hungary, the number of doctors dropped considerably in the region, since 741 Romanian doctors left the region within one year from the territorial changes. Consequently, in 1942 there were only 40 doctors for every 100,000 inhabitants, which was well below the Hungarian average. The Hungarian government tried to compensate for this shortage by bringing doctors from the other territories of Hungary. Even so, the number of doctors in Northern Transylvania rose only to somewhere around 700 (Kovács 2001: 157).

The most significant changes compared to the period between the two World Wars can be noticed in the case of Jewish doctors. On the territories annexed to Hungary the number of Jewish doctors was significant even before the Second Vienna Award (see the data referring to Partium in table no. 8). Consequently, in 1941 44.5% of the Northern-Transylvanian doctors were Jewish, 40% were Romanian and only 15% were Hungarian (Kovács 2001: 157).

We have data from 1935 and 1936 regarding the number of lawyers. According to an estimate from 1935, on 31 December 1935 a total of 2,648 lawyers practiced in Transylvania. 1,265 of them were Romanian, 646 Jew, 535 Hungarian, 186 German and 16 belonged to other ethnic groups (Kiss 1936: 428).

**10. The ethnic distribution of the Transylvanian lawyers in 1935:**

|                  |       |        |
|------------------|-------|--------|
| <b>Romanian</b>  | 1,265 | 47.8%  |
| <b>Hungarian</b> | 535   | 20.2%  |
| <b>Jewish</b>    | 646   | 24.4%  |
| <b>German</b>    | 186   | 7.0%   |
| <b>Other</b>     | 16    | 0.6%   |
| <b>Total</b>     | 2,648 | 100.0% |

The 1936 data somewhat contradict the above presented ethnic distribution, since according to the data of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the proportion of Jewish lawyers was considerably higher. Although the Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not publish statistics for the entire Transylvania, only about the number of lawyers active on the territories of the historical Transylvania and the Banat, it is still evident, that the proportion of the Jewish lawyers was somewhere around 40%. In 1936 the bars of Transylvania and Banat had 1462 members: 60.2% of them were Christian and 39.8% were Jewish.<sup>4</sup>

**11. The number of lawyers in historical Transylvania and Banat 1936:**

|                          | Christian |       | Jewish |       | Total |
|--------------------------|-----------|-------|--------|-------|-------|
| <b>Transylvanian Bar</b> | 670       | 59.2% | 461    | 40.8% | 1,131 |
| <b>Banat Bar</b>         | 210       | 63.4% | 121    | 36.6% | 331   |
| <b>Total</b>             | 880       | 60.2% | 582    | 39.8% | 1,462 |

The Second Anti-Jewish law introduced in Hungary cut the number of Jews employable in liberal and intellectual professions from 20% to 6%. The law permitted the employment of a further 3% of privileged persons. These restrictions also affected the Jewish doctors and lawyers in Northern Transylvania. In 1941 664 doctors applied for membership to the newly reorganised Northern-Transylvanian association of doctors, and almost half of them were of Jewish origin. From these 398 (90.9%) Christian doctors, 37 (8.4%) Jewish doctors and 3 (0.7%) privileged Jewish doctors were admitted. Following the appeal of the rejected applicants an additional number of 97 people gained admittance (Kovács 2001: 159).

The exclusion of Jews can be observed also in the bar associations. A total of 1,315 lawyers applied for admittance in 1941. From these 482 (37%) were Jewish, but according to the Second Anti-Jewish law only 6% and a further 3% of privileged lawyers, thus a total of 9% could be admitted as members. Thus, among the 655 admitted lawyers only 57 (8.8%) were of Jewish origin (Bárdi 2006: 62).

4 *Arhivele Diplomatice. Ministerul Afacerilor Externe, București, Fond: Problema 33 (Chestiuni privitoare la evrei 1900–1948), dos. 10, 240.*



Besides the data referring to doctors and lawyers, data exists from the field of administration of justice. In the mid 1930s in Transylvania there were more than four thousand judges, public prosecutors and civil servants working at courts of law and public prosecutor's offices. As a characteristic of the field of public administration, here the proportion of those belonging to ethnic minorities was considerably low. 74.9% of the judges, public prosecutors and civil servants working at courts of law and public prosecutor's offices were Romanian and 17% were Hungarian (Bírák, ügyészek 1936: 53):

**12. Judges, public prosecutors and judicial and other public servants in Transylvania in 1933 and 1935:**

|             | Romanian |       | Hungarian |       | Other |      | Total |
|-------------|----------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|------|-------|
| <b>1933</b> | 3,118    | 77.6% | 636       | 15.8% | 263   | 6.5% | 4,017 |
| <b>1935</b> | 3,041    | 74.9% | 690       | 17.0% | 329   | 8.1% | 4,060 |

## 1.4. The Culture-generating Institutions

### 1.4.1. The Museums, Adult Education and Film Making

In 1918 fourteen major public collections with 831,000 museum objects became the property of the Romanian State after Transylvania was annexed to Romania. When Northern Transylvania was reannexed to Hungary, 7 of these public collections became Hungarian property again. As far as the libraries are concerned, after World War I twenty-seven libraries with collections of more than 10,000 volumes became Romanian property, this meaning a total of 1,127,552 volumes. Out of these libraries, thirteen became Hungarian property again following the Second Vienna Award in 1940, among them the library of the University of Cluj with a collection of 400,000 volumes. According to the 1912 data, it can be estimated that three-quarters of the museum objects, namely approximately 600,000 objects, and around half of the complete library stock, namely more than 700,000 volumes became again Hungarian property after the reannexation of Northern Transylvania (Asztalos 1940: 779).

We have accurate data about the number of adult education institutions from 1941/1942. In this period there were 527 choral societies in Northern Transylvania. The number of community arts centres and performance halls was 587, that of the libraries was 1,883. Besides these, 175 projectors operated in cinemas (Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv 1944: 249–250).

**13. The adult education institutions in Northern Transylvania in 1941/1942:<sup>5</sup>**

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| <b>Choral societies</b>                             | 527   |
| <b>Community arts centres and performance halls</b> | 587   |
| <b>Public libraries</b>                             | 1,883 |
| <b>Projectors</b>                                   | 175   |

Transylvania joined in the infrastructure of the seventh art very early not only as a market, but also as a film making territory. We know that in 1898 there were projections in a few settlements, such as Alba Iulia, Dumbrăveni, Târgu Secuiesc, Blaj, and one year later in Cluj (Jordáky 1980: 14). Although there were film projections earlier, in Timișoara for example the first movie theatre opened in 1908. Similar institutions functioned in Brașov from 1901, in Cluj and Oradea from 1906, in Sighetu Marmăției from 1911, in Satu Mare from 1912. By the early 1910s cinema reached all the big cities and towns. This is also the period of the beginnings of Transylvanian film making, which was boosted in the first place by the war situation after 1914, because the films produced by French, English and Italian authors were squeezed out from the Transylvanian market due to the outbreak of the war. This favoured the boost of local film making (Jordáky 1980: 26).

The first Transylvanian films were made by cinema owners from Arad, Cluj, Oradea and Timișoara. The first among them was András Udvari, a cinema owner from Cluj, who shot a short film in 1907. Even

5 The figures do not contain the data on the few settlements of Arad county that were annexed to Hungary after the Second Vienna Award.

before that there were produced two documentaries in Arad in 1903. The first feature film-like recording was made also in Cluj in 1913 (Jordáky 1980: 30).

The flourishing and expansion of Transylvanian film making is linked to the name of the theatre manager from Cluj, Jenő Janovics. Until 1919 a total of ninety film productions were made in Transylvania, 68 of which were produced by Janovics himself.

After World War I Transylvanian film making declined, but the cinemas continued to flourish. Between 1919 and 1930 only 18 documentaries, 5 film sketches and 2 feature films were made (Jordáky 1980: 115).

#### 1.4.2. The Press and the Radio

Following World War I a very thriving press life developed in Transylvania. Newer and newer daily and monthly papers, magazines and scientific journals started to appear. While in 1920 there were 50 publications in Romanian language, 36 in German and 82 in Hungarian, by 1929 the number of publications in Romanian language rose to 236, those in German to 70 and those in Hungarian publications to 189 (Anuarul General 1921: 7–16; Bucuța 1929: 1292).

#### 14. Periodicals in Transylvania in 1929:

|                               | Romanian | Hungarian | German | Multilingual (Romanian, Hungarian, German, Yiddish/Hebrew, French) | Other languages | Total |
|-------------------------------|----------|-----------|--------|--|-----------------|-------|
| <b>Number of publications</b> | 236      | 189       | 70     | 64   | 2               | 561   |

In the days following the reannexation of Northern Transylvania to Hungary, the newly installed military administration banned a significant number of these publications. At the time of the Second Vienna Award there were 230 publications in Northern Transylvania, but by 1942 their number dropped to 96. Among the publications banned there were Hungarian, Romanian and German ones alike, since the primary criterion for their suppression was political and not ethnic (Sebestyén–Szabó 2008: 1412; Elekes 1943: 169–172).

#### 15. The number of publications in Northern Transylvania in 1942:

|                              | Number of publications |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| <b>Northern Transylvania</b> | 96                     |
| <b>Hungary</b>               | 1,379                  |

Almost half of the 96 publications were published in Cluj, which with its 41 newspapers occupied the second position in the country after Budapest. In Oradea and Târgu Mureș far fewer publications were published. Due to its status as a capital, Budapest dominated in the field of newspapers (Elekes 1943: 169–172):

#### 16. The number of publications in the major Hungarian cities in 1942:

| Rank | City        | Number of publications |
|------|-------------|------------------------|
| 1.   | Budapest    | 779                    |
| 2.   | Cluj        | 41                     |
| 3.   | Szeged      | 32                     |
| 4.   | Debrecen    | 23                     |
| 5.   | Pécs        | 21                     |
| 6.   | Győr        | 18                     |
| 12.  | Oradea      | 11                     |
| 16.  | Târgu Mureș | 10                     |

We have accurate data about the number of radio subscribers from 1936 and 1937. In 1936 there were 162,132 subscribers on the entire territory of Romania, and 62,852 of these were in Transylvania. At this time there was 1 subscription per approximately 119 inhabitants on a national level, the ratio in Transyl-



vania was 1 per 81. If we break down the number of subscribers into regions, in the historical Transylvania there were 30,731, in the Banat 15,435 and in the Partium (Crişana and Maramureş) 16 686 subscribers altogether. The rapid growth in the number of radio subscribers indicates that in 1937 there were 218,216 subscribers throughout the country (1 subscription per 89 inhabitants). In Transylvania their number rose to 80,561 (1 subscription per 65 inhabitants). On the territory of the reannexed Northern Transylvania there were approximately 30,000 radio subscribers in 1940 (Anuarul Statistic 1940: 549; Asztalos 1940:780).

If we consider the number of radio subscribers as a kind of modernisation index, we can observe that Transylvania was in considerable advantage over the national average. This is supported by the large number of the newspapers published, and the number of libraries and museums. The number of believers per church/synagogue is also indicating this (see chapter 1.4.3. below).

**17. The number of radio subscribers in Transylvania in 1936 and 1937:**

| Radio subscribers | 1936    | 1937    |
|-------------------|---------|---------|
| Transylvania      | 62,852  | 80,561  |
| Romania           | 162,132 | 218,216 |

**1.4.3. The Churches**

In addition to organising religious life, the denominations also undertook culture-generating and educational activities. From this point of view it is important to outline briefly the structure of the most important Transylvanian denominations.

The Orthodox, the Greek Catholic, the Roman Catholic and the Calvinist churches had the most extensive institutional networks. In Transylvania, the Orthodox Church had an archdiocese (Alba Iulia – Sibiu), four eparchies (Arad, Caransebeş, Cluj, Oradea) and a Serbian Orthodox Vicariate (Timişoara), and maintained a total number of 2,781 churches in 1931 (Anuarul Statistic 1933: 366).

The archdiocese of the Greek Catholic Church was in Blaj, and it had four eparchies: Cluj–Gherla, Lugoj, Oradea and Maramureş. In 1931 there were 2,122 Greek Catholic churches in Transylvania. The Transylvanian Roman Catholic Church was organized into four dioceses: the archbishopric of Alba Iulia and the bishoprics of Oradea, Timişoara and Satu Mare. The Calvinists had two bishoprics (Cluj and Oradea) and 810 churches. The Lutheran and the Unitarian Churches had a bishopric each, the former in Sibiu, and the latter in Cluj (Anuarul Statistic 1933: 367).

The religious organisations of the Israelites were not centralised, each congregation was autonomous. This is why the Transylvanian Jewry started to converge institutionally only after the 1868–1869 Universal Jewish Assembly held in Budapest. The organisations established at this point did not fulfil the role of church administration or of organising religious life, but were primarily responsible for keeping contact with the state and perform other administrative tasks. After 1918 the Transylvanian Israelite communities were joined under two organizations: the Central Orthodox Israelite Office of Transylvania (in Bistriţa) and the National Israelite Office of Transylvania and Banat (in Cluj). Still, neither of the two organisations can be regarded as similar to the Christian dioceses (for details see: Gidó 2009: 14).

Consequently, between the two World Wars the six major churches of Transylvania had 3 archbishoprics and 15 bishoprics. In 1931 the Christian denominations had 6,641 churches and the Israelite communities had 215 synagogues. Thus, the total number of churches and synagogues was 5,856 (Anuarul Statistic 1933: 366–367).

**18. Churches on the territory of Transylvania in 1931:**

|                | Dioceses      |           |           | Churches / Synagogues |            |
|----------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|------------|
|                | Archbishopric | Bishopric | Total     |                       | %          |
| Orthodox       | 1             | 4         | 5         | 2,781                 | 40.6       |
| Greek Catholic | 1             | 4         | 5         | 2,122                 | 31.0       |
| Roman Catholic | 1             | 3         | 4         | 508                   | 7.4        |
| Calvinist      | –             | 2         | 2         | 810                   | 11.8       |
| Lutheran       | –             | 1         | 1         | 307                   | 4.5        |
| Unitarian      | –             | 1         | 1         | 113                   | 1.6        |
| Israelite      | –             | –         | –         | 215                   | 3.1        |
| <b>Total</b>   | <b>3</b>      | <b>15</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>6,856</b>          | <b>100</b> |

If we look at the number of churches and synagogues, it is evident, that while the followers of the Orthodox Church made up 34.8% of the population of Transylvania and the followers of the Greek Catholic Church 25%, they owned a disproportionately high number of churches. In 1931 40.6% of the churches in Transylvania were Orthodox and 31% were Greek Catholic. In the same time it is surprising that the proportion of the Roman Catholic churches was 7.4%, while the Roman Catholic believers made up 17.1% of the population. In the case of the other denominations the proportion of the churches owned approximately matched the proportion of the believers.

Further interesting data is offered by the number of believers in each church. If we compare the different regions of Romania, it is evident that the population of Transylvania had a much more developed religious institutional structure than the Old Kingdom, Bessarabia or Bukovina. In the Old Kingdom there were 1,180 believers per one Orthodox church, in Bessarabia 2,372, in Bukovina 2,065, but in Transylvania only 695. Similarly, in the case of the other denominations the greatest number of churches could be found on the territory of Transylvania, except for the Israelites. In Transylvania there were 695 parishioners per a Greek Catholic Church, 860 per a Calvinist church, 894 per a Lutheran church and 605 per a Unitarian church. As for the Roman Catholics there can be observed a lag in this respect, but the figures in their case are still above the national average. In their case there were 1,865 believers per church. In the case of the Israelites there were 897 believers per synagogue in Transylvania, while in the Old Kingdom only 448 (Anuarul Statistic 1933: 366–367).

## 2. The Legal Background and Structure of the Transylvanian/Romanian Educational System

■ Until the end of World War I the educational system of Transylvania was a part of the Hungarian system. The annexation of Transylvania (formerly part of Hungary), Bukovina (Austria) and Bessarabia (Russia) to Romania also meant that the new provinces had to be integrated both legally and administratively into the frameworks of the new state. The most important instrument of the integration of Transylvania was the Directory Council (Consiliul Dirigent) from Sibiu established by a Decree–law passed on 11 December 1918, and which had a kind of administrative role.

The Directory Council, which existed until 1920, took the first measures touching upon education. Nevertheless, the laws and decrees concerning the integration of the Transylvanian system of educational institutions into that of Romania were issued as part of a process lasting for several years. It is also important that the unification of the educational systems of the Romanian regions essentially coincided with the endeavours aiming to reform the whole educational system.

With regard to the ethnic relations within Transylvania, the minorities had an extremely important role concerning the network of educational and cultural institutions. A reference to the educational freedom of the minorities was already included in the 1<sup>st</sup> article of the *Resolutions of Alba Iulia*, adopted on 1 December 1918. In the following year, on 9 December 1919, Romania signed the *Minority Treaty* of Paris, which not only acknowledged the right of minorities to education in their mother tongue but also comprised concrete measures to ensure the practice of this right (art. 9–11.). Article 9 provided for the right of the minorities to set up and operate on their own expenses charitable, religious and social institutions as well as educational institutions and boarding-schools. Furthermore, it stipulated that in these institutions they could freely use their mother tongue and practice their religion without restrictions. The further articles of the treaty ensured the possibility that in the settlements with a considerable minority population, non-Romanian children may learn in their mother tongue in the state primary schools. These contained also the possibility to make the teaching of Romanian language compulsory also for minority children. Furthermore, the equitable state financing of the educational, pedagogical, religious and charitable institutions of the minorities was also ensured (Nagy 1944: 117 and 219).

The Romanian legislation about education following World War I complied only partially with the provisions of the *Resolutions of Alba Iulia* and the *Minority Treaty*. This fact has shown to be detrimental to the public education of the Hungarians from Transylvania, who were previously majority nation, but, in the same ways, also to the German/Saxon and Jewish education, which has also encountered significant difficulties.

During World War I in Transylvania there were 1,014 kindergartens, 5,780 primary schools, 343 trade and commercial schools, 70 gymnasiums (secondary schools also teaching classical languages) and





'real' schools (secondary schools without classical language teaching), 15 theological seminaries and 14 commercial upper schools. On the Transylvanian territories that fell under Romanian rule (the historical Transylvania, the Banat and the Partium) in 1919 72% of the primary schools were run by different denominations and private associations and 28% were financed by the state. Regarding the language of instruction, 44.7% were Romanian and 48.4% were Hungarian schools (Bíró 2002: 351).

The Romanianisation of the Hungarian state schools from Transylvania began in December 1918 under the direction of the Directory Council. The permanent commissioners of the Directory Council took over the inventories of the schools and introduced the compulsory teaching of the Romanian language. Beginning from the following school year, 1919/1920, all the educational institutions owned by the Hungarian state as well as the Royal Catholic Schools were taken into the property of the Romanian state (for details see: Iancu 1970: 251–265).

The Romanianisations brought not only the transformation of the school system (the minority denominations operated schools where the language of instruction was the minority language) but also had an impact on the educational personnel and their situation. Many of the Romanian teachers were absorbed by the newly installed Romanian administration. In case of minorities it was the supply of new teaching staff became problematic (Balogh 1996: 39).

The Transylvanian public education was regulated by a decree passed on 24 January 1919. The decree basically anticipated the spirit of Romanian laws on education which were passed after 1924. With regard to the language of instruction in primary schools, it provided that this should be determined according to the mother tongue of the people/ethnic group forming the majority in the given settlement. It also permitted the establishment of parallel classes with teaching in mother tongue for the ethnic groups living in minority within the settlements. In the case of communal, denominational and private schools and schools run by private associations, the decree passed the power of decision about the language of instruction onto the owner of the school. With regard to the language of instruction in state secondary schools, the decisive factor was the ethnic group forming the majority on the county level; in the case of higher education it was the majority language of the given region that was taken into consideration (Szlucska 2009: 14–15).

In the following I will present in chronological order the main legal provisions regarding education passed after 1924. The organisation of education between the two World Wars took place in several stages. Its main elements were the law on primary education passed in 1924, the law on private education passed in 1925, the law on secondary education passed in 1928 and the one on higher education passed in 1932, as well as the regulations from 1936 regarding commercial and trade school education. The situation of the denominational educational institutions and along with this, basically, the framework of minority education, was determined by the law on private education of 1925. First I will present the framework of state education between the two World Wars, and then the law on private education. Following this, I will deal with the period between 1940 and 1944 which, due to the wholly new geopolitical situation (Northern Transylvania annexed to Hungary and South Transylvania remained part of Romania) and the transformed internal political relations needs a distinct presentation. In the third phase, I wish to present the legal situation of public education in the Transylvanian territories falling again within the same administrative boundaries (of Romania) between 1944/1945 and 1948.

## **2.1. Public Education between 1918 and 1940**

### ***2.1.1. The Primary Education***

One of the main pieces of Romanian legislation on public education, significant also from the perspective of the minorities, was the *law on state primary education and teacher training* (Legea învățământului primar–normal) published on 26 July 1924, which suffered partial modifications in 1934 and 1937. The law regulated the functioning of day-care centres, primary schools, courses and trainings for people above school-age and the special schools dealing with the education of mentally or physically handicapped children within the system of primary education, and that of teacher training schools. As of the frameworks of primary education, the law set up three categories: public state educational institutions, private educational institutions authorized by the state (the functioning of which was regulated in 1925 by a separate law) and education within the family. The law dealt with the first category of this tree: the operation of state educational institutions. All the educational institutions established by the state or by

the communes and counties, and authorized by the Ministry of Public Education belonged to this category. According to the law, the state primary schools were maintained by the respective communes, and the state contributed to their functioning only by securing the salaries of teachers. In the same way, the school-buildings and their facilities had to be maintained by the communes.

According to the provisions of the law of 1924, the organisation and direction of primary education was the exclusive task of the state. The state practiced this right through the Ministry of Public Education. No state or private/denominational school could be established without prior ministerial authorisation and without respecting the legal framework. Besides these, the law also established that primary school education had to function according to a uniform and identical programme across the whole country (Enciclopedia României 1938: 468). The law established Romanian as the language of primary education. Nevertheless, for settlements where the mother tongue of the population was not Romanian, it also permitted the establishment of state schools for the minorities. In these the language of instruction was the language of the respective minority but the teaching of Romanian language also was compulsory.

The minorities were heavily affected by the provision according to which all citizens of Romanian origin who „lost their mother tongue” were bound to enrol their children to state or private schools of Romanian language, even if they lived in a settlement where the majority of the population was not of Romanian mother tongue. Art. 8 of the law also gave right to the school authorities to verify the origins of the children and, based on this, to forbid or allow them to attend minority schools. This provision in many cases led to abuses to the detriment of minorities (Nagy 1944: 121).

Besides providing for the language of instruction and for the legal status of schools, the law on primary education dealt separately with pupils and teachers. Schooling was made compulsory and in the same time free of charge for all school age children. In this sense, it ordered the annual census of school age children (between the age of 5 and 16), which had to be carried out in the period between 1 and 10 September. Truancy was punished with fines.

In the matter of compulsory education the law set up several categories. For children aged 5 to 7 years kindergartens were established which prepared them for primary education. According to the law’s execution instruction of 1926 these institutions had to be operated primarily where „there were Romanians who had lost their nationality” (Nagy 1944: 122). For children aged 7 to 16 years, the attendance of primary schools was compulsory. For teenagers aged 16 to 18 years, so called *adult training schools and courses* were established.

The period spent in primary schools were prolonged from the previous four year period to seven grades. This enlargement process had to be finalised by 1930 in all schools (Kornis 1927: 22). Grades I–IV constituted the lower level of primary education. Their curricula were identical throughout the whole country and they essentially served as the base of the further levels of education. In grades I–IV the following subjects were taught: writing and reading, religious education and ethics, Romanian language, practical arithmetic and geometry, history, geography and constitution of Romania, physics and natural history, hygiene, drawing, singing, physical education, needlework. To all these subjects the teaching of agricultural subjects in case of boys (in villages) and housekeeping in case of girls were added. In the case of minorities the law allowed for the teaching in mother tongue. In contrast, the language of instruction in grades V–VII of state schools was exclusively Romanian (Kornis 1927: 22).

The second level of primary education consisted of grades V–VII. In addition to the deepening and completing of the previously acquired knowledge these grades also had the aim of offering professional training and practical education. Consequently in these grades the curriculum was not uniform but had taken account the regional and local specificities. The subjects remained the same as in the lower primary although here the pupils could acquire a larger amount of knowledge and could also participate in agricultural or industrial training.

The system of adult training schools and courses was established for the illiterate teenagers aged between 16 and 18 years and for those aged between 12 and 18 years who did not finish primary school. Only those persons under 18 were exempt from attending these institutions who had finished grades I–IV of primary school. The language of instruction was exclusively Romanian without taking into account the needs of youth belonging to national minorities. Their curriculum essentially contained the curriculum of grades I–IV in a condensed form.

The teaching of physically or mentally handicapped children was also regulated by the law on state primary school passed in 1924. These special schools were run by the Ministry of Public Education and the Ministry of Health and Public Welfare, but the organisation of the teaching was performed by the Ministry of Public Education.



According to the provisions of the law, only those young people could receive certificates on the graduation of primary school who finished all 7 grades. Regarding the number of pupils it was decided that on the lower levels the number of pupils in a class could be up to 60 and in grades V–VII up to 40. The number of the teaching staff was determined based on the number of pupils. Thus, if the number of pupils was under 60, the respective school had to employ one teacher. In case of a number of students between 120 and 160, three teachers were prescribed, in case of 160–220 four. If the number of students in the lower section of the primary school was above 220, a separate girls' school had to be opened (Enciclopedia României 1938: 469; Kornis 1927: 22).

Regarding the status of the teaching staff the law set up two categories. The first category was that of the *normal teachers* which could be divided in four further groups: temporary teachers (teachers in their first year of appointment following their qualifying examination), permanent teachers (with qualifying examination and with at least 3 years of service), teachers promoted to level II didactical qualification (a permanent teacher who passed a didactical qualification examination) and teachers promoted to level I didactical qualification (the rank could be obtained after 6 years of service and having already obtained level II). The two groups of *assistant teachers* fell into the second category these were people who did not graduate from teacher training schools: temporary substitute teachers (with at least 4 grades of secondary school) and assistant teachers (persons who served as temporary substitute teachers for at least four years or those who finished lyceums (secondary school with training in classical languages offering the Matura) or persons who finished teacher training schools but did not pass the qualifying examination).

The training of teachers was carried out by educational institutions set up especially for this purpose. Teachers were trained both for primary schools and kindergartens in these institutions. The teacher training schools at the beginning functioned with 7, later with 8 grades. In the first cycle of 3 years (later 4 years) the pupils benefited from an instruction similar to that of the gymnasiums. In the last 4 years, in the second cycle, teaching became oriented to professions. One could enter a teacher training school after finishing lower primary school, that is, grades I–IV, and after passing an entrance exam (Statistica învățământului 1931: XI).

According to the art. 228 of the law only those persons could be teachers in the public education who spoke Romanian. Those teachers, whose had other mother tongue than Romanian and already had a qualification, were obliged to pass an examination in Romanian language, in geography, history and constitution of Romania (Nagy 1944: 190). The further education of teachers was ensured by the general teachers' meetings, cultural circles and vocational training courses. For teachers having lost their professional knowledge revision courses were organised.

Separate courses complementing qualification were organised for minority teaching staff who worked in state primary schools where the language of instruction was other than Romanian. In these courses the history, geography and constitution of Romania were taught. The minority teachers, who at the end of the course did not pass their qualification-complementary examination from these subjects, had to attend the course again in the following year. In case of a second failure, they lost their jobs.

The salaries of normal state school teachers consisted of a base salary and of a bonus dependent on the length of service. Assistant teachers without qualification received 75% of the salaries of the temporary teachers with qualification. The length of service bonuses were determined based on the years of work in public education. Thus, those with a 5 year normal service in teaching benefited from a bonus of 25% of their base salary. After 10 years of service, this ratio became 50%, after 15 years 75%, after 20 years 100% and after 25 years 125% (Kornis 1927: 28).

After having presented the law, we should also present the so called *culture-zones*. The establishment of these was detrimental to minorities. The culture-zones were established under art. 159 of the law in counties where non-Romanians lived in majority, or in considerable number. Ethnic Romanian teachers coming from other counties who settled in these counties received a 50% salary bonus and land (10 ha) and could retire earlier (Diószegi–R. Süle 1990: 26). The unconcealed objective of this provision was the speeding up of the Romanianisation of the minorities (Nagy 1944: 123; Livezeanu 1995: 140–141).<sup>6</sup>

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6 The following Transylvanian counties with mainly ethnic Hungarian population belonged to the culture-zones: Ciuc, Trei-Scaune, Odorhei, Mureș-Turda, Bihor, Satu Mare, Cluj, Solnoc-Dăbâca, Turda-Arieș. Besides these, the counties of Durostor and Caliacra of Dobrogea, inhabited by Bulgarians as well as the counties of Vijnița, Zastava, Coțmani, Hotin, Tighina, Cetatea-Albă, Ismail of Bukovina and Bessarabia with Russian and Ukrainian minorities, were also considered culture-zones. Nagy 1944: 123; Diószegi–R. Süle 1990: 26.

The law on state primary education passed in 1924 remained in force until 1939. It was in that year, on 27 May that the *Decree-law on state primary education and teacher training* (Decret-lege pentru organizarea și funcționarea învățământului normal și primar) was issued. The changed internal political relations (in February 1938, the democratic establishment was replaced by royal dictatorship) brought along a new constitution and new laws. The new law on public education put special emphasis on the nation-forming role of the state primary schools. Romanian was named the language of instruction, but in regions where a minority group lived in considerable numbers, the law allowed the establishment of schools teaching in the language of the respective minorities. Similarly to the provisions of the law from 1924, the teaching of Romanian language in schools of minority languages was compulsory. The new law also left the culture-zones in effect (Nagy 1944: 125). In addition to this the law contained a series of reform endeavours. The new law gave more importance to practical education and to the diversification of teaching aids in the schools. This was the first law regulating the Romanian primary education that concretely defined the functioning of the auxiliary institutions within schools: school canteens, pharmacies, gymnastics teams, industrial workshops, agricultural estates, libraries, choirs etc. (Diac 2004: 258).

### 2.1.2. The Secondary Education

Secondary education between the two World Wars was regulated by the *Law on secondary education* (Lege pentru învățământul secundar) published on 15 May 1928. According to the law, secondary education took place in two frameworks: on the one hand in state educational institutions, and on the other hand, in denominational schools, schools run by private associations, or in other schools of private nature defined in the law on private education of 1925.

Although during the years this law underwent several modifications, it remained in force until the passing of the new law on secondary theoretical education in 1939. Secondary education between the two World Wars included the following categories: theoretical education, teacher training, theological seminaries, colleges, industrial education, commercial education, agricultural training and military education (Enciclopedia României 1938: 471). Students who had finished at least lower elementary school, that is, grades I–IV could gain admittance to the various secondary level educational institutions.

Theoretical secondary education took place on two levels functioning independently from each other. The first level consisted of the 3-grade *gymnasiums* where students could be admitted from the age of 11 if they had finished the first four grades of elementary school. On this level general knowledge was acquired. The curriculum was the same in all schools; nevertheless, boys and girls were trained separately. The upper secondary school, the *lyceum* level offered a 4 year instruction, but in these, beyond the deepening of general knowledge, in the first 3 years, professional education was included, too. In the last year the emphasis was placed on the preparation for university studies. Theoretical secondary schools that only ensured lower level instruction, meaning that they only had grades I–III, were called *gymnasiums*. Secondary schools which had only upper grades, that is grades IV–VII or both lower and upper grades (grades I–VII), were qualified as *lyceums*. The fact that the law unified the upper cycles, meant that it dissolved the previous classical, modern and ‘real’ orientations. This was a change compared to the previous structure of secondary schools (Statistica învățământului 1931: XII).

According to art. 17 of the law, students who successfully passed the examination after the third grade obtained a certificate that they had finished gymnasium. Those who wished to continue their studies on lyceum level had to pass an entrance exam to grade IV.<sup>7</sup>

The supply of teachers, that is teacher training was in charge of institutions specially established for this purpose, under the *Law on state primary education and teacher training* of 1924 (see above the presentation of the relevant provisions).

The purpose of the theological seminaries and colleges was to ensure the supply of new generations of clergy. The students were enrolled after having finished the first four grades of primary school. The theological instruction differed from confession to confession. In Transylvania we can speak of three large systems. The first consisted of the seminaries educating Orthodox and Greek Catholic priests that were more related to the ethnic Romanian population. The second system consisted of the seminaries

7 The compulsory entrance examination from gymnasiums to lyceums was prescribed in the law passed on 8 March 1925. Statistica Învățământului 1931: XII.



run by the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant denominations belonging to Western Christianity. The third system consisted of the education of clergy for the Jewry.

The agricultural education was ensured through professional schools and educational courses. School instruction was ensured by first and second degree agricultural schools for boys and girls and housekeeping schools of first and second degree for girls. The courses on agricultural education included several categories, and their common characteristic was that they did not depend on the Ministry of Public Education but on the Ministry of Agriculture. These could be winter agricultural schools for boys and girls, schools for training auxiliary personnel, seasonal agricultural courses as well as agricultural lectures. As what concerns the background of the law, the legal regulation of the agricultural educational system was ensured by the *Law on the organisation of agricultural and housekeeping education of first and second degree and of the popularising education* (Lege pentru organizarea învățământului agricol și casnic de gradul I și II și de popularizare) published on 2 August 1929. Romanian was defined as the language of instruction, but in the regions inhabited by minorities the education in the minority languages was also permitted.

At the beginning of the royal dictatorship, a new law was passed in order to regulate agricultural education. The *Law on medium, lower level and popularising agricultural education* (Lege pentru organizarea învățământului agricol mediu, inferior și de popularizare) published on 30 September 1938 provided that only the state could maintain agricultural secondary schools (Nagy 1944: 133).

The unitary legal regulation of commercial and trade schools came about only in 1936. The *Law on the organisation of secondary commercial schools* (Lege pentru organizarea învățământului comercial secundar) was published on the 1<sup>st</sup> of April. One of the main modifications it brought about was the nationalisation of commercial education and the mandatory use of the Romanian language. Education took place on two levels. To the lower, gymnasium level education of 4 years the students were admitted after they had finished the first four grades of primary school. To the upper, lyceum level of 4 years, graduates from commercial gymnasiums were admitted. Otherwise, the graduates of commercial gymnasiums could continue their studies not only in commercial but in theoretical lyceums as well.

Trade school education was taken in the exclusive competence of the state by the *Law on secondary commercial schools for boys and girls* (Lege pentru organizarea și funcționarea învățământului secundar industrial de băieți și fete) of 16 April 1936. The law defined Romanian as the language of instruction, and distinguished three categories. The 4-grade trade gymnasiums belonged to the first category; in these students could enrol after graduating from grades I–IV of primary school. The second category was that of the lyceum which offered trade education for four years. In these schools students graduating from gymnasiums with theoretical or trade education could enrol. The third category consisted of trade schools which had courses for two years. In these students could enrol after graduation from the first four grades of primary school.

The military lyceums also belonged to the system of secondary education. These offered training for 8 years, and one could enrol in them after finishing grades I–IV of primary school. Besides gaining general knowledge, the students also benefited of military training. These educational institutions were under the authority of the Ministry of Defence (Enciclopedia României 1938: 472–473).

The *Decree-law on the organisation and functioning of theoretical secondary education* (Decret-lege pentru organizarea și funcționarea învățământului secundar teoretic) was published in the year following the adoption of the new constitution of Romania, on 4 November 1939. The law did not change the earlier provisions on state and private schools, or on the right to establish and maintain schools. However, it reorganised the *Matura* system, claiming that due to the too high number of previously obtained *Maturas*, the universities face over-application. The new system was disadvantageous mainly for minority students who did not speak Romanian well, because, according to the law, the knowledge of Romanian language fell under “special judgement” at the *Matura* (Nagy 1944: 129).

A new element of the law of 1939 was the emphasis on Romanian national education. In this respect, it obliged all secondary school teachers to enrol in the National Renaissance Front (Frontul Renașterii Naționale).<sup>8</sup>

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8 The National Renaissance Front was established by King Carol II, following the introduction of the royal dictatorship. The Front took over the place of the banned political parties and functioned as the exclusive political organisation. Its leader was the king himself. Scurtu 2003: 391–393.

In 1940 a new decree-law was passed on the modification of state secondary education (Decret-lege pentru modificarea unor art. din decretul lege pentru organizarea și funcționarea învățământului secundar teoretic din 4. Nov. 1939). In this, the legislator, making a reference to the changed foreign political conditions and to the demands of the Romanian national culture, prescribed the compulsory teaching of either German or Italian language in secondary schools (Nagy 1944: 129).

### **2.1.3. The Situation of the Denominational and Private Schools, and of Schools Run by Private Associations**

Following the Union of Transylvania with Romania in 1918, the Romanian schools of the annexed settlements passed under the authority of the Romanian state. This mainly meant that the language of instruction of the system of state educational institutions changed from Hungarian to Romanian. Beyond the institutional changes, the Romanianisation of schools resulted in the fact that the role of education of minorities in their mother tongue remained in the duty of the denominational institutions.

*The law on private education (Lege asupra învățământului particular)*, regulating the educational institutions run by denominations and private associations and other schools of private nature, appeared in the Official Journal on 22 December 1925. According to the law, any Romanian citizen had the right to establish schools. They could do this either individually or in association, as long as they received permission from the Ministry of Public Education. The control and monitoring of these institutions was carried out by the ministry.

With regard to the language of instruction, the law prescribed that in private educational institutions attended by children whose parents were of *Romanian origin*, the language of instruction was Romanian. In other schools the language of instruction was determined by the maintainer (the respective denomination or association). Nevertheless, only children whose mother tongue was identical to the language of instruction of the respective educational institution could be admitted. This provision meant previously unknown difficulties for the minority denominational schools. Basically, only students who belonged to their own ethnic community could be admitted. In this sense, the law was most detrimental to the Jewry of Transylvania of Hungarian mother tongue and Hungarian identity. Contrary to the earlier practice of the Hungarian State, the Romanian State did not consider them part of the Hungarian nation but as a distinct ethnic minority.

A distinct article dealt with the issue of private schools maintained by Jews. In their case the language of instruction was determined to be either the language of the state that was, Romanian, or "Jewish". Although the ban of Hungarian language meant a serious challenge for Jewish schools where Hungarian was the language of instruction (at first most of the schools were unable to comply with the provisions of the law because neither the teaching staff nor the students spoke Romanian or Hebrew properly), the possibility to choose between Romanian or Jewish language allowed certain loopholes.<sup>9</sup> The law did not define precisely what was understood under the term of Jewish language. This way, the maintainers of the schools could understand it either as Yiddish or Hebrew, at their discretion (Gyémánt 2004: 106).

According to the provisions of the law, independently of the language of instruction of private schools, the geography, history, and constitution of Romania had to be taught compulsorily in Romanian language. In addition, these subjects could be taught exclusively by "qualified teachers who spoke Romanian" (Nagy 1944: 135).

Kindergartens maintained by denominations or other public institutions, and the private kindergartens could teach in the languages of minorities only if there were no Romanians among the children attending. Otherwise, the language of instruction had to be the language of the state.

The independence of private schools was limited by a provision of the law according to which these schools could not issue diplomas only simple certificates. Exceptions from this were only occasional. In this way the students of private schools (minority schools) had to pass their exams in state schools.

9 Attempts to change the language of instruction in Transylvanian Jewish schools had taken place also before the law on private education of 1925. In June 1922 for example, the territorial school-inspectorate of Cluj (Directoratul General Cluj) banned in a decree the use of Hungarian as language of instruction in Jewish schools. *Új Kelet*, 1922, no. 126 (13 June); *Magyar Nép*, 1922, no. 25 (24 June)



Although, according to the general provisions of the law, teacher training schools could not be established by private individuals, the functioning of those established before 1918 and continuously functioning ever since, was permitted to continue. Regarding the teaching staff the law contained a series of prescriptions. It required that teachers possess Romanian citizenship and a qualification similar to that of the teachers of state schools. The knowledge of Romanian language was a basic criterion. This had to be attested by a certificate issued by the Romanian State or by passing a separate exam. The examination consisted of Romanian language knowledge and the history, geography and constitution of Romania. All those who did not pass the language examination within five years from the entry into force of the law could be deprived of their jobs. Only teachers above 55 or with at least 30 years of professional experience were exempt from the mandatory language examination.

#### **2.1.4. The Higher Education**

Until 1932 the functioning of university education was determined by the Romanian law on higher education of 1912. However, the Romanian State, which in the meantime was enlarged with new territories which had different administrative and legal systems before, needed a law which would uniformly regulate university and college level education. This legal need was met by the *Law on university education* (Lege pentru învățământul universitar). However, until 1932 the situation of the higher educational institutions functioning on the new territories annexed to Romania had to be solved. In case of Transylvania, this issue was most conspicuous in the case of the Franz Joseph University of Cluj. In 1919 the Romanian State declared that the university, which previously functioned as an institution of higher education of the Hungarian State, became a state university in Romania starting from the 1<sup>st</sup> of October. This was determined in a law published on 23 September 1919 (Lege pentru transformarea Universității Maghiare din Cluj în Universitate românească). The language of instruction became Romanian, the professorial staff was replaced, and the buildings and facilities (the institutional infrastructure) became the property of the Romanian State. Similarly, the Romanianisation of the University of Cernăuți with German as language of instruction was carried out through yet another law passed in 1919 (Lege pentru transformarea Universității Germane din Cernăuți în Universitate românească) (Nagy 1944: 133–134). Starting from 1919/1920 Romanian became the language of instruction at the Royal Academy of Law of Oradea and starting from the 1921/1922 academic year also at the Academy of Agricultural Science of Cluj and at the Commercial Academy of Cluj (Szlucska 2009: 25).

According to the law on university education of 1932, universities could only be maintained by the state. Exceptions from this were only the theological institutions and military academies. This basically meant that the minorities living on the territory of Romania, or the denominations, associations and private individuals could only establish and maintain institutions of higher education with theological orientation. In other fields private actors could not participate in higher education (Nagy 1944: 134). The military academies were under the authority of the Ministry of Defence.

Only students with *Matura* could be admitted to the Romanian/Transylvanian institutions of higher education. The length of the studies was at least 3 years and the students had to pay tuition and examination fees. The Romanian system of university education between the two World Wars included the following faculties: medicine, veterinary sciences, pharmacy, natural sciences, law, arts and theology. The completion of university studies was attested by a professional diploma or a doctoral diploma. The colleges issued for their graduates certificates similar to university diplomas (Enciclopedia României 1938: 473).

## **2.2. Public Education between 1940 and 1944**

Following the Second Vienna Award of 30 August 1940, Transylvania was split into two parts. Northern Transylvania was re-annexed to Hungary while Southern Transylvania remained part of Romania. Thus, public education in the period between 1940 and 1944 was determined by the legislation of two states. The result of the territorial growth of the period between 1938 and 1941 was not only that Hungary increased its territory, but also that a considerable number of minority populations fell again within its borders. 49.5% of the population of the re-annexed territories were minorities, that is, they were not of Hungarian nationality. The new ethnic relations required new regulations, too: The decree for the new regulation of public primary education for minorities entered into force on 1 February 1941. The decree permitted the education of minorities in their mother tongue, but in the same time the

teaching of Hungarian language became compulsory. In the field of minority education, the Hungarian government followed dual principles. While in the part of the country which remained after Trianon it promoted education in the languages of minorities together with the Hungarian, in the reannexed territories it leaned towards the introduction of full minority education (Tóth 1998: 16–17).

Changes also took place in the field of the organisation of education. The institutional system of Northern Transylvania was aimed to be brought in line with that of Hungary. The Romanian school policy after World War I built on early specialisation. According to this policy, in the trade and house-keeping schools students were enrolled already from the age of ten, and education generally took place on two levels (a lower level of 3–4 or 5 years and a higher level of 3 or 4 years). In some cases, the lower level of these schools could also form an independent unit. However, in Hungary, following the reform of secondary education (Article XI from 1934) there were uniform lower level secondary school sections, namely, gymnasiums. This was complemented by the Article XIII from 1938, which extended the period for making career choices until the age of 14.<sup>10</sup>

Following the Second Vienna Award, the Ministry of Religion and Education of Hungary began the reorganisation of the Northern Transylvanian educational system in line with that of Hungary. The state civic schools abolished by the Romanian Ministry of Public Education were re-established and the royal Catholic institutions of education Romanianised in 1919/1920 were re-Magyarised again. The trade schools of lower level functioning independently were gradually transformed into apprentice schools. Those trade schools that also had higher sections were reorganised into state civic schools. The 4-year trade lyceums for boys and girls were transformed into secondary trade schools. (Only students who had finished at least four years of a state civic school or of a school of equal level were admitted to trade schools). Trade schools of lower level (*școli inferioare de meserii*) were reorganised into trade apprentice schools. Changes also took place in the field of housekeeping and cooking schools. These were transformed into housekeeping and agricultural vocational courses of two years. There were modifications in the field of commercial schools as well. The commercial lyceums for boys and girls were transformed into commercial secondary schools, and the commercial gymnasiums into state civic schools.

### 2.3. Public Education between 1944 and 1948

Until 1948 the system of educational institutions did not go through significant changes compared to the period between the two World Wars.

The public education reform of 3 August 1948 (Decree-law no. 175) was drawn up in a socialist spirit and opened a new age in the history of Romanian public education. It permitted exclusively secular education (other than training for the clergy), in the following structure: pre-school educational institutions (kindergartens and day-care centres), primary schools with two cycles (grades 1–4 for children aged 7–11 and grades 5–7 for students aged 11–14), secondary schools of various types (4-grade vocational schools, lyceums, teacher training schools and technical schools) and higher education (universities and institutions of higher education of university level) (Giurescu 1971: 348).

According to the law, all inhabitants of the country had equal right to education. All denominational and private schools were passed into the property of the state. The provisions concerning higher education laid down two types of institutions of higher education for the future: universities and polytechnical institutes.

The law prescribed the duration of studies in universities to 4–6 years. A novelty was that special schools of 2 years were established. These were meant to compensate for secondary school studies. These schools primarily accepted people with working-class background without the *Matura* who, after finishing these two years, got the right to sit university entrance exams (Nicoară 2010: 347).

Through the reform of 1948, the Romanian education became totally politicised and fell under the control of the Communist Party. At secondary school and university entrance exams working-class students were in advantage while children from the upper middle-class and “kulak” children were discriminated against, in many cases they were not even able to continue their studies. In the view of the communist leadership, the role of schools, among others, was to produce party cadres and loyal party activists (Tismăneanu – Dobrinu – Vasile 2007: 290; Bunescu 2004: 17).

10 *Magyar Országos Levéltár*, Budapest (National Archives of Hungary. In the following: MOL) K592, cs. 689, t. 4, *Erdélyi gimnáziumok nyilvántartása*, p. 195.





### 3. The Transylvanian Educational Institutions between 1918 and 1940

■ Detailed comprehensive statistics regarding the Romanian educational system were carried out primarily between the two World Wars. The data referring to the period between 1919 and 1929 are presented in two statistical reviews published by the Ministry of Education and Religion. The first, published in 1924, contains data on the 1919/1920 and 1920/1921 school years (*Statistica învățământului 1924*) and offers information on the situation of public education in Transylvania (including historical Transylvania, the Banat and the Partium, the Crișana and Maramureș) from the period following its union with Romania. Since the Romanian Government Romanianised the previously state-run educational institutions functioning in Hungarian language, by the early 1920s the Transylvanian network of educational institutions had changed considerably. In 1924 the law on state primary schools and teacher training schools was passed, then one year later the law on private education, which led to further changes in the educational system. These changes can be traced with the help of the statistical review published in 1931, which contains data about the period between 1921 and 1929 (*Statistica învățământului 1931*).

In addition to the above mentioned two reviews, we have four other sources referring to the period between the two World Wars: *The Yearbook of Secondary Level Private Education (Anuarul învățământului particular de grad secundar)* published in 1925, which makes the inventory of the secondary level private schools, denominational schools and of schools run by private associations functioning in the 1923/1924 school year (*Anuarul învățământului particular 1925*). In contrast with the above mentioned reviews covering several years, here all educational institutions are mentioned by name, the report presenting the most important data on each of them (year of establishment, seat, language of instruction, number of pupils, teachers' salaries etc.). Both the yearbook of state secondary schools published in 1925 (*Anuarul învățământului secundar 1925*) and that of the commercial schools published in 1927 (*Anuarul învățământului comercial 1927*) have a similar structure. The fourth corpus presents statistical data about the private and denominational primary schools functioning in the 1939/1940 school year (*Tabloul școlilor primare 1940*).

The Romanian annals of statistics proved to be very important source materials. With their help and the help of the above mentioned reviews almost entire data series could be put together about the time period between 1919 and 1938 (*Anuarul Statistic 1933: 340–365; Anuarul Statistic 1934: 316–347; Anuarul Statistic 1935: 400–433; Anuarul Statistic 1939: 201–267; Anuarul Statistic 1940: 241–299*).

At the beginning of our paper we mentioned that many authors questioned the accuracy of the Romanian statistical findings regarding the number of students learning at the different educational levels and regarding the different ethnic groups and denominations between the two World Wars. I wish to make reference only to the article of András Rónai from 1934, in which he contests the findings of the Romanian statistics regarding minorities. According to Rónai, the fact that “the Romanian educational statistics were put together by Romanian school-inspectors and teachers” was already an issue, since in the settlements mainly inhabited by Hungarians or by other minority ethnic groups it was in their interest to register a higher number of Romanian students and a lower number of minority students than there were in reality. By doing so they could in fact justify the need for their own state-paid jobs. According to Rónai's calculations, in the mid 1920s there were approximately 300,000 Hungarian pupils aged between 6 and 14 in Transylvania. Yet, the Romanian statistics report about 100,000 less. Rónai made his calculations by comparing denominational statistics and census data with the Romanian school statistics (Rónai 1934: 851–871). Even the professionals commissioned to conduct the statistics acknowledged the possibility of data inaccuracy. Still, the data presented here rely on the Romanian statistical publications, since these are the most comprehensive among the available data collections.

The figures referring to the period between the two World Wars are presented based on this corpus of sources. Hereinafter, I will indicate the sources of the tables referring to the period between 1918 and 1938 only if they are other than mentioned above.

Much scantly data collections exist on the years of World War II and the post-war period ending with the nationalisations from 1948. In the case of this period our data are primarily based on János Szlucska's monograph (Szlucska 2009), as well as on a few archival materials and on the volumes of the Hungarian Statistical Yearbook (*Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv*).

### 3.1. The number of school age Children

In the following, we will present the changes in the number of school age population in Transylvania after 1919, and then the educational characteristics of the most numerous ethnic groups living in Transylvania (Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and Jews).

The data on the changes in the number of school age children refer to the period between 1924 and 1937. In 1924 the number of youth aged between 7 and 16 was 744,000. However, from the following year the number of those in the 5–18 age-group exceeded one million. We can see below the changes in the number of school age youth aged between 5 and 18 (see also *Annex 1*):

#### 19. The changes in the number of school age children in Transylvania between 1924 and 1937:<sup>11</sup>

|             |           |
|-------------|-----------|
| <b>1924</b> | 744,070   |
| <b>1925</b> | 1,102,990 |
| <b>1926</b> | 1,053,113 |
| <b>1927</b> | 1,050,706 |
| <b>1928</b> | 1,067,510 |
| <b>1929</b> | 1,051,813 |
| <b>1931</b> | 1,088,688 |
| <b>1933</b> | 1,130,186 |
| <b>1936</b> | 1,187,761 |
| <b>1937</b> | 1,201,716 |

The constant rise in the number of school age children followed the general demographic tendencies in Romania/Transylvania. Between the censuses of 1910 and 1930 the population of Transylvania rose by 5.6%, and between 1910 and 1941 by 12.5%. Between 1925 and 1937 the number of school age children rose by almost 99,000, which means a 9% increase.

Similarly to the ethnic composition of Transylvania, Romanian school age children were in majority, followed by Hungarians, Germans and Jews. Ukrainians/Ruthenians lived in considerable number in the region of Maramureş and Serbs and Bulgarians in Banat (see *Annexes 2 and 3*). The proportion of Romanian, Hungarian, German and Jewish school age children changed as follows:

#### 20. The ethnic distribution of school age children in Transylvania between 1924 and 1937:

|             | Romanian |      | German  |      | Hungarian |      | Jewish |     | Other  | Total     |
|-------------|----------|------|---------|------|-----------|------|--------|-----|--------|-----------|
|             |          | %    |         | %    |           | %    |        | %   |        |           |
| <b>1924</b> | 438,538  | 58.9 | 76,354  | 10.3 | 176,657   | 23.7 | 28,645 | 3.8 | 23,876 | 744,070   |
| <b>1925</b> | 654,785  | 59.4 | 104,185 | 9.4  | 276,199   | 25.0 | 36,851 | 3.3 | 30,970 | 1,102,990 |
| <b>1926</b> | 625,472  | 59.4 | 104,180 | 9.9  | 258,725   | 24.6 | 33,082 | 3.1 | 31,654 | 1,053,113 |
| <b>1927</b> | 636,078  | 60.5 | 97,020  | 9.2  | 251,356   | 23.9 | 34,671 | 3.3 | 31,581 | 1,050,706 |
| <b>1928</b> | 648,279  | 60.7 | 97,036  | 9.1  | 256,116   | 24.0 | 34,607 | 3.2 | 31,535 | 1,067,573 |
| <b>1929</b> | 645,014  | 61.3 | 92,998  | 8.8  | 250,825   | 23.8 | 33,040 | 3.1 | 29,936 | 1,051,813 |
| <b>1931</b> | 672,029  | 61.7 | 96,152  | 8.8  | 253,356   | 23.3 | 33,841 | 3.1 | 33,310 | 1,088,688 |
| <b>1933</b> | 710,136  | 62.8 | 98,572  | 8.7  | 254,974   | 22.6 | 32,197 | 2.8 | 34,307 | 1,130,186 |
| <b>1936</b> | 761,626  | 64.1 | 99,947  | 8.4  | 254,488   | 21.4 | 32,740 | 2.8 | 38,960 | 1,187,761 |
| <b>1937</b> | 781,816  | 65.1 | 96,104  | 8.0  | 251,249   | 20.9 | 33,165 | 2.8 | 39,382 | 1,201,716 |

While the number of Romanian school age children rose constantly in the period between the two World Wars, in the case of the Germans, Hungarians and Jews – in line with the demographic tendencies of the time – a constant decrease can be observed. In 1925 Romanians made up 59.4%, Hungarians 25%, Germans 9.4% and Jews 3.3% of the school age population. By 1931 the proportion of the majority ethnic group rose to 61.7%, and that of the ethnic minorities dropped. This tendency continued and by 1937 the proportion of Romanians rose to 65.1%, that of Hungarians dropped to 20.9%, that of Germans to 8% and that of Jews to 2.8%.

<sup>11</sup> The 1924 item shows only the number of children aged between 7 and 16.



### 3.2. The Kindergartens

The number of kindergartens, which represented in fact the lowest level of education, rose rapidly in the early 1920s. Immediately after the annexation of Transylvania to Romania, there were 257 kindergartens in Transylvania. Out of these 147 were state kindergartens, 62 were denominational, 47 were communal and 1 was private.

21. *The distribution of kindergartens in Transylvania in the 1919/1920 school year:*

|                       | Number of kindergartens                      | Enrolled kindergartens | Actual attendance |              |              | Kindergarten teachers |                             |            |            |
|-----------------------|--|------------------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|------------|------------|
|                       |  |                        | Boys              | Girls        | Total        | Romanian              | Other (not ethnic Romanian) | Total      |            |
| <b>State</b>          | 147  | 6,251                  | 3,030             | 3,069        | 6,099        | 92                    | 60                          | 152        |            |
| <b>Communal</b>       | 47   | 2,964                  | 1,397             | 1,528        | 2,925        | 7                     | 43                          | 50         |            |
| <b>Private</b>        | 1  | 72                     | 35                | 37           | 72           | –                     | 1                           | 1          |            |
| <b>Denominational</b> | <b>Romanian Orthodox</b>                     | 4                      | 406               | 171          | 184          | 355                   | 4                           | –          | 4          |
|                       | <b>Serbian Orthodox</b>                      | –                      | –                 | –            | –            | –                     | –                           | –          | –          |
|                       | <b>Romanian Greek Catholic</b>               | –                      | –                 | –            | –            | –                     | –                           | –          | –          |
|                       | <b>Lutheran</b>                              | 36                     | 2,373             | 1,153        | 1,169        | 2,322                 | –                           | 43         | 43         |
|                       | <b>Calvinist</b>                             | 4                      | 194               | 89           | 92           | 181                   | –                           | 5          | 5          |
|                       | <b>Roman Catholic</b>                        | 15                     | 926               | 438          | 477          | 915                   | 1                           | 17         | 18         |
|                       | <b>Unitarian</b>                             | –                      | –                 | –            | –            | –                     | –                           | –          | –          |
|                       | <b>Israelite</b>                             | 2                      | 125               | 60           | 62           | 122                   | –                           | 2          | 2          |
|                       | <b>Other denomination</b>                    | 1                      | 65                | 31           | 34           | 65                    | –                           | 1          | 1          |
|                       | <b>Total of denominational kindergartens</b> | 62                     | 4,089             | 1,942        | 2,018        | 3,960                 | 5                           | 68         | 73         |
|                       | <b>Total</b>                                 | <b>257</b>             | <b>13,376</b>     | <b>6,404</b> | <b>6,652</b> | <b>13,056</b>         | <b>104</b>                  | <b>172</b> | <b>276</b> |

The language of instruction in state kindergartens was Romanian, and in the settlements where ethnic minorities lived in greater number the language of the respective minority.

Most denominational kindergartens were run by denominations with predominantly Hungarian, German or Jewish members. The Lutherans occupied a prominent position: more than half of the denominational kindergartens were maintained by them. They were followed by the Roman Catholic, Calvinist and Israelite institutions. The ethnic composition of kindergarten teachers can be divided along state and denominational kindergartens. In the denominational institutions only 5 pedagogues were Romanian (6.8%), one of them taught in a Roman Catholic kindergarten and 4 in Greek Catholic kindergartens. In contrast, in state kindergartens Romanian teachers formed the majority with 60.5%. The Romanian teaching staff was also underrepresented in communal kindergartens which functioned in regions mainly inhabited by the minorities.

There are no such detailed statistics on the nature of kindergartens for the following period. Apart from the time period between 1927 and 1929, statistics were carried out only about the development of state kindergartens and the number of children attending these institutions. In this instance, we can witness a considerable growth, mainly after the law on state primary education was passed in 1924, which also regulated the functioning of kindergartens. In the 1925/1926 school year the number of state kindergartens grew by 49.5% compared to the previous year, mainly in the regions inhabited by minorities. The execution instruction of the new law from 1926 urged the establishment of kindergartens in the regions inhabited by "Romanians who lost their ethnicity", and this led to another sudden growth in the number of kindergartens: between 1926/1927 and 1927/1928 the number of kindergartens in Transylvania grew by 36% (Nagy 1944: 122).

The number of private and denominational kindergartens and those run by private associations in Transylvania also increased in comparison with the period after 1918. Still, it is evident that this kind of education was primarily supplied by the state. In the 1927/1928 school year the number of these kindergartens was 79, in the following year their number increased to 89. In these years there were 487, respectively 556 state kindergartens in Transylvania (see also *Annex 4*).

**22. Number of state kindergartens in Transylvania:**

|           | Number of kindergartens |
|-----------|-------------------------|
| 1921/1922 | 99                      |
| 1922/1923 | 125                     |
| 1923/1924 | 173                     |
| 1924/1925 | 208                     |
| 1925/1926 | 311                     |
| 1926/1927 | 358                     |
| 1927/1928 | 487                     |
| 1928/1929 | 556                     |
| 1930/1931 | 673                     |
| 1931/1932 | 675                     |
| 1932/1933 | 666                     |
| 1935/1936 | 763                     |
| 1936/1937 | 807                     |

Almost half of the children who attended state kindergartens were Romanian. The proportion of the Hungarians was 1/3, while that of Germans 9–15%. The proportion of Jewish kindergarteners constantly decreased, which can be attributed to the levelling off of the ethnic proportions. While their proportion was around 8–9% in state kindergartens in the early 1920s, by the 1936/1937 school year this proportion was only 3.5% (see *Annex 5*). The underrepresentation of Romanian children is evident, and this situation persisted also in the period between the two World Wars both in state and denominational kindergartens. Thus, the under- or overschooling tendencies of the different ethnic groups was already visible on kindergarten level.

**23. The ethnic distribution of the growth in the number of kindergartens in Transylvania:**

|           | Romanian |      | German |      | Hungarian |      | Jewish |     | Other |      | Total  |
|-----------|----------|------|--------|------|-----------|------|--------|-----|-------|------|--------|
|           |          | %    |        | %    |           | %    |        | %   |       | %    |        |
| 1921/1922 | 2,125    | 49.1 |        |      |           |      | 406    | 9.4 | 1,797 | 41.5 | 4,328  |
| 1922/1923 | 3,335    | 49.4 |        |      |           |      | 662    | 9.8 | 2,752 | 40.8 | 6,749  |
| 1923/1924 | 5,616    | 50.2 |        |      |           |      | 887    | 7.9 | 4,692 | 41.9 | 11,195 |
| 1924/1925 | 6,915    | 46.1 |        |      |           |      | 1,201  | 8.0 | 6,891 | 45.9 | 15,007 |
| 1925/1926 | 10,201   | 45.7 | 2,589  | 11.6 | 7,489     | 33.5 | 1,703  | 7.6 | 361   | 1.6  | 22,343 |
| 1926/1927 | 12,429   | 45.4 | 4,195  | 15.3 | 8,499     | 31.0 | 1,643  | 6.0 | 640   | 2.3  | 27,406 |
| 1927/1928 | 16,527   | 47.8 | 4,270  | 12.3 | 11,282    | 32.6 | 1,798  | 5.2 | 702   | 2.0  | 34,579 |
| 1928/1929 | 19,244   | 47.6 | 5,606  | 13.9 | 12,642    | 31.3 | 2,058  | 5.1 | 839   | 2.1  | 40,389 |
| 1930/1931 | 19,307   | 45.4 | 4,815  | 11.3 | 15,716    | 37.0 | 1,912  | 4.5 | 738   | 1.7  | 42,488 |
| 1931/1932 | 19,287   | 46.6 | 4,691  | 11.3 | 15,279    | 36.9 | 1,870  | 4.5 | 256   | 0.6  | 41,383 |
| 1932/1933 | 19,526   | 46.5 | 4,651  | 11.1 | 15,077    | 35.9 | 1,925  | 4.6 | 809   | 1.9  | 41,988 |
| 1935/1936 | 21,966   | 48.3 | 4,703  | 10.3 | 15,937    | 35.0 | 1,888  | 4.2 | 983   | 2.2  | 45,477 |
| 1936/1937 | 24,554   | 49.9 | 4,265  | 8.7  | 17,621    | 35.8 | 1,741  | 3.5 | 1,060 | 2.2  | 49,241 |

In the case of private and denominational kindergartens German children were dominant, as the ratio of the maintainers also indicates. They were followed by Hungarians with 20–26%. The number of Romanian and Jewish children was insignificant, although in both cases a slight increase can be observed.

**24. The ethnic distribution of children attending private and denominational kindergartens:**

|                  | Romanian |     | German |      | Hungarian |      | Jewish |     | Other |     | Total |
|------------------|----------|-----|--------|------|-----------|------|--------|-----|-------|-----|-------|
|                  |          | %   |        | %    |           | %    |        | %   |       | %   |       |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 85       | 1.2 | 5,002  | 71.6 | 1,814     | 26.0 | 84     | 1.2 | 4     | 0.1 | 6,989 |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 219      | 2.9 | 5,475  | 73.5 | 1,507     | 20.2 | 236    | 3.2 | 7     | 0.1 | 7,444 |

Detailed data on the confessional distribution of kindergarteners attending state institutions exist starting from the 1925 school year. Between 1925 and 1937 kindergarteners of Orthodox faith made up 30.1–34.3% and those of Greek Catholic faith 13.2–16.9%, which in line with the ethnic figures shows a significant underschooling in the case of these two denominations. The proportion of the mainly Hungarian, and in smaller number, Bulgarian and German Roman Catholics, Calvinists and Unitarians together was 41–47%, while that of German and Hungarian Lutherans was 1.9–3.4%. The proportion of Israelite children, who were mainly of Hungarian culture and attachment, was between 3.5–7.6% in this period.

**25. The confessional distribution of children attending state kindergartens:**

|                  | Orthodox | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other | Total  |
|------------------|----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|--------|
| <b>1921/1922</b> | 1,601    |                |                |           |           |          | 406       | 2,321 | 4,328  |
| <b>1922/1923</b> | 2,492    |                |                |           |           |          | 662       | 3,595 | 6,749  |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 4,232    |                |                |           |           |          | 887       | 6,076 | 11,195 |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 5,126    |                |                |           |           |          | 1,201     | 8,680 | 15,007 |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 7,270    | 2,939          | 6,344          | 3,085     | 488       | 415      | 1,703     | 99    | 22,343 |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 8,610    | 3,954          | 7,578          | 4,059     | 531       | 934      | 1,643     | 97    | 27,406 |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 11,853   | 4,913          | 8,731          | 5,362     | 716       | 1,100    | 1,798     | 106   | 34,579 |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 13,558   | 6,035          | 10,510         | 6,155     | 881       | 1,050    | 2,058     | 142   | 40,389 |
| <b>1930/1931</b> | 12,803   | 6,391          | 11,906         | 7,258     | 1,049     | 918      | 1,912     | 251   | 42,488 |
| <b>1931/1932</b> | 13,272   | 6,335          | 11,506         | 6,694     | 869       | 1,011    | 1,870     | 281   | 41,838 |
| <b>1932/1933</b> | 13,309   | 6,353          | 11,997         | 6,473     | 806       | 918      | 1,925     | 207   | 41,988 |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 15,130   | 7,707          | 11,219         | 7,631     | 807       | 882      | 1,888     | 213   | 45,477 |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 17,142   | 7,980          | 11,515         | 7,933     | 890       | 1,741    | 1,741     | 299   | 49,241 |

**26. The confessional distribution of children attending state kindergartens in percentage:**

|                  | Orthodox | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |
|------------------|----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|
| <b>1921/1922</b> | 37.0     |                |                |           |           |          | 9.4       | 53.6  |
| <b>1922/1923</b> | 36.9     |                |                |           |           |          | 9.8       | 53.3  |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 37.8     |                |                |           |           |          | 7.9       | 54.3  |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 34.2     |                |                |           |           |          | 8.0       | 57.8  |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 32.5     | 13.2           | 28.4           | 13.8      | 2.2       | 1.9      | 7.6       | 0.4   |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 31.4     | 14.4           | 27.7           | 14.8      | 1.9       | 3.4      | 6.0       | 0.4   |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 34.3     | 14.2           | 25.2           | 15.5      | 2.1       | 3.2      | 5.2       | 0.3   |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 33.6     | 14.9           | 26.0           | 15.2      | 2.2       | 2.6      | 5.1       | 0.4   |
| <b>1930/1931</b> | 30.1     | 15.0           | 28.0           | 17.1      | 2.5       | 2.2      | 4.5       | 0.6   |
| <b>1931/1932</b> | 31.7     | 15.1           | 27.5           | 16.0      | 2.1       | 2.4      | 4.5       | 0.7   |
| <b>1932/1933</b> | 31.7     | 15.1           | 28.6           | 15.4      | 1.9       | 2.2      | 4.6       | 0.5   |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 33.3     | 16.9           | 24.7           | 16.8      | 1.8       | 1.9      | 4.2       | 0.5   |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 34.8     | 16.2           | 23.4           | 16.1      | 1.8       | 3.5      | 3.5       | 0.6   |

**3.3. The Primary Education**

While kindergarten education covered only a fraction of children, the system of primary education embraced almost all school age children. In the following we will follow the changes in the number of state primary schools and their teaching staff. Between the two World Wars a considerable increase can be seen both in the number of schools and that of the teaching staff. In 1920 the number of state and

communal primary schools was 1,572. However, in 1921 there were already 3,044 state primary schools, and by 1936 their number increased to 4,570, which meant an almost threefold increase compared to 1921. Yet, in the case of teaching staff this increase was three and a half-fold (see *Annex 5*). The most spectacular changes occurred between 1922 and 1923; in this period 667 new state primary schools were established in Transylvania. The national level school building campaign started in 1922, in the first year in office of the minister of education Constantin Angelescu (Angelescu 1939: 13).

In parallel with the increase in the number of state-run educational institutions, the number of private and denominational primary schools decreased to one third, due to the extremely difficult conditions they had to function in. In 1920 there were 3,223 denominational schools in Transylvania, but by 1927 their number dropped to 1,210.

**27. The number of the different types of primary schools in the 1920/1921 school year:**

|                       | Number of schools                | Enrolled students |         |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|---------|
| <b>State</b>          | 1,218                            | 160,791           |         |
| <b>Communal</b>       | 354                              | 23,134            |         |
| <b>Private</b>        | 19                               | 854               |         |
| <b>Denominational</b> | <b>Romanian Orthodox</b>         | 1,031             | 79,929  |
|                       | <b>Serbian Orthodox</b>          | 34                | 2,467   |
|                       | <b>Romanian Greek Catholic</b>   | 768               | 50,691  |
|                       | <b>Ruthenian Greek Catholic</b>  | 18                | 1,035   |
|                       | <b>Roman Catholic</b>            | 423               | 46,576  |
|                       | <b>Calvinist</b>                 | 669               | 55,232  |
|                       | <b>Unitarian</b>                 | 65                | 1,879   |
|                       | <b>Lutheran</b>                  | 180               | 30,611  |
|                       | <b>Israelite</b>                 | 32                | 4,083   |
|                       | <b>Other denominations</b>       | 3                 | 85      |
|                       | <b>Denominational altogether</b> | 3,223             | 272,588 |
| <b>Total</b>          | 4,814                            | 457,367           |         |

**28. State primary schools and their teaching staff:**<sup>12</sup>

|                  | Boys' | Girls' | Mixed | Total | Number of teaching staff |
|------------------|-------|--------|-------|-------|--------------------------|
| <b>1921/1922</b> | 60    | 71     | 2,913 | 3,044 | 5,867                    |
| <b>1922/1923</b> | 17    | 18     | 3,580 | 3,615 | 5,928                    |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 10    | 8      | 3,673 | 3,691 | 6,048                    |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 14    | 11     | 3,724 | 3,749 | 6,923                    |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 21    | 19     | 3,680 | 3,720 | 7,460                    |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 17    | 17     | 3,810 | 3,844 | 7,774                    |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 20    | 16     | 3,950 | 3,986 | 8,310                    |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 19    | 17     | 4,292 | 4,328 | 8,698                    |
| <b>1929/1930</b> |       |        |       | 4,227 | 8,876                    |
| <b>1930/1931</b> | 16    | 16     | 4,228 | 4,261 | 8,943                    |
| <b>1931/1932</b> | 20    | 17     | 4,248 | 4,285 | 9,028                    |
| <b>1932/1933</b> | 13    | 15     | 4,269 | 4,297 | 9,072                    |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 20    | 16     | 4,468 | 4,504 | 10,195                   |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 29    | 27     | 4,514 | 4,570 | 11,260                   |

<sup>12</sup> The decline in the number of schools between 1929/1930 and 1932/1933 can be attributed to two reasons: Governance was taken over from the Romanian National-Liberal Party by the National Peasant's Party in 1928, which considered the former institution development policy to be exaggerated. In the same time, the setting in of the international economic crisis and its impacts on Romania's economy led to the closure of yet more schools. The second growth took place during the second mandate of the Liberal Party minister of education, Constantin Angelescu, after 1933. Livezeanu 1995: 39.



In the early 1920s 305,000 pupils were enrolled in the few thousand state primary schools. Fifteen years later their number was almost twofold (604,000 enrolled students).<sup>13</sup> Yet, a considerable number of those enrolled did not attend school on a regular basis. For example, in the 1931/1932 school year only 80.2% of the enrolled students did actually attend school. This ratio was even lower in other regions of Greater Romania: in Bukovina only 75.5%, in the Old Kingdom 73.6%, in Bessarabia 54.9%, and in Romania in average 72.3% (Anuarul Învățământului Primar 1933: IV).

Until 1925 statistics only indicated the number of Romanian and Jewish students, and in 1929/1930 they did not publish ethnic breakdown at all. Since the majority of Hungarian and German pupils attended private schools and denominational schools, the ethnic proportions in state schools were in favour of Romanians. For instance, in 1925, 59.4% of school age children were Romanian, and yet their proportion in state schools was 73.8%. On the other hand, the proportion of Hungarian primary school students in state schools was 17.4%, although they made up 25% of school age children. Significant deviation can also be seen in the case of German students, namely 4.2% as opposed to 9.4%. The Jewry did not have such a developed school network as the other minorities, although in larger settlements the congregations had primary schools. Thus, the majority of Jewish school age children attended state schools. For example, in 1925 the proportion of Jewish school age children and that of Jewish children attending state schools was both 3.3%. Later this distribution changed, and just as in the case of Hungarian and German children the number of Jewish students attending state primary schools was below that of Jewish school age children: in 1931 the proportion of school age Jewish children was 3.1% (and their proportion was only 2.8% in state primary schools). The other children either attended primary schools run by the Jewish congregations in the cities, or rural denominational primary schools.

**29. The ethnic distribution of students enrolled to state primary schools:**

|                  | Romanian |      | German |     | Hungarian |      | Jewish |     | Other   |      | Total   |
|------------------|----------|------|--------|-----|-----------|------|--------|-----|---------|------|---------|
|                  |          | %    |        | %   |           | %    |        | %   |         | %    |         |
| <b>1921/1922</b> | 181,049  | 59.3 |        |     |           |      | 9,832  | 3.2 | 114,246 | 37.4 | 305,127 |
| <b>1922/1923</b> | 205,098  | 68.2 |        |     |           |      | 9,334  | 3.1 | 86,324  | 28.7 | 300,754 |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 214,684  | 72.0 |        |     |           |      | 8,703  | 2.9 | 74,581  | 25.0 | 297,968 |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 239,055  | 72.6 |        |     |           |      | 9,265  | 2.8 | 81,123  | 24.6 | 329,443 |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 242,388  | 73.8 | 13,959 | 4.2 | 57,239    | 17.4 | 10,762 | 3.3 | 4,181   | 1.3  | 328,529 |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 254,372  | 73.4 | 17,057 | 4.9 | 57,548    | 16.6 | 10,833 | 3.1 | 6,614   | 1.9  | 346,424 |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 283,105  | 73.6 | 18,171 | 4.7 | 64,995    | 16.9 | 11,522 | 3.0 | 7,005   | 1.8  | 384,798 |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 313,128  | 74.0 | 19,924 | 4.7 | 69,658    | 16.5 | 11,974 | 2.8 | 8,335   | 2.0  | 423,019 |
| <b>1929/1930</b> |          |      |        |     |           |      |        |     |         |      | 460,062 |
| <b>1930/1931</b> | 371,014  | 73.4 | 27,261 | 5.4 | 80,221    | 15.9 | 13,436 | 2.7 | 13,457  | 2.7  | 505,389 |
| <b>1931/1932</b> | 390,109  | 73.2 | 25,429 | 4.8 | 90,268    | 16.9 | 14,863 | 2.8 | 12,310  | 2.3  | 532,979 |
| <b>1932/1933</b> | 419,545  | 73.7 | 26,045 | 4.6 | 96,809    | 17.0 | 15,466 | 2.7 | 11,654  | 2.0  | 569,519 |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 455,652  | 74.5 | 24,201 | 4.0 | 102,463   | 16.7 | 15,350 | 2.5 | 14,165  | 2.3  | 611,831 |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 441,443  | 73.0 | 25,392 | 4.2 | 107,464   | 17.8 | 15,348 | 2.5 | 15,162  | 2.5  | 604,809 |

With regard to the denominational distribution, the figures are similar to that of the ethnic distribution. The proportion of the Orthodox and Greek Catholic students, who were mainly Romanians, was around 70% in the state schools in the period between the two World Wars, that of Roman Catholic students between 12 and 13%, that of Calvinists between 8 and 9%, and that of Unitarians around 1%. The proportion of Lutheran pupils was generally below 1%, while the number of Israelite students was around 3%.

13 In the period after 1921/1922 there was a decrease in the number of primary schools. This can be attributed to the fact that the 1922/1923–1924/1925 generation had been born during the war, when the number of births was lower and mortality was higher compared to peace times.

**30. The denominational distribution of students in state primary schools:**

|           | Orthodox | Greek Catholic | Roman catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other   | Total   |
|-----------|----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|---------|---------|
| 1921/1922 | 125,974  |                |                |           |           |          | 9,832     | 16,9321 | 305,127 |
| 1922/1923 | 134,310  |                |                |           |           |          | 9,334     | 15,7110 | 300,754 |
| 1923/1924 | 132,657  |                |                |           |           |          | 8,703     | 15,6608 | 297,968 |
| 1924/1925 | 143,886  |                |                |           |           |          | 9,265     | 17,6292 | 329,443 |
| 1925/1926 | 148,685  | 94,266         | 39,335         | 28,706    | 3,798     | 2,118    | 10,762    | 859     | 328,529 |
| 1926/1927 | 143,529  | 111,152        | 42,759         | 30,539    | 3,871     | 2,851    | 10,833    | 890     | 346,424 |
| 1927/1928 | 162,340  | 122,111        | 46,760         | 32,970    | 4,482     | 3,342    | 11,522    | 1,271   | 384,798 |
| 1928/1929 | 186,687  | 126,191        | 53,058         | 35,655    | 4,346     | 3,554    | 11,974    | 1,554   | 423,019 |
| 1930/1931 | 243,664  | 141,622        | 50,625         | 42,750    | 5,825     | 4,454    | 13,436    | 3,013   | 505,389 |
| 1931/1932 | 223,630  | 167,923        | 66,385         | 45,972    | 5,915     | 4,881    | 14,863    | 3,410   | 532,979 |
| 1932/1933 | 248,459  | 172,189        | 67,925         | 49,785    | 6,327     | 5,062    | 15,466    | 4,306   | 569,519 |
| 1935/1936 | 249,812  | 194,626        | 77,359         | 54,196    | 7,565     | 8,432    | 15,350    | 4,491   | 611,831 |
| 1936/1937 | 246,789  | 192,679        | 80,358         | 53,387    | 6,206     | 5,022    | 15,348    | 5,020   | 604,809 |

**31. The denominational distribution of students in state primary schools in percentage:**

|           | Orthodox | Greek Catholic | Roman catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |
|-----------|----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|
| 1921/1922 | 41.3     |                |                |           |           |          | 3.2       | 55.5  |
| 1922/1923 | 44.7     |                |                |           |           |          | 3.1       | 52.2  |
| 1923/1924 | 44.5     |                |                |           |           |          | 2.9       | 52.6  |
| 1924/1925 | 43.7     |                |                |           |           |          | 2.8       | 53.5  |
| 1925/1926 | 45.3     | 28.7           | 12.0           | 8.7       | 1.2       | 0.6      | 3.3       | 0.3   |
| 1926/1927 | 41.4     | 32.1           | 12.3           | 8.8       | 1.1       | 0.8      | 3.1       | 0.3   |
| 1927/1928 | 42.2     | 31.7           | 12.2           | 8.6       | 1.2       | 0.9      | 3.0       | 0.3   |
| 1928/1929 | 44.1     | 29.8           | 12.5           | 8.4       | 1.0       | 0.8      | 2.8       | 0.4   |
| 1930/1931 | 48.2     | 28.0           | 10.0           | 8.5       | 1.2       | 0.9      | 2.7       | 0.6   |
| 1931/1932 | 42.0     | 31.5           | 12.5           | 8.6       | 1.1       | 0.9      | 2.8       | 0.6   |
| 1932/1933 | 43.6     | 30.2           | 11.9           | 8.7       | 1.1       | 0.9      | 2.7       | 0.8   |
| 1935/1936 | 40.8     | 31.8           | 12.6           | 8.9       | 1.2       | 1.4      | 2.5       | 0.7   |
| 1936/1937 | 40.8     | 31.9           | 13.3           | 8.8       | 1.0       | 0.8      | 2.5       | 0.8   |

With regard to the private and denominational primary schools, statistics exist from four years, from 1927 to 1929 and from 1935 to 1937. In these years the number of these institutions was around 1,200, and almost all of them were maintained by a denomination. It can be seen that compared to 1920/1921 the number of denominational schools dropped to almost one third by this period. This can be attributed to several reasons. After 1918 the Romanian State took over the administration of the majority of Orthodox and Greek Catholic schools, and in the same time, during 1923 and 1924, closed down hundreds of denominational primary schools for the minorities (Bíró 2002: 354). Similar closing downs took place in 1936 and 1937, mostly in the Szeklerland mainly inhabited by Hungarians (Bíró 2002: 356).

It is worth mentioning that many schools did not have the right to issue officially recognized certificates. This situation can be attributed to the issues concerning the institutions maintained by the minority denominations (Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Israelite), since the law on private education from 1925 rendered it significantly more difficult for denominational and other private schools to obtain this right. One of the difficulties was that the law determined the number of teaching staff with qualifications. In the same time, the law did not prescribe this obligation for state schools. Private primary schools could receive this right if they had at least one permanent teacher among their staff. For the lower level of secondary schools the law prescribed at least two permanent teachers while for the upper level at least four permanent teachers. Obtaining the right to issue certificates meant among other things that the given educational institution had the right to issue nationally valid school reports; otherwise, the students of these institutions had to take their exams in state schools and obtain their school reports there (Nagy 1944: 136–137).



**32. Private and denominational primary schools in Transylvania:**

|           | Type of institution |        |       |       | School maintainer                                    |                |                                  | Functioning                      |   |
|-----------|---------------------|--------|-------|-------|--|----------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
|           | Boys'               | Girls' | Mixed | Total | Private individual, industrial or commercial company | Denominational | Cultural or charity organisation | With right to issue certificates | Without the right to issue certificates |
| 1927/1928 | 29                  | 39     | 1,142 | 1,210 |  |                |                                  |                                  |   |
| 1928/1929 | 27                  | 41     | 1,166 | 1,234 |  |                |                                  |                                  |   |
| 1935/1936 | 30                  | 37     | 1,124 | 1,191 | 3  | 1,185          | 3                                | 950                              | 241                                     |
| 1936/1937 | 26                  | 36     | 1,120 | 1,182 | 2  | 1,179          | 1                                | 975                              | 207                                     |

The majority of the students from non-state schools belonged to one of the ethnic minorities. The proportion of Romanian students in non-state schools was below 1% in this period. On the other hand, the proportion of Hungarians was between 51 and 58%, that of Germans between 32 and 40%, and that of Jews between 3 and 4%. Comparing this to the number of minority students in state schools, one can see that in 1927/1928 46.3% of the Hungarian children and 33.7% of Jewish children attended denominational schools or other private schools, and 53.7%, respectively 66.3% attended state schools. In the case of German children this proportion was the reverse in 1927/1928, that is, 63.3% and 36.7%. Since denominational schools and other private schools were financed by the maintainers and received only minimal and random state support, it can be said that the costs of education of almost half of the minority students attending primary schools were covered by the churches of the minorities.

**33. The ethnicity of the students enrolled in denominational schools and other private schools:**

|           | Ethnicity of enrolled students |     |        |      |           |      |        |     |       |     | Teaching staff |       |
|-----------|--------------------------------|-----|--------|------|-----------|------|--------|-----|-------|-----|----------------|-------|
|           | Romanian                       |     | German |      | Hungarian |      | Jewish |     | Other |     |                | Total |
|           |                                | %   |        | %    |           | %    |        | %   |       | %   |                |       |
| 1927/1928 | 438                            | 0.5 | 31,403 | 32.8 | 55,964    | 58.5 | 3,888  | 4.1 | 3,993 | 4.2 | 95,686         | 2,407 |
| 1928/1929 | 987                            | 0.9 | 35,717 | 32.9 | 63,792    | 58.8 | 4,487  | 4.1 | 3,517 | 3.2 | 108,500        | 2,455 |
| 1935/1936 | 362                            | 0.3 | 41,155 | 37.0 | 60,495    | 54.4 | 3,482  | 3.1 | 5,718 | 5.1 | 111,212        | 2,521 |
| 1936/1937 | 331                            | 0.3 | 46,067 | 40.2 | 59,356    | 51.8 | 3,428  | 3.0 | 5,353 | 4.7 | 114,535        | 2,597 |

Similarly to the ethnic distribution of students attending denominational schools and other private schools, the denominational distribution shows the predominance of the minority denominations. In 1927/1928, 34.6% of the students were Roman Catholic, 33.9% Calvinist, 21.9% Lutheran, 4.1% Israelite, and 2.3% Unitarian. The proportion of Muslims and Baptists in the *Other* category was too small to measure, and even in later years it hardly reached 0.1–0.2%.

**34. The denominational distribution of students enrolled in denominational primary schools and other private primary schools:**

|           | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       |         |
|-----------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|---------|
|           | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other | Total   |
| 1926/1927 | 2,759                         | 421            | 25,978         | 30,734    | 2,036     | 23,796   | 3,659     | 38    | 89,421  |
| 1927/1928 | 2,646                         | 318            | 33,069         | 32,468    | 2,243     | 20,931   | 3,965     | 46    | 95,686  |
| 1928/1929 | 3,243                         | 514            | 35,825         | 34,953    | 5,590     | 23,831   | 4,487     | 57    | 108,500 |
| 1935/1936 | 4,956                         | 171            | 33,110         | 35,895    | 2,422     | 30,993   | 3,482     | 183   | 111,212 |
| 1936/1937 | 4,825                         | 145            | 33,067         | 35,118    | 2,280     | 35,508   | 3,428     | 164   | 114,535 |

**35. The denominational distribution of students enrolled in denominational primary schools and other private primary schools, in percentage:**

|                  | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|
|                  | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 3.1                           | 0.5            | 29.1           | 34.4      | 2.3       | 26.6     | 4.1       | 0.0   |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 2.8                           | 0.3            | 34.6           | 33.9      | 2.3       | 21.9     | 4.1       | 0.0   |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 3.0                           | 0.5            | 33.0           | 32.2      | 5.2       | 22.0     | 4.1       | 0.1   |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 4.5                           | 0.2            | 29.8           | 32.3      | 2.2       | 27.9     | 3.1       | 0.2   |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 4.2                           | 0.1            | 28.9           | 30.7      | 2.0       | 31.0     | 3.0       | 0.1   |

As it has already been mentioned, the number of state-run primary schools increased considerably in the period between the two World Wars due to the intensive development of infrastructure, while the number of denominational schools dropped. As a result, the proportion of state primary schools increased from 32.7% in 1920/1921 to 79.5%. Similarly drastic changes can be observed in the case of students. In 1920/1921 40.2% of the pupils attended state schools and 59.8% attended denominational schools. By 1936/1937 the proportion of students in state primary schools reached 84.1%.

**36. The distribution of primary schools in Transylvania according to maintainers and the proportion of students:**

|                  | Proportion of schools      |  | Proportion of students     |  |
|------------------|----------------------------|--|----------------------------|--|
|                  | State and communal schools | Denominational schools and private schools | State and communal schools | Denominational schools and private schools |
| <b>1920/1921</b> | 32.7                       | 67.3                                       | 40.2                       | 59.8                                       |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 76.1                       | 23.9                                       | 80.1                       | 19.9                                       |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 77.8                       | 22.2                                       | 79.6                       | 20.4                                       |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 79.1                       | 20.9                                       | 84.6                       | 15.4                                       |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 79.5                       | 20.5                                       | 84.1                       | 15.9                                       |

The figures presented show that the expansive educational policy of the Romanian State proved to be successful. The number of students per school continued to be low in the case of denominational schools, and this indicates that the denominational structures could not be eliminated entirely. In the same time, it is evident that the network of denominational educational institutions was entirely minority-focused. Only 0.3% of Romanian primary school pupils attended denominational schools in 1927/1928. In contrast with this, 27.3% of Jewish students, 47.8% of Hungarian students and 64.2% of German students attended denominational primary schools. The proportional differences of the different ethnic groups call for explanation. The Jewish population was mainly urban and maintained fewer schools, thus school age Jewish children attended the state schools. This was also due to the fact that after the law on private education had been passed in 1925, it became increasingly difficult for Jewish students to gain admittance to the educational institutions maintained by other denominations (before the law 55.4% of Jewish students attended also denominational primary schools) (Statistica învățământului 1924: 441). In the case of Hungarian students, the continuous shrinking of the network of denominational schools led to the increase in the number of students attending state schools. Germans enjoyed a relative immunity and their very strong institutional and social organisation resulted in the conservation of their school network.

A similar distribution can be observed in denominational breakdown. Only 2.1% of the Orthodox and Greek Catholic primary school pupils attended confessional schools in 1928/1929, although on national level they were in majority. In the case of the Israelite pupils this ratio was 27.3%, in the case of Roman Catholics 40.3%, in the case of Calvinists 49.5%, in the case of Unitarians 56.3% and in the case of Lutherans, who were mainly Germans, 87%.



### 3.4. The Secondary Education

#### 3.4.1. The Teacher Training Schools

The Romanian statistics of the time categorised the secondary level educational institutions into several types. In the following, we will follow this distribution.

The preparation of primary school teachers was provided by teacher training schools. In the period between the two World Wars the number of state teacher training schools was below 30 in Transylvania. Still, in the course of the years we can observe a gradual increase both in the number of schools and in that of the students and the teaching staff. If we look at the number of enrolled students and at the number of those advancing to higher grades, we can observe that the dropout ratio was between 12 and 15% in this period (see *Annex 6*).

#### 37. Number of students and teachers in state-run teacher training schools in Transylvania:

|           | Number of schools | Students |                                     |      | Teachers (excluding masters) |
|-----------|-------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|------|------------------------------|
|           |                   | Enrolled | Students advancing to higher grades |      |                              |
| 1921/1922 | 16                | 2,766    | 2,389                               | 86.4 | 148                          |
| 1922/1923 | 17                | 3,475    | 2,950                               | 84.9 | 158                          |
| 1923/1924 | 22                | 4,145    | 3,639                               | 87.8 | 198                          |
| 1924/1925 | 25                | 4,927    | 4,293                               | 87.1 | 234                          |
| 1925/1926 | 25                | 5,308    | 4,530                               | 85.3 | 234                          |
| 1926/1927 | 25                | 5,529    | 4,756                               | 86.0 | 256                          |
| 1927/1928 | 30                | 6,526    | 5,592                               | 85.7 | 291                          |
| 1928/1929 | 30                | 6,337    | 5,514                               | 87.0 | 317                          |
| 1930/1931 | 29                | 5,185    | 4,459                               | 86.0 | 374                          |
| 1931/1932 | 28                | 4,449    | 3,987                               | 89.6 | 470                          |
| 1932/1933 | 25                | 3,811    | 3,403                               | 89.3 | 412                          |
| 1935/1936 | 25                | 4,726    | 4,115                               | 87.1 | 433                          |
| 1936/1937 | 26                | 4,860    | 4,266                               | 87.8 | 445                          |

The students of the state teacher training schools were almost exclusively Romanian. In the years between the two World Wars, from which we have data on ethnic distribution, 90% of the students of state teacher training schools were Romanian. They were followed by Hungarian students with a small percentage. The number of German students exceeded 1% only in one or two cases, while that of Jewish students was under 1% throughout the whole period (see also *Annex 7*).

#### 38. The ethnic distribution of students attending state teacher training schools:

|           | Ethnicity of enrolled students |      |        |     |           |     |        |     |       |     |       |
|-----------|--------------------------------|------|--------|-----|-----------|-----|--------|-----|-------|-----|-------|
|           | Romanian                       |      | German |     | Hungarian |     | Jewish |     | Other |     | Total |
| 1923/1924 | 3,933                          | 94.9 | 11     | 0.3 | 189       | 4.6 | 9      | 0.2 | 3     | 0.1 | 4,145 |
| 1924/1925 | 4,672                          | 94.8 | 35     | 0.7 | 199       | 4.0 | 14     | 0.3 | 7     | 0.1 | 4,927 |
| 1925/1926 | 5,078                          | 95.7 | 34     | 0.6 | 149       | 2.8 | 12     | 0.2 | 35    | 0.7 | 5,308 |
| 1926/1927 | 5,339                          | 96.6 | 28     | 0.5 | 125       | 2.3 | 11     | 0.2 | 26    | 0.5 | 5,529 |
| 1927/1928 | 6,279                          | 96.2 | 24     | 0.4 | 177       | 2.7 | 12     | 0.2 | 34    | 0.5 | 6,526 |
| 1928/1929 | 6,102                          | 96.3 | 45     | 0.7 | 142       | 2.2 | 11     | 0.2 | 37    | 0.6 | 6,337 |
| 1935/1936 | 4,394                          | 93.0 | 58     | 1.2 | 202       | 4.3 | 17     | 0.4 | 55    | 1.2 | 4,726 |
| 1936/1937 | 4,526                          | 93.1 | 79     | 1.6 | 188       | 3.9 | 9      | 0.2 | 58    | 1.2 | 4,860 |

From a denominational point of view the majority of the enrolled students were of Orthodox (Romanian speaking) and Greek Catholic faith. The Roman Catholics, Protestants and Israelites hardly made up a few percentage points altogether (see also *Annexes 8 and 9*).

**39. The denominational distribution of students attending state teacher training schools in Transylvania:**

|                  | Denomination of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       | Total |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|                  | Orthodox                          | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |       |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 2,825                             | 1,088          | 101            | 76        | 34        | 11       | 9         | 1     | 4,145 |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 3,475                             | 1,183          | 125            | 78        | 39        | 10       | 14        | 3     | 4,927 |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 3,774                             | 1,319          | 99             | 69        | 27        | 5        | 12        | 3     | 5,308 |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 4,012                             | 1,332          | 95             | 51        | 21        | 6        | 11        | 1     | 5,529 |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 4,366                             | 1,931          | 112            | 68        | 23        | 10       | 12        | 4     | 6,526 |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 4,181                             | 1,937          | 115            | 71        | 17        | 2        | 11        | 3     | 6,337 |
| <b>1930/1931</b> | 3,086                             | 1,830          | 188            | 61        | 17        | 12       | 8         | 1     | 5,185 |
| <b>1931/1932</b> | 2,761                             | 1,468          | 132            | 44        | 20        | 14       | 10        | -     | 4,449 |
| <b>1932/1933</b> | 2,360                             | 1,203          | 135            | 66        | 17        | 18       | 12        | -     | 3,811 |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 2,719                             | 1,683          | 175            | 80        | 34        | 14       | 19        | 2     | 4,726 |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 2,761                             | 1,784          | 177            | 78        | 26        | 16       | 7         | 11    | 4,860 |

**40. The denominational distribution of students attending state teacher training schools in Transylvania in percentage:**

|                  | Denomination of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
|                  | Orthodox                          | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 68.2                              | 26.2           | 2.4            | 1.8       | 0.8       | 0.3      | 0.2       |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 70.5                              | 24.0           | 2.5            | 1.6       | 0.8       | 0.2      | 0.3       |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 71.1                              | 24.8           | 1.9            | 1.3       | 0.5       | 0.1      | 0.2       |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 72.6                              | 24.1           | 1.7            | 0.9       | 0.4       | 0.1      | 0.2       |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 66.9                              | 29.6           | 1.7            | 1.0       | 0.4       | 0.2      | 0.2       |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 66.0                              | 30.6           | 1.8            | 1.1       | 0.3       | 0.0      | 0.2       |
| <b>1930/1931</b> | 59.5                              | 35.3           | 3.6            | 1.2       | 0.3       | 0.2      | 0.2       |
| <b>1931/1932</b> | 62.1                              | 33.0           | 3.0            | 1.0       | 0.4       | 0.3      | 0.2       |
| <b>1932/1933</b> | 61.9                              | 31.6           | 3.5            | 1.7       | 0.4       | 0.5      | 0.3       |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 57.5                              | 35.6           | 3.7            | 1.7       | 0.7       | 0.3      | 0.4       |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 56.8                              | 36.7           | 3.6            | 1.6       | 0.5       | 0.3      | 0.1       |

While state institutions were predominantly attended by Romanian students, the denominational and private teacher training schools were mainly attended by the minority students. The Hungarian and German minorities tried to solve the problem of supplying new teacher generations by providing teacher training in mother tongue. With regard to this, we have data from the period between 1926 and 1928. In these years there were 12–13 denominational teacher training schools in Transylvania and the annual number of students was around one thousand. The ratio of students advancing to higher grades was around 89%. Although the number of students gradually increased in the course of the years, the number of teachers dropped from 150 to 128 in comparison to 1926/1927.

With regard to the maintainers of these schools, in the 1926/1927 school year from the thirteen educational institutions one was maintained by the Greek Catholic Church, seven by the Roman Catholic Church, two by the Calvinists and four by the Lutherans. The Greek Catholic teacher training school was closed down in the following school year, thus, there only remained 12 institutions (see also *Annex 10*).

**41. The students and teachers of teacher training schools run by denominations and private associations:**

|                  | Number of institutions | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades |      | Teaching staff |
|------------------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|------|----------------|
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 13                     | 908               | 811                                 | 89.3 | 150            |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 12                     | 954               | 848                                 | 88.9 | 128            |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 12                     | 1114              | 980                                 | 88.0 | 128            |

The students attending denominational teacher training schools were Hungarians and Germans, except for the 1926/1927 school year, when the proportion of Romanian students attending the still functioning Greek Catholic teacher training school was 19.8%.



**42. The ethnic distribution of students attending teacher training schools run by denominations and private associations:**

|                  | Ethnicity of enrolled students |      |        |      |           |      |        |     |       |       |
|------------------|--------------------------------|------|--------|------|-----------|------|--------|-----|-------|-------|
|                  | Romanian                       |      | German |      | Hungarian |      | Jewish |     | Other | Total |
|                  |                                | %    |        | %    |           | %    |        | %   |       |       |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 119                            | 13.1 | 318    | 35.0 | 465       | 51.2 | –      | –   | 6     | 908   |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | –                              | –    | 339    | 35.5 | 613       | 64.3 | –      | –   | 2     | 954   |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | –                              | –    | 343    | 30.8 | 768       | 68.9 | 3      | 0.3 | –     | 1114  |

In line with the ethnic proportions, the majority of the students were of Roman Catholic, Lutheran or Calvinist faith. Orthodox and Greek Catholic students were registered only in the 1926/1927 school year. The number of Unitarian and Israelite students was also insignificant.

**43. The denominational distribution of students attending teacher training schools run by denominations and private associations:**

|                  | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       |       |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|                  | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other | Total |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 12                            | 109            | 314            | 220       | 10        | 238      | 2         | 3     | 908   |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | –                             | –              | 398            | 291       | 22        | 243      | –         | –     | 954   |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | –                             | –              | 491            | 353       | 25        | 242      | 3         | –     | 1,114 |

**44. The denominational distribution of students attending teacher training schools run by denominations and private associations, in percentage:**

|                  | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |  |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|--|
|                  | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite |  |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 1.3                           | 12.0           | 34.6           | 24.2      | 1.1       | 26.2     | 0.2       |  |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | –                             | –              | 41.7           | 30.5      | 2.3       | 25.5     | –         |  |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | –                             | –              | 44.1           | 31.7      | 2.2       | 21.7     | 0.3       |  |

If we compare the data referring to the ethnicity of students attending state and denominational teacher training schools it turns out that the supply of new teacher generations in the case of minorities was well below normal. In the long run this posed the threat that the already existing teacher shortage would become permanent or would even worsen. This problem was most evident in the case of Jewish students, since they made up only 0.2% of the students attending teacher training schools. In their case the phenomenon had a further aspect. Just like in the case of primary school students, the majority of Jewish secondary school students in teacher training schools attended state schools where the language of instruction was Romanian. If we consider the state educational system to be some kind of channel of integration and assimilation, then we can say that more and more of the Jewish students with mainly Hungarian cultural family background gradually drifted away from the Hungarian culture.

### 3.4.2. The Civic Schools

The Transylvanian network of educational institutions inherited the system of civic schools from the time of the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy. Due to the new Romanian legislation on public education this type of schools ceased to exist by the second half of the 1920s. These 4-grade civic schools basically constituted a transition between primary schools and gymnasiums. Data referring to the number of civic schools, their teaching staff and students exist from the 1919/1920 and 1921/1922–1927/1928 school years.

In the 1919/1920 school year there were 115 civic schools in Transylvania. 49 of these were state schools, 11 were communal and 55 were denominational. Thirty of the denominational schools were run by the Roman Catholics, thirteen by the Calvinists, two by the Unitarians, eight by the Lutherans and two by the Israelites. Almost half of the total teaching staff was employed by denominational schools, almost one third by state schools and a smaller percentage by communal civic schools.

**45. Civic schools in Transylvania in 1919/1920:**

|                       | Number of schools                |        |       | Teaching staff |                |       |     |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|--------|-------|----------------|----------------|-------|-----|
|                       | Boys'                            | Girls' | Total | Boys' schools  | Girls' schools | Total |     |
| <b>State</b>          | 25                               | 24     | 49    | 252            | 240            | 492   |     |
| <b>Communal</b>       | 5                                | 6      | 11    | 74             | 65             | 139   |     |
| <b>Denominational</b> | <b>Roman Catholic</b>            | 7      | 23    | 30             | 63             | 226   | 289 |
|                       | <b>Calvinist</b>                 | 5      | 8     | 13             | 50             | 93    | 143 |
|                       | <b>Unitarian</b>                 | 2      | –     | 2              | 24             | –     | 24  |
|                       | <b>Lutheran</b>                  | 3      | 5     | 8              | 31             | 64    | 95  |
|                       | <b>Israelite</b>                 | 1      | 1     | 2              | 10             | 11    | 21  |
|                       | <b>Denominational altogether</b> | 18     | 37    | 55             | 178            | 394   | 572 |
| <b>Total</b>          | 48                               | 67     | 115   | 504            | 699            | 1,203 |     |

As we can see from the data referring to ethnic composition, civic schools were attended mostly by minority students. Romanian students formed a majority only in the state-run educational institutions. The ethnic proportions in state civic schools more or less corresponded to the ethnic composition of the whole of Transylvania. Jewish students were the only exception from this; for that matter they were overrepresented among students from the point of view of their general level of education, too.

**46. The ethnic distribution of students attending civic schools in 1919/1920:**

|                       | Ethnicity of enrolled students   |      |        |       |           |       |        |       |       |     |        |       |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|------|--------|-------|-----------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-----|--------|-------|
|                       | Romanian                         |      | German |       | Hungarian |       | Jewish |       | Other |     | Total  |       |
|                       |                                  | %    |        | %     |           | %     |        | %     |       | %   |        |       |
| <b>State</b>          | 3,721                            | 60.3 | 569    | 9.2   | 1,350     | 21.9  | 460    | 7.5   | 73    | 1.2 | 6,173  |       |
| <b>Communal</b>       | 309                              | 9.5  | 379    | 11.6  | 2,099     | 64.3  | 444    | 13.6  | 32    | 1.0 | 3,263  |       |
| <b>Denominational</b> | <b>Roman Catholic</b>            | 286  | 5.2    | 859   | 15.7      | 3,875 | 70.9   | 197   | 3.6   | 246 | 4.5    | 5,463 |
|                       | <b>Calvinist</b>                 | 18   | 0.8    | 33    | 1.5       | 1,757 | 80.7   | 370   | 17.0  | –   | –      | 2,178 |
|                       | <b>Unitarian</b>                 | 3    | 1.7    | 4     | 2.2       | 157   | 87.7   | 15    | 8.4   | –   | –      | 179   |
|                       | <b>Lutheran</b>                  | 21   | 1.4    | 958   | 66.0      | 348   | 24.0   | 125   | 8.6   | –   | –      | 1,452 |
|                       | <b>Israelite</b>                 | 2    | 0.6    | –     | –         | 5     | 1.4    | 338   | 98.0  | –   | –      | 345   |
|                       | <b>Denominational altogether</b> | 330  | 3.4    | 1,854 | 19.3      | 6,142 | 63.9   | 1,045 | 10.9  | 246 | 2.6    | 9,617 |
| <b>Total</b>          | 4,360                            | 22.9 | 2,802  | 14.7  | 9,591     | 50.3  | 1,949  | 10.2  | 351   | 1.8 | 19,053 |       |

In the following years the number of civic schools, students and teachers gradually decreased. In 1921 there were 72 such state-run institutions, yet, in 1927 their number was only 27. After this date the system of civic schools ceased to exist.

**47. State-run civic schools in Transylvania:**

|                  | Number of schools |        |       |       | Students          |                                     | Teachers (excluding masters) |
|------------------|-------------------|--------|-------|-------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
|                  | Boys'             | Girls' | Mixed | Total | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades |                              |
| <b>1921/1922</b> | 26                | 35     | 11    | 72    | 11,022            | 9,070                               | 523                          |
| <b>1922/1923</b> | 32                | 38     | 7     | 77    | 11,647            | 9,207                               | 504                          |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 22                | 27     | 4     | 53    | 9,008             | 7,417                               | 360                          |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 19                | 29     | 2     | 50    | 8,023             | 6,620                               | 350                          |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 18                | 29     | 1     | 48    | 7,641             | 6,132                               | 318                          |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 16                | 16     | 1     | 33    | 5,052             | 4,149                               | 226                          |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 12                | 14     | 1     | 27    | 3,423             | 2,824                               | 174                          |

Significant changes can be observed with regard to the ethnic and denominational composition of the students. The proportion of Romanian students increased gradually, while that of Jewish students decreased during the years. The proportion of Hungarian and German students remained approximately the same.

**48. The ethnic distribution of students attending state-run civic schools:**

|                  | Ethnicity of enrolled students |      |        |      |           |      |        |      |       |     | Total  |
|------------------|--------------------------------|------|--------|------|-----------|------|--------|------|-------|-----|--------|
|                  | Romanian                       |      | German |      | Hungarian |      | Jewish |      | Other |     |        |
|                  |                                | %    |        | %    |           | %    |        | %    |       | %   |        |
| <b>1921/1922</b> | 3,630                          | 32.9 |        |      |           |      | 1,230  | 11.2 | 6,162 |     | 11,022 |
| <b>1922/1923</b> | 4,140                          | 35.5 |        |      |           |      | 1,250  | 10.7 | 6,257 |     | 11,647 |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 4,745                          | 52.3 | 907    | 10.0 | 2,397     | 26.4 | 871    | 9.6  | 88    | 1.0 | 9,080  |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 4,072                          | 50.8 | 957    | 11.9 | 2,109     | 26.3 | 732    | 9.1  | 153   | 1.9 | 8,023  |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 3,860                          | 50.5 | 897    | 11.7 | 2,123     | 27.8 | 621    | 8.1  | 140   | 1.8 | 7,641  |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 2,474                          | 49.0 | 643    | 12.7 | 1,296     | 25.7 | 428    | 8.5  | 211   | 4.2 | 5,052  |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 1,709                          | 49.9 | 609    | 17.8 | 877       | 25.6 | 147    | 4.3  | 81    | 2.4 | 3,423  |

Processes similar to the changes in the ethnic distribution can be observed on denominational level, too. The proportion of Orthodox students grew from 33.2% to 43.3% by 1927, while that of the Israelite students dropped from 11.2% to 4.3%. In state-run civic schools Orthodox students were followed in number by Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics and Calvinists in decreasing order. The proportion of the Unitarians and Lutherans was insignificant.

**49. The denominational distribution of students attending state civic schools:**

|                  | Orthodox | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other | Total  |
|------------------|----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|--------|
| <b>1921/1922</b> | 3,657    |                |                |           |           |          | 1,230     | 6,135 | 11,022 |
| <b>1922/1923</b> | 4,156    |                |                |           |           |          | 1,250     | 6,241 | 11,647 |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 3,567    | 1,305          | 2,226          | 901       | 34        | 145      | 871       | 31    | 9,080  |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 3,317    | 924            | 2,027          | 792       | 34        | 163      | 732       | 34    | 8,023  |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 3,084    | 808            | 2,126          | 771       | 55        | 142      | 621       | 34    | 7,641  |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 2,138    | 472            | 1,486          | 416       | 36        | 73       | 428       | 3     | 5,052  |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 1,481    | 275            | 1,188          | 275       | 6         | 46       | 147       | 5     | 3,423  |

**50. The denominational distribution of students attending state civic schools, in percentage:**

|                  | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       |  |  |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|--|--|
|                  | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |  |  |
| <b>1921/1922</b> | 33.2                          |                |                |           |           |          | 11.2      |       |  |  |
| <b>1922/1923</b> | 35.7                          |                |                |           |           |          | 10.7      |       |  |  |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 39.3                          | 14.4           | 24.5           | 9.9       | 0.4       | 1.6      | 9.6       | 0.3   |  |  |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 41.3                          | 11.5           | 25.3           | 9.9       | 0.4       | 2.0      | 9.1       | 0.4   |  |  |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 40.4                          | 10.6           | 27.8           | 10.1      | 0.7       | 1.9      | 8.1       | 0.4   |  |  |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 42.3                          | 9.3            | 29.4           | 8.2       | 0.7       | 1.4      | 8.5       | 0.1   |  |  |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 43.3                          | 8.0            | 34.7           | 8.0       | 0.2       | 1.3      | 4.3       | 0.1   |  |  |

With regard to the denominational civic schools data exist from the 1926/1927 and the following school year. In both years the total number of denominational civic schools was 45: out of these 9 were boys', 34 were girls' and 2 were mixed civic schools. Most of these institutions were maintained by the Roman Catholics, but the Lutherans, Calvinists and Israelites also had a few schools. As in the case of other denominational educational institutions presented previously, the denominational civic schools were maintained by denominations with believers from ethnic minority background. The maintainers of these educational institutions were the denominations the believers of which were Hungarians, Germans and Jews mainly of Hungarian identity/culture. Thus, for instance in the 1926/1927 school year 99.6% of the students belonged to minorities. In that year Romanian students made up 0.4%, Jewish students 7.8%, German students 36.4% and Hungarian students 54.8% of the total number of students.

**51. Denominational civic schools in Transylvania:**

|           |       | Roman Catholic | Lutheran | Calvinist | Israelite | Total |
|-----------|-------|----------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| 1926/1927 | Boys  | 6              | 2        | –         | 1         | 9     |
|           | Girls | 24             | 5        | 4         | 1         | 34    |
|           | Mixed | 2              | –        | –         | –         | 2     |
|           | Total | 32             | 7        | 4         | 2         | 45    |
| 1927/1928 | Boys  | 6              | 2        | v         | 1         | 9     |
|           | Girls | 24             | 5        | 4         | 1         | 34    |
|           | Mixed | 2              | –        | –         | –         | 2     |
|           | Total | 32             | 7        | 4         | 2         | 45    |

**52. Number of students attending denominational civic schools:**

|           |       | Type of institution | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades |
|-----------|-------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1926/1927 | Boys  | 9                   | 1,319             | 1,058                               |
|           | Girls | 34                  | 5,035             | 4,443                               |
|           | Mixed | 2                   | 160               | 134                                 |
|           | Total | 45                  | 6,514             | 5,635                               |
| 1927/1928 | Boys  | 9                   | 1,048             | 823                                 |
|           | Girls | 34                  | 4,316             | 3,767                               |
|           | Mixed | 2                   | 152               | 129                                 |
|           | Total | 45                  | 5,516             | 4,719                               |

**3.4.3. The Gymnasiums and Lower Schools for Girls**

In parallel with civic schools, and gradually taking over their role, gymnasiums represented the next level of primary education. Students could enrol to a gymnasium after finishing the first four grades of primary education. Initially the period of instruction was four years, and then later, after the law on secondary education of 1928, it became three years. In parallel with the decrease of the number of civic schools, the number of gymnasiums, their students and teaching staff grew. In 1923 there were only 18 state gymnasiums in Transylvania, in the following year their number grew to 23, and in 1936 there were already 48 such institutions. There were no gymnasiums for girls in the 1920s; their role was assumed by the 1<sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary schools which also increased in number during the years.

From 1927 mixed gymnasiums started to appear, which were attended both by boys and girls. Then from 1929 the 1<sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary schools were transformed into girl's gymnasiums (see *Annex 11*). From that moment on, statistics contain data referring to boys', girls' and mixed gymnasiums, too. Thus, in the table below from 1930/1931 onward we can see not only data referring to boys' gymnasiums but to all three types of gymnasiums.

**53. Number of students and teachers in state gymnasiums:**

|           | Number of schools | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades | Teachers (excluding masters) |
|-----------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1923/1924 | 18                | 2,054             | 1,684                               | 100                          |
| 1924/1925 | 23                | 2,760             | 2,150                               | 126                          |
| 1925/1926 | 25                | 3,190             | 2,404                               | 152                          |
| 1926/1927 | 26                | 3,185             | 2,483                               | 166                          |
| 1927/1928 | 29                | 3,428             | 2,631                               | 190                          |
| 1928/1929 | 37                | 3,977             | 2,964                               | 236                          |
| 1930/1931 | 57                | 5,379             | 4,131                               | 475                          |
| 1931/1932 | 52                | 6,170             | 5,161                               | 511                          |
| 1932/1933 | 51                | 7,004             | 5,898                               | 497                          |
| 1935/1936 | 49                | 7,520             | 6,352                               | 372                          |
| 1936/1937 | 48                | 7,614             | 6,540                               | 486                          |



**54. Number of students and teachers in first degree girls' secondary schools:**

|                  | Number of schools | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades | Teachers (excluding masters) |
|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 13                | 1,734             | 1,446                               | 91                           |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 12                | 1,815             | 1,400                               | 80                           |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 13                | 1,696             | 1,288                               | 79                           |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 20                | 2,390             | 1,878                               | 121                          |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 23                | 2,823             | 2,207                               | 149                          |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 28                | 2,622             | 1,959                               | 186                          |

The majority of students attending state gymnasiums and lower schools for girls were Romanian, still, together with the decrease of the number of civic schools an increase in the proportion of minority students can be observed in gymnasiums. Thus, in comparison to the early 1920s the number of Hungarian and Jewish students increased considerably by the mid 1930s. This increase can be observed mainly in the case of schools for girls, since two-thirds of the 72 state-run and denominational civic schools closed down in 1928 were girls' schools.

**55. The ethnic distribution of students attending state gymnasiums:**

|                  | Romanian |      | German |      | Hungarian |      | Jewish |     | Other |     | Total |
|------------------|----------|------|--------|------|-----------|------|--------|-----|-------|-----|-------|
|                  |          | %    |        | %    |           | %    |        | %   |       | %   |       |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 1,439    | 70.1 | 253    | 12.3 | 249       | 12.1 | 82     | 4.0 | 31    | 1.5 | 2,054 |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 1,975    | 71.6 | 191    | 6.9  | 444       | 16.1 | 132    | 4.8 | 18    | 0.7 | 2,760 |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 2,396    | 75.1 | 163    | 5.1  | 493       | 15.5 | 131    | 4.1 | 7     | 0.2 | 3,190 |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 2,447    | 76.8 | 165    | 5.2  | 393       | 12.3 | 175    | 5.5 | 5     | 0.2 | 3,185 |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 2,477    | 72.3 | 148    | 4.3  | 526       | 15.3 | 259    | 7.6 | 18    | 0.5 | 3,428 |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 2,450    | 61.6 | 454    | 11.4 | 757       | 19.0 | 213    | 5.4 | 103   | 2.6 | 3,977 |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 4,385    | 58.3 | 854    | 11.4 | 1,474     | 19.6 | 670    | 8.9 | 137   | 1.8 | 7,520 |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 4,780    | 62.8 | 744    | 9.8  | 1,326     | 17.4 | 622    | 8.2 | 142   | 1.9 | 7,614 |

**56. The ethnic distribution of students attending first degree girls' schools:<sup>14</sup>**

|                  | Ethnicity of enrolled students |      |        |     |           |      |        |      |       |     | Total |
|------------------|--------------------------------|------|--------|-----|-----------|------|--------|------|-------|-----|-------|
|                  | Romanian                       |      | German |     | Hungarian |      | Jewish |      | Other |     |       |
|                  |                                | %    |        | %   |           | %    |        | %    |       | %   |       |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 1,091                          | 62.9 | 45     | 2.6 | 400       | 23.1 | 190    | 11.0 | 8     | 0.5 | 1,734 |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 1,135                          | 62.5 | 32     | 1.8 | 422       | 23.3 | 220    | 12.1 | 6     | 0.3 | 1,815 |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 1,148                          | 67.7 | 35     | 2.1 | 324       | 19.1 | 185    | 10.9 | 4     | 0.2 | 1,696 |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 1,596                          | 66.8 | 102    | 4.3 | 466       | 19.5 | 207    | 8.7  | 19    | 0.8 | 2,390 |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 1,688                          | 59.8 | 85     | 3.0 | 609       | 21.6 | 418    | 14.8 | 23    | 0.8 | 2,823 |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 1,528                          | 58.3 | 160    | 6.1 | 641       | 24.4 | 262    | 10.0 | 31    | 1.2 | 2,622 |

Similarly to the changes in the ethnic proportions, there were changes in the denominational structure, too. The proportion of Orthodox and Greek Catholic students showed a decreasing tendency, while that of Roman Catholic, Protestant and Israelite students showed an increasing tendency until 1936.

<sup>14</sup> The number of Jewish schoolgirls doubled in the 1927/1928 school year, due to the fact that in the summer of 1927 the Jewish gymnasium from Cluj was closed down. Thus a considerable number of Jewish schoolgirls were transferred to 1<sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary schools.

**57. The denominational distribution of students attending state gymnasiums:**

|                  | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       | Total |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|                  | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |       |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 1,024                         | 445            | 351            | 121       | 19        | 12       | 82        | -     | 2,054 |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 1,202                         | 776            | 398            | 210       | 19        | 21       | 132       | 2     | 2,760 |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 1,396                         | 999            | 383            | 228       | 20        | 28       | 131       | 5     | 3,190 |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 1,490                         | 785            | 413            | 237       | 24        | 52       | 175       | 9     | 3,185 |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 1,719                         | 751            | 432            | 219       | 16        | 27       | 259       | 5     | 3,428 |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 1,931                         | 589            | 946            | 229       | 7         | 52       | 213       | 10    | 3,977 |
| <b>1930/1931</b> | 1,957                         | 857            | 1,401          | 448       | 19        | 116      | 553       | 28    | 5,379 |
| <b>1931/1932</b> | 2,245                         | 1,036          | 1,433          | 499       | 126       | 114      | 690       | 27    | 6,170 |
| <b>1932/1933</b> | 2,498                         | 1,233          | 1,590          | 594       | 81        | 138      | 842       | 28    | 7,004 |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 3,105                         | 1,272          | 1,650          | 599       | 52        | 149      | 670       | 23    | 7,520 |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 3,417                         | 1,348          | 1,479          | 548       | 40        | 133      | 622       | 27    | 7,614 |

**58. The denominational distribution of students attending state gymnasiums, in percentage:**

|                  | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|
|                  | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 49.9                          | 21.7           | 17.1           | 5.9       | 0.9       | 0.6      | 4.0       | -     |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 43.6                          | 28.1           | 14.4           | 7.6       | 0.7       | 0.8      | 4.8       | 0.1   |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 43.8                          | 31.3           | 12.0           | 7.1       | 0.6       | 0.9      | 4.1       | 0.2   |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 46.8                          | 24.6           | 13.0           | 7.4       | 0.8       | 1.6      | 5.5       | 0.3   |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 50.1                          | 21.9           | 12.6           | 6.4       | 0.5       | 0.8      | 7.6       | 0.1   |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 48.6                          | 14.8           | 23.8           | 5.8       | 0.2       | 1.3      | 5.4       | 0.3   |
| <b>1930/1931</b> | 36.4                          | 15.9           | 26.0           | 8.3       | 0.4       | 2.2      | 10.3      | 0.5   |
| <b>1931/1932</b> | 36.4                          | 16.8           | 23.2           | 8.1       | 2.0       | 1.8      | 11.2      | 0.4   |
| <b>1932/1933</b> | 35.7                          | 17.6           | 22.7           | 8.5       | 1.2       | 2.0      | 12.0      | 0.4   |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 41.3                          | 16.9           | 21.9           | 8.0       | 0.7       | 2.0      | 8.9       | 0.3   |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 44.9                          | 17.7           | 19.4           | 7.2       | 0.5       | 1.7      | 8.2       | 0.4   |

**59. The denominational distribution of students attending 1<sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary schools:**

|                  | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       | Total |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|                  | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |       |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 437                           | 629            | 211            | 202       | 33        | 24       | 190       | 8     | 1,734 |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 434                           | 690            | 223            | 195       | 30        | 19       | 220       | 4     | 1,815 |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 532                           | 599            | 183            | 147       | 32        | 18       | 185       | -     | 1,696 |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 931                           | 627            | 358            | 196       | 21        | 50       | 207       | -     | 2,390 |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 999                           | 692            | 401            | 208       | 28        | 66       | 418       | 11    | 2,823 |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 1,031                         | 486            | 544            | 258       | 5         | 28       | 262       | 8     | 2,622 |

**60. The denominational distribution of students attending 1<sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary schools, in percentage:**

|                  | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
|                  | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 25.2                          | 36.3           | 12.2           | 11.6      | 1.9       | 1.4      | 11.0      |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 23.9                          | 38.0           | 12.3           | 10.7      | 1.7       | 1.0      | 12.1      |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 31.4                          | 35.3           | 10.8           | 8.7       | 1.9       | 1.1      | 10.9      |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 39.0                          | 26.2           | 15.0           | 8.2       | 0.9       | 2.1      | 8.7       |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 35.4                          | 24.5           | 14.2           | 7.4       | 1.0       | 2.3      | 14.8      |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 39.3                          | 18.5           | 20.7           | 9.8       | 0.2       | 1.1      | 10.0      |



With regard to denominational gymnasiums data exist from the period between 1926 and 1928. During this time the number of gymnasiums grew rapidly as a consequence of the law on secondary education passed in May 1928, which clarified the situation of secondary education. This growth can also be witnessed in the case of denominational schools, since before the passing of the law there were 11 boys' gymnasiums and 1<sup>st</sup> degree girls' schools, while in the 1928/1929 school year their number was already 45.

**61. The distribution of denominational gymnasiums in Transylvania:**

|           |   | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Lutheran | Israelite |
|-----------|---|----------------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| 1926/1927 | Boys' gymnasiums                                | –              | –         | 3        | –         |
|           | 1 <sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | –              | 3         | 2        | 2         |
| 1927/1928 | Boys' gymnasiums                                | –              | –         | 3        | –         |
|           | 1 <sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | –              | 4         | 2        | 2         |
| 1928/1929 | Boys' gymnasiums                                | 2              | 1         | 3        | 1         |
|           | 1 <sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 22             | 6         | 6        | 2         |
|           | Mixed schools                                   | 2              | –         | –        | –         |

A similar growth can be observed in the case of the number of students. In 1926/1927 a total of 1,001 students were enrolled in the denominational boys' gymnasiums and lower girls' schools. Two years later the number of enrolled students was already above 4,300. In denominational institutions the dropout proportion among the students was lower. Comparing the figures of state gymnasiums for boys' and those mixed with those of similar grades in denominational institutions, one can see a difference of a few percentage points. In 1926/1927 86.7% of the students of denominational boys' and mixed gymnasiums advanced to higher grades, while in the state-run institutions this proportion was only 78%. In the next two years this difference diminished: in 1927/1928 these proportions were already 82.4% and 76.8%, and in the following year 76% and 74.5%.

**62. Number of students and teachers in denominational gymnasiums:**

|           |   | Number of schools | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades | Teachers (excluding masters) |
|-----------|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1926/1927 | Boys' gymnasiums                                | 3                 | 263               | 228                                 | 24                           |
|           | 1 <sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 7                 | 738               | 639                                 | 75                           |
|           | Mixed schools                                   | –                 | –                 | –                                   | –                            |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 10                | 1001              | 867                                 | 99                           |
| 1927/1928 | Boys' gymnasiums                                | 3                 | 205               | 169                                 | 22                           |
|           | 1 <sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 8                 | 615               | 529                                 | 61                           |
|           | Mixed schools                                   | –                 | –                 | –                                   | –                            |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 11                | 820               | 698                                 | 83                           |
| 1928/1929 | Boys' gymnasiums                                | 7                 | 605               | 454                                 | 55                           |
|           | 1 <sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 36                | 3,587             | 2,924                               | 292                          |
|           | Mixed schools                                   | 2                 | 149               | 119                                 | 10                           |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 45                | 4,341             | 3,497                               | 357                          |

The denominational gymnasiums and lower girls' schools were maintained primarily by minority denominations, and consequently, these institutions were mainly attended by minority pupils. The proportion of Romanian students in these two types of schools was only around 1–2%, while the proportion of Hungarian and German students was the highest. Jewish students were similarly overrepresented.

**63. The ethnic distribution of students attending denominational gymnasiums:**

|           |   | Ethnicity of enrolled students |     |        |      |           |       |        |      |       |     | Total |
|-----------|---|--------------------------------|-----|--------|------|-----------|-------|--------|------|-------|-----|-------|
|           |   | Romanian                       |     | German |      | Hungarian |       | Jewish |      | Other |     |       |
| 1926/1927 | Boys' gymnasiums                                | 15                             | 5.7 | 153    | 58.2 | 66        | 25.1  | 28     | 10.6 | 1     | 0.4 | 263   |
|           | 1 <sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 9                              | 1.2 | 138    | 18.7 | 428       | 58.0  | 162    | 22.0 | 1     | 0.1 | 738   |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 24                             | 2.4 | 291    | 29.1 | 494       | 49.4  | 190    | 19.0 | 2     | 0.2 | 1,001 |
| 1927/1928 | Boys' gymnasiums                                | 1                              | 0.5 | 131    | 63.9 | 56        | 27.3  | 14     | 6.8  | 3     | 1.5 | 205   |
|           | 1 <sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 11                             | 1.8 | 121    | 19.7 | 372       | 60.5  | 109    | 17.7 | 2     | 0.3 | 615   |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 12                             | 1.5 | 252    | 30.7 | 428       | 52.2  | 123    | 15.0 | 5     | 0.6 | 820   |
| 1928/1929 | Boys' gymnasium                                 | –                              | –   | 226    | 37.4 | 240       | 39.7  | 137    | 22.6 | 2     | 0.3 | 605   |
|           | 1 <sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 7                              | 0.2 | 1,271  | 35.4 | 1909      | 53.2  | 253    | 7.1  | 147   | 4.1 | 3,587 |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | –                              | –   | –      | –    | 149       | 100.0 | –      | –    | –     | –   | 149   |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 7                              | 0.2 | 1,497  | 34.5 | 2,298     | 52.9  | 390    | 9.0  | 149   | 3.4 | 4,341 |

The denominational distribution reflected the ethnic proportions. Thus, in these institutions there were barely any Orthodox or Greek Catholic pupils. The majority of the students were Roman Catholic, Protestant or Israelite.

**64. The denominational distribution of students attending denominational gymnasiums:**

|           |   | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       | Total |
|-----------|---|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|           |   | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |       |
| 1926/1927 | Boys' gymnasiums                                | 10                            | 5              | 32             | 12        | –         | 175      | 28        | 1     | 263   |
|           | 1 <sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 1                             | 9              | 67             | 267       | 40        | 192      | 162       | –     | 738   |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 11                            | 14             | 99             | 279       | 40        | 367      | 190       | 1     | 1,001 |
| 1927/1928 | Boys' gymnasiums                                | –                             | 1              | 23             | 10        | –         | 157      | 14        | –     | 205   |
|           | 1 <sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 5                             | 6              | 57             | 240       | 32        | 166      | 109       | –     | 615   |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 5                             | 7              | 80             | 250       | 32        | 323      | 123       | –     | 820   |
| 1928/1929 | Boys' gymnasiums                                | –                             | –              | 191            | 72        | –         | 205      | 137       | –     | 605   |
|           | 1 <sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 5                             | 4              | 1,975          | 660       | 51        | 625      | 253       | 14    | 3,587 |
|           | Mixed   | –                             | –              | 146            | 3         | –         | –        | –         | –     | 149   |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 5                             | 4              | 2,312          | 735       | 51        | 830      | 390       | 14    | 4,341 |

**65. The denominational distribution of students attending denominational gymnasiums, in percentage:**

|           |   | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |
|-----------|---|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
|           |   | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite |
| 1926/1927 | Boys' gymnasiums                                | 3.8                           | 1.9            | 12.2           | 4.6       | –         | 66.5     | 10.6      |
|           | 1 <sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 0.1                           | 1.2            | 9.1            | 36.2      | 5.4       | 26.0     | 22.0      |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 1.1                           | 1.4            | 9.9            | 27.9      | 4.0       | 36.7     | 19.0      |
| 1927/1928 | Boys' gymnasiums                                | –                             | 0.5            | 11.2           | 4.9       | –         | 76.6     | 6.8       |
|           | 1 <sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 0.8                           | 1.0            | 9.3            | 39.0      | 5.2       | 27.0     | 17.7      |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 0.6                           | 0.9            | 9.8            | 30.5      | 3.9       | 39.4     | 15.0      |
| 1928/1929 | Boys' gymnasiums                                | –                             | –              | 31.6           | 11.9      | –         | 33.9     | 22.6      |
|           | 1 <sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary school  | 0.1                           | 0.1            | 55.1           | 18.4      | 1.4       | 17.4     | 7.1       |
|           | Mixed   | –                             | –              | 98.0           | 2.0       | –         | –        | –         |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 0.1                           | 0.1            | 53.3           | 16.9      | 1.2       | 19.1     | 9.0       |

In the above we could follow the changes in the number of gymnasiums and girls' secondary schools, and also how the number of students and teaching staff changed. The state carried out considerable investments after 1918, especially starting from 1923, when the secondary school building campaign of minister Angelescu started. In the 1928/1929 school year there were 110 gymnasiums and girls' secondary schools in Transylvania. 66 (59.1%) of these were state institutions and 45 (40.9%) were denominational. Still, the high number of denominational institutions is deceptive, since one year earlier there were only 11 (17.5%) such schools. Thus, the rapid growth was not due to the infrastructural investments of the denominations, but to the fact that the civic schools belonging mainly to the denominations were transformed into gymnasiums.

**66. The distribution of the Transylvanian gymnasiums and 1<sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary schools according to maintainers in 1928/1929:**

|                     | Gymnasiums and 1 <sup>st</sup> degree girls' secondary schools |                |       |
|---------------------|--|----------------|-------|
|                     | State  | Denominational | Total |
| <b>Institutions</b> | 59.1   | 40.9           | 100%  |
| <b>Students</b>     | 60.3   | 39.7           | 100%  |
| <b>Teachers</b>     | 54.2   | 45.8           | 100%  |

**3.4.4. The Lyceums and Upper Schools for Girls**

The most important pillars of secondary level educational institutions offering *Matura* were the lyceums and upper schools for girls, both of them offering similar training. Complex reports on lyceums exist regarding the 1919/1920 school year. At that time there were 36 state, 3 communal, and 45 denominational lyceums in Transylvania. The total number of students attending these schools was 24,081. The majority of the denominational institutions were maintained by the Roman Catholics, Calvinists and Lutherans. As we can see in the table below, only a small fraction of the enrolled students obtained *Matura*. In state lyceums the proportion of students advancing to higher grades was 87.6%, while the proportion of those obtaining *Matura* was only 3%. In communal schools 92.7% of the enrolled students continued their studies, but only 5.4% of them obtained *Matura*. In denominational schools the proportion of students obtaining *Matura* was a little higher (7.1%). Summarising the figures referring to all these institutions supported by different maintainers, we can see that in the 1919/1920 school year on average 88.8% of the enrolled students advanced to higher grades, but only 5.3% of them obtained *Matura*.

**67. Number of lyceums and attending students in the 1919/1920 school year:**

|                       | Number of lyceums               |       |       | Enrolled students |        |        | Number of students passing exams |        |        | Number of students achieving Matura |       |       |     |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-------|-------|-------------------|--------|--------|----------------------------------|--------|--------|-------------------------------------|-------|-------|-----|
|                       | Boys                            | Girls | Total | Boys              | Girls  | Total  | Boys                             | Girls  | Total  | Boys                                | Girls | Total |     |
| <b>State</b>          | 28                              | 8     | 36    | 9,030             | 1,433  | 10,463 | 7,853                            | 1,316  | 9,169  | 319                                 | –     | 319   |     |
| <b>Communal</b>       | 3                               | –     | 3     | 314               | –      | 314    | 291                              | –      | 291    | 17                                  | –     | 17    |     |
| <b>Denominational</b> | <b>Romanian Orthodox</b>        | 3     | –     | 3                 | 730    | –      | 730                              | 654    | –      | 654                                 | 42    | –     | 42  |
|                       | <b>Romanian Greek Catholic</b>  | 2     | 2     | 4                 | 439    | 514    | 953                              | 392    | 481    | 873                                 | 47    | –     | 47  |
|                       | <b>Roman Catholic</b>           | 12    | 3     | 15                | 5,783  | 508    | 6,291                            | 5,019  | 474    | 5,493                               | 376   | 33    | 409 |
|                       | <b>Calvinist</b>                | 11    | –     | 11                | 2,718  | –      | 2,718                            | 2,507  | –      | 2,507                               | 249   | –     | 249 |
|                       | <b>Unitarian</b>                | 3     | –     | 3                 | 994    | –      | 994                              | 898    | –      | 898                                 | 108   | –     | 108 |
|                       | <b>Lutheran</b>                 | 9     | –     | 9                 | 1,618  | –      | 1,618                            | 1,498  | –      | 1,498                               | 85    | –     | 85  |
|                       | <b>Israelite</b>                | –     | –     | –                 | –      | –      | –                                | –      | –      | –                                   | –     | –     | –   |
|                       | <b>Denominations altogether</b> | 40    | 5     | 45                | 12,282 | 1,022  | 13,304                           | 10,968 | 955    | 11,923                              | 907   | 33    | 940 |
| <b>Total</b>          | 71                              | 13    | 84    | 21,626            | 2,455  | 24,081 | 19,112                           | 2,271  | 21,383 | 1,243                               | 33    | 1,276 |     |

During the 1920s we can witness a growth in the number of both state boys' lyceums and upper schools for girls. By the early 1930s the lyceum system in Transylvania was more or less formed.

Until 1924/1925 a continuous growth can be observed in the number of students, too. This period of growth is followed by a decline until 1931/1932. From 1932 the number of students started to grow again, and due to this in the 1935/1936 school year the number of students exceeded twenty thousand. The constantly improving student-teacher ratio also allows us to draw conclusions on the volume of state development affecting the lyceum infrastructure. In 1921/1922 there were 25.6 students per teacher, but by 1936/1937 this proportion dropped to 16.6. For comparison, in state primary schools this ratio worsened from 52 to 54 students per teacher.

Unfortunately from the statistics referring to the period between the two World Wars we cannot deduce the number of students obtaining *Matura*. However, we know the number of students studying at lower and upper level and the number of those advancing to higher grades in the 1920s. At that time the proportion of students advancing to higher grades was on average between 75 and 85% (see also *Annexes 15 and 16*).

**68. State boys' lyceums and 2<sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools (girls' lyceums) offering Matura:**

|                  | Number of institutions | Total of enrolled students on lower and upper level | Teachers (excluding masters) |
|------------------|------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| <b>1921/1922</b> | 38                     | 13,103  | 512                          |
| <b>1922/1923</b> | 45                     | 15,773  | 571                          |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 42                     | 18,027  | 611                          |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 45                     | 19,395  | 635                          |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 47                     | 19,157  | 645                          |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 51                     | 18,885  | 745                          |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 52                     | 18,158  | 780                          |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 55                     | 17,329  | 788                          |
| <b>1930/1931</b> | 51                     | 15,555  | 989                          |
| <b>1931/1932</b> | 52                     | 15,736  | 1,034                        |
| <b>1932/1933</b> | 50                     | 16,136  | 1,031                        |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 55                     | 20,683  | 1,090                        |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 55                     | 21,333  | 1,284                        |

Data referring to the ethnic distribution of students attending state boys' lyceums and upper girls' schools with *Matura* exist only from the 1920s and from 1935–1936. In the case of both school types Romanian students were predominant. Apart from the school years between 1921 and 1922, when the proportion of Romanians in institutions for boys was below 50%, the proportion of both boys and girls



exceeded 70% on average. The proportion of Hungarians in these two school types was between 9 and 12%, that of Jewish students between 7 and 12% and that of Germans between 5 and 6% (see also *Annex 17*). The growth in the number of Romanian students (111.3%) and the decrease in the number of minority students can be considered a consequence of the change of power after 1918. The language of instruction in state secondary schools changed from Hungarian to Romanian in 1918/1919. Consequently, the minority denominations tried to establish schools in order to provide mother-tongue education. Thus, the number of minority students in state schools dropped and became dominant in denominational schools. Jewish students were the only exception in this respect. It can be seen that the number of Jewish students in denominational schools gradually decreased while their number in state schools increased. The reason for this, just like in the case of gymnasiums and primary schools, was that the authorities pushed Jews out from minority schools.

**69. The ethnic distribution of students attending state boys' lyceums and 2<sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools (girls' lyceums) offering Matura:**

|                  | Ethnicity of students enrolled to lower and upper level altogether |      |        |     |           |      |        |      |       |      |        |
|------------------|--|------|--------|-----|-----------|------|--------|------|-------|------|--------|
|                  | Romanian   |      | German |     | Hungarian |      | Jewish |      | Other |      | Total  |
|                  |  | %    |        | %   |           | %    |        | %    |       | %    |        |
| <b>1921/1922</b> | 7,274  | 55.5 |        |     |           |      | 683    | 5.2  | 5,146 | 39.3 | 13,103 |
| <b>1922/1923</b> | 8,296  | 52.6 |        |     |           |      | 931    | 5.9  | 6,546 | 41.5 | 15,773 |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 13,036   | 72.3 | 974    | 5.4 | 2135      | 11.8 | 1,530  | 8.5  | 352   | 2.0  | 18,027 |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 13,910   | 71.7 | 1125   | 5.8 | 2408      | 12.4 | 1,605  | 8.3  | 347   | 1.8  | 19,395 |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 14,093   | 73.6 | 1177   | 6.1 | 2132      | 11.1 | 1,474  | 7.7  | 281   | 1.5  | 19,157 |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 14,284   | 75.6 | 1029   | 5.4 | 1807      | 9.6  | 1,448  | 7.7  | 317   | 1.7  | 18,885 |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 13,527   | 74.5 | 936    | 5.2 | 1819      | 10.0 | 1,572  | 8.7  | 304   | 1.7  | 18,158 |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 12,946   | 74.7 | 862    | 5.0 | 1733      | 10.0 | 1,564  | 9.0  | 224   | 1.3  | 17,329 |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 14,484   | 70.0 | 1184   | 5.7 | 2159      | 10.4 | 2,586  | 12.5 | 270   | 1.3  | 20,683 |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 15,369   | 72.0 | 1102   | 5.2 | 2065      | 9.7  | 2,502  | 11.7 | 295   | 1.4  | 21,333 |

The denominational distribution also reflects the changes that occurred on the level of institutions. Starting from 1923 the proportion of the mainly Romanian Orthodox and Greek Catholic students was above 70%, while that of the Roman Catholic, Protestant and Israelite pupils was only between 20 and 25% (see also *Annexes 18–19*). The extent of Romanianisation of secondary level education, and the aim, that these institutions should primarily provide new generations of Romanian social elites and should secure their position, can be measured not only in the ethnic proportions but also in the denominational distributions. In the period between the two extreme years, namely between 1921/1922 and 1936/1937, the number of students grew by 62.8%, while the number of Roman Catholic and Calvinist pupils coming from ethnic minorities slightly dropped. The number of Orthodox students increased by 42.5% and that of Greek Catholic students by 19.3%. The number of Israelite pupils quadrupled during these years. However, it must be mentioned, that in the same time the number of Jewish students in denominational lyceums decreased by a similar proportion.

**70. The denominational distribution of students attending state boys' lyceums and 2<sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools (girls' lyceums) offering Matura:**

|                  | Religion of students enrolled to lower and upper level altogether |                |                |           |           |          |           |       |        |
|------------------|---|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|--------|
|                  | Orthodox  | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other | Total  |
| <b>1921/1922</b> | 6,818   |                |                |           |           |          | 683       | 5,114 | 13,103 |
| <b>1922/1923</b> | 7,849   |                |                |           |           |          | 931       | 6,525 | 15,773 |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 8,343   | 4,810          | 2,204          | 840       | 40        | 159      | 1,530     | 101   | 18,027 |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 9,031   | 5,021          | 2,404          | 870       | 87        | 295      | 1,605     | 82    | 19,395 |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 9,153   | 5,028          | 2,354          | 777       | 78        | 261      | 1,474     | 32    | 19,157 |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 9,277   | 5,070          | 1,987          | 759       | 51        | 197      | 1,448     | 96    | 18,885 |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 8,966   | 4,727          | 1,889          | 697       | 47        | 211      | 1,572     | 49    | 18,158 |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 8,536   | 4,448          | 1,745          | 718       | 53        | 222      | 1,564     | 43    | 17,329 |

|           | Religion of students enrolled to lower and upper level altogether |                |                |           |           |          |           |       | Total  |
|-----------|---|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|--------|
|           | Orthodox  | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |        |
| 1930/1931 | 7,223   | 4,219          | 1,627          | 589       | 55        | 185      | 1,633     | 24    | 15,555 |
| 1931/1932 | 6,999   | 4,236          | 1,798          | 628       | 54        | 196      | 1,771     | 54    | 15,736 |
| 1932/1933 | 7,004   | 4,215          | 1,969          | 670       | 59        | 229      | 1,943     | 47    | 16,136 |
| 1935/1936 | 9,147   | 5,410          | 2,242          | 788       | 112       | 354      | 2,586     | 44    | 20,683 |
| 1936/1937 | 9,717   | 5,736          | 2,199          | 750       | 97        | 292      | 2,502     | 40    | 21,333 |

71. The denominational distribution of students attending state boys' lyceums and 2<sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools (girls' lyceums) offering Matura, in percentage:

|           | Religion of students enrolled to lower and upper level altogether |                |                |           |           |          |           |       |
|-----------|---|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|
|           | Orthodox  | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |
| 1921/1922 | 52.0  |                |                |           |           |          | 5.2       | 39.0  |
| 1922/1923 | 49.8  |                |                |           |           |          | 5.9       | 41.4  |
| 1923/1924 | 46.3  | 26.7           | 12.2           | 4.7       | 0.2       | 0.9      | 8.5       | 0.6   |
| 1924/1925 | 46.6  | 25.9           | 12.4           | 4.5       | 0.4       | 1.5      | 8.3       | 0.4   |
| 1925/1926 | 47.8  | 26.2           | 12.3           | 4.1       | 0.4       | 1.4      | 7.7       | 0.2   |
| 1926/1927 | 49.1  | 26.8           | 10.5           | 4.0       | 0.3       | 1.0      | 7.7       | 0.5   |
| 1927/1928 | 49.4  | 26.0           | 10.4           | 3.8       | 0.3       | 1.2      | 8.7       | 0.3   |
| 1928/1929 | 49.3  | 25.7           | 10.1           | 4.1       | 0.3       | 1.3      | 9.0       | 0.2   |
| 1930/1931 | 46.4  | 27.1           | 10.5           | 3.8       | 0.4       | 1.2      | 10.5      | 0.2   |
| 1931/1932 | 44.5  | 26.9           | 11.4           | 4.0       | 0.3       | 1.2      | 11.3      | 0.3   |
| 1932/1933 | 43.4  | 26.1           | 12.2           | 4.2       | 0.4       | 1.4      | 12.0      | 0.3   |
| 1935/1936 | 44.2  | 26.2           | 10.8           | 3.8       | 0.5       | 1.7      | 12.5      | 0.2   |
| 1936/1937 | 45.5  | 26.9           | 10.3           | 3.5       | 0.5       | 1.4      | 11.7      | 0.2   |

The minority denominations maintained 30 lyceums for boys and upper girls' schools in the second half of the 1920s. Most of these schools were run by the Roman Catholics, followed by the Calvinists and the Lutherans.

72. Denominational boys' lyceums and 2<sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools (girls' lyceums) offering Matura:

|           |   | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Lutheran | Unitarian | Israelite | Total |
|-----------|---|----------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| 1926/1927 | Boys' lyceums                                   | 10             | 6         | 5        | 2         | 2         | 25    |
|           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 3              | 1         | 1        | –         | –         | 5     |
|           | Total   | 13             | 7         | 6        | 2         | 2         | 30    |
| 1927/1928 | Boys' lyceums                                   | 10             | 6         | 5        | 2         | 2         | 25    |
|           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 3              | 1         | 1        | –         | –         | 5     |
|           | Total   | 13             | 7         | 6        | 2         | 2         | 30    |
| 1928/1929 | Boys' lyceums                                   | 10             | 5         | 5        | 2         | 2         | 24    |
|           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 3              | 1         | 1        | –         | 1         | 6     |
|           | Total   | 13             | 6         | 6        | 2         | 3         | 30    |

In the examined three years there were 7,000–8,500 students attending denominational institutions of lyceum level. 85–90% of the student enrolled to upper level advanced to higher grades, which was above the average of state schools. However, the repression of denominational education and with this the decline of minority secondary level education was signalled also by the fact that while the number of students in state institutions grew by more than 62% in the period between the two World Wars, in denominational lyceums the number of students fell to half between 1919/1920 and 1928/1929 (see tables 67 and 68).





**73.** *The number of students and teachers in denominational boys' lyceums and 2<sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools offering Matura:*

|           |   | Number of institutions | Lower level       |                                     | Upper level       |                                     | Total number of enrolled students | Teachers (excluding masters) |
|-----------|---|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
|           |   |                        | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades |                                   |                              |
| 1926/1927 | Boys' lyceums                                   | 25                     | 4,865             | 4,094                               | 2,189             | 1,994                               | 7,054                             | 432                          |
|           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 5                      | 1,328             | 1,128                               | 222               | 197                                 | 1,550                             | 97                           |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 30                     | 6,193             | 5,222                               | 2,411             | 2,191                               | 8,604                             | 529                          |
| 1927/1928 | Boys' lyceums                                   | 25                     | 4,697             | 3,781                               | 2,086             | 1,892                               | 6,783                             | 439                          |
|           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 5                      | 1,215             | 1,012                               | 279               | 249                                 | 1,494                             | 100                          |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 30                     | 5,912             | 4,793                               | 2,365             | 2,141                               | 8,277                             | 539                          |
| 1928/1929 | Boys' lyceums                                   | 24                     | 3,136             | 2,542                               | 2,562             | 2,175                               | 5,698                             | 422                          |
|           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 6                      | 844               | 663                                 | 535               | 444                                 | 1,379                             | 103                          |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 30                     | 3,980             | 3,205                               | 3,097             | 2,619                               | 7,077                             | 525                          |

The majority of students were Hungarians with a proportion of 62–64%; they were followed by Germans (24–25%) and by Jews (8–10%). Romanians made up only 1–1.4% of the students attending denominational schools.

**74.** *The ethnic distribution of students attending denominational boys' lyceums and 2<sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools offering Matura:*

|           |   | Students enrolled to lower and upper level |     |        |      |           |      |        |      |       |     |       |
|-----------|---|--|-----|--------|------|-----------|------|--------|------|-------|-----|-------|
|           |   | Romanian                                   |     | German |      | Hungarian |      | Jewish |      | Other |     | Total |
|           |   |  |     |        |      |           |      |        |      |       |     |       |
| 1926/1927 | Boys' lyceums                                   | 79   | 1.1 | 1,890  | 26.8 | 4,373     | 62.0 | 663    | 9.4  | 49    | 0.7 | 7,054 |
|           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 39   | 2.5 | 308    | 19.9 | 983       | 63.4 | 189    | 12.2 | 31    | 2.0 | 1,550 |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 118  | 1.4 | 2,198  | 25.5 | 5,356     | 62.3 | 852    | 9.9  | 80    | 0.9 | 8,604 |
| 1927/1928 | Boys' lyceums                                   | 41   | 0.6 | 1,807  | 26.6 | 4,324     | 63.7 | 571    | 8.4  | 40    | 0.6 | 6,783 |
|           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 45   | 3.0 | 282    | 18.9 | 958       | 64.1 | 173    | 11.6 | 36    | 2.4 | 1,494 |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 86   | 1.0 | 2,089  | 25.2 | 5,282     | 63.8 | 744    | 9.0  | 76    | 0.9 | 8,277 |
| 1928/1929 | Boys' lyceums                                   | 20   | 0.4 | 1,477  | 25.9 | 3,745     | 65.7 | 388    | 6.8  | 68    | 1.2 | 5,698 |
|           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 67   | 4.9 | 268    | 19.4 | 833       | 60.4 | 169    | 12.3 | 42    | 3.0 | 1,379 |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 87   | 1.2 | 1,745  | 24.7 | 4,578     | 64.7 | 557    | 7.9  | 110   | 1.6 | 7,077 |

From a denominational point of view, the majority of students belonged to minority confessions. The proportion of Roman Catholics was around 36–38%, that of the Calvinists was around 24–26%, the Lutherans made up 21–23% and the Unitarians 4–5%. Israelite students made up 8–10% of the student population, and the proportion of the mainly Romanian Orthodox and Greek Catholic students was below 2%.

**75.** *The denominational distribution of students attending denominational boys' lyceums and 2<sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools offering Matura:*

|           |   | Religion of students enrolled to lower and upper level |                |                |           |           |          |           |       |       |
|-----------|---|--|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|           |   | Orthodox   | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other | Total |
| 1926/1927 | Boys' lyceums                                   | 43   | 49             | 2,523          | 1,766     | 297       | 1,708    | 663       | 5     | 7,054 |
|           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 36   | 17             | 622            | 378       | 42        | 266      | 189       | –     | 1,550 |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 79   | 66             | 3,145          | 2,144     | 339       | 1,974    | 852       | 5     | 8,604 |
| 1927/1928 | Boys' lyceums                                   | 24   | 21             | 2,451          | 1,811     | 316       | 1,587    | 571       | 2     | 6,783 |
|           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 45   | 23             | 591            | 374       | 56        | 232      | 173       | –     | 1,494 |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 69   | 44             | 3,042          | 2,185     | 372       | 1,819    | 744       | 2     | 8,277 |
| 1928/1929 | Boys' lyceums                                   | 20   | 9              | 2,208          | 1,532     | 286       | 1,253    | 388       | 2     | 5,698 |
|           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 52   | 38             | 507            | 337       | 54        | 222      | 169       | –     | 1,379 |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 72   | 47             | 2,715          | 1,869     | 340       | 1,475    | 557       | 2     | 7,077 |

**76.** *The denominational distribution of students attending denominational boys' lyceums and 2<sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools offering Matura, in percentage:*

|           |   | Religion of students enrolled to lower and upper level |                |                |           |           |          |           |
|-----------|---|--|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
|           |   | Orthodox   | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite |
| 1926/1927 | Boys' lyceums                                   | 0.6  | 0.7            | 35.8           | 25.0      | 4.2       | 24.2     | 9.4       |
|           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 2.3  | 1.1            | 40.1           | 24.4      | 2.7       | 17.2     | 12.2      |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 0.9  | 0.8            | 36.6           | 24.9      | 3.9       | 22.9     | 9.9       |
| 1927/1928 | Boys' lyceums                                   | 0.4  | 0.3            | 36.1           | 26.7      | 4.7       | 23.4     | 8.4       |
|           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 3.0  | 1.5            | 39.6           | 25.0      | 3.7       | 15.5     | 11.6      |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 0.8  | 0.5            | 36.8           | 26.4      | 4.5       | 22.0     | 9.0       |
| 1928/1929 | Boys' lyceums                                   | 0.4  | 0.2            | 38.8           | 26.9      | 5.0       | 22.0     | 6.8       |
|           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools | 3.8  | 2.8            | 36.8           | 24.4      | 3.9       | 16.1     | 12.3      |
|           | <b>Total</b>                                    | 1.0  | 0.7            | 38.4           | 26.4      | 4.8       | 20.8     | 7.9       |

### 3.4.5. The Commercial Schools

In the following we will present the changes in the number of primary and secondary level commercial schools, and the ethnic and denominational distribution of students attending these institutions.

Primary level state commercial education was aimed primarily at boys. Although in other regions of Romania (Old Kingdom, Bessarabia) there were also primary commercial schools for girls, this was not characteristic to Transylvania.

In Transylvania primary level commercial education was provided by state schools, there were no private or denominational schools of this type. In the 1920s there was a constant fluctuation in the number of state commercial schools. The greatest number of primary level commercial schools functioned in 1927, when commercial education was provided by 11 schools for boys. Starting from 1936 the primary level commercial schools were transformed into gymnasiums. Fluctuations can be observed regarding the number of students, too. Comparing the number of enrolled students and students advancing to higher grades in civic schools with the same numbers in commercial schools it can be observed that in the case of commercial schools the dropout rate was significantly higher. For example, in the 1923/1924 school year 81.7% of the students enrolled in civic schools advanced to higher grades, while in the case



of commercial schools this ratio was only 73.6%. It is also noticeable that the transformation of primary level commercial schools into gymnasiums led to improvements in the number of students who continued their studies. In 1936/1937 81.5% of students advanced to higher grades.

**77. Number of students and teachers in primary level state commercial schools:<sup>15</sup>**

|                     |       | Number of institutions | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades | Teachers (excluding masters) |
|---------------------|-------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1923/1924           | Boys  | 4                      | 125               | 92                                  | 13                           |
| 1924/1925           | Boys  | 8                      | 277               | 199                                 | 22                           |
| 1925/1926           | Boys  | 9                      | 480               | 322                                 | 29                           |
| 1926/1927           | Boys  | 9                      | 570               | 415                                 | 44                           |
| 1927/1928           | Boys  | 11                     | 542               | 404                                 | 68                           |
| 1928/1929           | Boys  | 9                      | 439               | 327                                 | 52                           |
| 1930/1931           | Boys  | 4                      | 300               | 208                                 | 28                           |
| 1931/1932           | Boys  | 2                      | 162               | 128                                 | 15                           |
| 1932/1933           | Boys  | 2                      | 190               | 146                                 | 11                           |
| 1935/1936           | Boys  | 5                      | 347               | 259                                 | 38                           |
|                     | Girls | 1                      | 62                | 56                                  | 12                           |
|                     | Total | 6                      | 409               | 315                                 | 50                           |
| 1936/1937 gymnasium | Boys  | 2                      | 248               | 202                                 | 20                           |

Data referring to the ethnic distribution of students exist from 1923–1928 and from 1935–1936. State commercial schools were primarily attended by students of Romanian nationality; their proportion was between 70 and 89% between the two World Wars. The majority of students belonging to minorities were Hungarian and Jewish. From the tables below presenting the ethnic distributions the preponderance of Romanian students and the underrepresentation of Hungarians and Germans are evident. The Romanian preponderance can primarily be attributed to the fact that Romanian was the language of instruction, and that these schools functioned in settlements where the Romanians were in majority, or made up a significant part of the population. In the case of Jewish students, the explanation can be found in the career orientation characteristic to the Jewish population. As in the case of theoretical schools in general, Jewish students were overrepresented in commercial schools, too.

**78. The ethnic distribution of students attending primary level state commercial schools:**

|                      |       | Romanian |      | German |     | Hungarian |      | Jewish |      | Other | Total |
|----------------------|-------|----------|------|--------|-----|-----------|------|--------|------|-------|-------|
|                      |       |          | %    |        | %   |           | %    |        | %    |       |       |
| 1923/1924            | Boys  | 106      | 84.8 | 8      | 6.4 | 6         | 4.8  | 5      | 4.0  | –     | 125   |
| 1924/1925            | Boys  | 244      | 88.1 | 6      | 2.2 | 19        | 6.9  | 8      | 2.9  | –     | 277   |
| 1925/1926            | Boys  | 428      | 89.2 | 8      | 1.7 | 31        | 6.5  | 11     | 2.3  | 2     | 480   |
| 1926/1927            | Boys  | 485      | 85.1 | 11     | 1.9 | 38        | 6.7  | 27     | 4.7  | 9     | 570   |
| 1927/1928            | Boys  | 450      | 83.0 | 18     | 3.3 | 35        | 6.5  | 25     | 4.6  | 14    | 542   |
| 1928/1929            | Boys  | 361      | 82.2 | 3      | 0.7 | 32        | 7.3  | 36     | 8.2  | 7     | 439   |
| 1935/1936            | Boys  | 241      | 69.5 | 18     | 5.2 | 40        | 11.5 | 44     | 12.7 | 4     | 347   |
|                      | Girls | 47       | 75.8 | –      | –   | 1         | 1.6  | 14     | 22.6 | –     | 62    |
|                      | Total | 288      | 70.4 | 18     | 4.4 | 41        | 10.0 | 58     | 14.2 | 4     | 409   |
| 1936/1937 gymnasiums | Boys  | 194      | 78.2 | 6      | 2.4 | 19        | 7.7  | 27     | 10.9 | 2     | 248   |

In primary level state commercial schools Orthodox and Greek Catholic students formed the majority. Their proportion decreased only in the early 1930s, but even in that period they made up more than 50% of the total number of students. The number of Israelite students can also be considered high,

<sup>15</sup> The figures do not contain data on evening schools (*cursuri serale suprapuse ale școlilor elementare comerciale*).

mainly in the 1930s. This can be attributed primarily to the uneven professional structure of the Jewry and to the resulting tendencies in career choices.

**79.** *The denominational distribution of students attending primary level state commercial schools:*

|                         |       | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       |       |
|-------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|                         |       | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other | Total |
| 1923/1924               | Boys  | 71                            | 29             | 17             | –         | 3         | –        | 5         | –     | 125   |
| 1924/1925               | Boys  | 152                           | 91             | 12             | 1         | 13        | –        | 8         | –     | 277   |
| 1925/1926               | Boys  | 252                           | 171            | 26             | 1         | 14        | 3        | 11        | 2     | 480   |
| 1926/1927               | Boys  | 300                           | 184            | 37             | 1         | 20        | –        | 27        | 1     | 570   |
| 1927/1928               | Boys  | 284                           | 177            | 42             | –         | 12        | 2        | 25        | –     | 542   |
| 1928/1929               | Boys  | 246                           | 119            | 19             | 17        | –         | 2        | 36        | –     | 439   |
| 1930/1931               | Boys  | 111                           | 106            | 24             | 1         | 16        | 1        | 41        | –     | 300   |
| 1931/1932               | Boys  | 47                            | 46             | 12             | 1         | 15        | 1        | 39        | 1     | 162   |
| 1932/1933               | Boys  | 69                            | 44             | 12             | –         | 17        | –        | 47        | 1     | 190   |
| 1935/1936               | Boys  | 161                           | 82             | 33             | 5         | 20        | 2        | 44        | –     | 347   |
|                         | Girls | 39                            | 7              | –              | –         | 2         | –        | 14        | –     | 62    |
|                         | Total | 200                           | 89             | 33             | 5         | 22        | 2        | 58        | –     | 409   |
| 1936/1937<br>gymnasiums | Boys  | 93                            | 103            | 12             | 10        | –         | 3        | 27        | –     | 248   |

**80.** *The denominational distribution of students attending primary level state commercial schools, in percentage:*

|                         |       | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |
|-------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
|                         |       | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite |
| 1923/1924               | Boys  | 56.8                          | 23.2           | 13.6           | –         | 2.4       | –        | 4.0       |
| 1924/1925               | Boys  | 54.9                          | 32.9           | 4.3            | 0.4       | 4.7       | –        | 2.9       |
| 1925/1926               | Boys  | 52.5                          | 35.6           | 5.4            | 0.2       | 2.9       | 0.6      | 2.3       |
| 1926/1927               | Boys  | 52.6                          | 32.3           | 6.5            | 0.2       | 3.5       | –        | 4.7       |
| 1927/1928               | Boys  | 52.4                          | 32.7           | 7.7            | –         | 2.2       | 0.4      | 4.6       |
| 1928/1929               | Boys  | 56.0                          | 27.1           | 4.3            | 3.9       | –         | 0.5      | 8.2       |
| 1930/1931               | Boys  | 37.0                          | 35.3           | 8.0            | 0.3       | 5.3       | 0.3      | 13.7      |
| 1931/1932               | Boys  | 29.0                          | 28.4           | 7.4            | 0.6       | 9.3       | 0.6      | 24.1      |
| 1932/1933               | Boys  | 36.3                          | 23.2           | 6.3            | –         | 8.9       | –        | 24.7      |
| 1935/1936               | Boys  | 46.4                          | 23.6           | 9.5            | 1.4       | 5.8       | 0.6      | 12.7      |
|                         | Girls | 62.9                          | 11.3           | –              | –         | 3.2       | –        | 22.6      |
|                         | Total | 48.9                          | 21.8           | 8.1            | 1.2       | 5.4       | 0.5      | 14.2      |
| 1936/1937<br>gymnasiums | Boys  | 37.5                          | 41.5           | 4.8            | 4.0       | –         | 1.2      | 10.9      |

In the early 1920s the number of students attending state upper commercial schools offering *Matura* was between 1,000 and 1,500, but later their number exceeded 2,000 or even approached 4,000. The rate of continuation of studies was between 73 and 88%, which exceeded the figures of primary level commercial schools.

In the 1919/1920 school year there were 5 state, 7 communal, and 11 denominational upper commercial schools, in addition there were 2 commercial schools run by private associations. 5 of the denominational schools were run by the Calvinists, 3 by the Lutherans, 2 by the Roman Catholics and one by the Israelites.

**81. The distribution of upper commercial schools according to maintainers and the number of students in 1919/1920:**

|                                    | Number of schools                |          |           | Teaching staff |                |            |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------|-----------|----------------|----------------|------------|
|                                    | Boys'                            | Girls'   | Total     | Boys' schools  | Girls' schools | Total      |
| <b>State</b>                       | 5                                | –        | 5         | 54             | –              | 54         |
| <b>Communal</b>                    | 4                                | 3        | 7         | 52             | 23             | 75         |
| <b>Run by private associations</b> | 1                                | 1        | 2         | 18             | 10             | 28         |
| <b>Denominational</b>              | <b>Roman Catholic</b>            | –        | 2         | –              | 22             | 22         |
|                                    | <b>Calvinist</b>                 | 4        | 1         | 5              | 47             | 10         |
|                                    | <b>Lutheran</b>                  | 2        | 1         | 3              | 20             | 16         |
|                                    | <b>Israelite</b>                 | 1        | –         | 1              | 14             | –          |
|                                    | <b>Denominational altogether</b> | 7        | 4         | 11             | 81             | 48         |
| <b>Total</b>                       | <b>17</b>                        | <b>8</b> | <b>25</b> | <b>205</b>     | <b>81</b>      | <b>286</b> |

State schools were primarily attended by Romanian students, while students belonging to minorities attended the communal and denominational schools, respectively the schools run by private associations, where they could study in their mother tongue. Thus, the proportion of Romanian students in state-run commercial schools was 59.8%, while in communal schools only 7.3%. In the other types of commercial schools their number was insignificant. If we look at all the data the difference is conspicuous. In the 1919/1920 school year following the annexation of Transylvania to Romania, only 12.5% of the students attending upper commercial schools were Romanian, while 49.1% were Hungarian and 26.7% were Jewish.

**82. The ethnic distribution of students attending upper commercial schools in 1919/1920:**

|                                    | Ethnicity of enrolled students   |             |            |             |              |             |            |             |           |            |              |     |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-----------|------------|--------------|-----|
|                                    | Romanian                         |             | German     |             | Hungarian    |             | Jewish     |             | Other     |            | Total        |     |
|                                    |                                  | %           |            | %           |              | %           |            | %           |           | %          |              |     |
| <b>State</b>                       | 262                              | 59.8        | 10         | 2.3         | 94           | 21.5        | 69         | 15.8        | 3         | 0.7        | 438          |     |
| <b>Communal</b>                    | 94                               | 7.3         | 92         | 7.2         | 737          | 57.6        | 339        | 26.5        | 17        | 1.3        | 1,279        |     |
| <b>Run by private associations</b> | 12                               | 3.4         | 6          | 1.7         | 127          | 36.1        | 205        | 58.2        | 2         | 0.6        | 352          |     |
| <b>Denominational</b>              | <b>Roman Catholic</b>            | 5           | 2.1        | 10          | 4.2          | 194         | 81.2       | 25          | 10.5      | 5          | 2.1          | 239 |
|                                    | <b>Calvinist</b>                 | 4           | 0.8        | 47          | 10.0         | 335         | 71.0       | 80          | 16.9      | 6          | 1.3          | 472 |
|                                    | <b>Lutheran</b>                  | 2           | 1.2        | 152         | 93.3         | 4           | 2.5        | –           | –         | 5          | 3.1          | 163 |
|                                    | <b>Israelite</b>                 | –           | –          | –           | –            | 1           | 1.1        | 93          | 98.9      | –          | –            | 94  |
|                                    | <b>Denominational altogether</b> | 11          | 1.1        | 209         | 21.6         | 534         | 55.2       | 198         | 20.5      | 16         | 1.7          | 968 |
| <b>Total</b>                       | <b>379</b>                       | <b>12.5</b> | <b>317</b> | <b>10.4</b> | <b>1,492</b> | <b>49.1</b> | <b>811</b> | <b>26.7</b> | <b>38</b> | <b>1.3</b> | <b>3,037</b> |     |

Starting from the early 1920s, due to the nationalisations, the number and importance of state commercial schools grew. In state and communal schools, similarly to other educational institutions, Romanian became the language of instruction. Thus, the proportion of Romanian students started to grow gradually (see also *Annex 20*). Similarly to other fields of education the Romanian State carried out considerable developments in the field of commercial education. In parallel with the growth in the number of schools considerable improvements can be seen in the students/teacher ratio. In the 1921/1922 school year there were 10.6 students per teacher, later in 1936/1937 this ratio was only 8.3. The number of enrolled students doubled during the years between the two World Wars.

**83. Number of students and teachers in state upper commercial schools:**

|                          | Number of schools | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades | Teachers (excluding masters) |
|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <b>1921/1922</b>         | 13                | 1,309             | 1,100                               | 123                          |
| <b>1922/1923</b>         | 14                | 1,181             | 994                                 | 91                           |
| <b>1923/1924</b>         | 15                | 1,456             | 1,139                               | 127                          |
| <b>1924/1925</b>         | 18                | 2,077             | 1,561                               | 134                          |
| <b>1925/1926</b>         | 18                | 2,613             | 2,085                               | 152                          |
| <b>1926/1927</b>         | 19                | 3,047             | 2,405                               | 207                          |
| <b>1927/1928</b>         | 22                | 3,393             | 2,661                               | 239                          |
| <b>1928/1929</b>         | 20                | 3,359             | 2,648                               | 236                          |
| <b>1930/1931</b>         | 27                | 3,901             | 3,074                               | 305                          |
| <b>1931/1932</b>         | 22                | 3,155             | 2,644                               | 365                          |
| <b>1932/1933</b>         | 21                | 2,328             | 2,013                               | 252                          |
| <b>1935/1936</b>         | 22                | 1,826             | 1,372                               | 268                          |
| <b>1936/1937 lyceums</b> | 22                | 2,951             | 2,309                               | 352                          |

The ethnic distribution of students attending state upper commercial schools differed from the ethnic distribution within primary level schools of similar profile. Romanian students were underrepresented mainly in the years following World War I. For example, in the 1921/1922 school year they made up only 26.5% of the student population. However, in the following school year their proportion was over 50% and it gradually grew until the 1930s. From that moment on a decrease can be observed. The number of Jewish students was high throughout the whole period. This fact can be attributed to similar reasons as in the case of primary level commercial schools (see also *Annex 21*).

**84. The ethnic distribution of students attending state upper commercial schools:**

|                          | Ethnicity of enrolled students |      |        |     |           |      |        |      |       |      |       |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|------|--------|-----|-----------|------|--------|------|-------|------|-------|
|                          | Romanian                       |      | German |     | Hungarian |      | Jewish |      | Other |      | Total |
|                          |                                | %    |        | %   |           | %    |        | %    |       | %    |       |
| <b>1921/1922</b>         | 347                            | 26.5 |        |     |           |      | 185    | 14.1 | 777   | 59.4 | 1,309 |
| <b>1922/1923</b>         | 621                            | 52.6 |        |     |           |      | 220    | 18.6 | 340   | 28.8 | 1,181 |
| <b>1923/1924</b>         | 845                            | 58.0 | 91     | 6.3 | 265       | 18.2 | 236    | 16.2 | 19    | 1.3  | 1,456 |
| <b>1924/1925</b>         | 1,373                          | 66.1 | 146    | 7.0 | 299       | 14.4 | 230    | 11.1 | 29    | 1.4  | 2,077 |
| <b>1925/1926</b>         | 1,915                          | 73.3 | 157    | 6.0 | 318       | 12.2 | 197    | 7.5  | 26    | 1.0  | 2,613 |
| <b>1926/1927</b>         | 2,301                          | 75.5 | 171    | 5.6 | 343       | 11.3 | 165    | 5.4  | 67    | 2.2  | 3,047 |
| <b>1927/1928</b>         | 2,559                          | 75.4 | 212    | 6.2 | 404       | 11.9 | 179    | 5.3  | 39    | 1.1  | 3,393 |
| <b>1928/1929</b>         | 2,548                          | 75.9 | 215    | 6.4 | 384       | 11.4 | 181    | 5.4  | 31    | 0.9  | 3,359 |
| <b>1935/1936</b>         | 1,169                          | 64.0 | 122    | 6.7 | 327       | 17.9 | 181    | 9.9  | 27    | 1.5  | 1,826 |
| <b>1936/1937 lyceums</b> | 1,912                          | 64.8 | 190    | 6.4 | 453       | 15.4 | 368    | 12.5 | 28    | 0.9  | 2,951 |

In state upper commercial schools the majority of students were of Orthodox and Greek Catholic faith. Similarly to the ethnic proportions presented in table 84, the number of students belonging to these two Romanian denominations was also low in the first years (see also *Annexes 22 and 23*). The denominational distribution shows that students belonging to the Orthodox, Unitarian and Israelite denominations were overrepresented, while other denominations were underrepresented. As we have mentioned it several times, the high number of Jewish students can be attributed to the professional structure and the more advanced level of modernisation and urbanisation of the Jewish population.

The dynamics of the denominational distribution of students attending commercial schools was greatly influenced by the changes in the maintainers and by the locations of the schools. The nationalisation and establishment of these schools after 1918 was gradual. For example, in the 1921/1922 school year besides the existing state institutions 6 further upper commercial schools were nationalised: one commercial school in Arad for boys and one for girls, and one in each of the following cities: Braşov, Satu Mare, Sibiu and Timişoara. If we examine the denominational structure of these cities we can see that the number of those of Orthodox faith was everywhere much higher than the number of those of



Greek Catholic faith, except for Satu Mare. Thus, it is only natural that this difference was reflected in the number of students attending commercial schools, too. This situation did not change in later years either. Similar reasons account for the overrepresentation of Unitarian students and the decrease in the number of Lutheran students. The majority of these schools functioned in settlements where the number of Lutheran believers was higher than that of the Unitarian, or was approximately the same. However, the Unitarians did not maintain upper commercial schools (see *table 87*), thus, a greater number of Unitarian students opted for state schools than in the case of the Lutherans (Anuarul Învățământului Comercial 1927: XXII–XXVI).

**85. The denominational distribution of students enrolled to state upper commercial schools:**

|                  | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       |       |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|                  | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other | Total |
| 1921/1922        | 356                           | 26             |                |           |           |          | 185       | 742   | 1,309 |
| 1922/1923        | 514                           | 43             |                |           |           |          | 220       | 404   | 1,181 |
| 1923/1924        | 720                           | 120            | 230            | 12        | 100       | 34       | 236       | 4     | 1,456 |
| 1924/1925        | 1,117                         | 235            | 314            | 24        | 100       | 51       | 230       | 6     | 2,077 |
| 1925/1926        | 1,540                         | 355            | 341            | 13        | 106       | 46       | 197       | 15    | 2,613 |
| 1926/1927        | 1,860                         | 443            | 358            | 15        | 148       | 40       | 165       | 18    | 3,047 |
| 1927/1928        | 2,080                         | 485            | 436            | 21        | 140       | 46       | 179       | 6     | 3,393 |
| 1928/1929        | 2,014                         | 536            | 437            | 105       | 38        | 46       | 181       | 2     | 3,359 |
| 1930/1931        | 2,259                         | 678            | 490            | 14        | 168       | 35       | 253       | 4     | 3,901 |
| 1931/1932        | 1,814                         | 562            | 386            | 8         | 130       | 50       | 198       | 7     | 3,155 |
| 1932/1933        | 1,269                         | 410            | 301            | 6         | 110       | 38       | 178       | 16    | 2,328 |
| 1935/1936        | 873                           | 287            | 302            | 11        | 125       | 40       | 181       | 7     | 1,826 |
| 1936/1937 lyceum | 1,358                         | 538            | 396            | 197       | 24        | 64       | 368       | 6     | 2,951 |

**86. The denominational distribution of students enrolled to state upper commercial schools, in percentage:**

|                  | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
|                  | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite |
| 1921/1922        | 27.2                          | 2.0            |                |           |           |          | 14.1      |
| 1922/1923        | 43.5                          | 3.6            |                |           |           |          | 18.6      |
| 1923/1924        | 49.5                          | 8.2            | 15.8           | 0.8       | 6.9       | 2.3      | 16.2      |
| 1924/1925        | 53.8                          | 11.3           | 15.1           | 1.2       | 4.8       | 2.5      | 11.1      |
| 1925/1926        | 58.9                          | 13.6           | 13.1           | 0.5       | 4.1       | 1.8      | 7.5       |
| 1926/1927        | 61.0                          | 14.5           | 11.7           | 0.5       | 4.9       | 1.3      | 5.4       |
| 1927/1928        | 61.3                          | 14.3           | 12.8           | 0.6       | 4.1       | 1.4      | 5.3       |
| 1928/1929        | 60.0                          | 16.0           | 13.0           | 3.1       | 1.1       | 1.4      | 5.4       |
| 1930/1931        | 57.9                          | 17.4           | 12.6           | 0.4       | 4.3       | 0.9      | 6.5       |
| 1931/1932        | 57.5                          | 17.8           | 12.2           | 0.3       | 4.1       | 1.6      | 6.3       |
| 1932/1933        | 54.5                          | 17.6           | 12.9           | 0.3       | 4.7       | 1.6      | 7.6       |
| 1935/1936        | 47.8                          | 15.7           | 16.5           | 0.6       | 6.8       | 2.2      | 9.9       |
| 1936/1937 lyceum | 46.0                          | 18.2           | 13.4           | 6.7       | 0.8       | 2.2      | 12.5      |

Upper commercial schools were maintained by the Roman Catholics, Calvinists, Lutherans and Israelites in the second half of the 1920s. In 1926/1927 there were altogether 6 denominational schools and 5 schools run by private associations, in the next two years there were 6–6, respectively 2–2 schools of similar character. However, the rate of attendance of these schools was far more reduced than that of state schools. For example, in the 1928/1929 school year 28.6% of the upper commercial schools were denominational and private schools, but the proportion of students attending these schools represented only 20.8% of the total student population.

**87. Upper commercial schools run by denominations and private associations and the number of teachers:**

|           |       | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Lutheran | Israelite | Run by private associations | Total | Teachers (excluding masters) |
|-----------|-------|----------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------------------------|-------|------------------------------|
| 1926/1927 | Boys  | –              | 1         | 1        | 1         | 4                           | 7     | 72                           |
|           | Girls | 2              | 1         | –        | –         | 1                           | 4     | 51                           |
|           | Total | 2              | 2         | 1        | 1         | 5                           | 11    | 123                          |
| 1927/1928 | Boys  | –              | 1         | 1        | 1         | 1                           | 4     | 55                           |
|           | Girls | 2              | 1         | –        | –         | 1                           | 4     | 47                           |
|           | Total | 2              | 2         | 1        | 1         | 2                           | 8     | 102                          |
| 1928/1929 | Boys  | –              | 1         | 1        | 1         | 1                           | 4     | 50                           |
|           | Girls | 2              | 1         | –        | –         | 1                           | 4     | 51                           |
|           | Total | 2              | 2         | 1        | 1         | 2                           | 8     | 101                          |

In the 1926/1927 school year the number of enrolled students was 1,381, 85.2% of which advanced to higher grades. The proportion of advancement to higher grades was superior in the next two years as well, namely 87.5% and 87.3%, which was considerably higher than the figures of state-run upper commercial schools in 1926–1928 (78.4–78.9%).

**88. The number of students attending upper commercial schools run by denominations and private associations:**

|           |       | Number of schools | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades |
|-----------|-------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1926/1927 | Boys  | 7                 | 1,075             | 891                                 |
|           | Girls | 4                 | 306               | 286                                 |
|           | Total | 11                | 1,381             | 1,177                               |
| 1927/1928 | Boys  | 4                 | 520               | 448                                 |
|           | Girls | 4                 | 334               | 299                                 |
|           | Total | 8                 | 854               | 747                                 |
| 1928/1929 | Boys  | 4                 | 511               | 433                                 |
|           | Girls | 4                 | 371               | 337                                 |
|           | Total | 8                 | 882               | 770                                 |

The majority of students attending upper commercial schools not maintained by the state belonged to one of the three largest ethnic groups in Transylvania; the Hungarians, the Germans or the Jews. In 1926/1927 40% of the enrolled students were German, 33% were Hungarian and 20% were Jewish, while the proportion of Romanian students was only 7%. In the next two years the number of both German and Romanian students decreased, while that of the Hungarian and Jewish students increased.

**89. The ethnic distribution of students attending upper commercial schools run by denominations and by private associations:**

|           |       | Ethnicity of enrolled students |     |        |      |           |      |        |      | Other | Total |
|-----------|-------|--------------------------------|-----|--------|------|-----------|------|--------|------|-------|-------|
|           |       | Romanian                       |     | German |      | Hungarian |      | Jewish |      |       |       |
|           |       |                                | %   |        | %    |           | %    |        | %    |       |       |
| 1926/1927 | Boys  | 89                             | 8.3 | 553    | 51.4 | 191       | 17.8 | 242    | 22.5 | –     | 1,075 |
|           | Girls | 1                              | 0.3 | 2      | 0.7  | 267       | 87.3 | 34     | 11.1 | 4     | 306   |
|           | Total | 90                             | 6.5 | 555    | 40.2 | 458       | 33.2 | 276    | 20.0 | 4     | 1,381 |
| 1927/1928 | Boys  | 43                             | 8.3 | 114    | 21.9 | 136       | 26.2 | 227    | 43.7 | –     | 520   |
|           | Girls | 1                              | 0.3 | 1      | 0.3  | 303       | 90.7 | 26     | 7.8  | 3     | 334   |
|           | Total | 44                             | 5.2 | 115    | 13.5 | 439       | 51.4 | 253    | 29.6 | 3     | 854   |
| 1928/1929 | Boys  | 34                             | 6.7 | 135    | 26.4 | 132       | 25.8 | 210    | 41.1 | –     | 511   |
|           | Girls | 4                              | 1.1 | –      | 0.0  | 331       | 89.2 | 35     | 9.4  | 1     | 371   |
|           | Total | 38                             | 4.3 | 135    | 15.3 | 463       | 52.5 | 245    | 27.8 | 1     | 882   |

Similar results can be observed with regard to the denominational distribution of students. Since the Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches did not maintain upper commercial schools, the majority of students were Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Israelites and Calvinists.





**90.** *The denominational distribution of students attending upper commercial schools run by denominations and private associations:*

|           |       | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       | Total |
|-----------|-------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|           |       | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |       |
| 1926/1927 | Boys  | 69                            | 21             | 148            | 78        | 5         | 512      | 242       | –     | 1,075 |
|           | Girls | 1                             | 3              | 159            | 85        | 9         | 15       | 34        | –     | 306   |
|           | Total | 70                            | 24             | 307            | 163       | 14        | 527      | 276       | –     | 1,381 |
| 1927/1928 | Boys  | 30                            | 13             | 82             | 53        | 1         | 114      | 227       | –     | 520   |
|           | Girls | 1                             | 3              | 160            | 117       | 11        | 16       | 26        | –     | 334   |
|           | Total | 31                            | 16             | 242            | 170       | 12        | 130      | 253       | –     | 854   |
| 1928/1929 | Boys  | 24                            | 10             | 87             | 48        | 1         | 130      | 210       | 1     | 511   |
|           | Girls | 4                             | –              | 184            | 121       | 13        | 14       | 35        | –     | 371   |
|           | Total | 28                            | 10             | 271            | 169       | 14        | 144      | 245       | 1     | 882   |

**91.** *The denominational distribution of students attending upper commercial schools run by denominations and private associations, in percentage:*

|           |       | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |      | Israelite |
|-----------|-------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|------|-----------|
|           |       | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran |      |           |
| 1926/1927 | Boys  | 6.4                           | 2.0            | 13.8           | 7.3       | 0.5       | 47.6     | 22.5 |           |
|           | Girls | 0.3                           | 1.0            | 52.0           | 27.8      | 2.9       | 4.9      | 11.1 |           |
|           | Total | 5.1                           | 1.7            | 22.2           | 11.8      | 1.0       | 38.2     | 20.0 |           |
| 1927/1928 | Boys  | 5.8                           | 2.5            | 15.8           | 10.2      | 0.2       | 21.9     | 43.7 |           |
|           | Girls | 0.3                           | 0.9            | 47.9           | 35.0      | 3.3       | 4.8      | 7.8  |           |
|           | Total | 3.6                           | 1.9            | 28.3           | 19.9      | 1.4       | 15.2     | 29.6 |           |
| 1928/1929 | Boys  | 4.7                           | 2.0            | 17.0           | 9.4       | 0.2       | 25.4     | 41.1 |           |
|           | Girls | 1.1                           | –              | 49.6           | 32.6      | 3.5       | 3.8      | 9.4  |           |
|           | Total | 3.2                           | 1.1            | 30.7           | 19.2      | 1.6       | 16.3     | 27.8 |           |

### 3.4.6. The Trade Schools, Vocational Schools and Housekeeping Schools

Practical and vocational education was provided by the state-run vocational schools, trade schools and housekeeping schools. The majority of students finishing these schools became skilled workers and part of the working class.

The most noticeable development carried out by the Romanian State in the period between the two World Wars were, in addition to expanding the system of kindergartens and gymnasiums, was in the field of institutions offering vocational training (trade schools, vocational schools, housekeeping and agricultural schools). After 1919 the number of these schools tripled. The majority of the students attending were Romanian. This development was in fact the continuation of the school policy started at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the Old Kingdom, when the emphasis was on the establishment and development of schools offering practical vocations. After World War I trade education in Transylvania was provided by primary level, respectively lower and upper trade schools. There was only one primary level trade school in the region, and that functioned until 1937. The students studying in this school were exclusively Romanian and belonged to the Orthodox or Greek Catholic faith.

**92.** *State primary level trade schools and number of students and teachers:*

|                                    | Number of institutions | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades | Ethnicity of enrolled students |       | Teachers, instructors, masters and master assistants |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------|--|
|                                    |                        |                   |                                     | Romanian                       | Total |  |
| 1928/1929                          | 1                      | 23                | 19                                  | 23                             | 23    | 4  |
| 1930/1931                          | 1                      | 29                | 29                                  | 29                             | 29    | 5  |
| 1936/1937 trade workshops for boys | 1                      | 12                |                                     | 12                             | 12    | 6  |

Starting from 1923 the number of lower level trade schools increased. At that time there were 20 such schools. One year later – due to the school building campaign of the minister of public education, Angelescu – there were already 29 primary level trade schools in Transylvania. In line with these developments, the number of students was between 1,000 and 3,000. The ratio of advancement to higher grades, with the exception of 1921, was close to or even above 80%.

**93. Number of students and teachers in state-run lower level trade schools:**

|                                  |       | Number of institutions | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades | Teachers, instructors, masters and master assistants |
|----------------------------------|-------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1919/1920                        | Boys  | 9                      | 551               | ?                                   | 50   |
| 1921/1922                        | Boys  | 11                     | 2,639             | 1,639                               | 176  |
| 1922/1923                        | Boys  | 12                     | 1,206             | 999                                 | 140  |
| 1923/1924                        | Boys  | 20                     | 1,410             | 1,203                               | 190  |
| 1924/1925                        | Boys  | 29                     | 1,784             | 1,477                               | 238  |
| 1925/1926                        | Boys  | 35                     | 2,294             | 1,926                               | 328  |
| 1926/1927                        | Boys  | 38                     | 2,791             | 2,285                               | 446  |
| 1927/1928                        | Boys  | 38                     | 2,802             | 2,356                               | 342  |
| 1928/1929                        | Boys  | 36                     | 2,967             | 2,506                               | 339  |
| 1930/1931                        | Boys  | 31                     | 2,467             | 2,082                               | 373  |
| 1931/1932                        | Boys  | 25                     | 1,724             | 1,428                               | 285  |
| 1932/1933                        | Boys  | 22                     | 1,341             | 1,064                               | 273  |
| 1935/1936                        | Boys  | 19                     | 979               | 789                                 | 200  |
| 1936/1937<br>trade<br>gymnasiums | Boys  | 18                     | 1,533             | 1,210                               | 210  |
|                                  | Girls | 6                      | 537               | 407                                 | 85   |
|                                  | Total | 24                     | 2,070             | 1,617                               | 295  |

The majority of students enrolled to lower level trade schools were Romanian, the minority students were underrepresented. This phenomenon is especially noticeable starting from the mid 1920s, since in the first years following World War I Hungarian and German students formed the majority. However, in 1922 75%, in 1923 84% and in 1924 90% of the enrolled students were Romanian. The changes in the ethnic proportions may be attributed to the fact that the language of instruction was changed from Hungarian to Romanian.

**94. The ethnic distribution of students attending state-run lower level trade schools:**

|                                  |       | Ethnicity of enrolled students |      |        |     |           |      |        |     |       |     | Total |
|----------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------|------|--------|-----|-----------|------|--------|-----|-------|-----|-------|
|                                  |       | Romanian                       |      | German |     | Hungarian |      | Jewish |     | Other |     |       |
|                                  |       |                                | %    |        | %   |           | %    |        | %   |       | %   |       |
| 1919/1920                        | Boys  | 201                            | 36.5 | 11     | 2.0 | 313       | 56.8 | 22     | 4.0 | 4     | 0.7 | 551   |
| 1921/1922                        | Boys  | 888                            | 33.6 |        |     |           |      | 16     | 0.6 |       |     | 2,639 |
| 1922/1923                        | Boys  | 904                            | 75.0 |        |     |           |      | 12     | 1.0 |       |     | 1,206 |
| 1923/1924                        | Boys  | 1,184                          | 84.0 | 48     | 3.4 | 143       | 10.1 | 12     | 0.9 | 23    | 1.6 | 1,410 |
| 1924/1925                        | Boys  | 1,619                          | 90.8 | 31     | 1.7 | 113       | 6.3  | 14     | 0.8 | 7     | 0.4 | 1,784 |
| 1925/1926                        | Boys  | 2,105                          | 91.8 | 34     | 1.5 | 127       | 5.5  | 8      | 0.3 | 20    | 0.9 | 2,294 |
| 1926/1927                        | Boys  | 2,553                          | 91.5 | 44     | 1.6 | 155       | 5.6  | 17     | 0.6 | 22    | 0.8 | 2,791 |
| 1927/1928                        | Boys  | 2,550                          | 91.0 | 56     | 2.0 | 156       | 5.6  | 14     | 0.5 | 26    | 0.9 | 2,802 |
| 1928/1929                        | Boys  | 2,737                          | 92.2 | 53     | 1.8 | 135       | 4.6  | 10     | 0.3 | 32    | 1.1 | 2,967 |
| 1935/1936                        | Boys  | 822                            | 84.0 | 19     | 1.9 | 112       | 11.4 | 13     | 1.3 | 13    | 1.3 | 979   |
| 1936/1937<br>trade<br>gymnasiums | Boys  | 1,152                          | 75.1 | 64     | 4.2 | 190       | 12.4 | 16     | 1.0 | 111   | 7.2 | 1,533 |
|                                  | Girls | 420                            | 78.2 | 13     | 2.4 | 61        | 11.4 | 26     | 4.8 | 17    | 3.2 | 537   |
|                                  | Total | 1,572                          | 75.9 | 77     | 3.7 | 251       | 12.1 | 42     | 2.0 | 128   | 6.2 | 2,070 |

A similar phenomenon to the shifts in the ethnic proportions can be observed at the level of denominations. In the 1921/1922 school year Orthodox students made up 22.8%, in the following year, however, they already made up more than half of the total number of students.



95. The denominational distribution of students attending state-run lower level trade schools:

|                                  |              | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       | Total |
|----------------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|                                  |              | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |       |
| 1921/1922                        | Boys         | 602                           |                |                |           |           |          | 16        | 2,021 | 2,639 |
| 1922/1923                        | Boys         | 762                           |                |                |           |           |          | 12        | 432   | 1,206 |
| 1923/1924                        | Boys         | 711                           | 470            | 138            | 2         | 60        | 13       | 12        | 4     | 1,410 |
| 1924/1925                        | Boys         | 996                           | 615            | 98             | 8         | 45        | 8        | 14        | –     | 1,784 |
| 1925/1926                        | Boys         | 1,259                         | 846            | 115            | 10        | 41        | 3        | 8         | 12    | 2,294 |
| 1926/1927                        | Boys         | 1,567                         | 977            | 138            | 4         | 69        | 7        | 17        | 12    | 2,791 |
| 1927/1928                        | Boys         | 1,538                         | 1,024          | 153            | 2         | 64        | 6        | 14        | 1     | 2,802 |
| 1928/1929                        | Boys         | 1,781                         | 943            | 174            | 6         | 42        | 5        | 10        | 6     | 2,967 |
| 1930/1931                        | Boys         | 1,494                         | 734            | 159            | 3         | 60        | 10       | 4         | 3     | 2,467 |
| 1931/1932                        | Boys         | 975                           | 504            | 140            | 3         | 77        | 15       | 10        | –     | 1,724 |
| 1932/1933                        | Boys         | 714                           | 396            | 120            | 81        | 6         | 12       | 11        | 1     | 1,341 |
| 1935/1936                        | Boys         | 536                           | 293            | 79             | 41        | 6         | 5        | 13        | 6     | 979   |
| 1936/1937<br>trade<br>gymnasiums | Boys         | 799                           | 432            | 177            | 8         | 87        | 8        | 16        | 6     | 1,533 |
|                                  | Girls        | 336                           | 80             | 52             | 3         | 26        | 14       | 26        | –     | 537   |
|                                  | <b>Total</b> | 1,135                         | 512            | 229            | 11        | 113       | 22       | 42        | 6     | 2,070 |

96. The denominational distribution of students attending state-run lower trade schools, in percentage:

|                                  |              | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |  | Israelite |
|----------------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|--|-----------|
|                                  |              | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran |  |           |
| 1921/1922                        | Boys         | 22.8                          |                |                |           |           |          |  | 0.6       |
| 1922/1923                        | Boys         | 63.2                          |                |                |           |           |          |  | 1.0       |
| 1923/1924                        | Boys         | 50.4                          | 33.3           | 9.8            | 0.1       | 4.3       | 0.9      |  | 0.9       |
| 1924/1925                        | Boys         | 55.8                          | 34.5           | 5.5            | 0.4       | 2.5       | 0.4      |  | 0.8       |
| 1925/1926                        | Boys         | 54.9                          | 36.9           | 5.0            | 0.4       | 1.8       | 0.1      |  | 0.3       |
| 1926/1927                        | Boys         | 56.1                          | 35.0           | 4.9            | 0.1       | 2.5       | 0.3      |  | 0.6       |
| 1927/1928                        | Boys         | 54.9                          | 36.5           | 5.5            | 0.1       | 2.3       | 0.2      |  | 0.5       |
| 1928/1929                        | Boys         | 60.0                          | 31.8           | 5.9            | 0.2       | 1.4       | 0.2      |  | 0.3       |
| 1930/1931                        | Boys         | 60.6                          | 29.8           | 6.4            | 0.1       | 2.4       | 0.4      |  | 0.2       |
| 1931/1932                        | Boys         | 56.6                          | 29.2           | 8.1            | 0.2       | 4.5       | 0.9      |  | 0.6       |
| 1932/1933                        | Boys         | 53.2                          | 29.5           | 8.9            | 6.0       | 0.4       | 0.9      |  | 0.8       |
| 1935/1936                        | Boys         | 54.7                          | 29.9           | 8.1            | 4.2       | 0.6       | 0.5      |  | 1.3       |
| 1936/1937<br>trade<br>gymnasiums | Boys         | 52.1                          | 28.2           | 11.5           | 0.5       | 5.7       | 0.5      |  | 1.0       |
|                                  | Girls        | 62.6                          | 14.9           | 9.7            | 0.6       | 4.8       | 2.6      |  | 4.8       |
|                                  | <b>Total</b> | 54.8                          | 24.7           | 11.1           | 0.5       | 5.5       | 1.1      |  | 2.0       |

The state upper level trade schools started to function in greater number from the 1930s. In the 1936/1937 school year a trade school for girls was established in Transylvania, too. The number of students advancing to higher grades varied during the years, oscillating between 73 and 91%.

97. Number of students and teachers in state upper trade schools:

|                            |              | Number of institutions | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades | Teachers, instructors, masters and master assistants |
|----------------------------|--------------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1919/1920                  | Boys         | 2                      | 329               | ?                                   | 17   |
| 1927/1928                  | Boys         | 1                      | 218               | 169                                 | 33   |
| 1928/1929                  | Boys         | 1                      | 66                | 55                                  | 34   |
| 1930/1931                  | Boys         | 3                      | 405               | 348                                 | 58   |
| 1931/1932                  | Boys         | 5                      | 571               | 508                                 | 89   |
| 1932/1933                  | Boys         | 5                      | 509               | 465                                 | 79   |
| 1935/1936                  | Boys         | 10                     | 1,360             | 1,038                               | 202  |
| 1936/1937<br>trade lyceums | Boys         | 8                      | 1,182             | 1,021                               | 173  |
|                            | Girls        | 5                      | 903               | 661                                 | 104  |
|                            | <b>Total</b> | 13                     | 2,085             | 1,682                               | 277  |

The ethnic and denominational distribution of the students attending upper level trade schools was similar to the situation in lower level trade schools. In 1919/1920, the majority of students belonged to minority ethnic groups and denominations. However, in later years a significant proportional shift can be observed in the direction of Romanian, respectively Orthodox and Greek Catholic students.

**98. The ethnic distribution of students attending state upper trade schools:**

|  |              | Ethnicity of enrolled students |      |        |      |           |      |        |     |       |       |
|--|--------------|--------------------------------|------|--------|------|-----------|------|--------|-----|-------|-------|
|  |              | Romanian                       |      | German |      | Hungarian |      | Jewish |     | Other | Total |
|  |              |                                | %    |        | %    |           | %    |        | %   |       |       |
| <b>1919/1920</b>                       | <b>Boys</b>  | 78                             | 23.7 | 69     | 21.0 | 161       | 48.9 | 19     | 5.8 | 2     | 329   |
| <b>1927/1928</b>                       | <b>Boys</b>  | 204                            | 93.6 | –      | –    | 9         | 4.1  | –      | –   | 5     | 218   |
| <b>1928/1929</b>                       | <b>Boys</b>  | 56                             | 84.8 | –      | –    | 10        | 15.2 | –      | –   | –     | 66    |
| <b>1935/1936</b>                       | <b>Boys</b>  | 871                            | 64.0 | 114    | 8.4  | 292       | 21.5 | 54     | 4.0 | 29    | 1,360 |
| <b>1936/1937<br/>trade<br/>lyceums</b> | <b>Boys</b>  | 826                            | 69.9 | 82     | 6.9  | 215       | 18.2 | 43     | 3.6 | 16    | 1,182 |
|  | <b>Girls</b> | 666                            | 73.8 | 33     | 3.7  | 99        | 11.0 | 89     | 9.9 | 16    | 903   |
|  | <b>Total</b> | 1,492                          | 71.6 | 115    | 5.5  | 314       | 15.1 | 132    | 6.3 | 32    | 2,085 |

**99. The denominational distribution of students attending state upper trade schools:**

|  |              | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       | Total |
|--|--------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|  |              | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |       |
| <b>1927/1928</b>                       | <b>Boys</b>  | 204                           | 8              | –              | 1         | –         | –        | –         | 5     | 218   |
| <b>1928/1929</b>                       | <b>Boys</b>  | 56                            | 6              | 4              | –         | –         | –        | –         | –     | 66    |
| <b>1930/1931</b>                       | <b>Boys</b>  | 287                           | 63             | 38             | 9         | 2         | –        | 2         | 4     | 405   |
| <b>1931/1932</b>                       | <b>Boys</b>  | 352                           | 110            | 78             | 2         | 14        | 4        | 9         | 2     | 571   |
| <b>1932/1933</b>                       | <b>Boys</b>  | 222                           | 107            | 114            | 34        | 8         | 9        | 14        | 1     | 509   |
| <b>1935/1936</b>                       | <b>Boys</b>  | 658                           | 225            | 272            | 108       | 11        | 29       | 54        | 3     | 1,360 |
| <b>1936/1937<br/>trade<br/>lyceums</b> | <b>Boys</b>  | 615                           | 216            | 193            | 7         | 85        | 21       | 43        | 2     | 1,182 |
|  | <b>Girls</b> | 511                           | 152            | 79             | 5         | 44        | 21       | 89        | 2     | 903   |
|  | <b>Total</b> | 1,126                         | 368            | 272            | 12        | 129       | 42       | 132       | 4     | 2,085 |

**100. The denominational distribution of students attending state upper trade schools, in percentage:**

|  |              | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |
|--|--------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
|  |              | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite |
| <b>1927/1928</b>                       | <b>Boys</b>  | 93.6                          | 3.7            | –              | 0.5       | –         | –        | –         |
| <b>1928/1929</b>                       | <b>Boys</b>  | 84.8                          | 9.1            | 6.1            | –         | –         | –        | –         |
| <b>1930/1931</b>                       | <b>Boys</b>  | 70.9                          | 15.6           | 9.4            | 2.2       | 0.5       | –        | 0.5       |
| <b>1931/1932</b>                       | <b>Boys</b>  | 61.6                          | 19.3           | 13.7           | 0.4       | 2.5       | 0.7      | 1.6       |
| <b>1932/1933</b>                       | <b>Boys</b>  | 43.6                          | 21.0           | 22.4           | 6.7       | 1.6       | 1.8      | 2.8       |
| <b>1935/1936</b>                       | <b>Boys</b>  | 48.4                          | 16.5           | 20.0           | 7.9       | 0.8       | 2.1      | 4.0       |
| <b>1936/1937<br/>trade<br/>lyceums</b> | <b>Boys</b>  | 52.0                          | 18.3           | 16.3           | 0.6       | 7.2       | 1.8      | 3.6       |
|  | <b>Girls</b> | 56.6                          | 16.8           | 8.7            | 0.6       | 4.9       | 2.3      | 9.9       |
|  | <b>Total</b> | 54.0                          | 17.6           | 13.0           | 0.6       | 6.2       | 2.0      | 6.3       |

Until the 1936/1937 school year, when trade schools were transformed into gymnasiums and lyceums and classes were established for both sexes, the vocational training of girls was ensured by lower and upper level vocational schools. After 1925, the number of enrolled students was around 1,000 each year, and 75–82% of them advanced to higher grades.

**101. Students and teachers in 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> degree state girls' vocational schools:**

|           | Number of institutions | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades | Teachers (excluding masters) |
|-----------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1921/1922 | 3                      | 265               | 217                                 | 4                            |
| 1922/1923 | 4                      | 181               | 140                                 | 10                           |
| 1923/1924 | 12                     | 572               | 445                                 | 50                           |
| 1924/1925 | 12                     | 839               | 648                                 | 53                           |
| 1925/1926 | 12                     | 1,005             | 766                                 | 42                           |
| 1926/1927 | 11                     | 1,152             | 916                                 | 39                           |
| 1927/1928 | 13                     | 1,259             | 964                                 | 53                           |
| 1928/1929 | 13                     | 1,347             | 1,055                               | 55                           |
| 1930/1931 | 10                     | 1,076             | 685                                 | 161 (including masters)      |
| 1931/1932 | 9                      | 990               | 764                                 | 157 (including masters)      |
| 1932/1933 | 9                      | 958               | 721                                 | 155 (including masters)      |
| 1935/1936 | 10                     | 1,268             | 1,007                               | 159 (including masters)      |

Similarly to trade schools, the ethnic and denominational proportions in girls' vocational schools also changed dramatically after 1923. From that year on, the proportion of Romanian students was above 70%, but in certain years it was even as high as 92%. Similarly, the proportion of students of Orthodox and Greek Catholic faith also exceeded 70–80%. On the other hand, Hungarian and Jewish students together made up only 10–20% of the student population.

**102. The ethnic distribution of students attending 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> degree state girls' vocational schools:**

|           | Ethnicity of enrolled students |      |        |     |           |      |        |      |       |       |
|-----------|--------------------------------|------|--------|-----|-----------|------|--------|------|-------|-------|
|           | Romanian                       |      | German |     | Hungarian |      | Jewish |      | Other | Total |
|           |                                | %    |        | %   |           | %    |        | %    |       |       |
| 1921/1922 | 32                             | 12.1 |        |     |           |      | 39     | 14.7 | 194   | 265   |
| 1922/1923 | 40                             | 22.1 |        |     |           |      | 26     | 14.4 | 115   | 181   |
| 1923/1924 | 504                            | 88.1 | 2      | 0.3 | 32        | 5.6  | 31     | 5.4  | 3     | 572   |
| 1924/1925 | 729                            | 86.9 | 11     | 1.3 | 62        | 7.4  | 34     | 4.1  | 3     | 839   |
| 1925/1926 | 916                            | 91.1 | –      | –   | 56        | 5.6  | 28     | 2.8  | 5     | 1,005 |
| 1926/1927 | 1,053                          | 91.4 | 1      | 0.1 | 79        | 6.9  | 18     | 1.6  | 1     | 1,152 |
| 1927/1928 | 1,157                          | 91.9 | 5      | 0.4 | 76        | 6.0  | 13     | 1.0  | 8     | 1,259 |
| 1928/1929 | 1,219                          | 90.5 | 18     | 1.3 | 68        | 5.0  | 30     | 2.2  | 12    | 1,347 |
| 1935/1936 | 924                            | 72.9 | 40     | 3.2 | 147       | 11.6 | 126    | 9.9  | 31    | 1,268 |

**103. The denominational distribution of students attending 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> degree state girls' vocational schools:**

|           | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       | Total |
|-----------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|           | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |       |
| 1921/1922 | 30                            | 2              |                |           |           |          | 39        | 194   | 265   |
| 1922/1923 | 40                            | 2              |                |           |           |          | 26        | 113   | 181   |
| 1923/1924 | 275                           | 232            | 24             | –         | 4         | 6        | 31        | –     | 572   |
| 1924/1925 | 426                           | 302            | 40             | –         | 17        | 20       | 34        | –     | 839   |
| 1925/1926 | 515                           | 376            | 42             | 3         | 19        | 20       | 28        | 2     | 1,005 |
| 1926/1927 | 686                           | 363            | 46             | 6         | 23        | 10       | 18        | –     | 1,152 |
| 1927/1928 | 765                           | 383            | 54             | 2         | 28        | 12       | 13        | 2     | 1,259 |
| 1928/1929 | 844                           | 372            | 58             | 30        | 2         | 10       | 30        | 1     | 1,347 |
| 1930/1931 | 655                           | 255            | 74             | 1         | 37        | 7        | 41        | 6     | 1,076 |
| 1931/1932 | 581                           | 216            | 73             | 28        | –         | 6        | 84        | 2     | 990   |
| 1932/1933 | 568                           | 181            | 78             | 1         | 27        | 23       | 77        | 3     | 958   |
| 1935/1936 | 699                           | 211            | 116            | 66        | 7         | 36       | 126       | 7     | 1,268 |

**104.** *The denominational distribution of students attending 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> degree state girls' vocational schools, in percentage:*

|           | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |
|-----------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
|           | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite |
| 1921/1922 | 11.3                          | 0.8            |                |           |           |          | 14.7      |
| 1922/1923 | 22.1                          | 1.1            |                |           |           |          | 14.4      |
| 1923/1924 | 48.1                          | 40.6           | 4.2            | –         | 0.7       | 1.0      | 5.4       |
| 1924/1925 | 50.8                          | 36.0           | 4.8            | –         | 2.0       | 2.4      | 4.1       |
| 1925/1926 | 51.2                          | 37.4           | 4.2            | 0.3       | 1.9       | 2.0      | 2.8       |
| 1926/1927 | 59.5                          | 31.5           | 4.0            | 0.5       | 2.0       | 0.9      | 1.6       |
| 1927/1928 | 60.8                          | 30.4           | 4.3            | 0.2       | 2.2       | 1.0      | 1.0       |
| 1928/1929 | 62.7                          | 27.6           | 4.3            | 2.2       | 0.1       | 0.7      | 2.2       |
| 1930/1931 | 60.9                          | 23.7           | 6.9            | 0.1       | 3.4       | 0.7      | 3.8       |
| 1931/1932 | 58.7                          | 21.8           | 7.4            | 2.8       | –         | 0.6      | 8.5       |
| 1932/1933 | 59.3                          | 18.9           | 8.1            | 0.1       | 2.8       | 2.4      | 8.0       |
| 1935/1936 | 55.1                          | 16.6           | 9.1            | 5.2       | 0.6       | 2.8      | 9.9       |

We also have data on the agricultural schools functioning in the 1919/1920 school year. In that year there were 10 such educational institutions. Seven of these were state schools and three private schools maintained by the Saxons. Students attending private schools were almost exclusively ethnic German, while the state institutions were attended mainly by Romanian and Hungarian students.

**105.** *The number of teachers in lower level agricultural schools and the ethnic distribution of students attending these schools in 1919/1920:*

|                 | Number of schools | Teaching staff | Enrolled students |           |            |          |            |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|-----------|------------|----------|------------|
|                 |                   |                | Romanian          | Hungarian | German     | Other    | Total      |
| Private (Saxon) | 3                 | 8              | 2                 | 1         | 100        | –        | 103        |
| State           | 7                 | 14             | 33                | 27        | 3          | 1        | 64         |
| <b>Total</b>    | <b>10</b>         | <b>22</b>      | <b>35</b>         | <b>28</b> | <b>103</b> | <b>1</b> | <b>167</b> |

Primary level housekeeping schools provided housekeeping education for young girls. Most of the students in these schools were ethnic Romanian, and were of Orthodox or Greek Catholic faith.

**106.** *Number of students and teachers in state girls' housekeeping schools:*

|           | Number of institutions | Housekeeping education |                                     | Farming education |                                     | Teachers (excluding masters) |
|-----------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
|           |                        | Enrolled students      | Students advancing to higher grades | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades |                              |
| 1925/1926 | 2                      | 98                     | 84                                  | 11                | 10                                  | 12                           |
| 1926/1927 | 4                      | 149                    | 117                                 | 25                | 23                                  | 24                           |
| 1927/1928 | 5                      | 233                    | 167                                 | 27                | 26                                  | 41                           |
| 1928/1929 | 5                      | 261                    | 193                                 | 30                | 28                                  | 30                           |
| 1930/1931 | 4                      | 221                    | 160                                 |                   |                                     | 56 (including masters)       |
| 1931/1932 | 4                      | 183                    | 147                                 |                   |                                     | 45 (including masters)       |
| 1932/1933 | 8                      | 339                    | 244                                 |                   |                                     | 79 (including masters)       |
| 1935/1936 | 8                      | 569                    | 480                                 |                   |                                     | 106 (including masters)      |

**107.** *The ethnic distribution of students attending state girls' housekeeping schools:*

|           | Ethnicity of enrolled students |      |        |     |           |     |        |     |       |     |       |
|-----------|--------------------------------|------|--------|-----|-----------|-----|--------|-----|-------|-----|-------|
|           | Romanian                       |      | German |     | Hungarian |     | Jewish |     | Other |     | Total |
|           |                                | %    |        | %   |           | %   |        | %   |       | %   |       |
| 1925/1926 | 116                            | 81.1 | 6      | 4.2 | 12        | 8.4 | 3      | 2.1 | 6     | 4.2 | 143   |
| 1926/1927 | 189                            | 89.6 | 6      | 2.8 | 7         | 3.3 | 3      | 1.4 | 6     | 2.8 | 211   |
| 1927/1928 | 266                            | 92.7 | 6      | 2.1 | 4         | 1.4 | 3      | 1.0 | 8     | 2.8 | 287   |
| 1928/1929 | 275                            | 92.0 | 6      | 2.0 | 3         | 1.0 | 1      | 0.3 | 14    | 4.7 | 299   |
| 1935/1936 | 517                            | 90.9 | 20     | 3.5 | 17        | 3.0 | 7      | 1.2 | 8     | 1.4 | 569   |

**108. The denominational distribution of students attending state girls' housekeeping schools:**

| State girls' housekeeping schools | Religion of enrolled students |      |                |      |                |      |           |     |           |          |           |     | Total |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|------|----------------|------|----------------|------|-----------|-----|-----------|----------|-----------|-----|-------|
|                                   | Orthodox                      |      | Greek Catholic |      | Roman Catholic |      | Calvinist |     | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite |     |       |
|                                   |                               | %    |                | %    |                | %    |           | %   |           |          |           | %   |       |
| 1925/1926                         | 120                           | 83.9 | –              | –    | 19             | 13.3 | 1         | 0.7 | –         | –        | 3         | 2.1 | 143   |
| 1926/1927                         | 165                           | 78.2 | 30             | 14.2 | 12             | 5.7  | 1         | 0.5 | –         | –        | 3         | 1.4 | 211   |
| 1927/1928                         | 237                           | 82.6 | 37             | 12.9 | 9              | 3.1  | –         | –   | –         | 1        | 3         | 1.0 | 287   |
| 1928/1929                         | 234                           | 78.3 | 58             | 19.4 | 5              | 1.7  | –         | –   | –         | 1        | 1         | 0.3 | 299   |
| 1930/1931                         | 193                           | 87.3 | 21             | 9.5  | 3              | 1.4  | –         | –   | –         | –        | 4         | 1.8 | 221   |
| 1931/1932                         | 159                           | 86.9 | 19             | 10.4 | 1              | 0.5  | –         | –   | –         | –        | 4         | 2.2 | 183   |
| 1932/1933                         | 228                           | 67.3 | 88             | 26.0 | 9              | 2.7  | 3         | 0.9 | –         | 1        | 10        | 2.9 | 339   |
| 1935/1936                         | 330                           | 58.0 | 190            | 33.4 | 24             | 4.2  | 11        | 1.9 | 1         | 6        | 7         | 1.2 | 569   |

## 4. The Transylvanian Educational Institutions between 1940 and 1948

■ We have the scantest sources regarding from the point of view of educational statistics of Northern and Southern Transylvania from the period following 1940. Since there were almost no statistics carried out on the exact number of educational institutions and enrolled students, it is very difficult to present the situation of public education in this period. In the following, we will present the 1940–1944 and the 1944–1948 years in separate subsections. During the first period Transylvania was divided into two parts belonging to two separate states. Consequently, it is even more difficult to gain an insight into the situation of the public education of the time. Since we must primarily rely on Hungarian sources, we are only able to present the Northern Transylvanian situation in more detail. On the situation in Southern Transylvania, which belonged to Romania during World War II, we have even less information.

The period between 1944 and 1948 brought few structural changes in the public education of Transylvania, just as in the case of the entire Romanian educational system. Real changes, however, were brought by the Romanian law on education passed in 1948, which, beyond the fact that it nationalised all educational institutions, it put education itself into the service of the communist ideology.

### 4.1. The Period between 1940 and 1944

#### 4.1.1. The Kindergartens

In the 1940/1941 school year there were 503 kindergartens in Northern Transylvania. In the following year there were already 559. Most of them were state (82.9%) or communal (10.5%) kindergartens. The majority of the denominational kindergartens were maintained by the Roman Catholics and the Calvinists. Still, even these kindergartens represented only a small proportion of the total number of institutions. This institutional division in fact reflects the processes of the period between the two World Wars, when denominational and private educational institutions gradually lost ground against state educational institutions. However, it is noticeable that in the Transylvanian territories reannexed to Hungary following the Second Vienna Award, the proportion of private and denominational kindergartens started to grow again (Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv 1943: 190–193, and 1944: 206–208).<sup>16</sup>

16 The figures do not contain the data on the few settlements of Arad county that were annexed to Hungary after the Second Vienna Award.

**109.** *The distribution of kindergartens in Northern Transylvania according to maintainers:*

|                  | State |      | Communal |      | Denominational |     | Run by private associations, foundations, foreigners |     | Total |
|------------------|-------|------|----------|------|----------------|-----|--|-----|-------|
|                  |       | %    |          | %    |                | %   |  | %   |       |
| <b>1940/1941</b> | 417   | 82.9 | 53       | 10.5 | 30             | 6.0 | 3  | 0.6 | 503   |
| <b>1941/1942</b> | 448   | 80.1 | 68       | 12.2 | 36             | 6.4 | 7  | 1.3 | 559   |

Since we do not have statistics about Southern Transylvania, we cannot estimate the dynamics in the development of the network of educational institutions. Thus, we do not know if the 470 state and communal kindergartens in Northern Transylvania in 1940 represented a retreat or a progress compared to the 807 state kindergartens functioning on the entire territory of Transylvania in 1936. Similarly, we cannot estimate the development of denominational institutions either.

The 30–36 denominational and private kindergartens represented 6–6.4% of the total number of kindergartens, and were distributed as follows among the denominations (Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv 1943: 190–193, and 1944: 206–208):

**110.** *The distribution of denominational kindergartens in Northern Transylvania:*

|                  | Roman Catholic |      | Greek Catholic |     | Calvinist |      | Lutheran |      | Israelite |     | Total |
|------------------|----------------|------|----------------|-----|-----------|------|----------|------|-----------|-----|-------|
|                  |                | %    |                | %   |           | %    |          | %    |           | %   |       |
| <b>1940/1941</b> | 17             | 56.7 | 1              | 3.3 | 6         | 20.0 | 4        | 13.3 | 2         | 6.7 | 30    |
| <b>1941/1942</b> | 22             | 61.1 | 1              | 2.8 | 7         | 19.4 | 4        | 11.1 | 2         | 5.6 | 36    |

Regarding the number of children, the data we have is also from the period between 1940 and 1941. It is noticeable, that just like in the case of kindergartens, there was an increase in the number of kindergarteners (Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv 1943: 190–193, and 1944: 206–208).

**111.** *Kindergarteners and kindergarten teachers in Northern Transylvania:*

|                  | Total | Teaching staff | Children attended at the end of the school year |
|------------------|-------|----------------|---|
| <b>1940/1941</b> | 503   | 1,009          | 36,578  |
| <b>1941/1942</b> | 559   | 1,155          | 40,215  |

**4.1.2. The Primary Education**

The Hungarian administration wanted to change the organisation of education in Northern Transylvania after its reannexation to Hungary following the Second Vienna Award. This affected not only the types of institutions, but also the language of instruction. The table below, using János Szlucska's reports, presents this process of transformation (Szlucska 2009: 515). It is noticeable that in the 1939/1940 school year the language of instruction in the majority of primary schools was Romanian. After the Second Vienna Award, however, just like 22 years earlier when the Romanian authorities had started the Romanianisation of schools, the Hungarian State changed the language of instruction into Hungarian or introduced more languages of instruction in most of the educational institutions.

**112.** *The language of instruction in the Northern Transylvanian primary schools:*

|                  | Language of instruction                           |      |                      |      |   |      |  |     |  |     | Total |
|------------------|---|------|----------------------|------|---|------|--|-----|--|-----|-------|
|                  | Hungarian and Hungarian – other minority language |      | Hungarian – Romanian |      | Romanian and Romanian – Hungarian auxiliary |      | German and German – other. German – Romanian |     | Slovakian. Slovakian – other. Slovakian – Romanian. Ruthenian. Ruthenian – Romanian. Czech |     |       |
|                  |   | %    |                      | %    |   | %    |  | %   |  | %   |       |
| <b>1939/1940</b> | 167   | 6.7  | 424                  | 16.9 | 1,829                                       | 72.9 | 73   | 2.9 | 17   | 0.7 | 2,510 |
| <b>1942/1943</b> | 1,347   | 53.7 | 365                  | 14.6 | 729   | 29.1 | 59   | 2.4 | 8  | 0.3 | 2,508 |





The data from the Hungarian Statistical Yearbook slightly differ from those published by János Szlucska. While Szlucska took into consideration only primary schools exempt from tuition fees, the Hungarian Statistical Yearbook dealt with other types of primary schools as well. Thus, according to the Yearbook, in the 1949/1941 school year there were 2,682 everyday primary schools (these types of schools provided lower level primary education), 239 post-primary (repetition) schools (these schools provided 3 year education for those who finished everyday primary school but did not enrol in gymnasiums or lyceums), 4 independent schools (with special teachers, agricultural), 42 trade apprentice schools, and 2 commercial apprentice schools (Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv 1943: 190, and 1944: 206).<sup>17</sup> In the following year the number of everyday primary schools and trade apprentice school increased, while the number of the others decreased.

**113. Types of primary level schools in Northern Transylvania:**

|                  | Primary education        |                           |  |                  |                       |
|------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--|------------------|-----------------------|
|                  | Everyday primary schools | Post-primary (repetition) | Independent agricultural (with special teachers) | Trade apprentice | Commercial apprentice |
|                  | primary schools          |                           |  | schools          |                       |
| <b>1940/1941</b> | 2,682                    | 239                       | 4  | 42               | 2                     |
| <b>1941/1942</b> | 2,768                    | 217                       | 4  | 50               | 4                     |

The majority of the everyday primary and post-primary (repetition) schools were maintained by the state (62%) and the Roman Catholic and Calvinist denominations. We have accurate data about the maintainers of these two school types (Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv 1943: 193–194, and 1944: 209–210):

**114. The distribution of everyday primary and post-primary schools by maintainers in Northern Transylvania:**

|                  | State | Communal | Denominational | Run by private associations, foundations, foreigners | Post-primary (repetition) schools | Total |
|------------------|-------|----------|----------------|--|-----------------------------------|-------|
| <b>1940/1941</b> | 1,812 | 14       | 849            | 7  | 239                               | 2,921 |
| <b>1941/1942</b> | 1,897 | 15       | 844            | 12   | 217                               | 2,985 |

**115. The distribution of everyday primary and post-primary schools by maintainers in Northern Transylvania, in percentage:**

|                  | State | Communal | Denominational | Run by private associations, foundations, foreigners | Post-primary (repetition) schools |
|------------------|-------|----------|----------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| <b>1940/1941</b> | 62.0  | 0.5      | 29.1           | 0.2  | 8.2                               |
| <b>1941/1942</b> | 63.6  | 0.5      | 28.3           | 0.4  | 7.3                               |

The distribution by maintainers of the almost 850 denominational everyday primary schools was the following (Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv 1943: 193–194, and 1944: 209–210):

**116. The distribution by maintainers of the denominational everyday primary schools in Northern Transylvania:**

|                  | Roman Catholic | Greek Catholic | Orthodox | Calvinist | Lutheran | Unitarian | Israelite | Total |
|------------------|----------------|----------------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| <b>1940/1941</b> | 242            | 31             | 2        | 482       | 50       | 23        | 19        | 849   |
| <b>1941/1942</b> | 244            | 29             | 2        | 477       | 50       | 23        | 19        | 844   |

<sup>17</sup> The figures do not contain the data about the few settlements of Arad county that were annexed to Hungary after the Second Vienna Award.

**117.** *The distribution by maintainers of the denominational everyday primary schools in Northern Transylvania, in percentage:*

|                  | Roman Catholic | Greek Catholic | Orthodox | Calvinist | Lutheran | Unitarian | Israelite |
|------------------|----------------|----------------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| <b>1940/1941</b> | 28.5           | 3.7            | 0.2      | 56.8      | 5.9      | 2.7       | 2.2       |
| <b>1941/1942</b> | 28.9           | 3.4            | 0.2      | 56.5      | 5.9      | 2.7       | 2.3       |

The majority of the trade apprentice and commercial apprentice schools were maintained by the communities. There were only 3 state and 3 denominational trade apprentice schools (Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv 1943: 198–199, and 1944: 214–215).

**118.** *The distribution of trade apprentice and commercial apprentice schools by maintainers in Northern Transylvania:*

|                  | Trade apprentice schools |          |   | Commercial apprentice schools | Total |
|------------------|--------------------------|----------|---|-------------------------------|-------|
|                  | State                    | Communal | Denominational (Roman Catholic and Calvinist) | Communal                      |       |
| <b>1940/1941</b> | 3                        | 36       | 3   | 2                             | 44    |
| <b>1941/1942</b> | 3                        | 44       | 3   | 4                             | 54    |

After 1940 the decrease in the number of denominational primary schools continued, however, the Roman Catholics and Calvinists managed to maintain their dominance in this area. We have already mentioned, that after 1918 the Romanian State nationalised all state educational institutions. The Hungarian State proceeded likewise with the Northern Transylvanian schools after 1940, and the language of instruction was changed again to Hungarian. Another phenomenon that occurred in 1940 after the Second Vienna Award was that a vast proportion of ethnic Romanian teachers left Northern Transylvania. In August 1940 there were 4,700 primary school teachers of Romanian nationality in Northern Transylvania, but in the following period 84.7% of them moved to Romanian territories. Similarly, the majority of secondary school teachers of Romanian nationality also left Northern Transylvania (Sebestyén 1998: 167).

For presenting the number of students and teaching staff we use the data of the Hungarian Statistical Yearbook (Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv). In the 1940/1941 school year there were 6,862 pedagogues in everyday primary schools, and their number grew by nearly 500 in the following school year, when they provided education for a total of 398,000 students (Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv 1943: 193–194, and 1944: 209–210).

**119.** *The number of students and teachers in everyday primary schools in Northern Transylvania:*

|                  | Teaching staff | Number of students attending everyday primary schools | Number of students attending post-primary (repetition) schools | Students altogether |
|------------------|----------------|---|--|---------------------|
| <b>1940/1941</b> | 6,862          | 357,188   | 13,630   | 370,818             |
| <b>1941/1942</b> | 7,380          | 387,384   | 11,460   | 398,844             |

In the examined two school years there were 318 pedagogues teaching in trade apprentice schools and 375 pedagogues teaching in commercial apprentice schools. The number of students in trade apprentice schools exceeded 7,300 and the number of students in commercial apprentice schools exceeded 7,790 (Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv 1943: 198–199, and 1944: 214–215):

**120.** *The number of students and teachers in trade apprentice and commercial apprentice schools in Northern Transylvania:*

|                  | Trade apprentice schools |                    |                        |       | Commercial apprentice schools |                    |                        |       |
|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|-------|
|                  | Teaching staff           | Students           |                        |       | Teaching staff                | Students           |                        |       |
|                  |                          | Hungarian speakers | Non-Hungarian speakers | Total |                               | Hungarian speakers | Non-Hungarian speakers | Total |
| <b>1940/1941</b> | 308                      | 5,959              | 1,224                  | 7,183 | 10                            | 115                | 11                     | 126   |
| <b>1941/1942</b> | 354                      | 6,495              | 1,083                  | 7,578 | 21                            | 202                | 17                     | 219   |



To sum up, in the 1940/1941 school year there were 2,969 primary schools functioning in Northern Transylvania. 7,180 pedagogues were employed in these schools and a total number of 378,127 students attended them. In 1941/1942 the number of primary schools was 3,043. Furthermore, the number of teaching staff rose to 7,755, and the number of attending students to 406,641.

#### 4.1.3. The Secondary Education

In the case of civic schools, representing the lowest level of secondary education, and teacher training schools, the Hungarian Statistical Yearbook presents data only on the number of institutions. According to this, in 1940/1941 there were 52 civic schools and 14 teacher training schools in Northern Transylvania. In the following school year the number of civic schools dropped to 50 and that of teacher training schools to 11 (Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv 1943: 190–191, and 1944: 206–207).

In the case of civic schools the decrease continued in 1942/1943. At that time there were 48 schools, in 44 of these the language of instruction was Hungarian, in 3 German, and in 1 Romanian. If we compare these data with those from the last period of Romanian administration, we can notice that the language of instruction in civic schools changed dramatically. Before the Second Vienna Award in 54.3% of lower gymnasiums, which were the equivalent of civic schools, the language of instruction was Romanian, but in 1942/1943 only 2.1% of these schools taught in Romanian (Szlucska 2009: 523–525).

**121.** *The distribution of civic schools in Northern Transylvania according to the language of instruction in 1939/1940 and 1942/1943:*

|                                   | Language of instruction |      |           |      |        |     |        |     | Total |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|------|-----------|------|--------|-----|--------|-----|-------|
|                                   | Romanian                |      | Hungarian |      | German |     | French |     |       |
|                                   |                         | %    |           | %    |        | %   |        | %   |       |
| <b>1939/1940 lower gymnasiums</b> | 19                      | 54.3 | 12        | 34.2 | 3      | 8.6 | 1      | 2.9 | 35    |
| <b>1942/1943 civic schools</b>    | 1                       | 2.1  | 44        | 91.6 | 3      | 6.3 | –      | –   | 48    |

Significant changes occurred also in the ethnic distribution of students after 1940. As we could see in the case of the language of instruction, the proportion of Romanian students also dropped from 36.4% in the period between the two World Wars to 4.9%, while that of Hungarian students grew from 49.2% to 91.2% (Szlucska 2009: 540–541).

**122.** *The ethnic distribution of students attending lower gymnasiums and civic schools:*

|                                   |                                    | Ethnicity of students |      |           |       |        |      |       |       |        |       |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|------|-----------|-------|--------|------|-------|-------|--------|-------|
|                                   |                                    | Romanian              |      | Hungarian |       | German |      | Other |       | Total  |       |
|                                   |                                    |                       | %    |           | %     |        | %    |       | %     |        | %     |
| <b>1939/1940 lower gymnasiums</b> | <b>studied in mother tongue</b>    | 1,609                 | 97.0 | 1,408     | 63.0  | 321    | 92.6 | –     | –     | 3,338  | 73.3  |
|                                   | <b>studied in another language</b> | 48                    | 3.0  | 827       | 37.0  | 26     | 7.4  | 311   | 100.0 | 1,212  | 26.7  |
|                                   | <b>total</b>                       | 1,657                 | 36.4 | 2,235     | 49.2  | 347    | 7.6  | 311   | 6.8   | 4,550  | 100.0 |
| <b>1942/1943 civic schools</b>    | <b>studied in mother tongue</b>    | 135                   | 21.9 | 11,321    | 100.0 | 410    | 97.4 | –     | –     | 11,866 | 95.5  |
|                                   | <b>studied in another language</b> | 480                   | 78.1 | –         | –     | 11     | 2.6  | 74    | 100.0 | 565    | 4.5   |
|                                   | <b>total</b>                       | 615                   | 4.9  | 11,321    | 91.2  | 421    | 3.4  | 74    | 0.5   | 12,431 | 100.0 |

The V.1 department of the Royal Hungarian Ministry of Religion and Public Education elaborated a draft for the organisation of the Northern Transylvanian school system on 10 August 1940, a few weeks prior to the territorial changes.<sup>18</sup> The draft provided for the number and language of instruction of gymnasiums for boys and girls and upper gymnasiums (lyceums) that would be authorised. According to this, only 63 gymnasiums and upper gymnasiums would function in the reannexed territories from 1940

18 MOL K592, cs. 689, t. 4, *Erdélyi gimnáziumok nyilvántartása*, 193–252.

on (52 of these would be for boys and 11 for girls), while previously there were 92 such schools. According to the draft, the language of instruction would be Hungarian in 53 of these schools, German in 8, and Romanian in 5 of them. Furthermore, there would be four Romanian sections in state upper gymnasiums of Hungarian language (Deva, Sibiu, Făgăraş and Cluj). In the following we can see the distribution of these schools:

**123.** *The draft of the Royal Hungarian Ministry of Religion and Public Education on the language of instruction in the Northern Transylvanian gymnasiums and upper gymnasiums (1940):*

| Language of instruction | Type of gymnasium and upper gymnasium |       |                |                |       |          |           |       |           |           |          |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------|----------------|----------------|-------|----------|-----------|-------|-----------|-----------|----------|
|                         | State                                 |       | Royal Catholic | Roman Catholic |       | Lutheran | Calvinist |       | Unitarian | Israelite | Orthodox |
|                         | Boys                                  | Girls | Boys           | Boys           | Girls | Boys     | Boys      | Girls | Boys      | Boys      | Boys     |
| Hungarian               | 20                                    | 5     | 3              | 10             | 4     | –        | 7         | 1     | 2         | 1         | –        |
| German                  | 1                                     | –     | –              | 1              | 1     | 5        | –         | –     | –         | –         | –        |
| Romanian                | 4                                     | –     | –              | –              | –     | –        | –         | –     | –         | –         | 2        |

The ministry did not intend to reorganise the denominational gymnasiums with the language of instruction in Hungarian, which had been established during the Romanian administration and were functioning at the time of the Second Vienna Award. Similarly, it did not want to dissolve the denominational institutions in German language, either. However, in the case of the Romanian denominational schools would authorise the functioning of only those which had not been turned into state schools between 1918 and 1940. The greatest changes were planned in the field of state upper gymnasiums, since after 1918 the language of instruction was changed to Romanian in all of these schools. According to the draft, only those state upper gymnasiums would be kept, the functioning of which would be justified from the point of view of school policy and would not weaken the Hungarian denominational schools functioning in the same settlements. The draft wished to restore the original character of Hungarian denominational schools nationalised during the Romanian administration.

According to the statistics of the time, it appears that the plan of the Royal Hungarian Ministry of Religion and Public Education was de facto accomplished starting from the autumn of 1940. In the 1940/1941 school year there were 63 gymnasiums and lyceums functioning in Northern Transylvania. Furthermore, there were 3 trade schools and 10 commercial secondary schools functioning in that period. However, in 1941/1942 the number of gymnasiums and lyceums dropped to 61, and two military secondary schools were established (Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv 1943: 190–191, and 1944: 206–207).

**124.** *The distribution of the Northern Transylvanian secondary schools according to their type:*

|           | Secondary schools |                   |                            |         |                   |                         |                              |       |
|-----------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|---------|-------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|-------|
|           | Gymnasiums        | Girls' gymnasiums | Military secondary schools | Lyceums | Lyceums for girls | Trade secondary schools | Commercial secondary schools | Total |
| 1940/1941 | 36                | 15                | –                          | 6       | 6                 | 3                       | 10                           | 76    |
| 1941/1942 | 35                | 11                | 2                          | 7       | 8                 | 3                       | 9                            | 75    |

## 4.2. The Period between 1944 and 1948

We have even fewer statistical sources from the four years following World War II. The studies which deal with the period touch upon the topic only partially, or deal with the special case of only one ethnic group – mainly with the case of the ethnic Hungarians.

When Northern Transylvania came again under Romanian administration, the educational institutions changed hands again. A royal decree issued in May 1945 decreed that all the Romanian educational institutions which left Northern Transylvania after 1940 could return to their original buildings. Consequently, a significant number of Hungarian schools had to move (Vincze 1999: 191).

More detailed statistics are presented in the reports of the Romanian National Ministry of Culture and Religious Affairs from 1946. These in fact concern the 1945/1946 school year, and based on these reports we will try to reconstruct the situation of public education in Transylvania after World War II.

We do not have regional breakdowns regarding the number of schools, only national level data. In 1945/1946 there were 12,270 state and 773 denominational primary schools in Romania and, besides



these, 1,163 private primary schools and kindergartens. The language of instruction was Hungarian in 932 of the primary schools and Ukrainian in 29. 25 schools had Ukrainian sections, too.<sup>19</sup> A total of 46,477 pedagogues taught in the more than twelve thousand primary schools, 2,855 of which were ethnic Hungarian.<sup>20</sup>

**125. The number of primary schools in Romania in the 1945/1946 school year:**

|  |        |
|--|--------|
| <b>State primary schools</b>   | 12,270 |
| <b>Schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction</b>               | 29     |
| <b>Ukrainian sections</b>  | 23     |
| <b>State primary schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction</b> | 932    |
| <b>Denominational primary schools</b>                                      | 773    |
| <b>Private primary schools and kindergartens</b>                           | 1,163  |

The most significant differences compared to the period before 1944 and after 1948 can be seen in the field of secondary education. In August 1945 the Groza-government established the so called *uniform gymnasiums (gimnazii unice)* which provided three-year training. The aim of these institutions was to fill in the lag in the education of the students. In the absence of an appropriate number of teachers and due to outdated educational infrastructure (for example the lack of suitable school buildings), these schools could be established only in larger settlements. In the 1945/1946 school year there were 242 such schools in Transylvania. The educational reform of 1948 abolished these uniform gymnasiums altogether, after having functioned only for 3 years (Bunescu 2004: 343).

In the 1945/1946 school year there were 408 secondary schools in Transylvania with 2,859 teachers in total. 83 of these schools were theoretical lyceums and gymnasiums, while secondary level trade and commercial education was provided by 50 schools. 21 schools provided teacher training.<sup>21</sup>

**126. The distribution of secondary schools in Transylvania by school type in 1945/1946:**

|  | <b>Number of boys' schools</b> | <b>Number of girls' schools</b> | <b>Mixed schools</b> | <b>Total</b> |
|--|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| <b>Theoretical lyceums and gymnasiums</b>  | 37                             | 32                              | 14                   | 83           |
| <b>Commercial lyceums and gymnasiums</b>   | 10                             | 5                               | 2                    | 17           |
| <b>Trade lyceums and gymnasiums</b>        | 21                             | 12                              | –                    | 33           |
| <b>Teacher training schools</b>            | 11                             | 9                               | 1                    | 21           |
| <b>Housekeeping schools (gospodărie)</b>   | –                              | 12                              | –                    | 12           |
| <b>Uniform gymnasiums (Gimnazii unice)</b> | –                              | –                               | 242                  | 242          |
| <b>Total</b>                               | 79                             | 70                              | 259                  | 408          |

53.5% of the more than 56,000 secondary school students attended theoretical lyceums or gymnasiums (in 1928/1929 this ratio was 68.7%). A further 17.6% of the students attended uniform gymnasiums functioning in villages.<sup>22</sup>

**127. The number of students attending secondary schools in Transylvania in 1945/1946:**

|  | <b>Number of boys' schools</b> | <b>Number of girls' schools</b> | <b>Mixed schools</b> | <b>Total</b> |
|--|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| <b>Theoretical lyceums and gymnasiums</b>  | 15,612                         | 12,195                          | 2,430                | 30,237       |
| <b>Commercial lyceums and gymnasiums</b>   | 2,897                          | 1,615                           | 506                  | 5,018        |
| <b>Trade lyceums and gymnasiums</b>        | 3,355                          | 2,275                           | –                    | 5,630        |
| <b>Teacher training schools</b>            | 2,175                          | 2,183                           | 224                  | 4,582        |
| <b>Housekeeping schools (gospodărie)</b>   | –                              | 1,113                           | –                    | 1,113        |
| <b>Uniform gymnasiums (Gimnazii unice)</b> | –                              | –                               | 9,932                | 9,932        |
| <b>Total</b>                               | 24,039                         | 19,381                          | 13,092               | 56,512       |

19 *Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale*, București (in the following: ANIC), Fond: Ministerul Culturii Naționale și al Cultelor, inv. 2325, dos. 603, 5.

20 *Ibidem*

21 *Ibidem* 6–7.

22 *Ibidem*

## 5. The Higher Education

■ The King Ferdinand I University (Universitatea „Regele Ferdinand”) of Cluj represented the apex of Transylvanian higher education. Still, there were other institutions besides this providing higher education: the Academy of Agricultural Science (Cluj), the Upper Academy of Commerce and Trade (Cluj), the Academy of Music (Cluj), the Academy of Law (Oradea), the Technical College (Timișoara), the Electromechanical Sub-Engineer College (Cluj), the School of Fine Arts (Timișoara) and the university level theological institutions belonging to the different denominations.

In the period we discuss the language of instruction in the institutions of higher education in comparison with the situation before 1918 changed from Hungarian to Romanian, and there were also considerable transformations in the ethnic composition of students. The shift in the language of instruction, especially in the first years, represented a significant hindrance for young ethnic Hungarians and other minority youth who did not speak Romanian.

The overrepresentation of Orthodox, Greek Catholic and Israelite students was a characteristic among the students in the institutions of higher education. This fact was connected to the distribution of students finishing secondary school, and the level of modernisation and social stratification characteristic to the different denominations/ethnic groups. Romanians and Jews were preponderant in lyceums and commercial schools, thus it was natural that they sat entrance examinations to technical, commercial, engineering and agricultural science colleges in higher numbers.

Besides these, the total number of students increased not only in Transylvania but also in the other universities and colleges of Greater Romania. This proved to be essential especially from the perspective of the new territories united with Romania, since similarly to other multiethnic regions the Romanian State intended to establish and enforce a new, Romanian elite, thus in Transylvania through the modification of the ethnic distribution of students in the institutions of higher education (Kiss 2010: 19; Livezeanu 1995: 211).

One of the main deficiencies of the Romanian system of higher education between the two World Wars was that the increase in the number of students and the number of qualifications that could be obtained were not proportional with the demands of the labour market. This lack of proportionality led to the overpopulation of the intellectual labour market, and this in turn created serious conflicts. Student demonstrations and riots were frequent in the period between the two World Wars. In these the students demanded the transformation of the university educational system, the improvement of living and learning conditions for students, as well as the limitation of the number of non-Romanian students enrolled (*numerus clausus*). Most of these student demonstrations, such as the ones from Oradea and Cluj from December 1927, were accompanied by openly anti-Jewish manifestations (Gidó 2006: 41–43).

### 5.1. The Electromechanical Sub-Engineer School, Cluj

The Electromechanical Sub-Engineer School of Cluj was established in 1937. However, an institution under another name and with a different level of education had functioned since 1920. Following World War I several industrial companies were established in Transylvania (Câmpia Turzii, Baia Mare, Brașov, Călan) for which the employment of well trained professionals (engineers and skilled workers with technical knowledge) was essential. The opening of the Upper Trade School of Cluj (Școala Superioară Industrială) in 1920 aimed to meet these demands. Between 1922 and 1937 the school bore the name of Technical Manager School (Școală de Conducători Tehnici). Later, in 1937, it was transformed into an electromechanical sub-engineer school (Drăgoescu 1999: 1191).

The electromechanical school was mainly attended by boys. By 1937 their number was between 35 and 84, however, beginning from the 1938 school year, it rose above 120. The ethnic distribution of the students changed during the years, but except for 1935 and 1936, Romanians represented the absolute majority. The proportion of Hungarians was between 14 and 31%, that of Jews between 10 and 21%. Girl students were mainly Jewish: in 1934/1935 there were 3 girls attending the sub-engineer college, there were 2 in 1935/1936 and in 1937/1938, and in the following two academic years a single girl was enrolled.

**128. The ethnic distribution of students attending the Electromechanical Sub-Engineer School of Cluj:**

|                  | Professors | Ethnicity of enrolled students |      |        |     |           |      |        |      |       |     | Total |        |       |
|------------------|------------|--------------------------------|------|--------|-----|-----------|------|--------|------|-------|-----|-------|--------|-------|
|                  |            | Romanian                       |      | German |     | Hungarian |      | Jewish |      | Other |     | Male  | Female | Total |
|                  |            |                                | %    |        | %   |           | %    |        | %    |       | %   |       |        |       |
| <b>1933/1934</b> | 17         | 24                             | 68.6 | 1      | 2.9 | 5         | 14.3 | 4      | 11.4 | 1     | 2.9 | 35    | –      | 35    |
| <b>1934/1935</b> | 16         | 30                             | 57.7 | 2      | 3.8 | 9         | 17.3 | 10     | 19.2 | 1     | 1.9 | 49    | 3      | 52    |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 16         | 28                             | 45.2 | 2      | 3.2 | 19        | 30.6 | 13     | 21.0 | –     | –   | 60    | 2      | 62    |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 23         | 38                             | 45.2 | 3      | 3.6 | 26        | 31.0 | 14     | 16.7 | 3     | 3.6 | 82    | 2      | 84    |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 23         | 40                             | 54.1 | 1      | 1.4 | 18        | 24.3 | 10     | 13.5 | 5     | 6.8 | 71    | 3      | 74    |
| <b>1938/1939</b> | 23         | 82                             | 67.2 | 1      | 0.8 | 21        | 17.2 | 12     | 9.8  | 6     | 4.9 | 120   | 2      | 122   |
| <b>1939/1940</b> | 23         | 66                             | 53.7 | 2      | 1.6 | 27        | 22.0 | 19     | 15.4 | 9     | 7.3 | 120   | 3      | 123   |

In line with the ethnic proportions, the students were mainly Orthodox and Greek Catholic. They were followed by Roman Catholics and Calvinists.

**129. The denominational distribution of students attending the Electromechanical Sub-Engineer School of Cluj:**

|                  | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|
|                  | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Total |
| <b>1933/1934</b> | 17                            | 8              | 4              | 2         | –         | –        | 4         | 35    |
| <b>1934/1935</b> | 25                            | 6              | 3              | 5         | 1         | 2        | 10        | 52    |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 18                            | 10             | 7              | 8         | 3         | 3        | 13        | 62    |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 28                            | 13             | 13             | 9         | 3         | 4        | 14        | 84    |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 28                            | 16             | 8              | 8         | 2         | 2        | 10        | 74    |
| <b>1938/1939</b> | 56                            | 31             | 15             | 4         | –         | 4        | 12        | 122   |
| <b>1939/1940</b> | 49                            | 24             | 16             | 10        | 1         | 4        | 19        | 123   |

**130. The denominational distribution of students attending the Electromechanical Sub-Engineer School of Cluj, in percentage:**

|                  | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
|                  | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite |
| <b>1933/1934</b> | 48.6                          | 22.9           | 11.4           | 5.7       | –         | –        | 11.4      |
| <b>1934/1935</b> | 48.1                          | 11.5           | 5.8            | 9.6       | 1.9       | 3.8      | 19.2      |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 29.0                          | 16.1           | 11.3           | 12.9      | 4.8       | 4.8      | 21.0      |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 33.3                          | 15.5           | 15.5           | 10.7      | 3.6       | 4.8      | 16.7      |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 37.8                          | 21.6           | 10.8           | 10.8      | 2.7       | 2.7      | 13.5      |
| <b>1938/1939</b> | 45.9                          | 25.4           | 12.3           | 3.3       | –         | 3.3      | 9.8       |
| <b>1939/1940</b> | 39.8                          | 19.5           | 13.0           | 8.1       | 0.8       | 3.3      | 15.4      |

Only a small proportion of the students enrolled in the sub-engineer college graduated. The proportion of those who graduated was 37.1% in the 1933/1934 academic year, in the following year 11.5%, while in 1935/1936 only 6.5%.

**131. Graduates of the Electromechanical Sub-Engineer School of Cluj:**

|                  | Graduates |        |       |
|------------------|-----------|--------|-------|
|                  | Male      | Female | Total |
| <b>1933/1934</b> | 13        | –      | 13    |
| <b>1934/1935</b> | 6         | –      | 6     |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 4         | –      | 4     |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 16        | 1      | 17    |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 13        | –      | 13    |
| <b>1938/1939</b> | 15        | 1      | 16    |
| <b>1939/1940</b> | –         | –      | –     |

## 5.2. The Academy of Agricultural Science Cluj

Agricultural science studies have a long history in Transylvania. In 1896 an agricultural science institute was established in Mănăştur, near Cluj, which in 1906 took the name of Agricultural Academy. The change of name also meant that it became an institution of higher education. Education at the Academy was interrupted during World War I, until 1918.

When it was reopened the institution went through a significant development. The instruction was of 4 years, and beginning from 1929 graduates received the title of agricultural engineer. After a few years, in 1929, the Agricultural Academy was transformed into Academy of Agronomical Science (Academia de Înalte Studii Agronomice), the length of studies changed from four to five years, and it became qualified to award also doctoral qualification.

The number of students enrolled to the Academy of Agricultural Science exceeded one hundred in the second part of the 1920s and at the end of the 1930s it was already above 300. Between 1925 and 1937 a fourfold increase can be observed in the number of students and a twofold increase in the number of professors. The proportion of students who obtained a diploma in engineering compared to the number of students enrolled changed from year to year. In most cases it was between 10 and 14%, but in 1926/1927 the number of graduates was higher if compared to the general situation in higher education (28.6%).

### 132. Students, graduates and professors of the Agricultural Science Academy of Cluj:

|           | Enrolled students |        |       | Students who obtained a diploma in engineering |        |       | Professional staff |    |
|-----------|-------------------|--------|-------|--|--------|-------|--------------------|----|
|           | Male              | Female | Total | Male   | Female | Total |                    |    |
| 1925/1926 | 73                | –      | 73    | 9  | –      | 9     | 12.3%              | 22 |
| 1926/1927 | 68                | 2      | 70    | 19   | 1      | 20    | 28.6%              | 22 |
| 1927/1928 | 101               | 1      | 102   | 12   | 3      | 15    | 14.7%              | 21 |
| 1928/1929 | 128               | 3      | 131   | 13   | 1      | 14    | 10.7%              | 21 |
| 1929/1930 | 153               | 4      | 157   | 15   | –      | 15    | 9.6%               | 20 |
| 1930/1931 | 149               | 8      | 157   | 18   | 1      | 19    | 12.1%              | 20 |
| 1931/1932 | 170               | 14     | 184   | 20   | –      | 20    | 10.9%              | 20 |
| 1932/1933 | 200               | 16     | 216   | 5  | –      | 5     | 2.3%               | 23 |
| 1933/1934 | 305               | 26     | 331   | 25   | 1      | 26    | 7.9%               | 21 |
| 1935/1936 | 308               | 23     | 331   | 36   | 4      | 40    | 12.1%              | 43 |
| 1936/1937 | 301               | 22     | 323   | 53   | 7      | 60    | 18.6%              | 42 |
| 1937/1938 | 309               | 15     | 324   | 53   | 4      | 57    | 17.6%              | 41 |

Regarding the ethnic distribution of students, the data we have is from the period between 1935 and 1937. In these years the ethnic and denominational distribution of students showed a reverse image to the one prior to 1918. The institution, which previously functioned as the school of the Hungarian gentry, became mainly Romanian. In the second part of the 1930s Romanian students represented 83–87%, Hungarians 6–8%, and Germans 3–4% of the total number of students. The denominational distribution had a similar structure. The ratio of Orthodox and Greek Catholic students was above 80%, they were followed by Roman Catholics, Calvinists, Lutherans and Unitarians in descending order. The proportion of Israelites was insignificant.

### 133. The ethnic distribution of students enrolled in the Agricultural Science Academy of Cluj:

|           | Ethnicity of enrolled students |      |        |     |           |     |        |     |       |     |       |
|-----------|--------------------------------|------|--------|-----|-----------|-----|--------|-----|-------|-----|-------|
|           | Romanian                       |      | German |     | Hungarian |     | Jewish |     | Other |     | Total |
|           |                                | %    |        | %   |           | %   |        | %   |       | %   |       |
| 1935/1936 | 289                            | 87.3 | 12     | 3.6 | 19        | 5.7 | 1      | 0.3 | 10    | 3.0 | 331   |
| 1936/1937 | 269                            | 83.3 | 11     | 3.4 | 24        | 7.4 | 1      | 0.3 | 18    | 5.6 | 323   |
| 1937/1938 | 278                            | 85.8 | 13     | 4.0 | 26        | 8.0 | –      | –   | 7     | 2.2 | 324   |



**134.** *The denominational distribution of students enrolled in the Agricultural Science Academy of Cluj:*

|                  | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       | Total |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|                  | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |       |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 230                           | 65             | 17             | 6         | 4         | 5        | 1         | 1     | 329   |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 220                           | 58             | 16             | 9         | 6         | 8        | 1         | 2     | 320   |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 207                           | 73             | 23             | 9         | 6         | 5        | –         | 1     | 324   |

**135.** *The denominational distribution of students enrolled in the Agricultural Science Academy of Cluj, in percentage:*

|                  | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
|                  | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 69.9                          | 19.8           | 5.2            | 1.8       | 1.2       | 1.5      | 0.3       |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 68.8                          | 18.1           | 5.0            | 2.8       | 1.9       | 2.5      | 0.3       |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 63.9                          | 22.5           | 7.1            | 2.8       | 1.9       | 1.5      | –         |

According to the provisions of the law on higher education of 1938, the Academy of Agricultural Science was subordinated to the Technical University of Timișoara. This meant that, beginning from 1938 it lost its institutional independence, and continued to function as the Faculty of Agriculture of the Polytechnical Institute of Timișoara until 1948. In 1940, following the Second Vienna Award, the Faculty of Agricultural moved from Cluj to Timișoara, from where it returned to its original seat in 1945 (Drăgoescu 1999: 1211).

### 5.3. The Upper Academy of Commerce and Trade, Cluj – Brașov

Economic education of university level in Transylvania began with the opening of the Academy of Commerce in 1902. The institution functioned under this name until 1922. In 1922, the Academy was reorganised under the name of Upper Academy of Commerce and Trade following the model of the institution from Bucharest with a similar profile (*Academia de Înalte Studii Comerciale*) (Dare de Seamă 1922: 3–22).

The number of students enrolled in the Upper Academy of Commerce and Trade grew gradually between 1920 and 1927. In the first academic year only 39 students were admitted. One year later the number of students was already 107 and in 1924/1925 it was 290. In the following years a slight decline can be observed in the number of students, but beginning from 1930 we can witness growth again. This was primarily due to the fact that on 1 January 1930 the status of the institution changed. Starting from this date the length of instruction, which previously was of 3 years, became of 4 years, the first being a preparatory year. The Academy also became entitled to issue doctoral titles (Drăgoescu 1999: 1098–1099; Dare de seamă 1922: 26, 1924: 36 and 48, 1926: 35 and 50, 1929: 56 and 66; Anuarul Statistic 1933: 364, 1939: 250 and 252).

In the period between 1930 and 1937 the number of students enrolled was between 460 and 960, meaning that the number of students doubled compared to the first years of the 1920s. This increase did not necessarily go hand in hand with the improvement of the quality of education; in 1923 only 10 students graduated from the institute, and in 1934 only 66, showing that the rate of drop-out was high (see *table no. 140*).

We have detailed data from the period following 1930. The majority of the students were boys. The proportion of girls in the early 1930s was 30–32%, later, this proportion decreased and in 1936/1937 reached as low as 9.5%.

**136.** *The distribution by sex of students attending the Upper Academy of Commerce and Trade of Cluj between 1931 and 1937:*

|                  | Ethnicity of enrolled students |        |        |        |           |        |        |        |       |       |        | Total | Professorial staff |
|------------------|--------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|-----------|--------|--------|--------|-------|-------|--------|-------|--------------------|
|                  | Romanian                       |        | German |        | Hungarian |        | Jewish |        | Other | Total |        |       |                    |
|                  | Male                           | Female | Male   | Female | Male      | Female | Male   | Female | Male  | Male  | Female |       |                    |
| <b>1931/1932</b> | 254                            | 97     | 20     | 2      | 40        | 28     | 6      | 9      | 7     | 326   | 137    | 463   |                    |
| <b>1932/1933</b> | 292                            | 115    | 18     | 3      | 47        | 34     | 10     | 17     | 4     | 370   | 170    | 540   |                    |
| <b>1933/1934</b> | 384                            | 83     | 25     | 2      | 57        | 33     | 21     | 19     | 5     | 492   | 137    | 629   |                    |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 689                            | 71     | 19     | 2      | 46        | 21     | 17     | 12     | 7     | 778   | 106    | 884   | 29                 |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 795                            | 69     | 17     | 2      | 41        | 16     | 15     | 4      | 8     | 875   | 92     | 967   | 28                 |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 693                            | 66     | 12     | 14     | 33        | 11     | 6      | 4      | 6     | 750   | 95     | 845   | 28                 |

With regard to ethnic distribution Romanian students represented the overwhelming majority. They were followed by Hungarians with 5–11%, Jews, with 1–15% and Germans, with 2–5%. Similarly, the denominational distribution of students also showed a powerful Orthodox and Greek Catholic dominance. Roman Catholics represented 4–7%, Calvinists 2%.

**137.** *The ethnic distribution of students attending the Upper Academy of Commerce and Trade of Cluj:*

|                  | Enrolled students |      |           |      |        |     |        |      |       |       |
|------------------|-------------------|------|-----------|------|--------|-----|--------|------|-------|-------|
|                  | Romanian          |      | Hungarian |      | German |     | Jewish |      | Other | Total |
|                  |                   |      |           |      |        |     |        |      |       |       |
| <b>1920/1921</b> | 38                | 97.4 | –         | –    | –      | –   | –      | –    | 1     | 39    |
| <b>1921/1922</b> | 93                | 86.9 | 6         | 5.6  | 3      | 2.8 | 3      | 2.8  | 2     | 107   |
| <b>1922/1923</b> | 189               | 71.6 | 26        | 9.8  | 7      | 2.7 | 40     | 15.2 | 2     | 264   |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 184               | 86.4 | 12        | 5.6  | 9      | 4.2 | 5      | 2.3  | 3     | 213   |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 236               | 81.4 | 21        | 7.2  | 12     | 4.1 | 7      | 2.4  | 14    | 290   |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 215               | 81.7 | 27        | 10.3 | 9      | 3.4 | 7      | 2.7  | 5     | 263   |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 193               | 74.8 | 29        | 11.2 | 16     | 6.2 | 9      | 3.5  | 11    | 258   |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 215               | 81.7 | 29        | 11.0 | 10     | 3.8 | 4      | 1.5  | 5     | 263   |
| <b>1931/1932</b> | 351               | 75.8 | 68        | 14.7 | 22     | 4.8 | 15     | 3.2  | 7     | 463   |
| <b>1932/1933</b> | 407               | 75.4 | 81        | 15.0 | 21     | 3.9 | 27     | 5.0  | 4     | 540   |
| <b>1933/1934</b> | 467               | 74.2 | 90        | 14.3 | 27     | 4.3 | 40     | 6.4  | 5     | 629   |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 760               | 86.0 | 67        | 7.6  | 21     | 2.4 | 29     | 3.3  | 7     | 884   |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 864               | 89.3 | 57        | 5.9  | 19     | 2.0 | 19     | 2.0  | 8     | 967   |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 759               | 89.8 | 44        | 5.2  | 26     | 3.1 | 10     | 1.2  | 6     | 845   |

**138.** *The denominational distribution of students attending the Upper Academy of Commerce and Trade of Cluj:*

|                  | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |          |           |           |       | Total |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|                  | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Lutheran | Unitarian | Israelite | Other |       |
| <b>1920/1921</b> | 23                            | 15             | 1              | –         | –        | –         | –         | –     | 39    |
| <b>1921/1922</b> | 64                            | 29             | 5              | 2         | 3        | 1         | 3         | –     | 107   |
| <b>1922/1923</b> | 137                           | 53             | 14             | 8         | 7        | 5         | 40        | –     | 264   |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 140                           | 45             | 9              | 5         | 8        | 1         | 5         | –     | 213   |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 209                           | 40             | 14             | 6         | 12       | 2         | 7         | –     | 290   |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 177                           | 39             | 12             | 11        | 9        | 4         | 7         | 4     | 263   |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 159                           | 46             | 13             | 13        | 14       | 4         | 9         | –     | 258   |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 157                           | 59             | 24             | 8         | 8        | 3         | 4         | –     | 263   |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 636                           | 126            | 62             | 19        | 3        | 6         | 29        | 3     | 884   |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 746                           | 114            | 52             | 19        | 2        | 11        | 19        | 4     | 967   |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 656                           | 112            | 34             | 15        | 10       | 3         | 10        | 5     | 845   |



**139.** *The denominational distribution of students attending the Upper Academy of Commerce and Trade of Cluj, in percentage:*

|                  | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |          |           |           |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
|                  | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Lutheran | Unitarian | Israelite |
| <b>1920/1921</b> | 59.0                          | 38.5           | 2.6            | –         | –        | –         | –         |
| <b>1921/1922</b> | 59.8                          | 27.1           | 4.7            | 1.9       | 2.8      | 0.9       | 2.8       |
| <b>1922/1923</b> | 51.9                          | 20.1           | 5.3            | 3.0       | 2.7      | 1.9       | 15.2      |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 65.7                          | 21.1           | 4.2            | 2.3       | 3.8      | 0.5       | 2.3       |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 72.1                          | 13.8           | 4.8            | 2.1       | 4.1      | 0.7       | 2.4       |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 67.3                          | 14.8           | 4.6            | 4.2       | 3.4      | 1.5       | 2.7       |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 61.6                          | 17.8           | 5.0            | 5.0       | 5.4      | 1.6       | 3.5       |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 59.7                          | 22.4           | 9.1            | 3.0       | 3.0      | 1.1       | 1.5       |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 71.9                          | 14.3           | 7.0            | 2.1       | 0.3      | 0.7       | 3.3       |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 77.1                          | 11.8           | 5.4            | 2.0       | 0.2      | 1.1       | 2.0       |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 77.6                          | 13.3           | 4.0            | 1.8       | 1.2      | 0.4       | 1.2       |

Regarding the graduates of the Upper Academy of Commerce and Trade the data we have refer to the period between 1923 and 1934. During these years a total of 570 persons obtained diplomas, which meant between 41 and 71 licentiates per year.

**140.** *Graduates of the Upper Academy of Commerce and Trade between 1923 and 1934:*

| 1923 | 1924 | 1925 | 1926 | 1927 | 1928 | 1929 | 1930 | 1931 | 1932 | 1933 | 1934 |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 10   | 37   | 53   | 47   | 47   | 46   | 45   | 65   | 42   | 41   | 71   | 66   |

Following the Second Vienna Award the Upper Academy of Commerce and Trade of Cluj moved its seat to Braşov which remained part of Romania. Between 1940 and 1948 the Academy functioned here under the same name. Following the Romanian reform of public education of 1948 the Academy was dissolved and a new educational institution was established under the name of *Institute of Economic Sciences and Planning* (Institutul de Ştiinţe Economice şi Planificare), which provided three-year-long instruction. In 1950 the seat of the Institute was moved to Iaşi (Drăgoescu 1999: 1101, Chiriacescu 1998).

Between 1938 and 1948, the number of students of the Upper Academy of Commerce and Trade had the following structure (Drăgoescu 1999: 1099):

**141.** *The number of students attending the Upper Academy of Commerce and Trade between 1938 and 1947:*

|               | Year      | Number of students |
|---------------|-----------|--------------------|
| <b>Cluj</b>   | 1938/1939 | 738                |
|               | 1939/1940 | 622                |
| <b>Braşov</b> | 1940/1941 | 1,024              |
|               | 1941/1942 | 520                |
|               | 1942/1943 | 540                |
|               | 1943/1944 | 704                |
|               | 1944/1945 | 560                |
|               | 1945/1946 | 1,128              |
|               | 1946/1947 | 1,744              |
|               | 1947/1948 | 1,412              |

#### **5.4. The Academy of Music and Theatre of Cluj, and the School of Fine Arts of Timişoara**

The number of students enrolled in the Academy of Music and Theatre of Cluj was above two hundred in the second part of the 1930s. The female students represented 39–41%. Almost two thirds of the students were of Romanian nationality and of Orthodox or Greek Catholic faith, 15–18% were Hungarian and 9–10% German. Jews represented 7–8%. The underrepresentation of students belonging to minority denominations is evident. Most of them belonged to the Roman Catholic (13%), Calvinist (5–11%), Lutheran (4–9%) and Israelite (7–8%) denominations.

**142.** *The distribution by sex of the students attending the Academy of Music and Theatre of Cluj and their professors:*

|                  | Professorial staff | Students enrolled |        |       |
|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------|-------|
|                  |                    | Male              | Female | Total |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 25                 | 138               | 95     | 233   |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 23                 | 136               | 90     | 226   |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 29                 | 137               | 88     | 225   |

**143.** *The ethnic distribution of students attending the Academy of Music and Theatre of Cluj:*

|                  | Ethnicity of enrolled students |      |           |      |        |      |        |     |       |     | Total |
|------------------|--------------------------------|------|-----------|------|--------|------|--------|-----|-------|-----|-------|
|                  | Romanian                       |      | Hungarian |      | German |      | Jewish |     | Other |     |       |
|                  |                                | %    |           | %    |        | %    |        | %   |       | %   |       |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 149                            | 63.9 | 42        | 18.0 | 24     | 10.3 | 16     | 6.9 | 2     | 0.9 | 233   |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 149                            | 65.9 | 34        | 15.0 | 22     | 9.7  | 17     | 7.5 | 4     | 1.8 | 226   |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 140                            | 62.2 | 41        | 18.2 | 20     | 8.9  | 18     | 8.0 | 6     | 2.7 | 225   |

**144.** *The denominational distribution of students attending the Academy of Music and Theatre of Cluj:*

|                  | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       |     | Total |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|-----|-------|
|                  | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |     |       |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 75                            | 71             | 31             | 12        | 4         | 20       | 16        | 4     | 233 |       |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 81                            | 66             | 29             | 18        | 2         | 10       | 17        | 3     | 226 |       |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 67                            | 69             | 30             | 24        | 4         | 10       | 18        | 3     | 225 |       |

**145.** *The denominational distribution of students attending the Academy of Music and Theatre of Cluj, in percentage:*

|                  | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |     | Total |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----|-------|
|                  | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite |     |       |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 32.2                          | 30.5           | 13.3           | 5.2       | 1.7       | 8.6      | 6.9       | 1.7 |       |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 35.8                          | 29.2           | 12.8           | 8.0       | 0.9       | 4.4      | 7.5       | 1.3 |       |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 29.8                          | 30.7           | 13.3           | 10.7      | 1.8       | 4.4      | 8.0       | 1.3 |       |

The School of Fine Arts (Școala de Arte Frumoase) functioned in Cluj during its first years (1925–1933), then it was moved to Timișoara (1933–1941). It was granted the right to issue officially recognized certificates in 1930, and beginning from the 1936/1937 academic year it rose to the rank of Academy (Academia de Arte Frumoase din Timișoara) (Lăptoiu 1999: 120). In 1941 it was downgraded to secondary school level again.

The School of Fine Arts was the first institution of higher education in Transylvania which provided instruction in the field of fine arts. 67 students were enrolled in the first year, 91 in the following and 120 in 1827/1928 (Lăptoiu 1999: 28). Later on, however, the number of students decreased. Even so, by the 1932/1933 academic year the number of those enrolled during the years was 738. But only 625 of them attended effectively (Lăptoiu 1999: 107).

In the period between 1935 and 1937 the number of students who studied here was around 50. Almost half of the enrolled students were women. The proportion of Romanian students was between 57–62%, that of Hungarians 16–26%, that of Germans 10–13% and that of Jews between 2–4%. Most of the students belonged to the Orthodox denomination; these were followed by Roman Catholics, Calvinists and Israelites.

**146.** *The distribution by sex of students attending the School of Fine Arts of Timișoara and the professorial staff:*

|                  | Professorial staff | Enrolled students |        |       |
|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------|-------|
|                  |                    | Male              | Female | Total |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 9                  | 21                | 21     | 42    |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 9                  | 28                | 22     | 50    |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 7                  | 24                | 23     | 47    |

**147. The ethnic distribution of students attending the School of Fine Arts of Timișoara:**

|                  | Ethnicity of enrolled students |      |           |      |        |      |        |     |       |     | Total |
|------------------|--------------------------------|------|-----------|------|--------|------|--------|-----|-------|-----|-------|
|                  | Romanian                       |      | Hungarian |      | German |      | Jewish |     | Other |     |       |
|                  |                                | %    |           | %    |        | %    |        | %   |       | %   |       |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 24                             | 57.1 | 11        | 26.2 | 4      | 9.5  | 1      | 2.4 | 2     | 4.8 | 42    |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 31                             | 62.0 | 8         | 16.0 | 6      | 12.0 | 2      | 4.0 | 3     | 6.0 | 50    |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 29                             | 61.7 | 8         | 17.0 | 6      | 12.8 | 2      | 4.3 | 2     | 4.3 | 47    |

**148. The denominational distribution of students attending the School of Fine Arts of Timișoara:**

|                  | Religion of enrolled students |      |                |     |                |      |           |      |          |     |           | Total |    |
|------------------|-------------------------------|------|----------------|-----|----------------|------|-----------|------|----------|-----|-----------|-------|----|
|                  | Orthodox                      |      | Greek Catholic |     | Roman Catholic |      | Calvinist |      | Lutheran |     | Israelite |       |    |
|                  |                               | %    |                | %   |                | %    |           | %    |          | %   |           |       | %  |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 20                            | 47.6 | 2              | 4.8 | 13             | 31.0 | 5         | 11.9 | 1        | 2.4 | 1         | 2.4   | 42 |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 26                            | 52.0 | 4              | 8.0 | 12             | 24.0 | 4         | 8.0  | 2        | 4.0 | 2         | 4.0   | 50 |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 26                            | 55.3 | 3              | 6.4 | 12             | 25.5 | 4         | 8.5  | –        | –   | 2         | 4.3   | 47 |

**5.5. The Technical College (Polytechnical Institute) of Timișoara**

Between the two World Wars a few hundred students enrolled every year in the Technical College which was established in 1920 in Timișoara. Between 1923 and 1937 their number barely grew. However, as a concomitant of the developments concerning the institution the professorial staff doubled. Only one tenth of the students obtained diplomas in engineering. The students were almost exclusively boys and 81% of them were of Romanian nationality. Hungarians represented 6–7%, Germans 5% and there were only a few Jews. The combined proportion of Orthodox and Greek Catholic students was above 86%, including the students of Romanian nationality as well as the Russian, Ruthenian and Greek students belonging to these two faiths. The preponderance of Romanians among the students projected the ethnical changes that took place within the technical engineering elite of the period between the two World Wars.

**149. The distribution by sex of students attending the Technical College of Timișoara, the number of graduates and the professorial staff:**

|                  | Enrolled students |        |       | Students who obtained a diploma in engineering |        | Professorial staff |
|------------------|-------------------|--------|-------|--|--------|--------------------|
|                  | Male              | Female | Total | Male   | Female |                    |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 338               | –      | 338   | 21   | –      | 34                 |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 324               | –      | 324   | 29   | –      | 42                 |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 305               | –      | 305   | 33   | –      | 45                 |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 327               | 1      | 328   | 60   | –      | 47                 |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 396               | 1      | 397   | 73   | –      | 56                 |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 406               | –      | 406   | 54   | –      | 57                 |
| <b>1929/1930</b> | 408               | –      | 408   | 44   | –      | 57                 |
| <b>1930/1931</b> | 415               | –      | 415   | 44   | –      | 69                 |
| <b>1931/1932</b> | 356               | 1      | 357   | 30   | –      | 62                 |
| <b>1932/1933</b> | 391               | 3      | 394   | 50   | –      | 57                 |
| <b>1933/1934</b> | 427               | 1      | 428   | 34   | –      | 63                 |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 517               | 3      | 520   | ?  | ?      | 67                 |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 415               | 5      | 420   | ?  | ?      | 67                 |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 395               | 2      | 397   | 51   | 1      | 67                 |

**150. The ethnic distribution of students attending the Technical College of Timișoara:**

|                  | Ethnicity of enrolled students |      |        |     |           |     |        |     |                     |     | Total |
|------------------|--------------------------------|------|--------|-----|-----------|-----|--------|-----|---------------------|-----|-------|
|                  | Romanian                       |      | German |     | Hungarian |     | Jewish |     | Other <sup>23</sup> |     |       |
|                  |                                | %    |        | %   |           | %   |        | %   |                     | %   |       |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 421                            | 81.0 | 19     | 3.7 | 37        | 7.1 | 2      | 0.4 | 41                  | 7.9 | 520   |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 340                            | 81.0 | 16     | 3.8 | 29        | 6.9 | 1      | 0.2 | 34                  | 8.1 | 420   |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 320                            | 80.6 | 17     | 4.3 | 25        | 6.3 | –      | –   | 35                  | 8.8 | 397   |

**151. The denominational distribution of students attending the Technical College of Timișoara:**

|                  | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |            |           |          |           |       | Total |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|                  | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Protestant | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |       |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 393                           | 59             | 48             | 8          | 2         | 6        | 2         | 2     | 520   |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 312                           | 49             | 44             | 5          | 2         | 4        | 1         | 3     | 420   |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 288                           | 57             | 40             | 4          | 3         | 3        | –         | 2     | 397   |

**152. The denominational distribution of students attending the Technical College of Timișoara, in percentage:**

|                  | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |            |           |          |           |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|------------|-----------|----------|-----------|
|                  | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Protestant | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 75.6                          | 11.3           | 9.2            | 1.5        | 0.4       | 1.2      | 0.4       |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 74.3                          | 11.7           | 10.5           | 1.2        | 0.5       | 1.0      | 0.2       |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 72.5                          | 14.4           | 10.1           | 1.0        | 0.8       | 0.8      | –         |

Starting from 1937 the Technical College had the right to issue doctoral titles, nevertheless, the first such title was awarded only in 1939. By 1944 ten students obtained doctoral titles at the College. Following the educational reform of 1948 two new faculties were added to the already existing two. Thus, the enlarged institution included the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, the Faculty of Electrical Engineering, the Faculty of Civil Engineering and the Faculty of Industrial Chemistry (Drăgoescu 1999: 1193). In 1948/1949 there were already 3,655 students studying at the Polytechnical Institute (Anuarul Statistic 1957: 200).

## 5.6. The Academy of Law, Oradea

The history of the Academy of Law of Oradea goes back to the age of Maria Theresa. Through the Ratio Educationis the empress established five Royal Academies in Győr, Košice, Trnava, Oradea and Zagreb. The institution from Oradea was established in 1780, but did not function continuously. Following World War I, in April 1919, the Academy of Law was placed under the supervision of the Directory Council. It was Romanianised in the autumn of the same year. Beginning from 1931, the institution functioned under the name *Carol II Royal Academy of Law*, but beginning from the following year its independence ceased. According to the new law on university education, at first the Academy of Law was annexed to the University of Bucharest (1932–1934), and in 1934 assimilated by the Faculty of Law of the University of Cluj (Fleisz 2005: 165–168).

Regarding the functioning of the Academy of Law between the two World Wars we have almost complete data series. Between 1921 and 1932 the number of students doubled and the ratio of male and female students also changed considerably. By 1932, the rate of female students changed from the initial 0.3 to 8.8%. The majority of graduates were ethnic Romanian and Jewish.

23 In this case, the category „Other” covers Russians, Ruthenians, Bulgarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles and Greeks living in higher number in Banat and Maramureș and people whose citizenship was other than Romanian.



**153.** *The distribution by sex of students and graduates attending the Academy of Law of Oradea and the professorial staff:*

|           | Enrolled students |        |       | Graduates |        |       | Professorial staff |
|-----------|-------------------|--------|-------|-----------|--------|-------|--------------------|
|           | Male              | Female | Total | Male      | Female | Total |                    |
| 1921/1922 | 380               | 1      | 381   | 12        | –      | 12    | 12                 |
| 1922/1923 | 292               | 1      | 293   | 8         | –      | 8     | 12                 |
| 1923/1924 | 190               | 5      | 195   | 42        | –      | 42    | 16                 |
| 1924/1925 | 188               | 7      | 195   | –         | –      | –     | 16                 |
| 1925/1926 | 254               | 8      | 262   | 31        | –      | 31    | 11                 |
| 1926/1927 | 277               | 13     | 290   | 48        | 1      | 49    | 11                 |
| 1927/1928 | 259               | 15     | 274   | 43        | –      | 43    | 12                 |
| 1928/1929 | 279               | 32     | 311   | 75        | 5      | 80    | 13                 |
| 1929/1930 | 331               | 28     | 359   | –         | –      | –     | 14                 |
| 1930/1931 | 391               | 11     | 402   | –         | –      | –     | 16                 |
| 1931/1932 | 515               | 42     | 557   | –         | –      | –     | 15                 |
| 1932/1933 | 697               | 67     | 764   | –         | –      | –     | 14                 |

**154.** *The ethnic distribution of students attending the Academy of Law of Oradea:*

|           | Ethnicity of graduates |      |           |      |        |      |       | Total |
|-----------|------------------------|------|-----------|------|--------|------|-------|-------|
|           | Romanian               |      | Hungarian |      | Jewish |      | Other |       |
|           |                        | %    |           | %    |        | %    |       |       |
| 1921/1922 | 11                     | 91.7 | –         | –    | –      | –    | 1     | 12    |
| 1922/1923 | 7                      | 87.5 | –         | –    | 1      | 12.5 | –     | 8     |
| 1923/1924 | 36                     | 85.7 | –         | –    | 3      | 7.1  | 3     | 42    |
| 1925/1926 | 29                     | 93.5 | 1         | 3.2  | 1      | 3.2  | –     | 31    |
| 1926/1927 | 40                     | 81.6 | 3         | 6.1  | 6      | 12.2 | –     | 49    |
| 1927/1928 | 33                     | 76.7 | 5         | 11.6 | 5      | 11.6 | –     | 43    |
| 1928/1929 | 59                     | 73.8 | 8         | 10.0 | 13     | 16.3 | –     | 80    |

On the ethnic and denominational distribution of students data exists from the period between 1921 and 1928. Before World War I the vast majority of students were of Hungarian nationality. After 1918 Hungarian students enrolled in ever-lower proportions (due to difficulties of speaking Romanian language, or they found other study opportunities). As a result, by 1924 the proportion of Romanian students grew to 73.8%. The proportion of Jewish students was high (between 16.4 and 27.8%). This fact was in line with the professional structure and career orientation of the Jewry characteristic to this period. The same characteristics can be observed in respect to the denominational distribution of students.

**155.** *The ethnic distribution of students attending the Academy of Law of Oradea:*

|           | Ethnicity of enrolled students |      |        |     |           |      |        |      |       |       |
|-----------|--------------------------------|------|--------|-----|-----------|------|--------|------|-------|-------|
|           | Romanian                       |      | German |     | Hungarian |      | Jewish |      | Other | Total |
|           |                                | %    |        | %   |           | %    |        | %    |       |       |
| 1921/1922 | 192                            | 50.4 |        |     |           |      | 106    | 27.8 | 83    | 381   |
| 1922/1923 | 158                            | 53.9 |        |     |           |      | 68     | 23.2 | 67    | 293   |
| 1923/1924 | 136                            | 69.7 |        |     |           |      | 32     | 16.4 | 27    | 195   |
| 1924/1925 | 144                            | 73.8 |        |     |           |      | 36     | 18.5 | 15    | 195   |
| 1925/1926 | 184                            | 70.2 | 1      | 0.4 | 30        | 11.5 | 47     | 17.9 | –     | 262   |
| 1926/1927 | 199                            | 68.6 | 5      | 1.7 | 23        | 7.9  | 63     | 21.7 | –     | 290   |
| 1927/1928 | 189                            | 69.0 | 1      | 0.4 | 22        | 8.0  | 62     | 22.6 | –     | 274   |
| 1928/1929 | 199                            | 64.0 | 4      | 1.3 | 35        | 11.3 | 73     | 23.5 | –     | 311   |

**156.** *The denominational distribution of students attending the Academy of Law of Oradea:*

|           | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       |       |
|-----------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|           | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other | Total |
| 1921/1922 | 88                            |                |                |           |           |          | 106       | 187   | 381   |
| 1922/1923 | 76                            |                |                |           |           |          | 68        | 149   | 293   |
| 1923/1924 | 73                            |                |                |           |           |          | 32        | 90    | 195   |
| 1924/1925 | 92                            |                |                |           |           |          | 36        | 67    | 195   |
| 1925/1926 | 112                           | 72             | 12             | 17        | 1         | 1        | 47        | –     | 262   |
| 1926/1927 | 124                           | 74             | 10             | 16        | 1         | 2        | 63        | –     | 290   |
| 1927/1928 | 123                           | 66             | 8              | 14        | 1         | –        | 62        | –     | 274   |
| 1928/1929 | 132                           | 67             | 20             | 16        | –         | 3        | 73        | –     | 311   |

**157.** *The denominational distribution of students attending the Academy of Law of Oradea, in percentage:*

|           | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |
|-----------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
|           | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite |
| 1921/1922 | 23.1                          |                |                |           |           |          | 27.8      |
| 1922/1923 | 25.9                          |                |                |           |           |          | 23.2      |
| 1923/1924 | 37.4                          |                |                |           |           |          | 16.4      |
| 1924/1925 | 47.2                          |                |                |           |           |          | 18.5      |
| 1925/1926 | 42.7                          | 27.5           | 4.6            | 6.5       | 0.4       | 0.4      | 17.9      |
| 1926/1927 | 42.8                          | 25.5           | 3.4            | 5.5       | 0.3       | 0.7      | 21.7      |
| 1927/1928 | 44.9                          | 24.1           | 2.9            | 5.1       | 0.4       | –        | 22.6      |
| 1928/1929 | 42.4                          | 21.5           | 6.4            | 5.1       | –         | 1.0      | 23.5      |

## 5.7. The Theological Institutions of University Level

Due to the lack of adequate source material, the education of clergy for the various Transylvanian confessions can be reconstructed only partially: we barely have any data on the students attending the theologies/seminaries of the second and third largest denominations, that is, the Roman Catholics and the Greek Catholics. Similarly, there is only partial information in case of the Orthodox Church.

Until 1948 the Roman Catholic Church had three seminaries in Transylvania: one in Timișoara, one in Satu Mare and one in Alba Iulia. Out of these three only the one from Alba Iulia was allowed to function following the educational reform of 1948. In the 1929/1930 academic year there were 37 students attending the Theology of Timișoara, and in 1928/1929 there were 24 students attending the seminary of Satu Mare (Sulyok – Fritz 1930: 42–45).

Greek Catholic theologies functioned in Oradea, Blaj, Satu Mare and Gherla. Greek Catholic priests were educated at Blaj beginning from 1754. The Theology of Gherla was established in 1859, the Academy of Oradea in 1923. Out of these we only know the number of students from Gherla and Blaj from the period between 1918 and 1928 (Transilvania, Banatul, Crișana 1929: 979–982):

**158.** *The number of students attending the Greek Catholic theologies of Gherla and Blaj:*

|           | Gherla | Blaj |
|-----------|--------|------|
| 1918/1919 | 12     | 7    |
| 1919/1920 | 10     | 10   |
| 1920/1921 | 8      | 12   |
| 1921/1922 | 15     | 9    |
| 1922/1923 | 14     | 18   |
| 1923/1924 | 8      | 16   |
| 1924/1925 | 16     | 22   |
| 1925/1926 | 37     | 20   |
| 1926/1927 | 19     | 25   |
| 1927/1928 | 27     | 23   |





On 1 December 1948 the Greek Catholic Church of Romania was dissolved by Decree no. 358 of the Government; with this decree the education of Greek Catholic clergy ceased.

The theologies educating Orthodox clergy look back to a long history. In 1811 a theological seminary was opened in Sibiu that provided a six month instruction. In 1822 two seminaries were established in Arad and Vârșeț for the education of clergy in the region of Banat and the region surrounding Arad. Orthodox theological academies were only established following World War I: in 1924 the Seminar of Sibiu was transformed into an Academy. Following that similar institutions were established in Oradea, Cluj and Caransebeș. Academies accepted only students with *Matura* (Transilvania, Banatul, Crișana 1929: 973–975). In the following we will present the changes in the number of students attending the Orthodox Theological Academy of Cluj (Anuarul 1930: 56; Anuarul 1937: 158; Anuar 1938: 96; Anuar 1939: 151; Moraru 1996: 94–102):

**159.** *The number of students attending the Orthodox Theological Academy of Cluj:*

|           | Enrolled students |
|-----------|-------------------|
| 1924/1925 | 64                |
| 1925/1926 | 72                |
| 1926/1927 | 59                |
| 1927/1928 | 82                |
| 1928/1929 | 106               |
| 1929/1930 | 112               |
| 1934/1935 | 80                |
| 1935/1936 | 81                |
| 1936/1937 | 56                |
| 1937/1938 | 53                |
| 1938/1939 | 53                |
| 1939/1940 | 58                |
| 1941/1942 | 54                |
| 1942/1943 | 64                |
| 1943/1944 | 63                |
| 1945/1946 | 76                |

The education of Calvinist and Unitarian clergy was in charge of the theologies of the two churches from Cluj. There are almost complete statistics on the number of enrolled students (Az Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület Theologiai Fakultásának Értésítője 1923–1943; A Magyarországi Unitárius Egyház 1919; A Magyar Unitárius Egyház 1921–1935; Az Unitárius Egyház 1936–1942):

**160.** *The number of students attending the Reformed (Calvinist) Theology and the Unitarian Theology:*

|           | Reformed (Calvinist) Theology | Unitarian Theology |
|-----------|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1918/1919 | ?                             | 5                  |
| 1919/1920 | ?                             | 11                 |
| 1920/1921 | ?                             | 21                 |
| 1921/1922 | 82                            | ?                  |
| 1922/1923 | 118                           | 29                 |
| 1923/1924 | 126                           | 29                 |
| 1924/1925 | 143                           | 28                 |
| 1925/1926 | 159                           | 27                 |
| 1926/1927 | 143                           | ?                  |
| 1927/1928 | 172                           | ?                  |
| 1928/1929 | 183                           | 29                 |
| 1929/1930 | 188                           | 33                 |
| 1930/1931 | 191                           | 27                 |
| 1931/1932 | ?                             | 35                 |
| 1932/1933 | ?                             | 26                 |
| 1933/1934 | 135                           | ?                  |
| 1934/1935 | ?                             | 33                 |
| 1935/1936 | 117                           | 28                 |

|           | Reformed (Calvinist) Theology | Unitarian Theology |
|-----------|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1936/1937 | 129                           | 28                 |
| 1937/1938 | 148                           | 30                 |
| 1938/1939 | 149                           | 29                 |
| 1939/1940 | 152                           | 23                 |
| 1940/1941 | 94                            | 20                 |
| 1941/1942 | 70                            | 15                 |
| 1942/1943 | 65                            | ?                  |

The protestant churches of Transylvania maintained separate theological institutes until the years following World War II. Under the constraint of the law no. 177/1948 on churches and of the dictatorial state establishment the churches set up a common theology. This is how the Protestant Theological Institute of University level of Cluj was established in 1949, preparing Calvinist, Lutheran of Augsburg Confession (Saxon Evangelical-Lutheran), Hungarian Evangelical-Lutheran, and Unitarian students for pastoral service. In 1948/1949 171 students attended the united protestant theology and in the following year 187 students attended (Egyetemi Fokú Protestáns Theologiai Intézet 1951: 13–37).

**161.** *The number of students attending the Protestant Theological Institute of University level of Cluj:*

|           | Calvinist | Lutheran | Unitarian | Total |
|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|
| 1948/1949 | 137       | 10       | 24        | 171   |
| 1949/1950 | 144       | 14       | 29        | 187   |
| 1950/1951 | 138       | 32       | 23        | 193   |

## 6. The University of Cluj

■ In the period analysed, but also in the periods preceding and following it, the University of Cluj was the most important institution of higher education in Transylvania. This is the reason why we will deal with it in more detail.

The Franz Joseph University of Cluj, founded in 1872, was taken over by the Romanian state in 1919. The name of the new Romanian state institution became *King Ferdinand I University*. The majority of the Hungarian professorial staff of the institution fled from Cluj, and the banished Hungarian university continued its activity in Szeged until 1940. The King Ferdinand I University opened its gates on 3 November 1919 to more than 2,000 enrolled students. Beginning from the Second Vienna Award until 1944, the institution functioned again as a Hungarian university. During this period the King Ferdinand I University, which fled from Cluj in the autumn of 1940, continued its activity in Sibiu. Following World War II the continuity was ensured by two distinct universities in Cluj. Beginning from 1945 the Bolyai University provided education in Hungarian, while the Babeş University (the successor of the King Ferdinand I University, which returned from Sibiu in 1945) provided education in Romanian.<sup>24</sup> The independence of the two universities ceased in 1959 when the Romanian authorities forcefully merged them under the name of *Babeş-Bolyai University*.<sup>25</sup>

More than 2,300 students were enrolled in the University of Cluj in 1912/1913 (Karady – Nastasă 2004: 45). In the first years following World War I, the number of students increased, after which it declined for a short period. The highest number of students was attained in the first part of the 1930s, after this point decline can be observed again. This was due to the fact that, in order to ease the overcrowding of universities, the system of university entrance examination was introduced. The result was a decrease in the number of students at the university. We can also observe that this kind of limitation had a more severe effect on minority and female students because it was linked to the so-called *numerus val-*

24 For the history of Babeş University see: Nicoară 2010.

25 We do not wish to enter into the details of the history and functioning of the university, a vast literature is available on this subject. Gaal 2001; Pálffy 2004; Pálffy 2008; Karady – Nastasă 2004; B. Kovács 1997; Barabás – Joó 1990; Puşcaş 1999; Lázok – Vincze 1998.



*lachicus* movement (Pálffy 2004: 169–172). Even if we take all these into consideration, by 1941/1942 an even more significant decrease can be observed. This can be attributed to the fact, besides the negative effects of the war that the students were recruited from a smaller territory after the Romanian university was relocated from Cluj to Sibiu in 1940, when Northern Transylvania was annexed to Hungary.

The majority of students studied within the Faculty of Law and the Faculty of Medicine, in line with the dominant career strategies of the period. For example in 1921/1922 45.4% of the students were enrolled in the Faculty of Law. In the following year this proportion was 43.6%, and in 1935/1936 it was 48.1% (see *Annexes 24–25*).

With regard to the distribution by the sex of the students, we can observe a tendency towards gradual balancing in the period between the two World Wars. In 1921/1922 women represented 11.8% of the students. In the following year they represented 14.7%, and beginning from 1925 their proportion rose above 20%. The peak in the number of the female students enrolled was in the 1931/1932 academic year when they represented 24.3% of the students. By the middle of the 1930s the proportion of girls enrolled to the university was near to that of the girl students of schools with *Matura*. For example, in 1928/1929 their proportion in 2<sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools and upper commercial schools was 25.3%, and at the university of Cluj between 20 and 24%.

Neither the number of professors, nor that of the students increased significantly during the period between the two World Wars. Compared to the 1921/1922 academic year, in 1938/1939 the number of students attending the university was higher only with 17.1%, and the number of professors increased only with 14.2%. This is surprising because, as we have already mentioned before, in this period the Romanian secondary school system underwent significant developments, thus, theoretically more and more students were eligible to apply to university. Several causes may have led to this situation.

We have already referred to one of the causes, to the fact that minority students applied in decreasing numbers. However, another major reason was the small number of students with the *Matura* awarded. On national level only around half of the students applying for *Matura* obtained it. For example the proportion of successful *Matura* exams in 1925 was 40.4%, in 1929 51.8%, in 1932, exceptionally, 74.1%, and in 1935 only 31.7% (Angelescu 1939: 34).

The third reason may lie in the strong appeal of the University of Bucharest. Bucharest, being the capital, attracted a considerable number of students, and as a result it became the biggest university centre of the country. For example, in 1926/1927 65.8% of the Romanian students studied at the University of Bucharest, while at the university of Cluj studied only 11.3% (Pálffy 2004: 165).

In the following we will present the annual change in the number of students and professors of the university (regarding the data on students enrolled to the various faculties, see *Annexes 24 and 25*).

**162.** *The distribution by sex of students attending the King Ferdinand I University of Cluj and the professorial staff:*

|                  | Male  | Female |      | Total | Professorial staff |
|------------------|-------|--------|------|-------|--------------------|
|                  |       |        | %    |       |                    |
| <b>1921/1922</b> | 2,330 | 313    | 11.8 | 2,643 | 296                |
| <b>1922/1923</b> | 2,474 | 426    | 14.7 | 2,900 | 293                |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 1,712 | 304    | 15.1 | 2,016 | 318                |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 1,722 | 390    | 18.5 | 2,112 | 316                |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 1,810 | 482    | 21.0 | 2,292 | 325                |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 2,004 | 545    | 21.4 | 2,549 | 324                |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 2,090 | 622    | 22.9 | 2,712 | 346                |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 2,326 | 730    | 23.9 | 3,056 | 347                |
| <b>1929/1930</b> | 2,866 | 827    | 22.4 | 3,693 | 349                |
| <b>1930/1931</b> | 3,085 | 979    | 24.1 | 4,064 | 370                |
| <b>1931/1932</b> | 3,121 | 1,003  | 24.3 | 4,124 | 374                |
| <b>1932/1933</b> | 3,442 | 1,027  | 23.0 | 4,469 | 344                |
| <b>1933/1934</b> | 3,370 | 1,075  | 24.2 | 4,445 | ?                  |
| <b>1934/1935</b> | 3,449 | 851    | 19.8 | 4,300 | ?                  |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 2,861 | 712    | 19.9 | 3,573 | 321                |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 2,551 | 688    | 21.2 | 3,239 | 338                |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 2,483 | 672    | 21.3 | 3,155 | ?                  |
| <b>1938/1939</b> | 2,466 | 628    | 20.3 | 3,094 | ?                  |
| <b>1941/1942</b> | 1,689 | 519    | 23.5 | 2,208 | ?                  |

On the number of graduates and the students who obtained doctoral titles there are full data series from the 1920s. From the 1930s, in some cases, we only have the cumulated data regarding male and female students. Between the 1921/1922 and 1928/1929 academic years 765 students graduated, among them 236 (30.8%) were women. The number of students who obtained doctoral titles was 1,488 (among them 94 women, that is 6.3%). In the following decade, between 1930/1931–1934/1935 and 1937/1938–1938/1939, and in 1941/1942 the total number of graduates was 2,169 and 1,849 doctoral degrees were awarded.

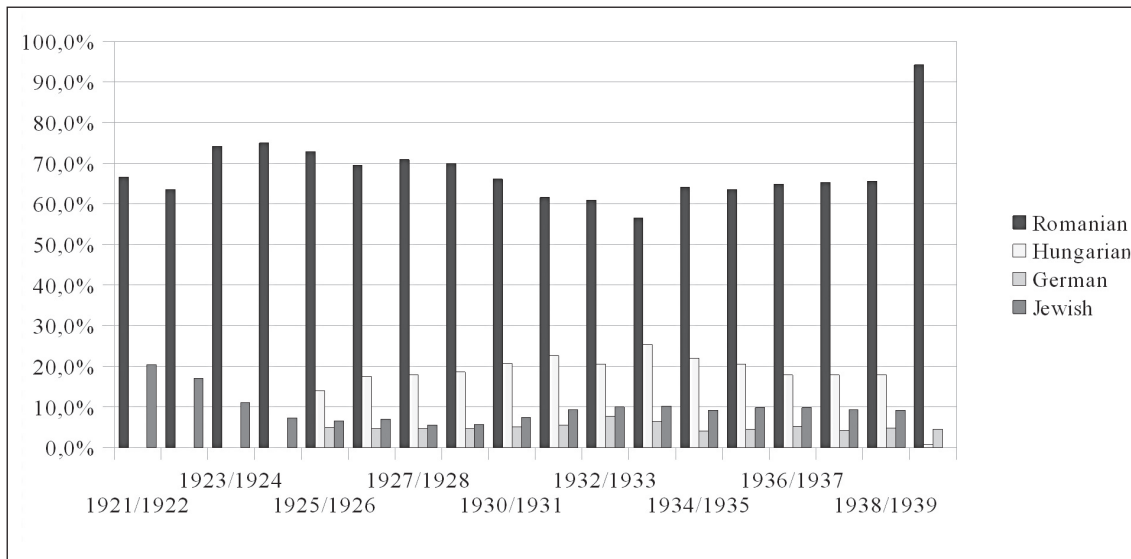
**163.** *The number of graduates and doctoral titles at the King Ferdinand I University:*

|           | Graduates | Doctors |
|-----------|-----------|---------|
| 1921/1922 | 39        | 255     |
| 1922/1923 | 28        | 227     |
| 1923/1924 | 34        | 235     |
| 1924/1925 | 7         | 1       |
| 1925/1926 | 249       | 205     |
| 1926/1927 | 87        | 219     |
| 1927/1928 | 150       | 168     |
| 1928/1929 | 171       | 178     |
| 1930/1931 | 206       | 132     |
| 1931/1932 | 228       | 200     |
| 1932/1933 | 224       | 223     |
| 1933/1934 | 221       | 276     |
| 1934/1935 | 233       | 300     |
| 1937/1938 | 355       | 281     |
| 1938/1939 | 469       | 323     |
| 1941/1942 | 233       | 114     |

It can be observed that the number of graduates increased significantly following 1925 and then continuously fluctuated during the years. The peak was attained in the 1938/1939 academic year, when 469 students graduated from the university. The data on the Romanian university, which fled to Sibiu, shows decrease. A similar fluctuation can be observed in the number of students obtaining doctoral titles (for the detailed report, broken down on faculties see *Annexes 26 and 27*).

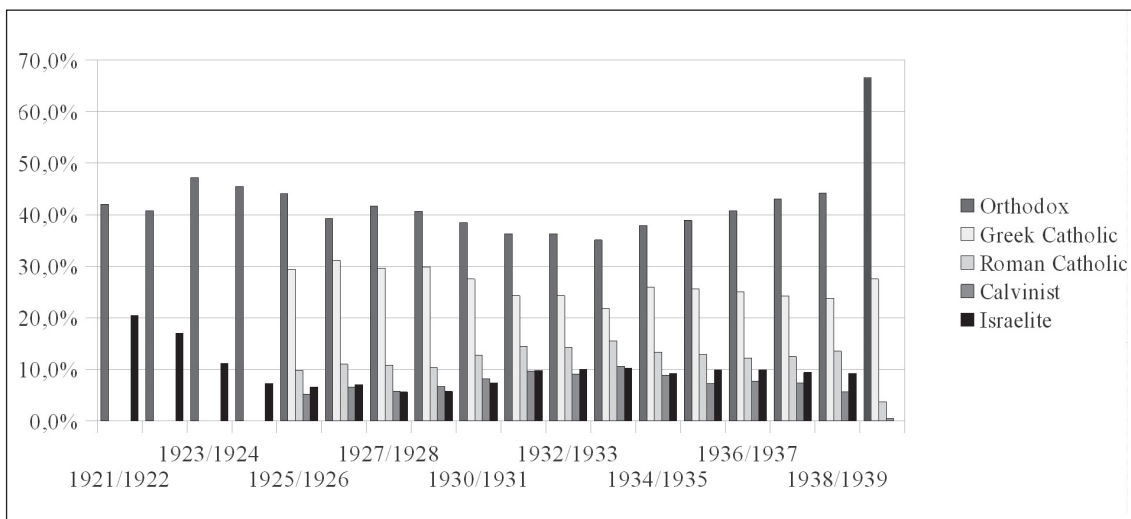
Following World War I the ethnic distribution of students underwent a considerable change. After 1918 the former Hungarian dominance of around 80% turned in favour of Romanian students. There were several reasons for this. After the war, the Hungarian University fled to Szeged, and the institution which continued to function in Cluj was taken over by the Romanian State and Romanian became the language of instruction. Consequently, it became extremely difficult for the students who did not speak Romanian to continue their studies. Although theoretically all people had equal rights to enroll in and study at the university of Cluj, the minority students (first of all Hungarians and Jews) were disadvantaged beginning from the first years. For example in the first years following 1918 90% of the potential Hungarian university students enrolled to universities outside Romania (primarily in Hungary) or did not continue their studies according to some estimates (see Pálffy 2004: 161, Livezeanu 1995: 226–227).

The following chart clearly illustrates the changes in the ethnic distribution of students in the period between the two World Wars. Until the 1925/1926 academic year we only know the exact number of Romanian and Jewish students. It can be observed that in the first years, the proportion of Romanian students gradually increased from 66.6 to 75%, while that of Jews and of Hungarians and Germans included in the *Other* category decreased. A slight increase in the proportion of non-Romanian students can be observed only beginning from the 1925/1926 academic year. In this respect, the peak was reached in the 1933/1934 academic year when Hungarians represented 25.4%, Germans 6.4%, and Jews 10.3% of the students. Following that, among other reasons due to the *Numerus vallachicus* movement, the number of minority students started to decline again.



Irrespective of the fluctuation of the denominational proportions we must touch upon two constant characteristics. As we have already seen that Romanian (respectively Orthodox and Greek Catholic) and Jewish (Israelite) students were overrepresented in secondary schools offering the Matura. This automatically resulted that they had a better potential in the supply of elites compared to other ethnic groups. Romanian students enjoyed the biggest advantage at entrance exams; nevertheless, if we take into account the data on secondary schools, Jewish students with Matura succeeded at the entrance exams in even higher proportion. This is also proven by the fact that in the 1928/1929 school year in the Transylvanian lyceums with Matura also in the first and second degree secondary schools for girls and in the upper commercial schools Romanians represented 54.5% of the students. After four-five years, when the 1928/1929 generation reached the age for university entrance exam, 56.6–64.1% of the enrolled students were of Romanian nationality. If we consider the denominational data we get the same results: the Orthodox and Greek Catholic students together represented 54.8% of the students enrolled in Transylvanian secondary schools with Matura and 56.8–63.5% of the students who gained entrance to university in 1933/1944 and 1934/1935. The situation of Jews/Israelites was the following: in 1928/1929 they represented 8.9% of the students enrolled in secondary schools with Matura and 9.2–10.3% of the students enrolled in the university of Cluj in 1933/1934 and 1934/1935.

Since we do not have precise data we can only estimate the proportion of the various ethnic groups within the number of students attending all Transylvanian institutions of higher education in the period around 1933–1934. Romanian students represented around 62%, and Jewish students around 11% of the students attending the university of Cluj, the Electromechanical Sub-Engineer College, the Acade-



my of Agricultural Science, the Upper Academy of Commerce and Trade, and the Academy of Music and Theatre of Cluj, the School of Fine Arts and the Polytechnical Institute of Timișoara, and the Academy of Law of Oradea (see *tables 128–164*). It is therefore apparent that the overschooling of Jews from the period preceding World War I continued even after 1918, although the proportion of Jews in the main institutions of higher education showed a decrease. Contrarily, the lag in education of the Romanian population gradually diminished due to the Romanianisation of the primary, secondary and higher educational system.

The students enrolling in the Romanian university of Cluj, which was relocated to Sibiu in 1940, were almost exclusively Romanian, as Jewish students were not accepted at all (for the ethnic distribution of the various faculties see *Annexes 28–29*).

**164.** *The ethnic distribution of students attending the King Ferdinand I University:*

|                  | Romanian |      | Hungarian |      | German |     | Jewish |      | Other |      | Total |
|------------------|----------|------|-----------|------|--------|-----|--------|------|-------|------|-------|
|                  |          | %    |           | %    |        | %   |        | %    |       | %    |       |
| <b>1921/1922</b> | 1,759    | 66.6 |           |      |        |     | 539    | 20.4 | 345   | 13.1 | 2,643 |
| <b>1922/1923</b> | 1,842    | 63.5 |           |      |        |     | 494    | 17.0 | 564   | 19.4 | 2,900 |
| <b>1923/1924</b> | 1,495    | 74.2 |           |      |        |     | 223    | 11.1 | 298   | 14.8 | 2,016 |
| <b>1924/1925</b> | 1,583    | 75.0 |           |      |        |     | 155    | 7.3  | 374   | 17.7 | 2,112 |
| <b>1925/1926</b> | 1,672    | 72.9 | 321       | 14.0 | 114    | 5.0 | 151    | 6.6  | 34    | 1.5  | 2,292 |
| <b>1926/1927</b> | 1,772    | 69.5 | 447       | 17.5 | 121    | 4.7 | 179    | 7.0  | 30    | 1.2  | 2,549 |
| <b>1927/1928</b> | 1,923    | 70.9 | 488       | 18.0 | 127    | 4.7 | 153    | 5.6  | 21    | 0.8  | 2,712 |
| <b>1928/1929</b> | 2,140    | 70.0 | 567       | 18.6 | 143    | 4.7 | 173    | 5.7  | 33    | 1.1  | 3,056 |
| <b>1930/1931</b> | 2,685    | 66.1 | 842       | 20.7 | 207    | 5.1 | 301    | 7.4  | –     | –    | 4,064 |
| <b>1931/1932</b> | 2,540    | 61.6 | 935       | 22.7 | 231    | 5.6 | 388    | 9.4  | –     | –    | 4,124 |
| <b>1932/1933</b> | 2,722    | 60.9 | 922       | 20.6 | 345    | 7.7 | 447    | 10.0 | –     | –    | 4,469 |
| <b>1933/1934</b> | 2,518    | 56.6 | 1,127     | 25.4 | 284    | 6.4 | 456    | 10.3 | –     | –    | 4,445 |
| <b>1934/1935</b> | 2,757    | 64.1 | 945       | 22.0 | 177    | 4.1 | 396    | 9.2  | –     | –    | 4,300 |
| <b>1935/1936</b> | 2,273    | 63.6 | 733       | 20.5 | 163    | 4.6 | 353    | 9.9  | 8     | 0.2  | 3,573 |
| <b>1936/1937</b> | 2,101    | 64.9 | 580       | 17.9 | 167    | 5.2 | 321    | 9.9  | 34    | 1.0  | 3,239 |
| <b>1937/1938</b> | 2,059    | 65.3 | 566       | 17.9 | 132    | 4.2 | 296    | 9.4  | –     | –    | 3,155 |
| <b>1938/1939</b> | 2,029    | 65.6 | 553       | 17.9 | 147    | 4.8 | 286    | 9.2  | –     | –    | 3,094 |
| <b>1941/1942</b> | 2,080    | 94.2 | 18        | 0.8  | 100    | 4.5 | –      | –    | –     | –    | 2,208 |

Regarding the denominational distribution, similarly to the reports on ethnicity, we have complete data series only from 1925. From the beginning of the 1920s we only know the number of Orthodox and Israelite students. The sources used by us include information on the number of Roman Catholics, Calvinists, Lutherans, and Unitarians – primarily of Hungarian or German nationality –, but refer only to the period after 1925.

Students of Orthodox faith represented the largest student group throughout the period between the two World Wars. Together with Greek Catholics they represented 54–74%. The proportional distribution of the other religions followed the ethnic lines. The number of students of Israelite, Roman Catholic and Protestant faith all showed a decrease after World War I. An increase in the numbers of minority students can only be observed in the first part of the 1930s (for the distribution of the various denominations per faculties see *Annexes 30–33*).

The most important decline of the first years was in the number of Israelite students. Compared to 1921, in 1923 Jewish students were enrolled 58.6% less to the university. One of the main reasons for this can be found in the increased anti-Semitism at universities. Beginning from 1920 more and more anti-Jewish activities were carried out by Romanian university students. One of the high points of these activities took place in March and October–November 1922, when the students of the Faculty of Medicine demanded the introduction of the *numerus clausus*, forbade Jewish students to attend courses and attacked shops and editorial offices run by Jews in Cluj (Gidó 2006: 41). Undoubtedly, the other reason must have been the fact that they did not speak Romanian. Just like in the case of students of Hungarian mother tongue, studying in Romanian represented a difficulty for the Jews of Hungarian culture, this is why many of them went to study in Hungary or to other universities abroad.



After the Romanian university of Cluj fled to Sibiu in 1940, the denominational proportions changed even more in favour of the Orthodox and Greek Catholic students. By this time there were no Israelite students at the University of Cluj.

**165.** *The denominational distribution of students attending the King Ferdinand I University of Cluj:*

|           | Orthodox | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Lutheran | Unitarian | Israelite | Other | Total |
|-----------|----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-------|-------|
| 1921/1922 | 1,109    |                |                |           |          |           | 539       | 995   | 2,643 |
| 1922/1923 | 1,182    |                |                |           |          |           | 494       | 1,224 | 2,900 |
| 1923/1924 | 951      |                |                |           |          |           | 223       | 842   | 2,016 |
| 1924/1925 | 961      |                |                |           |          |           | 155       | 996   | 2,112 |
| 1925/1926 | 1,011    | 674            | 225            | 119       | 86       | 25        | 151       | 1     | 2,292 |
| 1926/1927 | 1,003    | 793            | 280            | 169       | 98       | 25        | 179       | 2     | 2,549 |
| 1927/1928 | 1,132    | 804            | 293            | 157       | 121      | 51        | 153       | 1     | 2,712 |
| 1928/1929 | 1,244    | 914            | 316            | 204       | 132      | 71        | 173       | 2     | 3,056 |
| 1930/1931 | 1,566    | 1,116          | 519            | 330       | 180      | 48        | 302       | 3     | 4,064 |
| 1931/1932 | 1,495    | 1,004          | 599            | 397       | 167      | 54        | 404       | 4     | 4,124 |
| 1932/1933 | 1,624    | 1,087          | 638            | 405       | 196      | 65        | 446       | 8     | 4,469 |
| 1933/1934 | 1,559    | 967            | 688            | 473       | 221      | 74        | 453       | 10    | 4,445 |
| 1934/1935 | 1,631    | 1,116          | 572            | 378       | 141      | 59        | 396       | 7     | 4,300 |
| 1935/1936 | 1,390    | 914            | 461            | 261       | 142      | 50        | 353       | 2     | 3,573 |
| 1936/1937 | 1,322    | 810            | 395            | 248       | 98       | 41        | 321       | 4     | 3,239 |
| 1937/1938 | 1,358    | 765            | 393            | 233       | 68       | 36        | 296       | 6     | 3,155 |
| 1938/1939 | 1,367    | 736            | 418            | 173       | 79       | 36        | 284       | 1     | 3,094 |
| 1941/1942 | 1,470    | 608            | 81             | 11        | 35       | –         | –         | 3     | 2,208 |

**166.** *The denominational distribution of students attending the King Ferdinand I University of Cluj, in percentage:*

|           | Orthodox | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Lutheran | Unitarian | Israelite | Other |
|-----------|----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| 1921/1922 | 42.0     |                |                |           |          |           | 20.4      | 37.6  |
| 1922/1923 | 40.8     |                |                |           |          |           | 17.0      | 42.2  |
| 1923/1924 | 47.2     |                |                |           |          |           | 11.1      | 41.8  |
| 1924/1925 | 45.5     |                |                |           |          |           | 7.3       | 47.2  |
| 1925/1926 | 44.1     | 29.4           | 9.8            | 5.2       | 3.8      | 1.1       | 6.6       | –     |
| 1926/1927 | 39.3     | 31.1           | 11.0           | 6.6       | 3.8      | 1.0       | 7.0       | 0.1   |
| 1927/1928 | 41.7     | 29.6           | 10.8           | 5.8       | 4.5      | 1.9       | 5.6       | –     |
| 1928/1929 | 40.7     | 29.9           | 10.3           | 6.7       | 4.3      | 2.3       | 5.7       | 0.1   |
| 1930/1931 | 38.5     | 27.5           | 12.8           | 8.1       | 4.4      | 1.2       | 7.4       | 0.1   |
| 1931/1932 | 36.3     | 24.3           | 14.5           | 9.6       | 4.0      | 1.3       | 9.8       | 0.1   |
| 1932/1933 | 36.3     | 24.3           | 14.3           | 9.1       | 4.4      | 1.5       | 10.0      | 0.2   |
| 1933/1934 | 35.1     | 21.8           | 15.5           | 10.6      | 5.0      | 1.7       | 10.2      | 0.2   |
| 1934/1935 | 37.9     | 26.0           | 13.3           | 8.8       | 3.3      | 1.4       | 9.2       | 0.2   |
| 1935/1936 | 38.9     | 25.6           | 12.9           | 7.3       | 4.0      | 1.4       | 9.9       | 0.1   |
| 1936/1937 | 40.8     | 25.0           | 12.2           | 7.7       | 3.0      | 1.3       | 9.9       | 0.1   |
| 1937/1938 | 43.0     | 24.2           | 12.5           | 7.4       | 2.2      | 1.1       | 9.4       | 0.2   |
| 1938/1939 | 44.2     | 23.8           | 13.5           | 5.6       | 2.6      | 1.2       | 9.2       | –     |
| 1941/1942 | 66.6     | 27.5           | 3.7            | 0.5       | 1.6      | –         | –         | 0.1   |

We do not have the statistics on the Romanian university relocated to Sibiu in 1940 referring to the 1942–1944 period. Regarding the Hungarian university that functioned in Cluj, we only know the number of students from two academic years of the same period: 1940/1941 and 1941/1942. However, the data does not show the distribution of the various ethnic groups in this case either.

In 1940, 2,334 students were enrolled in the Hungarian university of Cluj. 286 (12.3%) of them were women. This represented a significant decrease compared to the period between the two World Wars.

This ratio increased to 16.3% by 1941/1942 (Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv 1943: 211, and 1944: 227). If we compare the ratios between sexes with the data of the Romanian university from the period between the two World Wars, we find a significant decrease in the proportion of women. Similarly, the total number of students was also below that of the previous years due to the fact that Transylvania was divided into two parts and there were fewer students to enrol.

**167.** *The distribution by sex of students attending the Franz Joseph University of Cluj and the professorial staff:*

|           |                                       | Professorial staff | Number of students |             | Students in Semester II |        |       |       |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------------------|--------|-------|-------|
|           |                                       |                    | Semester I         | Semester II | Male                    | Female | Total |       |
| 1940/1941 | Faculty of Law and Political Sciences | 21                 | 1,480              | 1,368       | 1,340                   | 28     | 2,0   | 1,368 |
|           | Faculty of Arts                       | 29                 | 202                | 200         | 101                     | 99     | 49.5  | 200   |
|           | Faculty of Science                    | 45                 | 107                | 111         | 75                      | 36     | 32.4  | 111   |
|           | Faculty of Medicine                   | 91                 | 359                | 340         | 269                     | 71     | 20.9  | 340   |
|           | Faculty of Economics                  | 36                 | 301                | 315         | 263                     | 52     | 16.5  | 315   |
|           | <b>Total</b>                          | 222                | 2,449              | 2,334       | 2,048                   | 286    | 12.3  | 2,334 |
| 1941/1942 | Faculty of Law and Political Sciences | 25                 | 1,302              | 1,161       | 1,140                   | 21     | 1.8   | 1,161 |
|           | Faculty of Arts                       | 37                 | 268                | 224         | 106                     | 118    | 52.7  | 224   |
|           | Faculty of Science                    | 50                 | 124                | 125         | 77                      | 48     | 38.4  | 125   |
|           | Faculty of Medicine                   | 99                 | 433                | 424         | 331                     | 93     | 21.9  | 424   |
|           | Faculty of Economics                  | 29                 | 438                | 427         | 322                     | 105    | 24.6  | 427   |
|           | <b>Total</b>                          | 240                | 2,565              | 2,361       | 1,976                   | 385    | 16.3  | 2,361 |

Data referring to the denominational distribution of students exist from the 1941/1942 and 1942/1943 academic years (Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv 1943: 227, and 1944: 243). According to these data, a significant rearrangement took place compared to the data concerning the period between the two World Wars. Basically, the same changes took place as after 1918, when the ethnic and denominational proportions changed entirely. The proportion of Orthodox and Greek Catholic students – primarily Romanians – fell back to 5–6%, and this fell far short of the proportion of the two denominations in Northern Transylvania. Compared to this, in 1938/1939 Orthodox and Greek Catholic students represented 68% at the King Ferdinand I University. Roman Catholics, Calvinists and Unitarians, however, became the overwhelming majority. If we add to this the German Lutherans and the Israelites of Hungarian mother tongue, the difference becomes even more conspicuous.

The distribution of Roman Catholic and Calvinist students did not follow the proportions on national level. According to the census of 1941, in Northern Transylvania there were 20.8% Roman Catholics and 22.9% Protestants. However, at the University of Cluj there were far more Catholic students than Calvinists. This situation was probably due to the group of students relocated from Szeged: following the Second Vienna Award, the Franz Joseph University, which had fled to Szeged in 1919, was split into two, and a part of it moved back to Cluj.

It is also worth touching upon the reasons for the decline in the number of Israelite (Jewish) students. Contrary to Romanian students, a considerable number of whom continued their studies in Sibiu, at the King Ferdinand I University, which fled from Cluj in 1940, the number of Jewish students decreased due to some other reasons. In 1939 *the second anti-Jewish law* was introduced in Hungary, which in addition to racial segregation also decreased the proportion of Jews in the field of intellectual and liberal professions from the former 20% to 6%. The law introduced *numerus clausus* at universities. This meant that the institutions of higher education could enrol Jewish students in the first year only to the extent in which their number did not exceed 6% of the total number of students enrolled to the given faculty of the respective university or college. The Faculty of Technology of the *József Nádor University of Technology and Economics* was an exception from this; there the proportion of admissible Jewish students was 12%.<sup>26</sup> The rigour of the law prevailed in Cluj where the proportion of Jewish students was 5% in 1941/1942, and in the following academic year 3.5%.

26 For the text of the law see: <http://www.1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3&param=8098> [visited on 17 September 2011]. (cp. Gyurgyák 2001: 144–146).



**168.** *The denominational distribution of students attending the Franz Joseph University of Cluj:*

|                  | Religion of students enrolled to the second semester |                |                |           |          |           |           |       | Total |
|------------------|--|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|                  | Orthodox   | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Lutheran | Unitarian | Israelite | Other |       |
| <b>1941/1942</b> | 16   | 114            | 1,190          | 716       | 98       | 107       | 119       | 1     | 2,361 |
| <b>1942/1943</b> | 18   | 121            | 1,231          | 693       | 117      | 93        | 82        | 1     | 2,356 |

**169.** *The denominational distribution of students attending the Franz Joseph University of Cluj, in percentage:*

|                  | Religion of students enrolled to the second semester |                |                |           |          |           |           |
|------------------|--|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
|                  | Orthodox   | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Lutheran | Unitarian | Israelite |
| <b>1941/1942</b> | 0.7  | 4.8            | 50.4           | 30.3      | 4.2      | 4.5       | 5.0       |
| <b>1942/1943</b> | 0.8  | 5.1            | 52.2           | 29.4      | 5.0      | 3.9       | 3.5       |

Following World War II there were two universities in Cluj. The Hungarian University, which remained in Cluj and took the name of János Bolyai in 1946, while the Romanian university, which moved back from Sibiu, and was named after Victor Babeş in 1948.

For the Hungarian University of Cluj one of the most turbulent periods was the 1944/1945 academic year. The Soviet and Romanian troops marched into Northern Transylvania in the autumn of 1944, and the region fell under Soviet military administration up until the spring of 1945. The number of students of the University of Cluj decreased considerably because of the chaotic political events: only 856 students enrolled to the second semester of the 1944/1945 academic year (Pálffy 2008: 285).

By the following year the situation normalised in the region and this was visible in the number of university students as well. According to some sources, in the 1945/1946 academic year 2,288 students were enrolled to the Hungarian university and 6,884 to the Romanian university (Nicoară 2010: 136 and 140). The reports of the Romanian Ministry of Culture and Religious Affairs present differing data for this period: the number of students enrolled to the King Ferdinand I University in the autumn of 1945 was 6,683 in total, and most of the students studied within the Faculty of Medicine and the Faculty of Law.<sup>27</sup>

**170.** *The number of students and professors of the King Ferdinand University of Cluj in 1945/1946:*

|                            | Students | Professors |
|----------------------------|----------|------------|
| <b>Faculty of Law</b>      | 2,522    | 25         |
| <b>Faculty of Arts</b>     | 728      | 87         |
| <b>Faculty of Medicine</b> | 2,602    | 244        |
| <b>Faculty of Science</b>  | 831      | 106        |
| <b>Total</b>               | 6,683    | 462        |

With regard to the Hungarian University, according to the data of the Ministry, the number of enrolled students was 3,060. Almost half of the students studied at the Faculty of Law and Economic Sciences. They were followed in numbers by the students of the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Medicine.<sup>28</sup>

**171.** *The number of students and professors at the Bolyai University of Cluj in 1945/1946:*

|   | Students | Professors |
|---|----------|------------|
| <b>Faculty of Law and Economic Sciences</b> | 1,500    | 29         |
| <b>Faculty of Arts</b>                      | 700      | 52         |
| <b>Faculty of Medicine</b>                  | 600      | 155        |
| <b>Faculty of Science</b>                   | 260      | 52         |
| <b>Total</b>                                | 3,060    | 288        |

In the following academic year there were more than 10,000 university students in Cluj according sources from the press. 6,500 of them studied at King Ferdinand I University, 2,500 at the Bolyai Univer-

27 ANIC, Fond: Ministerul Culturii Naționale și al Cultelor, inv. 2325, dos. 603, 24–25.

28 *Ibidem*

sity and 1,500 at the Academy of Agricultural Science which moved back to Cluj from Timișoara (Nicoară 2010: 261). The first years following the war brought many developments to both institutions. This is also true for the Bolyai University which functioned as a minority educational institution with the help of qualified visiting professors, and the number of students was growing continuously. However, the effects of communist control over the higher education in Romania were rapidly felt. For example, several highly distinguished professors gave up their jobs or were sent into retirement after 1947 (Pálffy 2008: 291).

The number of institutions of university level grew in Transylvania after World War II. Following 1944, new universities were lined up beside the University of Cluj and the Polytechnical Institute of Timișoara. In December 1944 the West University (Universitatea de Vest) of Timișoara was established by a royal decree with seven faculties: law, arts, medicine, sciences, veterinary medicine, pharmacy and theology. In 1946 the Hungarian Music and Theatre Institute was formed in Cluj. The Institute for Economic Sciences and Planning (Institutul de Științe Economice și Planificare) was established in Brașov in 1948, the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy (Institutul Medico-Farmaceutic) in Târgu Mureș, the Institute of Coal (Institutul Cărbunelui) in Petroșani, the Institute of Non-Ferrous Metal Ores (Institutul de Mineruri Neferoase) in Brad, the Agronomic Institute (Institutul Agronomic) in Cluj and the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine (Facultatea de Medicină Veterinară) in Arad – as an external section of the West University of Timișoara.

The proliferation of institutions of higher education in Romania did not result in the balancing the number of students between the capital and the rest of the country. In the period between the two World Wars 65.5% of the students of Romania attended the University of Bucharest. Although this proportion decreased to 58.5 by 1948/1949 and later to 55–56%, the dominance of Bucharest remained unequivocal. In the case of Cluj we can observe an increase (from 11.3% to 17.2%), and following 1949 another decrease, which was due to the developments in the smaller university centres.

In the following we will present data for the 1948/1949 and 1949/1950 academic years regarding the Transylvanian universities which functioned after World War II (Anuarul Statistic 1957: 200–201):

**172.** *The number of Transylvanian university faculties and students between 1948 and 1949:*

| City                    | Number of faculties |           | Number of students |           |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|
|                         | 1948/1949           | 1949/1950 | 1948/1949          | 1949/1950 |
| <b>Cluj</b>             | 32                  | 30        | 8,365              | 8,200     |
| <b>Timișoara</b>        | 14                  | 14        | 3,655              | 4,206     |
| <b>Brașov</b>           | 2                   | 2         | 1,482              | 1,076     |
| <b>Tîrgu Mureș</b>      | 5                   | 5         | 841                | 889       |
| <b>Petroșani</b>        | 1                   | 1         | 132                | 178       |
| <b>Brad</b>             | 1                   | 1         | 112                | 135       |
| <b>Arad</b>             | 2                   | 2         | 178                | 393       |
| <b>Total</b>            | 57                  | 55        | 14,765             | 15,077    |
| <b>Total in Romania</b> | 129                 | 135       | 48,676             | 48,615    |

## 7. Summary

■ Our analysis aimed to present the changes in the Transylvanian educational institutions and in the number of their students, according to levels of education, school types and the maintainers of the schools. The available statistics are incomplete so and this did not allow us to make an exhaustive and complete presentation of the development of public education in the region. Nevertheless, we can more or less reconstruct the main characteristics of the education market and of the system of educational institutions between 1918 and 1948 based on the data presented in our paper.

First of all, let us see the state of development of the Transylvanian state school network compared to the general national data. Between the two World Wars 29–30% of the primary and secondary educational institutions functioned on the territory of Transylvania. This figure almost totally corresponds with the proportion of school-aged children (5–18 years) in Transylvania. However, considering the pro-



portion of school age children, it is apparent that the state school network developed more rapidly in Transylvanian than the Romanian average. By the second half of the 1930s, this difference further increased in favour of Transylvania. The rapid expansion of the Transylvanian state school network meant that, while in the 1924/1925 school year there were 266.6 school age children per 1 Transylvanian state educational institution, in 1935/1936 there were only 219. Compared to this the Romanian average in 1924/1925 was 264.1 and in 1935/1936 247.6 (Statistica învățământului 1931: XIV–XVI; Anuarul Statistic 1939: 201–267).

**173.** *The proportion of primary and secondary educational institutions functioning on the territory of Transylvania within Romania:*

|            | State educational institutions |      |         | School-aged children of 5–18 years |      |           |
|------------|--------------------------------|------|---------|------------------------------------|------|-----------|
|            | Transylvania                   |      | Romania | Transylvania                       |      | Romania   |
|            |                                | %    |         |                                    | %    |           |
| 1924/1925* | 4,138                          | 29.1 | 14,215  | 1,102,990                          | 29.4 | 3,754,675 |
| 1928/1929  | 5,129                          | 29.7 | 17,293  | 1,051,813                          | 27.3 | 3,847,485 |
| 1935/1936* | 5,424                          | 30.1 | 18,035  | 1,187,761                          | 26.6 | 4,466,274 |

\* The data do not include the number of trade, vocational, agricultural and housekeeping schools.

Thus, in eleven years time the number of Romanian state kindergartens, primary schools and secondary educational institutions increased by 26.9% in total, and the school age population only by 19%. In Transylvania, however, the growth in the number of the institutions was of 31.1%. The faster development in Transylvania could not have been justified by the number of school age children, because in 1936 the number of children in the region aged 5–18 was only 7.7% higher than in 1925. These data show that in the period between the two World Wars the Romanian State invested considerable effort in the development of educational infrastructure and the increasing of the level of education. As we mentioned previously, in 1922, when Constantin Angelescu was minister of education, a powerful primary school construction campaign was launched throughout the whole country. In the following year, in 1923, a new campaign started aiming the construction of state teacher training schools and secondary schools (Angelescu 1939: 1–31). The Ministry of education spent 73,256,807 lei during the first year of this campaign, and 66,312,465 in 1924 for constructing secondary schools and dormitories, also for building and renovating buildings all over the country. The magnitude of the sum can be sensed if we refer to an exact case: the state lyceum for boys and its dormitory in Alba Iulia costed 8,269,893 lei, and the lyceum for girls and its dormitory in Sighetu Marmăției costed 2,334,000. The institution from Alba Iulia had classes from I–VIII. with 519 students in 1924/1925 and the school from Sighetu Marmăției had 368 students in 1924/1925 (Anuarul învățământului secundar 1925: LVI–LVII).

On the territories annexed to Romania after World War I, and especially in the parts gained from Hungary, state schools were established in a higher rate than the national average, either through the nationalisation of institutions of Hungarian language or through the construction of new schools. The large-scale infrastructural developments basically had two reasons. The first reason was to consolidate the position of the Romanian population living in the newly acquired territories as opposed to Hungarians and Germans and to the denominational schools run by minorities. The other reason was the changed role of the state in the public education. Prior to 1918 in Transylvania, in line with the practice of Hungary, educational institutions were primarily maintained by denominations, while in Romania the role of the denominations was insignificant in this respect (Livezeanu 1995: 35; Bíró 2002: 145; B. Kovács 1997: 19–21). Thus, the Romanian state basically aimed to implement its existing school policy also on the newly acquired territories. All these resulted in the fact that while in the 1920/1921 school year only 32.7% of the primary schools functioning in Transylvania were maintained by the state or by the communities, by 1928/1929 this proportion jumped to 77.8%. This switch in proportion can also be observed in case of lyceums and upper girls' schools, although to a smaller degree. Here the proportion of state institutions changed from 46.4% to 64.7%.

The number of teaching staff was not proportional to the pace of institutional development. After 1918 the newly established Romanian administration drove away a large number of teachers and professors from teaching, and many of the minority teaching staff lost their jobs because they did not speak Romanian. Consequently, following World War I the Transylvanian schools were faced with a shortage of teaching staff (Balogh 1996: 39). This is also evident at the national level. In the period between the two

World Wars the Transylvanian state teaching staff represented 23–27% of the Romanian pedagogues, while state schools represented 29–30% within the Romanian school network. The number of pedagogues per school was also lower than the national average. In 1928/1929 there were 2.2 teachers and professors per educational institution while on a national average this ratio was 2.8. Similarly, the lag in Transylvania is also evident if we consider the student–teacher ratio: in 1928/1929 there were 45 students per 1 pedagogue and on a national level only 43 (Statistica învățământului 1931: 536–675; Anuarul Statistic 1939: 201–267).<sup>29</sup>

**174.** *The evolution of the number of Transylvanian and Romanian teaching staff between 1924 and 1935:*

|           | Teaching staff (excluding masters) |      |         | Number of pedagogues per school |         |
|-----------|------------------------------------|------|---------|---------------------------------|---------|
|           | Transylvania                       |      | Romania | Transylvania                    | Romania |
|           |                                    | %    |         |                                 |         |
| 1924/1925 | 9,289                              | 26.7 | 34,810  | 2.2                             | 2.4     |
| 1928/1929 | 11,087                             | 23.3 | 47,628  | 2.2                             | 2.8     |
| 1935/1936 | 13,295                             | 24.6 | 54,067  | 2.5                             | 3.0     |

\* The data do not include the number of teaching staff from trade, vocational, agricultural and housekeeping schools.

Thus, the endeavours of the Romanian State to lessen the shortage of pedagogues in Transylvania were not successful. Although between 1924 and 1935 the number of teaching staff in the region increased by 43.1%, this figure still lagged behind the average national increase (55.3%). The “quality of the pedagogues” in itself raised doubts among the experts of the time. For example, in the early 1920s the Angelescu government, which started a powerful school development campaign, received strong criticisms for its underqualified teaching staff. 1/3 of the teaching staff was made up of substitute teachers without adequate qualifications (Livezeanu 1995: 39–40; Balogh 1996: 41).

The state of development of the Transylvanian educational system can also be measured in the number of students and the proportion of students who regularly attended school. In the second part of the 1920s 82.7% of the pupils enrolled in state primary schools did regularly attend school and 67.8% finished school. The average in Romania was lower than that: the proportion of children who regularly attended school was 76.7%, and that of pupils who finished their studies was 62.2% (Balogh 1996: 108). This difference in proportion cannot be exclusively explained by the quality of the educational infrastructure. The higher attendance and school completion rate was at least as much dependent on the family and social background of the children as on the educational infrastructure. In Transylvania the proportion of those working in the agricultural sector (69.7%) was smaller than in other parts of Romania (72.3%). Similarly, the number of those working in the industrial, commercial and services sectors was higher. As a consequence of these factors, Transylvanian parents sent their children to school in higher proportions and supported to higher degree for longer periods of study.

The review of the Transylvanian educational system in the period between the two World Wars can only be complete if we also consider the educational institutions run by denominations and other private institutions. In our case, however, due to the incompleteness of the statistics we can only focus on one school year: 1928/1929.

In this year 78.3% of the primary and secondary schools were maintained by the state and 21.7% were maintained by denominations and private institutions. The distribution of students showed approximately similar proportions, with a slight lag of the state schools compared with the private schools. If we analyse our data in detail, we can observe that institutions were overcrowded everywhere except the kindergartens. It is also evident that the denominations and the private sector were more successful in maintaining their position primarily in the secondary level education. Considering that these institutions were attended in vast majority by minority students, the role of the denominations and the private sector becomes even more important in the period between the two World Wars.

29 If we include the students taught privately or within the family, then in 1928/1929 in Transylvania there were 55 students per teacher, and on a national level only 50 students per teacher (Statistica învățământului 1931: 536–675; Anuarul Statistic 1939: 201–267).



175. *The distribution of primary and secondary schools and attending students between the state and the private sector in 1928/1929:*<sup>30</sup>

|   | State sector |       |          |       | Denominational and private sector |      |          |      | Total institutions | Total students |
|---|--------------|-------|----------|-------|-----------------------------------|------|----------|------|--------------------|----------------|
|   | Institutions |       | Students |       | Institutions                      |      | Students |      |                    |                |
|   |              | %     |          | %     |                                   | %    |          | %    |                    |                |
| <b>Kindergartens</b>  | 566          | 86.4  | 40,389   | 84.4  | 89                                | 13.6 | 7,444    | 15.6 | 655                | 47,833         |
| <b>Primary schools</b>  | 4,328        | 77.8  | 423,019  | 79.6  | 1,234                             | 22.2 | 108,500  | 20.4 | 5,562              | 531,519        |
| <b>Teacher training schools</b>   | 30           | 71.4  | 6,337    | 85.0  | 12                                | 28.6 | 1,114    | 15.0 | 42                 | 7,451          |
| <b>Gymnasiums and first degree girls' secondary schools</b>                               | 65           | 59.1  | 6,599    | 60.3  | 45                                | 40.9 | 4,341    | 39.7 | 110                | 10,940         |
| <b>Lyceums and first degree girls' secondary schools</b>                                  | 55           | 64.7  | 17,329   | 71.0  | 30                                | 35.3 | 7,077    | 29.0 | 85                 | 24,406         |
| <b>Commercial schools (primary level commercial schools and upper commercial schools)</b> | 29           | 78.4  | 3,798    | 81.2  | 8                                 | 21.6 | 882      | 18.8 | 37                 | 4,680          |
| <b>Trade, vocational and housekeeping schools</b>   | 56           | 100.0 | 4,702    | 100.0 | -                                 | 0.0  | -        | 0.0  | 56                 | 4,702          |
| <b>Total</b>  | 5,129        | 78.3  | 502,173  | 79.5  | 1,418                             | 21.7 | 129,358  | 20.5 | 6,547              | 631,531        |

In the course of our study we have referred several times to the disproportions in the level of education of the different ethnic groups. Considering the ethnic distribution of school age children the over-representation of minorities in the case of certain types of education is indeed evident. For example, minority families considered education more important, from kindergarten up to high theoretical training, and this phenomenon was due on one hand to the fact that most of these families were living in an urban medium and, on the other hand they had significant role in the economy of the towns. Thus they have seen the education as a key to preserve their social status or even to improve it.

Among Jewish pupils represented 3.2% of school age children but the number of pupils who continued their studies after primary school was higher than among Romanian or Hungarian school age children. Based on the available data, we estimate that out of 100 Jewish primary school pupils approximately 21 continued their studies in gymnasiums, lyceums or upper commercial schools. In the case of Romanians the number was 8, among Hungarians 9, and in the case of Germans 10 (see the tables on ethnic distribution from the chapter on secondary education). This enormous difference led to the over-representation of Jewish students in secondary theoretical education (in lyceums and second degree girls' secondary schools they represented 8.7% of the students, despite the fact that the proportion of school age Jewish children was only 3.2%).

The data on Romanian students already indicate the effects of school policy of the Romanian Government. Prior to 1918 in Romania – thanks to the reforms of public education minister Spiru Haret – heavy emphasis was placed on practical education. This approach made its way to Transylvania, and resulted in the increased proportion of Romanian students in trade, vocational and housekeeping schools which exceeded by far the proportion of the minorities. Further factors also contributed to this: vocational schools were maintained by the state and the language of instruction in these schools was Romanian. The fact that these types of institutions were accessible for the Romanian population living mainly in rural areas is not incidental either.

The proportion of Romanian students was dominant also in teacher training schools, which ensured the supply of pedagogues who were meant to fulfil the need for teachers of the expanded primary

30 The report is not complete, because it does not include the data on agricultural schools, the number of private students or the number of students attending adult training courses! In the 1928/1929 school year, besides the 631,531 students who attended school there were a further 109,735 children and teenagers who were private students or attended adult training courses.

school system. Commercial schools and lyceums were also maintained primarily by the state, and this was also visible in the proportion of Romanian students. Consequently, these institutions not only ensured the closing-up of the educational gap between the Romanian population and the minorities but also established the basis of the ethnic elite change (Romanians were employed in state offices, cultural apparatus, and as professional intelligentsia).

**176.** *The ethnic distribution of students enrolled in primary and secondary schools in Transylvania in 1928/1929:*

|  | Romanian | German | Hungarian | Jewish | Other |
|--|----------|--------|-----------|--------|-------|
|  | %        | %      | %         | %      | %     |
| <b>School age children</b>   | 60.7     | 9.1    | 24.0      | 3.2    | 3.0   |
| <b>Kindergartens</b>   | 40.7     | 23.2   | 29.6      | 4.8    | 1.8   |
| <b>Primary schools</b>   | 59.1     | 10.5   | 25.1      | 3.1    | 2.2   |
| <b>Teacher training schools</b>  | 81.9     | 5.2    | 12.2      | 0.2    | 0.5   |
| <b>Gymnasiums and first degree girls' secondary schools</b>                            | 36.4     | 19.3   | 33.8      | 7.9    | 2.6   |
| <b>Lyceums and second degree girls' secondary schools</b>                              | 53.4     | 10.7   | 25.9      | 8.7    | 1.4   |
| <b>Commercial schools (primary level commercial schools. upper commercial schools)</b> | 63.0     | 7.5    | 18.8      | 9.9    | 0.8   |
| <b>Trade. vocational and housekeeping schools</b>                                      | 91.7     | 1.6    | 4.6       | 0.9    | 1.2   |
| <b>Total number of enrolled students</b>   | 57.6     | 11.4   | 25.3      | 3.5    | 2.1   |

Higher education essentially mirrored the situation of secondary schools. In the case of Romanians and Jews we can again observe the overschooling, with the notable difference that in the case of Jewish students there was a decreasing tendency while in the case of Romanian students there was a continuous increase. In the period between the two World Wars the supply for new generations of intelligentsia for the minorities slowed down and did not meet the societal demands. On the other hand, the number of Romanian graduates increased as a result of the "Romanianisation" of secondary schools with Matura and increased the number of students enrolled in universities.

Between the two World Wars the number of Romanian university students increased fourfold (while the increase in the population was only twofold), and this led to the overpopulation of universities. This is also true in the case of the University of Cluj, although here the number of enrolled students increased to a much smaller degree. Because of the saturation of the labour market, university graduates found it even more difficult to obtain a job in their profession but due to the structures of the period before 1918 Jews and Hungarians were still in preponderance in the field of liberal professions and among the professional intelligentsia.<sup>31</sup> The newly graduated Romanian students experienced difficulties in finding jobs. The overpopulation led to serious conflict situations that manifested primarily in anti-minority (anti-Semitic) movements (Pálffy 2004: 160; Livezeanu 1995: 212–216).

The preponderance of the Romanian element can be also observed in other institutions of higher education. The effects of the endeavours of the Romanian State to create its own patriotic cultural elite were felt even more in other colleges functioning across Transylvania. In these institutions where, besides artistic knowledge one could gain primarily vocational competencies (technical or economic), in 1935/1936 the proportion of Romanian students was 80.6%. If we consider the denominational distribution we can observe that the dominance of Orthodox and Greek Catholic students was even stronger (82.3%), while, in contrast with the situation at the King Ferdinand I University, Jewish students were underrepresented with the exception of the Electromechanical Sub-Engineer College of Cluj (21%) and the Academy of Music and Theatre of Cluj (6.9%).

31 See tables 8–11.



**177.** *The ethnic distribution of students enrolled in the institutions of higher education in Transylvania in 1935/1936, in percentage:*<sup>32</sup>

|                                    | Romanian | German | Hungarian | Jewish |
|------------------------------------|----------|--------|-----------|--------|
| <b>King Ferdinand I University</b> | 63.6     | 4.6    | 20.5      | 9.9    |
| <b>Other colleges</b>              | 80.6     | 4.0    | 9.4       | 3.0    |
| <b>Total</b>                       | 69.9     | 4.3    | 16.4      | 7.4    |

**178.** *The denominational distribution of students enrolled in the institutions of higher education from Transylvania in 1935/1936 in percentage:*

|                                    | Orthodox | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite |
|------------------------------------|----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| <b>King Ferdinand I University</b> | 38.9     | 25.6           | 12.9           | 7.3       | 1.4       | 4.0      | 9.9       |
| <b>Other colleges</b>              | 66.2     | 16.1           | 8.6            | 2.8       | 0.8       | 2.0      | 3.0       |
| <b>Total</b>                       | 48.9     | 22.1           | 11.3           | 5.7       | 1.2       | 3.2      | 7.4       |

Thus, by the time of the Second Vienna Award, education in Transylvania showed a completely transformed image compared to the situation in 1918. The Hungarian administration, which returned to Northern Transylvania, engaged in a Remagyarisation process on all levels of educational institutions. For example, while in 1939/1940 the language of instruction was Romanian in 54.3% of lower gymnasiums, in 1942/1943, this proportion was reduced to only 2.1%. Education in Hungarian was re-established in the majority of upper gymnasiums, and the Hungarian University, which had fled to Szeged after World War I, was relocated to Cluj. The ethnic and denominational distribution of students studying in primary and secondary educational institutions mainly corresponded to the data of the 1941 census. On the other hand, Hungarian students gained majority at the University of Cluj. This reflected the compensational position of the Hungarian State in the instruction of elites compared to the situation in the period between the two World Wars. In conclusion, the evolution of the Transylvanian educational system and that of the educational market were defined all along by the state policies (the elite formation strategies and the ethnic policies).

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32 The *Other colleges* category refers to the following institutions of higher education discussed in detail in our paper: the Electromechanical Sub-Engineer College, the Agricultural Science Academy, the Upper Academy of Commerce and Trade, the Academy of Music and Theatre, the School of Fine Arts, and the Technical College.

## Annexes

### 1. The distribution by age groups of Transylvanian school-aged children in villages and cities:

| School-aged children in Transylvania | 5-7 years |         | 7-16 years |         | 16-18 years |        | Total  |         | Total boys and girls |           |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|---------|------------|---------|-------------|--------|--------|---------|----------------------|-----------|
|                                      | Boys      | Girls   | Boys       | Girls   | Boys        | Girls  | Boys   | Girls   |                      |           |
| 1924                                 | Villages  |         | 323,619    | 308,780 |             |        |        |         | 632,399              |           |
|                                      | Cities    |         | 58,526     | 53,145  |             |        |        |         | 111,671              |           |
|                                      | Total     |         | 382,145    | 361,925 |             |        |        |         | 744,070              |           |
| 1925                                 | Villages  | 79,137  | 76,128     | 332,997 | 318,408     | 80,908 | 74,243 | 493,042 | 468,779              | 961,821   |
|                                      | Cities    | 10,182  | 9,788      | 51,669  | 49,627      | 11,153 | 8,750  | 73,004  | 68,165               | 141,169   |
|                                      | Total     | 89,319  | 85,916     | 384,666 | 368,035     | 92,061 | 82,993 | 566,046 | 536,944              | 1,102,990 |
| 1926                                 | Villages  | 90,681  | 87,991     | 304,280 | 291,240     | 74,804 | 69,334 | 469,765 | 448,565              | 918,330   |
|                                      | Cities    | 11,143  | 11,237     | 51,103  | 46,044      | 8,783  | 6,473  | 71,029  | 63,754               | 134,783   |
|                                      | Total     | 101,824 | 99,228     | 355,383 | 337,284     | 83,587 | 75,807 | 540,794 | 512,319              | 1,053,113 |
| 1927                                 | Villages  | 9,543   | 93,163     | 303,658 | 290,179     | 68,280 | 62,050 | 467,374 | 445,392              | 912,766   |
|                                      | Cities    | 11,516  | 11,231     | 52,552  | 46,406      | 10,116 | 6,119  | 74,184  | 63,756               | 137,940   |
|                                      | Total     | 21,059  | 104,394    | 356,210 | 336,585     | 78,396 | 68,169 | 541,558 | 509,148              | 1,050,706 |
| 1928                                 | Villages  | 99,377  | 96,470     | 313,131 | 298,297     | 63,191 | 56,429 | 475,699 | 451,259              | 926,958   |
|                                      | Cities    | 12,910  | 12,629     | 53,131  | 46,886      | 9,666  | 5,393  | 75,707  | 64,908               | 140,615   |
|                                      | Total     | 112,287 | 109,099    | 366,262 | 345,183     | 72,857 | 61,822 | 551,406 | 516,104              | 1,067,510 |
| 1929                                 | Villages  | 95,744  | 94,256     | 314,345 | 299,555     | 59,984 | 54,282 | 470,073 | 448,093              | 918,166   |
|                                      | Cities    | 11,822  | 11,502     | 51,020  | 44,954      | 9,310  | 5,039  | 72,152  | 61,495               | 133,647   |
|                                      | Total     | 107,566 | 105,758    | 365,365 | 344,509     | 69,294 | 59,321 | 542,225 | 509,588              | 1,051,813 |
| 1931                                 | Villages  | 95,262  | 92,480     | 343,834 | 328,884     | 46,222 | 41,502 | 485,318 | 462,866              | 948,184   |
|                                      | Cities    | 11,354  | 11,072     | 55,234  | 50,747      | 7,866  | 4,231  | 74,454  | 66,050               | 140,504   |
|                                      | Total     | 106,616 | 103,552    | 399,068 | 379,631     | 54,088 | 45,733 | 559,772 | 528,916              | 1,088,688 |
| 1933                                 | Villages  | 95,562  | 90,242     | 384,661 | 370,662     | 28,230 | 25,118 | 508,453 | 486,022              | 994,475   |
|                                      | Cities    | 10,001  | 9,844      | 55,884  | 52,250      | 4,966  | 2,766  | 70,851  | 64,860               | 135,711   |
|                                      | Total     | 105,563 | 100,086    | 440,545 | 422,912     | 33,196 | 27,884 | 579,304 | 550,882              | 1,130,186 |
| 1936                                 | Villages  | 94,594  | 91,886     | 396,537 | 380,635     | 40,716 | 36,793 | 531,847 | 509,314              | 1,041,161 |
|                                      | Cities    | 9,745   | 9,605      | 60,605  | 56,044      | 6,602  | 3,999  | 76,952  | 69,648               | 146,600   |
|                                      | Total     | 104,339 | 101,491    | 457,142 | 436,679     | 47,318 | 40,792 | 608,799 | 578,962              | 1,187,761 |
| 1937                                 | Villages  | 94,642  | 92,296     | 395,601 | 378,906     | 45,133 | 41,624 | 535,376 | 512,826              | 1,048,202 |
|                                      | Cities    | 10,391  | 10,128     | 62,163  | 57,202      | 8,661  | 4,969  | 81,215  | 72,299               | 153,514   |
|                                      | Total     | 105,033 | 102,424    | 457,764 | 436,108     | 53,794 | 46,593 | 616,591 | 585,125              | 1,201,716 |

### 2. The ethnic distribution of Transylvanian school-aged children in villages and cities:

| School-aged children in Transylvania |          | Romanian |         | German |        | Hungarian |         | Jewish |        | Ukrainian/Ruthenian |       | Serb  |       | Bulgarian |       |
|--------------------------------------|----------|----------|---------|--------|--------|-----------|---------|--------|--------|---------------------|-------|-------|-------|-----------|-------|
|                                      |          | Boys     | Girls   | Boys   | Girls  | Boys      | Girls   | Boys   | Girls  | Boys                | Girls | Boys  | Girls | Boys      | Girls |
| 1924                                 | Villages | 207,243  | 196,963 | 30,485 | 28,799 | 68,794    | 65,945  | 6,292  | 6,487  | 2,525               | 2,533 | 2,838 | 2,825 | 742       | 297   |
|                                      | Cities   | 18,940   | 15,392  | 8,716  | 8,354  | 21,532    | 20,386  | 7,967  | 7,899  | 204                 | 198   | 336   | 269   | 72        | 64    |
|                                      | Total    | 226,183  | 212,355 | 39,201 | 37,153 | 90,326    | 86,331  | 14,259 | 14,386 | 2,729               | 2,731 | 3,174 | 3,094 | 814       | 361   |
| 1925                                 | Villages | 313,320  | 297,591 | 44,121 | 42,020 | 110,963   | 106,025 | 10,390 | 9,168  | 2,883               | 2,877 | 3,425 | 3,327 | 976       | 853   |
|                                      | Cities   | 22,878   | 20,996  | 9,530  | 8,514  | 30,406    | 28,805  | 8,730  | 8,563  | 82                  | 69    | 298   | 234   | 43        | 50    |
|                                      | Total    | 336,198  | 318,587 | 53,651 | 50,534 | 141,369   | 134,830 | 19,120 | 17,731 | 2,965               | 2,946 | 3,723 | 3,561 | 1,019     | 903   |
| 1926                                 | Villages | 299,944  | 285,700 | 43,223 | 40,483 | 103,820   | 100,073 | 8,066  | 8,022  | 1,912               | 1,896 | 4,177 | 4,138 | 1,643     | 1,500 |
|                                      | Cities   | 21,654   | 18,174  | 10,756 | 9,718  | 28,631    | 26,201  | 8,559  | 8,435  | 96                  | 81    | 389   | 308   | 36        | 31    |
|                                      | Total    | 321,598  | 303,874 | 53,979 | 50,201 | 132,451   | 126,274 | 16,625 | 16,457 | 2,008               | 1,977 | 4,566 | 4,446 | 1,679     | 1,531 |





| School-aged children in Transylvania |              | Romanian       |                | German        |               | Hungarian      |                | Jewish        |               | Ukrainian/Ruthenian |              | Serb         |              | Bulgarian    |              |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
|                                      |              | Boys           | Girls          | Boys          | Girls         | Boys           | Girls          | Boys          | Girls         | Boys                | Girls        | Boys         | Girls        | Boys         | Girls        |
| 1927                                 | Villages     | 304,224        | 290,795        | 39,814        | 36,856        | 100,683        | 95,551         | 7,913         | 7,974         | 3,462               | 3,420        | 3,900        | 3,765        | 954          | 972          |
|                                      | Cities       | 22,693         | 18,366         | 11,056        | 9,294         | 29,348         | 25,774         | 9,654         | 9,130         | 144                 | 107          | 363          | 298          | 38           | 31           |
|                                      | <b>Total</b> | <b>326,917</b> | <b>309,161</b> | <b>50,870</b> | <b>46,150</b> | <b>130,031</b> | <b>121,325</b> | <b>17,567</b> | <b>17,104</b> | <b>3,606</b>        | <b>3,527</b> | <b>4,263</b> | <b>4,063</b> | <b>992</b>   | <b>1,003</b> |
| 1928                                 | Villages     | 309,998        | 294,682        | 40,013        | 37,095        | 102,670        | 96,815         | 8,244         | 8,333         | 3,468               | 3,549        | 3,904        | 3,863        | 865          | 827          |
|                                      | Cities       | 23,766         | 19,833         | 11,044        | 8,884         | 30,148         | 26,483         | 9,417         | 8,613         | 245                 | 198          | 370          | 273          | 46           | 28           |
|                                      | <b>Total</b> | <b>333,764</b> | <b>314,515</b> | <b>51,057</b> | <b>45,979</b> | <b>132,818</b> | <b>123,298</b> | <b>17,661</b> | <b>16,946</b> | <b>3,713</b>        | <b>3,747</b> | <b>4,274</b> | <b>4,136</b> | <b>911</b>   | <b>855</b>   |
| 1929                                 | Villages     | 309,350        | 294,558        | 38,241        | 35,812        | 100,311        | 95,944         | 8,062         | 8,030         | 3,503               | 3,324        | 3,334        | 3,448        | 1,775        | 1,707        |
|                                      | Cities       | 22,916         | 18,190         | 10,548        | 8,397         | 28,850         | 25,720         | 8,737         | 8,211         | 150                 | 147          | 337          | 278          | 41           | 24           |
|                                      | <b>Total</b> | <b>332,266</b> | <b>312,748</b> | <b>48,789</b> | <b>44,209</b> | <b>129,161</b> | <b>121,664</b> | <b>16,799</b> | <b>16,241</b> | <b>3,653</b>        | <b>3,471</b> | <b>3,671</b> | <b>3,726</b> | <b>1,816</b> | <b>1,731</b> |
| 1931                                 | Villages     | 319,928        | 304,504        | 39,719        | 37,128        | 101,538        | 97,694         | 8,428         | 8,346         | 3,812               | 3,678        | 3,126        | 2,967        | 948          | 920          |
|                                      | Cities       | 25,588         | 22,009         | 10,395        | 8,910         | 28,333         | 25,791         | 8,808         | 8,259         | 238                 | 159          | 315          | 263          | 29           | 17           |
|                                      | <b>Total</b> | <b>345,516</b> | <b>326,513</b> | <b>50,114</b> | <b>46,038</b> | <b>129,871</b> | <b>123,485</b> | <b>17,236</b> | <b>16,605</b> | <b>4,050</b>        | <b>3,837</b> | <b>3,441</b> | <b>3,230</b> | <b>977</b>   | <b>937</b>   |
| 1933                                 | Villages     | 337,745        | 322,736        | 40,955        | 38,854        | 105,006        | 100,448        | 8,396         | 8,244         | 3,705               | 3,611        | 2,865        | 2,765        | 964          | 921          |
|                                      | Cities       | 26,614         | 23,041         | 9,997         | 8,766         | 25,176         | 24,344         | 7,872         | 7,685         | 202                 | 168          | 237          | 207          | 29           | 11           |
|                                      | <b>Total</b> | <b>364,359</b> | <b>345,777</b> | <b>50,952</b> | <b>47,620</b> | <b>130,182</b> | <b>124,792</b> | <b>16,268</b> | <b>15,929</b> | <b>3,907</b>        | <b>3,779</b> | <b>3,102</b> | <b>2,972</b> | <b>993</b>   | <b>932</b>   |
| 1936                                 | Villages     | 359,033        | 345,546        | 41,198        | 38,646        | 104,370        | 99,133         | 8,557         | 8,421         | 4,279               | 3,985        | 3,371        | 3,053        | 939          | 887          |
|                                      | Cities       | 29,913         | 27,134         | 11,070        | 9,033         | 26,482         | 24,503         | 8,058         | 7,704         | 176                 | 149          | 288          | 244          | 24           | 21           |
|                                      | <b>Total</b> | <b>388,946</b> | <b>372,680</b> | <b>52,268</b> | <b>47,679</b> | <b>130,852</b> | <b>123,636</b> | <b>16,615</b> | <b>16,125</b> | <b>4,455</b>        | <b>4,134</b> | <b>3,659</b> | <b>3,297</b> | <b>963</b>   | <b>908</b>   |
| 1937                                 | Villages     | 366,794        | 353,575        | 39,206        | 36,436        | 102,239        | 97,363         | 8,059         | 8,103         | 5,347               | 3,924        | 2,661        | 2,710        | 891          | 864          |
|                                      | Cities       | 32,858         | 28,589         | 11,254        | 9,208         | 26,779         | 24,868         | 8,761         | 8,242         | 197                 | 179          | 291          | 253          | 24           | 22           |
|                                      | <b>Total</b> | <b>399,652</b> | <b>382,164</b> | <b>50,460</b> | <b>45,644</b> | <b>129,018</b> | <b>122,231</b> | <b>16,820</b> | <b>16,345</b> | <b>5,544</b>        | <b>4,103</b> | <b>2,952</b> | <b>2,963</b> | <b>915</b>   | <b>886</b>   |

### 3. The ethnic distribution of Transylvanian school-aged children in villages and cities:

| School-aged children in Transylvania |              | Total Romanian, Hungarian, German, Jewish, Ukrainian, Serb, Bulgarian |                |                  | Other boys and girls | Total          |                |                  |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|---|----------------|------------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
|                                      |              | Boys  | Girls          | Total            |                      | Boys           | Girls          | Total            |
| 1924                                 | Villages     | 318,919   | 303,849        | 622,768          | 9,631                | 323,619        | 308,780        | 632,399          |
|                                      | Cities       | 57,767  | 52,562         | 110,329          | 1,342                | 58,526         | 53,145         | 111,671          |
|                                      | <b>Total</b> | <b>376,686</b>  | <b>356,411</b> | <b>733,097</b>   | <b>10,973</b>        | <b>382,145</b> | <b>361,925</b> | <b>744,070</b>   |
| 1925                                 | Villages     | 486,078   | 461,861        | 947,939          | 13,882               | 493,042        | 468,779        | 961,821          |
|                                      | Cities       | 71,967  | 67,231         | 139,198          | 1,971                | 73,004         | 68,165         | 141,169          |
|                                      | <b>Total</b> | <b>558,045</b>  | <b>529,092</b> | <b>1,087,137</b> | <b>15,853</b>        | <b>566,046</b> | <b>536,944</b> | <b>1,102,990</b> |
| 1926                                 | Villages     | 462,785   | 441,812        | 904,597          | 13,733               | 469,765        | 448,565        | 918,330          |
|                                      | Cities       | 70,121  | 62,948         | 133,069          | 1,714                | 71,029         | 63,754         | 134,783          |
|                                      | <b>Total</b> | <b>532,906</b>  | <b>504,760</b> | <b>1,037,666</b> | <b>15,447</b>        | <b>540,794</b> | <b>512,319</b> | <b>1,053,113</b> |
| 1927                                 | Villages     | 460,950   | 439,333        | 900,283          | 12,483               | 467,374        | 445,392        | 912,766          |
|                                      | Cities       | 73,296  | 63,000         | 136,296          | 1,644                | 74,184         | 63,756         | 137,940          |
|                                      | <b>Total</b> | <b>534,246</b>  | <b>502,333</b> | <b>1,036,579</b> | <b>14,127</b>        | <b>541,558</b> | <b>509,148</b> | <b>1,050,706</b> |
| 1928                                 | Villages     | 469,162   | 445,164        | 914,326          | 12,632               | 475,699        | 451,259        | 926,958          |
|                                      | Cities       | 75,036  | 64,312         | 139,348          | 1,267                | 75,707         | 64,908         | 140,615          |
|                                      | <b>Total</b> | <b>544,198</b>  | <b>509,476</b> | <b>1,053,674</b> | <b>13,899</b>        | <b>551,406</b> | <b>516,167</b> | <b>1,067,573</b> |
| 1929                                 | Villages     | 464,576   | 442,823        | 907,399          | 10,767               | 470,073        | 448,093        | 918,166          |
|                                      | Cities       | 71,579  | 60,967         | 132,546          | 1,101                | 72,152         | 61,495         | 133,647          |
|                                      | <b>Total</b> | <b>536,155</b>  | <b>503,790</b> | <b>1,039,945</b> | <b>11,868</b>        | <b>542,225</b> | <b>509,588</b> | <b>1,051,813</b> |
| 1931                                 | Villages     | 477,499   | 455,237        | 932,736          | 15,448               | 485,318        | 462,866        | 948,184          |
|                                      | Cities       | 73,706  | 65,408         | 139,114          | 1,390                | 74,454         | 66,050         | 140,504          |
|                                      | <b>Total</b> | <b>551,205</b>  | <b>520,645</b> | <b>1,071,850</b> | <b>16,838</b>        | <b>559,772</b> | <b>528,916</b> | <b>1,088,688</b> |
| 1933                                 | Villages     | 499,636   | 477,579        | 977,215          | 17,260               | 508,453        | 486,022        | 994,475          |
|                                      | Cities       | 70,127  | 64,222         | 134,349          | 1,362                | 70,851         | 64,860         | 135,711          |
|                                      | <b>Total</b> | <b>569,763</b>  | <b>541,801</b> | <b>1,111,564</b> | <b>18,622</b>        | <b>579,304</b> | <b>550,882</b> | <b>1,130,186</b> |

| School-aged children<br>in Transylvania |              | Total Romanian, Hungarian, German,<br>Jewish, Ukrainian, Serb, Bulgarian |                |                  | Other boys<br>and girls | Total          |                |                  |
|---|--------------|--|----------------|------------------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
|   |              | Boys   | Girls          | Total            |                         | Boys           | Girls          | Total            |
| 1936                                    | Villages     | 521,747  | 499,671        | 1,021,418        | 19,743                  | 531,847        | 509,314        | 1,041,161        |
|   | Cities       | 76,011   | 68,788         | 144,799          | 1,801                   | 76,952         | 69,648         | 146,600          |
|   | <b>Total</b> | <b>597,758</b>   | <b>568,459</b> | <b>1,166,217</b> | <b>21,544</b>           | <b>608,799</b> | <b>578,962</b> | <b>1,187,761</b> |
| 1937                                    | Villages     | 525,197  | 502,975        | 1,028,172        | 20,030                  | 535,376        | 512,826        | 1,048,202        |
|   | Cities       | 80,164   | 71,361         | 151,525          | 1,989                   | 81,215         | 72,299         | 153,514          |
|   | <b>Total</b> | <b>605,361</b>   | <b>574,336</b> | <b>1,179,697</b> | <b>22,019</b>           | <b>616,591</b> | <b>585,125</b> | <b>1,201,716</b> |

4. The number of state kindergartens in Transylvanian villages and cities:

| State kindergartens in Transylvania |              | Number of<br>institutions |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| 1921/1922                           | Villages     | 50                        |
|                                     | Cities       | 49                        |
|                                     | <b>Total</b> | <b>99</b>                 |
| 1922/1923                           | Villages     | 50                        |
|                                     | Cities       | 75                        |
|                                     | <b>Total</b> | <b>125</b>                |
| 1923/1924                           | Villages     | 110                       |
|                                     | Cities       | 63                        |
|                                     | <b>Total</b> | <b>173</b>                |
| 1924/1925                           | Villages     | 142                       |
|                                     | Cities       | 66                        |
|                                     | <b>Total</b> | <b>208</b>                |
| 1925/1926                           | Villages     | 203                       |
|                                     | Cities       | 108                       |
|                                     | <b>Total</b> | <b>311</b>                |
| 1926/1927                           | Villages     | 258                       |
|                                     | Cities       | 100                       |
|                                     | <b>Total</b> | <b>358</b>                |
| 1927/1928                           | Villages     | 365                       |
|                                     | Cities       | 122                       |
|                                     | <b>Total</b> | <b>487</b>                |
| 1928/1929                           | Villages     | 436                       |
|                                     | Cities       | 120                       |
|                                     | <b>Total</b> | <b>556</b>                |
| 1930/1931                           | Villages     | 538                       |
|                                     | Cities       | 135                       |
|                                     | <b>Total</b> | <b>673</b>                |
| 1931/1932                           | Villages     | 542                       |
|                                     | Cities       | 133                       |
|                                     | <b>Total</b> | <b>675</b>                |
| 1932/1933                           | Villages     | 519                       |
|                                     | Cities       | 147                       |
|                                     | <b>Total</b> | <b>666</b>                |
| 1935/1936                           | Villages     | 599                       |
|                                     | Cities       | 164                       |
|                                     | <b>Total</b> | <b>763</b>                |
| 1936/1937                           | Villages     | 642                       |
|                                     | Cities       | 165                       |
|                                     | <b>Total</b> | <b>807</b>                |



## 5. The number of state primary schools and of their teaching staff in Transylvanian villages and cities:

| State primary schools in Transylvania |              | Number of institutions |       |       |       | Number of teaching staff |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|------------------------|-------|-------|-------|--------------------------|
|                                       |              | Boys                   | Girls | Mixed | Total |                          |
| 1921/1922                             | Villages     | 37                     | 47    | 2,689 | 2,773 | 4,717                    |
|                                       | Cities       | 23                     | 24    | 224   | 271   | 1,150                    |
|                                       | <b>Total</b> | 60                     | 71    | 2,913 | 3,044 | 5,867                    |
| 1922/1923                             | Villages     | –                      | –     | 3,391 | 3,391 | 4,950                    |
|                                       | Cities       | 17                     | 18    | 189   | 224   | 978                      |
|                                       | <b>Total</b> | 17                     | 18    | 3,580 | 3,615 | 5,928                    |
| 1923/1924                             | Villages     | –                      | –     | 3,545 | 3,545 | 5,158                    |
|                                       | Cities       | 10                     | 8     | 128   | 146   | 890                      |
|                                       | <b>Total</b> | 10                     | 8     | 3,673 | 3,691 | 6,048                    |
| 1924/1925                             | Villages     | 2                      | 1     | 3,600 | 3,603 | 5,995                    |
|                                       | Cities       | 12                     | 10    | 124   | 146   | 928                      |
|                                       | <b>Total</b> | 14                     | 11    | 3,724 | 3,749 | 6,923                    |
| 1925/1926                             | Villages     | 6                      | 6     | 3,548 | 3,560 | 6,327                    |
|                                       | Cities       | 15                     | 13    | 132   | 160   | 1,133                    |
|                                       | <b>Total</b> | 21                     | 19    | 3,680 | 3,720 | 7,460                    |
| 1926/1927                             | Villages     | 4                      | 4     | 3,695 | 3,703 | 6,828                    |
|                                       | Cities       | 13                     | 13    | 115   | 141   | 946                      |
|                                       | <b>Total</b> | 17                     | 17    | 3,810 | 3,844 | 7,774                    |
| 1927/1928                             | Villages     | 5                      | 3     | 3,818 | 3,826 | 7,342                    |
|                                       | Cities       | 15                     | 13    | 132   | 160   | 968                      |
|                                       | <b>Total</b> | 20                     | 16    | 3,950 | 3,986 | 8,310                    |
| 1928/1929                             | Villages     | 3                      | 2     | 4,155 | 4,160 | 7,496                    |
|                                       | Cities       | 16                     | 15    | 137   | 168   | 1,202                    |
|                                       | <b>Total</b> | 19                     | 17    | 4,292 | 4,328 | 8,698                    |
| 1929/1930                             | Villages     |                        |       |       | 4,046 | 7,815                    |
|                                       | Cities       |                        |       |       | 181   | 1,061                    |
|                                       | <b>Total</b> |                        |       |       | 4,227 | 8,876                    |
| 1930/1931                             | Villages     | 2                      | 2     | 4,075 | 4,079 | 7,891                    |
|                                       | Cities       | 14                     | 14    | 153   | 182   | 1,052                    |
|                                       | <b>Total</b> | 16                     | 16    | 4,228 | 4,261 | 8,943                    |
| 1931/1932                             | Villages     | 5                      | 3     | 4,092 | 4,100 | 7,826                    |
|                                       | Cities       | 15                     | 14    | 156   | 185   | 1,202                    |
|                                       | <b>Total</b> | 20                     | 17    | 4,248 | 4,285 | 9,028                    |
| 1932/1933                             | Villages     | 2                      | 1     | 4,107 | 4,110 | 7,903                    |
|                                       | Cities       | 11                     | 14    | 162   | 187   | 1,169                    |
|                                       | <b>Total</b> | 13                     | 15    | 4,269 | 4,297 | 9,072                    |
| 1935/1936                             | Villages     | 2                      | –     | 4,287 | 4,289 | 8,954                    |
|                                       | Cities       | 18                     | 16    | 181   | 215   | 1,241                    |
|                                       | <b>Total</b> | 20                     | 16    | 4,468 | 4,504 | 10,195                   |
| 1936/1937                             | Villages     | 1                      | 2     | 4,337 | 4,340 | 9,850                    |
|                                       | Cities       | 28                     | 25    | 177   | 230   | 1,410                    |
|                                       | <b>Total</b> | 29                     | 27    | 4,514 | 4,570 | 11,260                   |

6. The students and professors of the Transylvanian teacher training schools:

| State teacher training schools<br>in Transylvania |                                    | Number of<br>schools | Students          |  |      | Teachers (excluding<br>masters) |
|---|------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|--|------|---------------------------------|
|   |                                    |                      | Enrolled students | Students advancing to<br>higher grades |      |                                 |
| 1921/1922   | Boys' teacher<br>training schools  | 9                    | 1,445             | 1,260                                  | 87.2 | 99                              |
|   | Girls' teacher<br>training schools | 7                    | 1,321             | 1,129                                  | 85.5 | 49                              |
|   | <b>Total</b>                       | 16                   | 2,766             | 2,389                                  | 86.4 | 148                             |
| 1922/1923   | Boys' teacher<br>training schools  | 9                    | 1,823             | 1,547                                  | 84.9 | 97                              |
|   | Girls' teacher<br>training schools | 8                    | 1,652             | 1,403                                  | 84.9 | 61                              |
|   | <b>Total</b>                       | 17                   | 3,475             | 2,950                                  | 84.9 | 158                             |
| 1923/1924   | Boys' teacher<br>training schools  | 13                   | 2,338             | 2,033                                  | 87.0 | 128                             |
|   | Girls' teacher<br>training schools | 9                    | 1,807             | 1,606                                  | 88.9 | 70                              |
|   | <b>Total</b>                       | 22                   | 4,145             | 3,639                                  | 87.8 | 198                             |
| 1924/1925   | Boys' teacher<br>training schools  | 15                   | 3,039             | 2,588                                  | 85.2 | 146                             |
|   | Girls' teacher<br>training schools | 10                   | 1,888             | 1,705                                  | 90.3 | 88                              |
|   | <b>Total</b>                       | 25                   | 4,927             | 4,293                                  | 87.1 | 234                             |
| 1925/1926   | Boys' teacher<br>training schools  | 15                   | 3,373             | 2,844                                  | 84.3 | 152                             |
|   | Girls' teacher<br>training schools | 10                   | 1,935             | 1,686                                  | 87.1 | 82                              |
|   | <b>Total</b>                       | 25                   | 5,308             | 4,530                                  | 85.3 | 234                             |
| 1926/1927   | Boys' teacher<br>training schools  | 15                   | 3,557             | 3,079                                  | 86.6 | 160                             |
|   | Girls' teacher<br>training schools | 10                   | 1,972             | 1,677                                  | 85.0 | 96                              |
|   | <b>Total</b>                       | 25                   | 5,529             | 4,756                                  | 86.0 | 256                             |
| 1927/1928   | Boys' teacher<br>training schools  | 18                   | 4,113             | 3,536                                  | 86.0 | 177                             |
|   | Girls' teacher<br>training schools | 12                   | 2,413             | 2,056                                  | 85.2 | 114                             |
|   | <b>Total</b>                       | 30                   | 6,526             | 5,592                                  | 85.7 | 291                             |
| 1928/1929   | Boys' teacher<br>training schools  | 18                   | 4,018             | 3,453                                  | 85.9 | 189                             |
|   | Girls' teacher<br>training schools | 12                   | 2,319             | 2,061                                  | 88.9 | 128                             |
|   | <b>Total</b>                       | 30                   | 6,337             | 5,514                                  | 87.0 | 317                             |
| 1930/1931   | Boys' teacher<br>training schools  | 17                   | 3,117             | 2,670                                  | 85.7 | 161                             |
|   | Girls' teacher<br>training schools | 12                   | 2,068             | 1,789                                  | 86.5 | 213                             |
|   | <b>Total</b>                       | 29                   | 5,185             | 4,459                                  | 86.0 | 374                             |
| 1931/1932   | Boys' teacher<br>training schools  | 17                   | 2,779             | 2,473                                  | 89.0 | 269                             |
|   | Girls' teacher<br>training schools | 11                   | 1,670             | 1,514                                  | 90.7 | 201                             |
|   | <b>Total</b>                       | 28                   | 4,449             | 3,987                                  | 89.6 | 470                             |
| 1932/1933   | Boys' teacher<br>training schools  | 16                   | 2,313             | 2,077                                  | 89.8 | 251                             |
|   | Girls' teacher<br>training schools | 9                    | 1,498             | 1,326                                  | 88.5 | 161                             |
|   | <b>Total</b>                       | 25                   | 3,811             | 3,403                                  | 89.3 | 412                             |



| State teacher training schools in Transylvania |                                 | Number of schools | Students          |                                     |      | Teachers (excluding masters) |
|--|---------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|------|------------------------------|
|  |                                 |                   | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades |      |                              |
| 1935/1936                                      | Boys' teacher training schools  | 16                | 2,870             | 2,500                               | 87.1 | 266                          |
|  | Girls' teacher training schools | 9                 | 1,856             | 1,615                               | 87.0 | 167                          |
|  | <b>Total</b>                    | 25                | 4,726             | 4,115                               | 87.1 | 433                          |
| 1936/1937                                      | Boys' teacher training schools  | 17                | 2,954             | 2,596                               | 87.9 | 277                          |
|  | Girls' teacher training schools | 9                 | 1,906             | 1,670                               | 87.6 | 168                          |
|  | <b>Total</b>                    | 26                | 4,860             | 4,266                               | 87.8 | 445                          |

7. The ethnic distribution of students attending the Transylvanian state teacher training schools for boys and girls:

| The ethnic distribution of state teacher training schools |                                 | Ethnicity of enrolled students |      |        |     |           |     |        |     |       |     |       |
|---|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|------|--------|-----|-----------|-----|--------|-----|-------|-----|-------|
|   |                                 | Romanian                       |      | German |     | Hungarian |     | Jewish |     | Other |     | Total |
| 1923/1924   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 2,159                          | 92.3 | 6      | 0.3 | 170       | 7.3 | -      |     | 3     | 0.1 | 2,338 |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 1,774                          | 98.2 | 5      | 0.3 | 19        | 1.1 | 9      | 0.5 | -     | -   | 1,807 |
|   | <b>Total</b>                    | 3,933                          | 94.9 | 11     | 0.3 | 189       | 4.6 | 9      | 0.2 | 3     | 0.1 | 4,145 |
| 1924/1925   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 2,827                          | 93.0 | 31     | 1.0 | 172       | 5.7 | 2      | 0.1 | 7     | 0.2 | 3,039 |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 1,845                          | 97.7 | 4      | 0.2 | 27        | 1.4 | 12     | 0.6 | -     | -   | 1,888 |
|   | <b>Total</b>                    | 4,672                          | 94.8 | 35     | 0.7 | 199       | 4.0 | 14     | 0.3 | 7     | 0.1 | 4,927 |
| 1925/1926   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 3,198                          | 94.8 | 25     | 0.7 | 127       | 3.8 | -      | 0.0 | 23    | 0.7 | 3,373 |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 1,880                          | 97.2 | 9      | 0.5 | 22        | 1.1 | 12     | 0.6 | 12    | 0.6 | 1,935 |
|   | <b>Total</b>                    | 5,078                          | 95.7 | 34     | 0.6 | 149       | 2.8 | 12     | 0.2 | 35    | 0.7 | 5,308 |
| 1926/1927   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 3,430                          | 96.4 | 18     | 0.5 | 91        | 2.6 | 1      | 0.0 | 17    | 0.5 | 3,557 |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 1,909                          | 96.8 | 10     | 0.5 | 34        | 1.7 | 10     | 0.5 | 9     | 0.5 | 1,972 |
|   | <b>Total</b>                    | 5,339                          | 96.6 | 28     | 0.5 | 125       | 2.3 | 11     | 0.2 | 26    | 0.5 | 5,529 |
| 1927/1928   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 3,976                          | 96.7 | 15     | 0.4 | 100       | 2.4 | 1      | 0.0 | 21    | 0.5 | 4,113 |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 2,303                          | 95.4 | 9      | 0.4 | 77        | 3.2 | 11     | 0.5 | 13    | 0.5 | 2,413 |
|   | <b>Total</b>                    | 6,279                          | 96.2 | 24     | 0.4 | 177       | 2.7 | 12     | 0.2 | 34    | 0.5 | 6,526 |
| 1928/1929   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 3,898                          | 97.0 | 25     | 0.6 | 73        | 1.8 | 1      | 0.0 | 21    | 0.5 | 4,018 |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 2,204                          | 95.0 | 20     | 0.9 | 69        | 3.0 | 10     | 0.4 | 16    | 0.7 | 2,319 |
|   | <b>Total</b>                    | 6,102                          | 96.3 | 45     | 0.7 | 142       | 2.2 | 11     | 0.2 | 37    | 0.6 | 6,337 |
| 1935/1936   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 2,682                          | 93.4 | 41     | 1.4 | 94        | 3.3 | 6      | 0.2 | 47    | 1.6 | 2,870 |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 1,712                          | 92.2 | 17     | 0.9 | 108       | 5.8 | 11     | 0.6 | 8     | 0.4 | 1,856 |
|   | <b>Total</b>                    | 4,394                          | 93.0 | 58     | 1.2 | 202       | 4.3 | 17     | 0.4 | 55    | 1.2 | 4,726 |
| 1936/1937   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 2,737                          | 92.7 | 60     | 2.0 | 108       | 3.7 | 5      | 0.2 | 44    | 1.5 | 2,954 |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 1,789                          | 93.9 | 19     | 1.0 | 80        | 4.2 | 4      | 0.2 | 14    | 0.7 | 1,906 |
|   | <b>Total</b>                    | 4,526                          | 93.1 | 79     | 1.6 | 188       | 3.9 | 9      | 0.2 | 58    | 1.2 | 4,860 |

**8. The denominational distribution of students attending the Transylvanian state teacher training schools for boys and girls:**

| State teacher training schools for boys and girls |                                 | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |           |           |           | Total        |
|---|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
|   |                                 | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran  | Israelite | Other     |              |
| 1923/1924   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 1,458                         | 698            | 72             | 70        | 33        | 7         | –         | –         | 2,338        |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 1,367                         | 390            | 29             | 6         | 1         | 4         | 9         | 1         | 1,807        |
|   | <b>Total</b>                    | <b>2,825</b>                  | <b>1,088</b>   | <b>101</b>     | <b>76</b> | <b>34</b> | <b>11</b> | <b>9</b>  | <b>1</b>  | <b>4,145</b> |
| 1924/1925   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 2,074                         | 750            | 99             | 67        | 39        | 7         | 2         | 1         | 3,039        |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 1,401                         | 433            | 26             | 11        | –         | 3         | 12        | 2         | 1,888        |
|   | <b>Total</b>                    | <b>3,475</b>                  | <b>1,183</b>   | <b>125</b>     | <b>78</b> | <b>39</b> | <b>10</b> | <b>14</b> | <b>3</b>  | <b>4,927</b> |
| 1925/1926   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 2,343                         | 870            | 71             | 58        | 27        | 4         | –         | –         | 3,373        |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 1,431                         | 449            | 28             | 11        | –         | 1         | 12        | 3         | 1,935        |
|   | <b>Total</b>                    | <b>3,774</b>                  | <b>1,319</b>   | <b>99</b>      | <b>69</b> | <b>27</b> | <b>5</b>  | <b>12</b> | <b>3</b>  | <b>5,308</b> |
| 1926/1927   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 2,601                         | 836            | 57             | 37        | 21        | 4         | 1         | –         | 3,557        |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 1,411                         | 496            | 38             | 14        | –         | 2         | 10        | 1         | 1,972        |
|   | <b>Total</b>                    | <b>4,012</b>                  | <b>1,332</b>   | <b>95</b>      | <b>51</b> | <b>21</b> | <b>6</b>  | <b>11</b> | <b>1</b>  | <b>5,529</b> |
| 1927/1928   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 2,772                         | 1,217          | 63             | 39        | 17        | 4         | 1         | –         | 4,113        |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 1,594                         | 714            | 49             | 29        | 6         | 6         | 11        | 4         | 2,413        |
|   | <b>Total</b>                    | <b>4,366</b>                  | <b>1,931</b>   | <b>112</b>     | <b>68</b> | <b>23</b> | <b>10</b> | <b>12</b> | <b>4</b>  | <b>6,526</b> |
| 1928/1929   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 2,668                         | 1,248          | 53             | 33        | 13        | 2         | 1         | –         | 4,018        |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 1,513                         | 689            | 62             | 38        | 4         | –         | 10        | 3         | 2,319        |
|   | <b>Total</b>                    | <b>4,181</b>                  | <b>1,937</b>   | <b>115</b>     | <b>71</b> | <b>17</b> | <b>2</b>  | <b>11</b> | <b>3</b>  | <b>6,337</b> |
| 1930/1931   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 1,816                         | 1,169          | 99             | 30        | 12        | 9         | 1         | –         | 3,117        |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 1,270                         | 661            | 89             | 31        | 5         | 3         | 7         | 1         | 2,068        |
|   | <b>Total</b>                    | <b>3,086</b>                  | <b>1,830</b>   | <b>188</b>     | <b>61</b> | <b>17</b> | <b>12</b> | <b>8</b>  | <b>1</b>  | <b>5,185</b> |
| 1931/1932   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 1,705                         | 951            | 71             | 23        | 16        | 12        | 1         | –         | 2,779        |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 1,056                         | 517            | 61             | 21        | 4         | 2         | 9         | –         | 1,670        |
|   | <b>Total</b>                    | <b>2,761</b>                  | <b>1,468</b>   | <b>132</b>     | <b>44</b> | <b>20</b> | <b>14</b> | <b>10</b> | <b>–</b>  | <b>4,449</b> |
| 1932/1933   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 1,446                         | 736            | 72             | 29        | 12        | 15        | 3         | –         | 2,313        |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 914                           | 467            | 63             | 37        | 5         | 3         | 9         | –         | 1,498        |
|   | <b>Total</b>                    | <b>2,360</b>                  | <b>1,203</b>   | <b>135</b>     | <b>66</b> | <b>17</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>12</b> | <b>–</b>  | <b>3,811</b> |
| 1935/1936   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 1,617                         | 1,074          | 99             | 42        | 22        | 9         | 6         | 1         | 2,870        |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 1,102                         | 609            | 76             | 38        | 12        | 5         | 13        | 1         | 1,856        |
|   | <b>Total</b>                    | <b>2,719</b>                  | <b>1,683</b>   | <b>175</b>     | <b>80</b> | <b>34</b> | <b>14</b> | <b>19</b> | <b>2</b>  | <b>4,726</b> |
| 1936/1937   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 1,622                         | 1,134          | 119            | 43        | 17        | 10        | 1         | 8         | 2,954        |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 1,139                         | 650            | 58             | 35        | 9         | 6         | 6         | 3         | 1,906        |
|   | <b>Total</b>                    | <b>2,761</b>                  | <b>1,784</b>   | <b>177</b>     | <b>78</b> | <b>26</b> | <b>16</b> | <b>7</b>  | <b>11</b> | <b>4,860</b> |



9. The denominational distribution of students attending the Transylvanian state teacher training schools for boys and girls, in percentage:

| State teacher training schools for boys and girls |                                 | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       |
|---|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|
|   |                                 | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |
| 1923/1924   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 62.4                          | 29.9           | 3.1            | 3.0       | 1.4       | 0.3      | -         |       |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 75.7                          | 21.6           | 1.6            | 0.3       | 0.1       | 0.2      | 0.5       | 0.1   |
|   | Total                           | 68.2                          | 26.2           | 2.4            | 1.8       | 0.8       | 0.3      | 0.2       | 0.0   |
| 1924/1925   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 68.2                          | 24.7           | 3.3            | 2.2       | 1.3       | 0.2      | 0.1       | 0.0   |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 74.2                          | 22.9           | 1.4            | 0.6       | -         | 0.2      | 0.6       | 0.1   |
|   | Total                           | 70.5                          | 24.0           | 2.5            | 1.6       | 0.8       | 0.2      | 0.3       | 0.1   |
| 1925/1926   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 69.5                          | 25.8           | 2.1            | 1.7       | 0.8       | 0.1      | -         | -     |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 74.0                          | 23.2           | 1.4            | 0.6       | -         | 0.1      | 0.6       | 0.2   |
|   | Total                           | 71.1                          | 24.8           | 1.9            | 1.3       | 0.5       | 0.1      | 0.2       | 0.1   |
| 1926/1927   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 73.1                          | 23.5           | 1.6            | 1.0       | 0.6       | 0.1      | 0.0       | -     |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 71.6                          | 25.2           | 1.9            | 0.7       | -         | 0.1      | 0.5       | 0.1   |
|   | Total                           | 72.6                          | 24.1           | 1.7            | 0.9       | 0.4       | 0.1      | 0.2       | 0.0   |
| 1927/1928   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 67.4                          | 29.6           | 1.5            | 0.9       | 0.4       | 0.1      | 0.0       | -     |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 66.1                          | 29.6           | 2.0            | 1.2       | 0.2       | 0.2      | 0.5       | 0.2   |
|   | Total                           | 66.9                          | 29.6           | 1.7            | 1.0       | 0.4       | 0.2      | 0.2       | 0.1   |
| 1928/1929   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 66.4                          | 31.1           | 1.3            | 0.8       | 0.3       | 0.0      | 0.0       | -     |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 65.2                          | 29.7           | 2.7            | 1.6       | 0.2       | -        | 0.4       | 0.1   |
|   | Total                           | 66.0                          | 30.6           | 1.8            | 1.1       | 0.3       | 0.0      | 0.2       | 0.0   |
| 1930/1931   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 58.3                          | 37.5           | 3.2            | 1.0       | 0.4       | 0.3      | 0.0       | -     |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 61.4                          | 32.0           | 4.3            | 1.5       | 0.2       | 0.1      | 0.3       | 0.0   |
|   | Total                           | 59.5                          | 35.3           | 3.6            | 1.2       | 0.3       | 0.2      | 0.2       | 0.0   |
| 1931/1932   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 61.4                          | 34.2           | 2.6            | 0.8       | 0.6       | 0.4      | 0.0       | -     |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 63.2                          | 31.0           | 3.7            | 1.3       | 0.2       | 0.1      | 0.5       | -     |
|   | Total                           | 62.1                          | 33.0           | 3.0            | 1.0       | 0.4       | 0.3      | 0.2       | -     |

| State teacher training schools for boys and girls |                                 | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       |
|---|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|
|   |                                 | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |
| 1932/1933   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 62.5                          | 31.8           | 3.1            | 1.3       | 0.5       | 0.6      | 0.1       | –     |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 61.0                          | 31.2           | 4.2            | 2.5       | 0.3       | 0.2      | 0.6       | –     |
|   | Total                           | 61.9                          | 31.6           | 3.5            | 1.7       | 0.4       | 0.5      | 0.3       | –     |
| 1935/1936   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 56.3                          | 37.4           | 3.4            | 1.5       | 0.8       | 0.3      | 0.2       | 0.0   |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 59.4                          | 32.8           | 4.1            | 2.0       | 0.6       | 0.3      | 0.7       | 0.1   |
|   | Total                           | 57.5                          | 35.6           | 3.7            | 1.7       | 0.7       | 0.3      | 0.4       | 0.0   |
| 1936/1937   | Boys' teacher training schools  | 54.9                          | 38.4           | 4.0            | 1.5       | 0.6       | 0.3      | 0.0       | 0.3   |
|   | Girls' teacher training schools | 59.8                          | 34.1           | 3.0            | 1.8       | 0.5       | 0.3      | 0.3       | 0.2   |
|   | Total                           | 56.8                          | 36.7           | 3.6            | 1.6       | 0.5       | 0.3      | 0.1       | 0.2   |

10. The students and teachers of teacher training schools run by denominations and private associations:

| Teacher training schools run by denominations and private associations |       | Number of institutions | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades |      | Teaching staff |
|--|-------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|------|----------------|
| 1926/1927  | Boys  | 4                      | 307               | 270                                 | 87.9 | 59             |
|  | Girls | 9                      | 601               | 541                                 | 90.0 | 91             |
|  | Total | 13                     | 908               | 811                                 | 89.3 | 150            |
| 1927/1928  | Boys  | 4                      | 357               | 309                                 | 86.6 | 57             |
|  | Girls | 8                      | 597               | 539                                 | 90.3 | 71             |
|  | Total | 12                     | 954               | 848                                 | 88.9 | 128            |
| 1928/1929  | Boys  | 4                      | 373               | 320                                 | 85.8 | 48             |
|  | Girls | 8                      | 741               | 660                                 | 89.1 | 80             |
|  | Total | 12                     | 1,114             | 980                                 | 88.0 | 128            |

11. The students and teachers of state gymnasiums:

| State gymnasiums |       | Number of schools | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades | Teachers (excluding masters) |
|------------------|-------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1923/1924        | Boys  | 18                | 2,054             | 1,684                               | 100                          |
| 1924/1925        | Boys  | 23                | 2,760             | 2,150                               | 126                          |
| 1925/1926        | Boys  | 25                | 3,190             | 2,404                               | 152                          |
| 1926/1927        | Boys  | 26                | 3,185             | 2,483                               | 166                          |
|                  | Boys  | 27                | 3,248             | 2,483                               | 179                          |
| 1927/1928        | Mixed | 2                 | 180               | 148                                 | 11                           |
|                  | Total | 29                | 3,428             | 2,631                               | 190                          |
| 1928/1929        | Boys  | 33                | 3,423             | 2,527                               | 212                          |
|                  | Mixed | 4                 | 554               | 437                                 | 24                           |
|                  | Total | 37                | 3,977             | 2,964                               | 236                          |
| 1930/1931        | Boys  | 25                | 2,452             | 1,824                               | 189                          |
|                  | Girls | 25                | 2,149             | 1,681                               | 238                          |
|                  | Mixed | 7                 | 778               | 626                                 | 48                           |
|                  | Total | 57                | 5,379             | 4,131                               | 475                          |





| State gymnasiums |       | Number of schools | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades | Teachers (excluding masters) |
|------------------|-------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1931/1932        | Boys  | 19                | 2,361             | 1,920                               | 171                          |
|                  | Girls | 23                | 2,444             | 2,085                               | 256                          |
|                  | Mixed | 10                | 1,365             | 1,156                               | 84                           |
|                  | Total | 52                | 6,170             | 5,161                               | 511                          |
| 1932/1933        | Boys  | 15                | 2,289             | 1,832                               | 145                          |
|                  | Girls | 22                | 2,648             | 2,314                               | 231                          |
|                  | Mixed | 14                | 2,067             | 1,752                               | 121                          |
|                  | Total | 51                | 7,004             | 5,898                               | 497                          |
| 1935/1936        | Boys  | 11                | 1,942             | 1,556                               | 120                          |
|                  | Girls | 19                | 2,829             | 2,449                               | 208                          |
|                  | Mixed | 19                | 2,749             | 2,347                               | 44                           |
|                  | Total | 49                | 7,520             | 6,352                               | 372                          |
| 1936/1937        | Boys  | 10                | 1,844             | 1,520                               | 106                          |
|                  | Girls | 19                | 2,907             | 2,522                               | 200                          |
|                  | Mixed | 19                | 2,863             | 2,498                               | 180                          |
|                  | Total | 48                | 7,614             | 6,540                               | 486                          |

12. The ethnic distribution of students attending state gymnasiums:

| Students of state gymnasiums |       | Romanian |      | German |      | Hungarian |      | Jewish |      | Other |     | Total |
|------------------------------|-------|----------|------|--------|------|-----------|------|--------|------|-------|-----|-------|
|                              |       |          |      |        |      |           |      |        |      |       |     |       |
| 1923/1924                    | Boys  | 1,439    | 70.1 | 253    | 12.3 | 249       | 12.1 | 82     | 4.0  | 31    | 1.5 | 2,054 |
| 1924/1925                    | Boys  | 1,975    | 71.6 | 191    | 6.9  | 444       | 16.1 | 132    | 4.8  | 18    | 0.7 | 2,760 |
| 1925/1926                    | Boys  | 2,396    | 75.1 | 163    | 5.1  | 493       | 15.5 | 131    | 4.1  | 7     | 0.2 | 3,190 |
| 1926/1927                    | Boys  | 2,447    | 76.8 | 165    | 5.2  | 393       | 12.3 | 175    | 5.5  | 5     | 0.2 | 3,185 |
| 1927/1928                    | Boys  | 2,306    | 71.0 | 148    | 4.6  | 520       | 16.0 | 256    | 7.9  | 18    | 0.6 | 3,248 |
|                              | Mixed | 171      | 95.0 | -      | -    | 6         | 3.3  | 3      | 1.7  | -     | -   | 180   |
|                              | Total | 2,477    | 72.3 | 148    | 4.3  | 526       | 15.3 | 259    | 7.6  | 18    | 0.5 | 3,428 |
| 1928/1929                    | Boys  | 2,010    | 58.7 | 443    | 12.9 | 709       | 20.7 | 175    | 5.1  | 86    | 2.5 | 3,423 |
|                              | Mixed | 440      | 79.4 | 11     | 2.0  | 48        | 8.7  | 38     | 6.9  | 17    | 3.1 | 554   |
|                              | Total | 2,450    | 61.6 | 454    | 11.4 | 757       | 19.0 | 213    | 5.4  | 103   | 2.6 | 3,977 |
| 1935/1936                    | Boys  | 970      | 49.9 | 394    | 20.3 | 431       | 22.2 | 109    | 5.6  | 38    | 2.0 | 1,942 |
|                              | Girls | 1,672    | 59.1 | 167    | 5.9  | 637       | 22.5 | 335    | 11.8 | 18    | 0.6 | 2,829 |
|                              | Mixed | 1,743    | 63.4 | 293    | 10.7 | 406       | 14.8 | 226    | 8.2  | 81    | 2.9 | 2,749 |
|                              | Total | 4,385    | 58.3 | 854    | 11.4 | 1,474     | 19.6 | 670    | 8.9  | 137   | 1.8 | 7,520 |
| 1936/1937                    | Boys  | 1,037    | 56.2 | 338    | 18.3 | 343       | 18.6 | 88     | 4.8  | 38    | 2.1 | 1,844 |
|                              | Girls | 1,842    | 63.4 | 152    | 5.2  | 579       | 19.9 | 320    | 11.0 | 14    | 0.5 | 2,907 |
|                              | Mixed | 1,901    | 66.4 | 254    | 8.9  | 404       | 14.1 | 214    | 7.5  | 90    | 3.1 | 2,863 |
|                              | Total | 4,780    | 62.8 | 744    | 9.8  | 1,326     | 17.4 | 622    | 8.2  | 142   | 1.9 | 7,614 |

13. The denominational distribution of students attending state gymnasiums:

| Students of state gymnasiums |       | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       | Total |
|------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|                              |       | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |       |
| 1923/1924                    | Boys  | 1,024                         | 445            | 351            | 121       | 19        | 12       | 82        | -     | 2,054 |
| 1924/1925                    | Boys  | 1,202                         | 776            | 398            | 210       | 19        | 21       | 132       | 2     | 2,760 |
| 1925/1926                    | Boys  | 1,396                         | 999            | 383            | 228       | 20        | 28       | 131       | 5     | 3,190 |
| 1926/1927                    | Boys  | 1,490                         | 785            | 413            | 237       | 24        | 52       | 175       | 9     | 3,185 |
| 1927/1928                    | Boys  | 1,586                         | 713            | 430            | 216       | 16        | 26       | 256       | 5     | 3,248 |
|                              | Mixed | 133                           | 38             | 2              | 3         | -         | 1        | 3         | -     | 180   |
|                              | Total | 1,719                         | 751            | 432            | 219       | 16        | 27       | 259       | 5     | 3,428 |
| 1928/1929                    | Boys  | 1,564                         | 505            | 899            | 222       | 5         | 43       | 175       | 10    | 3,423 |
|                              | Mixed | 367                           | 84             | 47             | 7         | 2         | 9        | 38        | -     | 554   |
|                              | Total | 1,931                         | 589            | 946            | 229       | 7         | 52       | 213       | 10    | 3,977 |

| Students of state<br>gymnasiums |       | Religion of enrolled students |                   |                   |           |           |          |           | Total |       |
|---------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|                                 |       | Orthodox                      | Greek<br>Catholic | Roman<br>Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite |       | Other |
| 1930/1931                       | Boys  | 936                           | 262               | 831               | 183       | 1         | 45       | 179       | 15    | 2,452 |
|                                 | Girls | 620                           | 447               | 476               | 225       | 12        | 56       | 300       | 13    | 2,149 |
|                                 | Mixed | 401                           | 148               | 94                | 40        | 6         | 15       | 74        | –     | 778   |
|                                 | Total | 1,957                         | 857               | 1,401             | 448       | 19        | 116      | 553       | 28    | 5,379 |
| 1931/1932                       | Boys  | 865                           | 244               | 744               | 163       | 99        | 53       | 185       | 8     | 2,361 |
|                                 | Girls | 703                           | 545               | 484               | 275       | 19        | 44       | 358       | 16    | 2,444 |
|                                 | Mixed | 677                           | 247               | 205               | 61        | 8         | 17       | 147       | 3     | 1,365 |
|                                 | Total | 2,245                         | 1,036             | 1,433             | 499       | 126       | 114      | 690       | 27    | 6,170 |
| 1932/1933                       | Boys  | 801                           | 272               | 738               | 151       | 47        | 48       | 224       | 8     | 2,289 |
|                                 | Girls | 810                           | 595               | 476               | 269       | 24        | 60       | 397       | 17    | 2,648 |
|                                 | Mixed | 887                           | 366               | 376               | 174       | 10        | 30       | 221       | 3     | 2,067 |
|                                 | Total | 2,498                         | 1,233             | 1,590             | 594       | 81        | 138      | 842       | 28    | 7,004 |
| 1935/1936                       | Boys  | 878                           | 95                | 641               | 148       | 7         | 54       | 109       | 10    | 1,942 |
|                                 | Girls | 883                           | 764               | 455               | 293       | 28        | 62       | 335       | 9     | 2,829 |
|                                 | Mixed | 1,344                         | 413               | 554               | 158       | 17        | 33       | 226       | 4     | 2,749 |
|                                 | Total | 3,105                         | 1,272             | 1,650             | 599       | 52        | 149      | 670       | 23    | 7,520 |
| 1936/1937                       | Boys  | 950                           | 81                | 537               | 127       | 5         | 46       | 88        | 10    | 1,844 |
|                                 | Girls | 986                           | 828               | 421               | 259       | 24        | 57       | 320       | 12    | 2,907 |
|                                 | Mixed | 1,481                         | 439               | 521               | 162       | 11        | 30       | 214       | 5     | 2,863 |
|                                 | Total | 3,417                         | 1,348             | 1,479             | 548       | 40        | 133      | 622       | 27    | 7,614 |

14. The denominational distribution of students attending state gymnasiums, in percentage:

| Students of state<br>gymnasiums |       | Religion of enrolled students |                   |                   |           |           |          |           |       |
|---------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|
|                                 |       | Orthodox                      | Greek<br>Catholic | Roman<br>Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |
| 1923/1924                       | Boys  | 49.9                          | 21.7              | 17.1              | 5.9       | 0.9       | 0.6      | 4.0       | –     |
| 1924/1925                       | Boys  | 43.6                          | 28.1              | 14.4              | 7.6       | 0.7       | 0.8      | 4.8       | 0.1   |
| 1925/1926                       | Boys  | 43.8                          | 31.3              | 12.0              | 7.1       | 0.6       | 0.9      | 4.1       | 0.2   |
| 1926/1927                       | Boys  | 46.8                          | 24.6              | 13.0              | 7.4       | 0.8       | 1.6      | 5.5       | 0.3   |
| 1927/1928                       | Boys  | 48.8                          | 22.0              | 13.2              | 6.7       | 0.5       | 0.8      | 7.9       | 0.2   |
|                                 | Mixed | 73.9                          | 21.1              | 1.1               | 1.7       | –         | 0.6      | 1.7       | –     |
|                                 | Total | 50.1                          | 21.9              | 12.6              | 6.4       | 0.5       | 0.8      | 7.6       | 0.1   |
| 1928/1929                       | Boys  | 45.7                          | 14.8              | 26.3              | 6.5       | 0.1       | 1.3      | 5.1       | 0.3   |
|                                 | Mixed | 66.2                          | 15.2              | 8.5               | 1.3       | 0.4       | 1.6      | 6.9       | –     |
|                                 | Total | 48.6                          | 14.8              | 23.8              | 5.8       | 0.2       | 1.3      | 5.4       | 0.3   |
| 1930/1931                       | Boys  | 38.2                          | 10.7              | 33.9              | 7.5       | 0.0       | 1.8      | 7.3       | 0.6   |
|                                 | Girls | 28.9                          | 20.8              | 22.1              | 10.5      | 0.6       | 2.6      | 14.0      | 0.6   |
|                                 | Mixed | 51.5                          | 19.0              | 12.1              | 5.1       | 0.8       | 1.9      | 9.5       | –     |
|                                 | Total | 36.4                          | 15.9              | 26.0              | 8.3       | 0.4       | 2.2      | 10.3      | 0.5   |
| 1931/1932                       | Boys  | 36.6                          | 10.3              | 31.5              | 6.9       | 4.2       | 2.2      | 7.8       | 0.3   |
|                                 | Girls | 28.8                          | 22.3              | 19.8              | 11.3      | 0.8       | 1.8      | 14.6      | 0.7   |
|                                 | Mixed | 49.6                          | 18.1              | 15.0              | 4.5       | 0.6       | 1.2      | 10.8      | 0.2   |
|                                 | Total | 36.4                          | 16.8              | 23.2              | 8.1       | 2.0       | 1.8      | 11.2      | 0.4   |
| 1932/1933                       | Boys  | 35.0                          | 11.9              | 32.2              | 6.6       | 2.1       | 2.1      | 9.8       | 0.3   |
|                                 | Girls | 30.6                          | 22.5              | 18.0              | 10.2      | 0.9       | 2.3      | 15.0      | 0.6   |
|                                 | Mixed | 42.9                          | 17.7              | 18.2              | 8.4       | 0.5       | 1.5      | 10.7      | 0.1   |
|                                 | Total | 35.7                          | 17.6              | 22.7              | 8.5       | 1.2       | 2.0      | 12.0      | 0.4   |
| 1935/1936                       | Boys  | 45.2                          | 4.9               | 33.0              | 7.6       | 0.4       | 2.8      | 5.6       | 0.5   |
|                                 | Girls | 31.2                          | 27.0              | 16.1              | 10.4      | 1.0       | 2.2      | 11.8      | 0.3   |
|                                 | Mixed | 48.9                          | 15.0              | 20.2              | 5.7       | 0.6       | 1.2      | 8.2       | 0.1   |
|                                 | Total | 41.3                          | 16.9              | 21.9              | 8.0       | 0.7       | 2.0      | 8.9       | 0.3   |
| 1936/1937                       | Boys  | 51.5                          | 4.4               | 29.1              | 6.9       | 0.3       | 2.5      | 4.8       | 0.5   |
|                                 | Girls | 33.9                          | 28.5              | 14.5              | 8.9       | 0.8       | 2.0      | 11.0      | 0.4   |
|                                 | Mixed | 51.7                          | 15.3              | 18.2              | 5.7       | 0.4       | 1.0      | 7.5       | 0.2   |
|                                 | Total | 44.9                          | 17.7              | 19.4              | 7.2       | 0.5       | 1.7      | 8.2       | 0.4   |



15. State boys' lyceums and 2<sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools offering Matura between 1921 and 1928:

| State boys' and girls' lyceums |                                     | Number of institutions | Lower level       |                                     | Upper level       |                                     | Total number of students enrolled on the lower and upper level | Teachers (excluding masters) |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|
|                                |                                     |                        | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades |  |                              |
| 1921/1922                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 30                     | 8,366             | 7,110                               | 2,726             | 2,395                               | 11,092   | 428                          |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 8                      | 1,683             | 1,369                               | 328               | 262                                 | 2,011  | 84                           |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 38                     | 10,049            | 8,479                               | 3,054             | 2,657                               | 13,103   | 512                          |
| 1922/1923                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 36                     | 10,003            | 8,179                               | 3,321             | 2,891                               | 13,324   | 474                          |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 9                      | 1,926             | 1,548                               | 523               | 436                                 | 2,449  | 97                           |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 45                     | 11,929            | 9,727                               | 3,844             | 3,327                               | 15,773   | 571                          |
| 1923/1924                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 33                     | 10,709            | 8,536                               | 4,127             | 3,538                               | 14,836   | 488                          |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 9                      | 2,466             | 1,968                               | 725               | 635                                 | 3,191  | 123                          |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 42                     | 13,175            | 10,504                              | 4,852             | 4,173                               | 18,027   | 611                          |
| 1924/1925                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 35                     | 11,072            | 6,169                               | 4,700             | 3,170                               | 15,772   | 521                          |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 10                     | 2,718             | 2,086                               | 905               | 723                                 | 3,623  | 114                          |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 45                     | 13,790            | 8,255                               | 5,605             | 3,893                               | 19,395   | 635                          |
| 1925/1926                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 35                     | 10,457            | 7,747                               | 4,753             | 3,959                               | 15,210   | 502                          |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 12                     | 3,003             | 2,362                               | 944               | 814                                 | 3,947  | 143                          |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 47                     | 13,460            | 10,109                              | 5,697             | 4,773                               | 19,157   | 645                          |
| 1926/1927                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 37                     | 9,992             | 7,488                               | 4,843             | 4,144                               | 14,835   | 563                          |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 14                     | 3,081             | 2,405                               | 969               | 845                                 | 4,050  | 182                          |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 51                     | 13,073            | 9,893                               | 5,812             | 4,989                               | 18,885   | 745                          |
| 1927/1928                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 37                     | 8,987             | 6,805                               | 4,980             | 4,279                               | 13,967   | 574                          |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 15                     | 3,055             | 2,468                               | 1,136             | 992                                 | 4,191  | 206                          |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 52                     | 12,042            | 9,273                               | 6,116             | 5,271                               | 18,158   | 780                          |
| 1928/1929                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 37                     | 6,076             | 4,493                               | 6,588             | 4,914                               | 12,664   | 546                          |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 18                     | 2,575             | 1,988                               | 2,090             | 1,663                               | 4,665  | 242                          |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 55                     | 8,651             | 6,481                               | 8,678             | 6,577                               | 17,329   | 788                          |

**16. State boys' lyceums and 2<sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools (girls' lyceums) offering Matura between 1930 and 1936:**

| State boys' and girls' lyceums |   | Number of institutions | Total number of students enrolled on the lower and upper level | Teachers (including masters) |
|--------------------------------|---|------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| 1930/1931                      | Boys' lyceums   | 37                     | 11,454   | 701                          |
|                                | 1 <sup>st</sup> and 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 14                     | 4,101  | 288                          |
|                                | <b>Total</b>  | 51                     | 15,555   | 989                          |
| 1931/1932                      | Boys' lyceums   | 37                     | 11,649   | 726                          |
|                                | 1 <sup>st</sup> and 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 15                     | 4,087  | 308                          |
|                                | <b>Total</b>  | 52                     | 15,736   | 1,034                        |
| 1932/1933                      | Boys' lyceums   | 36                     | 11,852   | 730                          |
|                                | 1 <sup>st</sup> and 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 14                     | 4,284  | 301                          |
|                                | <b>Total</b>  | 50                     | 16,136   | 1,031                        |
| 1935/1936                      | Boys' lyceums   | 38                     | 14,518   | 720                          |
|                                | Girls' lyceums  | 17                     | 6,165  | 370                          |
|                                | <b>Total</b>  | 55                     | 20,683   | 1,090                        |
| 1936/1937                      | Boys' lyceums   | 38                     | 14,905   | 882                          |
|                                | Girls' lyceums  | 17                     | 6,428  | 402                          |
|                                | <b>Total</b>  | 55                     | 21,333   | 1,284                        |

**17. The ethnic distribution of students attending state boys' lyceums and 2<sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools (girls' lyceums) offering Matura:**

| State boys' and girls' lyceums |                                     | The ethnicity of enrolled students on the lower and upper level in total |      |        |     |           |      |        |      |       |      |        |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|------|--------|-----|-----------|------|--------|------|-------|------|--------|
|                                |                                     | Romanian   |      | German |     | Hungarian |      | Jewish |      | Other |      | Total  |
|                                |                                     |  | %    |        | %   |           | %    |        | %    |       | %    |        |
| 1921/1922                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 5,401  | 48.7 |        |     |           |      | 581    | 5.2  | 5,110 | 46.1 | 11,092 |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 1,873  | 93.1 |        |     |           |      | 102    | 5.1  | 36    | 1.8  | 2,011  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 7,274  | 55.5 |        |     |           |      | 683    | 5.2  | 5,146 | 39.3 | 13,103 |
| 1922/1923                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 6,172  | 46.3 |        |     |           |      | 764    | 5.7  | 6,388 | 47.9 | 13,324 |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 2,124  | 86.7 |        |     |           |      | 167    | 6.8  | 158   | 6.5  | 2,449  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 8,296  | 52.6 |        |     |           |      | 931    | 5.9  | 6,546 | 41.5 | 15,773 |
| 1923/1924                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 10,652   | 71.8 | 950    | 6.4 | 1,811     | 12.2 | 1,112  | 7.5  | 311   | 2.1  | 14,836 |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 2,384  | 74.7 | 24     | 0.8 | 324       | 10.2 | 418    | 13.1 | 41    | 1.3  | 3,191  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 13,036   | 72.3 | 974    | 5.4 | 2,135     | 11.8 | 1,530  | 8.5  | 352   | 2.0  | 18,027 |
| 1924/1925                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 11,203   | 71.0 | 1,077  | 6.8 | 2,109     | 13.4 | 1,095  | 6.9  | 288   | 1.8  | 15,772 |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 2,707  | 74.7 | 48     | 1.3 | 299       | 8.3  | 510    | 14.1 | 59    | 1.6  | 3,623  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 13,910   | 71.7 | 1,125  | 5.8 | 2,408     | 12.4 | 1,605  | 8.3  | 347   | 1.8  | 19,395 |
| 1925/1926                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 11,077   | 72.8 | 1,118  | 7.4 | 1,807     | 11.9 | 975    | 6.4  | 233   | 1.5  | 15,210 |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 3,016  | 76.4 | 59     | 1.5 | 325       | 8.2  | 499    | 12.6 | 48    | 1.2  | 3,947  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 14,093   | 73.6 | 1,177  | 6.1 | 2,132     | 11.1 | 1,474  | 7.7  | 281   | 1.5  | 19,157 |



| State boys' and girls' lyceums |                                     | The ethnicity of enrolled students on the lower and upper level in total |      |        |     |           |      |        |      |       |     | Total  |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|------|--------|-----|-----------|------|--------|------|-------|-----|--------|
|                                |                                     | Romanian   |      | German |     | Hungarian |      | Jewish |      | Other |     |        |
|                                |                                     |  | %    |        | %   |           | %    |        | %    |       | %   |        |
| 1926/1927                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 11,103   | 74.8 | 972    | 6.6 | 1,559     | 10.5 | 935    | 6.3  | 266   | 1.8 | 14,835 |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 3,181  | 78.5 | 57     | 1.4 | 248       | 6.1  | 513    | 12.7 | 51    | 1.3 | 4,050  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 14,284   | 75.6 | 1,029  | 5.4 | 1,807     | 9.6  | 1,448  | 7.7  | 317   | 1.7 | 18,885 |
| 1927/1928                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 10,344   | 74.1 | 877    | 6.3 | 1,502     | 10.8 | 1,002  | 7.2  | 242   | 1.7 | 13,967 |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 3,183  | 75.9 | 59     | 1.4 | 317       | 7.6  | 570    | 13.6 | 62    | 1.5 | 4,191  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 13,527   | 74.5 | 936    | 5.2 | 1,819     | 10.0 | 1,572  | 8.7  | 304   | 1.7 | 18,158 |
| 1928/1929                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 9,451  | 74.6 | 751    | 5.9 | 1,341     | 10.6 | 944    | 7.5  | 177   | 1.4 | 12,664 |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 3,495  | 74.9 | 111    | 2.4 | 392       | 8.4  | 620    | 13.3 | 47    | 1.0 | 4,665  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 12,946   | 74.7 | 862    | 5.0 | 1,733     | 10.0 | 1,564  | 9.0  | 224   | 1.3 | 17,329 |
| 1935/1936                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 10,235   | 70.5 | 1,021  | 7.0 | 1,629     | 11.2 | 1,418  | 9.8  | 215   | 1.5 | 14,518 |
|                                | Girls' lyceums                      | 4,249  | 68.9 | 163    | 2.6 | 530       | 8.6  | 1,168  | 18.9 | 55    | 0.9 | 6,165  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 14,484   | 70.0 | 1,184  | 5.7 | 2,159     | 10.4 | 2,586  | 12.5 | 270   | 1.3 | 20,683 |
| 1936/1937                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 10,769   | 72.3 | 985    | 6.6 | 1,538     | 10.3 | 1,367  | 9.2  | 246   | 1.7 | 14,905 |
|                                | Girls' lyceums                      | 4,600  | 71.6 | 117    | 1.8 | 527       | 8.2  | 1,135  | 17.7 | 49    | 0.8 | 6,428  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 15,369   | 72.0 | 1,102  | 5.2 | 2,065     | 9.7  | 2,502  | 11.7 | 295   | 1.4 | 21,333 |

18. The denominational distribution of students attending state boys' lyceums and 2<sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools (girls' lyceums) offering Matura:

| State boys' and girls' lyceums |                                     | Religion of enrolled students on the lower and upper level in total |                |                |           |           |          |           |       | Total  |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|--------|
|                                |                                     | Orthodox  | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |        |
| 1921/1922                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 5,418   |                |                |           |           |          | 581       | 5,093 | 11,092 |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 1,400   |                |                |           |           |          | 102       | 21    | 2,011  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 6,818   |                |                |           |           |          | 683       | 5,114 | 13,103 |
| 1922/1923                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 6,212   |                |                |           |           |          | 764       | 6,348 | 13,324 |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 1,637   |                |                |           |           |          | 167       | 177   | 2,449  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 7,849   |                |                |           |           |          | 931       | 6,525 | 15,773 |
| 1923/1924                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 6,454   | 4,301          | 2,039          | 671       | 29        | 136      | 1,112     | 94    | 14,836 |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 1,889   | 509            | 165            | 169       | 11        | 23       | 418       | 7     | 3,191  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 8,343   | 4,810          | 2,204          | 840       | 40        | 159      | 1,530     | 101   | 18,027 |
| 1924/1925                      | Boys' lyceums                       | 6,938   | 4,407          | 2,221          | 718       | 74        | 255      | 1,095     | 64    | 15,772 |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 2,093   | 614            | 183            | 152       | 13        | 40       | 510       | 18    | 3,623  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>                        | 9,031   | 5,021          | 2,404          | 870       | 87        | 295      | 1,605     | 82    | 19,395 |

GIDÓ ATTILA • SCHOOL MARKET AND THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS  
IN TRANSYLVANIA, PARTIUM AND BANAT BETWEEN 1919 AND 1948

| State boys' and girls' lyceums |   | Religion of enrolled students on the lower and upper level in total |                |                |           |           |          |           |       |        |
|--------------------------------|---|---|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|--------|
|                                |   | Orthodox  | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other | Total  |
| 1925/1926                      | Boys' lyceums   | 6,949   | 4,210          | 2,146          | 626       | 51        | 223      | 975       | 30    | 15,210 |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools                     | 2,204   | 818            | 208            | 151       | 27        | 38       | 499       | 2     | 3,947  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>  | 9,153   | 5,028          | 2,354          | 777       | 78        | 261      | 1,474     | 32    | 19,157 |
| 1926/1927                      | Boys' lyceums   | 7,075   | 4,091          | 1,801          | 643       | 31        | 165      | 935       | 94    | 14,835 |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools                     | 2,202   | 979            | 186            | 116       | 20        | 32       | 513       | 2     | 4,050  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>  | 9,277   | 5,070          | 1,987          | 759       | 51        | 197      | 1,448     | 96    | 18,885 |
| 1927/1928                      | Boys' lyceums   | 6,690   | 3,791          | 1,674          | 555       | 37        | 169      | 1,002     | 49    | 13,967 |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools                     | 2,276   | 936            | 215            | 142       | 10        | 42       | 570       |       | 4,191  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>  | 8,966   | 4,727          | 1,889          | 697       | 47        | 211      | 1,572     | 49    | 18,158 |
| 1928/1929                      | Boys' lyceums   | 6,131   | 3,368          | 1,457          | 545       | 39        | 138      | 944       | 42    | 12,664 |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools                     | 2,405   | 1,080          | 288            | 173       | 14        | 84       | 620       | 1     | 4,665  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>  | 8,536   | 4,448          | 1,745          | 718       | 53        | 222      | 1,564     | 43    | 17,329 |
| 1930/1931                      | Boys' lyceums   | 5,292   | 3,215          | 1,356          | 447       | 40        | 136      | 946       | 22    | 11,454 |
|                                | 1 <sup>st</sup> and 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 1,931   | 1,004          | 271            | 142       | 15        | 49       | 687       | 2     | 4,101  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>  | 7,223   | 4,219          | 1,627          | 589       | 55        | 185      | 1,633     | 24    | 15,555 |
| 1931/1932                      | Boys' lyceums   | 5,145   | 3,244          | 1,544          | 489       | 40        | 138      | 1,008     | 41    | 11,649 |
|                                | 1 <sup>st</sup> and 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 1,854   | 992            | 254            | 139       | 14        | 58       | 763       | 13    | 4,087  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>  | 6,999   | 4,236          | 1,798          | 628       | 54        | 196      | 1,771     | 54    | 15,736 |
| 1932/1933                      | Boys' lyceums   | 5,098   | 3,172          | 1,714          | 517       | 42        | 161      | 1,109     | 39    | 11,852 |
|                                | 1 <sup>st</sup> and 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 1,906   | 1,043          | 255            | 153       | 17        | 68       | 834       | 8     | 4,284  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>  | 7 004   | 4,215          | 1,969          | 670       | 59        | 229      | 1,943     | 47    | 16,136 |
| 1935/1936                      | Boys' lyceums   | 6 421   | 3,892          | 1,886          | 560       | 54        | 251      | 1,418     | 36    | 14,518 |
|                                | Girls' lyceums  | 2726  | 1,518          | 356            | 228       | 58        | 103      | 1,168     | 8     | 6,165  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>  | 9 147   | 5,410          | 2,242          | 788       | 112       | 354      | 2,586     | 44    | 20,683 |
| 1936/1937                      | Boys' lyceums   | 6 692   | 4,163          | 1,867          | 524       | 40        | 215      | 1,367     | 37    | 14,905 |
|                                | Girls' lyceums  | 3025  | 1,573          | 332            | 226       | 57        | 77       | 1,135     | 3     | 6,428  |
|                                | <b>Total</b>  | 9 717   | 5,736          | 2,199          | 750       | 97        | 292      | 2,502     | 40    | 21,333 |



19. The denominational distribution of students attending state boys' lyceums and 2<sup>nd</sup> degree girls' secondary schools (girls' lyceums) offering Matura, in percentage:

| State boys' and girls' lyceums |   | Religion of enrolled students on the lower and upper level in total |                |                |           |           |          |           |       |
|--------------------------------|---|---|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|
|                                |   | Orthodox  | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |
| 1921/1922                      | Boys' lyceums   | 48.8  |                |                |           |           |          | 5.2       | 45.9  |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools                     | 69.6  |                |                |           |           |          | 5.1       | 1.0   |
|                                | Total   | 52.0  |                |                |           |           |          | 5.2       | 39.0  |
| 1922/1923                      | Boys' lyceums   | 46.6  |                |                |           |           |          | 5.7       | 47.6  |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools                     | 66.8  |                |                |           |           |          | 6.8       | 7.2   |
|                                | Total   | 49.8  |                |                |           |           |          | 5.9       | 41.4  |
| 1923/1924                      | Boys' lyceums   | 43.5  | 29.0           | 13.7           | 4.5       | 0.2       | 0.9      | 7.5       | 0.6   |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools                     | 59.2  | 16.0           | 5.2            | 5.3       | 0.3       | 0.7      | 13.1      | 0.2   |
|                                | Total   | 46.3  | 26.7           | 12.2           | 4.7       | 0.2       | 0.9      | 8.5       | 0.6   |
| 1924/1925                      | Boys' lyceums   | 44.0  | 27.9           | 14.1           | 4.6       | 0.5       | 1.6      | 6.9       | 0.4   |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools                     | 57.8  | 16.9           | 5.1            | 4.2       | 0.4       | 1.1      | 14.1      | 0.5   |
|                                | Total   | 46.6  | 25.9           | 12.4           | 4.5       | 0.4       | 1.5      | 8.3       | 0.4   |
| 1925/1926                      | Boys' lyceums   | 45.7  | 27.7           | 14.1           | 4.1       | 0.3       | 1.5      | 6.4       | 0.2   |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools                     | 55.8  | 20.7           | 5.3            | 3.8       | 0.7       | 1.0      | 12.6      | 0.1   |
|                                | Total   | 47.8  | 26.2           | 12.3           | 4.1       | 0.4       | 1.4      | 7.7       | 0.2   |
| 1926/1927                      | Boys' lyceums   | 47.7  | 27.6           | 12.1           | 4.3       | 0.2       | 1.1      | 6.3       | 0.6   |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools                     | 54.4  | 24.2           | 4.6            | 2.9       | 0.5       | 0.8      | 12.7      | 0.0   |
|                                | Total   | 49.1  | 26.8           | 10.5           | 4.0       | 0.3       | 1.0      | 7.7       | 0.5   |
| 1927/1928                      | Boys' lyceums   | 47.9  | 27.1           | 12.0           | 4.0       | 0.3       | 1.2      | 7.2       | 0.4   |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools                     | 54.3  | 22.3           | 5.1            | 3.4       | 0.2       | 1.0      | 13.6      | 0.0   |
|                                | Total   | 49.4  | 26.0           | 10.4           | 3.8       | 0.3       | 1.2      | 8.7       | 0.3   |
| 1928/1929                      | Boys' lyceums   | 48.4  | 26.6           | 11.5           | 4.3       | 0.3       | 1.1      | 7.5       | 0.3   |
|                                | 2nd degree girls' secondary schools                     | 51.6  | 23.2           | 6.2            | 3.7       | 0.3       | 1.8      | 13.3      | 0.0   |
|                                | Total   | 49.3  | 25.7           | 10.1           | 4.1       | 0.3       | 1.3      | 9.0       | 0.2   |
| 1930/1931                      | Boys' lyceums   | 46.2  | 28.1           | 11.8           | 3.9       | 0.3       | 1.2      | 8.3       | 0.2   |
|                                | 1 <sup>st</sup> and 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 47.1  | 24.5           | 6.6            | 3.5       | 0.4       | 1.2      | 16.8      | 0.0   |
|                                | Total   | 46.4  | 27.1           | 10.5           | 3.8       | 0.4       | 1.2      | 10.5      | 0.2   |
| 1931/1932                      | Boys' lyceums   | 44.2  | 27.8           | 13.3           | 4.2       | 0.3       | 1.2      | 8.7       | 0.4   |
|                                | 1 <sup>st</sup> and 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 45.4  | 24.3           | 6.2            | 3.4       | 0.3       | 1.4      | 18.7      | 0.3   |
|                                | Total   | 44.5  | 26.9           | 11.4           | 4.0       | 0.3       | 1.2      | 11.3      | 0.3   |
| 1932/1933                      | Boys' lyceums   | 43.0  | 26.8           | 14.5           | 4.4       | 0.4       | 1.4      | 9.4       | 0.3   |
|                                | 1 <sup>st</sup> and 2nd degree girls' secondary schools | 44.5  | 24.3           | 6.0            | 3.6       | 0.4       | 1.6      | 19.5      | 0.2   |
|                                | Total   | 43.4  | 26.1           | 12.2           | 4.2       | 0.4       | 1.4      | 12.0      | 0.3   |
| 1935/1936                      | Boys' lyceums   | 44.2  | 26.8           | 13.0           | 3.9       | 0.4       | 1.7      | 9.8       | 0.2   |
|                                | Girls' lyceums  | 44.2  | 24.6           | 5.8            | 3.7       | 0.9       | 1.7      | 18.9      | 0.1   |
|                                | Total   | 44.2  | 26.2           | 10.8           | 3.8       | 0.5       | 1.7      | 12.5      | 0.2   |
| 1936/1937                      | Boys' lyceums   | 44.9  | 27.9           | 12.5           | 3.5       | 0.3       | 1.4      | 9.2       | 0.2   |
|                                | Girls' lyceums  | 47.1  | 24.5           | 5.2            | 3.5       | 0.9       | 1.2      | 17.7      | 0.0   |
|                                | Total   | 45.5  | 26.9           | 10.3           | 3.5       | 0.5       | 1.4      | 11.7      | 0.2   |

**20. The students and teachers of the state upper commercial schools:**

| State upper commercial schools |       | Number of institutions | Enrolled students | Students advancing to higher grades | Teachers (excluding masters) |
|--------------------------------|-------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1921/1922                      | Boys  | 10                     | 1,134             | 947                                 | 99                           |
|                                | Girls | 3                      | 175               | 153                                 | 24                           |
|                                | Total | 13                     | 1,309             | 1,100                               | 123                          |
| 1922/1923                      | Boys  | 10                     | 1,003             | 845                                 | 60                           |
|                                | Girls | 4                      | 178               | 149                                 | 31                           |
|                                | Total | 14                     | 1,181             | 994                                 | 91                           |
| 1923/1924                      | Boys  | 10                     | 1,135             | 869                                 | 91                           |
|                                | Girls | 5                      | 321               | 270                                 | 36                           |
|                                | Total | 15                     | 1,456             | 1,139                               | 127                          |
| 1924/1925                      | Boys  | 12                     | 1,583             | 1,279                               | 96                           |
|                                | Girls | 6                      | 494               | 282                                 | 38                           |
|                                | Total | 18                     | 2,077             | 1,561                               | 134                          |
| 1925/1926                      | Boys  | 12                     | 2,051             | 1,603                               | 109                          |
|                                | Girls | 6                      | 562               | 482                                 | 43                           |
|                                | Total | 18                     | 2,613             | 2,085                               | 152                          |
| 1926/1927                      | Boys  | 12                     | 2,297             | 1,793                               | 134                          |
|                                | Girls | 7                      | 750               | 612                                 | 73                           |
|                                | Total | 19                     | 3,047             | 2,405                               | 207                          |
| 1927/1928                      | Boys  | 15                     | 2,589             | 2,017                               | 169                          |
|                                | Girls | 7                      | 804               | 644                                 | 70                           |
|                                | Total | 22                     | 3,393             | 2,661                               | 239                          |
| 1928/1929                      | Boys  | 13                     | 2,538             | 2,009                               | 156                          |
|                                | Girls | 7                      | 821               | 639                                 | 80                           |
|                                | Total | 20                     | 3,359             | 2,648                               | 236                          |
| 1930/1931                      | Boys  | 20                     | 3,130             | 2,431                               | 223                          |
|                                | Girls | 7                      | 771               | 643                                 | 82                           |
|                                | Total | 27                     | 3,901             | 3,074                               | 305                          |
| 1931/1932                      | Boys  | 16                     | 2,529             | 2,088                               | 296                          |
|                                | Girls | 6                      | 626               | 556                                 | 69                           |
|                                | Total | 22                     | 3,155             | 2,644                               | 365                          |
| 1932/1933                      | Boys  | 15                     | 1,865             | 1,614                               | 176                          |
|                                | Girls | 6                      | 463               | 399                                 | 76                           |
|                                | Total | 21                     | 2,328             | 2,013                               | 252                          |
| 1935/1936                      | Boys  | 16                     | 1,422             | 1,047                               | 188                          |
|                                | Girls | 6                      | 404               | 325                                 | 80                           |
|                                | Total | 22                     | 1,826             | 1,372                               | 268                          |
| 1936/1937<br>lyceums           | Boys  | 16                     | 2,173             | 1,696                               | 246                          |
|                                | Girls | 6                      | 778               | 613                                 | 106                          |
|                                | Total | 22                     | 2,951             | 2,309                               | 352                          |





21. The ethnic distribution of students enrolled in state upper commercial schools:

| State upper commercial schools |       | Ethnicity of enrolled students |      |        |     |           |      |        |      |       |      |       |
|--------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------|------|--------|-----|-----------|------|--------|------|-------|------|-------|
|                                |       | Romanian                       |      | German |     | Hungarian |      | Jewish |      | Other |      | Total |
|                                |       |                                | %    |        | %   |           | %    |        | %    |       | %    |       |
| 1921/1922                      | Boys  | 279                            | 24.6 |        |     |           |      | 139    | 12.3 | 716   | 63.1 | 1,134 |
|                                | Girls | 68                             | 38.9 |        |     |           |      | 46     | 26.3 | 61    | 34.9 | 175   |
|                                | Total | 347                            | 26.5 |        |     |           |      | 185    | 14.1 | 777   | 59.4 | 1,309 |
| 1922/1923                      | Boys  | 532                            | 53.0 |        |     |           |      | 183    | 18.2 | 288   | 28.7 | 1,003 |
|                                | Girls | 89                             | 50.0 |        |     |           |      | 37     | 20.8 | 52    | 29.2 | 178   |
|                                | Total | 621                            | 52.6 |        |     |           |      | 220    | 18.6 | 340   | 28.8 | 1,181 |
| 1923/1924                      | Boys  | 671                            | 59.1 | 74     | 6.5 | 193       | 17.0 | 180    | 15.9 | 17    | 1.5  | 1,135 |
|                                | Girls | 174                            | 54.2 | 17     | 5.3 | 72        | 22.4 | 56     | 17.4 | 2     | 0.6  | 321   |
|                                | Total | 845                            | 58.0 | 91     | 6.3 | 265       | 18.2 | 236    | 16.2 | 19    | 1.3  | 1,456 |
| 1924/1925                      | Boys  | 1,053                          | 66.5 | 114    | 7.2 | 226       | 14.3 | 171    | 10.8 | 19    | 1.2  | 1,583 |
|                                | Girls | 320                            | 64.8 | 32     | 6.5 | 73        | 14.8 | 59     | 11.9 | 10    | 2.0  | 494   |
|                                | Total | 1,373                          | 66.1 | 146    | 7.0 | 299       | 14.4 | 230    | 11.1 | 29    | 1.4  | 2,077 |
| 1925/1926                      | Boys  | 1,499                          | 73.1 | 126    | 6.1 | 247       | 12.0 | 159    | 7.8  | 20    | 1.0  | 2,051 |
|                                | Girls | 416                            | 74.0 | 31     | 5.5 | 71        | 12.6 | 38     | 6.8  | 6     | 1.1  | 562   |
|                                | Total | 1,915                          | 73.3 | 157    | 6.0 | 318       | 12.2 | 197    | 7.5  | 26    | 1.0  | 2,613 |
| 1926/1927                      | Boys  | 1,718                          | 74.8 | 153    | 6.7 | 270       | 11.8 | 128    | 5.6  | 28    | 1.2  | 2,297 |
|                                | Girls | 583                            | 77.7 | 18     | 2.4 | 73        | 9.7  | 37     | 4.9  | 39    | 5.2  | 750   |
|                                | Total | 2,301                          | 75.5 | 171    | 5.6 | 343       | 11.3 | 165    | 5.4  | 67    | 2.2  | 3,047 |
| 1927/1928                      | Boys  | 1,932                          | 74.6 | 189    | 7.3 | 298       | 11.5 | 138    | 5.3  | 32    | 1.2  | 2,589 |
|                                | Girls | 627                            | 78.0 | 23     | 2.9 | 106       | 13.2 | 41     | 5.1  | 7     | 0.9  | 804   |
|                                | Total | 2,559                          | 75.4 | 212    | 6.2 | 404       | 11.9 | 179    | 5.3  | 39    | 1.1  | 3,393 |
| 1928/1929                      | Boys  | 1,888                          | 74.4 | 195    | 7.7 | 294       | 11.6 | 134    | 5.3  | 27    | 1.1  | 2,538 |
|                                | Girls | 660                            | 80.4 | 20     | 2.4 | 90        | 11.0 | 47     | 5.7  | 4     | 0.5  | 821   |
|                                | Total | 2,548                          | 75.9 | 215    | 6.4 | 384       | 11.4 | 181    | 5.4  | 31    | 0.9  | 3,359 |
| 1935/1936                      | Boys  | 936                            | 65.8 | 88     | 6.2 | 253       | 17.8 | 120    | 8.4  | 25    | 1.8  | 1,422 |
|                                | Girls | 233                            | 57.7 | 34     | 8.4 | 74        | 18.3 | 61     | 15.1 | 2     | 0.5  | 404   |
|                                | Total | 1,169                          | 64.0 | 122    | 6.7 | 327       | 17.9 | 181    | 9.9  | 27    | 1.5  | 1,826 |
| 1936/1937 lyceums              | Boys  | 1,416                          | 65.2 | 157    | 7.2 | 342       | 15.7 | 238    | 11.0 | 20    | 0.9  | 2,173 |
|                                | Girls | 496                            | 63.8 | 33     | 4.2 | 111       | 14.3 | 130    | 16.7 | 8     | 1.0  | 778   |
|                                | Total | 1,912                          | 64.8 | 190    | 6.4 | 453       | 15.4 | 368    | 12.5 | 28    | 0.9  | 2,951 |

22. The denominational distribution of students enrolled in state upper commercial schools:

| State upper commercial schools |       | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       | Total |
|--------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|                                |       | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |       |
| 1921/1922                      | Boys  | 314                           | -              |                |           |           |          | 139       | 681   | 1,134 |
|                                | Girls | 42                            | 26             |                |           |           |          | 46        | 61    | 175   |
|                                | Total | 356                           | 26             |                |           |           |          | 185       | 742   | 1,309 |
| 1922/1923                      | Boys  | 468                           | -              |                |           |           |          | 183       | 352   | 1,003 |
|                                | Girls | 46                            | 43             |                |           |           |          | 37        | 52    | 178   |
|                                | Total | 514                           | 43             |                |           |           |          | 220       | 404   | 1,181 |
| 1923/1924                      | Boys  | 582                           | 88             | 185            | 10        | 63        | 23       | 180       | 4     | 1,135 |
|                                | Girls | 138                           | 32             | 45             | 2         | 37        | 11       | 56        | -     | 321   |
|                                | Total | 720                           | 120            | 230            | 12        | 100       | 34       | 236       | 4     | 1,456 |
| 1924/1925                      | Boys  | 902                           | 140            | 252            | 16        | 70        | 26       | 171       | 6     | 1,583 |
|                                | Girls | 215                           | 95             | 62             | 8         | 30        | 25       | 59        | -     | 494   |
|                                | Total | 1,117                         | 235            | 314            | 24        | 100       | 51       | 230       | 6     | 2,077 |

| State upper commercial schools |       | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |       | Total |
|--------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|                                |       | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite | Other |       |
| 1925/1926                      | Boys  | 1,251                         | 240            | 287            | 11        | 72        | 24       | 159       | 7     | 2,051 |
|                                | Girls | 289                           | 115            | 54             | 2         | 34        | 22       | 38        | 8     | 562   |
|                                | Total | 1,540                         | 355            | 341            | 13        | 106       | 46       | 197       | 15    | 2,613 |
| 1926/1927                      | Boys  | 1,446                         | 275            | 315            | 12        | 96        | 22       | 128       | 3     | 2,297 |
|                                | Girls | 414                           | 168            | 43             | 3         | 52        | 18       | 37        | 15    | 750   |
|                                | Total | 1,860                         | 443            | 358            | 15        | 148       | 40       | 165       | 18    | 3,047 |
| 1927/1928                      | Boys  | 1,613                         | 321            | 377            | 12        | 94        | 28       | 138       | 6     | 2,589 |
|                                | Girls | 467                           | 164            | 59             | 9         | 46        | 18       | 41        | –     | 804   |
|                                | Total | 2,080                         | 485            | 436            | 21        | 140       | 46       | 179       | 6     | 3,393 |
| 1928/1929                      | Boys  | 1,524                         | 369            | 382            | 87        | 8         | 32       | 134       | 2     | 2,538 |
|                                | Girls | 490                           | 167            | 55             | 18        | 30        | 14       | 47        | –     | 821   |
|                                | Total | 2,014                         | 536            | 437            | 105       | 38        | 46       | 181       | 2     | 3,359 |
| 1930/1931                      | Boys  | 1,858                         | 534            | 419            | 10        | 120       | 25       | 161       | 3     | 3,130 |
|                                | Girls | 401                           | 144            | 71             | 4         | 48        | 10       | 92        | 1     | 771   |
|                                | Total | 2,259                         | 678            | 490            | 14        | 168       | 35       | 253       | 4     | 3,901 |
| 1931/1932                      | Boys  | 1,490                         | 444            | 328            | 8         | 98        | 35       | 120       | 6     | 2,529 |
|                                | Girls | 324                           | 118            | 58             | –         | 32        | 15       | 78        | 1     | 626   |
|                                | Total | 1,814                         | 562            | 386            | 8         | 130       | 50       | 198       | 7     | 3,155 |
| 1932/1933                      | Boys  | 1,051                         | 312            | 262            | 5         | 82        | 30       | 108       | 15    | 1,865 |
|                                | Girls | 218                           | 98             | 39             | 1         | 28        | 8        | 70        | 1     | 463   |
|                                | Total | 1,269                         | 410            | 301            | 6         | 110       | 38       | 178       | 16    | 2,328 |
| 1935/1936                      | Boys  | 706                           | 227            | 243            | 8         | 92        | 20       | 120       | 6     | 1,422 |
|                                | Girls | 167                           | 60             | 59             | 3         | 33        | 20       | 61        | 1     | 404   |
|                                | Total | 873                           | 287            | 302            | 11        | 125       | 40       | 181       | 7     | 1,826 |
| 1936/1937<br>lyceums           | Boys  | 1,003                         | 409            | 317            | 148       | 21        | 35       | 238       | 2     | 2,173 |
|                                | Girls | 355                           | 129            | 79             | 49        | 3         | 29       | 130       | 4     | 778   |
|                                | Total | 1,358                         | 538            | 396            | 197       | 24        | 64       | 368       | 6     | 2,951 |

23. The denominational distribution of students enrolled in state upper commercial schools, in percentage:

| State upper commercial schools |       | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |
|--------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
|                                |       | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite |
| 1921/1922                      | Boys  | 27.7                          | –              |                |           |           |          | 12.3      |
|                                | Girls | 24.0                          | 14.9           |                |           |           |          | 26.3      |
|                                | Total | 27.2                          | 2.0            |                |           |           |          | 14.1      |
| 1922/1923                      | Boys  | 46.7                          | –              |                |           |           |          | 18.2      |
|                                | Girls | 25.8                          | 24.2           |                |           |           |          | 20.8      |
|                                | Total | 43.5                          | 3.6            |                |           |           |          | 18.6      |
| 1923/1924                      | Boys  | 51.3                          | 7.8            | 16.3           | 0.9       | 5.6       | 2.0      | 15.9      |
|                                | Girls | 43.0                          | 10.0           | 14.0           | 0.6       | 11.5      | 3.4      | 17.4      |
|                                | Total | 49.5                          | 8.2            | 15.8           | 0.8       | 6.9       | 2.3      | 16.2      |
| 1924/1925                      | Boys  | 57.0                          | 8.8            | 15.9           | 1.0       | 4.4       | 1.6      | 10.8      |
|                                | Girls | 43.5                          | 19.2           | 12.6           | 1.6       | 6.1       | 5.1      | 11.9      |
|                                | Total | 53.8                          | 11.3           | 15.1           | 1.2       | 4.8       | 2.5      | 11.1      |



| State upper commercial schools |       | Religion of enrolled students |                |                |           |           |          |           |
|--------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
|                                |       | Orthodox                      | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Unitarian | Lutheran | Israelite |
| 1925/1926                      | Boys  | 61.0                          | 11.7           | 14.0           | 0.5       | 3.5       | 1.2      | 7.8       |
|                                | Girls | 51.4                          | 20.5           | 9.6            | 0.4       | 6.0       | 3.9      | 6.8       |
|                                | Total | 58.9                          | 13.6           | 13.1           | 0.5       | 4.1       | 1.8      | 7.5       |
| 1926/1927                      | Boys  | 63.0                          | 12.0           | 13.7           | 0.5       | 4.2       | 1.0      | 5.6       |
|                                | Girls | 55.2                          | 22.4           | 5.7            | 0.4       | 6.9       | 2.4      | 4.9       |
|                                | Total | 61.0                          | 14.5           | 11.7           | 0.5       | 4.9       | 1.3      | 5.4       |
| 1927/1928                      | Boys  | 62.3                          | 12.4           | 14.6           | 0.5       | 3.6       | 1.1      | 5.3       |
|                                | Girls | 58.1                          | 20.4           | 7.3            | 1.1       | 5.7       | 2.2      | 5.1       |
|                                | Total | 61.3                          | 14.3           | 12.8           | 0.6       | 4.1       | 1.4      | 5.3       |
| 1928/1929                      | Boys  | 60.0                          | 14.5           | 15.1           | 3.4       | 0.3       | 1.3      | 5.3       |
|                                | Girls | 59.7                          | 20.3           | 6.7            | 2.2       | 3.7       | 1.7      | 5.7       |
|                                | Total | 60.0                          | 16.0           | 13.0           | 3.1       | 1.1       | 1.4      | 5.4       |
| 1930/1931                      | Boys  | 59.4                          | 17.1           | 13.4           | 0.3       | 3.8       | 0.8      | 5.1       |
|                                | Girls | 52.0                          | 18.7           | 9.2            | 0.5       | 6.2       | 1.3      | 11.9      |
|                                | Total | 57.9                          | 17.4           | 12.6           | 0.4       | 4.3       | 0.9      | 6.5       |
| 1931/1932                      | Boys  | 58.9                          | 17.6           | 13.0           | 0.3       | 3.9       | 1.4      | 4.7       |
|                                | Girls | 51.8                          | 18.8           | 9.3            | –         | 5.1       | 2.4      | 12.5      |
|                                | Total | 57.5                          | 17.8           | 12.2           | 0.3       | 4.1       | 1.6      | 6.3       |
| 1932/1933                      | Boys  | 56.4                          | 16.7           | 14.0           | 0.3       | 4.4       | 1.6      | 5.8       |
|                                | Girls | 47.1                          | 21.2           | 8.4            | 0.2       | 6.0       | 1.7      | 15.1      |
|                                | Total | 54.5                          | 17.6           | 12.9           | 0.3       | 4.7       | 1.6      | 7.6       |
| 1935/1936                      | Boys  | 49.6                          | 16.0           | 17.1           | 0.6       | 6.5       | 1.4      | 8.4       |
|                                | Girls | 41.3                          | 14.9           | 14.6           | 0.7       | 8.2       | 5.0      | 15.1      |
|                                | Total | 47.8                          | 15.7           | 16.5           | 0.6       | 6.8       | 2.2      | 9.9       |
| 1936/1937 lyceums              | Boys  | 46.2                          | 18.8           | 14.6           | 6.8       | 1.0       | 1.6      | 11.0      |
|                                | Girls | 45.6                          | 16.6           | 10.2           | 6.3       | 0.4       | 3.7      | 16.7      |
|                                | Total | 46.0                          | 18.2           | 13.4           | 6.7       | 0.8       | 2.2      | 12.5      |

24. The distribution by sex of students attending the King Ferdinand I University of Cluj per faculties and the professorial staff between 1921 and 1929:

| King Ferdinand I University. Cluj |                     | Enrolled students |        |      |       | Professorial staff |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------|------|-------|--------------------|
|                                   |                     | Male              | Female |      | Total |                    |
|                                   |                     |                   |        | %    |       |                    |
| 1921/1922                         | Faculty of Law      | 1,196             | 4      | 0.3  | 1,200 | 13                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 295               | 164    | 35.7 | 459   | 33                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 86                | 45     | 34.4 | 131   | 87                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | 706               | 95     | 11.9 | 801   | 163                |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 47                | 5      | 9.6  | 52    |                    |
|                                   | Total               | 2,330             | 313    | 11.8 | 2,643 | 296                |
| 1922/1923                         | Faculty of Law      | 1,261             | 4      | 0.3  | 1,265 | 13                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 435               | 256    | 37.0 | 691   | 36                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 95                | 72     | 43.1 | 167   | 84                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | 625               | 81     | 11.5 | 706   | 160                |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 58                | 13     | 18.3 | 71    |                    |
|                                   | Total               | 2,474             | 426    | 14.7 | 2,900 | 293                |

| King Ferdinand I University. Cluj |                     | Enrolled students |        |      |       | Professorial staff |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------|------|-------|--------------------|
|                                   |                     | Male              | Female |      | Total |                    |
|                                   |                     |                   |        | %    |       |                    |
| 1923/1924                         | Faculty of Law      | 960               | –      | –    | 960   | 13                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 190               | 138    | 42.1 | 328   | 33                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 105               | 90     | 46.2 | 195   | 86                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | 404               | 68     | 14.4 | 472   | 186                |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 53                | 8      | 13.1 | 61    |                    |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | 1,712             | 304    | 15.1 | 2,016 | 318                |
| 1924/1925                         | Faculty of Law      | 916               | 7      | 0.8  | 923   | 12                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 223               | 178    | 44.4 | 401   | 32                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 103               | 111    | 51.9 | 214   | 86                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | 431               | 77     | 15.2 | 508   | 186                |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 49                | 17     | 25.8 | 66    |                    |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | 1,722             | 390    | 18.5 | 2,112 | 316                |
| 1925/1926                         | Faculty of Law      | 1,041             | 32     | 3.0  | 1,073 | 12                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 202               | 223    | 52.5 | 425   | 32                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 114               | 103    | 47.5 | 217   | 88                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | 391               | 89     | 18.5 | 480   | 193                |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 62                | 35     | 36.1 | 97    |                    |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | 1,810             | 482    | 21.0 | 2,292 | 325                |
| 1926/1927                         | Faculty of Law      | 1,158             | 28     | 2.4  | 1,186 | 12                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 218               | 289    | 57.0 | 507   | 35                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 138               | 96     | 41.0 | 234   | 95                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | 391               | 83     | 17.5 | 474   | 182                |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 99                | 49     | 33.1 | 148   |                    |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | 2,004             | 545    | 21.4 | 2,549 | 324                |
| 1927/1928                         | Faculty of Law      | 1,119             | 28     | 2.4  | 1,147 | 17                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 262               | 318    | 54.8 | 580   | 38                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 182               | 157    | 46.3 | 339   | 94                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | 434               | 75     | 14.7 | 509   | 197                |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 93                | 44     | 32.1 | 137   |                    |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | 2,090             | 622    | 22.9 | 2,712 | 346                |
| 1928/1929                         | Faculty of Law      | 1,051             | 32     | 3.0  | 1,083 | 17                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 334               | 375    | 52.9 | 709   | 36                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 262               | 193    | 42.4 | 455   | 93                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | 587               | 89     | 13.2 | 676   | 201                |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 92                | 41     | 30.8 | 133   |                    |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | 2,326             | 730    | 23.9 | 3,056 | 347                |
| 1929/1930                         | Faculty of Law      | 1,479             | 40     | 2.6  | 1,519 | 17                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 320               | 388    | 54.8 | 708   | 55                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 320               | 268    | 45.6 | 588   | 99                 |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | 674               | 93     | 12.1 | 767   | 178                |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 73                | 38     | 34.2 | 111   |                    |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | 2,866             | 827    | 22.4 | 3,693 | 349                |



25. The distribution by sex of students attending the King Ferdinand I University of Cluj (of Sibiu between 1940 and 1945) per faculties and the professorial staff between 1930 and 1941:

| King Ferdinand I University. Cluj - Sibiu |                     | Enrolled students |        |       | Professorial staff |     |
|---|---------------------|-------------------|--------|-------|--------------------|-----|
|   |                     | Male              | Female | Total |                    |     |
| 1930/1931                                 | Faculty of Law      | 1,611             | 103    | 6.0   | 1,714              | 17  |
|   | Faculty of Arts     | 363               | 401    | 52.5  | 764                | 56  |
|   | Faculty of Science  | 294               | 295    | 50.1  | 589                | 99  |
|   | Faculty of Medicine | 747               | 123    | 14.1  | 870                | 198 |
|   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 70                | 57     | 44.9  | 127                |     |
|   | <b>Total</b>        | 3,085             | 979    | 24.1  | 4,064              | 370 |
| 1931/1932                                 | Faculty of Law      | 1,578             | 113    | 6.7   | 1,691              | 17  |
|   | Faculty of Arts     | 318               | 366    | 53.5  | 684                | 60  |
|   | Faculty of Science  | 222               | 241    | 52.1  | 463                | 101 |
|   | Faculty of Medicine | 820               | 135    | 14.1  | 955                | 196 |
|   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 183               | 148    | 44.7  | 331                |     |
|   | <b>Total</b>        | 3,121             | 1,003  | 24.3  | 4,124              | 374 |
| 1932/1933                                 | Faculty of Law      | 1,742             | 71     | 3.9   | 1,813              | 17  |
|   | Faculty of Arts     | 338               | 372    | 52.4  | 710                | 59  |
|   | Faculty of Science  | 305               | 270    | 47.0  | 575                | 89  |
|   | Faculty of Medicine | 838               | 146    | 14.8  | 984                | 179 |
|   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 219               | 168    | 43.4  | 387                |     |
|   | <b>Total</b>        | 3,442             | 1,027  | 23.0  | 4,469              | 344 |
| 1933/1934                                 | Faculty of Law      | 1,655             | 124    | 7.0   | 1,779              |     |
|   | Faculty of Arts     | 315               | 376    | 54.4  | 691                |     |
|   | Faculty of Science  | 316               | 238    | 43.0  | 554                |     |
|   | Faculty of Medicine | 861               | 164    | 16.0  | 1,025              |     |
|   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 223               | 173    | 43.7  | 396                |     |
|   | <b>Total</b>        | 3,370             | 1,075  | 24.2  | 4,445              |     |
| 1934/1935                                 | Faculty of Law      | 2,050             | 134    | 6.1   | 2,184              |     |
|   | Faculty of Arts     | 325               | 383    | 54.1  | 708                |     |
|   | Faculty of Science  | 244               | 159    | 39.5  | 403                |     |
|   | Faculty of Medicine | 830               | 175    | 17.4  | 1,005              |     |
|   | Faculty of Pharmacy |                   |        |       |                    |     |
|   | <b>Total</b>        | 3,449             | 851    | 19.8  | 4,300              |     |
| 1935/1936                                 | Faculty of Law      | 1,602             | 117    | 6.8   | 1,719              | 25  |
|   | Faculty of Arts     | 270               | 302    | 52.8  | 572                | 57  |
|   | Faculty of Science  | 194               | 138    | 41.6  | 332                | 89  |
|   | Faculty of Medicine | 795               | 155    | 16.3  | 950                | 150 |
|   | Faculty of Pharmacy |                   |        |       |                    |     |
|   | <b>Total</b>        | 2,861             | 712    | 19.9  | 3,573              | 321 |

| King Ferdinand I University. Cluj - Sibiu |                     | Enrolled students |        |      | Professorial staff |       |
|---|---------------------|-------------------|--------|------|--------------------|-------|
|   |                     | Male              | Female |      |                    | Total |
| 1936/1937                                 | Faculty of Law      | 1,276             | 65     | 4.8  | 1,341              | 25    |
|   | Faculty of Arts     | 288               | 312    | 52.0 | 600                | 63    |
|   | Faculty of Science  | 267               | 171    | 39.0 | 438                | 87    |
|   | Faculty of Medicine | 720               | 140    | 16.3 | 860                | 163   |
|   | Faculty of Pharmacy |                   |        |      |                    |       |
|   | Total               | 2,551             | 688    | 21.2 | 3,239              | 338   |
| 1937/1938                                 | Faculty of Law      | 1,234             | 87     | 6.6  | 1,321              |       |
|   | Faculty of Arts     | 288               | 294    | 50.5 | 582                |       |
|   | Faculty of Science  | 228               | 129    | 36.1 | 357                |       |
|   | Faculty of Medicine | 733               | 162    | 18.1 | 895                |       |
|   | Faculty of Pharmacy |                   |        |      |                    |       |
|   | Total               | 2,483             | 672    | 21.3 | 3,155              |       |
| 1938/1939                                 | Faculty of Law      | 1,265             | 99     | 7.3  | 1,364              |       |
|   | Faculty of Arts     | 258               | 250    | 49.2 | 508                |       |
|   | Faculty of Science  | 225               | 99     | 30.6 | 324                |       |
|   | Faculty of Medicine | 718               | 180    | 20.0 | 898                |       |
|   | Faculty of Pharmacy |                   |        |      |                    |       |
|   | Total               | 2,466             | 628    | 20.3 | 3,094              |       |
| 1941/1942                                 | Faculty of Law      | 623               | 67     | 9.7  | 690                |       |
|   | Faculty of Arts     | 138               | 132    | 48.9 | 270                |       |
|   | Faculty of Science  | 130               | 89     | 40.6 | 219                |       |
|   | Faculty of Medicine | 798               | 231    | 22.4 | 1,029              |       |
|   | Faculty of Pharmacy |                   |        |      |                    |       |
|   | Total               | 1,689             | 519    | 23.5 | 2,208              |       |



26. The number of graduates and students who obtained doctoral titles at the King Ferdinand I University of Cluj per faculties between 1921 and 1928:

| King Ferdinand I University, Cluj |                     | Graduates |        |       | Doctors |        |       |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------|--------|-------|---------|--------|-------|
|                                   |                     | Male      | Female | Total | Male    | Female | Total |
| 1921/1922                         | Faculty of Law      | –         | –      | –     | 117     | –      | 117   |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 3         | 1      | 4     | 3       | –      | 3     |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 1         | –      | 1     | 1       | –      | 1     |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | –         | –      | –     | 129     | 5      | 134   |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 29        | 5      | 34    | –       | –      | –     |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | 33        | 6      | 39    | 250     | 5      | 255   |
| 1922/1923                         | Faculty of Law      | –         | –      | –     | 112     | –      | 112   |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 4         | 4      | 8     | 3       | –      | 3     |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 6         | –      | 6     | 1       | 1      | 2     |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | –         | –      | –     | 106     | 4      | 110   |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 14        | –      | 14    | –       | –      | –     |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | 24        | 4      | 28    | 222     | 5      | 227   |
| 1923/1924                         | Faculty of Law      | –         | –      | –     | 94      | –      | 94    |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 8         | 6      | 14    | 6       | –      | 6     |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 11        | 4      | 15    | 3       | 1      | 4     |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | –         | –      | –     | 112     | 19     | 131   |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 5         | –      | 5     | –       | –      | –     |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | 24        | 10     | 34    | 215     | 20     | 235   |
| 1924/1925                         | Faculty of Law      | 4         | 3      | 7     | –       | –      | –     |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | –         | –      | –     | 1       | –      | 1     |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | –         | –      | –     | –       | –      | –     |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | –         | –      | –     | –       | –      | –     |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | –         | –      | –     | –       | –      | –     |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | 4         | 3      | 7     | 1       | –      | 1     |
| 1925/1926                         | Faculty of Law      | 161       | –      | 161   | 93      | 1      | 94    |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 25        | 19     | 44    | 1       | 1      | 2     |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 13        | 11     | 24    | 2       | –      | 2     |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | –         | –      | –     | 92      | 15     | 107   |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 16        | 4      | 20    | –       | –      | –     |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | 215       | 34     | 249   | 188     | 17     | 205   |
| 1926/1927                         | Faculty of Law      | –         | –      | –     | 118     | 1      | 119   |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 27        | 18     | 45    | 3       | 1      | 4     |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 16        | 10     | 26    | 1       | –      | 1     |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | –         | –      | –     | 83      | 12     | 95    |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 12        | 4      | 16    | –       | –      | –     |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | 55        | 32     | 87    | 205     | 14     | 219   |
| 1927/1928                         | Faculty of Law      | –         | –      | –     | 96      | –      | 96    |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 36        | 28     | 64    | 2       | –      | 2     |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 26        | 30     | 56    | –       | –      | –     |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | –         | –      | –     | 56      | 14     | 70    |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 18        | 12     | 30    | –       | –      | –     |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | 80        | 70     | 150   | 154     | 14     | 168   |
| 1928/1929                         | Faculty of Law      | 10        | –      | 10    | 118     | –      | 118   |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 31        | 44     | 75    | 2       | –      | 2     |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 34        | 21     | 55    | 2       | 1      | 3     |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | –         | –      | –     | 35      | 18     | 53    |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 19        | 12     | 31    | 2       | –      | 2     |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | 94        | 77     | 171   | 159     | 19     | 178   |

27. The number of graduates and students who obtained doctoral titles at the King Ferdinand I University of Cluj per faculties between 1930 and 1941:

| King Ferdinand I University, Cluj |                     | Graduates |        |       | Doctors |        |       |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------|--------|-------|---------|--------|-------|
|                                   |                     | Male      | Female | Total | Male    | Female | Total |
| 1930/1931                         | Faculty of Law      |           |        | 19    |         |        | 96    |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     |           |        | 92    |         |        | 2     |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  |           |        | 59    |         |        | 4     |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine |           |        | –     |         |        | 29    |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy |           |        | 36    |         |        | 1     |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        |           |        | 206   |         |        | 132   |
| 1931/1932                         | Faculty of Law      |           |        | 20    |         |        | 143   |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     |           |        | 106   |         |        | 4     |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  |           |        | 68    |         |        | 5     |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine |           |        | –     |         |        | 43    |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy |           |        | 34    |         |        | 5     |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        |           |        | 228   |         |        | 200   |
| 1932/1933                         | Faculty of Law      | 6         | 2      | 8     | 122     | 7      | 129   |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 39        | 56     | 95    | 1       | –      | 1     |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 36        | 51     | 87    | 9       | –      | 9     |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | –         | –      | –     | 73      | 11     | 84    |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 22        | 12     | 34    | –       | –      | –     |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | 103       | 121    | 224   | 205     | 18     | 223   |
| 1933/1934                         | Faculty of Law      | 13        | 1      | 14    | 164     | 9      | 173   |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 39        | 45     | 84    | 3       | –      | 3     |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 40        | 46     | 86    | 2       | –      | 2     |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | –         | –      | –     | 89      | 9      | 98    |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 22        | 15     | 37    | –       | –      | –     |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | 114       | 107    | 221   | 258     | 18     | 276   |
| 1934/1935                         | Faculty of Law      | 31        | 4      | 35    | 185     | 12     | 197   |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 43        | 59     | 102   | 1       | –      | 1     |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 39        | 57     | 96    | 4       | –      | 4     |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | –         | –      | –     | 81      | 17     | 98    |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | –         | –      | –     | –       | –      | –     |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | 113       | 120    | 233   | 271     | 29     | 300   |
| 1937/1938                         | Faculty of Law      | 171       | 27     | 198   | 124     | 7      | 131   |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 49        | 59     | 108   | 3       | –      | 3     |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 21        | 28     | 49    | 8       | 1      | 9     |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | –         | –      | –     | 118     | 20     | 138   |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | –         | –      | –     | –       | –      | –     |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | 241       | 114    | 355   | 253     | 28     | 281   |
| 1938/1939                         | Faculty of Law      | 202       | 18     | 220   | 131     | 7      | 138   |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 39        | 78     | 117   | 10      | 1      | 11    |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 67        | 65     | 132   | 7       | 2      | 9     |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | –         | –      | –     | 132     | 33     | 165   |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | –         | –      | –     | –       | –      | –     |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | 308       | 161    | 469   | 280     | 43     | 323   |
| 1941/1942                         | Faculty of Law      |           |        | 170   |         |        | 11    |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     |           |        | 40    |         |        | 4     |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  |           |        | 23    |         |        | 2     |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine |           |        | –     |         |        | 97    |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy |           |        | –     |         |        | –     |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        |           |        | 233   |         |        | 114   |





**28. The ethnic distribution of students attending King Ferdinand I University per faculties between 1921 and 1928:**

| King Ferdinand I University. Cluj |                     | Enrolled students |             |            |             |            |            |            |             |            |             |              |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|-------------|--------------|
|                                   |                     | Romanian          |             | Hungarian  |             | German     |            | Jewish     |             | Other      |             | Total        |
|                                   |                     |                   | %           |            | %           |            | %          |            | %           |            | %           |              |
| 1921/1922                         | Faculty of Law      | 921               | 76.8        |            |             |            |            | 143        | 11.9        | 136        | 11.3        | 1,200        |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 325               | 70.8        |            |             |            |            | 41         | 8.9         | 93         | 20.3        | 459          |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 104               | 79.4        |            |             |            |            | 12         | 9.2         | 15         | 11.5        | 131          |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | 397               | 49.6        |            |             |            |            | 329        | 41.1        | 75         | 9.4         | 801          |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 12                | 23.1        |            |             |            |            | 14         | 26.9        | 26         | 50.0        | 52           |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | <b>1,759</b>      | <b>66.6</b> |            |             |            |            | <b>539</b> | <b>20.4</b> | <b>345</b> | <b>13.1</b> | <b>2,643</b> |
| 1922/1923                         | Faculty of Law      | 924               | 73.0        |            |             |            |            | 136        | 10.8        | 205        | 16.2        | 1,265        |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 431               | 62.4        |            |             |            |            | 49         | 7.1         | 211        | 30.5        | 691          |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 123               | 73.7        |            |             |            |            | 17         | 10.2        | 27         | 16.2        | 167          |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | 352               | 49.9        |            |             |            |            | 278        | 39.4        | 76         | 10.8        | 706          |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 12                | 16.9        |            |             |            |            | 14         | 19.7        | 45         | 63.4        | 71           |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | <b>1,842</b>      | <b>63.5</b> |            |             |            |            | <b>494</b> | <b>17.0</b> | <b>564</b> | <b>19.4</b> | <b>2,900</b> |
| 1923/1924                         | Faculty of Law      | 752               | 78.3        |            |             |            |            | 88         | 9.2         | 120        | 12.5        | 960          |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 232               | 70.7        |            |             |            |            | 14         | 4.3         | 82         | 25.0        | 328          |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 157               | 80.5        |            |             |            |            | 13         | 6.7         | 25         | 12.8        | 195          |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | 343               | 72.7        |            |             |            |            | 100        | 21.2        | 29         | 6.1         | 472          |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 11                | 18.0        |            |             |            |            | 8          | 13.1        | 42         | 68.9        | 61           |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | <b>1,495</b>      | <b>74.2</b> |            |             |            |            | <b>223</b> | <b>11.1</b> | <b>298</b> | <b>14.8</b> | <b>2,016</b> |
| 1924/1925                         | Faculty of Law      | 745               | 80.7        |            |             |            |            | 41         | 4.4         | 137        | 14.8        | 923          |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 276               | 68.8        |            |             |            |            | 21         | 5.2         | 104        | 25.9        | 401          |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 181               | 84.6        |            |             |            |            | 6          | 2.8         | 27         | 12.6        | 214          |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | 364               | 71.7        |            |             |            |            | 76         | 15.0        | 68         | 13.4        | 508          |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 17                | 25.8        |            |             |            |            | 11         | 16.7        | 38         | 57.6        | 66           |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | <b>1,583</b>      | <b>75.0</b> |            |             |            |            | <b>155</b> | <b>7.3</b>  | <b>374</b> | <b>17.7</b> | <b>2,112</b> |
| 1925/1926                         | Faculty of Law      | 824               | 76.8        | 156        | 14.5        | 41         | 3.8        | 52         | 4.8         | -          | -           | 1,073        |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 298               | 70.1        | 53         | 12.5        | 31         | 7.3        | 25         | 5.9         | 18         | 4.2         | 425          |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 182               | 83.9        | 21         | 9.7         | 8          | 3.7        | 6          | 2.8         | -          | -           | 217          |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | 339               | 70.6        | 55         | 11.5        | 14         | 2.9        | 56         | 11.7        | 16         | 3.3         | 480          |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 29                | 29.9        | 36         | 37.1        | 20         | 20.6       | 12         | 12.4        | -          | -           | 97           |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | <b>1,672</b>      | <b>72.9</b> | <b>321</b> | <b>14.0</b> | <b>114</b> | <b>5.0</b> | <b>151</b> | <b>6.6</b>  | <b>34</b>  | <b>1.5</b>  | <b>2,292</b> |
| 1926/1927                         | Faculty of Law      | 833               | 70.2        | 232        | 19.6        | 32         | 2.7        | 89         | 7.5         | -          | -           | 1,186        |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 356               | 70.2        | 62         | 12.2        | 41         | 8.1        | 34         | 6.7         | 14         | 2.8         | 507          |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 190               | 81.2        | 26         | 11.1        | 14         | 6.0        | 2          | 0.9         | 2          | 0.9         | 234          |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | 345               | 72.8        | 67         | 14.1        | 14         | 3.0        | 34         | 7.2         | 14         | 3.0         | 474          |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 48                | 32.4        | 60         | 40.5        | 20         | 13.5       | 20         | 13.5        | -          | -           | 148          |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | <b>1,772</b>      | <b>69.5</b> | <b>447</b> | <b>17.5</b> | <b>121</b> | <b>4.7</b> | <b>179</b> | <b>7.0</b>  | <b>30</b>  | <b>1.2</b>  | <b>2,549</b> |
| 1927/1928                         | Faculty of Law      | 801               | 69.8        | 227        | 19.8        | 35         | 3.1        | 84         | 7.3         | -          | -           | 1,147        |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 417               | 71.9        | 81         | 14.0        | 43         | 7.4        | 28         | 4.8         | 11         | 1.9         | 580          |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 274               | 80.8        | 45         | 13.3        | 14         | 4.1        | 5          | 1.5         | 1          | 0.3         | 339          |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | 397               | 78.0        | 69         | 13.6        | 7          | 1.4        | 27         | 5.3         | 9          | 1.8         | 509          |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 34                | 24.8        | 66         | 48.2        | 28         | 20.4       | 9          | 6.6         | -          | -           | 137          |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | <b>1,923</b>      | <b>70.9</b> | <b>488</b> | <b>18.0</b> | <b>127</b> | <b>4.7</b> | <b>153</b> | <b>5.6</b>  | <b>21</b>  | <b>0.8</b>  | <b>2,712</b> |
| 1928/1929                         | Faculty of Law      | 717               | 66.2        | 229        | 21.1        | 44         | 4.1        | 93         | 8.6         | -          | -           | 1,083        |
|                                   | Faculty of Arts     | 521               | 73.5        | 106        | 15.0        | 50         | 7.1        | 18         | 2.5         | 14         | 2.0         | 709          |
|                                   | Faculty of Science  | 374               | 82.2        | 60         | 13.2        | 14         | 3.1        | 6          | 1.3         | 1          | 0.2         | 455          |
|                                   | Faculty of Medicine | 502               | 74.3        | 106        | 15.7        | 14         | 2.1        | 39         | 5.8         | 15         | 2.2         | 676          |
|                                   | Faculty of Pharmacy | 26                | 19.5        | 66         | 49.6        | 21         | 15.8       | 17         | 12.8        | 3          | 2.3         | 133          |
|                                   | <b>Total</b>        | <b>2,140</b>      | <b>70.0</b> | <b>567</b> | <b>18.6</b> | <b>143</b> | <b>4.7</b> | <b>173</b> | <b>5.7</b>  | <b>33</b>  | <b>1.1</b>  | <b>3,056</b> |

**29. The ethnic distribution of students attending King Ferdinand I University per faculties between 1930 and 1941:**

| University of Cluj |                     | Enrolled students |             |             |             |            |            |            |             |            |            |              |
|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|--------------|
|                    |                     | Romanian          |             | Hungarian   |             | German     |            | Jewish     |             | Other      |            | Total        |
|                    |                     |                   | %           |             | %           |            | %          |            | %           |            | %          |              |
| 1930/1931          | Faculty of Law      | 1,108             | 64.6        | 393         | 22.9        | 68         | 4.0        | 145        | 8.5         | –          | –          | 1,714        |
|                    | Faculty of Arts     | 513               | 67.1        | 150         | 19.6        | 57         | 7.5        | 26         | 3.4         | 18         | 2.4        | 764          |
|                    | Faculty of Science  | 447               | 75.9        | 88          | 14.9        | 41         | 7.0        | 6          | 1.0         | 7          | 1.2        | 589          |
|                    | Faculty of Medicine | 579               | 66.6        | 169         | 19.4        | 27         | 3.1        | 92         | 10.6        | 3          | 0.3        | 870          |
|                    | Faculty of Pharmacy | 38                | 29.9        | 42          | 33.1        | 14         | 11.0       | 32         | 25.2        | 1          | 0.8        | 127          |
|                    | <b>Total</b>        | <b>2,685</b>      | <b>66.1</b> | <b>842</b>  | <b>20.7</b> | <b>207</b> | <b>5.1</b> | <b>301</b> | <b>7.4</b>  | <b>29</b>  | <b>0.7</b> | <b>4,064</b> |
| 1931/1932          | Faculty of Law      | 1,061             | 62.7        | 379         | 22.4        | 95         | 5.6        | 151        | 8.9         | 5          | 0.3        | 1,691        |
|                    | Faculty of Arts     | 420               | 61.4        | 169         | 24.7        | 53         | 7.7        | 35         | 5.1         | 7          | 1.0        | 684          |
|                    | Faculty of Science  | 316               | 68.3        | 107         | 23.1        | 25         | 5.4        | 13         | 2.8         | 2          | 0.4        | 463          |
|                    | Faculty of Medicine | 630               | 66.0        | 171         | 17.9        | 28         | 2.9        | 114        | 11.9        | 12         | 1.3        | 955          |
|                    | Faculty of Pharmacy | 113               | 34.1        | 109         | 32.9        | 30         | 9.1        | 75         | 22.7        | 4          | 1.2        | 331          |
|                    | <b>Total</b>        | <b>2,540</b>      | <b>61.6</b> | <b>935</b>  | <b>22.7</b> | <b>231</b> | <b>5.6</b> | <b>388</b> | <b>9.4</b>  | <b>30</b>  | <b>0.7</b> | <b>4,124</b> |
| 1932/1933          | Faculty of Law      | 1,182             | 65.2        | 309         | 17.0        | 178        | 9.8        | 143        | 7.9         | 1          | 0.1        | 1,813        |
|                    | Faculty of Arts     | 395               | 55.6        | 207         | 29.2        | 53         | 7.5        | 47         | 6.6         | 8          | 1.1        | 710          |
|                    | Faculty of Science  | 364               | 63.3        | 153         | 26.6        | 30         | 5.2        | 22         | 3.8         | 6          | 1.0        | 575          |
|                    | Faculty of Medicine | 643               | 65.3        | 155         | 15.8        | 32         | 3.3        | 142        | 14.4        | 12         | 1.2        | 984          |
|                    | Faculty of Pharmacy | 138               | 35.7        | 98          | 25.3        | 52         | 13.4       | 93         | 24.0        | 6          | 1.6        | 387          |
|                    | <b>Total</b>        | <b>2,722</b>      | <b>60.9</b> | <b>922</b>  | <b>20.6</b> | <b>345</b> | <b>7.7</b> | <b>447</b> | <b>10.0</b> | <b>33</b>  | <b>0.7</b> | <b>4,469</b> |
| 1933/1934          | Faculty of Law      | 1,078             | 60.6        | 441         | 24.8        | 99         | 5.6        | 152        | 8.5         | 9          | 0.5        | 1,779        |
|                    | Faculty of Arts     | 364               | 52.7        | 207         | 30.0        | 65         | 9.4        | 44         | 6.4         | 11         | 1.6        | 691          |
|                    | Faculty of Science  | 293               | 52.9        | 201         | 36.3        | 35         | 6.3        | 17         | 3.1         | 8          | 1.4        | 554          |
|                    | Faculty of Medicine | 653               | 63.7        | 154         | 15.0        | 34         | 3.3        | 156        | 15.2        | 28         | 2.7        | 1,025        |
|                    | Faculty of Pharmacy | 130               | 32.8        | 124         | 31.3        | 51         | 12.9       | 87         | 22.0        | 4          | 1.0        | 396          |
|                    | <b>Total</b>        | <b>2,518</b>      | <b>56.6</b> | <b>1127</b> | <b>25.4</b> | <b>284</b> | <b>6.4</b> | <b>456</b> | <b>10.3</b> | <b>60</b>  | <b>1.3</b> | <b>4,445</b> |
| 1934/1935          | Faculty of Law      | 1,507             | 69.0        | 459         | 21.0        | 60         | 2.7        | 157        | 7.2         | 1          | 0.0        | 2,184        |
|                    | Faculty of Arts     | 399               | 56.4        | 196         | 27.7        | 65         | 9.2        | 40         | 5.6         | 8          | 1.1        | 708          |
|                    | Faculty of Science  | 219               | 54.3        | 142         | 35.2        | 18         | 4.5        | 21         | 5.2         | 3          | 0.7        | 403          |
|                    | Faculty of Medicine | 632               | 62.9        | 148         | 14.7        | 34         | 3.4        | 178        | 17.7        | 13         | 1.3        | 1,005        |
|                    | Faculty of Pharmacy |                   |             |             |             |            |            |            |             |            |            |              |
|                    | <b>Total</b>        | <b>2,757</b>      | <b>64.1</b> | <b>945</b>  | <b>22.0</b> | <b>177</b> | <b>4.1</b> | <b>396</b> | <b>9.2</b>  | <b>25</b>  | <b>0.6</b> | <b>4,300</b> |
| 1935/1936          | Faculty of Law      | 1,195             | 69.5        | 370         | 21.5        | 44         | 2.6        | 101        | 5.9         | 9          | 0.5        | 1,719        |
|                    | Faculty of Arts     | 329               | 57.5        | 145         | 25.3        | 54         | 9.4        | 33         | 5.8         | 11         | 1.9        | 572          |
|                    | Faculty of Science  | 194               | 58.4        | 95          | 28.6        | 20         | 6.0        | 16         | 4.8         | 7          | 2.1        | 332          |
|                    | Faculty of Medicine | 555               | 58.4        | 123         | 12.9        | 45         | 4.7        | 203        | 21.4        | 24         | 2.5        | 950          |
|                    | Faculty of Pharmacy |                   |             |             |             |            |            |            |             |            |            |              |
|                    | <b>Total</b>        | <b>2,273</b>      | <b>63.6</b> | <b>733</b>  | <b>20.5</b> | <b>163</b> | <b>4.6</b> | <b>353</b> | <b>9.9</b>  | <b>51</b>  | <b>1.4</b> | <b>3,573</b> |
| 1936/1937          | Faculty of Law      | 980               | 73.1        | 226         | 16.9        | 53         | 4.0        | 74         | 5.5         | 8          | 0.6        | 1,341        |
|                    | Faculty of Arts     | 362               | 60.3        | 128         | 21.3        | 51         | 8.5        | 42         | 7.0         | 17         | 2.8        | 600          |
|                    | Faculty of Science  | 261               | 59.6        | 116         | 26.5        | 21         | 4.8        | 28         | 6.4         | 12         | 2.7        | 438          |
|                    | Faculty of Medicine | 498               | 57.9        | 110         | 12.8        | 42         | 4.9        | 177        | 20.6        | 33         | 3.8        | 860          |
|                    | Faculty of Pharmacy |                   |             |             |             |            |            |            |             |            |            |              |
|                    | <b>Total</b>        | <b>2,101</b>      | <b>64.9</b> | <b>580</b>  | <b>17.9</b> | <b>167</b> | <b>5.2</b> | <b>321</b> | <b>9.9</b>  | <b>70</b>  | <b>2.2</b> | <b>3,239</b> |
| 1937/1938          | Faculty of Law      | 965               | 73.1        | 235         | 17.8        | 40         | 3.0        | 69         | 5.2         | 12         | 0.9        | 1,321        |
|                    | Faculty of Arts     | 362               | 62.2        | 120         | 20.6        | 43         | 7.4        | 46         | 7.9         | 11         | 1.9        | 582          |
|                    | Faculty of Science  | 213               | 59.7        | 102         | 28.6        | 9          | 2.5        | 26         | 7.3         | 7          | 2.0        | 357          |
|                    | Faculty of Medicine | 519               | 58.0        | 109         | 12.2        | 40         | 4.5        | 155        | 17.3        | 72         | 8.0        | 895          |
|                    | Faculty of Pharmacy |                   |             |             |             |            |            |            |             |            |            |              |
|                    | <b>Total</b>        | <b>2,059</b>      | <b>65.3</b> | <b>566</b>  | <b>17.9</b> | <b>132</b> | <b>4.2</b> | <b>296</b> | <b>9.4</b>  | <b>102</b> | <b>3.2</b> | <b>3,155</b> |



| University of Cluj |                     | Enrolled students |      |           |      |        |     |        |      |       |     |       |
|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------|-----------|------|--------|-----|--------|------|-------|-----|-------|
|                    |                     | Romanian          |      | Hungarian |      | German |     | Jewish |      | Other |     | Total |
|                    |                     |                   | %    |           | %    |        | %   |        | %    |       | %   |       |
| 1938/1939          | Faculty of Law      | 980               | 71.8 | 268       | 19.6 | 43     | 3.2 | 66     | 4.8  | 7     | 0.5 | 1,364 |
|                    | Faculty of Arts     | 321               | 63.2 | 95        | 18.7 | 37     | 7.3 | 44     | 8.7  | 11    | 2.2 | 508   |
|                    | Faculty of Science  | 199               | 61.4 | 78        | 24.1 | 9      | 2.8 | 34     | 10.5 | 4     | 1.2 | 324   |
|                    | Faculty of Medicine | 529               | 58.9 | 112       | 12.5 | 58     | 6.5 | 142    | 15.8 | 57    | 6.3 | 898   |
|                    | Faculty of Pharmacy |                   |      |           |      |        |     |        |      |       |     |       |
|                    | Total               | 2,029             | 65.6 | 553       | 17.9 | 147    | 4.8 | 286    | 9.2  | 79    | 2.6 | 3,094 |
| 1941/1942          | Faculty of Law      | 664               | 96.2 | 5         | 0.7  | 17     | 2.5 | -      | -    | 4     | 0.6 | 690   |
|                    | Faculty of Arts     | 252               | 93.3 | 1         | 0.4  | 17     | 6.3 | -      | -    | -     | -   | 270   |
|                    | Faculty of Science  | 184               | 84.0 | 9         | 4.1  | 21     | 9.6 | -      | -    | 5     | 2.3 | 219   |
|                    | Faculty of Medicine | 980               | 95.2 | 3         | 0.3  | 45     | 4.4 | -      | -    | 1     | 0.1 | 1,029 |
|                    | Faculty of Pharmacy |                   |      |           |      |        |     |        |      |       |     |       |
|                    | Total               | 2,080             | 94.2 | 18        | 0.8  | 100    | 4.5 | -      | -    | 10    | 0.5 | 2,208 |

30. The denominational distribution of students attending King Ferdinand I University of Cluj per faculties between 1921 and 1928:

| King Ferdinand I University | Orthodox            | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Lutheran | Unitarian | Israelite | Other | Total |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-------|-------|
| 1921/1922                   | Faculty of Law      | 500            |                |           |          |           | 143       | 557   | 1,200 |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 193            |                |           |          |           | 41        | 225   | 459   |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 86             |                |           |          |           | 12        | 33    | 131   |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 318            |                |           |          |           | 329       | 154   | 801   |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 12             |                |           |          |           | 14        | 26    | 52    |
|                             | Total               | 1,109          |                |           |          |           | 539       | 995   | 2,643 |
| 1922/1923                   | Faculty of Law      | 476            |                |           |          |           | 136       | 653   | 1,265 |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 294            |                |           |          |           | 49        | 348   | 691   |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 91             |                |           |          |           | 17        | 59    | 167   |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 309            |                |           |          |           | 278       | 119   | 706   |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 12             |                |           |          |           | 14        | 45    | 71    |
|                             | Total               | 1,182          |                |           |          |           | 494       | 1,224 | 2,900 |
| 1923/1924                   | Faculty of Law      | 421            |                |           |          |           | 88        | 451   | 960   |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 152            |                |           |          |           | 14        | 162   | 328   |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 118            |                |           |          |           | 13        | 64    | 195   |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 249            |                |           |          |           | 100       | 123   | 472   |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 11             |                |           |          |           | 8         | 42    | 61    |
|                             | Total               | 951            |                |           |          |           | 223       | 842   | 2,016 |
| 1924/1925                   | Faculty of Law      | 370            |                |           |          |           | 41        | 512   | 923   |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 184            |                |           |          |           | 21        | 196   | 401   |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 130            |                |           |          |           | 6         | 78    | 214   |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 260            |                |           |          |           | 76        | 172   | 508   |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 17             |                |           |          |           | 11        | 38    | 66    |
|                             | Total               | 961            |                |           |          |           | 155       | 996   | 2,112 |

| King Ferdinand I University |                     | Orthodox | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Lutheran | Unitarian | Israelite | Other | Total |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-------|-------|
| 1925/1926                   | Faculty of Law      | 419      | 405            | 86             | 57        | 41       | 13        | 52        | -     | 1,073 |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 205      | 106            | 47             | 21        | 20       | 1         | 25        | -     | 425   |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 124      | 58             | 15             | 5         | 7        | 1         | 6         | 1     | 217   |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 245      | 97             | 42             | 21        | 13       | 6         | 56        | -     | 480   |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 18       | 8              | 35             | 15        | 5        | 4         | 12        | -     | 97    |
|                             | <b>Total</b>        | 1,011    | 674            | 225            | 119       | 86       | 25        | 151       | 1     | 2,292 |
| 1926/1927                   | Faculty of Law      | 427      | 406            | 131            | 82        | 32       | 19        | 89        | -     | 1,186 |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 244      | 125            | 46             | 25        | 31       | 1         | 34        | 1     | 507   |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 121      | 66             | 24             | 4         | 14       | 2         | 2         | 1     | 234   |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 185      | 174            | 37             | 36        | 7        | 1         | 34        | -     | 474   |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 26       | 22             | 42             | 22        | 14       | 2         | 20        | -     | 148   |
|                             | <b>Total</b>        | 1,003    | 793            | 280            | 169       | 98       | 25        | 179       | 2     | 2,549 |
| 1927/1928                   | Faculty of Law      | 405      | 396            | 140            | 74        | 35       | 13        | 84        | -     | 1,147 |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 271      | 153            | 48             | 39        | 38       | 3         | 28        | -     | 580   |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 171      | 100            | 30             | 15        | 13       | 4         | 5         | 1     | 339   |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 264      | 142            | 36             | 17        | 7        | 16        | 27        | -     | 509   |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 21       | 13             | 39             | 12        | 28       | 15        | 9         | -     | 137   |
|                             | <b>Total</b>        | 1,132    | 804            | 293            | 157       | 121      | 51        | 153       | 1     | 2,712 |
| 1928/1929                   | Faculty of Law      | 339      | 378            | 131            | 87        | 44       | 11        | 93        | -     | 1,083 |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 350      | 181            | 62             | 54        | 40       | 4         | 18        | -     | 709   |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 233      | 139            | 41             | 16        | 13       | 6         | 6         | 1     | 455   |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 307      | 205            | 49             | 31        | 14       | 30        | 39        | 1     | 676   |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 15       | 11             | 33             | 16        | 21       | 20        | 17        | -     | 133   |
|                             | <b>Total</b>        | 1,244    | 914            | 316            | 204       | 132      | 71        | 173       | 2     | 3,056 |



31. The denominational distribution of students attending King Ferdinand I University of Cluj per faculties between 1921 and 1928, in percentage:

| King Ferdinand I University |                     | Orthodox | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Lutheran | Unitarian | Israelite |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1921/1922                   | Faculty of Law      | 41.7     |                |                |           |          |           | 11.9      |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 42.0     |                |                |           |          |           | 8.9       |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 65.6     |                |                |           |          |           | 9.2       |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 39.7     |                |                |           |          |           | 41.1      |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 23.1     |                |                |           |          |           | 26.9      |
|                             | Total               | 42.0     |                |                |           |          |           | 20.4      |
| 1922/1923                   | Faculty of Law      | 37.6     |                |                |           |          |           | 10.8      |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 42.5     |                |                |           |          |           | 7.1       |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 54.5     |                |                |           |          |           | 10.2      |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 43.8     |                |                |           |          |           | 39.4      |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 16.9     |                |                |           |          |           | 19.7      |
|                             | Total               | 40.8     |                |                |           |          |           | 17.0      |
| 1923/1924                   | Faculty of Law      | 43.9     |                |                |           |          |           | 9.2       |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 46.3     |                |                |           |          |           | 4.3       |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 60.5     |                |                |           |          |           | 6.7       |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 52.8     |                |                |           |          |           | 21.2      |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 18.0     |                |                |           |          |           | 13.1      |
|                             | Total               | 47.2     |                |                |           |          |           | 11.1      |
| 1924/1925                   | Faculty of Law      | 40.1     |                |                |           |          |           | 4.4       |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 45.9     |                |                |           |          |           | 5.2       |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 60.7     |                |                |           |          |           | 2.8       |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 51.2     |                |                |           |          |           | 15.0      |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 25.8     |                |                |           |          |           | 16.7      |
|                             | Total               | 45.5     |                |                |           |          |           | 7.3       |
| 1925/1926                   | Faculty of Law      | 39.0     | 37.7           | 8.0            | 5.3       | 3.8      | 1.2       | 4.8       |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 48.2     | 24.9           | 11.1           | 4.9       | 4.7      | 0.2       | 5.9       |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 57.1     | 26.7           | 6.9            | 2.3       | 3.2      | 0.5       | 2.8       |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 51.0     | 20.2           | 8.8            | 4.4       | 2.7      | 1.3       | 11.7      |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 18.6     | 8.2            | 36.1           | 15.5      | 5.2      | 4.1       | 12.4      |
|                             | Total               | 44.1     | 29.4           | 9.8            | 5.2       | 3.8      | 1.1       | 6.6       |
| 1926/1927                   | Faculty of Law      | 36.0     | 34.2           | 11.0           | 6.9       | 2.7      | 1.6       | 7.5       |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 48.1     | 24.7           | 9.1            | 4.9       | 6.1      | 0.2       | 6.7       |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 51.7     | 28.2           | 10.3           | 1.7       | 6.0      | 0.9       | 0.9       |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 39.0     | 36.7           | 7.8            | 7.6       | 1.5      | 0.2       | 7.2       |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 17.6     | 14.9           | 28.4           | 14.9      | 9.5      | 1.4       | 13.5      |
|                             | Total               | 39.3     | 31.1           | 11.0           | 6.6       | 3.8      | 1.0       | 7.0       |
| 1927/1928                   | Faculty of Law      | 35.3     | 34.5           | 12.2           | 6.5       | 3.1      | 1.1       | 7.3       |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 46.7     | 26.4           | 8.3            | 6.7       | 6.6      | 0.5       | 4.8       |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 50.4     | 29.5           | 8.8            | 4.4       | 3.8      | 1.2       | 1.5       |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 51.9     | 27.9           | 7.1            | 3.3       | 1.4      | 3.1       | 5.3       |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 15.3     | 9.5            | 28.5           | 8.8       | 20.4     | 10.9      | 6.6       |
|                             | Total               | 41.7     | 29.6           | 10.8           | 5.8       | 4.5      | 1.9       | 5.6       |
| 1928/1929                   | Faculty of Law      | 31.3     | 34.9           | 12.1           | 8.0       | 4.1      | 1.0       | 8.6       |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 49.4     | 25.5           | 8.7            | 7.6       | 5.6      | 0.6       | 2.5       |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 51.2     | 30.5           | 9.0            | 3.5       | 2.9      | 1.3       | 1.3       |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 45.4     | 30.3           | 7.2            | 4.6       | 2.1      | 4.4       | 5.8       |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 11.3     | 8.3            | 24.8           | 12.0      | 15.8     | 15.0      | 12.8      |
|                             | Total               | 40.7     | 29.9           | 10.3           | 6.7       | 4.3      | 2.3       | 5.7       |

**32.** *The denominational distribution of students attending King Ferdinand I University of Cluj per faculties between 1930 and 1941:*

| King Ferdinand I University |                     | Orthodox | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Lutheran | Unitarian | Israelite | Other | Total |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-------|-------|
| 1930/1931                   | Faculty of Law      | 519      | 589            | 205            | 155       | 68       | 33        | 145       | –     | 1,714 |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 310      | 197            | 103            | 76        | 46       | 6         | 26        | –     | 764   |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 271      | 169            | 77             | 30        | 31       | 4         | 7         | –     | 589   |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 445      | 140            | 109            | 56        | 23       | 2         | 92        | 3     | 870   |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 21       | 21             | 25             | 13        | 12       | 3         | 32        | –     | 127   |
|                             | <b>Total</b>        | 1,566    | 1116           | 519            | 330       | 180      | 48        | 302       | 3     | 4,064 |
| 1931/1932                   | Faculty of Law      | 507      | 523            | 229            | 166       | 70       | 30        | 166       | –     | 1,691 |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 264      | 150            | 105            | 86        | 36       | 7         | 36        | –     | 684   |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 172      | 131            | 87             | 44        | 11       | 5         | 13        | –     | 463   |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 473      | 165            | 101            | 65        | 26       | 9         | 114       | 2     | 955   |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 79       | 35             | 77             | 36        | 24       | 3         | 75        | 2     | 331   |
|                             | <b>Total</b>        | 1,495    | 1004           | 599            | 397       | 167      | 54        | 404       | 4     | 4,124 |
| 1932/1933                   | Faculty of Law      | 592      | 591            | 236            | 140       | 82       | 28        | 143       | 1     | 1,813 |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 239      | 152            | 123            | 104       | 31       | 13        | 47        | 1     | 710   |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 206      | 147            | 112            | 61        | 19       | 8         | 22        | –     | 575   |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 484      | 163            | 86             | 70        | 27       | 10        | 141       | 3     | 984   |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 103      | 34             | 81             | 30        | 37       | 6         | 93        | 3     | 387   |
|                             | <b>Total</b>        | 1,624    | 1087           | 638            | 405       | 196      | 65        | 446       | 8     | 4,469 |
| 1933/1934                   | Faculty of Law      | 558      | 511            | 249            | 189       | 87       | 34        | 150       | 1     | 1,779 |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 230      | 136            | 131            | 99        | 37       | 14        | 43        | 1     | 691   |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 174      | 118            | 124            | 87        | 27       | 7         | 17        | –     | 554   |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 504      | 164            | 90             | 64        | 29       | 12        | 156       | 6     | 1,025 |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 93       | 38             | 94             | 34        | 41       | 7         | 87        | 2     | 396   |
|                             | <b>Total</b>        | 1,559    | 967            | 688            | 473       | 221      | 74        | 453       | 10    | 4,445 |
| 1934/1935                   | Faculty of Law      | 800      | 707            | 260            | 167       | 60       | 32        | 157       | 1     | 2,184 |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 235      | 153            | 127            | 97        | 41       | 13        | 40        | 2     | 708   |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 125      | 93             | 89             | 56        | 11       | 6         | 21        | 2     | 403   |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 471      | 163            | 96             | 58        | 29       | 8         | 178       | 2     | 1,005 |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy |          |                |                |           |          |           |           |       |       |
|                             | <b>Total</b>        | 1,631    | 1116           | 572            | 378       | 141      | 59        | 396       | 7     | 4,300 |
| 1935/1936                   | Faculty of Law      | 639      | 567            | 212            | 132       | 42       | 26        | 101       | –     | 1,719 |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 211      | 120            | 98             | 68        | 34       | 8         | 33        | –     | 572   |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 114      | 78             | 66             | 13        | 39       | 6         | 16        | –     | 332   |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 426      | 149            | 85             | 48        | 27       | 10        | 203       | 2     | 950   |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy |          |                |                |           |          |           |           |       |       |
|                             | <b>Total</b>        | 1,390    | 914            | 461            | 261       | 142      | 50        | 353       | 2     | 3,573 |
| 1936/1937                   | Faculty of Law      | 529      | 436            | 152            | 104       | 25       | 21        | 74        | –     | 1,341 |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 220      | 149            | 81             | 65        | 35       | 6         | 42        | 2     | 600   |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 163      | 106            | 74             | 45        | 12       | 8         | 28        | 2     | 438   |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 410      | 119            | 88             | 34        | 26       | 6         | 177       | –     | 860   |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy |          |                |                |           |          |           |           |       |       |
|                             | <b>Total</b>        | 1,322    | 810            | 395            | 248       | 98       | 41        | 321       | 4     | 3,239 |
| 1937/1938                   | Faculty of Law      | 549      | 417            | 156            | 91        | 17       | 18        | 69        | 4     | 1,321 |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 223      | 136            | 81             | 62        | 25       | 8         | 46        | 1     | 582   |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 137      | 75             | 65             | 42        | 7        | 5         | 26        | –     | 357   |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 449      | 137            | 91             | 38        | 19       | 5         | 155       | 1     | 895   |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy |          |                |                |           |          |           |           |       |       |
|                             | <b>Total</b>        | 1,358    | 765            | 393            | 233       | 68       | 36        | 296       | 6     | 3,155 |
| 1938/1939                   | Faculty of Law      | 578      | 420            | 195            | 64        | 26       | 16        | 65        | –     | 1,364 |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 204      | 116            | 75             | 38        | 25       | 7         | 43        | –     | 508   |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 124      | 77             | 45             | 32        | 5        | 7         | 34        | –     | 324   |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 461      | 123            | 103            | 39        | 23       | 6         | 142       | 1     | 898   |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy |          |                |                |           |          |           |           |       |       |
|                             | <b>Total</b>        | 1,367    | 736            | 418            | 173       | 79       | 36        | 284       | 1     | 3,094 |



| King Ferdinand I University |                     | Orthodox | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Lutheran | Unitarian | Israelite | Other | Total |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-------|-------|
| 1941/1942                   | Faculty of Law      | 450      | 217            | 11             | 4         | 8        | -         | -         | -     | 690   |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 172      | 77             | 10             | 1         | 10       | -         | -         | -     | 270   |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 129      | 55             | 29             | 3         | 3        | -         | -         | -     | 219   |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 719      | 259            | 31             | 3         | 14       | -         | -         | 3     | 1,029 |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy |          |                |                |           |          |           |           |       |       |
| <b>Total</b>                | 1,470               | 608      | 81             | 11             | 35        | -        | -         | 3         | 2,208 |       |

33. The denominational distribution of students attending King Ferdinand I University of Cluj per faculties between 1930 and 1941, in percentage:

| King Ferdinand I University |                     | Orthodox | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Lutheran | Unitarian | Israelite |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1930/1931                   | Faculty of Law      | 30.3     | 34.4           | 12.0           | 9.0       | 4.0      | 1.9       | 8.5       |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 40.6     | 25.8           | 13.5           | 9.9       | 6.0      | 0.8       | 3.4       |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 46.0     | 28.7           | 13.1           | 5.1       | 5.3      | 0.7       | 1.2       |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 51.1     | 16.1           | 12.5           | 6.4       | 2.6      | 0.2       | 10.6      |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 16.5     | 16.5           | 19.7           | 10.2      | 9.4      | 2.4       | 25.2      |
|                             | <b>Total</b>        | 38.5     | 27.5           | 12.8           | 8.1       | 4.4      | 1.2       | 7.4       |
| 1931/1932                   | Faculty of Law      | 30.0     | 30.9           | 13.5           | 9.8       | 4.1      | 1.8       | 9.8       |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 38.6     | 21.9           | 15.4           | 12.6      | 5.3      | 1.0       | 5.3       |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 37.1     | 28.3           | 18.8           | 9.5       | 2.4      | 1.1       | 2.8       |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 49.5     | 17.3           | 10.6           | 6.8       | 2.7      | 0.9       | 11.9      |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 23.9     | 10.6           | 23.3           | 10.9      | 7.3      | 0.9       | 22.7      |
|                             | <b>Total</b>        | 36.3     | 24.3           | 14.5           | 9.6       | 4.0      | 1.3       | 9.8       |
| 1932/1933                   | Faculty of Law      | 32.7     | 32.6           | 13.0           | 7.7       | 4.5      | 1.5       | 7.9       |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 33.7     | 21.4           | 17.3           | 14.6      | 4.4      | 1.8       | 6.6       |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 35.8     | 25.6           | 19.5           | 10.6      | 3.3      | 1.4       | 3.8       |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 49.2     | 16.6           | 8.7            | 7.1       | 2.7      | 1.0       | 14.3      |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 26.6     | 8.8            | 20.9           | 7.8       | 9.6      | 1.6       | 24.0      |
|                             | <b>Total</b>        | 36.3     | 24.3           | 14.3           | 9.1       | 4.4      | 1.5       | 10.0      |
| 1933/1934                   | Faculty of Law      | 31.4     | 28.7           | 14.0           | 10.6      | 4.9      | 1.9       | 8.4       |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 33.3     | 19.7           | 19.0           | 14.3      | 5.4      | 2.0       | 6.2       |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 31.4     | 21.3           | 22.4           | 15.7      | 4.9      | 1.3       | 3.1       |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 49.2     | 16.0           | 8.8            | 6.2       | 2.8      | 1.2       | 15.2      |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy | 23.5     | 9.6            | 23.7           | 8.6       | 10.4     | 1.8       | 22.0      |
|                             | <b>Total</b>        | 35.1     | 21.8           | 15.5           | 10.6      | 5.0      | 1.7       | 10.2      |
| 1934/1935                   | Faculty of Law      | 36.6     | 32.4           | 11.9           | 7.6       | 2.7      | 1.5       | 7.2       |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 33.2     | 21.6           | 17.9           | 13.7      | 5.8      | 1.8       | 5.6       |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 31.0     | 23.1           | 22.1           | 13.9      | 2.7      | 1.5       | 5.2       |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 46.9     | 16.2           | 9.6            | 5.8       | 2.9      | 0.8       | 17.7      |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy |          |                |                |           |          |           |           |
|                             | <b>Total</b>        | 37.9     | 26.0           | 13.3           | 8.8       | 3.3      | 1.4       | 9.2       |
| 1935/1936                   | Faculty of Law      | 37.2     | 33.0           | 12.3           | 7.7       | 2.4      | 1.5       | 5.9       |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 36.9     | 21.0           | 17.1           | 11.9      | 5.9      | 1.4       | 5.8       |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 34.3     | 23.5           | 19.9           | 3.9       | 11.7     | 1.8       | 4.8       |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 44.8     | 15.7           | 8.9            | 5.1       | 2.8      | 1.1       | 21.4      |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy |          |                |                |           |          |           |           |
|                             | <b>Total</b>        | 38.9     | 25.6           | 12.9           | 7.3       | 4.0      | 1.4       | 9.9       |
| 1936/1937                   | Faculty of Law      | 39.4     | 32.5           | 11.3           | 7.8       | 1.9      | 1.6       | 5.5       |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 36.7     | 24.8           | 13.5           | 10.8      | 5.8      | 1.0       | 7.0       |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 37.2     | 24.2           | 16.9           | 10.3      | 2.7      | 1.8       | 6.4       |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 47.7     | 13.8           | 10.2           | 4.0       | 3.0      | 0.7       | 20.6      |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy |          |                |                |           |          |           |           |
|                             | <b>Total</b>        | 40.8     | 25.0           | 12.2           | 7.7       | 3.0      | 1.3       | 9.9       |

| King Ferdinand I University |                     | Orthodox | Greek Catholic | Roman Catholic | Calvinist | Lutheran | Unitarian | Israelite |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1937/1938                   | Faculty of Law      | 41.6     | 31.6           | 11.8           | 6.9       | 1.3      | 1.4       | 5.2       |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 38.3     | 23.4           | 13.9           | 10.7      | 4.3      | 1.4       | 7.9       |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 38.4     | 21.0           | 18.2           | 11.8      | 2.0      | 1.4       | 7.3       |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 50.2     | 15.3           | 10.2           | 4.2       | 2.1      | 0.6       | 17.3      |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy |          |                |                |           |          |           |           |
|                             | Total               | 43       | 24.2           | 12.5           | 7.4       | 2.2      | 1.1       | 9.4       |
| 1938/1939                   | Faculty of Law      | 42.4     | 30.8           | 14.3           | 4.7       | 1.9      | 1.2       | 4.8       |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 40.2     | 22.8           | 14.8           | 7.5       | 4.9      | 1.4       | 8.5       |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 38.3     | 23.8           | 13.9           | 9.9       | 1.5      | 2.2       | 10.5      |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 51.3     | 13.7           | 11.5           | 4.3       | 2.6      | 0.7       | 15.8      |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy |          |                |                |           |          |           |           |
|                             | Total               | 44.2     | 23.8           | 13.5           | 5.6       | 2.6      | 1.2       | 9.2       |
| 1941/1942                   | Faculty of Law      | 65.2     | 31.4           | 1.6            | 0.6       | 1.2      | –         | –         |
|                             | Faculty of Arts     | 63.7     | 28.5           | 3.7            | 0.4       | 3.7      | –         | –         |
|                             | Faculty of Science  | 58.9     | 25.1           | 13.2           | 1.4       | 1.4      | –         | –         |
|                             | Faculty of Medicine | 69.9     | 25.2           | 3.0            | 0.3       | 1.4      | –         | –         |
|                             | Faculty of Pharmacy |          |                |                |           |          |           |           |
|                             | Total               | 66.6     | 27.5           | 3.7            | 0.5       | 1.6      | –         | –         |





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## **DESPRE INSTITUTUL PENTRU STUDIEREA PROBLEMELOR MINORITĂȚILOR NAȚIONALE**

### **ABOUT THE ROMANIAN INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH ON NATIONAL MINORITIES**

### **A NEMZETI KISEBBSÉKGUTATÓ INTÉZETRŐL**

INSTITUTUL PENTRU STUDIEREA PROBLEMELOR MINORITĂȚILOR NAȚIONALE (ISPMN) funcționează ca instituție publică și ca personalitate juridică în subordinea Guvernului și în coordonarea Departamentului pentru Relații Interetnice. Sediul Institutului este în municipiul Cluj-Napoca.

#### **■ Scop și activități de bază**

Studierea și cercetarea inter- și pluridisciplinară a păstrării, dezvoltării și exprimării identității etnice, studierea aspectelor sociologice, istorice, culturale, lingvistice, religioase sau de altă natură ale minorităților naționale și ale altor comunități etnice din România.

#### **■ Direcții principale de cercetare**

Schimbare de abordare în România, în domeniul politicilor față de minoritățile naționale: analiza politico-instituțională a istoriei recente;

Dinamica etno-demografică a minorităților din România;

Revitalizare etnică sau asimilare? Identități în tranziție, analiza transformărilor identitare la minoritățile etnice din România;

Analiza rolului jucat de etnicitate în dinamica stratificării sociale din România;

Patrimoniul cultural instituțional al minorităților din România;

Patternuri ale segregării etnice;

Bilingvismul: modalități de producere, atitudini și politici publice;

Noi imigranți în România: modele de încorporare și integrare.

The ROMANIAN INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH ON NATIONAL MINORITIES (RIRNM) is a legally constituted public entity under the authority of the Romanian Government. It is based in Cluj-Napoca.

#### **■ Aim**

The inter- and multidisciplinary study and research of the preservation, development and expression of ethnic identity, as well as social, historic, cultural, linguistic, religious or other aspects of national minorities and of other ethnic communities in Romania.

#### **■ Major research areas**

Changing policies regarding national minorities in Romania: political and institutional analyses of recent history;

Ethno-demographic dynamics of minorities in Romania;

Identities in transition – ethnic enlivening or assimilation? (analysis of transformations in the identity of national minorities from Romania);

Analysis of the role of ethnicity in the social stratification dynamics in Romania;

The institutional cultural heritage of minorities in Romania;

Ethnic segregation patterns;

Bilingualism: ways of generating bilingualism, public attitudes and policies;

Recent immigrants to Romania: patterns of social and economic integration.

A kolozsvári székhelyű, jogi személyként működő NEMZETI KISEBBSÉGKUTATÓ INTÉZET (NKI) a Román Kormány hatáskörébe tartozó közintézmény.

### ■ Célok

A romániai nemzeti kisebbségek és más etnikai közösségek etnikai identitásmegőrzésének, -változásainak, -kifejeződésének, valamint ezek szociológiai, történelmi, kulturális, nyelvészeti, vallásos és más jellegű aspektusainak kutatása, tanulmányozása.

### ■ Főbb kutatási irányvonalak

A romániai kisebbségpolitikában történő változások elemzése: jelenkortörténetre vonatkozó intézmény-politikai elemzések;

A romániai kisebbségek népességdemográfiai jellemzői;

Átmeneti identitások – etnikai revitalizálás vagy asszimiláció? (a romániai kisebbségek identitásában végbemenő változások elemzése);

Az etnicitás szerepe a társadalmi rétegződésben;

A romániai nemzeti kisebbségek kulturális öröksége;

Az etnikai szegregáció modelljei;

A kétnyelvűség módozatai, az ehhez kapcsolódó attitűdök és közpolitikák;

Új bevándorlók Romániában: társadalmi és gazdasági beilleszkedési modellek.



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