Thoughts on Education in Hungary in the Age of Enlightenment

Pedagogy, by gradually separating from philosophy, became an independent science at the age of enlightenment in Europe. The period of Hungarian Enlightenment was from the 70's of the eighteenth century to the middle of the 1820's. There had already been antecedents of the changes in Hungary, of course, in the earlier decades of the eighteenth century.

It was the German pietism that made its effects to be felt in Hungary. The Hungarian theologians, who were educated in Halle, got acquinted with the ideas of pietism. György Bárány, Francke's student, translated the adaptation of his master's work on pedagogy – prepared by –Wirth, a Nürnberg pastor (*Kurzer und einflätiger Unterricht*) into Hungarian which was published in Halle in 1711.

The most important Hungarian pietist, Mátyás Bél, who was the most outstanding Hungarian scientist of the age, absorbed the ideas of pietism in Halle. When returning home, he started the reorganisation of the evangelic lyceum of Pozsony in 1714 on the basis of the pietist's ideas and transformed its curriculum. He was one of the founding members of the first important organisation of the Austrian Enlightenment, the "Societas eruditorum incognitorum in terris Austriacis" which was created in Olmütz.

In the late baroque period some changes could also be felt even within the Catholic Church. Piarist monks played an important part in the realisation of the enlightened reforms. From the thirties and forties of the eighteenth century, a lot of them got acquainted with the eclectic so called "recentior philosophia"

¹ Béla Szent Iványi, "A pietizmus Magyarországon," (Pietism in Hungary) Századok (1935): 1–38, 157–180, 321–333, 414–427., Sándor Payr, A pietizmus paedagogikája (Pozsony: Wiagand, 1908) At the university of Halle, for example, between 1700 and 1714, there were 112 students from Transylvania, Upper Hungary and Transdanubia. There were not only theologists but also young persons studying to become a lawyers or doctors among them. 22 Hungarian people took their meals at the canteen of Francke's orphanage between 1705 and 1713. In return for this, they performed supervising and teaching jobs. Hungarian families of high rank also sent their children to study in Halle. The sons of Baron Hellenbach with their tutor, Istvan Karolyi, also studied here, just like the sons of the family Roth from Eperjes with their private teacher, György Bárány.

² Besztercebánya, Győr and Pozsony were regarded as the Hungarian centres of Pietism in the first half of the 18th century. A large number of teachers and clergymen considering the reform of public education important worked in these cities. The most outstanding among them were János Burius, András Torkos, Márton Vázsonyi and Gergely Fábri.

in Rome – mainly by the works of Eduardo Corsini – which contributed to the development of Hungarian Enlightenment through Corsini's Hungarian students. They wrote their schoolbooks of enlightened spirit on the basis of the teachings of Descartes, Newton, Leibniz and Wolff.

These various church reform movements joined the reform efforts of the Enlightened Absolutism from the sixties of the eighteenth century. Hungarian educational theory started at this time, and developed slowly. It reflected the pedagogic ideas of the European Enlightenment but by applying them to the special Hungarian conditions. While the pedagogical works in Europe were written almost only in national languages at that time, in Hungary these works were written in Latin, in German and in Hungarian. Due to the characteristics of the Hungarian development, however, it is incontestable that our enlightened authors consciously made efforts writing in their mother tongue.

It is extraordinarily difficult to grasp the presence, speed of spreading and scope of the ideas of the European Enlightenment in Hungary. How and by which channels did these ideas come into Hungary?

In the period of the Enlightenment, the carriers and mediators of the new ideas were newspapers and periodicals. Despite the strict conditions of the censorship, almost all the important books of enlightened ideas and the products of the European press of that time came into Hungary sooner or later. The book purchasers of the libraries of the Hungarian aristocrats, the Hungarian travellers visiting European towns, the students learning abroad – the will-be clergymen and teachers – all arrived home with bags full of books. In this way, these works arrived even in the remotest villages of the country. The books of course were not read only by their owners but also by the intellectuals living in the neighbourhood.

During the Enlightenment the clergymen and teachers, who had learned at universities abroad, diffused the new ideas from the pulpits and from the teachers' desk, to the public. They were also aware of Hungarian needs: they wished to apply the pedagogical ideas of the Enlightenment to the Hungarian conditions.

The library catalogues and inventories provide information on the spreading of the pedagpgical literature of Europe in Hungary. If we examine the material of aristocrats' private libraries and the material of schools', intellectuals', priests', teachers' libraries available from the period of the Enlightenment we can have information on what was known of the European pedagogical literature in Hungary at the end of the eighteenth and in the first decades of the nineteenth century.

It is known that the most important Hungarian aristocrats' libraries contained a lot of works of the writers of the English, German and French Enlightenment.³

³ Margit Szarvasi, Magánkönyvtáraink a 18. században (Our Private Libraries in the 18th Century) (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Országos Széchényi Könyvtára, 1939), Gábor Kelecsényi, Múltunk neves könyvgyűjtői (Our Book Collectors in the Past) (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó,1988), György Kókay, "Hajnóczy József, Széchényi könyvtárosa," (József Hajnóczy, Széchényi's Librarian) Magyar Könyvszemle (1978): 11–23.

Gedeon Ráday, József Teleki, Sámuel Teleki, Ferenc Széchényi, György Festetics, like other aristocratic book collectors added new books to their collections by the help of qualified book purchasers who bought the works from the booksellers of European towns. These books were often prohibited in Hungary and were often taken into Hungary in secret and hazardous ways. In most of the aristocrats' collections the works of Montaigne, Pascal, Christian Wolff, Leibniz and the French encyclopaedists could be found.

Locke was also very popular among our aristocrats. The original copy and the German and French publications and the Hungarian version of his work translated by Ádám Székely from French in 1771 were also present in the collections. In the same way, Fénelon's work on education could also be found in French and German in these libraries. Francke's books, Salzmann's works and several of Campe's and Trapp's works could also be found in the private libraries of the Hungarian aristocrats. These libraries were open for the family's friends, and for some writers and scientists. In one of the important private libraries, in the collection the one of József Teleki's of Marosvásárhely, Basedow's "Elementarwerk" could also be found.

The fact that our aristocrats not only read the pedagogical books of the European Enlightenment but also used the ideas which appeared in them, is proven by facts. Some of them eg. György Festetics, László Teleki, Pál Ráday had their children educated in following these ideas. The education plans, were prepared by the fathers for the tutors of their children remained in manuscripts.⁴

The most modern pedagogical ideas were also widely spread by the school libraries of the period. The libraries of Pozsony, Sárospatak, Debrecen, Pápa and other school-libraries also contained foreign contemporary pedagogical works in great majority.

Besides the aristocrats' libraries and the collections of pedagogical institutes, some intellectuals of that time – writers, teachers – also possessed a lot of pedagogical books. All these libraries and collections show evidence of the fact that the foreign works carrying the pedagogical ideas of the Enlightenment were present and spread in Hungary in spite of the very strict conditions of censorship.

The effects of pedagogical ideas of the English and French Enlightenment appeared less than the German ideas which had a stronger influence. This is not surprising. Our geopolitical situation and historical past can explain the more influential presence of Austrian and German cultural effects. The works of the

⁴ Katalin Fehér, "Teleki László nevelésügyi munkásságához," (László Teleki's Pedagogical Works) *Magyar Könyvszemle* (1985): 62–67; Katalin Fehér, "A felvilágosodás pedagógiai eszméi és a főúri magánnevelés," (The Pedagodical Ideas of the Enlightenment and the Private Education of the Aristocrats) *Iskolakultúra* (1996): 85–93, Katalin Fehér, "Ráday Pál ismeretlen kéziratos utasítása fia nevelőjének," (Pál Ráday's Unknown Instruction to His Son's Tutor) *Magyar Könyvszemle* (1997): 220–225.

philosophers of the European Enlightenment were present in their original language and in German translations in the Hungarian collections. It is also worth examining what the authors of that time considered to be worth translating into Hungarian.

Locke's work, "Some Thoughts Concerning Education", was translated by count Ádám Székely into Hungarian in 1771 not from the original work but from Coste's French translation. The reform of Felbiger influenced the teaching method of Hungarian Catholic schools. There were press debates on the "method of norms" that was introduced in Hungary.⁵

Due to the fact that during the Enlightenment Hungarian protestant students attended German universities, it was natural that the greatest attention was paid to the pedagogical works of the writers of the German Enlightenment. The German philantropism was especially popular. Gergely Berzeviczy visited Basedow's Philantropium in 1786 and he wrote about it in his diary and correspondence with much respect. There were not any educational institutes similar to philantropiums founded in Hungary. However, it is known that János Herepei educated the senior Károly Szász (who later became the famous teacher of the Reformed College of Nagyenyed) on the basis of Basedow's theories at the early years of 19th century. Other German philantropist effects can also be proven. A lot of Hungarians visited Salzmann's institute founded in Schnepfenthal in 1784. (Between 1786 and 1849 366 Hungarians visited the institute.) Simon Igaz translated Salzmann's work, "Wise Sebastian" in 1797, then some years later, the Moral Book for Starters was published in the translation of Mihály Berzsi in Pozsony in 1803. Gábor Eöri Fülöp published Salzmann's work, "Heaven on this Earth" in Hungarian in Kassa in 1806. The Crab book and the Ant book were also translated several times. There were several people in Hungary who subscribed to the works of Salzmann and his colleagues. For example, Sámuel Tessedik ordered Salzmann's "Christliche Hauspostille" a collection of speeches, published in 1792-94, in 32 copies, and two renowned teachers and scientists of Northern Hungary, Károly György Rumi and Keresztély Genersich, subscribed to Gutsmuts's "Gymnastica".

The famous German philantropist Campe's works were even more popular in Hungary. His book entitled "Book on morals" was first translated by Ferenc Kovács but the translation was not published. The work was first published in Ferenc Földi's Hungarian translation in Komárom in 1789. It was published again in Nagyszombat in 1790 then also in Nagyszeben in 1794. Campe's "Psychology"

⁵ Katalin Fehér, "Neveléselméleti kérdések felvilágosodás- és reformkori folyóiratainkban," (The Questions of Educational Theory in the Periodicals in the Age of Enlightenment and in the Reformed Age) *Magyar Könyvszemle* (1985): 233–241.

⁶ Ödön Szelényi, "Schnepfenthal és Magyarország," (Schnepfenthal and Hungary) Magyar Paedagógia (1929): 179–191.

⁷ Ferenc Kováts: Erköltsi oktatások (Moral Teachings) 1780. Autogr. 158 f. MTAK Ms. 21.

was translated by several people. First Péter Bárány's translation (1791), then Sándor Nagy's translation (1794) appeared. Sámuel Andrád translated Campe's "Father's advice to my daughter" into Hungarian four years after the original publication in 1789, but – we do not for what reason – the translation is in manuscript. A lot of Campe's works written for the young were also translated many times into Hungarian.

The Hungarian authors often wrote their works on educational theory in German and in Latin. German was widely spoken all over Hungary, and in our country Latin was the language of education and science at that time. First Gergely Fábri must be mentioned who worked as a headmaster in the College of Eperjes. In this book titled Considerationes rei scholasticae ad publicum juventutis patriae emolumentum in meliusvertendae. (Viennae 1773.) we can feel the influence of Gessner, Ernesti and Rollin. János Genersich a teacher at Késmárk, also studied the pedagogical ideas of the Enlightenment in German universities.9 His main work, "Beitrage zur Schulpädagogik" 10 that was published in Vienna in 1792, shows the ideas of Trapp, Gedike and Abbt. In 1795 the Hungarian Jakab Glatz, a teacher in Salzmann's institute in Schnepfenthal published his work written in the spirit of philantropism "Ein Wort über Erziehung" in Pozsony. 11 He expressed theories, which were similar to his masters' ideas. János Kriebel, the evangelic priest of Kislomnic, also published his theoretical pedagogic work in German. (Ansichten des jetzigen Erziehung der Jugend nebst Vorschlägen solche zu verbessern von einem Ungenannten. Leutschau, 1809.) He followed the ideas of

^{*} Manuscript. MTAK RUI 4–r. 63. Samuel Andrad started translating this work in 1793, notified the 13th December, 1793 issue of the paper Hungarian Mercurius. "I started translating the Advice of Campe to his Daughter – Vätterlicher Rath für meine Tochter – into Hungarian. I announce this so that if there has been no translation to it so far, nobody should start working on it from now on, but if someone has already done it, he or she should let me know about it, so that I could work on another translation for our Nation to benefit from." Magyar Mercurius 13 December, 1739, 1039.

⁹ Genersich was born on 15 August, 1761 in Késmark. He started his studies in his home town, then he continued them in Debrecen and later in the famous Lutheran Lyceum of Pozsony. He attended the university of Jena from 1782 to 1785. Here he studied philosophy and theology. After returning home he worked as a private teacher for two years. In 1788, he became a teacher of the Lutheran Lyceum of Kesmark. He worked there for thirty years, teaching pedagogy among other subjects. The manuscript of his pedagogical lectures in Latin (*Ars Pedagogica*, 1812.) could be found in the library of the Lutheran Lyceum in Kesmark before World War I. The manuscript, unfortunately, can not be found already. From 1821 he was teaching ecclesiastical history and canon law at the Protestant Theological Institute of Wien for four years, up to his death on 18 May, 1825. Genersich wrote a lot of – at that time very popular – textbooks and readers for young children in German.

¹⁰ Katalin Fehér, "Genersich János német nyelvű pedgógiai műve 1792-ből," (János Genersich's Pedagpgical Work in German from 1792) *Magyar Könyszeme* (1994): 339–341.

¹¹ Ödön Szelényi, "Schnepfenthal és Magyarország," (Schnepfenthal and Hungary) Magyar Paedagógia (1929): 179–191.

Pestalozzi but the thoughts of the German philantropists, mainly those of Campe are also reflected in this work.

János Szeberényi, the later evangelic superintendent, published his pedagogical work written for young teachers in Latin in Pozsony in 1810. (De praccipuis capitibus primae educationis per paedagogos horumque munera. Posonii. 1810.) He gives valuable advice to private educators and public school teachers dealing with 6-10-year-old children. His advices were based on the basis of Campe, Salzmann, Niemeyer and Pestalozzi's ideas. Niemeyer was also popular in Hungary. His wellknown work, the "Grundsätze der Erziehung und des Unterrichts für Eltern und Schulmänner" published in Halle in 1796, also made great influence in Hungary. József Ürményi, an importnat educational politician of the age already offered the work to Hungarian educators in 1812. Its translation by János Ángyán was published in two volumes in Pest. 12 Georg Fridrich Sailer's book on methodology in public schools, which also contains theoretical pedagogical arguments, was adapted into Hungarian. Its title was School leader, and was written by an evangelic dean, József Szakonyi, who studied in Jena. Zolikofer's "Moralische Erziehung" was translated by Sándor József into Hungarian in 1796. Pestalozzi's influence in Hungary must be separately mentioned. Pestalozzi's work "How Gertrude teaches her children", was available in Pest in 1801. And the new publication of "Lenard and Gertrude" had 30 subscribers in Pest at the end of the years of 1810's. Pestalozzi, "the educator of the poor" became first known among the aristocrats in Hungary. In 1808 Teréz Brunszvik and her sister, Jozefin visited Pestalozzi's institute. Later Miklós Vay sent János Váradi Szabó - the will-be tutor of his sons - to Yverdon in 1810-11. In 1817 Váradi Szabó's work On the improvement of the situation of elementary schools in Hungary written in Pestalozzi's spirit was published. In 1817, Pestalozzi's colleague, Egger worked as a gymnastic teacher at the Vay family, moreover, Váradi Szabó and Egger participated in the reorganisation of the evangelic school in Pest. They wished to apply Pestalozzi's method in that school. The first press debate took place in Hungary in 1816-17, just in connection with Pestalozzi's educational principles.

The scientists dealing with the history of education have not paid enough attention to the role of press. In Hungary during the age of the Enlightenment the books were mainly influenced by the ideas of the earlier ages, the newspapers and periodicals followed the more modern ideas.

The Hungarian press was born in the last decades of the eighteenth century. It covered pedagogical topics from the beginning. Many articles on education can be found both in our first newspapers and our oldest periodicals. But from the

¹² Leopold Chimani, *Nevelés és tanitástudomány I-II*. (The Science of Education) ford. Ángyán János. (Pest: Trattner, 1822-1833)

second period of the age of Hungarian Enlightenment, even scientific pedagogical studies appeared in our periodicals.¹³

Magyar Hírmondó (Hungarian Chronicle) the first newspaper in Hungarian, founded by Mátyás Rát in Pozsony in 1780, often dealt with cultural and within this, educational questions. It gave information on books of "public utility". The readers informed the editor of Magyar Hírmondó on pedagogical works, being prepared, and he informed the readers of the newspaper on them before their publication. The other Hungarian newspapers of that period, such as Magyar Kurír (Hungarian Courier), Magyar Merkurius (Hungarian Mercurius), Erdélyi Magyar Hír-Vivő (Hungarian Chronicle of Transylvania) and Hazai és Külföldi Tudósítások (Home and Foreign Reports) also published summaries on foreign pedagogical works and their Hungarian translations.

The Mindenes Gyűjtemény (Miscellaneous Collection) published in Komárom between 1789 and 1794 also dealt with problems of education more often. ¹⁴ The editor tried to inform continuously his readers on the latest pedagogical results and he considered it to be important to write about books on educational topics.

Erdélyi Muzéum (Museum of Transylvania) was published from 1814 until 1818. The editor Gábor Döbrentei, and the circle around the periodical were devoted supporters of the enlightened ideas. The periodical regularly covered the theoretical questions of education, it did a lot for the nation's educational matters during its four years existence. The staff saw very good opportunities in promoting civil ideas and principles in the education of the young generation.

Tudományos Gyűjtemény (Scientific Collection) (1817–1841) our first scientific periodical was founded in Pest. It issued several educational publications.¹⁵

Felső Magyar Országi Minerva (Minerva of North Hungary) was founded in Kassa. This also published studies on the theory of education. Although this newspaper rather represented conservative tendencies, it also published several articles containing modern ideas.

In the period of Enlightenment most of the nation's intellectuals were clergymen. The young people, who had been educated at foreign universities got acquinted with the ideas of Enlightenment. After taking their position as clergymen, could make use of their acquired knowledge only within the framework of their

¹³ These publications of the Enlightenment are a tremendous unexploited source of material, the exploration and treatment of which seems to be of vital importance not only for the researches of the Hungarian history of education but also for the thorough investigations of the characteristics and contents of our literature of periodicals.

¹⁴ Katalin Fehér, "A Mindenes Gyűjtemény és a felvilágosodás kori pedagógia kérdései" *Magyar Könyvszemle* (1990): 134–137.

¹⁵ Katalin Fehér, "Neveléselméleti kérdések felvilágosodás- és reformkori folyóiratainkban," (The Questions of Educational Theory in the Periodicals in the Age of Enlightenment and in the Reformed Age) *Magyar Könyvszemle* (1985): 233–241.

profession. The sermon received special importance at the end of the eighteenth century. It became the basis of spreading the new, enlightened ideas. All the ideological and scientific information could be expressed here which the writer (the priest) wanted to transfer to the public (the congregation). The sermons of the eighteenth century can be devided into two big groups: usual Sunday or holiday speeches and funeral orations. The latest were mainly spoken at the burials of notable personalities, when the priest proclaimed the gospels of consolation almost in the form of a scientific discourse in front of the public who gathered from several places.... Some collections of sermons are almost the thesauruses of the knowledge of the period.

During the period of the blossoming of the national professional pedagogical literature, in the last decades of the eighteenth century, some of the priests recognised that the believers had to be convinced about the necessity of good education. Due to the fact that a lot of believers never read any books, the priests, who had been educated at foreign universities and had acquired a great amount of knowledge, thought it was very important to also advertise the ideas of the Enlightenment from the pulpit. At the end of the eighteenth century and at the start of the nineteenth century a lot of church speeches were held on the ideas of education. Especially at the start and at the end of the school year the church representatives tried to inform the people on the importance of children's education and other educational questions. But they often spoke about their ideas on various pedagogical questions at funerals as well. In a lot of cases these sermons were printed so they serve valuable supplements for research on the Hungarian history of education.

The Hungarian research on the history of education has always paid little attention to examine the questions hidden in sermons, ¹⁶ though, the huge manuscript and printed resource material is valuable from pedagogical point of view.

The authors of sermons dealt with a lot of important questions, which played an outstanding role among the pedagogical ideas of the Enlightenment. The speeches emphasise that children must be provided with useful knowledge in the schools and they must be educated to be useful citizens of the state. The authors say that the education of girls is also important, so the opportunities of acquiring modern education must also be ensured for them. Sermons, because of the enlightened ideas contributed to the development of the Hungarian pedagogical thinking.

In our reformed colleges some subjects were taught in Hungarian from the first years of the eighteenth century. As it was an old college custom, the teachers provided their students with the texts of their lectures, which they copied for

Katalin Fehér, "Nevelési tárgyú egyházi beszédek a 18. század végén," (Sermons on Education at the End of the 18th Century) Magyar Könyvszemle (1993): 337–339.

themselves. We can have information on the subject of a lot of lectures from the manuscript copies written by the students.

In the Reformed College of Sárospatak a new curriculum was introduced in 1796. The most important advantage of this was that they started to teach most of the subjects in Hungarian.

There is a manuscript from these years and which contains the pedagogical lectures of István Rátz. It serves interesting data on the material of teaching pedagogy The senior students of Sárospatak could hear about the importance of pedagogy, the principles of physical, intellectual and moral education, on the methodology of the teaching of various subjects and also of the personal characteristics of good teachers.

As in Sárospatak, there were also pedagogical lectures in Hungarian in the reformed college of Pápa. The text of a manuscript copied by students was found not long ago in a private collection. It contains the pedagogical lectures of István Márton, the famous professor of the college from 1800.¹⁷ The work shows the influence of the German philantropists - Campe, Salzmann, Trapp and others. In the first part, ("Elementology") we can read about the notion, aim, importance and fields of pedagogy.

From the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the education of young teachers going to regional schools were helped by pedagogical lectures in Debrecen. In 1817 a decision was made that it was necessary to organise a department for pedagogy. In 1825 József Zákány got the first pedagogical chair in Debrecen. He was the pedagogy professor for 26 years, until 1851. He gave lectures on pedagogy to students four times a week. He spoke about the general basis of pedagogy, about educational theory, general methodological principles and in the second year the professional methodology of teaching various subjects. A first-year student of the college recorded the pedagogical lectures of József Zákány. The manuscript is especially interesting because a pedagogical system is outlined on its pages. The influence of Christian Wolff 's psychology, Kant's philosophy Niemeyer's pedagogy, can be recognised, but on the whole, it is an individual pegagogical system in Hungarian.

Besides the mentioned manuscripts, there are a lot of interesting pedagogical materials in Hungarian libraries, which have not been studied yet. Investigating and publishing them are the tasks of the future.

The first works on natural science, philosophy, history, medical science were published in Hungarian in the last decades of the 18th century. The first pedagogi-

¹⁷ István Mészáros, szerk., *Márton István kéziratos pedagógia-könyve 1800-ból.* (Veszprém: Megyei Pedagógiai Intézet, 1987) The title of the manuscript: *A Paedagógia vagy Gyermekneveléstudománynak legelső része.* (Pedagogy or the First Part of the Science of Education)

¹⁸ József Zákány, *Neveléstudomány (The Science of Education)* Kézirat. (Manuscript) Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerület Nagykönyvtára, Kézirattár. (R. 424. 1827.188 f.)

cal works were written in Latin and in German and at the same time important, original works were published in Hungarian.

In 1776 "János Molnár's fifteen letters to Sándor Petrovszky" was published. ¹⁹ We consider this work to be the first Hungarian pedagogical book written by a Hungarian author. After the translations it was the first work, that organised the ideas on children's education into a system. Although he did not create new, individual educational principles, and did not elaborate an especially Hungarian educational theory, he listed the modern educational principles selected from the latest foreign pedagogical literature of the period and he confined the reader to choose one of them to be followed. In the letters Molnár covers the education principles of various people who lived in earlier centuries one after the other. In his work he speaks about the aim, different areas and methods of education. Molnár thinks that the aim of education is happiness. A person can only be happy if he/she receives the appropriate education. The author believes people can be educated and he confesses that children's education is one of the basic tasks of the state and is the basic obligation of parents.

He considers moral education to be the most important, and he believes that the most important role is played by intelligence and practising by living example. He also believes that the teacher is an example to be followed for the children. When speaking about spiritual education he says that the basic elements of writing, reading and calculation must be learnt by each child. The elements of basic knowledge must be taught in mother tongue. He recognises that it is not enough to provide the young with Greek-Latin culture in his age. He underlines, that the teaching of natural sciences, geography, physics, mathematics and learning modern languages is also indispensable. He declares that music and drawing must also be taught in schools. Physical education is also an important part of children's education. Molnár follows Locke's and Rousseau's views when he underlines that children need much movement in the open air, both in winter and in summer. He urges on comfortable clothes, moderation in eating and drinking. He offers fencing and riding to boys. He believes that teaching and education are planned processes. It is the educator's task to choose the appropriate method. By the best method the educator should provide assistance in achieving the final aim at the point in question of the teaching process.

He disapproves the teaching methods of that time - which put the main emphasise on memory. He states how thinking and making others think is important. He recognises the importance of illustration and repetition in teaching. Conversation, as a method, has also a place in his system. It is the teacher's task to carefully choose the books to be read by the child.

¹⁹ János Molnár, *Petrovszky Sándor urhoz Molnár Jánosnak tizen-öt levelei midon őtet a jó nevelésről való írásra ösztönözné* (János Molnár's fifteen letters to Sándor Petrovszky on Education) (Pozsony – Kassa: Landerer, 1776)

János Molnár covers all the essential questions of education and teaching in his pedagogical work written in letter-form. He also provides a historical overview when he describes the educational systems of the European countries of that time and providing some supplements of the Hungarian system. Another virtue of the book is that there are a lot of references to contemporary foreign (mainly German, French, English) authors' works on pedagogical subject. But the main importance of the work is that it was written in Hungarian.

The first pedagogical handbooks were published in the last years of the 18th century, which already transferred the pedagogical ideas of the Enlightenment. And in the first decades of the 19th century pedagogical schoolbooks also appeared – which urged on reforming Hungarian education, in the spirit of the Enlightenment.

In 1797 Mihály Tóth Pápai, a teacher of Sárospatak, published his book which we consider to be the first pedagogycal schoolbook in Hungarian.²⁰ The author wrote his work to the students who had to learn "Paedagogica" as a compulsory subject. This printed work, summarising such knowledge, was mainly necessary for teachers, but also it was also useful for the students who became clergymen.

The schoolbook entitled: "Guidance on Educating Children" was published in Kassa in 1797.²¹ It is important because it discusses the theory and practice of the methodology of education and teaching in an organisational synthesis. The author distributes the material of his work into the following chapters:: On the teacher; On the methods of teaching in general; On the methods of teaching in particular; On the laws of school; On rest and recreation.

The golden age of the reformed college of Máramarossziget was in the years between 1784 and 1818. Hari Péter, the outstanding person of Transylvanian education worked here, during this period. Little has been written on his life and works.²² But from his letters guarded in several archives, we can receive information on some areas of his activities, though, in fragments.

It was due to Hari that the construction of the new building of the college of Máramarossziget started in 1802 and the fact, that Hari introduced a new curriculum in the same year can be considered symbolic. He reorganised the order of the teaching from the point of view of contents and methodology and he placed education on a new base. He placed the new ideas into the framework of a new system and published them in Kolozsvár in 1802. In the same way as in Sárospatak, the senior students –will-be teachers - learnt the theoretical pedagogical knowledge from Tóth Pápai's book, in the college of Máramarossziget they learnt it from Hari's book.

²⁰ About the work: Erzsébet Szabóné Fehér, "Az első hazai pedagógia tankönyv," (The First Hungarian Pedagogycal Schoolbook) *Magyar Pedagógia* (1981): 63–78.

²¹ Mihály Tóth Pápai, Gyermek nevelésre vezető útmutatás (Kassa: Ellinger, 1797)

²² About Peter Hari: Áron Kiss, "Bethleni Hari Péter nevelési elvei," (The Educational Principles of Peter Hari Bethleni) Magyar Paedagógiai Szemle (1881): 113–116.

The principles of the theory of education and teaching worded in the work provided modern knowledge to the students. During his long career, a lot of teachers were educated by Péter Hari who went to teach in the village-schools of Transylvania armoured with the ideas of the Enlightenment.

In the first decades of the years of 1800's Pestalozzi's ideas were already known in Hungary. Several Hungarians, like also János Váradi Szabó,²³ visited Pestalozzi's institute in Yverdon which had already became known all over Europe by that time. His work entitled: "Improving Elementary Schools, and How They should be Connected to Professional (industrial) Schools", was published in 1817.24 The work consists of three parts. The author first speaks about the aim of educating poor people. He also covers the theoretical questions of physical, intellectual and moral education. In the spirit of Pestalozzi he discusses the principles of educating for work. In the last chapter he writes about the good teacher. Váradi Szabó is among the first ones in Hungary who wishes to teach physical education and drawing regularly in schools. His statement that children should also work at school besides learning, they should learn breeding silkworms, making baskets, carving wood and weaving nets is exceptionally essential. They could make money of the goods produced in this way and this ensure the operating costs of the school. His ideas on "industrial" schools were very modern and advanced in that period. Unfortunately, these distinguished ideas have found no followers in Hungary.

At the dawn of the reform age, in the middle of the years of 1820's János Szilasy,²⁵ the teacher of the theological seminar of Szombathely wrote a pedagogical summary similar to German examples. Szilasy's work was a great step in the development of Hungarian educationak theory. Locke, Rousseau and Kant's ideas

²³ Katalin Fehér, "Váradi Szabó János pedagógiai műve 1817-ből és korabeli visszhangja," (János Váradi Szabó's Pedagogical Work, and its Contemporary Response) Magyar Könyvszemle (1993): 103–106. Janos Varadi Szabo first studied in Sarospatak, later, from 1807, as a a future tutor of the sons of General Miklos Varadi, in Heidelberg (where he attended the pedagogical lectures of Schwarz). In 1810 he went to Yverdon to make himself familiar with the new pedagogical method, which aroused the interest of whole Europe, by the side of Pestalozzi. He said farewell to Pestalozzi in May, 1811, to take his new position of tutoring besides the blind Vay boys in Lower-Zsolcza. He designed most of the curricula of the different subjects, following the system of Pestalozzi devotedly. He managed to win Wilhelm Egger who arrived to Hungary in 1812 and who had been an assistant teacher in Pestalozzi's institution over to the teaching of the arts and physical education. Egger taught writing, drawing, singing, the foundations of musical theory and physical exercises. The other subjects were taught by Janos Varadi Szabo who maintained his relationship with Pestalozzi and his colleagues by corresponding.

²⁴ János Váradi Szabó, *A Hazabéli kisebb oskoláknak jobb lábra állításokról* (Preparing of the Elementary Schools in Hungary) (Pest: Trattner, 1817)

²⁵ István Mészáros analyses and assesses the work of János Szilasy in details: István Mészáros, "A neveléstudomány rendszere az első magyar neveléselméletben," in *Vizsgálatok a nevelés és oktatás korszerűsítésével kapcsolatban*, szerk. Sándor Nagy, (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1977), 147–169.

are combined in it. The ideas of neo-humanism and philantropism can be felt, the results and some elements of contemporary German authors' (e.g. Niemeyer, Milde) pedagogical summaries appear in it. However, Szilasy combined all these at a high level. His system is partly an adaptation, and partly an individual work. The language of the work is clear, exact and professional, the successful presentation of the professional jargon of pedagogy. Szilasy's work serves as the source and pattern for the authors of teaching handbooks, the pedagogical lecturers of teacher training schools which appeared after 1828 and also the authors of pedagogical summaries could also find resources in it in the following decades, in the reform age.

As a summary it can be stated that in the period of Enlightenment the development of professional pedagogical literature started in Hungary on the basis of German patterns and it continued in the years of 1820's and 1840's supplemented by especially national elements.

FEHÉR KATALIN