

**Review article**  
**UDK 373.3(497.5=511.141)**  
**811.511.141(497.5)(091)**

**Arijana Kolak Bošnjak (Croatia)**  
Croatian Institute of History  
Zagreb  
[akolak@isp.hr](mailto:akolak@isp.hr)

**ATTEMPTS TO INTRODUCE THE HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE IN  
CROATIAN SCHOOLS  
IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

**Abstract**

In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the national conflict between Croats and Hungarians manifested itself most prominently in the language issue, particularly in the matter of introducing Hungarian as the official language in the whole territory of Hungary, including Civil Croatia. This paper will depict Hungarian attempts to introduce the Hungarian language in Croatian schools, based on an analysis of conclusions of the Croatian Diet, various reports and other documents of this period. Hungarians were partially successful in their attempt. In 1833, Hungarian became a compulsory school subject in Croatian schools, but Hungarians did not manage to introduce it as the language of instruction, which gave rise to disputes in the 1840s. In spite of all Hungarian efforts, the attempt to spread Hungarian through schools in Civil Croatia remained futile.

**Keywords:** Hungarian language, Croatian schools, first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

## **Introduction**

The language issue marked two important periods of the Hungarian history, the Enlightenment (1772-1825) and the period of reforms (1830-1848). In the former, the role of the national language gained importance as part of Enlightenment ideas, primarily the idea of an individual's and a people's progress based on education in the national language. Following the death of the ruler Joseph II and under the influence of the French Revolution (1789), these ideas were associated with the feeling of patriotism and the idea of creating a state-building, political nation within the framework of a single state. This idea was first revealed in the resistance to the ruler's centralist and absolutist attempts in the territory of the entire Monarchy (Šokčević, 2006: 29). In Hungarian national ideology, the language issue, the issue of elevating the Hungarian language as "the mother tongue of the Kingdom" to the level of official language in the territory of Lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen was gaining political importance. The movement of neologists, who modernised and updated the Hungarian language, facilitated the establishment of the Hungarian language as the most important element of national identity. They waged a battle for the Hungarian language by turning their broader "Hungarian" patriotism into a narrower Hungarian nationalism. Therefore, Hungarian was no longer important just as a language of communication, but became part of the political and cultural identity, which exerted influence on the emergence of national movements among non-Hungarian peoples in Hungary (Almásy, Šubarić, 2015: 9-10, 16; Margócsy, 2015: 31; Kontler, 2007: 231-232). This was also expressed through the establishment of Hungarian as the language of literature and the appearance of a host of very prominent writers in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century, who created and wrote exclusively in Hungarian (Margócsy, 2015: 33; Kontler, 2007: 232). Demands for social reforms in Hungary were put forward in the Enlightenment period as well and the middle class particularly aspired to them. The middle class, especially its intellectual component, strongly developed at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The middle section of the Hungarian nobility was also open to these demands. The conviction prevailing in these social classes was that the modernisation of Hungarian society in terms of the development of its middle class could be achieved only through further development and nurture of the Hungarian language (Margócsy, 2015: 31; Povijest Mađarske, 1995: 116; Kontler, 2007: 233). The important role of the Hungarian language in social and political changes was even more prominent in the period of reforms. This period saw the rise

and implementation of both national demands, and aspirations for reforming the old social order. In compliance with this, the Hungarian language continued to develop and be promoted through national institutions (e.g. Hungarian Academy of Sciences), the press in the Hungarian language, the theatre etc. The objective was for Hungarian national ideology to attract the broadest possible segments of the population, as well as members of different ethnic groups living in Hungary. An even stronger impetus was given by the Hungarian liberal nobility's idea of the extension of rights of the nobility to commoners. Economic and institutional development was supposed to serve national prosperity, which should have resulted in the acceptance of Hungarian national ideology, and in this framework in the acceptance of the Hungarian language as the official language by the non-Hungarian peoples of Hungary (Povijest Mađarske, 1995: 123; Kontler: 2007: 230, 236, 245; Šokčević, 2006: 29).

The first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the rise of national movements among other peoples in Central Europe and language acquired an important political function in individual national ideologies. Since 1790, Hungarians began to exert pressure on the Croatian Diet to enact into law the study of Hungarian in Croatian schools in Civil Croatia, and then introduce it as the language of instruction. The practice continued throughout the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These Hungarian aspirations were in line with their national ideology aimed at the creation of a single Hungarian state in the area of historical Hungary with one people and one official language – Hungarian (Šokčević, 2006: 28-30). They were met by different responses on the Croatian side, both among the political elite and school youth. The language issue became one of the most significant political issues of this period.

In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, a theory by German philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder on language as an important feature of a nation, more precisely on language as the spirit of the people, played an important role in shaping national ideologies. This theory was universally accepted in the process of forming national ideologies and therefore can be found as an integral part of Hungarian national ideology (cf Hónich, 2015: 43), Slavic ideologies as well as Croatian national ideology. Herder's prophecy about the possible disappearance of the Hungarian language exerted special influence on the development of the Hungarian national idea. On the one hand, the prophecy provoked fear among Hungarians and on the other a firm stand in the fight to preserve the Hungarian language and to create a "national spirit" (Heka, 2014: 518-520; Kontler, 2007: 230). This was first manifested in the language and in persistent efforts to introduce Hungarian as the official

language in the entire territory of Hungary, including Croatia, Slavonia and the Littoral.

As mentioned previously, the Hungarian national ideology aspired for the creation of a unified Hungarian nation state from historical Hungary, with Hungarians as one political nation and Hungarian as one official language. Since, according to Herder, culture and language make up the foundations of genuine human experience, to which each individual and people should aspire if they want to be truly free and achieve self-determination, one of the important conditions for achieving this goal was education of youth in the authentic (national) language (Smith, 2001: 13-14). Therefore, the realisation of the Hungarian national idea required the introduction of Hungarian in all schools in Hungary, first as a compulsory school subject, and then as the language of instruction, i.e. the language in which school subject matter would be taught and by means of which a nationally conscious youth would be educated and created. The proponents of Hungarian national ideology made use of different arguments to justify their intentions: in a state there can be only one official language, because they believed if one wished to successfully administer a state it had to be done in one language, which would enable progress in all areas; and that one language is necessary to awaken the national spirit and enable closer spiritual bonding of different peoples within the Kingdom of Hungary (Fónagy, 2004: 205; Kontler, 2007: 246).

The first proposal for the introduction of Hungarian as the official language in the entire territory of Hungary was put forward at the Diet of Hungary in 1790. Hungarian estates proposed its introduction in all higher schools, namely in gymnasiums, academies and universities in Hungary, including Civil Croatia. This was the Hungarian response to Emperor Joseph II's attempt to introduce German as the official language in the entire Monarchy. Hungarians, influenced by a movement for the improvement of German, were already then working on improving Hungarian, striving to modernise it and make it a suitable language of expression in modern scientific treaties and literature. In the 1770s, individuals appeared, such as György Bessenyei who, under the influence of the movement mentioned and Herder's theory, advocated a broad use of Hungarian and proposed the establishment of a patriotic learned society arguing that each nation should receive education in their native language (Kontler, 2007: 221; Miksolczy, 2015: 72-74). Although in this work, we put emphasis on the influence of Herder on the shaping of Hungarian national ideology, especially his influence in interpreting the importance of the national language in national

ideology, various authors and philosophers exerted influence on the linguistic aspect of Hungarian nationalism, from Goethe to German romanticists like Friedrich Schlegel and Jakob Grimm. Thus, the Hungarian language was gradually revived, and by 1790 when it was linked to the process of shaping Hungarian national ideology, its role in social and political life of the country gained importance. Since 1790, the role of the Hungarian language in national turmoils, primarily the issue of its introduction as the official language of Hungary, became the political issue par excellence.

## **Debate**

At the 1791-1792 Diet session, the Croatian estates did not entirely accept the proposal of the estates of Hungary to introduce Hungarian in Croatian schools. They realised that in the proposal one could discern encroachment on the position of the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia as equal members of the community of Lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen. They wished to retain Latin as their official language, in line with their municipal right to linguistic autonomy. Nevertheless, they agreed to Hungarian being taught as a non-compulsory school subject in Croatian schools therefore those who wished to and who considered it useful could take this subject. It was decided that a Professor of Hungarian be employed at the Zagreb Academy (ZHS, IX: 88). Thereby, using a middle-ground approach, they strove to comply with demands of the Hungarian estates whom they considered to be their comrades in their resistance to the king's rule, who in occasional periods of absolutism strove to reduce the rights and privileges of the nobility. As a result of this decision of the Croatian estates, the Council of Lieutenancy of Hungary, which was also the government of Civil Croatia, ordered in 1792 that at least one teacher in command of Hungarian should be in each major school in Civil Croatia. A year earlier, the Council decided that all teaching candidates should study Hungarian (Cuvaj, 1910: 144-145). Based on these orders, the first Hungarian teachers began arriving in Civil Croatia and the first Hungarian grammars appeared (Dobrović, 2004: 140, 144; Cuvaj, 1910: 145-146). As a consequence of such decision of the Croatian Diet, Hungarians soon became more vocal in demanding that Hungarian be introduced in Croatian schools, first as a compulsory school subject and then as the language of instruction. Hungarians had an increasingly convincing argument for these demands. The Hungarian language was gradually modernised as a result of great efforts

made by members of the neologists' movement, primarily Ferenc Kazinczy (Povijest Mađarske, 1995: 130; Kontler, 2007: 230-232).

The demand to introduce Hungarian as a compulsory subject in Croatian schools was presented by the Hungarian estates as early as at the Diet session in 1805. This demand caused tensions between Croatian and Hungarian estates. Even the Bishop of Zagreb Maksimilijan Vrhovac stated in the Upper House of the Diet of Hungary that Croats will follow the example of Hungarians and introduce "their Illyrian language," their Štokavian dialect in their offices (Šišić, 1975: 391; Cuvaj, 1910: 294). However, Bishop Vrhovac's "threat" was not easily implemented. The linguistic situation in the territory of Civil Croatia was complex. In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the process of standardisation of two languages was underway in this territory: the one based on the Kajkavian dialect and the other on the Štokavian dialect (Stančić, 2005: 267). This made the issue of the national language, and consequently the language in which youth should be taught, complex and difficult. It was necessary to opt for one of the two dialectal bases as the one representing the national language, which could provoke the opposition of speakers of the other dialect. Therefore, it was possible for the Croatian estates, who were subjected to further pressure from the Hungarian side, to state in the Croatian Diet in 1811 that they would make efforts to ensure that their youth learn Hungarian. Thus, they would have able people who could serve in this language in the common state authorities (Cuvaj, 1910: 294). It is evident from this statement that the Croatian estates began to accept the Hungarian idea whereby the state can be successfully governed only in one language.

A new period of absolutism (1815-1825) made the Croatian estates once again very susceptible to attempts at abolishing their rights and privileges. For this reason, they wanted stronger connections with the Hungarian estates in order to be able to resist the ruler more easily. Consequently, they accepted a proposal reappearing at the Hungarian Diet in 1825 for the Hungarian language to become a compulsory subject in Croatian schools and stated once again "that they would do everything in their power for Croatian youth to learn Hungarian". At the Croatian Diet session of 1827, a conclusion (Art. 5) was adopted that Croatian youth in all schools must study Hungarian as a compulsory subject (Šišić, 1975: 401; ZHS, XI: 59-60). The conclusion was then supported by three Croatian Counties: Varaždin, Križevci and Zagreb. Immediately before the session of the next Diet in 1830, the three Counties also adopted a conclusion demanding that a law on the compulsory study of the Hungarian language in Croatian schools be

adopted at the Pressburg session of the Diet. The Zagreb County instructed its deputies to advocate that an elementary school teacher mastering Hungarian should begin to teach children to read Hungarian right away; that all teaching candidates should master Hungarian; and that everyone wishing to attend gymnasium must be able to read Hungarian well. Furthermore, they were instructed that the Hungarian language should be a compulsory subject in gymnasiums; to this end, teachers were to be ensured and remunerated either from the foundation for science or by the students themselves, who would pay four forints tuition to this end. For students to learn the Hungarian language, it was proposed that it should be taught every day. The deputies were also instructed that no teacher could be employed if he did not know Hungarian well enough to be able to teach that subject. Finally, they were supposed to advocate the teaching of Hungarian in higher classes as well (Cuvaj, 1910: 297). In relation to this, Croatian deputies were instructed as follows in 1830: “The estates and orders see the need for the spread of the Hungarian language in these Kingdoms, because they want Croatia and Slavonia to link themselves as strongly as possible with the Kingdom of Hungary. Therefore, they instruct the deputies to see to it that the issue of study of the Hungarian language in schools as a compulsory subject in these Kingdoms be regulated by law” (Šišić, 1975: 402; cf also ZHS, XI: 95).

At the Croatian Diet session in 1832, the deputies of Srijem and Virovitica Counties proposed that Hungarian be taught at trivial schools (*Trivialschulen*) and that its study be based on Latin (ZHS, XI: 164-165). The Srijem and Virovitica County deputies’ proposal was not accepted. Nevertheless, the Hungarian language was introduced in all gymnasiums in Croatia on 1 October 1833 as “ordinarium studium” for all students without exception, based on an order of King Francis I dated 11 April 1833. The order was proclaimed by the Council of Lieutenancy of Hungary on its behalf on 18 June 1833 (Šišić, 1975: 402). Thereby, the Hungarian national ideology gradually penetrated the territory of Civil Croatia.

However, despite all legislative provisions and the awarding of scholarships and rewards, which were intended to entice students to study Hungarian, it seems that Hungarian was not overly popular among students (Cuvaj, 1910: 296, 329; Šidak, 1918: 175). The number of students attending Hungarian classes at the Zagreb Gymnasium did not exceed 30% in the period between 1792 and 1833. There were years when no student chose it, especially in the initial period following its introduction as an elective subject (cf Dobronić, 2004). Nevertheless, it should be stated that the number of students choosing Hungarian as an elective subject increased in the period

stated. This should be attributed on the one hand to an increase in the number of students in general, and on the other to their practical thinking because there was a strong likelihood of the introduction of Hungarian as the official language in the entire territory of Hungary and this implied that everyone wishing to be employed in the public or civil service had to know Hungarian. In order to motivate students to study Hungarian, the best students in the subject began to get awards in the school year 1825-1826 (Cuvaj, 1910: 337). However, Hungarian was soon declared a compulsory school subject therefore no concrete conclusions can be made about the success of this initiative.

Supporting Hungarian as an elective and then a compulsory subject in Croatian schools, the Croatian estates primarily strove to ensure good relations with Hungarian estates. They did not support the introduction of Hungarian as the official language in Civil Croatia, because they considered that this would violate the equality of both Kingdoms in their community, and jeopardise Croatia's municipal right to linguistic autonomy. They made clear that they did not want to accept Hungarian national ideology as their own, but nevertheless did not see any threat from the study of Hungarian in Croatian schools. Indeed, they agreed to it as a compromise solution in order to preserve good political relations with the Hungarian estates in the future. In addition, their consent to the introduction of Hungarian in Croatian schools was a result of changing relations among political forces in the Monarchy. The Croatian estates made both decisions after periods of the ruler's absolutism, during which the court strove to reduce the powers of the Hungarian nobility. In the political triangle of the period, the Croatian nobility was the weakest link and therefore relied on Hungarian nobility to protect their position. As a concession for this protection, they first agreed to introduce Hungarian as an elective, then as a compulsory school subject. From the 1830s, Hungarian nationalism was more and more aggressive towards Civil Croatia. This was evident in a demand that Hungarians put forward at the following Diet session (1832-1836) in 1835. They demanded that the Hungarian language be introduced as the language of instruction in Croatian schools, starting from the fifth class in gymnasiums, and additionally that in ten years it should be learnt by everyone wishing to join the public service. This deepened the conflict between Croatian and Hungarian estates. As a result, at the joint Diet Croatian deputies resisted the proposal arguing that Latin should remain the official language and justifying their position that it was not a fight for a dead Latin language, but a fight for their municipal rights whereby they were entitled to choose their own official



language (Šišić, 1975: 408; Šokčević, 2006: 30-32; Heka, 2014: 522). Although the ruler did not sanction the Hungarian demand, discontent with the Hungarian linguistic policy grew in Civil Croatia, both in the Croatian Diet, in County Assemblies, in private meetings and public places. Youth was especially dissatisfied with the attempts to implement Hungarian linguistic policy in Croatian schools. The youth was slowly accepting Illyrian ideas and was ever more often ready to rebel (Miskolczy, 1927: 555-556). At the 1832 Croatian Diet, Count Franjo Vojkffy paid special attention to the language issue and delivered a speech. In his speech, he cautioned that the introduction of Hungarian as the official language in the entire territory of Hungary was unjust and illegal. He also commented on the issue of studying Hungarian in Croatian schools noting that: “ (...) if years-long study is not enough to learn French, Italian and English (that are related to Latin, which is close to all), how much more difficult will it be for every foreigner to study Hungarian, which has no similarity whatsoever with any European language, neither in the meaning of words, nor in its grammatical construction” (Sikirić Assouline, 2006: 1010). Despite the failed attempts at introducing Hungarian as the language of instruction in Croatian schools, Hungarians did not yield and after the opening of the Hungarian Diet in 1839-1840, they repeatedly put forward this demand expanding it to the Military Frontier as well (Heka, 2014: 522).

In the meantime, the Croatian National Revival began emerging in Civil Croatia. Its chief promoters were mainly young intellectuals, who worked on creating a single national language, which would serve as a basis for territorial political and national unification of Croatian Lands. In their ideology, they advocated the ideas of developing a single language for all South Slavs, choosing Štokavian as the national language. This provoked the opposition of those who defended their ethnic Croatian identity based on the Kajkavian dialect. As a result, the first political parties in Civil Croatia appeared: the Croatian-Hungarian Party (Horvatsko-vugerska stranka) and the Illyrian (National) Party (Ilirska (Narodna) stranka), with the former advocating stronger ties with Hungary. The conflict between the two Croatian parties as regards the issue of language was not restricted just to the issue of which dialectal basis, Kajkavian or Štokavian, should present the national language, but also the issue of introduction of Hungarian as the official language in Civil Croatia. The Croatian-Hungarian Party agreed to the introduction of Hungarian as the official language in the entire territory of Civil Croatia, but the Illyrians fervently opposed it proposing the national language instead of Hungarian. The result of Illyrian opposition and linguistic

policy was an increasing animosity of the Croatian public towards the Hungarian language (Šokčević, 2006: 55) and the demand to establish a chair for the national language in Croatian schools. On 10 August 1840, the Croatian Diet adopted a petition, which was sent to the ruler, the Zagreb Academy and all the gymnasiums of the Zagreb school district. The petition requested the establishment of a chair in the national (Illyrian) language. This demand, in addition to the main issue, also raised the issue of studying Hungarian in Croatian schools. The Chairman of the School Commission B. Mednyanszky felt that, considering the unique position of Croatia, every coercion in the process of spreading Hungarian had to be avoided. He proposed a gradual study of Hungarian, i.e. that only the fundamentals of Hungarian be taught in higher elementary schools, and that teaching candidates pass an examination in Hungarian after completing their education. In line with his proposal, in gymnasiums Hungarian was to be taught relying on Latin, and one subject in each class was supposed to be taught in Hungarian as well. The objective was to better educate the youth in Hungarian, which would then result in Hungarian being used as the language of instruction at the Academy. According to his proposal, teachers in all the mentioned schools who would all, without exception, have good command of Hungarian would help improve education in Hungarian. The Royal Court Chancellery accepted for the most part the proposal of the Chairman of the School Commission with some amendments, but left the proposal on the introduction of Hungarian as the language of instruction at the Zagreb Academy for further discussion. The proposal on teaching one school subject in Hungarian in each class in gymnasiums was rejected. From the Chancellery's position on the issue of teaching personnel and their command of Hungarian, it can be concluded that teachers and professors in gymnasiums and the Academy, in most cases, did not master Hungarian, because the subject was mainly taught by the same persons. Furthermore, it appears that teaching the youth was not successful either. At the Zagreb Seminary, it was recorded that some teachers did not know Hungarian at all (Miskolczy, 1928: 206-215; Šidak, 1981b: 183). Some of the proposals submitted by the Chairman of the School Commission related to a gradual introduction of Hungarian in Croatian schools were adopted in a new school regulation for elementary schools (*Systema scholarum elementarium*), which was confirmed as late as 1845. Thus, it was determined that the essentials of Hungarian would be taught in higher elementary schools from the third class on (Modrić-Blivajs, 2007: 218; Šidak, 1981a: 195).

However, Hungarian estates strove to introduce Hungarian as the language of instruction in Croatian schools in order to achieve their national ideology goals more easily. At the Hungarian Diet session in 1843, which was not attended by Croatian deputies, Hungarian estates adopted a conclusion concerning the introduction of Hungarian as the only official language and language of instruction in entire Hungary, Croatia with Slavonia and the Littoral. However, they did not obtain the ruler's approval of this conclusion. The ruler confirmed Hungarian only as a compulsory subject in all higher and secondary schools of Civil Croatia (Šišić, 413; Doktorat 118; Heka, 2014: 546). In 1845, the Croatian Diet had to issue a petition on the Hungarian language. This petition referred to a decree of the Council of Lieutenancy of Hungary whereby persons who did not master Hungarian were not allowed to be employed in educational institutions. In its petition, the Croatian Diet naturally opposed the decree (ZHS, XII: 222).

Adherents and members of the Croatian-Hungarian Party continued to advocate the study of Hungarian in Croatian schools. In an instruction to deputies of the Zagreb County, which was under their rule, to the Hungarian Diet in 1847, they expressed loyalty to the Hungarian language and, consequently to Hungarian national ideology. Deputies were supposed to propose that, in view of the poor progress in the study of Hungarian in Croatia, a legal provision be adopted related to the study of Hungarian for two hours daily in all schools and that to this end new Hungarian teachers should be employed and remunerated. It was further proposed that the spiritual youth and boarding-school pupils of diocesan orphanages, of Požega and Zagreb Convicts and of the Zagreb noble Convict be sent as substitutes to similar institutes in Hungary for the purpose of their easier study of Hungarian and that funds for the purpose be ensured (Cipek, Matković, 2006: 124-125). Members of the Croatian-Hungarian Party accepted the Hungarian interpretation whereby the state can successfully be administered in one language only. Since they accepted the Hungarian national name as the name of the state-building nation, it was pure logic that they accepted Hungarian as the official language since this was the language of the state-building nation. They believed that the introduction of Hungarian as the official language would enable easier and faster progress of the country, both Hungary and Croatia, and therefore supported a very active study of Hungarian in Croatian schools. Adherents of the Croatian National Revival opposed Hungarian and promoted Illyrian, with its Štokavian dialect, as the national language. They were much more engaged and more successful in its promotion than their political opponents. They succeeded in that the Croatian Diet in 1847

declared the Croatian (Illyrian) language the official language in Civil Croatia. Furthermore, they expressed their wish that this language be the language of instruction in schools, and a conclusion was adopted that national language and literature be introduced in all gymnasiums (Dobronić, 2004: 231). Therefore, the instruction given to Croatian deputies to the forthcoming Hungarian Diet was as follows: “Deputies to the Diet will by no means allow the introduction of the Hungarian language as the language of instruction in gymnasiums and Academy of these Kingdoms, because it is the wish of the estates and orders that our national language be introduced as the language of instruction in Croatia” (Šišić, 1975: 416). On the other hand, the Hungarian Diet in 1847-1848 adopted a legal basis on the Hungarian language and nationality concluding that Hungarian was the language of education in Hungary, and that Hungarian had to be taught as a compulsory school subject in elementary and secondary schools in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia and the Littoral (Šišić, 1975: 417). The ruler did not sanction either the decision of the Croatian Diet on the introduction of Croatian (Illyrian) as the official language in Civil Croatia, or the mentioned legal basis on the Hungarian language and nationality. However, revolutionary developments increased the importance of the language issue, especially Croatian resistance to the Hungarian language. The association between the Hungarian language and Hungarian national ideology, which then strove to achieve its goals, was understood by the Croatian public as an attempt to achieve Hungarian domination over other peoples in Hungary, including Croats: “(...) Hungarians impose their language – and therewith the seal of their lordship – and our slavery!” (N d-h-s, 13.4.1848, issue no. 34, 133). Therefore, it should not be surprising that after the end of revolutionary movements in the Habsburg Monarchy in the summer of 1849, the Ban’s Council - acting as an interim Croatian government - adopted a decision whereby instead of Hungarian “Czech, Polish and Russian dialects and literature” be introduced as elective subjects at the Academy (Šidak, 1981b: 185). This decision illustrates clearly that the issue of introducing Hungarian in Croatian schools was exclusively a political issue from the beginning to the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. It was associated with the dominating ideas of the time related to building and shaping a nation and achieving its political goals. However, attempts to introduce Hungarian in Croatian schools, and legal regulations pertaining to it were nevertheless, primarily, a direct consequence of the balance of political power in the Monarchy. This refers to the relationship of the court towards Hungary, of Hungary towards Civil Croatia, and political relations within Civil Croatia itself, particularly during the 1840s. As earlier mentioned, in the

late 18<sup>th</sup> and in the second decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this balance of power revealed itself through responses to the monarch's absolutist rule. By introducing absolutism, the Court in Vienna strove to set guidelines for the modernisation of Hungary (during the reign of Joseph II) and diminish the influence of its nobility. However, following the abolition of absolutism, the reputation and power of the Hungarian nobility increased. The Croatian nobility turned to Hungarians in whom they saw a certain protection against imperial absolutism, which resulted in their compliance with Hungarian demands for the introduction of Hungarian in Croatian schools in variable status. The issue of introducing Hungarian in Croatian schools became ever more complex from the period of reforms in Hungary (1830-1848) and the emergence of the Croatian National Revival in Civil Croatia in the mid 1830s. Stronger inroads of Hungarian national ideology provoked strong resistance to the Hungarian language in Civil Croatia, both among the nobility and among the middle class intelligentsia. Shaping their own national ideology, the middle class intelligentsia in Civil Croatia, also joined by a part of the nobility, offered a different linguistic policy that completely declined Hungarian. They came into conflict with that part of the nobility and the well-off middle class that accepted both Hungarian national ideology and Hungarian as the official language. This was evident in different legislative proposals of Croatian political parties in the 1840s pertaining to the language issue in the education system. Exploiting its stable and strong position in this period, the Court in Vienna also strove – first postponing the declaration of Hungarian as the official language, and then rejecting it as the language of instruction beyond the borders of Hungary – to fight against the liberal movement in Hungary, which was the promoter of national tendencies in Hungarian society. Thus, the Court did not sanction the legal provisions adopted by the Hungarian Diet on the introduction of Hungarian as the language of instruction in Croatian Lands, and did not confirm the decision of the Council of Lieutenancy of Hungary related to linguistic policy in schools. It seems that young people's responses to the study of Hungarian as a compulsory school subject, especially from the early 1840s, when Croatian-Hungarian national conflict intensified, were not positive. In an Information Office report sent to Vienna in 1840, it was stated that employed Hungarian teachers served as the youth's laughing stock. The report accused the Supreme Headmaster of Schools in Croatia Antun Kukuljević of proposing the ban of this subject from Croatia and Slavonia (*Nebenländer*) and of being very tolerant towards the youth, who displayed a tendency to excesses if there was any indication that it was a matter of Illyrian nationality (Miskolczy,

1927: 590). Other reports also stated that Hungarian was in disgrace and that all those wishing to study it were mocked by teachers who belonged to the Illyrian Party (Miskolczy, 1927: 594). Illyrians allegedly focused on the youth to win them over for their ideology, and to the same end they won over the Supreme Headmaster of Schools A. Kukuljević with whose approval, and in cooperation with a number of teachers, this was implemented. In addition to A. Kukuljević, Stjepan Moyses, Professor of Philosophy and Greek at the Zagreb Royal Academy, was named the chief culprit for Illyrian propaganda being spread among the school youth. As a censor (1837-1843), he actually assisted the Illyrian Movement and was also co-founder of Matica Ilirska (Miskolczy, 1927: 604, 606-607; <http://enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=42170>). However, teachers of Hungarian descent, who leaned towards the Croatian-Hungarian Party, supported Hungarian as a compulsory subject and most probably also advocated its introduction as the language of instruction, Tivadar Pauler and János Mikusay, were denounced in these reports due to their negative political influence on the school youth (Miskolczy, 1927: 581-582).

As earlier mentioned, revolutionary developments increased Croats' resistance to the Hungarian language. It should not be surprising then that Croatian students took advantage of intricate circumstances in 1848 to express their opinion about the Hungarian language, which they had to study. The press published that in late May 1848 a Hungarian examination should have taken place at the Zagreb Academy, but no student showed up in the hall. Instead, Hungarian books were set on fire in front of the Academy building. "Thus, the examination ended." (N d-h-s, no. 55, 1.6.1848, 222).

## **Conclusion**

The period of the Enlightenment in Hungary (1722-1825) was most marked by the process of forming Hungarian national ideology, which began to evolve after Joseph II's death in 1790. In this ideology, which showed a tendency to create a single Hungarian nation state from historical Hungary, from the Lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen, including Civil Croatia, the Hungarian language gained an exceptionally important place. The language was supposed to be the element shaping the Hungarian political nation, linking not just different social strata of Hungarian society, but also different peoples who lived in Hungary and who would ensure the progress of Hungarian society as a whole. The result of these deliberations was modernisation of Hungarian and efforts to spread its use in state

administration and education. In the period of the Enlightenment, representatives of the Croatian political elite, i.e. Croatian estates, who made the final decision in this issue, tolerated the introduction of Hungarian in Croatian schools as a pledge of preserving good relations with Hungarian estates, in whom they found protection against the ruler's absolutism. They even consented to it becoming a compulsory subject in Croatian schools. In the period of reforms (1830-1848), when Hungarian nationalism put forward more aggressive demands in Civil Croatia, the issue of the Hungarian language in Croatian schools became an element of division between Croats and Hungarians. The emergence of the Croatian National Revival also contributed to this. Due to the Slavic ideas that the Movement advocated, the Movement encouraged part of its opponents to accept Hungarian national ideology. For them, the Hungarian language again became an important element linking the Croatian and Hungarian peoples and enabling their common progress in all areas, as expressed through their demand for its intense study in Croatian schools.

In attempts to introduce the Hungarian language in Croatian schools in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it can clearly be discerned how a cultural element, language, initially tolerated as a pledge for preserving good relations between Croats and Hungarians at a time when national movements gained in importance became the political issue par excellence, which was not only an element in the conflict between Croats and Hungarians, but even of conflicts on Croatia's political stage.

Champions of the Hungarian national idea strove to spread their national ideology, including the idea of language, through education. However, as the used references make clear they were not successful because the "progress" of the Hungarian language and its study were poorly accepted in Croatian schools. Even when Hungarian became a compulsory subject, no positive strides in this direction were recorded.

## **References**

- Almási G., Šubarić L. (2015): Introduction, in: Almási G., Šubarić L. (ed.): *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity. The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, Brill, Leiden; Boston, pp. 1-23
- Cuvaj A. (1910): *Građa za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas*, vol. 2, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Tisak i naklada Kr. Hrv.-Slav.-Dalm. Zem. vlade, Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu, Zagreb

- Dobronić L. (2004): Klasična gimnazija u Zagrebu od 1607. do danas, Školska knjiga, Zagreb
- Fónagy Z. (2004): Paralelnosti i konflikti u eri nacionalnog preporoda, in: Kruhek M. (ed.): Hrvatsko-mađarski odnosi 1102.-1918.: zbornik radova, Hrvatski institut za povijest, Zagreb, pp. 201-208
- Heka L. (2014): Uvođenje mađarskoga jezika u službenu uporabu u Ugarskoj i uloga hrvatskih nuncija na požunskom saboru 1843/44. godine, Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Rijeci, vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 513-554
- Hónich H. (2015): Which Language and Which Nation? Mother Tongue and Political Languages: Insights from a Pamphlet Published in 1790, in: Almási G., Šubarić L. (ed.): Latin at the Crossroads of Identity. The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary, Brill, Leiden; Boston, pp. 35-63
- Kontler L. (2007): Povijest Mađarske. Tisuću godina u Srednjoj Europi, Srednja Europa, Zagreb
- Margócsy I. (2015): When Language Became Ideology: Hungary in the Eighteenth Century, in: Almási G., Šubarić L. (ed.): Latin at the Crossroads of Identity. The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary, Brill, Leiden; Boston, pp. 27-34
- Miskolczy A. (2015): 'Hungarus Consciousness' in the Age of Early Nationalism, in: Almási G., Šubarić L. (ed.): Latin at the Crossroads of Identity. The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary, Brill, Leiden; Boston, pp. 64-94
- Modrić-Blivajs D. (2007): Utjecaj školskog zakonodavstva na razvoj školstva u Banskoj Hrvatskoj od 1774. do 1850. godine, Povijesni prilozi, vol. 32, no. 32, pp. 209-221
- Povijest Mađarske (1995), ed. Péter Hanák, Barbat, Zagreb
- Sikirić Assouline Z. (2006): U obranu hrvatskih municipalnih prava i latinskoga jezika: govori na Hrvatskom saboru 1832. godine, Srednja Europa, Zagreb
- Smith A. D. (2001): Authenticity, in: Athena S. Leoussi (ed.): Encyclopaedia of Nationalism, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick; New Jersey, pp. 13-14
- Stančić N. (2005): Grafija i ideologija: hrvatski narod, hrvatski jezik i hrvatska latinica Ljudevita Gaja 1830. i 1835. godine, Rad HAZU, Razred za društvene znanosti, book 43, pp. 261-287
- Šidak J.(1981): Jedno stoljeće u razvoju školstva u hrvatskim zemljama od 1773. do 1874., in: Kroz pet stoljeća hrvatske povijesti, Školska knjiga, Zagreb, pp. 189-199



Šidak J. (1981): Regia Scientiarum Academia, in: Kroz pet stoljeća hrvatske povijesti, Školska knjiga, Zagreb, pp. 171-188

Šišić F. (1975): Pregled povijesti hrvatskoga naroda, Nakladni zavod Matice Hrvatske, Zagreb

Šokčević D. (2006): Hrvati u očima Mađara, Mađari u očima Hrvata: kako se u pogledu preko Drave mijenjala slika drugoga, Naklada Pavičić, Zagreb

“Moyses, Stjepan” available from:  
<http://enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=42170> (accessed on 13 July 2015)

Cipek T., Matković S. (2006): Programatski dokumenti hrvatskih političkih stranaka 1842.-1914., Disput, Zagreb

Miskolczy Gy. (1927, 1928): A Horvát kérdés története és irományai a rendi állam korában, I.–II. kötet, Budapest, Kiadja a Magyar történelmi társulat

Zaključci Hrvatskog sabora (1974), vol. IX, ed. Ivan Filipović, Metod Hrg, Mate Križman and Vesna Šojat, Arhiv Hrvatske u Zagrebu, Zagreb: ZHS

Zaključci Hrvatskog sabora (1976), vol. XI, ed. Mate Križman and Vesna Šojat, Arhiv Hrvatske u Zagrebu, Zagreb: ZHS

Zaključci Hrvatskog sabora (1980), vol. XII, ed. Josip Barbarić et all, Arhiv Hrvatske u Zagrebu, Zagreb: ZHS

Novine dalmatinsko-hrvatsko-slavonske 1848.: N d-h-s

## Sažetak

### **POKUŠAJI UVOĐENJA MAĐARSKOGA JEZIKA U HRVATSKE ŠKOLE U PRVOJ POLOVICI 19. STOLJEĆA**

Arijana Kolak Bošnjak, Hrvatski institut za povijest

Nacionalni sukob između Hrvata i Mađara u prvoj polovici 19. stoljeća najsnažnije se iskazivao kroz pitanje jezika, posebno kroz pitanje uvođenja mađarskoga jezika kao službenoga za čitav teritorij Ugarske, uključujući i bansku Hrvatsku. Analizom saborskih zaključaka, različitih izvješća i drugih dokumenata iz navedenog razdoblja, a u kontekstu nacionalne problematike tog vremena prikazuje se pokušaj Mađara da u hrvatske škole uvedu mađarski jezik. Mađari su djelomično imali uspjeha u tome, jer je mađarski od 1833. postao obvezatan predmet u hrvatskim školama, ali ga nisu uspjeli uvesti kao nastavni, oko čega su se vodili prijepori tijekom 1840-ih. Unatoč svim naporima Mađara, širenje mađarskog jezika putem školstva u banskoj Hrvatskoj nije imalo uspjeha.

**Ključne riječi:** mađarski jezik, hrvatske škole, prva polovica 19. stoljeća