

# ***Learning Languages among Aristocrats in Hungary (1867-1918)***<sup>1</sup>

**Magdolna Rébay**

e-mail: [rebay.magdolna@arts.unideb.hu](mailto:rebay.magdolna@arts.unideb.hu)  
*University of Debrecen. Hungary*

**Abstract:** In the present study, by means of private letters, memoirs, as well as school registry forms, we focus on aristocratic children's language education: what languages did they study, with whom did they study them, with what methods and for what purpose – whether at home or in school. After 1867, the aristocracy retained its multilingual facility. The daughters of the family typically continued studying at home, guided by foreign governesses and Hungarian home tutors. Besides Hungarian, they usually acquired three languages (French, German, English) to a proficient level, by help of a method that placed the emphasis on speaking. The boys' language studies progressed in a similar way, the difference being that they were more likely to study in public schools – abroad or in Hungary. Within the high society, the two most sought-after foreign institutions were the Theresianum in Vienna and the Jesuit secondary grammar school in Kalksburg. In these, the students had the chance to choose from among several classical and modern languages to study; moreover, however surprising it might seem at first glance, they also placed a great emphasis on nurturing the Hungarian language. Thus, by the time they reached adulthood, the daughters and sons of high nobility became polished speakers and readers of foreign languages, which, besides cultivating their international family relations, also helped them in keeping abreast on world events, as well as in literature and the sciences, not to mention – in the case of the boys – constituting an advantage in their career fields.

**Keywords:** language instruction; language policy; upper class; Hungary; contemporary history.

Received: 14/10/2019

Accepted: 27/02/2020

## **1. Introduction**

In our research, we are studying the goals and contents of Hungarian aristocratic families' education during the time of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy (1867-1918), when the transformation that led to a civil society accelerated. The

---

<sup>1</sup> This work supported the János Bolyai scholarship of the Hungarian Science Academy. The Vienna research was made possible by the Vienna Collegium Hungaricum Scholarship of the Hungarian Scholarship Committee. The study is published with the permission of the Archives of the Austrian Province of the Society of Jesus.

aristocracy tried to «stay on top» («oben bleiben») of the social hierarchy within these new circumstances, (see Conze, 2005, pp. 187-188, Braun, 1990, pp. 87-95). It is an essential question whether this endeavour influenced their culture – and thus, the process of their upbringing and education. Opinions on this issue are divided. According to Funck and Malinowski's statement referring to the German aristocracy, no purpose of acquiring either a higher education or a professional expertise ever appeared as a part of the «Obenbleiben»-strategy (Funck & Malinowski, 1999, p. 82). However, in his empirical research analysing Bavarian and Saxon nobility, refuting these above claims, Franke wrote about the enhanced importance of secondary and higher-level grades (Franke, 2004, pp. 331-345). So, this subject is worth investigating also in terms of language facility.

Thus, in the following, we will emphatically deal with the language culture that was traditionally characteristic for nobility. We will explore whether – swayed the above-mentioned social, economic, cultural processes – any evolution took place in this field. Or did they retain the centuries-long ideal of polyglot skills that was formed in the Middle Ages? By means of private letters, memoirs, as well as school registry forms, we focus on the language education of aristocratic children: what languages did they study, with whom did they study them, with what methods and for what purpose – whether at home or in school. We will present a few school/home-school practices, from which one can only draw cautious conclusions. Before starting our discourse on the examined period, however, let us summarize how language teaching evolved among the high nobility in the first two-thirds of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## **2. Language Education in Aristocratic Circles in the First Two-Thirds of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

During the reign of Maria Theresia, Hungarian aristocracy underwent a Germanization in its language and culture. It was primarily typical of women to only speak German and/or French. It was a sign of nobility if someone – not speaking Hungarian – did not understand the language of simple country people. The change began in the 1830's. In the so-called Age of Reforms, the strengthening of national sentiment and nationalism also touched the aristocracy itself, and they began getting «Hungarized» in their language and culture (Dobszay & Fónagy, 2005, pp. 87-89, 435-438); this process continued after the defeat of the freedom fight (in 1849) (Munkácsi, 2010, pp. 91-96).

Among the Hungarian aristocracy in the first half of the nineteenth century, the «mother tongue» – or first language, since resulting from the employment of nannies, the children did not always learn their mother's language – was very frequently German. The reason for this can be traced back, on the one hand, to the mother's origin; for example in the case of Count Kázmér Batthyány, who lived in Vienna. Although he understood the Hungarian language, he could not utter a word in it (Virág, 2013, p. 33). Very frequently, both the nanny and the governess were German. «After our German nanny, we only chatted in German, we did not speak Hungarian», wrote Count Béla Splényi in his Memoirs (as cited in Virág, 2013, p. 32).

In the secondary schools, starting in the 1790s, more and more subjects were taught in Hungarian,<sup>2</sup> until by the 1840's, Latin as the typical language of education was replaced by Hungarian. The change also had an influence on the young aristocrats' language proficiencies. As a rule, these young people pored over the secondary school material at home, under the guidance of a home tutor, completing class exams in one of the public schools. Since mastering the Hungarian language was more and more in demand, the parents employed a Hungarian private tutor, generally a priest or pastor or an arts degree holder. Desiderius Paul wrote in 1833, referring to this change: for a few years, a «Hungaromania» had been prevalent in the aristocratic circles (Virág, 2013, p. 49).

So, besides the Hungarian language and occasionally Hungarian literature – the latter being an exception – what did the young members of high aristocracy study? Besides modern languages and their literature, primarily the classical languages in the centre of secondary school education; that is, Latin and Greek, as well as their literature, along with the other secondary school subjects: religion, arithmetic, natural history, geography, history, and natural law.<sup>3</sup>

In order to acquire modern foreign languages to a fluency, aristocrats frequently chose foreign schools for their children. Out of these, the most preferred one was the Theresianum in Vienna, founded by Maria Theresia, but these children could be found among the students of other schools, as well; for example the boarding school of Vinzenz Pleban and Friedrich August Klinkowström in Vienna (Virág, 2013, p. 44; Fónagy, 2011, pp. 118-121).

### **3. School Language Education in Hungary Between 1867 and 1918**

Before continuing the history of the aristocracy's language learning, let us make a short detour to how language acquisition was regulated in the schools. Evidently, in this age, it was by no means a rarity for the male children of this social stratum to study in public schools, upwards from middle grade level; as for home-schooled children, they completed their exams as private students from the prescribed study material.

As a result of the Compromise (1867) creating the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy, the new entity was, in terms of its internal affairs, comprised of two equal-ranking, ethnically extremely heterogeneous states. Applying the political concept of nation, the 1868 ethnicity law established Hungarian as the country's official language. In administrative matters, however, it granted a wide range for the – proportional – use of mother tongues; moreover, concerning public education, it also stated the citizens' right of education in their mother tongues. (The latter was also part of the public education law of 1868.) This was rather significant, since in Hungary<sup>4</sup>, the

---

<sup>2</sup> Since the responsibility lay on the institutions themselves to decide, the pace of this change would vary depending on the trustees and the seat.

<sup>3</sup> Among the secondary grammar school's subjects, German or another language of the country was also present (see Virág, 2013, pp. 37-50).

<sup>4</sup> In the more narrowly interpreted Hungary; that is, in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary sans Croatia and Slavonia.

proportion of Hungarians amounted to 46.6% (1880). The government also expected the ethnic populations to know the state language, that is, Hungarian. In the primary and secondary schools using non-Hungarian teaching languages, Hungarian was a compulsory subject – also including teacher training colleges from 1879. Based on Law XXVII of 1907, defaulting on teaching Hungarian<sup>5</sup> meant for the denominational schools that they lost their state subsidy, in addition to subjecting the teacher to a disciplinary procedure.

Besides whatever the particular local language of education and Hungarian, in the lower secondary school («polgári iskola» [in German «Bürgerschule»]), as well as in the higher secondary-level teacher training school, German was the obligatory language.<sup>6</sup> Apart from German, the secondary school law of 1883 prescribed the studies of Latin and Greek in secondary grammar schools, and French in the other type of secondary schools, in the so-called *reáliskola* [in German «Realschule»].<sup>7</sup> However, the students had a chance to enhance their living foreign language skills by means of conversation practice, as an extraordinary subject in exchange for extra fees – based on the decision of the trustees. This method was applied primarily within German and French, and sometimes English-language teaching. Foreign languages also constituted a part of the graduation exam promulgated in 1849.<sup>8</sup> The graduation exam could be completed initially in German and Hungarian, and in the age of Austrian-Hungarian Dualism (from 1884), also in the given school's teaching language. Among the exam subjects, several foreign languages were listed: in secondary grammar schools, as an obligatory language, Latin and Greek – until a law of 1890 abolished it – and optionally, a living foreign language; in the «*reáliskola*», German and French (from 1884, German *or* French). Completing this exam became not only the condition of starting high-level education but after implementing Law I of 1883, also occupying bureaucratic positions. As a result of the reforms, the impact of different types of assets (social, economic, cultural) on participating in education decreased, demands became more uniform; thus, education underwent a democratic change (Kövér, 2006, pp. 155-157; Nagy, 1993, pp. 253-258).

<sup>5</sup> According to the 19.§, the teacher had to achieve “that upon completing the fourth grade, the non-native Hungarian child is capable of expressing his thought in Hungarian, in both the oral and written language”. (1907. évi XXVII. törvénycikk a nem állami elemi népiskolák jogviszonyairól és a községi és hitfelekezeti néptanítók járandóságairól. Accessed 01/10/2019, from: <https://net.jogtar.hu/getpdf?docid=90700027.TV&targetdate=&printTitle=1907.+%C3%A9vi+XXVII.+%C3%B6rv%C3%A9nycikk&referer=1000ev>).

<sup>6</sup> In the «*polgári iskola*» having a non-Hungarian teaching language, the students had to study Hungarian instead of German. (1868. évi XXXVIII. törvénycikk a népiskolai közoktatás tárgyában. Accessed 01/10/2019, from: <https://net.jogtar.hu/getpdf?docid=86800038.TV&targetdate=&printTitle=1868.+%C3%A9vi+XXXVIII.+%C3%B6rv%C3%A9nycikk&referer=1000ev>).

<sup>7</sup> 1883. évi XXX. törvénycikk a középiskolákról és azok tanárainak képesítéséről. Accessed 01/10/2019, from: <https://net.jogtar.hu/ezer-ev-torveny?docid=88300030.TV&searchUrl=/ezer-ev-torvenyei%3Fpagenum%3D31>.

<sup>8</sup> In Hungary, the first graduation exam was held in 1851.

## 4. Language Education of the Aristocracy in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy

### 4.1. *Language education in the Theresianum of Vienna and the Jesuit Boarding School in Kalksburg*

Following the edict prescribing obligatory school attendance (1868), aristocratic children who were older than nine years had three options open to them: 1. Study at home, registering at some secondary school as a private student; 2. Become the regular pupils of a Hungarian public secondary school – usually boarding school; 3. Apply for studying at a foreign institution possessed of residence facilities.

In our study, we investigate these three options. We have already described Hungarian secondary school language education, so now we will examine the case of foreign institutions having residence facilities, examining two such: the Theresianum of Vienna and the Jesuit boarding school in Kalksburg (Lower Austria). Both of these schools had a large number of Hungarian aristocratic students in the period under research. For the Hungarian aristocracy, these two institutions had a significance like to that of Eton in England. Both of these provided residence halls, and the students' societal constitution was relatively homogeneous. Besides forming the intellect, they placed a great emphasis on character building, as well as virtuous behaviour and good manners (see Lieven, 1992, pp. 161-162).

As opposed to Eton (see Lieven, 1992, p. 165)<sup>9</sup>, both of these Austrian institutions provided an ample chance for modern language education. Since both schools were imperial «schooling»<sup>10</sup> institutions wherein the Hungarian students were represented in a greater proportion, the Hungarian language also appeared among the languages of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy – as part of the obligatory and optional languages; moreover, it had an eminent role in the secondary school of Theresianum. All this amounted to facilitating the situation of those who continued their studies in Hungary, whether a secondary level, or higher education, or even taking up a position possessing the graduation certificate.

How did the Hungarian language education progress in the two schools? The Theresianum employed special instructors in the secondary grammar school for teaching Hungarian, and Hungarian tutors, as well, even though for a long time, no one obligated them to do this (Kökényesi, 2013, p. 142).<sup>11</sup> The cause of this can be found in the high number of ethnically Hungarian students – particularly those of high nobility. Concerning this, we have sources available from the academic year of 1868/69. Up until 1883/84, an average 16% of the students was ethnically Hungarian (see chart 1). Their proportion wavered between 12% (1868/69) and 21% (1879/80

---

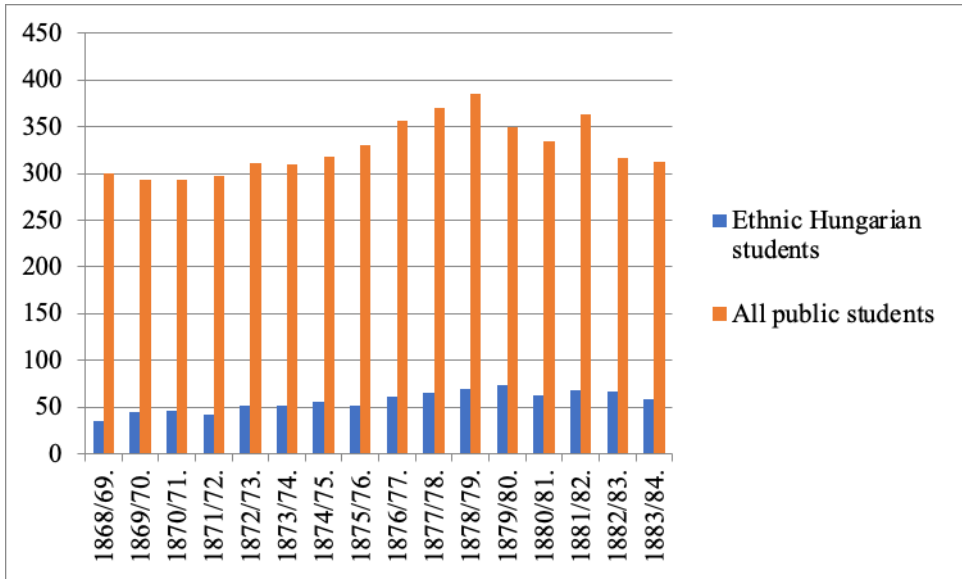
<sup>9</sup> In Prussian secondary grammar schools, however, the students learned French, and in the Alexander Lycée – which was popular among Russian aristocracy, modern languages and literatures, especially French, enjoyed a special recognition. (Lieven, 1992, pp. 170, 177.)

<sup>10</sup> Namely, it was primarily chosen by the subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, but besides these, even students from outside Europe studied within the schools' walls.

<sup>11</sup> Theresianum. Accessed 01/10/2019, from: <http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/T/Theresianum.html>.

and 1882/83): By the end of the 70s, this number became relatively constant at around 20% (see charts 1 and 2).

Chart 1. Hungarians in the secondary grammar school of the Theresianum in Vienna (1868/69-1883/84)



Source: school yearbooks, 1868/69–1883/84<sup>12</sup>

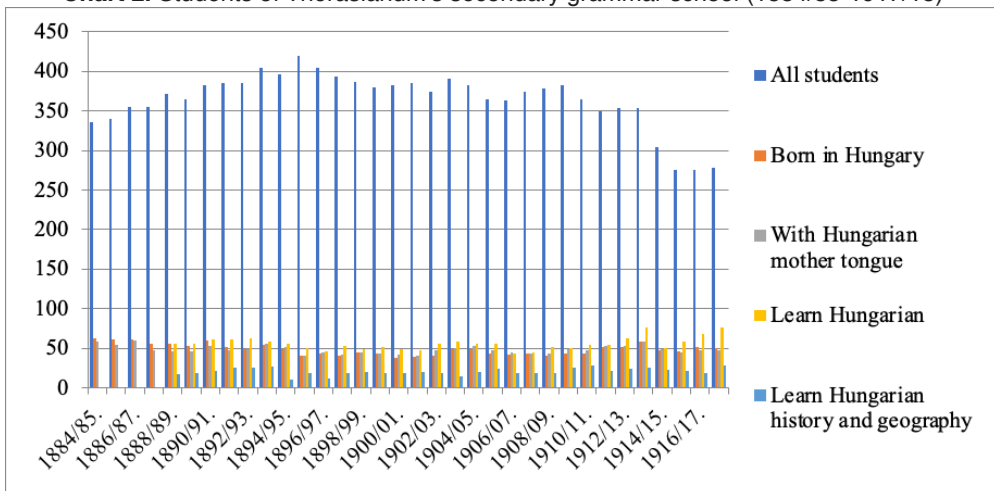
Following the Austrian-Hungarian Compromise, the Hungarian Ministry of Religion and Public Education Affairs promoted the enhancement of Hungarian education. As a result of this contract (in 1875), the Hungarian language acquired a peculiar status. As an optional language choice, any student could study it just as before; whereas for the Hungarian scholarship-holders and those who were preparing to go into state service, it became an obligatory subject. Initially, two teachers, then three teachers, were in charge of the students, appointed by the secretary of Hungarian Public Education Affairs. The education corresponded to the Hungarian curriculum, and the teachers using schoolbooks approved by the Hungarian Ministry. Following this, the secretary appointed a Hungarian state emissary residing in Vienna to supervise Hungarian language education. This official was obligated to inform the Ministry via reports about how the Hungarian subjects (language, literature, history, geography) were taught, as well as the results. The students learning Hungarian as an obligatory language had to complete a complementary graduation exam, with the government emissary present as a supervisor (Ziwsa, 1895, pp. 80-82).

<sup>12</sup> In the process of creating the charts – both in the case of the Theresianum and the secondary grammar school at Kalksburg – we used the yearbooks published in the researched age (see *Jahresbericht über das Gymnasium der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie*, [1869-1918] and *Jahresbericht des Privat-Untergymnasiums der Gesellschaft Jesu in Kalksburg*, [1894-1918]).

As witnessed by the yearbooks, however, Hungarian education was already in the process of differentiating before signing the contract, in 1871/72. Besides the Hungarian language – already present and taught among five groups at that time among the special subjects – Hungarian history and geography appeared, as well. Taking up these subjects was prescribed for every Hungarian royal scholarship-holder in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> classes (Mitteis, 1872, p. 73). From the academic year of 1877/78, separate, specialized groups were established for the purpose of teaching Hungarian to non-native Hungarian speaking students (Suttner, 1878, p. 62).

Obviously, the number of students from Hungary continued to be very high, constituting approximately 1/5 of all the pupils in this school (see chart 2). The difference between students born in Hungary and those having Hungarian as their mother tongue was insignificant, generally in the favour of the latter group. From the 1890s onwards, the number of students learning Hungarian was somewhat – roughly 10-20% – higher than this. As for learning Hungarian geography and history, less than half of the students learning the Hungarian language enrolled in these subjects.

**Chart 2.** Students of Theresianum's secondary grammar school (1884/85-1917/18)



Source: school yearbooks, 1884/85-1917/18.

Besides Hungarian, the pupils had the opportunity to learn several of the languages spoken in the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy in the secondary grammar school of Theresianum: in 1917/18, these were the Czech, Polish, Ruthenian, Slovenian, Croatian and Romanian languages. Furthermore, students had a chance to acquire vernacular Western languages (English, French, Italian), as well (Lekusch, 1918, p. 46).

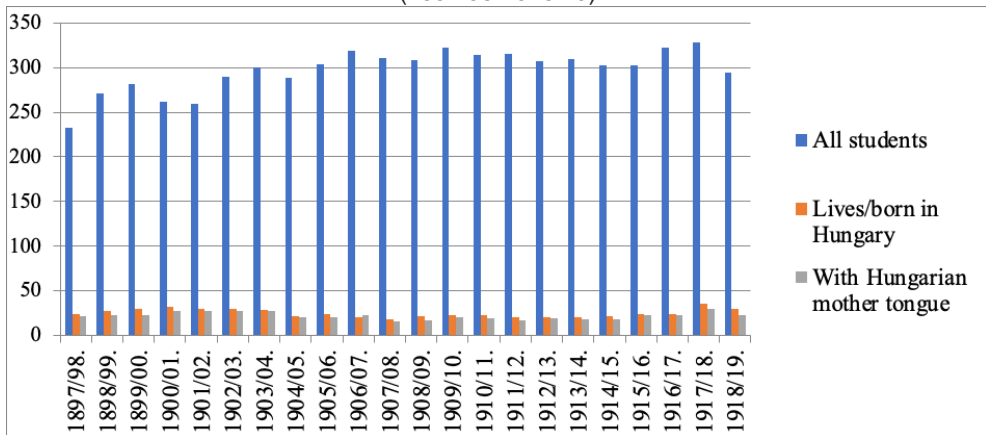
We encounter a similar colourful variety in the Jesuit secondary grammar school of Kalksburg, which was equally popular among Hungarian aristocrats<sup>13</sup>. Here, the

<sup>13</sup> About the role of Jesuit boarding schools regarding the education of the upper class, see



Hungarian language was probably an optional study subject<sup>14</sup> all throughout the age of Dualism, besides the other languages of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy. The reason for this was that between 1897/98 and 1918/19, 5-12% of the students lived in Hungary (see chart 2). The majority of these students had a title of high-ranking nobility. The number of native Hungarian speakers was somewhat lower – with the exception of one academic year. Education was provided by one of the Hungarian friars (Schmid, 2006, pp. 87-91, 118). About the content of Hungarian-language education, we have no knowledge. Presumably, besides language and literature, geography and history was taught in this school, just as in Theresianum, since several students continued their studies in Hungary, for example in the Jesuit secondary school of Kalocsa – and for this, a high-level knowledge of the Hungarian language was required (Eine Kalksburger Kolonie in Ungarn, 1908, p. 24).

**Chart 3.** Hungarian students in the Jesuit secondary grammar school of Kalksburg (1897/98-1918/19)



Source: school yearbooks, 1897/98-1918/19.

In the case of this school, thanks to the extant application documents, we have information specifically regarding the language education of aristocratic students. Hungarian aristocratic families typically registered their children for Hungarian, just as they did in the case of the ten-year-old Count Andor Pál Széchenyi in 1874. His parents indicated a list of optional subjects: «Please, do not neglect teaching the Hungarian language and encourage the boy to talk with his mates in Hungarian. Besides German and French – I wish – that later, when he has time and proper gifting, learn English as well. Play the piano, but only if he would like to and has the talent. Along with physical exercises, swimming, fencing and drawing, take horse riding

O'Neill (2019).

<sup>14</sup> According to Count Albert Apponyi, who was a student of this school between 1857 and 1863, the students undertook obligatory Hungarian language and literature classes twice a week. However, the obligatory nature of this practice wasn't confirmed by any other sources (Apponyi, 1931, p. 33).



lessons, too.»<sup>15</sup> So, besides the languages (Hungarian, German, French, possibly English), and sports, the boy had to study music only if he proved to be talented.<sup>16</sup> We usually encounter this educational versatility in parental expectations. Thus, the case of Count József Batthyány can by no means be regarded as typical. When he was 11 years old (in 1879), he still did not speak a foreign language, and even out of the optional subjects, he was only registered for Hungarian: «Has successfully taken the exams of 4th grade of primary school, therefore has become [?] 1<sup>st</sup> grader in grammar school. Does not speak foreign language or play music. [...] He has to learn Hungarian language and history [as optional subjects], in other cases his talent and himself should be the canon»<sup>17</sup>. József remained a student of the school until 1885, similar<sup>18</sup> to his brother László<sup>19</sup>. He must have had a musical talent, since he played drums in the brass band. After this academic year, he transferred to the Jesuit secondary grammar school in Hungary (Kalocsa). He completed private exams from the material of class 6, then he completed class 7-8 as a regular student. Out of the special subjects (singing, drawing, French, stenography, fencing), he attended the latter three – taking French and fencing classes both for two years (Menyhárh, 1885, pp. 62-63, 67-72; Menyhárh, 1886, pp. 46, 69, 71-77). So it seems that even in his case, if a bit belated, studying foreign languages other than German, as well as sports and music, did eventually commence.

So both these young aristocrats studied Hungarian. In the course of our research, we identified altogether 77 students of high nobility from Hungary. On the occasion of enrolling, the parents of 83% of these students marked Hungarian as an optional subject, which, as a result, exceedingly topped the list (see chart 4). Regarding the frequency, Hungarian was followed by gymnastics (41%), piano (35%) and two foreign languages; French (32%) and English (27%). German and Italian was marked by two pupils each, and Czech by one student<sup>20</sup>.

---

<sup>15</sup> Archivum Provinciae Austriae Societatis Iesu [hereafter AASI], Kollegsarchiv Kalksburg [hereafter KK] Anmeldebögen bis 1926. Karton IV. [Su–To.]. Graf Andor :/Andreas/: Széchenyi. (In transcribing the data sheets, Lajos Szász provided assistance.)

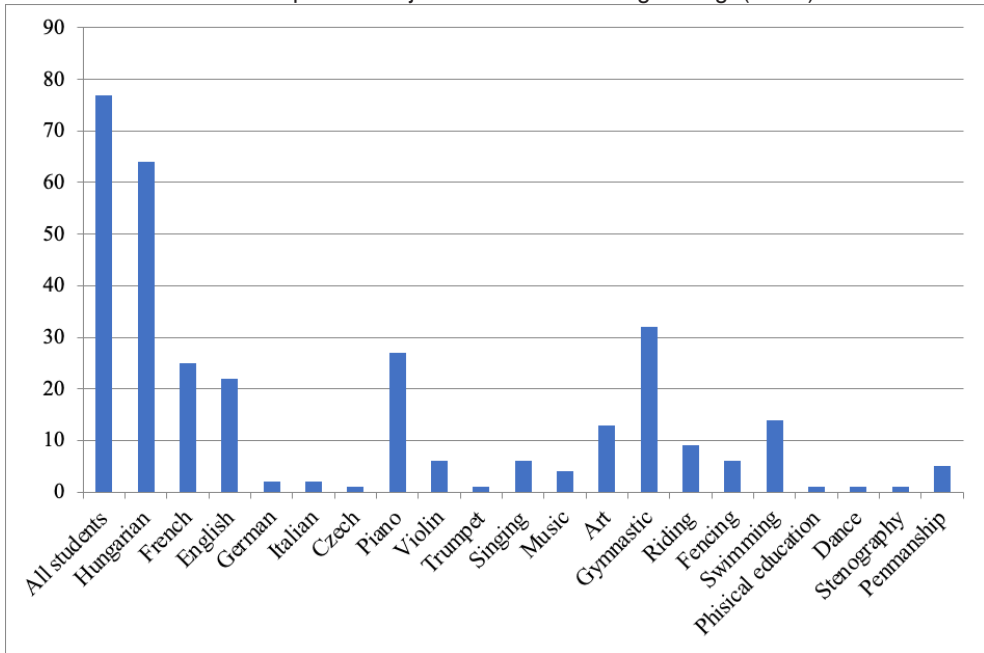
<sup>16</sup> Count Andor Pál Széchenyi studied at the Jesuit school until 1877. Then he transferred to the Theresianum in Vienna, where he absolved his graduation exam in 1884. The cause for this might have been that at that time, the boarding school did not yet possess a public status (Gemmel-Fleischbach & Manussi, 1913, p. 241).

<sup>17</sup> AASI KK Anmeldebögen bis 1926. Karton I. [A–Bo.] Josef Graf Batthyány [Jozsi]

<sup>18</sup> AASI KK 37/2. Register, vol. 2.

<sup>19</sup> Duke László Batthyány-Strattmann became a famous ophthalmologist surgeon, the Catholic church later beatified him.

<sup>20</sup> The students registering for German must have been members of the preparatory class, since this was the language of education. Among the optional subjects, German was not listed.

**Chart 4.** Optional subjects marked when registering. (N=77)

Source: AASI KK Anmeldebögen bis 1926

To summarize, if the son of an aristocratic family chose one of the two investigated foreign boarding schools, they did not have to stop studying Hungarian language and literature; moreover, they could even enhance their knowledge of Hungarian history and geography. Both institutions encompassed extensive options as regards living foreign languages. The time for this, however, was scheduled outside the regular study time, since in Austrian secondary schools, foreign languages other than Latin and Greek were not taught as obligatory subjects.

#### 4.2. *Learning Languages Among the Kindred of the Counts Széchenyi*

As regards the aristocrats' attitude towards learning languages, and the way home language studies progressed, we will describe the case of the families Széchenyi and Andrassy. The Széchenyis, members of this remarkable Western-Hungarian Catholic family have borne the title of Count since 1697. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this family became rather extensive: between 1851 and 1918, they birthed altogether 54 male family members who reached the schooling age (Gudenus, 1998, pp. 28-53). Three of these men studied in the secondary grammar school of Theresianum, and ten in Kalksburg (Gemmel-Fleichbach & Manussi, 1913, p. 329)<sup>21</sup>.

In the following description, we will draw conclusions about the language proficiency and language studies of the narrower kniship regarding the private

<sup>21</sup> AASI KK 37/2. Register, vol. 2.

correspondence of Count Lajos Széchényi (1865–1889), deceased at a young age, merely 24 years old.

Lajos and his siblings spoke both Hungarian and German at a mother-tongue level. With their father, Count Dénes Széchényi (1828-1892), they communicated in two languages in writing, alternating the language sometimes even within the sentence, while with their mother (of Austrian descent), Countess Marietta Hoyos (1838-1936), they did so exclusively in German. (Which language their father favoured out of these two depended on the linguistic surroundings: from abroad, he preferred writing in German, while from Hungary, he preferred using Hungarian, but typically, he alternated between the two languages.) The parents communicated with each other in German<sup>22</sup>. Other members of the extensive family also spoke German proficiently, the main cause of this possibly being that they had several native German-speaking ancestors, and thus, relatives, as well. Dénes was familiar with the French, English, and Italian tongues, as well as Spanish, the latter due to his long residence in Spain (Hecker, 2017, pp. 16-18).

However, the childrens' generation, that is, the boys born between the late 1850s and the early 1870s, spoke with each other in Hungarian. In the letters of these boys, alternating languages occurred relatively rarely, the cause being mostly a foreign stay or language learning periods that were more intense than usual. Sometimes, neither of these can be traced, so the alternation is a proof of bilingualness. An example of this is Countess Mária Andrassy's (1865-1953)<sup>23</sup> letter, who was the wife of Lajos's brother, Count Imre Széchényi (1858-1905): «The little one is just blowing a flute, which I bought at a fair the other time, so forcibly, – das gehört zu musikalischen Bildung, und ist der Grundstein der zu kommenden Virtuosität [this belongs to the musical education and the founding stone of coming virtuosity]»<sup>24</sup>. At this time, the little Mária was half a year old<sup>25</sup>.

As a third language, they also acquired French. Count Imre Széchényi, probably together with his brother Géza (1860-1930) learnt French during his university years<sup>26</sup>. Imre and his wife, Countess Mária Andrassy, played parts in German and French plays, which were performed either in their own residence or at another's home – most likely another aristocratic family's residence<sup>27</sup>. Count Emil Széchényi (1865-1932), Lajos's third cousin took lessons from an elderly French private tutor during his summer holiday after completing his graduation exam, preparing for a

---

<sup>22</sup> National Archives of Hungary [Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár; hereafter NAH] P 623. A VIII. 14/49. 11.04.1887.

<sup>23</sup> Countess Mária Andrassy was first cousin of the later mentioned Counts Tivadar and Gyula, as well as Ilona Andrassy (Gudenus, 1990, pp. 48-51).

<sup>24</sup> NAH P 623. A VIII. 14/53. 27.09.1886.

<sup>25</sup> This is the only reference we have met so far concerning the importance of musical education. Let us add: the letters we have found contain data regarding the education of older, male relatives (8-25 years). In their case, it was the fine arts education that manifested. Viktor learned drawing, Lajos had a brush with painting. (NAH P 623. A VIII. 14/57. 1879/80?, VIII. 14/49. 11.10.1885, 19.02.1886.)

<sup>26</sup> NAH P 623. A VIII. 14/53. 1.12.1879.

<sup>27</sup> NAH P 623. A VIII. 14/53. 27.09.1886.

diplomatic career<sup>28</sup>. Pál Andor, another – distant – cousin (1864-1943) also spoke French fairly well<sup>29</sup>.

Lajos's brother, Viktor (1871-1945) also studied French. His father had very set ideas about the method of language acquisition; he sought a tutor for his son who was able to remodel the contemporary widespread the Grammar-Translation Method: «Should he really set grammar aside, and only explain it occasionally, anknüpfend an dem betreffenden Gegenstand [linked to the subject in question], claiming that four grammars are a lot in any case for a young head, and furthermore, if he can make the lesson interesting and humorous, choosing readings that wake up the interest, then I would be most happy, und so ist mein Mami [as is my Momma]»<sup>30</sup>.

The most widely spread language-teaching method of the age, the Grammar-Translation Method, was based on the pedagogy of classical languages, with grammar comprehension and target-language texts in the centre, with the students learning to translate them. Speaking in a foreign language, however, hardly ever occurred. From the quoted text, it is obvious that while Dénes Széchenyi also deemed it important to acquire the grammatical basis, but after completing that, he set textual readings rather to the forefront: into the childrens' hands should be placed texts – which were probably translated, as well – that were interesting for them. So the psychological, as well as pragmatic aspect, moved to the fore. Their vocabulary could be broadened with the expressions garnered from these texts. So Dénes Széchenyi's opinion can be compared to the different view of Reform Methods emphasizing the teaching of spoken language – although we might add that much earlier, John Locke was a devotee of foreign language learning based on reading, and as we all know, his views were popular among the higher nobility. Returning to the Reform Methods, from the 1880s onward, spoken language moved more and more into the centre of foreign language teaching, while the mother tongue was suppressed (Howatt & Smith, 2014, pp. 79-84; Bárdos 2005, pp. 46-56, 65-74). We see the cause of Count Dénes Széchenyi's concept not so much in the pedagogical reforms, in the emergence of reform-pedagogical attitude, but much more in the fact that for members of the high nobility, in their language use, besides the importance of correctly expressing themselves in writing and understanding written texts, oral communication in the target language had an eminent role, as well. Viktor was prepared for being capable of using foreign languages when meeting his relatives and acquaintances, and even during his foreign studies or connected to his work later. In reality, this mostly occurred in the case of German; he and his brothers all learned this language, but during their journeys – or even during their work – they also needed (might have needed) their French and English language command.

The fourth foreign language in the Széchenyi kindred, and in general among the high nobility, was English. This language – which was, at that time, rarely even taught as a special subject in secondary schools – could exclusively be acquired in private ways. And even if they could not find a suitable language tutor, they could begin with

<sup>28</sup> NAH P 623. A VIII. 14/47. 23.01.1883, 16.09.1883.

<sup>29</sup> He read for example Amédée Thierry's book titled *Histoire d'Attila et de ses successeurs* (NAH P 623. A VIII. 14/47. 11.07.1885, see P 623. A VIII. 14/47. 18.12.1886).

<sup>30</sup> NAH P 623. A VIII. 14/49. 20.09.1884.

their studies: Dénes Széchényi, for example, undertook the task himself. «Momma and I determined that we would not mind if on the occasion of holidays, Viktor started his first English practices. So enquire with your master about whether he could name some kind of Englishman, who is decent and at the same time, wishes to enjoy a vacation, and who, for a meagre *expense*, would spend this time with us. I can give the first reading lessons myself, so it isn't necessary to force the issue, only, should a good opportunity arise, with which I am not saying not to search; yes, do search, but let us not grasp everything that one only grasps when absolutely necessary. This would be useful for you, too»<sup>31</sup>.

That this social stratus truly acquired both French and English is manifestly apparent from the observation that if one of the boys learned one of these two languages, he mixed a few foreign words and sentences into the Hungarian-language text. Count László Szapáry (1858-1904) proclaimed the news to Lajos that during the summer vacation, he is studying French «at full tilt» with Mr. Dickson, who is a «*rara avis*», since he is fluent both in the English and the French languages<sup>32</sup>.

Besides learning the languages, the younger generation also required keeping the native language competence on a stable level. That is our conclusion from the 17-year-old Viktor's letter, who wrote from the equestrian cadet school at Mährisch Weißkirchen-i (Hranice na Moravě) to his brother Lajos: «I would not mind if you put some Hungarian novels in your suitcase since I have almost learned my mother tongue»<sup>33</sup>.

Young people of high nobility – just like in the first half of the century – widened their perspectives during a longer study trip abroad, extending their knowledge. In 1881, Imre and Géza Széchényi travelled with Count Gyula Andrásy junior (1860-1929) and two other young boys of high nobility to the United States, to study agricultural economy. Imre recounted his experiences in the press. Later, he published his writings in the form of a book with the title 'American Letters with a Longer Epilogue' (1883). It was clearly this trip to America that launched his economic-political career<sup>34</sup>. Their brother Lajos undertook a six-month-long study sojourn in Europe and Africa with his friend, during his legal studies at the University of Sciences of Budapest – without interrupting his studies (1887)<sup>35</sup>.

#### 4.3. *Learning Languages in Count Gyula Andrásy's Family*

A good example of how the value of English language competence surged was Count Gyula Andrásy's (1823-1890) family (Cieger, 2008, pp. 133-134). His predecessors were first granted the title of Baron in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, then the title of Count in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This family, who owned estates primarily in Eastern and Northern Hungary, were well-known for their patriotic commitment, similar to the Széchényis. The politician, who was appointed Prime Minister in 1867, and his wife,

<sup>31</sup> NAH P 623. A VIII. 14/49. 11.04.1887.

<sup>32</sup> NAH P 623. A VIII. 14/45. 08.08.1886.

<sup>33</sup> NAH P 623. A VIII. 14/57. 02.05.1888.

<sup>34</sup> NAH P 623. A VII. 16/6. *Köztelek*, November 19, 1905, pp. 1-2.

<sup>35</sup> NAH P 623. A VIII. 14/41. 01.06.1887.

Countess Katinka Kendeffy (1830-1896) employed an English governess – with an equally excellent French knowledge – to tutor her three children between 1864 and 1869. As a matter of fact, the parents themselves also had an excellent foreign language command. According to the 'Miss' (Mary Elizabeth Stevens), the count himself – who held a diplomatic post earlier – spoke English like a true Englishman, and he knows (knew) French beautifully (Stevens, 2007, p. 71)<sup>36</sup>. With the mother, she could also have English conversations besides the French. So the parents – who both spoke German, as well – wished to ensure this kind of language competence for the younger generation.

When the governess arrived, the four-, six- and seven-year-old children already spoke French well. As it was, they had had a French governess earlier; moreover, she remained at their house even after Ms. Stevens's arrival. In time, she was replaced by a female French tutor (Stevens, 2007, pp. 72-73, 309). Ms. Stevens was in charge of all three children, but she was primarily entrusted with teaching and educating Ilona (1858-1952). As for teaching materials, she used her own old children's books and first-year alphabet schoolbooks, which she asked for and received from her sister, who was also working as a governess. Mary also regularly consulted her about her work. Besides the fairytales, she told Bible stories and taught them to recite poems. She also prepared them for performing at celebrations (Stevens, 2007, pp. 86, 112-113).

About her method, she wrote that she teaches them sentences and the names of whatever they see, want, do, eat; this is how she tries to acquaint them with the English language, even before tiring them with lessons. They can already say a lot; she always addresses them in English, then translates it into French should she have said something new; and thus, without realizing it, they learn a lot.

(So in their case, too, spoken language had primary importance, as in Dénes Széchényi's family, and within their studies, readings had an eminent role.) Miss Stevens endeavoured to have as many conversations as possible with her pupil – here, we are only talking about Ilona – and she also placed a great emphasis on illustrations: she showed her pupil pictures, telling the names of whatever the illustrations showed. She also taught Ilona to play the piano; moreover, until the employment of the new home tutor, she also gave lessons in history, grammar, arithmetic, as well as geography to all the children besides Ilona (Stevens, 2007, pp. 89, 207, 262). The children gained a new opportunity to practice their French after employing the new chambermaid from Geneva, who took them for walks (Stevens 2007, p. 290).

Early childhood language acquisition was very similar throughout this social stratum: in the families that belonged into the Andrássys acquaintance (for example Counts Zichy, Pejacsevich, and Traun), it was also a French Mademoiselle and/or English Miss who was in charge of the daughters of the family<sup>37</sup>. Getting back to the Andrassy family, learning the French and English languages must have been eclipsed

<sup>36</sup> After the defeat of the 1848 freedom fight, Gyula Andrassy lived as an emigré in France. In his absence, he was «hanged», so in the salons of Paris, the good-looking young man was nicknamed «beautiful hanged». During his sojourn, he married the Countess Katinka Kendeffy.

<sup>37</sup> Mary E. Stevens talks particularly about daughters, but this doesn't exclude the possibility of taking care of the boys of the family, as well, were there any (Stevens, 207, pp. 108-110).



when they got older, since over time, the governesses were replaced by Hungarian home tutors. From this, we may conclude that the French language competence of the youngest child, Gyula Andrásy junior (1860-1929) was found wanting during his diplomatic service exam (Szalai, 2003, p. 11). Because of the secondary grammar school curriculum, in their case, classical languages came to the fore.

How did language learning progress in the case of the younger generation; that is, the grandchildren? The oldest child, Count Tivadar Andrásy (1857-1905) married the Countess Eleonóra Zichy (1867-1945)<sup>38</sup>, who bore him four daughters: Ilona (1886-1967), Borbála (1890-1968), Katinka (1892-1985) and Klára (1898-1941) (Gudenus, 1990, pp. 48-49). The third daughter's recollections about their language education reveal some details. Katinka first learned English from her governess, as it was initially primarily Miss Hill who was in charge of her. As she writes: «I did not know any Hungarian; my mother was duly subjected to reproaches by our relatives» (Károlyi Mihályné, 2011, pp. 18). Later, she had a German governess, as well, so she went on to acquire this language. Also her literary education was primarily German: she read the works of Goethe, Schiller, and philosophers' writings besides French novels. So the girls learned these three languages (English, German, French) at home from their three governesses<sup>39</sup>. One of them was in charge of the two oldest girls while the other two took care of one of the younger girls. Some governesses served with the family for a long time, while others replaced each other frequently. After the First World War broke out, the French Governess and the Irish Miss who taught English departed – being citizens of hostile countries. Katinka continued learning French between 14 and 16 years of age in the Notre Dame de Sion Girls' Boarding School in Buda, managed by French nuns, where – due to the obligatory curriculum – she also had German lessons beside the French (Károlyi Mihályné, 2011, pp. 21-23, 51-52, 57-59, 82, 85-95, 126, 166-172).

The family members presumably spoke Hungarian to each other<sup>40</sup>. However, in her childhood, Katinka's mother primarily communicated in French with her family

---

<sup>38</sup> After her husband's death, she became the wife of his brother Gyula; they had no children from this marriage.

<sup>39</sup> The system was similar in the family of Katinka Andrásy's son-in-law – Duke Károly Odescalchi (1896-1987) became Klára Andrásy's husband. Obviously, employing foreign governesses continued to be a rule in this social stratum. So in the family of the Dukes Odescalchi, besides Hungarian, the children acquired French and German, then English from governesses, just as before. Károly's younger sister, Eugénie (1898-1985) even studied her school subjects in German and French, then she temporarily became the student of the girls' boarding school in Vienna, run by the Salesian Sisters, where she used the same two languages (Odescalchi, 1987, pp. 28-29, 32, 53-57; Gudenus, 1993, pp. 405-406). Countess Ilona Széchenyi (1898-1984) – born in the same year as Eugénie – learned her subjects in Hungarian at home, but – together with her siblings – she had to write, read, and speak French, German, and English, as well; moreover, she even became acquainted with the Italian language. She too learned the languages from governesses, who spent varying amounts of time with the family. Some of these governesses almost became like family members, while others very soon departed. They also performed little plays in French and German, just as – as we could see – was a habit in the Széchenyi-Andrásy family (Károlyi Széchenyi, 2005, pp. 16-18). [Ilona's father was the first cousin of the above mentioned Count Andor Pál Széchenyi (Gudenus, 1998, p. 44).]

<sup>40</sup> As for the Slovakian language, however, they weren't allowed to learn it, lest they engage in conversation with the children living near their castle at Terebes (Trebíšov, now in Slovakia). (Károlyi



members, also composing her diary in this language (Károlyi Mihályné, 2011, pp. 21-22). The same was the case in the family of Katinka's husband, Count Mihály Károlyi (1875-1955), who, however, adhered to this habit and spoke primarily French with each other, even during the war years (Károlyi Mihályné, 2011, pp. 176-177.) Mihály again did not acquire the languages in school but at home, from a multitude of tutors. His first tutor and teacher was a French abbé, followed by Hungarian teachers<sup>41</sup>. What could have been the reason for the use of French being so much less typical in this age? The Károlyi family was better at integrating into the international aristocracy than the Andrássys. They also had relatives living in France. Mihály frequently spent time there, too, mainly in Paris, but he visited England and the United States several times, as well as frequenting South-Asia. As his reading experiences, he mentions French works of literature, history, philosophy. Besides the French and English language, he also spoke German with a high proficiency (Károlyi, 2013, pp. 11-16, 20-21, 26, 28-31, 35-36).

## 5. Conclusions and an International Outlook

Within the education of Hungary's aristocracy during the nineteenth century, the significance of Hungarian language and Hungarian culture in general was enhanced. In the background of this shift stood the realization of national, political and cultural endeavours, and as a result of these, the public education reform. Introducing compulsory school attendance, legally regulating public education, and associated with that, determining the curricula of each type of school constituted a restraint even for the social elite, influencing their studies. (For example, if someone wanted to acquire a university degree, they were required to complete the graduation exam.) By the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as a result of professionalization, the value of school grades rose. Because of terminating feudalism, it became increasingly important for aristocratic men to have more irons in the fire, so that even if they had an estate, they did not have to rely solely on this source of income. One of the special features of aristocratic education, however, that is, the comprehensive knowledge of a large number of foreign languages, remained intact.

The members of aristocratic families studied languages at home, from foreign tutors and/or governesses already from a very tender age. Language education could continue within the bounds of schools. The boys frequently became private students, only visiting their school to complete their exams: for example, Gyula Andrassy junior visited the Piarist Secondary Grammar School of Budapest (Szalai, 2003, p. 9). We can find examples of formal education in Hungary, as well as abroad, both among sons and daughters of aristocratic families. It is remarkable that in institutions that were popular among Hungarians, such as the secondary grammar school of the Theresianum in Vienna and the Jesuit secondary grammar school of Kalksburg, students had an opportunity to take Hungarian lessons, as well; moreover, in certain cases, in the Theresianum this was made obligatory, so the Hungarian language was

---

Mihályné, 2011, p. 62).

<sup>41</sup> Following her departure from the institution, Katinka Andrassy also had Hungarian tutors in attendance (Károlyi Mihályné, 2011, pp. 113, 148).

not completely displaced in favour of foreign – classical and modern – languages. The school studies of the girls – Count Katinka Andrásy and Duchess Eugénie Odescalchi – progressed entirely in foreign languages while they studied abroad, and partly in foreign languages when they studied in Hungary.

The researched members of the family of the Counts Széchényi and the Counts Andrásy also learned besides Hungarian, already as children, the German, French, and English languages. Differences can be detected in the level of language competence and the time of starting their language studies. The diplomat and politician who spent years living abroad employed a whole parade of governesses for his children, so that they could become familiarized with the foreign languages already at a very tender age, and French was just as important for him as was German.

As regards the method, the stress was placed on spoken language, and not so heavily on grammar. The aim was for the children to be able to express themselves in the given target language. And they received a native-language help to achieve this. As their language skills improved, they also became capable of reading foreign-language texts. We found no examples of completing written tasks – the sources we used did not discourse on this aspect. Since the aim was different, and these families could rely on native-language governesses (and tutors), the languages were taught in different ways, in a much more natural way than in the schools (see Biró, 2004), although the native-language teachers of girls' convent schools who did not speak Hungarian presumably followed specific methods, requiring further research.

The capacity of communicating in multiple languages, which facilitated the togetherness and the «staying together» («Zusammenbleiben»; see Marburg & Mazerath, 2013, p. 304) of this social stratum, was not typical only for Hungarian high aristocracy and very frequently the common nobility, it was the true for other European countries, as well<sup>42</sup>. As Andrew Sinclair puts it, employing a «nanny», that is, an English governess, was considered an «international status symbol» (Sinclair, 1969, p. 226). In the aristocratic families of the European continent, we can still find nannies in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; they supervised the children as they played while teaching them the language (Sinclair, 1969, p. 228). Sinclair emphasized that while school education became more and more frequent even within the circles of high nobility – initially among the boys and later, the girls, as well – at the same time, in terms of language education, home schooling maintained its important role. Austrian or Northern Italian members of the high nobility spoke at least four languages, which they had typically acquired domestically, or at least the home was where the foundations were laid. Likewise, journeys abroad had a great significance regarding language education (Sinclair, 1969, p. 241).

But what were these languages? According to Ellis Wasson, «French, English, German, and Italian were all spoken by the elite of the Continent. It was not uncommon for a Viennese grandee and his wife to speak all of them: German as a matter of course, English learned from nannies, and French and Italian taught by tutors. A Hungarian magnate also spoke Magyar. The Russian aristocracy spoke French,

---

<sup>42</sup> However, the aristocracy was by far not a homogeneous group, so we can only very cautiously refer to them in general, even on the level of separate countries (see Schmitz, 2003, pp. 42-43).

although it was increasingly common for them to know and use their native tongue.» (Wasson, 2006, p. 83) Our own research did not confirm a widespread knowledge of the Italian language among the Hungarian high aristocracy; however, as for the thesis about Hungarian, that is, our national language, becoming widespread, we also corroborated that. In Russia, an similar phenomenon could be observed: the main language became Russian. There, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, French remained unquestionably the most important living foreign language; but besides it, German, English, and at times – partly influenced by the charm of Italian music – aristocrats also learned Italian (Solodyankina, 2017b, pp. 13-21, see Solodyankina, 2017a).

Summarizing, plurilingualism was a character trait of Hungarian aristocracy, just as elsewhere in Europe. It belonged to «appropriate», meaning stratum-specific, education. It constituted a cultural capital, which on the one hand, facilitated «staying on top» because it was also useful in the modern, performance-based world as an obvious advantage – or even a basic requirement within numerous professions (e.g. diplomacy) – and on the other hand, it contributed to strengthening the cohesion within the high aristocracy: that is, «staying together».

## 6. References

### 6.1. Archival Sources

Archivum Provinciae Austriae Societatis Iesu [AASI], Kollegsarchiv Kalksburg [KK] Anmeldebögen bis 1926; 37/2. Register.

National Archives of Hungary [Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár; NAH] P 623. A VII. 16. Széchényi Aladár; VIII. 14 Széchényi Lajoshoz írt levelek [Letters to Lajos Széchényi].

### 6.2. Other Sources

1868. évi XXXVIII. törvénycikk a népiskolai közoktatás tárgyában. (1868). from <http://www.1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3&param=5360>.

1883. évi XXX. törvénycikk a középiskolákról és azok tanárainak képesítéséről. (1883), from <http://www.1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3&param=6108>.

1907. évi XXVII. törvénycikk a nem állami elemi népiskolák jogviszonyairól és a községi és hitfelekezeti néptanítók járandóságairól. (1907), from <http://www.1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3&param=6966>.

Apponyi, A. (1931). *Élmények és emlékek* Budapest: Athenaeum Irodalmi és Nyomdai Rt.

Bárdos, J. (2005). *Élő nyelvtanítás-történet*. Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó.

- Bíró, Zs. H. (2004). Az olvasmány szerepe a középfokú német nyelvi oktatásban a 19. század végi Magyarországon. *Magyar Pedagógia*, 104(2), 143-164.
- Braun, R. (1990). *Konzeptionelle Bemerkungen zum Obenbleiben: Adel im 19. Jahrhundert*. In Wehler, H-U. (Ed.) *Europäischer Adel, 1750-1950*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, Ruprecht, pp. 87-95.
- Cieger, A. (2008). We are now the first people in Hungary. Count Andrassy's Family and Friends through the Eyes of an English Governess. *Hungarian Quarterly*, 49(3), 133-142.
- Conze, E. (2005). *Niedergang und «Obenbleiben»*. In Conze, E. (Ed.) *Kleines Lexikon des Adels: Titel, Throne, Traditionen*. München: C.H. Beck, pp. 187-188.
- Dobszay, T., & Fónagy, Z. (2005). A rendi társadalom utolsó évtizedei. In Gergely, A. (Ed.) *Magyarország története a 19. században* (pp. 57-124). Budapest: Osiris Kiadó.
- Dobszay, T., & Fónagy, Z. (2005). Magyarország társadalma a 19. század második felében. In Gergely, A. (Ed.) *Magyarország története a 19. században* (pp. 397-459). Budapest: Osiris Kiadó.
- Eine Kalksburger Kolonie in Ungarn (1908). *Kalksburger Korrespondenz*, 23(61), (Juli 1908), p. 24.
- Fónagy, Z. (2011). Fa és gyümölcs. Adalékok Batthyány Lajos bécsi tanulóihoz. In Deák, Á. & Völgyesi, O. (Eds.). *História mezején: a 19. század emlékezete: tanulmányok Pajkossy Gábor tiszteletére* (pp. 113-126). Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár.
- Franke, Ch. (2004). Der bayerische und sächsische Adel im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Soziales Verhalten und soziale Strukturen. In Schulz, G. & Denzel, M. A. (Eds.) *Deutscher Adel im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Bündiger Forschungen zur Sozialgeschichte 2002 und 2003*. (Deute Führungsschichten in der Neuzeit, 26.) St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, pp. 319-349.
- Funck, M., & Malinowski, S. (1999). «Charakter ist alles!» Erziehungsideale und Erziehungspraktiken in deutschen Adelsfamilien des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts. *Jahrbuch für historische Bildungsforschung*, 6, pp. 71-91.
- Gemmel-Flischbach, M. & Manussi C. (Eds.) (1913). *Album der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie (1746–1913)*. Wien: Verlag der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie.
- Gudenus, J. J. (1990): *A magyarországi főnemesség XX. századi geneológiája*, I. Budapest: Natura.
- Gudenus, J. J. (1993). *A magyarországi főnemesség XX. századi geneológiája*, II. Budapest: Tellér KFT.

- Gudenus, J. J. (1998). *A magyarországi főnemesség XX. századi geneológiája*, IV. Budapest: Heraldika Kiadó.
- Hecker, W. (2017). *Egy elfeledett Széchényi: Gróf Széchényi Dénes élete és munkássága*. Debrecen: IAT Kiadó.
- Howatt, A. P. R., & Smith, Richard (2014). The History of Teaching English as a Foreign Language, from a British and European Perspective. *Language and History* 57 (1), pp. 75-95. doi: 10.1179/1759753614Z.00000000028.
- Jahresbericht des Privat-Untergymnasiums der Gesellschaft Jesu in Kalksburg*, (1894-1918), vol. 1893/94-1917/18. Kalksburg: Selbstverlage.
- Jahresbericht über das Gymnasium der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie*, (1869-1918), vol. 1868/69-1917/18. Wien: Verlag der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie.
- Károlyi Mihányné (2011). *Együtt a forradalomban*. Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó.
- Károlyi Széchényi, I. (2005). *Kileng az inga. Egy arisztokrata festőné életútja, bánatai és örömei*. Budapest: Mundus Magyar Egyetemi Kiadó.
- Károlyi, M. (2013). *Hit, illúziók nélkül*. Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó.
- Kökényesi, Zs. (2013). «A nemesi erények műhelye.» A Collegium Theresianum mint lovagi akadémia. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 123 (1), pp. 134-148.
- Kövér, Gy. (2006). Magyarország társadalomtörténete a reformkortól az első világháborúig. In Gyáni, G. & Kövér, Gy. *Magyarország társadalomtörténete a reformkortól a második világháborúig* (pp. 11-186). Budapest: Gondolat.
- Lekusch, V. (Ed.) (1918). *Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie in Wien. Erstattet am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1917/18*. Wien: Verlag der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie.
- Lieven, D. (1992). *The aristocracy in Europe, 1815–1914*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Marburg, S. & Matzerath, J. (2013): Vom Obenbleiben zum Zusammenbleiben: Der Wandel des Adels in der Moderne. In Schmitz, W. (Ed.) *Adel in Schlesien und Mitteleuropa: Literatur und Kultur von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart*. München: Oldenburg Verlag, pp. 299-311.
- Menyhárth, L. (Ed.) (1885). *A Jézus-Társasági Kalocsai Érseki Főgymnasium értesítője az 1884–1885. iskolai évről*. Kalocsa: (n. p.)
- Menyhárth, L. (Ed.) (1886). *A Jézus-Társasági Kalocsai Érseki Főgymnasium értesítője az 1885-1886. iskolai évről*. Kalocsa: (n. p.)
- Mitteis, H. (Ed.) (1872). *Jahres-Bericht über das Gymnasium der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie in Wien für das Schuljahr 1871–72*. Wien: Verlag der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie.

- Munkácsi, E. (2010). A magyaros arisztokrata nevelés (1848–1867), *Iskolakultúra*, 20(10), 91-96.
- Nagy, P. T. (1993). Nemzetiség és oktatás a dualizmuskori Magyarországon. *Educatio*, 2(2), 253-269.
- O'Neill, C. (2019). Jesuit Education and the Irish Catholic Elite. *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación*, 6(2), pp. 99-120. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.14516/ete.290>.
- Odescalchi, E. (1987). *Egy hercegnő emlékezik*. Budapest: Gondolat.
- Schmid, J-G. (2006). *150 Jahre Kollegium Kalksburg 1856–2006. Gymnasium, Realgymnasium und seit 1994 auch Volksschule. Eine Dokumentation über die katholische Privatschule und einseitige Jesuitenschule seit ihrer Gründung im Jahre 1856*. Wien: Altkalksburger Club.
- Schmitz, W. (2013): Adel in der Mitte Europas in der Neuzeit: Von der Sozialgeschichte zur Kulturgeschichte. In Schmitz, W. (Ed.) *Adel in Schlesien und Mitteleuropa: Literatur und Kultur von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart*. München: Oldenburg Verlag, pp. 11-50.
- Sinclair, A. (1969): *Aristokraten im 20. Jahrhundert*. Wien, Berlin: Paul Neff Verlag.
- Solodyankina, O. (2017a). Cross-cultural closeness: Foreign governesses in the Russian empire, c. 1700–1850. In Ilmakunnas, J. & Rahikainen, M. & Vainio-Korhonen, K. (Eds.): *Early Professional Women in Northern Europe, c. 1650–1850* (pp. 217-243). London, New York: Routledge,.
- Solodyankina, O. (2017b). The Mediterranean region and the Mediterranean images in the activities of foreign tutors and governesses in the Russian Empire. *Historia provinciae – the journal of regional history*, 1(1), 5-23. doi: 10.23859/2587-8352-2017-1-1-1.
- Stevens, M. E. (2007). *Levelek az Andrássy-házból (1864-69)*. Budapest: General Press.
- Suttner, H. (Ed.) (1878). *Jahres-Bericht über das Gymnasium der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie in Wien für das Schuljahr 1877–78*. Wien: Verlag der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie.
- Szalai, M. (2003): *Ifjabb Andrássy Gyula élete és pályája*. Budapest: MTA Történettudomány Intézete.
- Theresianum (n.d.). *Katolikus Lexikon*, from <http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/T/Theresianum.html>.
- Virág, I. (2013). *A magyar arisztokrácia neveltetése (1790–1848)*. Eger: EKF Líceum Kiadó.

Wasson, E. (2006). *Aristocracy and the Modern World*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ziwsa, K. (Ed.) (1985). *Jahres-Bericht des Gymnasiums der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie in Wien veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1895*. Wien: Verlag der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie.