ISTVÁN PÁL ÁDÁM

Ádám István Pál: Anti-Jewish Episodes in Interwar Hungary's Educational Institutions.
Hurbán, 1.évf. 1. sz., 2023. 26-47.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.66478/Hurban.2023.1.26-47

ANTI-JEWISH EPISODES IN INTERWAR HUNGARY'S EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

2020 marked the 100th anniversary of the introduction of the emblematic first anti-Jewish law of modern Hungary, the Numerus Clausus. A hundred years ago, the goal of this bill was clear: to initiate a change in the educated elite of the Hungarian middle classes. Even though the goal was crystal clear, there were several types of opinions why this legislation was necessary. In her book, Down by Law, Mária M. Kovács lists various alleged justifications which were reinforced by the contemporary media and politicians.[1] Such pretexts included the Jews' alleged front service shirking and financial profiting from the suffering of the masses during the First World War, and the Judeo-Bolshevik characterization of the immediate post-war revolutions. Moreover, Jews were often blamed for the harsh resolutions of the Trianon Peace Treaty. Besides becoming popular slogans among the supporters of the Numerus Clausus Law, these arguments represented a widely shared anti-Jewish sentiment, which caused a long series of attacks against Hungarians of Jewish origin in interwar times, including the incidents which I want to look at in this paper. If one thing was common in the argumentation of the attackers and the initiators of the Numerus Clausus Law, it was that they all believed that the Jews were not deserving of equal rights, or equal treatments with their fellow Hungarian citizens.[2] They did not really believe in the inferiority of Jews, like did the German Nazis. Rather this was a popular antisemitic belief that saw the Jews as dangerously talented in intellectual and commercial areas, while pictured them as cowardly in fighting, and saw Jewish Hungarians serving foreign interests.[3]

While scholars paid attention to the understanding of the Jewish community leaders of the situation created by the introduction of a numerus clausus in higher education,[4] in contrast to this, the present paper aims to give voice to those who fell victim to the above mentioned anti-Jewish incidents. Their first-hand experience, their perception of the situation, and their argumentation exceptionally expressed in public protests against the baseless accusations and harassments could serve as another valuable perspective of the numerus clausus debate.

1 Kovács 2012: 66–67.
2 On the various types of anti-Jewish arguments circulating in Hungarian public life after 1916 see Bihari 2008: 201–222.
3 Victor Karady suggests that once Jews were freely admitted to all levels of elite schooling, they clearly appeared to be more successful than their Gentile schoolmates, because of their cultural and religious background. The Jewish Hungarians' "advanced measure of literacy in Hebrew, ...multilingualism, their 'religious intellectualism' based on the habit of Talmudic learning, the socially in-built appreciation of studying, and the cult of (sacred) texts and books" proved to be an anthropological advantage to the Hungarian students studying with them in secondary level or in universities. See on this Karady 2017: 27.
4 See for example Frojimovics 2011: 233–243.

I will analyse, among others, the interactions with the authorities of Jewish university students who suffered anti-Jewish attacks in the autumn of 1933, and cite reports of the Legal Aid office of the Pest Israelite Community from 1919–1920 as well. I intend to apply here a micro-historical approach in order to be able to recall something about the contemporary insiders' view, and by this further contextualize what Mária M. Kovács and other scholars have revealed about the legislators and the campaigners of the infamous law.

ANTI-JEWISH AGGRESSION IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN EARLY POST-FIRST WORLD WAR BUDAPEST

As Eliza Ablovatski argues in her book, post-First World War revolutionary violence meant that actors of local political violence acted with the belief that their actions were part of world politics. Thus "local events were perceived in an international and world historical context."[5] Her statement is certainly valid for great majority of the perpetrators of anti-Jewish crimes in immediate post-war Hungary. White terror, at least in theory, should have been targeting, first and foremost, the Bolshevik. However, through the Judeo-Bolshevik myth, masses of Jewish Hungarians became the primary targets of the paramilitary troops and of the National Army's members.[6] To some extent, it was a collective punishment against all Jewish Hungarians for some of them appearing among the leaders of the immediate post-First World War revolutions. Although admitting that a large number of the Hungarian Soviet Republic's leaders had a Jewish background, scholars estimate that only some 3,000 Jewish Hungarians took part in the Soviet Councils' Republic itself, whereas hundreds of thousands of others stayed out of it, or even became the victims of the Red Terror.[7] In spite of this, the Judeo-Bolshevik myth was present in the Numerus Clausus Law as well, which ordered the investigation of the university applicants' potential involvement in the Hungarian Soviet revolution (officially called the Councils' Republic, March – August, 1919).[8] For this purpose, the law introduced a special clause about "loyalty to the nation" [nemzethűség] as a precondition for university enrolment. This clause was often used to deny the entry of Jewish applicants to higher education. What is more, hundreds of returning Jewish Hungarian students in their second, third, fourth years had to also abandon

5 Ablovatski 2021: 80.
6 Béla Bodó shows that even a leading capitalist family of Jewish origin, like the Tószegi's could be identified as "dangerous Communists" by the National Army in August, 1919. Bodó 2019: XII, 9–16.
7 Kovács 2012: 67.
8 On the Judeo-Bolshevik myth see Hanebrink 2018.

their studies, because right-wing members of the admissions committees had denied the issuing of a certificate of "loyalty to the nation" for them.[9]

To be fair, non-Jewish applicants had to go through this check as well, like the young Géza Féja, who with millions of other Hungarians suddenly found himself living under the authority of the newly formed Czechoslovak Republic after the First World War. As he describes it in his memoir, Féja chose to leave his homeland and moved to Budapest in early 1920, where one of the first things he did was visit a university. He writes that he thought he was entering "the temple of academia" but it seemed he rather got into an army barracks, where the university youth had formed guard battalions and had pictured themselves as an elite army unit of Christianity.[10] Wishing to attend university, Féja had to go through a screening of his "past": his childhood and teenage years, an investigation which aimed to screen out Bolsheviks and Jews.

He also remembers a tall, moustached patrolman at the entrance of the university building who stopped everyone he thought had a "Jewish appearance" and attacked them with a bludgeon.[11]

In those times, following the ousting of Béla Kun and the Councils' Republic, the person who was undoubtedly best informed about the majority of the anti-Jewish attacks was Dr. Géza Dombováry. He was a lawyer primarily known as a defender of Jewish rights, who in the years 1919 to 1922 led the Legal Aid Office at the Pest Israelite Community. He and his colleagues listened to the complaints of the attacked Jews day after day and sent dozens of petitions to the authorities to draw attention to the injustice.[12] Some of these complaints were directly connected to the blocking of the education of Jewish Hungarian youth. For example, in 1919, case no. 147 of the Legal Aid Office gives an account of a Jewish gentleman who on 17 September 1919, accompanied his daughter who intended to enroll to the College of Fine Arts of Budapest. Father and daughter, however, were stopped in the corridor of the college by unknown young men. They acted as guards, and as such they requested a proof from the father which would prove he was a Christian. Since this sort of proof was not available, they did not allow the father and daughter to enter the admissions office of the college, and by this act they managed to physically prevent this young Jewish woman from matriculating.[13] This incident corresponds not only to the above referenced memories of Géza Féja, but also to Mária M. Kovács's findings about the immediate post-Soviet revolution times, when, according to her, paramilitary guards were formed from right-wing higher education students. These units then controlled the corridors of most universities and colleges, and through continuous identity checks they segregated students of Jewish origin, they blocked them from entering, and chased them away from the entry of the buildings.[14] Similarly, historian Béla Bodó finds that the two most import-

9 Kovács 2012: 133–135; and, in more detail, Ladányi 1979.
10 Féja 1965: 10.
11 Féja 1965: 10–11.
12 In 1921, the Neolog Jewish Communities' yearly report in the journal *Egyenlőség* mentions that "thanks to Dr. Dombováry's hard work" the Legal Aid Office sent all together 130 complaints to the representatives of the Hungarian government about anti-Jewish harassments. *Egyenlőség*, 18 June, 1921. 7.
13 Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives, HU MZSL PIH-I-E, boxes no. B 10/2 and 3, Black Book, claimant Dr. Izsó Himler, case number 147.
14 Kovács 2012: 113.

ant student militias were formed in August 1919 at the University of Budapest and at the Technical University of Budapest, and they were tasked to help restoring the public order in the Hungarian capital after the Councils' Republic.[15] Bodó argues that

> *"in the fall of 1919, the two student battalions enjoyed the support of the occupying Romanian Army, the new Friedrich government, and the veteran and patriotic associations, such as the MOVE [Hungarian National Defense Organization] and the ÉME [Association of Awakening Hungarians] … The two student battalions hated the working class, labor activists, and the representatives of the defunct democratic and Communist regimes. For more than a year, armed Right radical students terrorized Jewish students and professors on university campuses in the capital. As members of the civic guards in charge of maintaining order, they also harassed, robbed, physically abused, and otherwise humiliated Jews on the streets and parks, in railways station, restaurants, cafes, swimming pools, and other public places. Hence, instead of becoming a source of order, the student militias functioned as one of the main sources of disorder in the capital."*[16]

The clients of Dombováry and the Jewish Legal Aid Office suffered harassment from these radicalized students. For instance, in September 1919, Dombováry recorded a complaint from Ervin Burg, a medical student who, along with fifteen other Jews, was living in a medical student dormitory (Medikus otthon). The building supervisor was summoned to a right-wing university guard headquarters, where he was told to evict all Jews from the building.[17] Most of the non-Jews living in the dormitory were members of the Association of Awakening Hungarians, who kept threatening their Jewish neighbours, thus their co-existence was far from peaceful. At the end, due to the widespread anti-Jewish violence, in October 1919 the ministry had to suspend all higher educational activity in Hungary until spring 1920. And even when teaching resumed at the universities, the radical youth movements were given two seats on the five-member committees which investigated the new applicants' background, including their "loyalty to the nation," thus they managed to keep their influence.[18]

Adult members of Awakening Hungarians appeared in other educational institutions as well. On the 31st of May1920, they entered the commercial school on Thököly Street and beat up the Jewish pupils.[19] Four days prior to this, members of the same organization entered the Commercial School for boys of Mester Street. Here, however, the director, Mr. Körömy fought off the attack, along with two teachers, whom the report identifies only as Christians. Just to mention one last case, the young Jenő Kácsér had been the pupil of the gymnasium on Tavaszmező Street, until some of his schoolmates joined the Association of Awakening Hungarians. From that very moment, they were not willing to attend the same classes with the claimant and another Jewish pupil. Here the director of the school

15 Bodó notes that "student militias functioned as quasi-state organizations …members of the university battalions had the right to carry a sidearm and a bludgeon encased in leather", the latter was called "Horthy stick". Bodó 2019: 252.
16 Bodó 2011: 146–147. See also Bodó 2019: 252–257.
17 Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives, HU MZSL PIH-I-E, boxes no. B 10/2 and 3, Black Book, Burg case, number 152.
18 Kovács 2012: 113–114.
19 Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives, HU MZSL PIH-I-E, boxes no. B 10/2 and 3, Black Book, case no. 151, no name of the complaint is registered.

intervened and proposed the two Jewish boys to become private pupils, meaning, study at home and only come to school for the yearly exams.[20] The head of the legal aid office, Dr. Dombováry contested the segregation: he wrote a report to the Minister of Education and requested official investigation in this case and the re-entry of the claimant to the gymnasium. Generally, it is remarkable how quickly an organized channel was ready for the attacked Jewish Hungarians to file complaints. It is also interesting how confidently the leader of the Legal Aid Office delivered these reports to the authorities, despite the fact that these authorities at this point showed little interest in protecting Hungarian Jewry. But it is even more significant that in some of the cases, like the above-mentioned boys' school on Mester Street, Christian teachers stepped up and confronted the antisemitic attackers. With their involvement, we might be able to reposition some of these conflicts – instead of the usual Jewish versus non-Jewish trajectory – into an ordinary versus extra-ordinary dichotomy. The involvement of non-Jews, specifically Christian teachers, who protected Jewish pupils in these conflicts, shows how strong the desire was to return to normalcy after the upheavals of world war and revolution. Another noteworthy circumstance is that those who intervened to stop the anti-Jewish attack, the teachers had an unusually low social status at this times.[21] Due to the four exhausting years of war, the living standard in Hungarian society radically decreased everywhere. But the estimated 50-90 percent decrease hit white-collar professions than physical workers, whose salaries were, in these exceptional times were higher than, for example, the teachers' earning, which caused changes in the social stratification as well.[22] This unusually low social appreciation is something one needs to keep in mind when considering the teachers' voluntary involvement in the conflict of antisemites and the attacked pupils at the Mester Street school, and in other locations.

The protocols prepared by the Legal Aid Office of the Pest Israelite Community about dozens of anti-Jewish incidents are known for scholars, several of them already worked with these primary sources.[23] However, when evaluating these sources, scholars so far had not paid a special attention to the individual leading the legal office, Dr. Dombováry. In my view, understanding his personality, his court room activity, his activist work style and his terrific commitment are key in decoding these protocols. First of all, it is worth noting that Dr. Dombováry was neither a typical intellectual, nor a particularly active participant in Hungarian Jewish affairs. Instead, he was raised to become a Hungarian nobleman. His father, Géza Schulhof von Dombovár had been a successful lawyer in Budapest, who had received ennoblement from Franz Joseph in 1885.[24] Some 50 days prior to his 19th birthday, the young Géza Dombováry was sent to army officer training, to join Regiment no. 2, of

20 Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives, HU MZSL PIH-I-E, boxes no. B 10/2 and 3, Black Book, claimant: Jenő Kácsér, case number 150.

21 Péter Bihari finds that the social status of school teachers dropped especially due to their tasks in distributing food ration cards during the First World War, an activity which brought lots of conflicts with everyday individuals like the building concierges. Bihari 2008:140.

22 Ablonczy 2020: 219.

23 See for example Lazaroms 2014: 1–10. In this piece, Lazaroms focused on the narrative perspective, and approached the sources from a more literary view. Contrary to this, Eliza Ablovatski, in her book (2021), used the sources from the Legal Aid Office for drawing up a comparison between different forms of revolutionary political violence in Central Europe. Moreover, some of Béla Bodó's or Paul Hanebrink's findings are also based on the protocols prepared by the Dr. Dombováry-led Legal Aid Office. Find them in Bodó 2019, and in Hanebrink 2020.

24 See Géza Schulhof's ennoblement file at MNL OL, Hungarian National Archives, K148-1907-item no. 2.-no 241.

the K und K army.[25] This shows how his father imagined his future: his upbringing followed the pattern of the Monarchy's upper middle-class' at the end of the century. Already in his university years Géza Dombováry became known to be a duelling hero.[26] The leading Neolog Jewish newspaper, the Egyenlőség, mentions him winning a duel as early as 1895 after a conflict with a group of right wing students, who had been spreading antisemitic leaflets in the premises of the Budapest university.[27] Later he became a proud veteran of the First World War, and as such, he was particularly sensitive to the misleading claims of politicians, journalists, and highly influential clerics, like the Catholic bishop Ottokár Prohászka. In summer of 1918, Prohászka already demanded the introduction of a numerus clausus in higher education and described Jewish men as shirkers, war profiteers and a threat to Hungarian culture.[28] Dr. Dombováry did a lot to counter these and other anti-Jewish claims, and regarded himself as what we would today call a civil rights activist. He purposefully chose legal cases where he could appear in public as a champion of Jewish legal self-defense, which was another important contribution of his to the interwar debate of the Jewish question in Hungary. One such occasion was a show trial in 1921-22 at the Budapest court over the number of fallen Jewish soldiers.[29] Years after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the understanding of the First World War among Jewish and non-Jewish Hungarians still differed radically, so much so that a headcount of the lost souls seemed necessary to arrive at the truth.[30] At the end of a lengthy court procedure, on 2 November 1922, the Central Statistical Office released a report citing a figure of 10,000 fallen Jewish Hungarian soldiers. The Hungarian Jewish press commented that "with this trial and the resulting verdict [...] 25 months after the acceptance of the Numerus Clausus Act, the main argument of the antisemites about the untrustworthiness of Hungarian Jewry and their lack of loyalty were shown to be a lie."[31]

BRUTALIZATION EFFECT OF THE WAR AND THE ANTI-JEWISH AGGRESSION IN HUNGARY

25 Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv – Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Archiv der Republik Östereich, Kriegsarchiv, see the so-called Qualifikationslisten, 479, box Domansky – Döme.
26 Budapest newspapers often reported about Dombováry's duel activity. For example, he received a short, two-day-long incarceration in 1908 for duelling with another lawyer J. Fuchs (see this in *Budapesti Hirlap*, 29 August, 1908. 10). Géza Dombováry later became also a leader of the Jewish athletic club, the VAC's fencing branch.
27 *Egyenlőség*, 8 November, 1895. 10.
28 Bihari 2008: 234–235.
29 See Ballagi 1921.
30 Szabolcsi 1993: 325.
31 Ernő Ballagi is cited in Szabolcsi 1993: 319.

As George L. Mosse has argued, the "continuation of wartime attitudes into peace furthered a certain brutalization of politics, a heightened indifference to human life." Moreover, he claimed that the "outcome of the process of brutalization in the interwar years was to energize man, to propel him into action against the political enemy."[32] Robert Gerwarth revised this view, arguing that this brutal attitude did not derive directly from the war experience, but rather from a general sense of being threatened in the early postwar times. He maintains that this "threat" was a dominant feeling among former Central European soldiers and especially among officers whose country had lost the war, and consequently had to accept the harsh Paris Peace Treaties.[33] Thus, the defeat, the post-war territorial losses, and at the same time, the internal political revolutions where the reasons why thousands of army officers went into paramilitary activities instead of peacefully demobilizing.[34]

In Hungary, where pogroms swept through the country in the autumn 1918, and where Red Terror was followed by White Terror, it is easy to validate the claims both Mosse and Gerwarth. The most feared paramilitary group was perhaps the Héjjas-detachment, formed around a discharged officer of the former Austro-Hungarian army, Lieutenant Iván Héjjas. Building on anger towards the Soviets, Héjjas led a bloody anti-Communists and anti-Jewish purge in the area of Kecskemét. His militiamen were to blame for the murder of hundreds of Jews in the Hungarian provinces, whilst other paramilitary groups in Budapest attacked café houses and beat the Jewish customers.[35] The majority of these acts of aggression were reported to the authorities by Dr. Dombováry, who also represented the attacked at the court level.[36] Héjjas was even connected to a bomb attack against the charity ball of the Csongrád Jewish Women's Club, which killed three participants, and wounded 22 as late as on 26 December, 1923.[37] Whilst analyzing the background of terror acts and political murders in interwar Germany, George L. Mosse concludes that "[t]he vocabulary of political battle, the desire to utterly destroy the political enemy, and the way in which these adversaries were pictured, all seemed to continue the First World War, mostly against a set of different internal foes."[38] "The enemy was transformed into the anti-type,

symbolizing the reversal of all the values which society held dear."[39] Nevertheless, what Dr. Dombováry did was exactly to keep himself to the pre-war, peacetime values, when

32 Mosse 1990: 159.
33 Gerwarth 2012: 53.
34 I am, of course, not the first one to apply Mosse's original brutalization thesis and Gerwarth's and Horne's theses about paramilitary violence and the long civil war to the Hungarian case. Most recently see this in Bodó 2019: 44–46.
35 Kádár – Vági 2013: 111–112. In July 1920 first the City, and some two weeks later, the Club café buildings were bombed, with two casualties in the latter instance, a Jewish Hungarian director of a bank and a lawyer. See Kovács 2012: 85. See also Bodó 2019: 75.
36 For example, Dr. Dombováry was the legal representative of the Izsák Jews, who were robbed and then expelled from their village. See on this an article in *Az Est*, entitled "Az izsáki áldozatok özvegyeinek vallomása a szörnyű éjszakáról", *Az Est*, 5 July, 1922.
37 Serfőző 1976: 28.
38 Mosse 1990: 160.
39 Mosse 1990: 174.

reporting the cases of anti-Jewish harassments, and by this transforming them to legal cases.

A CONSOLIDATION INITIATIVE FROM THE GOVERNMENT AND ITS OPPOSITION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF DEBRECEN

The second part of this paper introduces a case a decade later and from a countryside university, from Debrecen, which is why it is necessary to point out some of the differences between this city and the capital of Hungary. While Budapest was sometimes mocked Judapest because of the high percentage of Jews in its population – many of them were engaged into the process of modernization – Debrecen had a much more agrarian character, and was labelled the Calvinist Rome. Béla Bodó maintains that after August 1919, "the University of Debrecen made a name for itself as the most unwelcoming place for Jews. Militant antisemites barred the entrances of university buildings and lecture halls to their Jewish classmates; they interrupted lectures and seminars held by liberal and Jewish professors; and attacked Jewish students in the student canteen and on the streets."[40]

Staying within the realm of the university, one prominent example of the milieu is Vilmos Haendel a well-known professor of the Faculty of Law. Aside from this position, he was also the head of the United Christian National League in Debrecen during the entire interwar period.[41] At the university, his primary subject was political science, but Haendel also thought common law and other topics. During the short-lived Councils' Republic in April 1919, Professor Haendel, along with two other professors from the University of Debrecen, was arrested because of their political views.[42] For contemporaries the revolutionary judicial tribunals represented class justice and were a part of the Red Terror.[43] Professor Haendel had first-hand experiences of class justice, as he was only freed in mid-June 1919. This prison experience and the shock of Trianon had a lot to do with his interwar teaching activity being characterized as radical nationalistic, "Christian race-protection"-oriented, and strongly antisemitic. Professor Haendel became the Dean of the Faulty of Law at the University of Debrecen first in 1923 and then again in the mid-1930s.[44] His life is known from Béla P. Szabó's insightful research. However, when P. Szabó reveals the names of the other Debrecen professors from the Faculty of Law who were arrested by the Hungarian Bolsheviks in 1919, he fails to mention that one of them, Professor Bernolák, played a crucial role in the creation of the Numerus Clausus Law. In 1920, Bernolák, as an MP, introduced an amendment of the original Numerus Clausus bill and argued in the parliament that the Jewry as an ethnic group should not be represented in high numbers in intellectual professions.[45] Thus, after being freed from the hands of the revolutionary judicial

40 Bodó 2019: 165–166.
41 In Hungarian it was called: Egyesült Keresztény Nemzeti Liga.
42 Szabó 2020: 20–21.
43 Ablovatski 2021: 104.
44 Szabó 2020: 26, 15, 21–24.
45 Kovács 2012: 50–51. Here Kovács quotes Bernolák's speech from 3 September, 1920, from *Nemzetgyűlési Napló*, 1920, V., 185.

tribunals, Professors Bernolák and Haendel both showed signs of right-wing radicalization.

In the early 1920s, the post-Trianon Teleki and Bethlen governments in Budapest recognized the need of a consolidation. As Bodó puts this, "the social and political elite decided to turn against the militias for political reasons: they had to come to regard violence as counterproductive and inimical to political stabilization and economic recovery…"[46] Part of this process was that prime minister Teleki suspended all activities of the Association of Awakening Hungarians after a series of terror attacks, including in it the Club Café incident ,in the second half of 1920.[47] Although this organization was later allowed to restart, following an extreme right-wing coup attempt, Teleki's successor, Prime Minister István Bethlen, again stepped up against them. For example, he made it forbidden for civil servants to become members of the Awakening Hungarians. What is more important, the supreme leader of Hungary, Regent Horthy, declared that he was going to order the country's armed forces to shoot at the extreme right-wing organizers of disorder the same way as he would do it against the left-wing revolution.[48] This resolute governmental approach against all kinds of extremism and the political consolidation of the counter-revolutionary regime indeed reduced far-right street violence. According to Bodó, there was a notable difference in the police's reaction. While in the antisemitic riots of 1919,–1920 policemen hardly ever stepped up against the rioters, in early March 1922, when the mob attacked Jewish pedestrians in Budapest, the police promptly arrived and "put an end to the disturbance".[49] Thus, political violence was not tolerated anymore, even though the right-wing organizations remained strong among students. However, it is worth keeping in mind two circumstances when evaluating the popularity of the Turul Association, the most powerful student organization of the epoch. First, regarding the available options, Róbert Kerepeszky demonstrates that the banning of leftist and liberal student groups after the Soviet revolution created a "»vacuum« that arose in the social and association life of young people."[50] Second, in the early 1920's, as Károly Bíró, an attorney of law explained it decades later in his denazification process, a membership in the Turul was necessary if someone wanted access to basic institutions like student dormitories or student canteens[51] Therefore, pragmatic reasons helped to persuade students to join the Turul, nevertheless, popular instructors like Professor Haendel also played a part in spreading radical ideas.

In his foreign policy, from economic necessities, Prime Minister Bethlen wanted to open toward the League of Nations, which, however, required the formal acceptance of the Tri-

46 Bodó 2019: XXIV.
47 Romsics 2017: 73.
48 Romsics 2017: 128.
49 Bodó 2019: 257.
50 Kerepeszky 2012: 136.
51 HU BFL XVII. 1531 Records of the denazification committee working within the Budapest Attorneys' BAR Association, box No. 1, the case of Dr. Károly Bíró.

anon borders.[52] This was way too much for people like Professor Vilmos Haendel, and when there was an initiative to invite some leaders of the League of Nations to the University of Debrecen, he voiced his concerns to the university council. As he explained, the LoN's pacifist credo aims to push the Hungarian nation's soul in a deep depression, which he saw as an attempt of confirming the Paris Treaties.[53] In October 1923, as a city council representative, Haendel protested against a declaration in which the city of Debrecen intended to express its support to Prime Minister Bethlen in the consolidation process.[54] When the city wanted to provide significant financial support to the Jewish gymnasium of Debrecen at the end of 1924, Haendel appealed against the decision. Also, in 1924, Professor Haendel called his university council to observe more rigidly the Numerus Clausus Law, saying that he saw it impossible to admit any more Jewish students as long as there were more of them admitted than the maximum contingent allowed by the law.[55] In addition, in the 1920s, allegedly instigated by Professor Haendel and other instructors, right-wing students of the University of Debrecen blocked multiple times the participation of Jewish students in academic life.[56]

THE EXPRESSIONS OF HERO CULT AND DOCUMENTING HARASSMENT AS A METHOD OF RESISTANCE

When debating the Numerus Clausus Law, the fallen Jewish soldiers were of central importance to the Hungarian Jews. Heroism in war could seemingly overwrite the general distrust connected to Jewish origin, and the Numerus Clausus Law itself provided exemptions for the offspring of the war heroes. In all cultures, as notes Micheal Freeden, the war dead occupies a special place partly because the war heroes provide a symbolic protection to the rest of the community.[57] George Mosse's reflections on the "Myth of the War Experience" are also applicable to the Hungarian public discourse around the Jewish question. Mosse detected in German society a deceptively positive understanding of the First World War, which was later transmitted to the coming generations as well. A central part of this notion was the "cult of the fallen soldier," which provided a linkage to manliness and national glory. This "Myth of the War Experience" was equally present on both sides of the Hungarian numerus clausus debate, meaning both the right-wing Christian Hungarians and the attacked Hungarian Jews, used this as a mobilizing myth, even though their experiences of the First World War were radically different.

The mainstream Hungarian appreciation for war heroes was present even in the 1928

52 Romsics 2017: 98–99.
53 Szabó 2020: 24.
54 Szabó 2020: 30.
55 Szabó 2020: 29.
56 Szabó 2020: 29.
57 Freeden 2011: 2.

modification of the Numerus Clausus, which gave preferential treatment to war orphans and children of surviving service men.[58] However throughout the entire interwar period, the number of Jewish fallen soldiers remained an important question in Jewish Hungarian public life as well. The Jewish Lexicon, edited by Péter Újvári and published in Budapest in 1929, for example, under the title "World War" debated a recent recount of Jewish heroes, with claimed that there had been no more than 5,116 fallen Jewish soldiers if one looks solely at the losses of the post-Trianon Jewry.[59] Additionally, the Hungarian government also addressed calls to each of the religious denominations to commemorate their war martyrs.[60] After all, it was no surprise that the Jewish Community of Pest announced the building of a so-called Heroes's Temple [Hősök emléktemploma] next to the Dohány synagogue. But the Jewish community leaders not only intended to build a new synagogue: they also wanted to collect again the names of the approximately 10,000 Jewish Hungarian soldiers who scarified their lives for their homeland. They needed these names because they intended to engrave them in the walls of the new synagogue.

The Heroes's Temple project of the Jewish Community of Pest was recognized by a larger audience as having a revisionist character, including including the Czechoslovak authorities.[61] In order to fulfil their goal, the leaders of the Pest Jewish Community had to approach the pre-Trianon Jewish communities. However, in the Upper Lands (now part of Slovakia) the Czechoslovak administration advised against contributing to this project.[62] As underlined by Rebekah Klein-Pejsová, the designed memorial was supposed to commemorate the Jews' patriotism to Hungary. When they wanting to include into the 10,000 war heroes those Jews as well, whose surviving relatives since Trianon lived already as Czechoslovak citizens, when asking for their personal data from the local Jewish communities, Hungarian Jewish leaders ignored the loyalty expected from this people by their new homeland. "The creation of the Czechoslovak state in which they now lived depended on the collapse of the monarchy, and its continued existence rested on keeping the revisionist ambitions of postwar Hungary at bay."[63] Although the limited cooperation with the Hungarian- speaking Jewish communities from Czechoslovakia did not bring the required results, the Jewish leaders in Budapest showed remarkable insistence in this topic. It is enough to quote here an advertisement from a Hungarian newspaper from September 1932, in which the Pest Israelite Community's leadership calls on every Jewish family to report the name of their fallen loved ones and the date of their heroic death. Fourteen years after the end of the First World War, they still insisted on collecting these names to be able to commemorate their Yahrzeit. On the anniversary of the death of each and every Hungarian Jewish fallen soldier, they intended to recite the Kaddish prayer in the newly built Heroes' Temple next to the Dohány synagogue. Introducing this custom in 1932 and building the Heroes' Temple itself, these measures contributed to the transmission of an ideal type of Hungarian Jewish man, ready to make sacrifices for his beloved Hungarian homeland. The values of patriotism, camaraderie, and masculine bravery were thus reinforced in the entire Jewish

58 Kovács 2012: 200; find here the text of the modification under footnote no. 478.
59 Újvári 1929: 950–951.
60 Klein-Pejsová 2015: 110.
61 Klein-Pejsová 2015: 109.
62 Klein-Pejsová 2015: 110.
63 Klein-Pejsová 2015: 111.

community with these initiatives, and Hungarian Jewish youth expressed their faithfulness towards these values in their documents. Their repeated duel activity could be connected to this as well.

Starting from the last decades of the nineteenth century, to become duel-worthy was a special form of Jewish emancipation. It opened up a new form of social intercourse between educated Jews and non-Jews, because through duelling educated and armed Jews could defend their honour. In a strict legal sense duelling was forbidden, but it was approved by cultural habits and by the leniency of its criminal punishment.[64] Unlike in Hungary, many nationalist student fraternities in Austria followed the Principle of Waidhofen excluding Jews from duels and other honorary affairs. But it was not the case in the Hungarian provinces, where alone in Debrecen, there were at least 18 honorary affairs, and 6 duels fought between Jewish and non-Jewish university students in the years of 1930-1932.

ANTI-JEWISH DISTURBANCES AT THE ISTVÁN TISZA UNIVERSITY OF DEBRECEN, 1933

Following the 1928 modification of the Numerus Clausus Law, and the elimination of the original "Jewish clause" from this bill, anti-Jewish violence at Hungarian universities intensified. The number of Jewish university students continued to grow, constituting more than 10% of the total student population in the early 1930s, and the appointment of Gyula Gömbös, a right-wing radical, as prime minister resulted in even greater university unrest in 1932–33. This unrest had a lot to do with the economic depression as "the employment of young graduates with fresh diplomas came up against mounting challenges."[65] According to, Andor Ladányi, radical student organizations like the Turul Association started to demand a strict enforcement of the original numerus clausus restrictions and the application of quotas for the nostrification of foreign university degrees.[66] They also demanded a racial definition of "Jewishness" and "ghetto benches" for Jewish university students. When the right-wing students' demands were not fulfilled, an even stronger anti-Jewish wave swept through the universities of Szeged, Budapest, and Debrecen in October–November 1932. As a result of the protests, the ratio of first year students with Jewish origin decreased significantly in the next academic year, and the steepest decline was at the University of Debrecen, where it dropped from approximately 15 percent to 6.6 percent.[67] Nevertheless, the harassment of Jewish university students resumed in the autumn of 1933. In Debrecen, the most widespread Jew-baiting happened on 13 November 1933, and this paper will take a closer look at the reaction to these events by Jewish students at the István Tisza University. The complaint of the Association of Israelite students (MIEFHOE), which was sent to the rector of the university, has survived, including an attachment that

64 Löwenheim 1992: 83–94.
65 Ladányi 2012: 110. This was a problem which generated antisemitic unrest also in the neighbouring countries, see for example in the case of Romania Rigó 2022: 220–256.
66 Ladányi 2005: 60.
67 Ladányi 2005: 61.

lists no less than 49 anti-Jewish incidents that happened in November 1933 alone.[68]

The letter from the Association of Israelite Students claims that prior to the actual physical aggression, there were already signs of rising anti-Jewish sentiment at the university. On 10 November, members of the Werbőczy fraternity at the Faculty of Law forced Jewish law students out of the auditorium, (Point 2) and the following day a second-year Jewish student at the same faculty was beaten up by about twenty first-year students until the victim finally found shelter at the janitor's lodge. He had to hide there until 1 P.M., when two policemen escorted him out of the building. (Point 7) On several occasions, Jews were simply denied entry to the lecture rooms, but Tibor Roth, was also kicked down the stairs when he tried to enter a Roman Law seminar. (Point 10) Interestingly, most of the early acts of aggression took place among law students, even though there were many more students with Jewish background at the medical faculty than at the Faculty of Law, where Professors Bernolák and Haendel were teaching.

At the university's medical clinic, the Csaba fraternity scheduled a meeting for Monday, 13 November at 9 A.M. (Point 12) This meeting was advertised in the Saturday edition of the local newspaper. Thus at the medical faculty, events were prepared, while at the Faculty of Law, Jew baiting had a more spontaneous character a couple of days earlier. Yet, it is important to underline that both of these fraternity groups were founded by the extreme-right wing Turul movement. The Turul actually had branches similar to the German Burschenschaft groups at all the different university faculties, each of them named after some Hungarian historical heroes or famous scientists.[69] In November 1933 in Debrecen, it was again the Turul movement which could best mobilize its members, and part of this mobilization was the announcement in the local newspaper. Some of the gathered students quickly attacked two of their Jewish colleagues. Later they searched for more potential victims among the second-year medical students, whose physiology lecture was ending at 10 A.M. The attackers at the medical faculty were generally more cruel and caused more severe injuries to the Jewish students than at the Faculty of Law. They often used sticks as weapons (Points 12-15). One of those attacked was Miklós Kornfeld, a first-year student, who had, two years earlier, been mentioned in the yearbook of the Jewish high school of Debrecen for receiving a 15-pengő-award for his excellent school marks. On 13 November 1933, the members of the Csaba fraternity beat him up while calling him a "stinky Jew". (Point 12) Besides Kornfeld, some twelve more Jewish medical students, both male and female, were beaten up when members of the Csaba fraternity went from floor to floor of the medical faculty, always waiting at the doors until a lecture has ended. The report identifies three assistant professors and a professor who witnessed the aggression but made no attempt to protect the Jewish students. (Points 16-17) Professor Went called only the Csaba fraternity group and the joined antisemites to leave the premises of the university, and then outside "do whatever you want". (Point 17) Hence, this professor was not against the anti-Jewish violence as such, but he did not want it to happen within the territory of the university.

The report also names Ferenc Kokas and Mihály Kenderessy, who were second-year

68 Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives, HU MZSL IX-11 (B8/5), MIEFHOE unnumbered minutes, T.73.34.
69 Kerepeszki 2012: 45.

medical students that helped identify Jewish students.[70] This appeared to be necessary as extreme right-wing students had joined the anti-Jewish attackers from other faculties as well, who had little or no idea about the religious or ethnic background of the medical students. (Points 25-26) Remarkably, a Hungarian-language Jewish weekly published in Czechoslovakia estimated the number of the attackers around 300, and it claimed that most of them were the students of law or economics.[71] Contrary to this, the political newspaper Ujság cited Zsigmond Vargha the Rector of the Debrecen University, who stated that the attackers were not all medical students, and some of them were not even university students at all.[72] Even though the background of the attackers is somewhat debated, it is fair to say that the majority of the non-Jewish medical students at the University of Debrecen were members of the Csaba fraternity: for example, in the 1934-35 academic year 61 percent of all medical students were Csaba members.[73] Nevertheless, this means still far less than the cited approximately 300 people, as usually there were some 250–270 students at the medical faculty altogether. In November 1933, the Rector explained that he immediately closed the campus and ordered the security guards to ask anyone wanting to leave the premises for identification. Many rioters fled the scene by climbing through the fence, but the Rector was committed to finding those responsible for the attacks, and called the youth to behave in a disciplined manner in these difficult times.[74]

The Association of Israelite Students had to expand the original list of incidents a week later because, on the eve of 20 November 1933 the fraternity groups and other members of the Turul Association gathered around the dormitory and canteen of Jewish university students in Debrecen, at Piac Street 6. The groups shouted anti-Jewish slogans and intended to restart the physical harassment until sections of mounted police intervened and dispersed the demonstrators.[75] (Point 29) When some of the Jewish students of the Debrecen university reported physical attacks to the authorities, the head of the police, chief captain Dezső Lám claimed that he had been aware of a letter allegedly written by "the Jews" threatening the Christian Hungarian students. According to him, this particular letter had triggered the anti-Jewish aggression at the university, thus he immediately placed the blame on the victims. (Point 30). It was not just a simple pretext, similar accusations circulated widely among the members of the Turul Association, and this was related to the constant sense of being threatened described by historian Robert Gerwarth.[76] The big social movements of the era, like the Turul Association, the Awakening Hungarians and the Hungarian National Defense Association, all had the former army officers among their founders and leaders, who propagated this sense of threat coming from the immediate post-First World War times.

70 Ferenc Kokas later became chief surgeon of the hospital in Balassagyarmat (1959–1965), and he was among the first ones to introduce hibernating as a medical treatment in Hungary.
71 "Véresreverték a diákokat a debreceni egyetemen," *Zsidó Néplap*, 18 November, 1933. 1.
72 "Zsidóverés a debreceni egyetemen," *Ujság*, 14 November, 1933. 5.
73 Kerepeszki 2012: 54–55.
74 "Zsidóverés a debreceni egyetemen," *Ujság*, 14 November, 1933. 5.
75 See this also in Gárdonyi 2002: 85.
76 Gerwarth 2012: 52.

Jewish students were seen as causing threat to the non-Jews in multiple ways, which is why they had to be attacked. At the same time, these leaders often mocked the Jewish soldiers' participation in the First World War.[77]

On December 5th, 1933, the Association of Israelite Students finally sent the detailed letter to the Rector of Debrecen University, authorities and various media outlets. Looking back to Dr. Dombováry's activity at the Jewish Legal Aid office from 1919–1922, one might assume that his goal and the Jewish students' primary goal in 1933 Debrecen was very similar when they aimed to fight Jew baiting and segregation by documenting and revealing it. Naturally, documenting anti-Jewish violence as a way of protest was not limited to the Hungarian context, it was also often performed by Jews living in interwar Nazi Germany. It is historian Wolf Gruner who mentions the case of Irmgard Herrmann, who took photos of her son after he had been beaten up by Nazi storm troopers. She sent these photos to German newspapers.[78] But Gruner argues that even the devastation of the November 1938 pogrom (the so-called Kristallnacht) was documented "by creating address lists of destroyed shops or damaged businesses, or by taking pictures of the wreckage."[79] Gruner rightly lists documenting Nazi crimes among the forms of resistance to anti-Jewish measures. This is one of the last options for a victimized group to resist. Most famously, moments before the Jewish historian Simon Dubnow was killed in December 1941 in the Riga ghetto, his last words were "Write it down, write it down!" For Dubnow, writing history "was the means by which the Jewish people would resist and survive."[80]

In 1933, the Jewish students of the University of Debrecen underlined that being attacked was particularly painful to them, because their fathers had recently died heroic battlefield deaths alongside their Christian brethren. Furthermore, the complaint purposefully listed offenders with foreign sounding surnames, thereby suggesting that the attackers were not real Hungarians. So, here the Jewish students presented their own version of collective Hungarian identity, where the attackers were pictured as outsiders, and the attacked Jews as part of the Hungarian nation. To give some examples: the letter of the Association of Israelite Students of Debrecen states that a certain Schipper was responsible for seating the Jewish students at the last bench of the auditorium, while, at a different lecture room, a certain Waxenecker stood at the entry doors prior to the lectures to perform identity checks and stop the Jews from entering. The complaint identifies Mr. Klausmann, from the second year of legal students, as someone who was unwilling to take part in lectures and seminars where Jewish students were present. But perhaps the most fascinating is the presence of Mr. Natonek, a converted Jew, on the list. Natonek immediately left the lecture-rooms whenever Jewish students appeared in the audience as a protest. Assembling this list makes the impression the Jewish students attempted to question the belonging of their attackers to the Hungarian nation. Although they did not go as far as to call for the exclusion of their attackers, still seemingly some of the Jewish students internalized part

77 See for example a poem of Nándor Liszt, in which he is mocking the Jewish army men, when alternating the Hungarian word for bravery originally written "hős" into a version in which the last letter gets a German/Yiddish form: "hősch". Nándor Liszt: Pesti polgár a viharban. In Nándor Liszt no date: *Fele se tréfa*. Budapest.
78 Gruner 2016: 214.
79 Gruner 2016: 215–216.
80 Becker 2021: 17.

of the extreme right-wing segregation arguments usually used against the Jewish minority. This was demonstrated when the letter writers pointed out that not all of the students taking part in the anti-Jewish aggression had Hungarian-sounding names, moreover, not all of them had a 100 percent Christian Hungarian background.[81]

The first reaction of the Rector at the István Tisza University of Debrecen was to call on the Jewish students not to attend any university lecture until 20 November 1933, which was a radical step less in the defence of Jewish students, much more for simply restoring public order and normalcy. Unfortunately, soon after this date the anti-Jewish acts among students resumed although in a less aggressive manor, which mostly meant that Jewish students were not allowed to enter the lecture rooms by their Christian colleagues. In early December 1933, the Neolog Jewish newspaper, the Egyenlőség reports from Debrecen about the Jewish students' continuing problems with entering the lecture rooms. The journal mentions Professor Benedek from the Medical Faculty, who ordered security guards and male caregivers to the entry of the auditorium to make sure that Jewish students could actually enter.[82] The report of the Association of Israelite Students also mentions specific professors who openly opposed the antisemites' behavior, like the internist Professor Fornet, who himself led the Jewish students inside through the back door of the auditorium. However, in this case a large number of non-Jews left the room and the lecture had to be cancelled. (Point 36) Elsewhere the surgeon professor Hüttl announced that he was only willing to lecture if Jewish students were allowed to stay. At a surgery, Professor Hüttl performed as part of his lecture series, Jewish students were asked to sit in the back rows of the seminary room.[83] (Point 37) Similar scenes appeared in the Faculty of Law, where Jews were either not allowed to enter the lectures or, if they managed to get into the room, then many non-Jews left. In the following weeks, the university unrest developed into a wilder demonstration in the city of Debrecen with a more general anti-Jewish character. For example, the demonstrators publicly burnt the popular Budapest journal, Az Est, and smashed the windows of Jewish-owned shops. On the one hand, some sources suggest that here the local leader of the Turul Association called its members to stay out of any further attacks against the Jewish students.[84] On the other hand, it was the Turul movement that tried to channel anti-Jewish feelings into a general economic boycott of Jewish shops and merchants. But both the mayor of Debrecen, and the inhabitants defied the radicals' calls.[85] Another voice of reason came from the Calvinist Bishop Dezső Baltazár, who threatened to expel the attackers of Jewish university students from the Calvinist student dormitories.[86] Furthermore, the pro-government Independent Journal of Debrecen [Debreceni Független Ujság] also condemned the antisemitic protests, which helped pacify the situation.[87]

81 HU MZSL IX-11 (B8/5), MIEFHOE, see the letter sent to the Rector and dated 5 December, 1933. In Hungarian it reads: „Mi zsidóvallású magyar egyetemi hallgatók nem tűrhetjük a Schipperek, Majerszkyk, Natonekek, Tonkak, Chinák, Waxeneckerek, Klausmannok és egyéb fajmagyarok arcpirító és megalázó magatartását."
82 *Egyenlőség*, 2 December, 1933. 7–8.
83 The seating of Jewish students in the last rows, the so-called "ghetto bench" was relatively common in interwar Poland. See on this for example Trębacz 2016: 113–137.
84 Kerepeszki 2012b: 146.
85 Tóth 1981: 1199–1200.
86 Kovács 2012: 198.
87 Tóth 1981: 1199.

On 21 November 1933, the Turul Association had a general assembly, where they accepted a memorandum, in which they called not only for the strict implementation of the Numerus Clausus Law and the non-acceptance of foreign university diplomas, but also for the blocking of the immigration of "foreign races".[88]

88 Tóth 1981: 1199.

CONCLUSION

Although the Numerus Clausus Law aimed primarily to replace the intellectual elite of Hungary, the debate around this law took on a much less intellectual nature. This included a headcount of war heroes, duels, regular beatings, creating and questioning myths around bravery in the First World War, all sorts of harassment at universities such as sending Jewish students to “ghetto benches”. This article intends to demonstrate that a closer look at the formative experiences and the mindset of less well-known actors of immediate post-First World War times, such as Dr. Dombováry and like Professor Haendel can give us clues for decoding the behaviour of students in the 1930s. In interwar Hungary, anti-Jewish acts regularly occurred in educational institutions. While Jewish Hungarians seemed determined to fight off the attacks, they used various defence strategies. They defended themselves, first of all, by documenting and reporting the crimes committed against them. However, in many ways, their defence strategies included mimicking the mainstream Hungarian nationalist, revisionist, and aggressively masculine cultural phenomena. It is noteworthy that in the escalated versions of these incidents, one can detect a clear threshold where members of the majority society interfered into the conflict of extreme right-wing elements and the attacked members of the Jewish community simply in order to return to a certain level of normalcy. These were very important experiences for interwar Hungarian Jewry, and therefore we need to consider them when we attempt to understand the Jewish Hungarians’ behavior and accommodation during the Second World War.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Hungarian National Archives, MNL OL K148-1907-item no. 2.-no 241.

Budapest City Archives, HU BFL XVII. 1531 Records of the Denazification Committee working within the Budapest Attorneys' BAR Association.

Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives, HU MZSL PIH-I-E, boxes no. B 10/2 and 3.

Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives, HU MZSL IX-11 B 8/5, MIEFHOE unnumbered minutes, T.73.34.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ablonczy, Balázs 2020: Ismeretlen Trianon. Az összeomlás és a békeszerződés története, 1918–1921. Jaffa, Budapest.

Ablovatski, Eliza 2021: Revolution and political violence in Central Europe. The deluge of 1919. University Press, Cambridge. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/9781139049535

Ballagi, Ernő 1921: Elesni közérdek volt. Egyenlőség, 10 December, 1.

Becker, Annette 2021: Messengers of Disaster. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.

Bihari, Péter 2008: Lövészárkok a hátországban. Középosztály, zsidókérdés, antiszemitizmus az első világháború Magyarországán. Napvilág, Budapest.

Bodó, Béla 2019: The White Terror. Antisemitic and Political Violence in Hungary, 1919–1921. Routledge, New York. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429507960

Bodó, Béla 2011: The White Terror in Hungary, 1919–1921. The Social Worlds of Paramilitary Groups. Austrian History Yearbook 42. 133–163. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0067237811000099

Féja, Géza 1965: Szabadcsapat. Budapest: Szépirodalmi.

Freeden, Michael 2011: The Politics of Ceremony. The Wootton Bassett phenomenon. Journal of Political Ideologies (16.) 1. 1–10. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/13569317.2011.540937

Frojimovics, Kinga 2011: "Mételyes már közéletünk, és fojtó-fullajtó lett levegője." A numerus clausus magyarországi rabbik templomi beszédeiben". In: Judit Molnár (ed.) Jogfosztás – 90 év. Tanulmányok a numerus claususról.Nonprofit Társadalomkutató Egyesület, Budapest. 233–243.

Gárdonyi, Sándor 2002: Nyilas mozgalmak Debrecenben. Debreceni Szemle (10.) 1–4. 79–99.

Gerwarth, Robert 2012: Fighting the Red Beast. Counter-Revolutionary Violence in the Defeated States of Central Europe. In: Robert Gerwarth – John Horne (eds.): War in Peace. Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War. University Press, Oxford. 52–71. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199654918.001.0001

Gruner, Wolf 2016: Defiance and Protest. A Comparative Micro-historical Re-evaluation of Individual Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution. In: Claire Zalc – Tal Bruttmann (eds.), Mi-crohistories of the Holocaust. Berghahn, New York. 209–226. DOI: https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvswx7cn.16

Hanebrink, Paul A. 2018: A Specter Haunting Europe. The Myth of Judeo-Bolshevism. Belknap, Cambridge.

Kádár, Gábor – Vági, Zoltán 2013: A végső döntés. Berlin, Budapest, Birkenau 1944. Jaffa, Budapest.

Karady, Victor 2017: Jews in the Hungarian Legal Professions and among Law Students from the Emancipation until the Shoah. In: C. Wilke – A. Kovács – M. L. Miller (eds.), Jewish Studies at the CEU 8. Central European University, Budapest. 23–53.

Kerepeszki, Róbert 2012: A Turul Szövetség 1919-1945. Egyetemi ifjúsági és jobboldali radikalizmus a Horthy-korszakban. Attraktor, Máriabesnyő.

Kerepeszki, Róbert 2012b "The racial defense in Practice". The activity of the Turul Association at Hungarian universities between the two world wars. In: Karády, Victor – Nagy, Péter Tibor (eds.): The Numerus Clausus in Hungary. Studies on the First Anti-Jewish Law and Academic Anti-Semitism in Modern Central Europe. CEU Pasts Inc., Budapest. 136–149.

Klein-Pejsová, Rebekah 2015: Mapping Jewish Loyalties in Interwar Slovakia. Indiana University Press, Bloomington. DOI: https://doi.org/10.2979/11039.0

Kovács, Mária M. 2012: Törvénytől sújtva. A Numerus Clausus Magyarországon, 1920–1945. Napvilág, Budapest.

Ladányi, Andor 1979: Az egyetemi ifjúság az ellenforradalom első éveiben (1919–1921). Akadémiai, Budapest.

Ladányi, Andor 2005: A Numerus Clausustol a Numerus Nullusig. Múlt és Jövő (16.) 1. 56–74.

Ladányi, Andor 2012: On the 1928 amendment to the Hungarian numerus clausus act. In: Karády, Victor – Nagy, Péter Tibor (eds.): The Numerus Clausus in Hungary. Studies on the First Anti-Jewish Law and Academic Anti-Semitism in Modern Central Europe. CEU Pasts Inc., Budapest. 69–111.

Lazaroms, Ilse J. 2014: Marked by Violence. Hungarian Jewish Histories in the Wake of the White Terror, 1919–1922. Zutot. Perspectives on Jewish Culture (11.) 1–10.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/18750214-12341260

Löwenheim, Avigdor 1992: Zsidók és a párbaj. Múlt és Jövő (5.) 4. 83–94.

Mosse, George L. 1990: Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars. Oxford University Press, New York.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780195071399.001.0001

Rigó, Máté 2022: Capitalism in Chaos. How the Business Elites of Europe Prospered in the Era of the Great War. Cornell University Press, Ithaca.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.7591/cornell/9781501764653.001.0001

Romsics, Ignác 2017: A Horthy-korszak. Helikon, Budapest.

Serfőző, Lajos 1976: A titkos társaságok és a konszolidáció 1922–1926-ban. Acta Historica (57.) 3–59.

Szabolcsi, Lajos 1993: Két nemzedék. Az Egyenlőség évtizedei 1881–1931. MTA Judaisztikai Kutatócsoport, Budapest.

P. Szabó, Béla 2020: Haendel Vilmos jogászprofesszor, a Debreceni M. Kir. Tisza István Tu-dományegyetem 1942/43. tanévi rector magnificusa. Gerundium (11.) 1–2. 15–48.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.29116/gerundium/2020/1-2/2

Tóth, Pál Péter 1981: Az egyetemi hallgatók mozgalmai Debrecenben (1933–1936). Száza-dok (115.) 6. 1192–1217.

Trębacz, Zofia 2016: “Ghetto Benches” at Polish Universities. Ideology and Practice. In: Regina Fritz – Grzegorz Rossolinski-Liebe – Jana Starek (eds.): Alma Mater Antisemitica. Academic Milieu, Jews and Antisemitism at European Universities between 1918–1938. Wiesenthal Institute, Vienna. 113–137.

Újvári, Péter 1929: Zsidó lexikon. Budapest.

Vázsonyi Vilmosné 2015: Egyszer volt. Emlékirat 1947-ből. Budapest Főváros Levéltára, Budapest.