

Anti-Semitism in universities and schools in Romania and Hungary between 1920 and 1938, according to the American Jewish Yearbook and Vatican documentation

This work is born from a curiosity to combine two “stories” which are very different between and which, at the same time, represent snapshots of the same historical period.

The two sources here taken in consideration are the American Jewish Yearbook (Agy) and the documents of the Secret Vatican Archive. The historical period under analysis extends through the first forty years of the 20th century but with a different extension: the volumes of Agy here analysed run from the 1899 and continue to 1945, while the Vatican documents are collocated between 1920 and 1938. If we consider the range of this work as well as the situation of Hungary and of Romania, the temporal period goes from the Treaty of Trianon to the beginning of 1938 (the limit, at the moment of writing, for consultation of Vatican documentation). This essay is almost a sort of “historical laboratory”. Our intention was to study the process of promulgation of anti-Jewish laws in these southeastern European countries in the educational system in general, and in the university in particular. With regard to this point, the Agy and the Vatican documentation represent two different lenses through which one can observe this microcosm. The first lens can be the Vatican, because after the Treaty of Trianon it begins to have diplomatic relationship with these two countries. For this purpose, the first nuncio, and their staff, are nominated for these countries and, in this situation, are privileged observers for our purposes. A distant observer represents the second lens. The latter uses different information channels than the Vatican diplomacy and doesn't live through the same reality: the drafting of the American Jewish Yearbook.

Some observations are necessary before presenting and analyzing these different sources. First of all, the type of sources: the American source is edited while the second is an archive source. When considering the author of the text, the Yearbook is signed by a group of people which work at drafting the review while the Vatican documents are written only by a person, the nuncio or another individual of the Vatican hierarchy. In any case, the latter is a person within the inner circle of both the diplomatic world and the Catholic Church.

The environment of the authors is very different: in the first case, there is the world of press and publishing industry, in the second there is the world of the Church and of diplomacy. It is then necessary to observe the motivations that form the basis of this writing. The creation of the Agy was linked to the development of the Jewish-American community and almost represents a degree of self-consciousness and acquaintance with its potential before American society and international Judaism. The different texts cover general questions about the Jewish world in all the aspects of daily life, American and worldwide, without particular geographical or time borders. In every volume of the Agy there is a “the review of the year”, where it is possible to read a review of all the events of the year that have to do with the Jewish world. On the opposite hand, the documents are built through and for diplomatic Vatican channels. They are edited by individuals holding diplomatic offices that live immersed in their (self-described) environment. They are almost like aliens that observe and describe what happens around them. They try to introduce themselves into the mechanism of power plays and, if it necessary, try to influence events according to a logic that in part knows this realities and partly is decided in progress. Unlike the drafting of the Agy, the Vatican writer describes a contemporary world, either personally or through his staff of people, who are religious or Catholic believers. The American editorial staff has indirect knowledge of events because all the writers live in the United States and have no direct contact with the realities that they describe. In this case they represent a sounding board for the perception that American Judaism has about worldwide events. While Agy and their writers are ascribable within a definite frame and the alterations of this frame are openly declared, for the diplomatic documents the perception, and of course the description, of the environment around is strongly influenced by the observer and writer. This implies that it would be necessary to have a deeper knowledge of the building of the single nuncio and about the educational process through which the

Vatican builds up his diplomatic circle. Knowledge of the building process of these nuncios would perhaps be useful in order to understand the individual personalities of these people as well as their capacity to observe and understand their surrounding environment. At the same time, it would be very important to understand the mechanisms underlying the political choices relative to the destination of every nuncio and the rotation of personnel in the different positions¹.

Other reflections can be made about the spatial and temporal elements of these writings. The Vatican documents are written in the time and in the place of the events, with the potential pressure of the situation, and sent in a short time to Rome. The *Ajy* have a longer editorial process with a fixed end-time that coincides with the annual publication. With regard to the message and circulation of this information, the *Ajy* is edited (it would be interesting to know its diffusion and influence), sold and read, in the past and in the future, from people of totally different backgrounds, while the Vatican documentation is written with a clear idea of who is the receiver, how the message has to be written and very often with the hope of feedback in short time. The writer of these papers is almost sure that they will not be distributed. This situation is connected with the sense of responsibility of the writer: for the *Ajy* it is primarily deontological while different is for the nuncio. He is the most external gear of a complex mechanism, which can result in damages due to unsuitable behaviour of the individual and can have effects on subsequent events in the same environment.

The two countries here chosen as examples, and which are very different realities, are born from the treaties at the end of WWI and, in the case in question, from the Treaty of Trianon; they maintain an opposite point of view with respect to this treaty. That means two different realities that represent two different economic, social and political development systems with strong past influences from with the historical environments before WWI². These two countries belong to different international influence spheres and this is reflected in the way they participate in international life. From their date of founding and up to WWII, Romania and Hungary have had to deal with one of the most important problems of the first half of the 20th century: the relationship of the state with the national minorities that live within the state borders. With regard to this question one can consider the relationship with the local Judaism, and which presents very different aspects between the two countries. This led to the development of anti-Jewish behaviours, which have some general aspects, present in other countries, but original aspects too, that are influenced by the national situation. As in the rest of Europe, initially movements, and then parties, of extreme right developed with original elements serving as answers to complex local situations and not only in terms of political loyalty to the Nazi-German system³. In this contest the position of the Vatican is very different and, as a result, the influence of the Catholic Church on the internal and international policies in Romania and Hungary is difficult to analyze.

The first volume of the *Ajy*⁴, was published in 1900 by the Jewish Publication Society of Philadelphia (Jps), which was founded on June 3rd 1888⁵. At the end of the XIXth century, the leaders of the Jps began to see the United States as the future centre of Judaism in the world. For this matter the leaders thought to begin an “educational” process in the American Jewish community. The aims of this internal process were as follows: to provide the community with a form of self-consciousness and acquaint them with its potential; at the same time, it was an external process, mainly directed to the European Jewish communities and in particular to the German. This publication is annual (today too) and it is the result of two different traditions of yearbooks. The first is represented by the almanac, the calendar of which is maintained in the *Ajy*. This calendar is the unique part written in Hebrew and indicates the Jewish festivities and some information about sunrise and sunset in rela-

¹ P., BLET, s.v. *Nonce*; P., LEVILLAIN, s.v. *Nonciature*, in: P., LEVILLAIN, *Dictionnaire historique de la Papauté*, Paris, 1994

² I.T. BEREND, G. RANKI, *Lo sviluppo economico nell'Europa centro-orientale nel XIX e XX secolo*, Bologna 1974.

³ R., HILBERG, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden*, IX ed., Frankfurt a/M., 1999, II, p. 794.

⁴ For the history of *Ajy* see J.D. SARNA, “The twentieth Century Through American Jewish Eyes: A History of the American Jewish Yearbook, 1899-1999”, in *American Jewish Yearbook*, [A]jy 2000, pp. 3-146.

⁵ A.A. NEUMAN, “Cyrus Adler. A Biographical Sketch”, in *Ajy*, XLII, 5701, 1940-1941, p. 48.

tionship with the geographical areas. The German *Jahrbuch* represents the second tradition that we can see here. From this model the Aji derived the idea of a publication with different academic articles about the American-Jewish world. The American editors drew inspiration from the structure of the *The Jewish Year Book*, which has been edited in Great Britain since 1896 by Joseph Jacobs⁶. The aim of Jacobs was to provide facts that the community needed to know about itself so that it might plan its future intelligently. In other words, the yearbook was a basis for Jewish home education and for the self-defence of the community. Only a year after the publication of the first number of this English yearbook, the *American Hebrew*, one of the most important Jewish journals in the United States, asked the JPS to complete such a review for the American Jewish community. A few years later, this product, the Aji, became the worldwide point of view of the Jewish world communities.

The structure of the yearbook is always a matter of discussion during its preparation. Should it be a *Sammlung* of annual reports or a sort of update of fields that are thematically pre-determined? The trend is a hybrid solution: the first part of the Aji is a “Sammlung” of different articles, while the second part is an update of the different fields of the American and worldwide Jewish realities. The part that is more interesting for this paper is the report of the events from the month of September (beginning of the Jewish year) to the following September, divided by countries. For the historian more elements of this source are important and, between the others, the aim of this report is to provide future historians with some material to study his/her time period. So although the report of the events is organised in a chronological order by country for some years, in most cases it is simply a text.

“Everything must have a beginning, and the beginning is necessarily imperfect”⁷. With this words the first issue of the Aji opened in September 1899. In this first volume one finds news about anti-Jewish measures in the educational system in the Vienna of Lueger where there is a separation of educational paths in the school and a form of anti-Semitism at the university. The other place where one can find a similar situation is Romania where the government has adopted a plan to marginalize the Jews: only 3,000 of 36,000 Jews are admitted to the public schools and this behaviour does not change during the course of the following year⁸. The situation of the Jews in Romania⁹ is the central theme of the third volume of the Aji. In this country, the government, ever since 1860, has invited Jews to attend public schools so that in 1882 the Jewish students represent 15% of total students and, in 1891, 39%. As of 1896, this trend changed because the government began to issue laws against the presence of Jews in the educational sector¹⁰. In the following volume, the fourth, the writer provides new elements of the difficult Romanian situation: Jewish teachers, in order to continue their activities, have to present an authorization from the local authority but of course this represents the end of their career. To complain against this situation and in general against the treatment of Jews in Romania, the United States government sends, through the Greek Foreign minister, an official protest for the non-compliance with the Berlin Treaty¹¹.

⁶ M. SULZVERGERN, “Joseph Jacobs”, in Aji, XVIII, 5677, 1916-1917, pp. 68-75.

⁷ Aji, I, 5660, 1899-1900, p. IX.

⁸ Aji, II p. 24.

⁹ For the history of the Romanian Jewish community see C. IANCU, *Les Juifs en Roumanie 1866-1919. De l'exclusion à l'emancipation*, Editions de l'Université de Provence, 1978.

¹⁰ June 6th 1896: “instruction in the primary grades shall be free for Rumanian only; aliens are to pay a tuition fee, and even so, they are to be received only if there are places available”; March 23rd 1898: Jews are excluded from high schools ; April 9th 1893/March 31st 1899: Jews are banned from all professional and agricultural schools (they are admitted in commercial and art schools where the number of foreign students can't be more than the 1/5 of the total). Jewish schools are prohibited from teaching on Sunday or during Christian festivities. There is the requirement to open the schools on Saturday and during Jewish festivities. Covering one's head during lessons is prohibited; Aji, III, pp. 75-76.

¹¹ “This Government can not be a tacit party to such an international wrong. It is constrained to protest against the treatment to which the Jews of Romania are subjected, not alone because Italia has unimpeachable ground to remonstrate against the resultant injury to itself, but in the name of humanity. The United States may not authoritatively appeal to the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin, to which it was not and can not become a signatory, but it does earnestly appeal to the principles consigned therein because they are the principles of international law and eternal justice, advocating the broad toleration which the solemn compact enjoins and standing ready to lend its moral

The educational situation in these East European countries is described in the ninth volume. In Romanian universities, Jewish students are seen as an economic danger in general. The country, which was primarily agricultural, was undergoing a heavy economic crisis and the political leaders use the nationalization of the agricultural sector as an instrument to pacify the masses but in practice what occurs is an appropriation of land from Jewish-land-owners. The riots (since march) which consequently developed are mostly against the agricultural situation and not specifically against Jews. On December 23rd in Craiova, there is an attack against a meeting of Zionists and the day after some students assail the Jewish shops without an intervention of the local authorities. During the following days, there are numerous acts of violence against Jews by young Romanian people without consequences for the Romanian attackers. The general situation for Jews is described as always very bad. The government repeats that all people are equal before the law but in the practice this doesn't occur. The consequent high levels of emigration flows reveals the need to reach international agreements in order to organise these movements of people across borders. The writer reports, in 1908, about some clashes between Jewish and Christian students in Vienna with hundred wounded. In the same year, in August, the mayor of Jassy (Romania) prohibited the Jews from repairing their own schools due to the lack of resources and the school authorities of Botoschani forced students to buy their school's books from local bookshops¹². The description of the Jewish situation becomes increasingly problematic. In July 1909, in Jassy, Christian students become hostile toward Jewish students and at the end of 1909 the government proposes two laws against liberal professions: all Jewish physicians with a foreign degree need an authorisation from the interior minister to work. On February 18th 1910, M. Panu, a journalist of the "Septamana", reports anti-Semitic riots in Jassy, encouraged from the local university professors Jorga and Cuza. As an example of this atmosphere, the Romanian minister for public education and religion sends a memorandum to school inspectors on the 1st of April, through which he reminds them that they are required to admit to examination the students that will become rabbi as well¹³. On November 11th, 1910, the Romanian education minister presents a project for a law, according to which only a limited number of young people can be admitted to the Romanian universities and high schools. A few days after that, on November 25th, Leon Kellner, of the University of Czernowitz, presents an appeal of Jewish students of Bukovina as a protest against the growing anti-Semitic trend in this province¹⁴. On January 19th 1912, the "Adeverul" writes about the Jewish question in relation to the process of constitutional revision and argues for the necessity of equal rights for Jews and non-Jews. As an example of this point of view, Paul Bojor, professor at the Jassy University, the day after refuses a reward from the education ministry because the same reward in the past has been assigned to professor A.C. Cuza, known for being anti-Semitic¹⁵. During the month of August of the same year, the Romanian war minister abolishes the privilege for medicine students to stay at the university until the age of 28 years and to postpone military service. In December, in Berlin, a delegation of Jewish students decides to establish an organization of East European university Jewish students. The Romanian situation doesn't improve and, in February 1913, the students of Bucharest University adopt a resolution opposing the equality for the Jewish students of the new Romanian territories and in May there are many clashes between Jewish and non-Jewish students. The situation is so serious that the academic authorities are obliged to take a position against the violence¹⁶. In July 1913 the Hungarian Low Chamber approves the law that establishes the possibility for shops to stop their activity for the Sabbath but at the same time requires the same shops to open on Sunday. At the same time, in the neighbouring country, new conflicts occur between Jewish and German students at the University of Czernowitz so that the intervention of the police becomes necessary. During the following year, in February 1914, professor Cuza in

support to the fulfilment thereof by its co-signatories, for the act of Romania itself has effectively joined the United States to them as an interested party in this regard"; Aji, IV, pp. 38-41.

¹² Aji, XI, pp. 103-140.

¹³ Aji, XII, pp. 99-218.

¹⁴ Aji, XIII, pp. 129-204.

¹⁵ Aji, XIV, pp. 116-195.

¹⁶ Aji, XV, pp. 129-204.

Jassy initiates a propaganda campaign with the aim of creating a pogrom. In the same month, on the 20th, France adopts a law that keeps foreign physicians without a French degree in medicine from competing for a post. In Romania, the national-liberals report a proposal for a law that limit the presence of Jews that aren't Romanian citizens in the public administration and in schools. In this last sector, the government introduces new schoolbooks with anti-Jewish contents¹⁷. On July 3rd 1914, Romanian soldiers with a group of students assail the Jews in Botoshani where the other citizens try to defend them. After some days, on July 17th the Hungarian prince Esterhazy grants the local Jewish community a part of the territory for building a new school¹⁸. At this point an international catastrophe explodes: the First World War. The attention of the editorial staff is, at this time, totally concentrated on the war aspects and only in a few cases is news about the educational sector provided. An example is the event in Bucharest, on June 1st 1915, when A.P. Cuza, professor at the local university, dismiss the manager for a student-home because he has admitted a Jewish girl. The girl was expelled and the other students, that tolerated the girl in the home, were reprimanded¹⁹.

With the return to a formal situation of peace, the Ajys' editorial staff returns to consider the Jewish daily conditions in the different countries and therefore the educational sector too. On June 14th 1918 the Jewish students from Galicia are expelled from the medicine faculty of Vienna with the excuse of a lack of accommodations. In the autumn, on November 15th, the deputy of Czernowitz, Benno Straucher, pictures the difficult situation for the Austro-Hungarian Jews in a report before the Reichsrat. The questions that he presents are many but the most important are the recognition of a Jewish nationality and the right to educate the children according to the Jewish tradition. A month later in Romania, a new flow of protests against Jews develops and many of those involved are, at the University of Bucharest, the active professors. In this case, on December 27th, the Gymnasium of Braila, in Romania, stops the admission of Jewish students and other schools follow this example. Nothing can be done by a petition of the "local born" Jews to the educational Ministry. In April 1919 the national Jewish council of Bukowina sends the Prime Minister a memorial with many requests for the Jewish educational system. On the following month all schools of Bessarabia are closed with the justification that the lessons are in Hebrew and not in Romanian²⁰. On August 9th, the press association in Budapest reports that two hundred students are terrorising the city and assailing ex communist military members and Jews. After a few days, on the 22nd, new violence takes place at the university of Budapest, where fifteen students are attacked and others insulted. The police stops all violence and anti-Jewish riots. Nevertheless, the protest of the students against the Jews goes on and the Jewish professors refuse to teach until Jewish students are de facto banned from the university. At the same time, the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Hevesy, sends a memorandum to the English mission in Hungary to denounce the situation of the Jewish community, particularly the Jewish students after the end of the Bela Kuhn government. In some areas of the Hungarian countries, certain officers of the "white terror" incite the population against Jews. For all these reasons, the Rabbi asks the protection of English power. In October, the Minister of Culture decides, according to the desires of the Christian-socialistic students, to close the university so that the Jewish students can't present herself for the exams. The premier expresses his satisfaction for the creation of a department of Jewish affairs in the ministry of education. In January 1920, at the university of Budapest, Christian students, opposing the possibility for Jewish students to take exams, assail thirty students. At the same time and always in Budapest, the expulsion and internment of Galician Jews begins and the first train leaves the city with almost seven hundred people. Given these conditions, on February 6th, the Jews of the Hungarian capital collect four millions croons to open a Jewish university. The hospital of Budapest opens his doors to the many Jewish medicine students expelled from the university. Only on March 8th does the university of Budapest defini-

¹⁷ Ajy, XVI, pp. 128-204.

¹⁸ Ajy, XVII, pp. 199 ss.

¹⁹ Ajy, XVIII, pp. 80 ss.

²⁰ Ajy, XXI, pp. 169 ss.

tively close for the Jewish students and during the following months the situation begins to be very difficult for Jewish professors and lecturers as well. Due to the continuing boycott from the Christian students, the rector of the university asks to the Jewish professors and lecturers to protract their absence period. Many of these present their resignations as professors that have been accepted. According to the journal "Vilag" the number of Jewish students enrolled at the university of Budapest is extremely low. That means that many of the young Jews had decided to attend foreign universities. Another journal, "Pesti Naplo", reports that Hungary finances the study abroad with a negative impact on the national financial situation²¹. On September 7th 1920, the Hungarian minister of Education proposes the parliament with the idea of reducing admissions for Jewish students to Hungarian universities and the national council votes - 57 against 3 - for the restriction of admissions on the 27th of the same month. Almost one month later, on October 16th, Jewish students are assailed from some colleagues despite the appeal of the academic authorities. In Austria, as well as in France in almost the same period, on October 30th, the university of Vienna decides to issue the degree in medicine only to foreign students who renounce to work as a physician in Austria. In Hungary, 18,000 Jewish students at the university of Budapest present demands for admission to the department of medicine but, of all these, only 214 are accepted and 140 are young Jews which converted to Christianity before the admission. Protests come from the protestant church against this new position of the Hungarian government against the Jews in the schools and universities. Riots against Jews go on at the university, on the streets and in the café of Budapest. On November 19th the Hungarian minister of education declares that he is strongly against the possibility for Jews to enter the university or in every high school. In occasion of the ratification of the treaty of peace, on December 3rd, new anti-Jewish riots explode in many Hungarian towns. At the same time, the Romanian government fixes the features of the non-Romanian schools: the lessons have to be in the Romanian language; Romanian language, literature, history and geography have to be taught by Romanian teachers and the admitted students have to pass an exam in the Romanian language by Romanian teachers. At the end of December, new anti-Jewish riots develop at the university of Budapest. As of March 11th 1921, Jewish students are banned from schools of art so the Jewish academy opens a new section for painting and sculpture²².

In the following volumes, the review of the year is organized in a form of text which analyses many individual aspects of Jewish life, not simply as a simple chronology. The editorial staff notes that, in many countries, the use of Hebrew as a teaching language isn't tolerated, even in private Jewish schools. In any case, the experience of war, on the other hand, has been an incentive for the creation of educational institutions for the Yiddish language, institutions for technical training, and other high schools such as those of Berlin, the Institute for Jewish Economic Research and the Polish Jewish People's University "Tarbut". All of which is part of the important issue of the rights of ethnic and national minorities, in particular in East European countries. The following section of this volume considers the theme of "anti-Semitism" in many sectors of daily life. For the educational part, many descriptions are provided. In this sector, Romania, has guaranteed financial support for the Jewish schools only at the end of the year and that has caused big difficulties for these institutions. The feeling of anti-Semitism has begun to circulate during the Twenties within intellectual circles and in many European universities so that the authorities are required to intervene. The medicine departments and sector are a peculiar situation where the differentiation between Jewish students and Jewish physicians and gentile students/physicians begins to be increasingly frequent. Discrimination also begins to be introduced in the new generation through the organization of school life. In Hungary, the minister of Education expelled two professors from the local university and around the end of 1921 the governmental educational commission advises the parliament to dismiss the Jewish teachers from the schools with a majority of Christian students. According to this trend, many professors of the technical schools are transferred without an indication of the new school or without a subject to teach. This situation is common in Romania, particularly for Czernowitz and other towns of Bukowina, where

²¹ Aji, XXII, pp. 131 ss.

²² Aji, XXIII, 5682, 1921-1922, pp. 112 ss..

many teachers are expelled. The measures are taken not only in relation to the teaching staff but also the students. The Hungarian educational law introduces again the old Tsarist discrimination according which only a fixed percentage of Jewish students has access to high schools. In a short time this information becomes public worldwide and the League of Nations refuses the admission of Hungary to this international organization if the East European country doesn't withdraw this law²³. In the following volume the editorial staff reports the admission of Hungary (to the League) on September 4th 1922. In this occasion the count Banffy assures that minorities will be considered equally and the educational law of 1920, in particular the numerus clausus (n.c.), will be interpreted in the most liberal way. The commissioner of the League writes in her report that this admission has, as its aim, the safeguarding of the rights of the minorities, in particular in Hungary, and the Hungarian government communicates that the applications of Jews are more than the percentage of the Jewish population in the Hungarian people. The League sends a special commission to observe the modalities of the application of the law of 1920 (n.c.). On September 30th 1922 this commission asks the Hungarian government to give more information for the formulation of an opinion.

In the report about the period from 1922-1923, the editors of the *Ajy* carefully notes the situation of Jews and observes how the religious issues influence educational ones. In some cases, children are exempted from going to school or simple writing during the Sabbath. But in this period another question is connected with the Jewish life: the demand for Jewish cadavers for educational programs in the medicine departments in some countries, amongst others Romania. The anti-Semitic students know the strong opposition to that from Orthodox Judaism, so they strongly request it to the authorities. Again in the sector of the education, the writer observes the serious financial situation of the educational system in Eastern Europe. There are some international associations that try to help but that isn't sufficient. The lack of Yiddish teaching is important. The Romanian education Minister decides that Romanian is the only teaching language admitted in the schools of Bessarabia and the Yiddish schools, despite the public liberal opposition, have to be closed. In Hungary the Prime minister Bethlen declares that the government will continue with a Christian policy but won't admit anti-Jewish excesses. During the days of the opening of the schools, the students of the technical high school of Budapest try to hinder the attendance of the lessons to the Jewish students. The Christian students argue that after the introduction of the n.c., the same number of Jews are employed in the Hungarian factories. The explanation of this situation is that the non-admitted students have been financed from the state to study abroad but after their degree they come back to their homeland and work in high-level positions of the economic Hungarian world. So, the application of the n.c. has no effects. The government answers with the closure of the school but the protest movement expands his power to the other schools and universities. The students ask, after the limitation of the n.c. of 1920, a limitation in the recognition of the foreign degrees. This question was discussed in parliament and the final vote (83 against 38) on January 23rd 1923 maintained the regulation of the Jewish presence in Hungarian universities. In Romania there is also a development of riots in the universities. On December 9th 1922, a delegation of Jewish students presents the Romanian king with the request of a direct intervention against the anti-Jewish violence in the universities. At the same time this problem is presented in parliament. The government prohibits all mass meetings and appoints some inspectors for the schools and universities to maintain order. All this is insufficient and the riots result in the closure of the universities; they are re-opened on 22nd January 1923. In this case the government promises that the Jewish students won't be subject to violence but the first riots develop in a very short time in Jassy. The government decides to close the department of medicine of the university of Jassy and after that, on March 15th 1923, opens all universities and asks the Jewish students to not attend the lessons of the departments of medicine because there is a lack of cadavers for educational use. At the end of March new riots develop in Bucharest and the intervention of the police is necessary²⁴.

²³ *Ajy*, XXIV, p. 43.

²⁴ *Ajy*, XXV, pp. 23 ss.

With regard to the situation in Romania, the editors report an official protest from the Zionist organisation of Transylvania: the Jewish students aren't exempted from writing during the Sabbath and other Jewish festivities. In Bessarabia there are actions against the inspectors because they obliged the Jewish private schools to close on Sundays and work on Saturdays. The Romanian minister for education permitted Jewish children to attend the Heradim at the age of seven years and they must then attend the public schools with of the requirement to use the Romanian language. In the university world the situation is always worse and the violence of the Christian students of medicine against the Jewish colleagues goes on. The decree of the educational system and the obligation for minorities to study Romanian history, language and geography, provokes great fuss within the provinces. At the same time, the League of Nations discusses the legitimacy of the n.c. in Hungary and there is a proposal to open, without pre-exams, the doors of the university for all students who come from a country that is a member of the League. The question of the use of language in the Romanian school is becoming a great problem because Jews are a religious and not an ethnic minority so the Jewish schools are required to use the Romanian language. The idea that underlies these measures is a form of "nationalisation" of the new provinces. With regard to the use of the mother tongue for minorities, a new decree in Hungary declares that the public schools can be used if there is a request from at least forty students. In Romania, following the request to the king from the Jewish delegation of students, the king and later the metropolitan Primate denounced the anti-Jewish movement in the country in the summer of 1923.

With regard to the general situation in the universities, the modality of admission according to a n.c. is considered in many of these countries but the only country which formally applies this norm is Hungary, where the liberals had tried many times to repeal it. In Romania, the king declares that is impossible to limit admissions to university for Jewish students, as requested from some students of Jassy and Cluj. So on February 14th some students enter the department of medicine in Bucharest and carry out their Jewish colleagues from the rooms. In Transylvania, in Cluj, the situation is so heavy that the government in March 1924 decides to close the medicine institute. Nevertheless there is a Romanian opposition to these measures: the congress of academics in Jassy presents its opposition to the n.c. during 1923 but not everybody agrees with them and professor Cuza, ex rector of the university of Jassy and leader of the Romanian anti-Semites, is an example. The deputy Simionescu speaks before the Parliament about the anti-Semitic movements and argues "the students are a tool in the hands of anti-Semites who desires to become Roumanian Mussolinis"²⁵. The riots of the anti-Semitic students pro n.c. continue in many Romanian cities (Bucharest, Czernowitz, Cluj the most important)²⁶.

In the following volumes (1924-1925) the Romanian minister for education issues a decree that permits the Jewish children to observe the Sabbath in the schools where a Jewish majority is present. With regard to the issue of the use of Jewish cadavers in laboratories of medicine departments, a solution is not found and the question remains open both in Romania and Hungary. In 1924 the Hungarian minister for education, Klevelsberg, declares that a department of medicine can not ban Jewish students with the justification that the Jewish community doesn't find enough cadavers for the educational activities of the department. During this year the Romanian minister for education declares before parliament that no minority schools can be maintained for Jews because they have only one language and so attending the public Romanian schools is the only solution. After this declaration, the Jewish community presents a written protest against the suppression of the educational system for their children. In Hungary, cardinal Csernoch openly expresses his opposition to the anti-Semitic excesses and explicitly denies that the Christian Church can support these movements. For the cardinal, this is all impossible because these people would be considered not only not Christian but not human too. The Romanian Ambassador by the United States repeats that the will of his government is also to stop and eliminate the different forms of excesses against the Jewish community. But in reality the activity of different anti-Semitic organizations continues. In Romania some students has been or-

²⁵ Agy, XXVI, p. 98.

²⁶ Agy, XXVI, pp. 21 ss.

ganised in “educational groups” with the aim to spread anti-Semitic ideas in the country. During this year the anti-Semitic ware in the university is always present with the opposition of the liberal forces, in particular during the spring 1924 at the universities of Czernowitz, Bucharest, Jassy, Cluj and Oradea Mare (between the most important). In December, during the anniversary of the student movement, new riots against Jewish students and professors develop in Romanian universities so that the question arrives in Parliament, where the minister for the education is accused of encouraging riots. On February 12th the anti-Semitic students declare a strike at the university of Bucharest without success²⁷. The editors here provide the description of an event that can be very useful as an example. During the riots in Jassy the head of police arrests some students. One of these assails the policeman and accuses him of illegal arrest. On October 26th 1924, there is a trial for these students. When the council goes out from the law-court, Zelea Codreanu, one of the witness for the prosecution, shoots to the head of police and injures two other policemen. Codreanu and other four students are arrested and as a consequence a demonstration develops with slogans such as “death to the Jews!” or “this is the end for those opposing the movement!”. Many other manifestations take place in other universities as support for this anti-Semitic movement. The government doesn’t take any positions about that. The academic senate discusses the situation in plenum and in this seat professor Cuza explains that the events would be justified by necessity. As a response the other professors ask for the resignation of Cuza and the assembly approves a document with the official resignation of Cuza. The Romanian government denies the request from the students of a n.c. and seeks other ways to limit the admission of Jewish students to the university. The school of medicine of the university of Bucharest for the next academic year refuses the admission of 250 Jewish students out of 450 applications. The motivation is the lack of funds for the laboratories. According to this trend at the beginning of 1925, the minister of education presents a proposal for a new law in parliament. This law introduces a new exam for admission to the university on Romanian literature, history and geography and which is opposed by the Hungarian and German minorities. After that a memorandum of the minister to the school inspectors suggests giving preference to the Christian students for the admission. In Hungary the national Assembly refuses to withdraw the law of education of 1920, typically known as the law of n.c. Following the position of the League of the Nations, the Joint Foreign Committee made a appeal against this law directly to the International Permanent Court of Justice. Other moment of tensions occurred in Oedenburg, by the Hungarian geological school, where the students refused to sit down in the same class with two admitted Jewish students. The following strike expands to other universities as well by asking for the expulsion of these two students. This fact reaches the national Assembly where the minister of education decides for actions against the professors which caused this riot. In Romania there are some riots, in particular in Targumeres, where the students force a young domestic to publicly denounce her Jewish employers for tempted ritual murder. As a consequence, panic explodes and riots against the Jewish community take place the day after, on May 22nd 1924. Other riots take place during the Romanian trial against John Motza and the five students that tried to murder one Jewish editor, Rosenthal, (for whose murder they will only receive a financial penalty) and the banker Aristide Blank. To act against the numerous anti-Semitic riots, the Romanian government decides to establish martial law in the universities during the first part of 1924, while a secret anti-Semitic student fascist group, that is planning the murder of many Jews, has been discovered in the Danube Kingdom. At the same time some professors of the universities of Bucharest and Czernowitz have been arrested with charges of cooperating with the anti-Semitic student riots. Finally professor Cuza presents his resignation²⁸.

The Romanian government sets the day for the admission exams to Romanian universities exactly on the Jewish New Year’s Day. The Jewish community tries to protest without success. The question about the release of Jewish children for writing during the Sabbath remains open. In 1925, the senator and rabbi Zirelsohn denounces to the parliament that the memorandum of the minister of the education for this release is not respected in practice and so many children are forced to

²⁷ AYJ, XXVII, 5686, 1925-1926, p. 85.

²⁸ AYJ, XXVII, 5686, 1925-1926, p. 85.

write during the Sabbath. With regard to the issue of Jewish cadavers for the laboratories of the medicine department, the Romanian senate approves a law according which the number of the admitted Jewish students to the department of medicine will be approved in proportion to the number of the cadavers that the Jewish community can provide. This of course represents a violation of the right to education for the Jewish people. For the children, which attend private Jewish schools, there is the question that the diploma of these schools is not regarded as equivalent to those of the public schools. The Romanian minister for foreign affairs, Mr. Duca, declares, in Geneva, that the Romanian anti-Semitism is a product of some university circles and that the government is fighting this in the best possible way. A report is issued from Budapest of an attempt to organize an international anti-Semitic conference. After a first idea of an international meeting, the solution is a secret meeting on October 3rd 1925 of three Hungarian leaders (between this the deputy Eckhardt), nine foreign and some Romanians (professor Cuza too). The content of this meeting has been published with serious problems for the national Assembly. During the meeting, Mr. Cuza declares that the anti-Jewish measure should be tested in Romania and that, if successful, exported in all of Europe.

The question around the n.c. in Hungary reaches the International Permanent Court of Justice because the fear was that the Hungarian n.c. could become a model for other countries. Legal advice was asked and the Brazilian delegate, Mello Franco, on December 12th 1925 presents this advice before the Council of the League. For Mello the n.c. represents a legitimate temporary measure that is linked to the situation. When the situation changes, the measure has no more reason to exist and will be repealed. According to this argument, Mello suggests to not take any measures against Hungary and to wait for the new conditions of the country and the withdrawal of the law from the same Hungarian government. The Hungarian minister for education, count Klebelsberg, doesn't defend the n.c. as a legal principle but totally supports the point of view of Mello. In Romania, in 1925, there are some riots against the Jews in Bucharest and other cities and according to professor Aulanrd in Paris, a n.c. doesn't exist in Romania but the violence against Jewish students gives the impression that de facto it exists. With regard to the trial against the students of Jassy and after the murder of the policeman, Codreanu has been arrested. The anti-Semitic students ask for his liberation and the government doesn't work hard to "make" justice. The trial has been transferred from Jassy to Focshani and then to Turn-Severin where Codreanu has pleaded not-guilty²⁹.

During the year 1920, the Hungarian government decided to take a census of the population and of the Jewish population too but the results are published only during that year. According to this census, Jews represent the 5.9% of the population but they mostly live in the cities. In Budapest they are 45% of the total of the Hungarian Jews³⁰. For the university system, there are two different universities: Budapest, Debrecem and, before the WWI, Szeged and Pecs. The latter is known as a "refugee university" and was shortly re-incorporated within the new borders of Hungary. As of the data of the census, it is interesting to note that the enforcement of the n.c. effectively decimated the admissions of Jewish students. By analysing the distribution of preferences between the different departments one can see that, in the first place, one always finds medicine, law, and the polytechnic department even if admission to the department of medicine has been diminished for the n.c. while in the sector of professional education the Jewish presence is strong for the agricultural, industrial and trade sectors. The n.c. doesn't touch this type of school. Very interesting is the range of illiteracy of the population and in the Jewish community. In the sector of the high education, the percentages of the Jewish presence before the n.c. and the period after goes from 36.4% to 13.4%. The impact of the legal advice presented before the Council of the League of Nations has caused numerous protests from the Jewish Hungarian community. During the summer of 1926 the government decides that the quota of admitted Jewish students for each year won't be calculated on the basis of the number of the Jewish student presented in the universities,

²⁹ Aji, XVIII, lista degli eventi pp. 23 ss.

³⁰ See the statistical appendix for a vision of the educational situation for the Hungarian Jews.

but the government will fix a reserved amount of places for students of declared Jewish faith; for the year 1927 this number is 190.

During the year 1926, a commission is established in Czernowitz to examine the gymnasium students with the aim of their continuing education at the university and of 257 students, 218 are rejected. The majority of these are Ukraine, German and Jewish students (of 68 Jewish students, 51 are rejected). As consequences of this, riots explode and the intervention of the police is necessary with the arrest of 5 students. One of these is the Jew Davis Falik, who had been murdered during the trial. The murder, as in the case of Codranu and Morarescu, had been judged by another court; he was absolved and in the end seen as a hero. In December 1927, a conference organised by Cuza takes place in Jassy with 5000 anti-Semitic students, and at the end many riots developed in many cities. In Kishinev the bishop invites the anti-Semitic students, which are in Jassy for the conference, to walk around the streets, defended from the police; they caused damages and violence against the population and the city. Reactions to these events come from the intern of the country but from abroad too. New riots occur at the time of the reopening of the universities with the request of the official use of the n.c. in Romania too³¹.

In the summer of 1927 Bethlen, the Hungarian Prime ministe, declares that the government will withdraw the n.c. law. Heavy protests develop in November in the universities from the anti-Semitic groups, in particular, before the discussion in parliament for the government proposal of the new law. The new system is not a n.c. system but a quota system built on categories. The first quota is for children of governmental officials, the second for children of veterans or soldiers, the third for farmer or small artisans' children, the fourth for industrial children and the fifth for tradesmen children. So Jews that habitually come from the industrial and trade sectors have much difficulty attending the university. In this way, the government formally respects the promise to the League of Nations and at the same time maintains, in practice, a form of n.c. In Romania, after June 1927, there are numerous anti-Jewish riots after the creation of the Student Christian League following the suggestion of professor Cuza. With the election of the new government all this violence is stopped. In any case, in December, a meeting of Christian students in Oradea Mare in Transylvania results in anti-Hungarian and anti-Jewish violence, not only in this city; as a result, and after long discussions in parliament, the government decides in May 1928 to liquidate this association and at the same time takes a series of measures in the educational sector: re-open the Jewish schools, which were previously closed by the Averescu government, and withdraw the exemption for Jewish children to write during the Sabbath.

In the review the editors report that numerous Hungarian Jewish-students are expelled from the student-home. This is an example of the difficult general situation that results in the emigration of many students which are required to go abroad to study.

In Romania, the position of the government against anti-Jewish violence is weak. In November the minister of education in parliament defends the idea of the introduction of the n.c. for the university. As consequence strong riots develop in the universities of Cluj, Timisoara, Maresti, Bucharest and in particular in Jassy, following the refusal of the n.c. from the academic authorities. All this has a heavy influence on the entire society³².

The resulting relationship between Romania and France for the university sector is very interesting, which begins in the past but explodes in this period. In 1853, prince Barbu Stirbey decided to reorganise the national healthcare and educational healthcare system in Romania with the support of France. For this purpose, this Western country opens the doors of its department of medicine in Paris, initially, and than in all France, for all Romanian young people, which are studying medicine. The number of Romanian students in France before WWI is not much higher after the war due to the increasing of the anti-Semitism in the Danube monarchy; this presence increases and the number of Romanian students increasingly coincides with

³¹ Aji, XXIX, 5688, 1927-1928, pp. 21 ss.

³² Aji, XXXII, pp. 57 ss.

the number of Jewish Romanian students. In this period the scarcity of employment and the increase in the presence of foreign students often results in anti-Semitic episodes as well. The France situation is so difficult that the Jewish Immigration commission in France publicly suggests to foreign Jews to not come to this country. In June 1931 it is officially communicated that, in the future, Romanian students in the France department of medicine won't receive, at the end of their studies as in the past, the certificate of diploma necessary to work in France, but only a diploma in medicine and they need to pass the exam as other foreigners with a degree in medicine³³. This is of course a political measure against the Romanian students and in particular the Jewish Romanian students. Romanian medicine students are the only foreign students that, for the purposes of the diplomatic relationship between the two countries, are exempted from the admission exam to the department of medicine (and for this matter one speaks of "Romanian privilege"). For this reason many of them study in France and, particularly the Jews, don't go back to Romania after the degree primarily for the anti-Semitic problems in the home country.

The situation in the universities in Hungary is always heavy. In November some newspapers ask for the use of the war law against violence in the universities. The minister for the education speaks in parliament of an "alarming" number of Jewish students in the university. The Jews, after the census, represent 6% of the population but in the university they are between 10 and 55% of the students admitted in the different departments. As an example of this exasperated situation, the writer presents a particular event. In March 1929 a Jewish student paid an official of the university to be admitted to the department. The official asks a catholic baptism certificate for the boy, who knew nothing of all this. After two years, the student discovers everything and asks the court of justice to invalidate the baptism³⁴.

On August 15th 1933 one of the staff members of the Romanian minister for education denies that a n.c. will be introduced in the Romanian universities. The admission to the university will be regulated by the laboratories. On the opening date of the new academic year, to the department of medicine of the Budapest University only admits 6 Jews out of 60 applicants on September 14th. The total number of admitted non-Jews is 155. On November 9th, King Carol, during a visit to the university dormitories in Jassy before the re-opening of the local university, declares his disapproval for the position of the anti-Semitic students. After a few days, on November 15th, the students of the university of Debrecen, closed for anti-Semitic demonstrations, organize a strike and one week after 130 of these students are arrested. On November 21st, some student organizations in Budapest threaten the strike to the government until some requests are respected. Firstly they ask for the n.c. for Jewish students, and secondly a limit on the concession of working licences for Jews that had studied abroad; thirdly they request strong control over Jewish immigration into Hungary and lastly a limitation to the licences for Jewish artisans. In Bucharest, during an interview with the deputy Michal Landau, Jon Inculetz, minister of Interior of the Duca's government, declares that the Romanian government doesn't tolerate new manifestations of anti-Semitism. The day after the Hungarian minister for education publishes some news according to which Jewish students constitute 9.5% of the student population of the university and after that refuses requests from the anti-Semitic group for more restrictions against Jewish students. After some days, due to the numerous anti-Jewish riots, the government closes Budapest University. In Romania, the Iron Guard is the cause of some riots and the Romanian government takes a strong position against it. At the end of November, the anti-Semitic students issue an ultimatum that forces the government to re-open the closed universities. On December 11th, the Hungarian minister of education reveals the existence of a secret agreement between government and anti-Jewish student organizations, according to the government, promise that few Jewish students can be admitted at the universities so the organizations won't organize new riots. Nevertheless the riots go on and, as a result, the government decides, on December 13th, to close the polytechnic institute and the universities. In January 1934, the riots against the Jewish students continue and

³³ See too D. EVLETH, "The 'Romanian Privilege' in French Medicine and Anti-Semitism", in *Social History of Medicine*, XI, 2, pp. 213-232, G. VITALE, *La svastica e l'arcangelo. Nazionalismo e antisemitismo in Romania tra le due guerre mondiali*, Rimini 2000, p. 46 e H. NAHUM, *La Médecine Française et les Juifs 1930-1945*, Paris 2006, pp. 56-71; Archive of Centre de documentation juive contemporaine di Parigi.

³⁴ Aji, XXXIII, pp. 23 ss.

some rectors ask for help from the government. For the following five months the difficulties for the Jewish students don't decrease³⁵. News from France report of such hostilities against foreigners that, on January 31st 1935, a strike begins in the technical schools of Paris and then spreads to the department of medicine. The hostility is not against the students that study in Paris but against those who decide to remain after the degree. Of these people the Jews from the East European countries represent the majority; they are forced to emigrate due to the introduction in their countries, de jure or de facto, of the n.c. In Hungary there are reports that heavy criticism is made against Rudolf Ruppert, the catholic deputy, who asked the withdrawal of the n.c. law of 1920. In April new riots develop in the university of Bucharest. The university remains closed for 6 days, and after that a meeting of the rectors decides to give to government the authorisation to control the order in these institutions. As of May 1st 1935 students in the Romanian universities have to declare their ethnic origin in order to correctly apply the quota system³⁶.

On November 21st 1935 the anti-Jewish students organise a demonstration at the university of Budapest and 32 of them are imprisoned. *Emericana*, the catholic university union, protests against these manifestations and prohibits his members from participating. In February 1936, a group of democratic and progressive individuals creates the Democratic Student Front with the aim of defending the university of Bucharest against new riots. In the same month the Central Jewish Council in Romania is instituted with Filderman as president. The Council expresses his protest against the idea of a racial regime and strongly criticises the fact that, after the introduction of the *numerus valachicus*, five Jewish students admitted to the department of medicine of Bucharest couldn't enter their classroom. So the council presents an appeal to Romanian people: "We appeal to your conscience in these difficult times in which we are being treated with more injustice than ever before. We appeal to the sense of justice and the tradition of harmonious collaboration of all the inhabitants of the country. We appeal to your intelligence to repudiate the falsehoods spread about us and to your intelligence to repudiate the falsehoods spread about us and to denounce those who are attempting to sow discord among our people. Let us live in brotherly cooperation and let us work together for the common welfare of our country, so that we can serve the interests of Romania and protect the security of her frontiers"³⁷. By means of this appeal the council tries to shed light on the fact that the anti-Semitic movement in the country is not only a student phenomena but this is also the expression of a political structured organization that has much influence on the government and which can, through illegitimate means, be a danger for the democratic life of the country. On April 30th, the court of Galatz asks the arrest of Codreanu, leader of the extreme right and of the Iron Guard, as well as of Ion Stelescu, a member of the movement, with the charge of organising riots during the last elections; however, on May 11th the same court withdrew the charges. During the month of June, anti-Jewish student riots continue in Bucharest and in other cities of Romania³⁸.

In November 1936 some anti-Semitic Hungarian students present a memorandum to the Prime minister. They ask that admission to the university follows racial criteria in order to attain a sort of cultural segregation for the Jews. They then ask the use of an emigration prohibition and the n.c. for the trade sector too. The Jewish students present a report about the presence of Jews in the universities and note that this number decreases year by year. On December 6th 1936, the Third annual conference of the association of the Hungarian-American Jews takes place. The members have protested against the Hungarian educational system and in particular against the n.c. In February 1937 the police take action at a manifestation at the university of Pecs. The origin of this riot is the degree in medicine of three Jewish students. As a consequence of this, the minister for education declares the closure of the university of Pecs³⁹.

³⁵ Agy, XXXVI, pp. 121 ss.

³⁶ Agy, XXVII

³⁷ Agy, XXXVIII, p. 293.

³⁸ Agy, XXXIX

³⁹ Agy, XXXX

The following year is described by the writer as the worst for the condition of the Jewish international community from the end of WWI. The “nationalsocialism plague” and “international brigandage” enters countries such as Poland, Romania, Hungary, where difficulties for the Jewish people existed but not at the same level as NS Germany.

In March, the Hungarian minister of education declares that Jews can't be assimilated into the Hungarian race and Daranyi said that the Jewish question in Hungary has to be solved with a decrease of Jewish influence on Hungarian industrial, financial and cultural life. In May, the social democratic leader Karl Peyer declares that the Hungarian high school is “nazified” and teachers educate students to foster anti-Jewish hate. The riots in the universities are part of daily-life. On September 12th, at the time of the meeting of the Romanian teachers in Czernowitz, the assembly asks that all Jewish teachers be dismissed from the public schools and to employ them only in Jewish schools (where a Romanian professor teaches Romanian language, history and geography). As of January 4th 1938, Romanian Jewish physicians are automatically dismissed according to a memorandum of the healthcare ministry and replaced with Christian physicians. The ministry decides that all foreign decrees in medicine, obtained after 1919, are to be re-evaluated.

Before considering the point of view of the Vatican on these issues, it is important to define the position of its representatives in the national life of these countries. In the case of Hungary, the relationship with the Vatican was not formally defined by a concordat, but practice the two powers use the treaty that Pius IX stipulated with Franz Joseph in 1855⁴⁰. With regard to this point, the Primate of Hungary, Seredi, is very skeptical about the possibility to sign such a treatment between Hungary and the Vatican of Pius XI⁴¹.

Romania is the country that inherited the Eastern Orthodox Church and, since the Middle ages, is the homeland of the major group of orthodox faith in southeastern Europe. A concordat with this country represents the first example of a treaty for the Vatican with a country that has a non-Catholic majority⁴².

The treaties at the end of WWI modify the borders of southeastern Europe and new states enter into the international communities of countries. As the other states, the Vatican too opens new diplomatic seats, the nunciatures, and sends influential individuals to open these diplomatic channels.

In the nunciature of Budapest⁴³ one can find individuals as Lorenzo Schioppa and Cesare Orsenigo while in Bucharest⁴⁴ there was Francesco Marmaggi, Angelo Dolci and Andrea Cassulo. In Romania, the indications for the opening of this nunciature are interesting to understand the behaviour of the nuncio⁴⁵. The most important goal is the drafting of a concordat with the Kingdom. In this country, the orthodox church is the state church and its hierarchy is a member of the parliament, according to the Romanian constitution. So the concordat would have the scope to give a relevant place to the Catholic Church in the local political arena. In the specifications for Dolci⁴⁶, the nuncio in Bucharest after Marmaggi, the most important question that is raised is the balance of power with the orthodoxy hierarchy and in general the communal life of different Christian realities⁴⁷. In all these documents there is no mention of the Jewish question.

⁴⁰ A. MERCATI, *Raccolta di concordati su materie ecclesiastiche tra la Santa Sede e le autorità civili*, Città del Vaticano 1954², vol. I, pp. 821-829.

⁴¹ A. CSIZMADIA, *Rechtliche Beziehungen von Staat und Kirche in Ungarn vor 1944*, Budapest 1971, p. 19.

⁴² M. VADAN, *Le relazioni diplomatiche tra la Santa Sede e la Romania (1920-1948)*, Città del Vaticano 2001; M. DISSEGNA, *Il Concordato tra la Santa Sede e il Regno di Romania: un'introduzione in: Pio XI: le parole chiave. Atti del convegno internazionale*, a cura di A. GUASCO, R. PERIN, Milano 9-10 giugno 2009, LIT, Muenster 2010, pp. 361-381.

⁴³ G., DE MARCHI, *Le nunziature apostoliche dal 1800 al 1956*, Città del Vaticano, 1957 (ristampa 2006), pp.255.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 225-226;

⁴⁵ ACO (Archivio della Congregazione per le Chiese orientali), Prot. 3245/28, Romeni (ex Rappresentanze della S. Sede), Affari generali, f. 4.

⁴⁶ ACO, Prot. 3245/28 I, Romeni (ex Rappresentanze della S. Sede), Affari generali, f. 1.

⁴⁷ ACO, Prot. 3245/28 I, Romeni (ex Rappresentanze della S. Sede), Affari generali, ff. 6-8.

The first Vatican document⁴⁸ about the Jewish question bears the date of January 19th 1928. This is a report of the nuncio to Gasparri about an article that appeared in the journal “Adeverul” following the advice of an American commission for the minorities which travelled for almost three months around southeastern Europe. The report of the commission is very critical about Romania. The nuncio underlines the situation of the Catholic minority but the report speaks very critically of the Jewish people and about the university situation too⁴⁹. No answers from the State Secretary have been found amongst the consulted materials. The Jewish question comes back to the attention of the nunzio Cassulo in July 1937 when he writes to Pacelli describing travels around some Romanian provinces and the Jewish realities are described; there is no mention there of the university situation⁵⁰. But only on December 27th 1937 does Cassulo write a report that is entirely about the Jewish Romanian community. This is motivated by the governmental position which is increasingly more anti-Jewish. “Il problema ebraico è molto grave e complesso in Romania. Venuti gli ebrei, specialmente dopo la grande guerra, in queste regioni, hanno, direi, sconfinato dalla Polonia, dalle altre parti, e si sono stabiliti in grande numero nel Maramures ed io stesso ho potuto vederli numerosissimi a Sighet, proprio sul confine, e in quegli altri centri ed anche nei villaggi, misti ai cattolici, agli ortodossi etc. Conservano ancora il loro carattere, i loro costumi e vivono per lo più a sé, trafficando in ogni maniera. Una parte poi, notevolissima di ebrei l’abitano in Bessarabia. Quella Provincia, unita al grande regno rumeno soltanto da una ventina d’anni, ha delle città che sono proprio piene di ebrei, fra le quali Chisinau, Otin. Anche a Iasi, Oradea Mare, Satu Mare etc. Sono, come ho già detto, un po’ dappertutto, ma specialmente nei grandi centri industriale e commerciali. Il minor numero è tra i tedeschi, perché l’elemento tedesco sa attendere da sé agli affari commerciali e non lascia quindi che l’elemento ebreo si stabilisca e si mescoli con lui. Coll’elemento ungheresi si confà maggiormente perché molti ungheresi sono anch’essi ebrei e fra essi alcuni sono molto influenti e doviziosi. Coi Rumeni l’elemento giudaico si è specialmente consolidato perché il popolo rumeno è di preferenza agricolo e quello che è nelle città e nei centri non è portato al commercio. Non è attivo e si dà piuttosto alla vita comoda, mentre le famiglie ebreie sono industrie e sanno cavare il guadagno anche dal piccolo commercio. Quando il Governo ha lasciato che gli ebrei entrassero in sì gran numero, ora sono circa un milione, in Rumenia, non si è reso conto, direi, del malessere e della reazione che si sarebbero poi verificati. Ora, autorità e popolazione tentano reagire perché vedono che una gran parte degli affari e del commercio gli è sfuggita di mano, ma non è facile portare alla grave disuguaglianza un efficace rimedio. Di qui, le proteste, i tentativi di boicottaggio che per ora non possono ottenere l’effetto desiderato. L’Universul, giornale forse il più importante ha aperto la campagna e il Patriarca, il Prof. Iorga, ha scritto articoli veementi per arrestare l’influenza giudaica, e anche il Governo, benché non ufficialmente, fa conoscere la sua avversione all’elemento ebreo, tanto più che i comunisti che sono in Rumenia e gli agitatori sono per lo più soggetti che vengono al di fuori e appartengono alla stirpe giudaica. Non si può prevedere, per ora, quello che la reazione otterrà, perché si è lasciato troppo fare in passato. È certo però che l’antipatia è grande e molti viva e non poche famiglie sono state costrette a cambiare anche nome per non avere noie e attendere in pace al loro commercio. Noto ancora che, le famiglie ebreie non intaccate dalle

⁴⁸ AES, Romania, Pos. 45 P.O. (Continuazione) Fasc. 40, 1923-1936, prot. 4845.

⁴⁹ “Il non voler fare delle leggi scolastiche eque per le minoranze è un grave errore da parte di una Nazione che desidera trasformare gli elementi minoritari in cittadini leali. I tentativi di romanizzare i gruppi minoritari colla forza e di distruggere le loro scuole confessionali, avranno come effetto sicuro, che all’estero molti, che altrimenti sarebbero stati amici della Romania, perderanno ogni fiducia in questo paese. Politica scolastica. Perciò crediamo che se la Romania vuole porsi in una posizione favorevole dinanzi agli occhi del mondo, deve permettere alle minoranze di avere le scuole a cui sono abituate: deve lasciare ad esse un’autonomia ragionevole; riconoscere loro il diritto che si imparino le lingue delle rispettive razze, così come la lingua romena. Il Controllo dev’essere ridotto in modo da non impedire il lavoro di coteste scuole, limitandosi ad assicurare un insegnamento privo di irredentismo. È necessario che le scuole minoritarie ottengano stabilità anche per il futuro, e siano liberate dal timore costante di poter essere chiuse. La campagna anti-semita. La Commissione ha constatato nella sua visita, che una mostruosa campagna di intimidazione e brutalità, è condotta contro i cittadini ebrei, e che ne è causa un insieme di superba intolleranza e di odio ignorante. A questo riguardo è assai deplorabile che la Chiesa di Stato abbia sanzionato la “Lega della difesa cristiana” (antisemita) e l’”Unione degli studenti cristiani” (antisemita), il cui programma e le cui pubblicazioni sono una vergogna per la civiltà, ed una macchia nera per il buon nome della Romania.”, ibidem.

⁵⁰ AES, Romania, Pos. 108 P.O. Fasc. 115, 1936-1938, prot. 1271/37.

idee sovversive, antireligiose, mandano senza difficoltà i loro figli a ricevere l'educazione presso le suore nostre e presso i religiosi. Nelle scuole dei Freres, qui a Bucarest, e nei Pensionati delle Suore di Notre Dame de Sion, Bucarest, Galati, Iasi, molte alunne sono ebreo⁵¹. The personality of professor Iorga can't be forgotten so the nuncio comments about this: "Si dice nell'esposto inviatomi che il Prof. Iorga è una delle figure esponenti che combattono l'elemento giudaico in Romania. É vero, ma è pur vero che in un passato non lontano egli proteggeva gli ebrei, o almeno non era loro contrario. Il Sen. Iorga, già Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri, è un personaggio eminente per le sue doti e specialmente per la sua erudizione storica. Più che un capo politico, è un letterato, conosciuto molto anche all'estero, specialmente a Roma, è un amico dell'Italia, e a Parigi ove tiene spesso conferenze interessantissime"⁵².

The Jewish question is an issue which is increasingly important for the agenda of the government and on January 1st 1938 the nuncio writes about the new government of Cuza and Goga and describes his actions as an "atteggiamento deciso" (determined attitude) against the Jews in accordance with the "aspirazioni dei giovani studenti" (aspirations of the young students)⁵³. The following reports⁵⁴ about the situation of the Jews are more interested in the situation of the converted Jews and for the first time, on January 19th 1938, Pacelli answers: "La Santa Sede segue infatti con viva attenzione tutto ciò che riguarda la vita della Romania ed è desiderosa di ~~continuare non solo a conservare ma a sviluppare sempre più~~ col Governo attuale le relazioni amichevoli già strette con i Governo che lo hanno preceduto"⁵⁵. On February 14th 1938 Cassulo answers Pacelli and asks for more information about the possibility for the Cuza-Goga government to maintain power for a long period. "Purtroppo il dubbio allora manifestato aveva qualche fondamento. I nuovi uomini chiamati dalla fiducia del Re al Governo, erano, è vero, molto bene intenzionati e, basandosi sul principio nazionale cristiano, si erano accinti a portare radicali riforme, a togliere gravi abusi, a risanare l'ambiente, ma l'atteggiamento troppo brusco relativo agli ebrei che avevano invaso, dopo la guerra, il paese, non sempre per via legale, impadronendosi delle industrie importanti e meno importanti, delle professioni civili, l'aver inaugurato una politica che si allontanava dal passato, pur rimanendo fedele agli impegni assunti, pur cercando altre amicizie con tendenze opposte a quelle già acquisite, sono le cause che hanno scosso gravemente gli animi sia nell'interno del paese che all'estero. E il Governo pressato da ogni parte a dare dichiarazioni a dovuto quasi ogni giorno concedere interviste ai corrispondenti esteri dei principali giornali onde calmare le masse e spiegare quali erano le sue intenzioni. Per quanto queste dichiarazioni fatte con la migliore intenzione, facessero vedere quale era realmente il programma del nuovo Governo, in fondo nazionalista, la Romania ai Romeni, la stampa estera, spinta forse anche dall'elemento ebraico che si vedeva mettere in grave imbarazzo dalle nuove misure di epurazione, non cessava di agitare l'opinione pubblica. Anche in Rumania, il nuovo Governo, non avendo una base larga e sicura, non si sentiva appoggiato e gli altri partiti, ben più forti e sostenuti da masse importanti, si sono naturalmente, quasi in massa schierati contro il ministero che si affrettò ad indire contro il parere degli altri, le nuove elezioni onde procurarsi il favore del popolo"⁵⁶.

With regard to the situation in Hungary, the first documents about the Jewish question are two reports that the nuncio Orsenigo writes to Gasparri about the n.c. The first is dated October 15th 1926 and begins with reports on the next travels in Italy of the minister that has proposed this measure. "Verso metà novembre verrà a Roma per tenervi una conferenza, invitato dal Governo Italiano, il Ministro dei culti e dell'Istruzione, il cattolico (regalista) conte Klebelsberg; [...] Molto ferocemente fu invece attaccato il Ministro dai giudei per una certa sua disposizione scolastica, che accorda ai giudei solo un limitato numero di posti nelle scuole universitarie; e la legge sul Numerus clausus, che costringe non pochi studenti giudei ad arrestarsi

⁵¹ AES, Romania, Pos. 108 P.O. Fasc. 116, 1936-1938, prot. 1802/37.

⁵² Ibidem.

⁵³ AES, Romania, Pos. 114 P.O. Fasc. 119, 1937-1938, prot. 1812/38.

⁵⁴ Ibidem, prot. 1883/38.

⁵⁵ Ibidem, prot. 181/38.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, prot. 2031/38.

alle porte dell'università. È una disposizione affatto antisemita, che noi popoli latini difficilmente possiamo concepire. Il Ministro cerca volentieri di raccogliere alte approvazioni alle sue misure disciplinari e amministrative"⁵⁷. One year later, on October 28th 1927, Orsenigo provides information about anti-Jewish riots with classic anti-semitic arguments. "Eminenza Reverendissima, Poiché penso che anche ai giornali esteri arriverà l'eco dell'antisemitismo, che agita in questo momento l'Ungheria, credo mio dovere inviare a Vostra Eminenza Reverendissima alcune notizie di fatto e alcune considerazioni, che ritengo utile aver presenti, qualora anche i giornali cattolici credessero di interloquire; ciò che ora del resto non è consigliabile. In conseguenza alla famosa rivoluzione comunista del 1918 e 19, capitanata, come si sa, dai giudei, è rimasto fra i cristiani di Ungheria una specie di terrore antisemita, che se non è giustificabile a stretto rigore di carità cristiana, è però psicologicamente spiegabile. Siccome i Giudei qui appartengono in gran parte alle classi ricche e colte, finiscono ad occupare i migliori posti professionali, con un sopravvento che non corrisponde affatto alla loro percentuale demografica. Per arginare questo fenomeno, dal quale i cristiani pronosticano le peggiori conseguenze, fu votata nel 1920, auspice un Ministro cattolico, una legge detta del "Numerus clausus", la quale accorda agli studenti semiti solo un determinato numero di posti nelle università ungheresi, cioè solo il 6% dei posti disponibili, in conformità alla loro percentuale demografica: i Giudei infatti sono qui 474.000 ossia 5,9% della popolazione ungherese. Contro questa legge i semiti ungheresi hanno lottato ripetutamente per mezzo dei loro poderosi giornali, ma sempre invano: ora pare abbiano trovato modo di far pressione sul Governo per mezzo di qualche potente nazione straniera; pressione a cui il Governo non ha creduto di poter opporre un reciso rifiuto, in vista forse di quanto egli attende dalle potenze straniere; così che recentemente, per bocca del Presidente del Consiglio, dichiarò formalmente che il Numerus clausus sarà mitigato. – Contro questa [sic] promessa governativa si è scatenata subito una serie di proteste e di dimostrazioni studentesche in tutte le Università del Regno, e nelle varie sezioni del partito politico antisemita (cioè cristiani e cristiani cattolici). Per essere completo devo aggiungere che è difficile sapere se il Governo è del tutto estraneo a queste proteste e dimostrazioni.... antigovernative: sono questi i misteri della politica, che si possono intuire, ma non documentare. I cattolici specialmente hanno preso vivissima parte a queste dimostrazioni antisemite, limitate finora a comizi incruenti e a ordini del giorno focosi. – I giornali cristiano-cattolici vi consacrano articoli di fondo e larga cronaca, dichiarandosi recisamente contrari a qualsiasi mitigazione del "numerus clausus". Il partito politico dei cristiani sociali (che conta 22 deputati fra cattolici e protestanti) ha votato all'unanimità un ordine del giorno in senso antisemita, e il Ministro Mons. Vass presentate si è incaricato di portarlo a cognizione del Governo. – La massa dei fedeli si mantiene tranquilla e quasi estranea; sebbene tutti sappiano che anche il clero, compreso l'Episcopato, sia tutto a favore della conservazione del "numerus clausus". Come Vostra Eminenza vede, non si tratta di antisemitismo religioso, ma piuttosto di una lotta "professionale" dei cattolici e protestanti uniti contro la superiorità intellettuale di una minoranza, che è considerata responsabile dell'esperimento sovietista in Ungheria nel 1918. Ritengo che tutto finirà tranquillamente, perché il Governo dichiarerà di trovarsi impotente ad effettuare quanto aveva promesso a proposito di questa legge antisemita"⁵⁸. Gasparri received this report on November 9th but no comments have been found about it⁵⁹. The following reports about the Jewish situation are more oriented to the general situation of the community and there isn't news about university movements. The preoccupations of the church are mostly for the baptised Jews⁶⁰. The description of the reaction of the Hungarian people to the new anti-Jewish decrees is interesting: "in generale furono accolti bene, perché qui il movimento antisemita trova una profonda corrispondenza nella mentalità attuale degli Ungheresi. Anche gli ebrei convertiti qui sono molto in sospetto e si considerano come elementi difficilmente amalgamabili con la razza ungherese. Ecco perché anche i nuovi progetti di legge non considerano più come ebrei coloro che solo si convertirono al cristianesimo prima del 1 agosto 1919 ed i loro figli (cioè prima della vittoria sopra il comuni-

⁵⁷ AES, Ungheria, Pos. 29 P.O. Fasc. 30, 1925-1930, IV Periodo, prot. 324, f. 98.

⁵⁸ AES, Ungheria, Pos. 29 P.O. Fasc. 31, 1925-1930, IV Periodo, prot. 1054, f. 16-17.

⁵⁹ Ibidem, f. 18.

⁶⁰ AES, Ungheria, Pos. 77 P.O. Fasc. 57, 1938-1940, IV Periodo, prot. 1168/38, ff. 6-9.

smo): gli altri convertitisi dopo, in ordine di applicazione di queste leggi, sono considerati come ebrei: evidentemente è un senso di diffidenza che di loro si ha, quasi si tratti di pseudo conversioni, ed in tale apprezzamento convegno anche molti cattolici”⁶¹. Rotta continues with his reports by speaking about Emericana, the association of the catholic university students, and writes that “l’Emericana non ritiene incondizionatamente ungheresi l’ebreo battezzato ed i suoi discendenti”⁶². The reports describes the situation in general: “la stampa liberale e democratica, in maggioranza dominata dagli ebrei, ha fatto il viso d’armi a tali progetti, che trova non conformi allo spirito della Costituzione ungherese ed allo stesso spirito cristiano e che sono anche un atto d’ingratitude verso l’elemento ebraico, al quale si deve lo sviluppo ed il fiorire dell’industria e del commercio in Ungheria: detta stampa riconosce pure, per quanto a malincuore, che le circostanze rendono d’attualità il problema ebraico, ma ne reclamano una soluzione che dovrebbe essere più umana. La stampa di destra invece si mostra soddisfattissima ed incoraggia Daranyi a portare presto in porto le leggi relative e ad applicarle con energia”.

And then: “potrebbe sembrare che dopo tutto gli ebrei non avrebbero motivo di lagnarsi per il trattamento che loro verrà fatto dalla legge, perché vi si parla della proporzione del 20%, mentre gli ebrei sono solo circa il 5% della popolazione. Bisogna però osservare che in certe branche dell’industria, del commercio, delle finanze, come in certe professioni come l’avvocatura, la medicina ecc. gli ebrei vi sono rappresentati in proporzioni molto più elevate, il 50 e 60%; posseggono poi anche stabili e fondi, comperati specialmente nel tempo difficile del dopoguerra, in misura sproporzionata al loro numero. Ciò spiega come il quoziente 20% mentre sembra insufficiente agli ebrei è d’altra parte considerato come fin troppo largo dagli altri: il Governo ha dovuto adottare una misura di mezzo per non compromettere con salti troppo bruschi l’economia generale. Per amore della verità però bisogna dire che nell’esercito e negli impieghi pubblici la quota degli ebrei è molto bassa, al di sotto del 5%”⁶³.

On May 8th Pacelli answers: “Mi sono soffermato sulla questione ebraica ed ho letto quanto Ella diligentemente espone in proposito, tanto più che qualche eco ne è giunta qui indipendentemente dal di Lei Rapporto. In modo particolare il giudizio *troppo generale* che si vorrebbe dare sull’insincerità delle conversioni dal giudaismo al cristianesimo avvenute dopo il 1919 sembra strano e arbitrario e in contrasto con ~~quello spirito di liberalità di cui ha dato tante prove cotesto Governo in questi ultimi tempi~~ *lo spirito di generosità del popolo ungherese*. È da augurarsi che, pur tutelando i giusti interessi della Nazione magiara, cotesto Governo non scenda a misure di eccessiva severità contro gli ebrei, e che i cattolici ungheresi facciano in questa circostanza opera di sana moderazione”⁶⁴. The number of appeals is very high⁶⁵ and, with Maglione as Secretary of State, this flow of requests continues without influencing the political life of this country⁶⁶.

Conclusion

The main focus of this text is to provide observations on anti-Jewish student movements in these two countries. It represents a peculiar area in the study of anti-Semitism because, in comparison with other experiences of anti-Semitism, the importance of student movements and the educational sector is, in these countries and in particular in Romania, higher. At the same time the university sector partially internationalizes these movements.

The situation in the two countries can’t be assimilated into a single position. At the beginning of the 20th century, Romanian Jews lived in a state of very heavy crisis which became worst year-by-year. The idea of a monothematic volume of the Aja about only the Romanian case is significant. The report of the American Commission for the minorities is another signal of the problematic level of this reality. Some of the most important leaders of the Romanian anti-Semitism come from the

⁶¹ Ibidem.

⁶² Ibidem.

⁶³ Ibidem.

⁶⁴ Ibidem, prot. 1476/38, f. 10.

⁶⁵ AES, Ungheria, Pos. 77 P.O. Fasc. 57, 1938-1940, IV Periodo, ff. 39-42.

⁶⁶ Ibidem, prot. 2159/39, f. 45.

university sector, such as Codreanu, one of the most important leaders of initially the student anti-Semitic movement and later of the Iron Guard, as well as Iorga, the intellectual leader of the fascism in Romania. The situation in Hungary is different. First of all, the past of this country is influenced by the experience of the Hapsburg Empire (Catholic) and the post-Trianon with the whole issue of lost territories (for Romania it is the opposite, the country gains new territories and at the same time has an explosion of the question of minorities). Hungary lives through the experience of the “Red terror” with Bela Kuhn and that too gives a contribution to the anti-Jewish feelings. The promulgation of a n.c. in 1920 needs to be within the general context of the general situation of this country.

The new nuncios that open new apostolic delegations in these countries find difficult situations and, from some perspectives, new issues that are new for the international community and not only for the individual diplomat. This implies that the issue of the protection of national minorities in the southeastern Europe countries is particularly strong. In this environment, the Jewish community can't find a clear position. Often it is seen as a national minority and in other cases as the subject of traditional anti-semitic feelings. Only during the second half of the Thirties, the question of baptized Jews begins to be seen as a question that needs the intervention of the nuncios and of the Vatican. This behaviour can be seen in accordance with the thesis of the research about this theme⁶⁷. The Secretary of State, initially Pacelli and later Maglione, begins to more carefully note the drafting of anti-Jewish laws in many countries and the attack against converted Jews needs an intervention through diplomatic channels, i.e. the nuncios. This is a hypothesis for these countries because the study of this area is not so foolproof as in traditional western countries. With regard to the issue of anti-Semitism in the university and for the case of Hungary, the nuncio in Budapest, Orsenigo, provides information about anti-Jewish measures not in 1920, when the n.c. have been promulgated, but in 1926. In this case, no answers can be given for this period of silence. It would be interesting to compare the position of the nuncio Orsenigo, for example, toward the Jewish situation during his mission in Budapest and that of his counterpart in Berlin.

The questions the anti-Semitism in the university sector is open and particularly interesting due to the influences between the different fascist movements and countries. Education is the basis for the future economical structure so that control of access to this sector is a way to provide a structure against the inequalities of future society.

⁶⁷ Vedi G., MICCOLI, *I dilemmi e i silenzi di Pio XII. Vaticano, Seconda guerra mondiale e Shoah*, Rizzoli, Milano 2007; R. MORO, *La Chiesa e lo sterminio degli ebrei*, Bologna 2002.

Tavole

Tavola VIa, educazione primaria, 1919-1920, Aji, XXIX, p. 269.

	1919-1920		1920-1921		1921-1922	
	Totale	Ebraico	Totale	Ebraico	Totale	Ebraico
Scuole	10.092	218	10.981	227	12.077	249
Insegnanti	21.030	466	22.928	512	24.527	573
Alunni Totale	1.040.623	17.844	1.115.327	19.447	1.256.606	19.748
Alunni ebrei	56.408	16.763	58.160	18.268	59.492	18.488

Tavola VIb, educazione primaria, Aji, XXIX, p. 270.

		Scuole elementari				Corsi di completamento			
		Tot.	Denominazione cristiana	Ebraica	Altro	Tot.	Denominazione cristiana	Ebraica	Altro
1919-1920	Scuole	5.906	4.166	186	1.554	3.650	2.966	27	657
	Insegnanti	16.312	8.776	413	7.123				
	Alunni Totale	813.446	523.280	16.610	273.556	122.528	102.090	187	20.251
	Alunni ebrei	37.790	4.589	15.529	17.672	651	225	187	239
1920-1921	Scuole	6.158	4.263	196	1.699	4.204	3.300	24	880
	Insegnanti	17.623	9.357	445	8.802				
	Alunni Totale	856.941	540.875	17.633	298.433	139.831	114.613	204	25.014
	Alunni ebrei	37.753	4.688	16.459	16.606	837	370	199	268
1921-1922	Scuole	6.305	4.321	198	1.783	5.115	3.732	42	1.341
	Insegnanti	18.328	9.772	461	8.095				
	Alunni Totale	905.195	565.180	17.433	322.582	217.416	163.053	343	54.020
	Alunni ebrei	35.791	4.587	16.174	15.080	1.751	785	342	624

		Apprendistato commerciale e industriale	Burgher schools			
			Tot.	Denominazione Cristiana	Ebraica	altro
1919-1920	Scuole	268	268	56	5	207
	Insegnanti	1.564	3.154	462	53	2.639
	Alunni Totale	29.298	75.351	12.408	1.047	61.896
	Alunni ebrei	2.592	15.375		1.047	14.375
1920-1921	Scuole	307	312	66	7	239
	Insegnanti	1.899	3.406	520	67	2.819
	Alunni Totale	42.850	75.705	12.700	1.610	61.395
	Alunni ebrei	4.517	15.053		1.610	13.443
1921-1922	Scuole	329	328	68	9	251
	Insegnanti	2.159	4.040	640	112	3.288
	Alunni Totale	55.340	78.655	13.048	1.972	63.635
	Alunni ebrei	6.496	15.454		1.972	13.482

Tavola VII, scuole primarie normali, Aji, XXIX, p. 271.

	Alunni		%		
	Totale	Ebrei	% alunni ebraici sul totale	Distribuzione secondo classe di scuola	
				Totale	Ebrei
Totale, 1919-1920	5.884	184	3,1	100,0	100,0

Ebraico	47	47	100,0		25,4
Confessionale	3.518	59	1,7	59,8	32,0
Totale, 1920-1921	5.977	132	2,2	100,0	100,0
Ebraico	34	34	100,0		25,7
Confessionale	3.426	48	1,4	57,2	36,3
Totale, 1921-1922	4.750	105	2,2	100,0	100,0
Ebraico	35	35	100,0		32,4
Confessionale	2.705	33	1,2	57,5	32,4

Tavola VIII, educazione secondaria, Agy, XXIX, p. 272.

	Alunni		% alunni ebraici sul totale	Distribuzione per classi di scuola	
	Totale	Ebrei		Totale	Ebrei
Totale 1919-1920	51.541	15.996	30,33	100,0	100,0
Ginnasio	33.358	8.929	26,77		55,8
Ebraico	83	83	100,0		0,5
Realschulen	8.704	3.465	39,8	16,88	21,7
Scuola per ragazze	9.479	3.602	38,0	18,39	22,5
Ebraico	88	88	100,0		0,5
Totale 1920-1921	56.927	14.219	24,9	100,0	100,0
Ginnasio	37.991	7.809	20,5	66,7	54,9
Ebraico	152	152	100,0		1,0
Realschulen	9.140	3.011	32,9	16,1	21,2
Scuola per ragazze	9.796	3.399	34,7	17,2	23,9
Ebraico	194	194	100,0		1,4
Totale 1921-1922	56.005	13.154	23,5	100,0	100,0
Ginnasio	37.804	7.253	19,2	67,5	55,1
Ebraico	307	307	100,0		2,3
Realschulen	8.445	2.750	32,6	15,1	20,9
Scuola per ragazze	9.756	3.151	32,3	17,4	23,9
Ebraico	329	329	100,0		2,5

Tavola IX, persone che hanno superato l'esame di baccalaureato, Agy, XXIX, p. 273.

Anno e sesso	Numero		% % ebrei sul totale	Distribuzione	
	Totale	Ebrei		Totale	Ebrei
	Totale 1919-1920	4.079	1.062	26,0	100,0
Ragazzi	3.392	795	23,4	83,2	74,8
Ragazze	687	267	38,8	16,8	25,2
Totale 1920-1921	4.697	1.164	24,8	100,0	100,0
Ragazzi	3.885	866	22,3	82,7	74,4
Ragazze	812	298	36,7	17,3	25,6
Totale 1921-1922	4.579	1.159	25,3	100,0	100,0
Ragazzi	3.882	890	22,4	84,8	76,8
Ragazze	697	269	38,6	15,2	23,3

Per avere un quadro della distribuzione delle facoltà possiamo dire che (Agy, XXIX, p. 274):

università di Buda-pest	Facoltà di teologia cattolica romana, facoltà di legge, facoltà di medicina, facoltà di filosofia, corsi di farmacia
università di Debrecen	Facoltà di teologia calvinista, facoltà di legge, facoltà di filosofia, "università rifugiata"
scuole controllate dal governo	politecnico a Pesth con sezioni di chimica, architettura, ingegneria meccanica, economia politica, 3 accademie di legge, una scuola cattolica romana, una scuola calvinista, una scuola luterana, 4 scuole superiori di teologia (romano cattolica, calvinista, luterana ed ebraica)

Tavola X, numeri e distribuzione degli studenti ebrei nelle scuole o nelle facoltà e nelle scuole ebraiche di teologia, secondo il semestre dal 1918-1919 fino al 1921-1922, Agy, XXIX, p. 275.

	Totale	Ebrei	% % ebrei sul totale	Distribuzione	
				Totale	Ebrei
	Totale, 1918-1919	18.449	6.719	36,4	100,0
Teologia	544	13	23,5	3,0	0,2

Legge	4.241	1.056	24,9	23,0	15,7
Medicina	6.526	3.336	51,1	35,4	49,6
Filosofia	2.104	524	24,9	11,4	7,8
Farmacia	297	120	40,4	1,6	1,8
Politecnico	4.727	1.670	35,3	25,6	24,8
Totale, 1919-1920	10.005	558	5,6	100,0	100,0
Teologia	524	5	0,9	5,2	0,9
Legge	2.028	97	4,8	20,3	17,4
Medicina	2.787	3	0,1	27,9	0,5
Filosofia	1.107	24	2,2	11,1	4,3
Farmacia	117	7	6,0	1,2	1,2
Politecnico	3.442	422	12,2	34,4	75,6
Totale, 1920-1921	14.258	1.721	12,1	100,0	100,0
Teologia	708	8	1,1	4,9	0,5
Legge	2.791	302	10,8	19,6	11,5
Medicina	4.503	994	22,1	31,6	57,7
Filosofia	1.304	76	5,8	9,1	4,4
Farmacia	228	20	8,8	1,6	1,2
Politecnico	3.851	286	7,4	27,0	16,6
Economia politica	873	35	4,0	6,1	2,0
Totale, 1921-1922	17.306	2.318	13,4	100,0	100,0
Teologia	797	11	1,4	4,6	0,5
Legge	3.649	478	13,1	21,1	20,6
Medicina	5.132	1.194	23,3	29,7	51,5
Filosofia	1.391	136	9,8	8,0	5,9
Farmacia	360	43	11,9	2,1	1,8
Politecnico	4.203	366	8,7	24,3	15,8
Economia politica	1.774	90	5,1	10,0	3,9

Tavola XI, scuole normali superiori, 1918-1919 fino al 1921-1922, Agy, XXIX, p. 276.

	Numero di candidati per il secondo semestre		% ebrei sul totale
	Totale	Ebrei	
1918-1919	400	73	18,2
1919-1920	362	17	4,7
1920-1921	318	6	1,9
1921-1922	377	11	2,9

Tavola XII, preparazione professionale dal 1918-1919 al 1921-1922, Agy, XXIX, pp 277-278.

	Anno, scuola e corsi	Numero di studenti		%	Distribuzione	
		Totale	Ebrei		% ebrei sul totale	Totale
		1918-1919	Agricoltura	1.678		152
	Ingegneria, forestale e miniere	205	22	10,73	1,13	0,42
	Industria e commercio	13.114	4.811	36,68	71,18	91,25
	Arte	3.349	284	8,48	18,17	5,38
	Scuole speciali e corsi	77	3	3,9	0,42	0,06
	<i>Totale</i>	<i>18.423</i>	<i>5.272</i>	<i>28,62</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>
1919-1920	Agricoltura	1.409	21	1,49	8,82	0,5
	Ingegneria, forestale e miniere	126	4	3,17	0,79	0,09
	Industria e commercio	11.579	3.977	34,33	72,5	93,4
	Arte	2.503	238	9,52	15,66	5,59
	Comunicazione	85	11	12,94	0,53	0,26
	Puericultrice	190	3	1,58	1,18	0,07
	Scuole speciali e corsi	83	4	4,82	0,52	0,09
	<i>Totale</i>	<i>15.975</i>	<i>4.258</i>	<i>26,65</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>
1920-1921	Agricoltura	1.935	15	0,78	11,23	0,37
	Ingegneria, forestale e miniere	154			0,89	
	Industria e commercio	12.499	3.398	27,82	72,53	83,30
	Arte	2.281	642	28,15	13,23	15,73
	Comunicazione	14			0,06	
	Puericultrice	134			0,78	
	Scuole speciali e corsi	94	24	25,53	0,55	0,59
	Amministrazione comunale	121			0,70	
	<i>Totale</i>	<i>17.232</i>	<i>4.079</i>	<i>23,67</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>

1921-1922	Agricoltura	2.357	17	0,72	12,47	0,45
	Ingegneria, forestale e miniere	144			0,76	
	Industria e commercio	13.419	3.220	24,02	71,04	87,08
	Arte	2.340	443	18,93	12,39	11,97
	Comunicazione	151	11	7,28	0,80	0,29
	Puericultrice	147	1	0,7	0,78	
	Scuole speciali e corsi	126	8	6,35	0,67	0,21
	Amministrazione comunale	205			1,09	
<i>Totale</i>	<i>18.889</i>	<i>3.700</i>	<i>19,58</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	

Tavola, XIV, Analfabetismo, 1920, Ajj, XXIX, p. 280.

	Popolazione	Persone dell'età di sei anni o maggiore		Analfabeti	
	Numero	Numero	%	Numero	%
Totale	7.980.143	7.189.272	90,09	1.881.586	26,2
Ebrei	473.310	441.306	93,23	51.503	11,6