

The Jews of Hungary

Summary of key points from Raphael Patai

Carpathian Basin: Roman Rule to the 10th Century

In the second and third century CE, Jewish communities in the Roman province of Pannonia (now western Hungary) were large enough to maintain synagogues. Jews were well respected by the Romans and accepted in Syrian settlements where both Jewish soldiers and civilians lived. Jewish soldiers were highly skilled and attained important positions in the army before the Romans were driven out by the Huns in the fifth century. There is no evidence before 1528 that Jews lived in the eastern Roman province of Dacia, now known as Transylvania.¹

Until the 9th century, little more information is available. Bavarian trade regulations indicate Jewish merchants followed trade routes from Poland to Bavaria along the Danube. Since Jews lived in Prague, they may have lived in between these points, as well. Indications of changing attitudes toward Jews can be found in church records from the 9th century. Up to this time, paganism was still widely practiced in Eastern Europe. In 866, Bulgarian Prince Michael Bogor, a recent convert to Christianity, wrote to Pope Nicholas I to ask about working on the Sabbath. The question implies the prince had been talking about faith and practice with Jews. The Pope's response, that any Christian following the Jewish custom of avoiding work on Saturday "subjects himself to the infidelity of the Jews" reveals the church's efforts to spread hatred of Jews among the growing Christian community.²

From 895 to 900, Jews from the Khazar kingdom (whose ruler had converted to Judaism in the middle of the 8th century) arrived with Magyars (Hungarians) from Central Asia. The relationship between Jewish Khazars and Magyars is unclear, as is the relationship between invading Jewish Khazars and the existing Jewish community. However, strong evidence of Jews in what is present day Hungary dates from 920 CE.³

A Special Feature of Hungarian Feudalism

During the Middle Ages, as Western European governments decentralized and kings in lost power to the developing manorial system, Hungarian monarch's retained much of their legal authority over their subjects. Everyone (regardless of status) was the king's servant. This gave him tremendous power, similar to ownership, over his subjects: he could choose whom he would protect and whom he would persecute. Although the rights of Hungarian nobles were strengthened in by the "Golden Bull," (signed in 1222 and similar to the Magna Carta), the kings retained tremendous power over to protect or persecute whom they willed. Legally, the king's power over people was similar to ownership.⁴

For instance, in 1360 when King Lajos I wanted Jews to convert, he first offered them inducements such as full rights and tax exemption. When this didn't work, he expelled all Jews from Hungary. But first he had to "liberate" them from their servitude to the crown: servants were forbidden to travel. Most Jews went into Austria, Bohemia, or Poland. However, since only Jews were allowed to lend money, Lajos soon found his economy in disarray. In 1364, he asked Jews to return so he could borrow money to fight the Turks.⁵

Because of the power of Hungarian kings, the status and security of Jews varied during the Middle Ages, but Jews never faced the violence experienced in other European countries.

Restrictions and Rewards: the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

By 11th century, some Hungarian Jewish communities not only supported synagogues but religious courts that operated independently of the civil courts. Much like Christian communities at the time, most Jewish communities lacked education. They relied on a learned man to be a "cantor-rabbi-teacher." Others relied on foreign rabbis or on correspondence with rabbinical authorities in Vienna or elsewhere.⁶

Until 1092, Jews enjoyed rights and privileges similar if not equal to non-Jews. Even when anti-Jewish or anti-Muslim laws were issued, they were quite mild compared to those in other European countries. In 1095-96, during the First Crusade, the knight Volkmar brought 10,000 men to Hungary to join the army of Peter the Hermit. Both Jews and Christians were attacked⁷ until King Kálmán drove out the invaders. Perhaps to discourage Jewish immigrants seeking his protection, in 1101 Kálmán imposed several laws curbing Jewish and Muslim rights. Neither could own Christian slaves nor use any but pagan slaves in agriculture. After laws prohibited Jews from hiring slaves owned by Christians, they could no longer practice agriculture. New laws also restricted money lending. But Kálmán's successors needed to borrow money for their wars, so no new anti-Jewish laws were passed for decades after his death in 1116.⁸

In some cases, Jews were rewarded for their service to the king by ennoblement, as with Counts Teha and Henuk. Other Jews received castles or lands, always at the discretion of the king. But Hungarian monarchs were coming under increasing pressure from the church to deal harshly with Jews⁹ and from the Magyar nobles who wanted kings to stop giving away estates to “foreigners” (Jews were seen as foreigners along with ethnic Slovaks and Romanians).¹⁰ In 1222, the king and the nobles signed the “Golden Bull.” This agreement exempted the Hungarian nobility from taxation and from fighting foreign wars and gave nobles the right to armed resistance against a king who violated the agreement. It also prohibited Jews and Muslims from becoming noblemen or serving as “mint officers, salt officers, tax officers.”¹¹

Ten years later, Archbishop of Esztergom complained that King Endre was still treating Jews too well. In response, the king again forbade Jews from holding public office, forced Jews to wear distinctive clothing, and forbade Christians who had public office associating with Jews. The property of a Jew who married Christian was confiscated and the Jew sold into “eternal slavery”¹² to Christians. However, Endre did not follow these restrictions with public denunciation of Jews, many of whom still held government offices.¹³

Seen from Afar: Attracting and Then Excluding Jews

After the Mongol invasion (1241) wiped out half Hungary’s population, King Béla IV issued 31 laws granting Jews protections in hopes of attracting people whose skills could help restore the country. “Béla’s ‘Jewish Law’ firmly established in Hungary the Austrian and German concept of the Jews (as servants of the royal chamber) being the property of the crown.”¹⁴ Similar to laws passed at this time in Poland to attract Jews there, Béla’s Laws defined the relationship Jews would have to Christians for centuries. One needs to remember that in Hungary, hurting a Jew (who served at the king’s discretion) was believed to hurt the royal chamber itself and resulted in heavy fines. While Jews had no civil liberties, they did gain protections and some privileges that only Hungarian nobles otherwise.¹⁵

In response, Pope Urban IV complained that Béla was allowing Jews to hold positions over Christians. Pope Nicholas III sent Bishop Philip of Ferma to pressure the king. In 1279, the Hungarian bishop’s council required a Jew to wear distinctive clothing “whenever he leaves his place of lodging or enters it, or appears in public in any manner, or shows himself, should wear as a distinguishing badge a red circle made of red cloth, which should be sewn on at their [sic] breast on the left side to that upper garment which they commonly and regularly wear over their other clothing.”¹⁶

Christians were forbidden to be friendly to Jews, to be seen with Jews who did not wear the badge, and to live near them. Jews and Muslims could no longer work as tax collectors or hold public offices. Anyone who appointed them could be excommunicated. Hiring a Jew resulted in damnation.¹⁷

Increased Violence and an Appeal to the Rule of the “Jew Law”

Despite the severity of these restrictions, no widespread violence accompanied them. Nor were Jews in Hungary accused of mass crimes such as poisoning wells or desecrating hosts. The first ritual murder charge was made in 1494. Even when encouraged to attack Jews, Hungarian Christians exhibited restraint. In 1349 when the Flagellants (“a fanatical and heretical sect” of Catholicism¹⁸ who had attacked Jews in other countries) crossed the northern border of Hungary, local people did not join in the violence. In 1335 Cistercian monks in Pressburg complained to Pope Benedict XII that Hebrew prayers heard from the new synagogue near their monastery were too noisy. The Pope ordered the monastery destroyed but felt it necessary to add that any Christians who protested the action would be excommunicated. However, as Patai points out, this story shows that the Jews in Pressburg felt safe enough to pray with fervor. Also the monks apparently could not rely on the municipal authorities to take action against Jews and so sought the Pope’s assistance.¹⁹

Because Jews could not practice agriculture, many lived in cities. In Western Hungary, there was also a high concentration of Germans who tended to be more anti-Semitic than Hungarians. Germans practiced the guild system in such a way that Jews were excluded and passed many local laws that humiliated Jews. Even where doing so was prohibited by royal edicts, they imposed extra taxes on Jews. For instance, in Pressburg wine for Kiddush and Passover was taxed.²⁰ Another Pressburg law that caused problems for Jews, even if it resulted in huge profits for moneylenders, was the set interest for loans: less than one pound had to be lent at 86 ¾% annually. Interest on larger amounts was 43 1/3% annually. “These exorbitant rates explain, on the one hand, how Jews could make a living and even amass capital from money lending and, on the other, why this business, in which Jews were forced to concentrate, created so much resentment against them.”²¹

The Law Book of Buda: Increased Isolation and Increased Violence

The Law Book of Buda (completed in 1421) required that Jews wear a cone-shaped hat, a red cape and a yellow patch over the breast so they could be seen from afar. Prostitutes also had to wear this yellow patch. As punishment, witches and warlocks had to wear the same hat and sit on top of a ladder for public display at the market. The Law Book also forbade Jews from selling merchandise more than once a week on a Jewish street and from selling among Christians entirely on pain of losing their wares. The book calls Jews “the despicable hard necked, stinking betrayers of God,” but forbade killing Jew on pain of death.²²

Not surprisingly, violence against Jews increased. In the 14th century Jews in Hungary found themselves threatened by a decree that allowed noblemen to allow Jews to settle on their land, granting them the privilege of “keeping and owning Jews.”²³ Rather than being the property of the king whose treatment of Jews was bound by the Law Book of Buda, Jews were now at the mercy of local noblemen who could treat and tax Jews as they willed. The Jews could not even appeal to the “Jew judge” (an official office held by a Christian appointed for each Jewish community in order to increase government control over them).²⁴

Fearing the increased power nobles had over them, Jewish communities met in a conference and elected men to represent them to the king. This in time developed into a Jewish organization throughout Hungary. As a result, the 1251 “Jew Law” of King Béla was revived, affording them legal protection. However, each subsequent king had to affirm Béla’s Jew Law, thereby re-establishing his ownership of Jews.²⁵

The Beginning of Hungarian Jewish Scholarship

In the 15th century scholarship and religious observance developed in Hungary as a result of the immigration of learned scholars, but also of social conditions which allowed them to build communities and schools whose scholars frequently contacted one another and sought the opinions of learned men outside of Hungary as well. Many men not only spoke but wrote Hebrew. The fact that they signed Hungarian contracts in Hebrew suggests they could not write Hungarian or Latin. This was true of central Hungary after the Turks took over, as well.²⁶

Little is known about the Jewish community in Hungary because there is little surviving literature or scholarship until the 15th century. Isaac Tyrnau, a Viennese born scholar (who trained under Viennese Talmudist Abraham Klausner) wrote the *Sefer haMinhagin* (Book of Customs) to help Jewish communities in Europe who had lost many scholars of Halakah (Jewish Law) and people familiar with local customs in Hungary and Moravia. Published for centuries and translated into German, the book was used by many communities in Austria, Hungary and even Poland. Evidence that other Jewish scholars from this period in Hungary were active even if they didn’t leave a body of literature comes from their correspondence with rabbis in Austria, Poland and Germany discussing moral and ethical issues in 15th and 16 century.²⁷

Under King Matthias Corvinas (r. 1458-1490) Jews were taxed ruthlessly and “killing letters” (dismissing the debts owed Jews or changing the terms by royal decree) were issued frequently. In exchange for tightening control over Jewish taxes and increasing them five-fold, Matthias got rid of the “Jew judges” and instituted the Jewish prefect who, unlike the Jew judge, was a Jew. In addition to settling disputes between Christians and Jews, the prefect’s job was to ensure that the Jewish community paid its taxes to the crown. While he was not a Jewish leader in the traditional sense (no body of literature was left behind by the prefects), the prefect maintained a Jewish ceremonial presence in the Hungarian court until 1526.²⁸

The Blood Libel

The first blood libel charge appeared in Hungary in 1494, 350 years after England’s. Other such charges were raised in Hungary 1529, 1764, 1791, and 1891. In the first instance, twelve men and two women were charged with dragging a Christian child into the synagogue in Nagyszombat, strangling, smothering and then drinking the child’s blood while he died. According to the charges, the rest of the child’s blood was saved for others to drink and the body was chopped up and buried. Under torture, a confession was extracted from the accused who also supposedly stated that Jews used Christian blood to alleviate “the wound of circumcision,” that it was an aphrodisiac, that both Jewish men and women menstruated and Christian blood was medicinally helpful for this, and that there was a worldwide secret society obligated to shed Christian blood somewhere every day. According to the confessions, Jews in the city of Nagyszombat (or Tyrnau in German) had been chosen to commit the crime by drawing lots. Contemporary reports say that the twelve Jews, who were all burned to death, could have escaped death by converting. All refused. Two prayed fervently while burning to death, which rather casts doubt on the confessions. A statue of the child was set up near a monastery and remained standing until 19th century.²⁹

While charges of criminal conspiracy and host desecration were rare in Hungary, the language of the Law Book of Buda, calling Jews “perfidious”³⁰ and “evil and villainous”³¹ implied that they had criminal natures. However, legal records of both the Christian and Jewish community show that in 16-18th century Jews committed fewer petty crimes than were perpetrated against them, despite their minority status, and that there is “practically no record of violent crimes”³² despite the fact that their occupations were restricted to pawn brokering, money lending and commercial activities which afforded opportunities to cheat and steal. “They knew they had no choice but to conduct their lives within the confines of the law, which was the only protection they had in a society that never let them forget their onus of otherness.”³³

Hungarian Jews and the Ottoman Empire

After the Turks defeated the Hungarians at Mohac in 1526, the kingdom was divided into three parts: Transylvania in east nearly independent ruled by Hungarian princes, southern and central Hungary was under Ottoman rule. North and east of the Turks and northeast of Transylvania became a province of Habsburg Empire and called Royal Hungary. The Hungarian nobles in this last province supposedly retained the right to elect their king, but they always elected the next Habsburg. The Turks, Austrians and Hungarians would fight for fifteen years. The Treaty of Varad in 1538 did not settle dispute between Hungarians and Austrians, however.³⁴

Transylvania

In 1623 Prince Gabor Bethlen, hoping to develop trade, issued a patent letter protecting Jews and allowing them to practice any occupation and guarantying them the right to practice their religion. Jews could leave and take money out of country if conditions became intolerable. Soon, Jewish traders were importing goods from Turkey in competition with Greeks. In 1650, the Diet of Transylvania ordered Jews and Greeks to wear distinctive garb. For the most part, Transylvanian princes treated Jews with a mixture of “benevolence and exploitation”³⁵ even extending their protection over the “Jewish streets” within the walled cities on their estates.³⁶ However, the 1678 Diet forbade Greeks, Jews, Armenians, and Serbians from buying imports at the boarders and reselling them at higher price. The inclusion of Jews with “foreigners” is significant.³⁷

Buda

Reports of massacres after the Turks captured in 1526 cannot be confirmed, but in subsequent fighting Christians and Jews were brutally slaughtered. According to Turkish accounts, only the poor remained in Buda. The Turks forced two thousand Jews to relocate to Turkey while Jews from Salonika were forced to move to Buda.³⁸ This Near Eastern resettlement practice (intended to secure control of new territories) dates back to the Babylonian exile of Jews after the conquest of Jerusalem in 586 BCE. Hungarian Jews exiled to Turkey lived separately from the existing Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities for many years.³⁹

Five hundred Jews, 88 families, lived in Buda’s walled city again after the 1530s, making Jews 20% of Buda’s population, a figure that would remain stable until the Holocaust. Under Turkish rule, Jews not only engaged in trade but were allowed to be artisans. They again became tax gatherers and rented the royal taverns. Women wove broadcloth. The Turks allowed different religions to live in different communities, or *millet*s and practice freely. Wealthy Jews were often captured by Hungarians and held for ransom.⁴⁰

When Austrians recaptured the city in 1686, half the city burned, perhaps by arson, including the synagogue. Half the Jews were slaughtered and the other half held for ransom. The Austrians did not allow Jews to return to Buda or to other cities in the formerly Turkish areas.⁴¹

Royal Hungary

Prosperous Hungarian Christians often resented the success of their Jewish neighbors, especially when they perceived the king’s protection afforded Jews more privileges and even the possibility of being ennobled or attending the court, as did the Jewish prefect. The Jews of Sopron were expelled after the Turkish invasion. The Jews of Pressburg were also expelled, in 1526. While these expulsions did not entail the massive loss of life as did those from Austrian towns, they were followed by blood libel charges in 1529 and 1536. The Jews of Royal Hungary appealed to Pope Paul III, who issued an encyclical (12 May 1540) condemning the blood libel and ordering the clergy in Europe to protect Jews. Expulsions from cities continued, however, and many more Jews settled on the estates of noblemen where they found employment as moneylenders or peddlers, made brandy, or sold agricultural products. As in Transylvania, Jews continued to be seen as foreigners living off the Hungarian Christians. Many Jews chose to move to areas under Muslim control.⁴²

Becoming Hungarian in the Austrian Empire

The peace treaty between Austria and the Ottoman Turks was signed in 1699. Hungary was subject to the Austrian Emperor after a brief Hungarian insurrection that failed to unite noblemen among themselves or peasants and nobles together as Hungarians. The compromise empowered Hungarian nobles on whose estates many Jews lived.⁴³ But Jews were now also at the mercy of the Austrian Emperors who wanted to keep Jews from returning to Hungary until the empire again needed money for foreign wars. Two men became especially important in this regard: Samuel Oppenheimer, who provided the Hungarian army with everything from oats to gunpowder, and Samson Wertheimer, who supplied credit to the court in Vienna. Wertheimer was incredibly generous and influential to the devastated Hungarian Jewish communities. A scholar who proofread and financed the Frankfurt Talmud (1712-1722), he also helped re-establish 40 Hungarian-Jewish communities.⁴⁴

In 1698 Emperor Leopold I imposed a “toleration tax” on Jews in Hungarian cities; estate owners again allowed Jews live and work in rural areas. When Leopold I expelled Jews from Austria and Hungary in 1670, the Esterházy and other large landlords gained permission to allow them to return. These noblemen protected Jews because they had the administrative and financial skills needed to run large estates and develop commerce in the noblemen’s cities and towns. Jews also worked on large estates as tax and rent collectors. Most Jews were merchants and traders dealing in rabbits, furs, sheepskin, old clothes, and scrap iron. Wealthier Jews were wholesale merchants or importers of merchandise and military supplies. Smaller group lived on handcrafts and as artisans, rented taverns and made brandy in north and eastern counties. Some tilled rented soil.⁴⁵ But Jews remained at the mercy of the landlords who imposed punitive taxes.⁴⁶

By 1735 many Jews had migrated to Western Hungary, especially the sons of Austrian and Moravian Jewish families whom Charles VI had forbid to marry (only the oldest sons could to marry after 1726 to reduce Austria’s Jewish population).⁴⁷ Polish Jews sought to escape pogroms in their homeland by settling in northeastern Hungary. In 1746, Empress Maria Theresa expelled Jews from Buda and exacted a “toleration” tax on others wishing to remain in Hungary. While the Jewish community increased, the overall population of Hungary in 18th century increased by 9 million Europeans by 1781.⁴⁸

Franz Joseph: Making Sense of Jews in the Empire

In 1781, Emperor Joseph II lifted restrictions in Hungary on Jews tilling soil as long as they hired Jewish servants (only converts could actually own land). Jews could also now work in transportation, as tailors, shoemakers, stonemasons, carpenters, and weavers. Jews could start factories. Although Transylvania only let Jews live in a one town, they had relative religious freedom there and could become craftsmen.⁴⁹

In 1783 Joseph II’s “Systematic Regulation of the Jewish Nation” was issued for the Austrian Empire, including Hungary. Jews didn’t have full rights but employment and social regulations ended and they were now the subjects of laws. This ended their servitude to the noblemen on whose estate they resided. They could also live in royal free cities (as opposed to those cities on the estates of nobles who would allow them residence). In addition, they could rent land and become craftsmen and tradesmen and engage in manufacturing, join guilds, and apprentice their children to Christians. They could legally eat kosher food and no longer had to wear distinguishing clothing. However, they could not conduct business in Hebrew but had to talk and write in Latin, German, or Hungarian. Hebrew or Yiddish was only allowed in prayers. Nor could they print or import religious texts except those seen as important religious texts.⁵⁰

While they were free from the burden of wearing red badges, they were forbidden to wear beards (this was eventually lifted) or traditional religious clothing. Where economically feasible, each community had to open schools and teach children in the language of the country in which they resided. If attending Christian school, Jews could leave during catechism. The language regarding the education of Jewish children was rife with statements about the low moral character of Jews and the dubious ethical practices of Jews which might be improved with schooling. A 1786 law already in effect in Austria made completion of a secular education to the age of twelve a prerequisite or marriage.⁵¹

In a further attempt to force Jews to assimilate, in 1787 Joseph II declared that all Jews had to accept a German family name. Tens of thousands of Jews were given names in a matter of weeks, hence the common Jewish last names that simply refer to a size or color: Klein, Gross, Weiss, Gelb, Braun, Schwarz, Roth.⁵²

By 1813 the Jewish population in Hungary was 80,000. Hungarian Jews embraced the challenge to assimilate. A liberal form of Judaism developed. Known as “Neologs,” they found themselves in opposition

to those Jews who decided to respond to the pressure to “become” Hungarian by remaining separate and embracing conservative and traditional Jewish practices. These Jews became known as “Orthodox.”⁵³

By the 1840s, since many Jews had assimilated, the discussion in the Hungarian parliament about emancipation revolved around a desire, on the one hand, to have more “Magyar” citizens and a fear, on the other hand, that emancipation would attract more foreign Jews. Many Christian Hungarians felt that emancipating the “large” number of Hungarian Jews would “contaminate” the Hungarian population, despite the fact that a census in the 1830s shows that Jews made up only 2.34% of the population.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, Hungarians were so concerned with maintaining the “purity” of Magyar culture that some Hungarian legislators demanded a “reform” of Judaism be tied to emancipation. Others made distinction between Hungarian and foreign Jews, particularly Galician Jews, who tended to be more Orthodox.⁵⁵

Revolution, Retribution, and Emancipation

During the 1848 Revolution to free Hungary from Austria, the Hungarian nobles emancipated the peasants to encourage them to fight Austria. But only ethnic Hungarian peasants were given full rights. Austria used this to appeal to ethnic Croats and Romanians and armed them against the Hungarians.⁵⁶ Hungarian Jews, despite their second class status, fought bravely for their country hoping to gain acceptance into Hungarian society.⁵⁷ When the revolution failed, Austria made Jewish congregations pay huge fines in reparations to the Emperor. Two important rabbis were imprisoned for hailing Hungarian independence in sermons. The autonomy of Jewish communities was suspended by Austria in 1850 and government representatives were appointed as chief executives of synagogues in order to monitor their activities.⁵⁸

While all Hungarians were affected by the governmental reorganization that Franz Joseph undertook to consolidate power, Jews benefited from several changes. Austrian educational programs and the development of transportation links to Austria improved conditions in the Jewish community. An 1850 law prohibited discrimination in industry and commerce because of religion, birth, or nationality within the empire. After 1859 Jews were allowed to open factories and after 1860 they could dispense pharmaceuticals, removing the last restrictions on employment.⁵⁹

Austria’s loss in the war against Prussia gave Hungary the bargaining power needed to negotiate some demands successfully, resulting in the compromise of the Dual Monarchy: Franz Joseph was crowned King of Hungary as well as Emperor of Austria. The Hungarians would be allowed to have their own government, courts, and prime minister, but they would share a joint ministry of war. While Hungary could have their own national guard, the Home Guard, but it could not be mobilized against Austria.⁶⁰ The same year, 1867, Hungarian Jews were finally emancipated.⁶¹

Zionism

As a result of their desire to prove themselves good citizens, Hungarian Jews embraced nationalism to such a point that the majority of them opposed Zionism, despite the fact that many of the founders of Zionism, Theodore Herzl among them, were born in Hungary. Opposition to Zionism was motivated by a belief that Hungarian Jews were not a people or a separate ethnic group but only a religious denomination. Others opposed Zionism because they heard in it an echo of anti-Semitic calls in the 19th century to remove Jews forcibly from Hungary and send them “back” to Palestine. While there were seven Hungarians at the first Zionist conference, these were not elected positions. The seven chose to go. In fact, only a few thousand of the one million Hungarian Jews at the turn of the century were Zionists. The Jewish National Office, which represented Neologs, opposed Zionism, as did most of the Orthodox community.⁶²

By 1910, although Jews comprised 20% of the population of Budapest, they made up only 5% of the Hungarian population as a whole. Jewish emigration from Hungary was actually greater than immigration. The population loss for Jews was also higher than for non-Jews. So, despite the fears of Neolog Jews and non-Jews alike, there was not an overwhelming influx of Galician Jews. Far from presenting a threat to the “purity” of Magyar culture, more Jews spoke Hungarian (76%) than did Catholics (55%). Furthermore, more Jews were literate (75%) than Catholics (60%). These facts caused Hungarian historian Geza Jeszenszky to point out that Hungary not only needed Jewish commercial skills and entrepreneurial talents to have a healthy economy and move from a feudal society to an industrial, urbanized, modern society, Jews helped to tip “the ethnic balance in favor of Magyar.”⁶³ Few Hungarian Jews would be able to comprehend the ease with which their neighbors could see them as “other” and imagine them as a threat to Hungary before it was too late.

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- ¹ Patai, Raphael, The Jews of Hungary. Detroit: Wayne State, 1996, 21-26
- ² Ibid. 27
- ³ Ibid. 27-29
- ⁴ Ibid. 30, 47
- ⁵ Ibid. 55-60
- ⁶ Ibid. 31-33
- ⁷ Voll, Fritz. "A Short Review of a Troubled History." Jewish-Christian Relations. October 5, 2007
<http://jcrelations.net/en/?item=836>
- ⁸ Patai, 41-44
- ⁹ Ibid. 37
- ¹⁰ Levendi, Paul. The Hungarians. Hurst and Company: London, 47, Patai, 44
- ¹¹ Ibid. 47
- ¹² Ibid. 45
- ¹³ Ibid. 45
- ¹⁴ Patai, 51
- ¹⁵ Ibid. 46-51
- ¹⁶ Ibid. 52
- ¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸ Flagellants. The Catholic Encyclopedia August 27, 2007. <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06089c.htm>
- ¹⁹ Patai, 54-44
- ²⁰ Ibid. 63-64
- ²¹ Ibid. 65
- ²² Ibid. 64-65
- ²³ Ibid. 69
- ²⁴ Ibid. 61
- ²⁵ Ibid. 75
- ²⁶ Ibid. 101-110
- ²⁷ Ibid. 108
- ²⁸ Ibid. 75-78, 106
- ²⁹ Ibid. 12-114
- ³⁰ Ibid. 65
- ³¹ Ibid. 66
- ³² Ibid. 139
- ³³ Ibid.
- ³⁴ Ibid. 171
- ³⁵ Ibid. 156
- ³⁶ Ibid.
- ³⁷ Ibid. 157
- ³⁸ Ibid. 162, 171
- ³⁹ Ibid. 162-163
- ⁴⁰ Ibid. 168 164-168
- ⁴¹ Ibid. 165, 187-188
- ⁴² Ibid. 183-186
- ⁴³ Molnár, Miklos, A Concise History of Hungary. London: Cambridge, 1996,133-138
- ⁴⁴ Ibid. 186-190
- ⁴⁵ Ibid. 201-202
- ⁴⁶ Ibid. 190-201
- ⁴⁷ Ibid. 190
- ⁴⁸ Ibid. 20
- ⁴⁹ Ibid. 211-212
- ⁵⁰ Ibid. 211-215
- ⁵¹ Ibid. 215-216
- ⁵² Ibid. 215
- ⁵³ Ibid. 217-225
- ⁵⁴ Ibid. 234
- ⁵⁵ Ibid. 234-235
- ⁵⁶ Wynot, Edward R. Lecture Notes, Fall 2002
- ⁵⁷ Ibid. 281
- ⁵⁸ Ibid. 281-289
- ⁵⁹ Ibid. 289-290
- ⁶⁰ Wynot, Lecture Notes
- ⁶¹ Ibid. 311-314
- ⁶² Ibid. 338-341
- ⁶³ Ibid. 433