

The Persecution of Jews in Hungary and the Catholic Church

HUNGARY

The German Occupation

19 March 1944 - 4 April 1945

Extracts from Documents and Comments

compiled by Dr. Andras Zakar

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HUNGARY'S POPULATION

Date	Total Population	Jews	Percent
1500	5,000,000 (approx)		
1720	2,570,000	12,000	0.46

This was the first national census after 160 years of Turkish occupation

Due to large numbers of settlers from Germany and neighbouring countries Hungary's population increased rapidly.

1842	12,800,000	241,000	1.88
1910	20,886,487	935,000	4.47

After the dismemberment of Hungary under the Treaty of Trianon:

1920	7,972,202	473,355	5.93
1936	9,004,346	444,567	4.94

After the return of some former territories:

1941	14,683,323	825,007	5.62
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Before the German occupation on 19th March 1944, the arrival of many Jewish refugees increased the total number of Jews in Hungary to about one million.

In 1945 Hungary was again reduced in size to that of 1920.

Give no offence to Jews or to Greeks or to the church of God.

1 Corinthians 10:32

Strive even to death for the truth and the Lord God will fight for you,

Sirach 4: 33

FOREWORD

There have been many books published in English about the Holocaust in Hungary, so why another? Will it not open up old wounds? The answer is not simple. These books have given accounts of the horrors of the deportations, persecution, suffering and deaths of Jewish people. Hardly anything, or very little, has been recorded in them about the heroic attempts of many Hungarians to save Jewish lives during the tragic Nazi occupation of Hungary from 19 March, 1944 to 4 April, 1945. The purpose of this booklet is to draw attention to those, for the most part, nameless and forgotten heroes of the Hungarian resistance.

There is, however, another reason for the timeliness of this publication. In recent years reference has been made in some of the media in Hungary and Western countries, and especially in the United States, much of it Jewish owned or controlled, to increasing anti-Semitism in East European countries in the wake of their being freed from Communist tyranny. Among the reasons for such antipathy against Jews may be that there are many people living in Hungary now who remember that the leaders of the short-lived Communist regime there after the First World War in 1919 were Jews. Those who have lived under Communist rule in East European countries after the Second World War know that the surviving Jews attained a privileged status in those countries, especially in Hungary. After the war most of the Communist leaders in Hungary, installed by the occupying Soviet forces, were Jews. Among these were Rákosi, Gerö, Révai, Farkas, Péter. This often resulted in dire consequences for those identified as former Nazis or their sympathisers. More people were executed in Hungary as a result of being thus identified than in all the other former German controlled countries put together — with the exception of Yugoslavia. We still hear about the hunting down of former Nazi war criminals; even in Britain legislation has been passed to this effect.

But in our time it is vitally important we seek peace and reconciliation, otherwise we shall tear ourselves to pieces. This booklet is motivated by a deep desire for reconciliation between the Jews and Christians of Hungary who have in the past worked together in harmony for generations. The Hungarian cultural, social and economic heritage has been enriched by so many Jewish artists, writers, scientists and experts in many professions. It will be a tragedy if the wounds are not healed. [1]

It would help towards such reconciliation if the Jewish people were to recognise and acknowledge that many Christian Hungarians saved the lives of considerable numbers of their Jewish compatriots at great risk to themselves.

This is not an attempt at a whitewash. On the contrary, we recognise the fact that the Jewish people suffered terribly in Hungary, as elsewhere, and one is able to understand their bitterness and even their desire for revenge. But there is a need to look afresh at the validity of the numbers of Jews from Hungary said to have been killed during the Nazi occupation, and of the work of other Hungarians to save them.

This publication is based mainly on the manuscript of Monsignor Andras Zakar entitled *The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary*. It has a subtitle: *Cardinal Seredi's Defence of the Persecuted Jews*. [2] This was discovered recently among a mass of papers left behind by the late Mgr. Béla Ispánki, the chaplain to Catholic Hungarians in Britain. This manuscript, dated 1969/70 (twenty-five years after the fateful events of 1944/45), is a collection of documents dealing with the Catholic Church's efforts to save Jewish lives under the most difficult circumstances. Mgr. Zakar was the archivist of the Archdiocese of Esztergom under Cardinal Serédi, and was later private secretary to Cardinal Mindszenty, so he had unrivalled access to archives and documents relevant to his record. Since it could not be published in Communist Hungary, it appears it was smuggled out of the country and so came into the possession of Mgr. Ispánki.

The present publication is a shortened edition of this documentation — with the addition of important and relevant facts and reports made by the Hungarian Chaplaincy's team in London, one of whom was personally involved in rescuing Jews in 1944/45.

The listing of people or institutions engaged in the rescue operations is limited, of course, by the sources available to Mgr. Zakar at the time of his writing. Thus it is also restricted to the resistance work of Catholic religious communities in the Budapest area. There were many other people who ran risks saving Jews elsewhere in the country.

From my own experience, I shall never forget how on 27 November 1944, in my last grammar school year in Veszprém, and when living next to the bishop's house, I witnessed the then-Bishop József Mindszenty being arrested together with some priests and sixteen seminary students. This was on the orders of the town's mayor who was a Nazi sympathiser.

The Bishop's crime was that he had stood up in defence of the innocent and protested against the deportation of Jews from Veszprém. In the same town some people were publicly executed for hiding Jews.

This booklet reveals another aspect of the story of the Nazi persecution of the Jews in Hungary. It is a memorial to those who, under the most difficult circumstances, tried to live according to the mandate of Christ to offer one's life to save the lives of others.

(Mgr.) George Tüttö
Chaplain to R.C. Hungarians

London, October 1991

Profile of Dr. András Zakar by Mgr. Béla Ispánki, DD

Monsignor Ispánki was senior chaplain to Roman Catholic Hungarians in Great Britain from 1957 until his death in London on 9 May 1985. He was sentenced in the Mindszenty show trial in February 1949 to life imprisonment by the Hungarian Communist court — the same sentence as Cardinal Mindszenty's. During the Hungarian uprising of 1956 he escaped to the West and he worked first as chaplain to Hungarian refugees in Durham, and then in London.

He knew Monsignor Zakar quite well and wrote the following profile of him in a letter to a friend on 4 February 1974:

"With regard to Mgr. András Zakar I would like to let you know the following information:

"He was born on 30 January 1912 at Margitta (now in Romania). He studied first for a degree in Civil Engineering at the József Nádor Technical College in Budapest, but just before finishing his four-year course he entered the Central Seminary of Budapest in order to prepare himself for the priesthood. He was ordained priest on 23 June 1940 in Esztergom and graduated at the Theological Faculty of Péter Pázmány University, Budapest, in June 1941. In the summer of 1942 Cardinal Jusztinián Serédi OSB appointed him archivist of the Archdiocese of Esztergom. In July 1943, when I returned from Rome after eight years of studies, Dr. Zakar was promoted to the office of Master of Ceremonies and I took up his previous appointment.

In the spring of 1944 he became titular secretary to the Cardinal with duties of a personal nature. We were very close friends, in spite of the fact that he was rather a theoretical type of man, blessed with great tenacity and assiduity, and less with original talents. He was very ascetic; he preferred to sleep on a wooden plank instead of a soft bed, and to eat vegetables rather than any sort of meat.

"In March 1946 I left Hungary again for Rome to finish my four-year course for a degree in Philosophy. After my return to Budapest in 1947 we maintained our friendly ties, but we differed very much in our political concept of how to master the extremely difficult political situation which the Church in Hungary, and especially Cardinal Mindszenty, had to face.

"On 19 November 1948 Mgr. Zakar was arrested by the Hungarian secret police, just as he left the convent after his Mass to walk back to the archbishop's palace, situated about fifty yards away.

"On 26 November 1948 I was arrested by the secret police at my flat in St Emeric's College, the oldest Catholic college in Hungary for the university students of Budapest.

"Mgr. Zakar had always been of frail constitution and health. No wonder that he soon broke down under torture and became co-operative with the secret police. As a result he received some preferential treatment in the headquarters of the Hungarian secret police, whilst I and some others involved in the Mindszenty trial had to endure inhuman hardships during our solitary underground detention up to 2 February 1949.

"On 23 December 1948 agents of the secret police brought him to the archbishop's palace at Esztergom to show them the place where he had hidden a metal tube containing a collection of very important documents. In October 1948 I had sent a personal message to Cardinal Mindszenty urging him to order the immediate destruction of all sensitive documents which could be useful to the Communists at a trial which might be staged against him. The Cardinal gave instructions to Mgr. Zakar to start this work at once. Mgr. Zakar destroyed many documents but was not willing to destroy some letters and reports which he considered to be of 'historical' interest, thus giving the Communists ample material for a show trial.

"On 8 February 1949 the People's Court sentenced Cardinal Mindszenty and myself to lifelong imprisonment. Mgr. Zakar got only six years, which was reduced by the Court of Appeal to four years.

He was separated from us in prison. I met him once or twice in prison and had a chance for a chat with him only once. He suffered from severe tuberculosis during his imprisonment. He was due for discharge — with remission for good conduct — in November 1951, but it was the height of the Stalinist era and no political prisoner could get any remission at that time. So he was interned for a further period of time and was discharged in 1953. He was not allowed to resume his priestly duties, but he was given a small retirement pension in the fortieth year of his life. The Communists looked upon him with suspicion, while his colleagues were afraid of him and avoided every contact with him.

"This saintly man had to suffer enormously between two worlds which did not accept him. He made himself useful as a tutor to young people in foreign languages, as a translator, etc.

"In October 1956, after Cardinal Mindszenty was liberated from prison, Mgr. Zakar went to him to offer his services as personal secretary. This offer was flatly refused. A few weeks later the new secret police arrested him and questioned him about the conversations he had had with Cardinal Mindszenty during the days of the Hungarian uprising, and concerning the messages I sent to him (i.e. to Mgr. Zakar) from Vienna. As no special charges could be brought against him he was released. So he continued to live on the meagre retirement pension given to him by the government, and on the fees he was receiving from occasional conferences, retreats, etc.

"Mgr. Zakar is still living (1974) in private accommodation in the 11th District of Budapest and leads a very secluded life. I have tried to obtain from him a more detailed explanation concerning that famous metal container, about his interrogations at the headquarters of the secret police, etc, but he is afraid to talk or to write. Cardinal Mindszenty writes highly of him in his memoirs to be published shortly. Some Hungarians reject him as a traitor. I think he was very naive in assessing the political situation and the aims of the Communist Party in Hungary; too soft in his capacity as a personal secretary, more soft in front of the secret police. But it is far from me to be harsh towards him. Had he been firmer in holding Cardinal Mindszenty back in some cases, he would have lost his job. Had he been more resistant at the secret police's headquarters, he might not have survived the tortures. In view of the conspiracy charges his sentence was very light and the secret police mentioned him always as an example in various political trials, showing that they can practise mercy. Thus they destroyed his image before a large section of people who were anti-Communist. Mgr. Zakar did not belong to the so-called Peace Priests, and never has tried to turn events to his personal advantage. So neither side in our great national struggle counted or count him as belonging to the Left or to the Right.

He is 'suspended in the air', as we say in Hungarian, 'as the coffin of Mohammed'. And that is a very tragic lot for a very good man."

Mgr. Zakar [3] died on 31 March 1986, in a home for retired priests at Székesfehérvár, Western Hungary.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

I Documents in the Archiepiscopal Archives of Esztergom.

II. Documents of the Krumej and Hunsche Trial in Karlsruhe, published in Frankfurt in 1965.

III. *The Impeachment of Nazism*, vol. iii, 1964. (Documents concerning Jewish persecution in Hungary from 26 June to 15 October, 1944).

IV. Articles published by the Hungarian Catholic weekly *Uj Ember* and the monthly journal *Vigilia* from 1945 to the present day.

V. Books:

a) *The Memoirs of Cardinal Mindszenty*. Hungarian edition, 1974, Vörösváry, Toronto, Canada. English edition Copyright 1974 by Macmillan Publishing Co, Inc, published by Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1974.

b) Antal Meszlényi, *The Hungarian Catholic Church and the Protection of Human Rights*, (Szt. István Társulat, Budapest, 1947.) 169 to 178.

c) *The History of Hungary*, (Institute of Historical Research of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, 1964.)

d) Jenő Lévai, *L'Eglise Ne S'est pas Tue* (The Church did not remain silent) in French, (Ed du Seuil, Paris, 1966) (Hungarian Dossier 1944-45).

e) Professor C. A. Macartney, *October Fifteenth* (A History of Modern Hungary 1929-1945) (The Edinburgh University Press, 1957.)

f) Andre Handler, *The Holocaust in Hungary*, (The University of Alabama Press, 1982)

INTRODUCTION

The Roman Catholic Church in Hungary and the Christian population in general have frequently been accused of having done little or nothing to save the Jews from persecution by the occupying German Nazis and their collaborators from the Hungarian Arrow-Cross (Nyilaskeresztes) Party [4]. To commemorate the 25th anniversary of Cardinal Séri's death (29 March 1945) his secretary Mgr. Andras Zakar in 1970 compiled a dossier of contemporary documents and relevant writings published at later dates, which prove that the Cardinal, the Papal Nuncio, the episcopate, the clergy and members of religious communities, assisted by many lay people of all classes and denominations, repeatedly risked loss of freedom, faced torture and imprisonment, and even sacrificed their lives in order to help, hide and save persecuted Jews during the most crucial period of recent Hungarian history, from 19 March 1944 to 4 April 1945. For Hungary's treatment of the Jews prior to this period, let independent witnesses be heard:

'Taken all in all, Hungary continued during these months, and right up to March 1944, to be the single country in Europe within arm's length of Hitler in which the Jews enjoyed *de facto* something approaching civilised conditions. Hungary was a haven of refuge, and not for the Hungarian-born Jews only, for large numbers of foreign-born Jews sought refuge within her frontiers, especially from Galicia after the Germans had occupied it, but also from Slovakia, Romania, etc.'

(C A Macartney: *October Fifteenth*, Part II, p.101)

Jenő Lévai, himself a Jew, writes in his book *L'Eglise Ne S'est pas Tue*(p. 9): 'Never before had there been a pogrom in Hungary. In 1700 there were 12,000 Jews in the country, in 1800 their numbers had risen to 120,000, and at the beginning of World War I to 935,000, i.e 5% of the population' [especially in the wake of the pogroms in Russia towards the end of the 19th century. Cf. Map page 5].

'Coming mostly from Galicia the Jews very quickly occupied important economic and trading positions in the country and gained more and more influence on the political and cultural life of the nation.'

In view of the rapid growth of the Jewish population in Hungary, both in number and influence, it is perhaps understandable that a certain degree of resentment — anti-Semitism, if you like — developed, resulting in the so-called Jewish Question (Zsidókérdés). Hungary was hoping to resolve this problem justly and humanely, especially through economic restructuring, but the ever increasing pressure, threats and finally occupation by Nazi Germany brought about the tragedy of the Hungarian Jewry.

Chapter I

19 March to 15 October 1944.

In the early hours of Sunday, 19 March 1944, German troops invaded and occupied Hungary. On the same day, they arrested and imprisoned churchmen, politicians, civil servants, members of the aristocracy, Jews and others who were known to be hostile to Nazism. Parliament assembled, as previously planned, on 22 March, but it was adjourned immediately for an indefinite period. At the meeting only one MP protested against the unconstitutional occupation of the country by a foreign power, but he was soon shouted down by the other members. He was a Catholic priest, Father Jozsef Közi-Horváth, a Christian Socialist.

Under the name of the Hungarian Front, opposition parties rallied at once and began to organise resistance to the aggressor. By June they had prepared and issued a proclamation, the main points of which were as follows:

"We (the Union of Democratic Parties of the Hungarian Front) address the nation in a most tragic moment of its history. German troops have invaded our country. Our freedom and our lives, the existence of our nation and of future generations are in danger. Neither the threat of captivity, nor death can prevent us from informing the nation of what is going on. We cannot tolerate that at a future peace conference Hungary should again be on the losing side and should suffer far worse consequences than at the Treaty of Versailles (Trianon) after the First World War which dismembered the country.

"The programme of the Hungarian Front is as follows: the expulsion of the German conquerors and their stooges, peace with the Allied Powers and the establishment of a free and democratic Hungary. The conduct of the churches of Hungary once again will shine in these sad and tragic times of occupation, and the Hungarian people will always remember that their priests, faithful to the teaching of Christ, stood by them, regardless of the risks to their own lives."

"Long Live the Free, Independent, Democratic Hungary!!"
"Read and pass it on!"

Cf. Gyula Kállai, *The Movement for Hungarian Independence 1936-1945* (Kossuth Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 1965.) p. 209-213.

Persecution of the Jews

Under the leadership of Adolf Eichmann, [5] a special section of the Gestapo, consisting of several hundred men, arrived in Hungary at the same time as the German occupying forces. Their task was, with the assistance of Hungarian collaborators and backed by the occupying forces, to carry out the liquidation of the Hungarian Jews whose number had swollen from the pre-war figure of 445,000 to 825,000 — according to other estimates to one million. This increase was due to the return of some former territories from Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia between 1938 and 1941, following a series of agreements signed in Vienna, and due to the arrival of many Jewish refugees from neighbouring countries. A provocative and militant press campaign accompanied the first anti-Jewish measures. They had to wear the yellow star, their shops and trading permits were confiscated, their property and money was distributed among the Nazis and other fascist groups. Later they were assembled in houses and ghettos. In May 1944, the deportation of the Jews from all over the country began, except from Budapest, under the pretext of labour service. Under the SS about 437,000 people were crowded into cattle trucks and transported under terrible conditions to various work camps and concentration camps, including Auschwitz, where about 75 per cent perished.

There are varying statistics regarding the number of the victims. The newspaper of the American occupying forces in Germany, *The Neue Zeitung*, under Jewish editorship, in its February 1946 issue, listing the number of Jews killed in European countries, gives the following statistics for Hungary:

Jews living in Hungary in 1939 as 403,000; in 1945: 280,000, the number of missing: 123,000. *Whitaker's Almanack* gives the following numbers: Hungary's Jewish population in 1938: 445,000, in 1946: 200,000. The difference: 225,000. *The Recent History Atlas 1860 to 1960* by Martin Gilbert, puts the estimated number of Hungarian Jews murdered as 200,000 out of a Jewish population of 710,000. At a trial at Karlsruhe in 1965, ex-SS Colonel Krumei, one of Eichmann's closest associates, was accused of causing the death of 300,000 Hungarian Jews. He was given a five-year prison sentence, but in 1969 a tribunal at Frankfurt sentenced him to life imprisonment (Cf. Sources of Information II).

Other Jewish sources speak of 600,000 Hungarian Jews being killed, and one wonders how such a large figure could be arrived at. The Office of Statistics of the Jewish World Congress, under the presidency of Dr Albert Geyer, gives the following particulars based on data collected by Dr. Szigfrid Roth and Zsigmond Pál Pach. The Jewish population of Hungary, including the additional territories returned to Hungary by the Vienna Treaty, in 1941 was 825,007. On 31 December 1945 the number of Jews living in Hungary is given as 260,500, but by then the additional territories were no longer under Hungarian rule. Was the difference between the above two figures the basis for the alleged number of 600,000 killed? This calculation completely ignores the fact that since 1938, when, with the annexation of neighbouring Austria by Germany, the Nazi threat was at Hungary's doorstep, many Jewish people had left Hungary and settled in other countries, including Britain, U.S.A., Australia, Palestine, etc. Many more had chosen not to return to Hungary after the war. Thousands have settled in Israel. According to *Egyleti Elet*, the newspaper of the Hungarian-speaking Jews in America, its March 1951 issue stated that 12% of the 2,200,000 Jews living in Israel were from Hungary. This gives the extraordinary number of 264,000. We have no data on the number of Hungarian Jews living in other countries, especially in the U.S.A., but it must be considerable. Perhaps all these were added to the number of 'victims'. Chapter IV will deal with this subject further.

Considering the fact that up to March 1944 Hungary was a haven for Jewish refugees from neighbouring countries, it is very difficult to assess the exact number of the victims and of the survivors of the Holocaust. If a doubtful set of figures is repeated by different people many time over, it does not make it any more accurate. Whatever the actual number of those who perished may be, it was a terrible crime and an indescribable tragedy.

The purpose of this book is not to establish the exact number of victims, which is a near-impossible task, but to show that the number of victims could have been much greater but for the efforts of the churches and faithful in Hungary who saved many lives, as we shall see in detail in Chapter III.

The tragedy of the Hungarian Jews during the German occupation of the country should be viewed in the context of the persecution of the Jews in other German occupied countries of Europe, especially in the neighbouring countries. The whole world was informed during the Eichmann trial of the following facts: 3,400,000 Jews lived in Poland before the war. In 1945 there were 73,955 survivors (97% had perished). In Germany, out of half a million Jews only about 20,000 survived. In Czechoslovakia, 14,489 survived out of 116,551 (*Magyar Nemzet*, 25 April 1961).

In Yugoslavia 60,000 Jews were murdered, and only 6,000 are living there, writes *Uj Elet*, 1 September 1963. In all the above-mentioned countries the percentage of survival was 13% or less, while about 70% of the Hungarian Jews appear to have survived the Holocaust.

For the sake of truth one should note the fact that perhaps the worst pogroms against the Jews were committed in Romania, not so much through deportation by the Germans, but mainly by the members of the Iron Guard. According to the Office of Statistics of the Jewish World Congress, based on the reports made by the joint Anglo-American commission for Palestine, out of a Jewish population of 850,000, the number of those killed is put at 515,000. *Whitaker's Almanack* gives the number of Jews living in Romania in 1938 as one million, and after the war as 400,000. Gilbert Martin's *Recent History Atlas 1860 to 1960* gives the number of 750,000 Jews having been killed in Romania out of a Jewish population of one million (including those from Moldavia and Bessarabia under Romanian rule during the war). While much has been written by Jewish writers about Hungarian anti-Semitism, one hardly hears about Romanian anti-Semitism. Only recently Romania's Chief Rabbi, Moses Rosen, denounced the right-wing newspapers *Romania Mare* and *Europa* for their "slanderous, insulting and pogrom-inciting activities". (*The Daily Telegraph*, 25 June 1991) [6].

Cessation of deportations The news of the mass murder of those who were deported to German concentration camps was spreading, and the Hungarian government was informed by the Allied Powers that not only the Germans, but they too would be held responsible for the deportations, and would be judged after the war accordingly (Cf. *The History of Hungary*).

On 20 June 1944, the Regent, Admiral Miklós Horthy, was informed for the first time, through the so-called 'Auschwitz Minutes' [7] smuggled in from Switzerland, that the Germans were murdering the Jews they recruited for forced labour. He passed on the document to Cardinal Serédi, and also instructed the government to stop the deportations immediately.

The role of the Cardinal in stopping the deportation of the Jews was of paramount importance. Ever since the start of the German occupation, he had been trying by various means (meetings and letters) to stop the government's persecution of the Jews — alas with very little success. But when he received the documents from the Regent he decided that the moment had come for the truth to be officially brought to the notice of the Hungarian people. He wrote and circulated the joint pastoral letter *Successors of the Apostles*, on behalf of the Hungarian Episcopate, dated 29 June 1944, the relevant passages of which are as follows:

"The successors of the Apostles, that is, the visible head of the Church and all other bishops are the promoters and guardians of God's unwritten, natural, laws and of his written, revealed, laws, especially the Ten Commandments. In this country, all through the thousand years of its history, the Church leaders have always protested whenever someone tried to violate those divine laws, and defended the poor, the defenceless and the victims of persecutions. In these fateful times we, the members of the Episcopate, fulfil our duty when in the name of God we protest against the immoral way in which this war is being conducted. In a war which claims to be just, the killing of defenceless civilians, the bombardment of women and children from low-flying aircraft, the maiming of children through explosive toys dropped from the air, [A reference to air raids by the Allied forces] are all means of destruction which cannot be condoned, because they are against Christian moral laws...

"Alas, we also have to point out that whilst in this terrible world conflict we are most in need of God's help and, therefore, should avoid every word and deed which could draw God's wrath upon our nation. We have to admit with deep regret that in Christian Hungary successive measures are being taken which violate God's laws. We do not have to go into details of these measures, because you are very much aware of them yourselves... You know that many of your fellow-citizens — among those who share our faith — are being deprived of all human rights only because of their racial origin. Innocent individuals, none of whose guilt has been established by legal procedure, are subjected to humiliation and persecution. You would understand this thoroughly only if you yourselves were subjected to it.

"We, your bishops, always did and always will, keep aloof from party politics and the pursuit of personal gain. We cannot deny that some members of the Jewish community have had a subversive and destructive influence on the Hungarian economic, social and moral life, and no protest against it was made by fellow Jews. We do not doubt that the Jewish question has to be solved legally and justly. Therefore, we do not object to, but approve of, any necessary and justifiable reforms of the economic structures which need to be undertaken for the abuses to be remedied. But it would be culpably defaulting on our moral and pastoral obligations if we failed to defend justice and to protect our citizens and our faithful from being abused solely on the ground of their racial origin. Therefore, during the past months we have incessantly tried by the spoken word and in writing to seek justice and to obtain the abolition of the offensive measures being taken against our fellow citizens.

"We are grateful for having been successful now and then in obtaining small concessions, but we have to state with sorrow and deep anguish that we did not get what we most insistently asked for: the suspension of the illegal deprivations and deportations. Confident in the Christian, Hungarian and humanitarian sentiments of the members of the Government, we waited patiently, and did not want to give up hope and refused until now to launch an official protest.

"Alas we see that all our efforts and discussions are ineffective on the most important issues. We, therefore, jointly raise our protesting voice and request the authorities to be conscious of their responsibilities before God and our nation, to respect divine law and remedy injustices immediately. The illegal measures they are making not only cause instability and divide the nation at the time of great tension, national calamity and struggle for survival, but turn public opinion of the Christian world against us and — what is most important — bring God's wrath upon us.

"As always we place our confidence in God and ask you, dear faithful people, to pray and act with us to obtain the triumph of Justice and of Christian love. Beware of taking on yourselves the fearful responsibility before God and mankind by approving of, or helping, the execution of the objectionable measures undertaken by the Government. Do not forget that you cannot serve your country's cause by condoning injustice. Pray and work for all our fellowcitizens and especially for our Catholic brethren, for our Church and for our beloved country."

In the name of the Hungarian Episcopate
+ Justinian Serédi
Cardinal, Prince Primate, Archbishop of Esztergom

Budapest, 29 June 1944.

Parish priests and assistant priests were directed to read this pastoral letter from the pulpit on the Sunday following its arrival.

The pastoral letter reached all parts of the country, but the 700 copies meant for the Archdiocese of Esztergom were immediately intercepted by government spies and confiscated at the post office. The minister of justice and two of his colleagues rushed to Gerecse, the Cardinal's summer residence, where he was staying. According to witnesses present, they emphasized that due to the 'critical military situation' the Germans threatened to massacre all Jews and to destroy the entire country if the pastoral letter was read out publicly.

"The Minister asked for the publication of the pastoral letter to be cancelled at once", says the confidential primatial information document No. 5882/1944. "I replied", said Serédi, "that this was only possible if the Prime Minister assured us in writing that he would stop at once the implementation of anti-Jewish laws and deportations which we violently oppose."

After three hours of discussions a compromise was reached: the Government promised to ask the Germans to stop the deportations and to consider the Jewish question a Hungarian internal matter. The letter confirming these promises was brought to Gerecse personally by the Prime Minister, Sztójay, on 8 July, and it was handed over by him to the Cardinal in the presence of Archbishop Czapik of Eger, of Bishop Apor of Győr and of the Vicar General, János Drahos. Whereupon the Cardinal promised to cancel the directive ordering the publication of the pastoral letter because he felt that his protest had been successful. "Thus the first diplomatic battle was won and many hundreds of thousands of lives were saved". (Cf. Lévai, Sources of Information V/d).

On 10 July, a further directive (Decree No. 5443) was issued in Esztergom:

"I request herewith that on the Sunday following the arrival of Our Pastoral Letter the following message should be read out either before or after the sermon in place of the Pastoral Letter:

"On behalf of himself and of all members of the Hungarian Episcopal Conference, Cardinal Séredi, Prince Primate and Archbishop of Esztergom, informs the faithful that he repeatedly contacted the Government concerning measures taken against all Jews, but especially against the baptised ones [8] and that he continues his discussions with the Government."

In spite of this directive, the pastoral letter was read out in many churches all over the country, including the Archdiocese of Esztergom...

Dr. Zakar's report contains a further document, marked 'strictly Confidential', from the archiepiscopal archives of Esztergom: No. 35/1944, relevant to this period: Cardinal Serédi's Third Circular letter to the Episcopate:

"Because of unforeseen circumstances, on which I do not wish to elaborate, I decided to publish the pastoral letter I sent to you. It proved to be impossible to discuss it in advance with all of you, but I urgently consulted at least some members of the episcopate. Via the printers and the post office of Esztergom the letter got into the hands of the government, one member of which contacted me asking for the withdrawal of the letter. In return he promised that the government would comply with our demands. On this basis I sent out a telegram requesting the postponement of the publication of the letter.

Two days later I received the Prime Minister's letter No. 68/1944, [7 July] a copy of which I enclose herewith, in strict confidence, for your personal information only. On no account may any of its contents be published.

'Your Eminence,

'In the letter dated 19 June which I sent to Your Eminence in reply to, yours of 10 May I could not give an answer concerning all details about planned and since then partly implemented measures concerning Jewish members of Christian denominations. In today's letter I can give you concrete replies and information on the matters concerned. To comply with Your Eminence's repeatedly expressed wishes the Government took the following measures:

- 1) On 6 July, 1944, the Government formed a committee for the protection of baptized Jews, which safeguards the interests of all Jews belonging to Christian denominations and acts independently of the Association of Hungarian Jews. [9]2) The Government ordered a thorough enquiry into alleged cruelties and ruthless behaviour in connection with the moving and transportation of Jews... The enquiry established that the reports of atrocities were greatly exaggerated or untrue; but there is no doubt that in some isolated cases they did take place. The Minister of Internal Affairs has ordered the strictest possible disciplinary measures against the perpetrators of the ruthless treatment of Jews and will do the same in future. Furthermore, he has taken measures to prevent similar atrocities in the future.
- 3) The deportation of Hungarian Jews from Hungary has been suspended until further notice.
- 4) In the event that the deportation of Budapest Jews might be considered in the future, Christian Jews will be exempt and will remain in the country. It is true that they would have to go on living in separate accommodation, but measures would be taken for them to visit their respective churches and to practise their religion undisturbed.
- 5) Parents, brothers and sisters of Catholic clergy, the wives and children of pastors of other Christian denominations will be exempt from wearing the distinctive sign (yellow star) and from all its consequences.

In informing Your Eminence of these measures I express the hope that in the present circumstances they will satisfy Your Eminence's expectations concerning the implementation of the august principles you advocate.'

Döme Sztójay, M.P.
Prime Minister

"On receiving this letter and following further serious consultations, I issued a radio statement in which I said the pastoral letter only served as information for the clergy and, contrary to the original directive, it was not necessary to read it out in churches.

I did all this partly because of the results achieved and partly for other weighty reasons. Although the Pastoral Letter has become widely known without having been read out from the pulpit, I insisted on the publication and reading out in churches of the short radio statement mentioned above, of which directive the Prime Minister has been informed.

I will take the opportunity of the Bishops' Conference to give you more detailed information, but I wish to assure all the Very Reverend Members of the Episcopal Conference that I applied the greatest pressure and did all that was possible under the circumstances."

+ Justinian Serédi

10 July, 1944

Cardinal Archbishop of Esztergom

The Impeachment of Nazism (See Sources of Information III) with the period from 26 June to 15 October, 1944. Based on information from abroad it establishes a few facts:

Phase One of persecution ends on 6 July, when, in spite of violent counter-measures taken by the occupying forces, the Hungarian Government stopped the deportation of Jews as a consequence of Cardinal Serédi's intervention.

Phase Two ends on 22 August, when the Regent, Admiral Horthy, himself ordered the government to tell the Germans that all attempts by them to resume deportations would be resisted by force if necessary. At this stage Eichmann was ordered to leave the country.

Phase Three ends on 16 October, when, following Admiral Horthy's attempt to end the war and ask the Allies for an armistice, the Germans forced him to abdicate and eventually took him out of the country.

The Impeachment of Nazism, published in 1964, is the first document in Communist Hungary which — after twenty-four years — mentions some of Cardinal Serédi's writings. But it omits the most important one: the pastoral letter of 29 June. This proves that the Communist authorities were not prepared to reveal the whole truth about the Catholic Church's role during the German occupation.

The pastoral letter gave much encouragement and backing to the various organisations working with the Hungarian Front. Catholic printing presses helped with the publication of leaflets which were most successfully distributed during air raids. Unfortunately, the Gestapo discovered the whereabouts of one of them and arrested and imprisoned all the workers, most of whom were priests.

Chapter II

15 October 1944 to 4 April 1945.

On 15 October 1944 Regent Horthy decided to end Hungary's war, but his orders were not communicated to the forces in combat. The next day, under German pressure, he resigned and in the power vacuum the Arrow-Cross Party took power under the leadership of Ferenc Szálasi. Jewish persecution, which had slowed down as a result of the Church's and the Regent's energetic stand during the summer, flared up violently. Jews were rounded up again into ghettos and worse was to come. The Hungarian Christian community could not take part in an organised and armed resistance. It had neither the means nor the experience to do that, though here and there in the provinces (e.g. Szeged) and also in the capital some attempts were made at armed resistance. The Church and Christian people, therefore, concentrated their efforts on saving lives. As soon as the Szálasi regime took over Catholic institutions, convents, monasteries and individuals opened their doors to give refuge to many thousands of Jews, only a small percentage of whom were found and taken away by the Nazis. No distinction was made between baptized and non-baptized Jews. They were not asked where they came from. If they had no documents they were provided with some. If they had no money they were admitted free. Several articles in *Uj Ember* (See Sources IV.) paid tribute to, and wanted to keep alive the memory of, those who so courageously resisted Nazi pressure and stood up for the persecuted.

"In autumn 1944 the Swedish Embassy issued 5,000 safe-conduct passes, the International Red Cross 3,000, the Swedish Red Cross 4,000. At the same time 13,000 were issued by the Vatican's representative, the Apostolic Nuncio..." writes *Uj Ember* in its issue of 15 February 1970. In a few cases these passes were handed over directly to the persecuted, but mostly it was priests, nuns and lay people who delivered them to the fugitives at considerable risk to their own safety. Fr. Francis Koehler, a Lazarist priest, Fr. Rayle SJ, Fr. Frigyes Molnár, Sister Margit Schlachta and many others are listed in the newspaper's articles.

Parishes could not offer accommodation, but they acted as information centres, manned by the faithful who found private, secret accommodation for the fugitives. (e.g. One woman living with her cook in a three-bedroom flat at one time had three refugees in hiding: one as a guest, one as a chambermaid, and one as a scullery maid. All three were saved.)

All helpers were voluntary, motivated by Christian charity and never for one moment did they expect reward. These modern *Pimpernels* certainly deserve to be remembered and must be considered first-liners against tyranny. Several priests and nuns were murdered, others suffered torture and imprisonment. Their only crime was sheltering Jews.

Since the liberation of Hungary from Communist rule many people have come forward with hair-raising stories of narrow escapes, of ingenious ways of outwitting their often primitive and ignorant persecutors. Just one example: At the time that Raoul Wallenberg for the Swedish Embassy, Waldemar Langlet, the Swedish Red representative in Budapest, co-operated closely with the Sacred nuns in Ajtósi Dürer Sor. Two hundred women and children were hiding among the pupils of the school and in the enclosed part of the convent. The Nazis appeared one night in search of Jews. One of the nuns took them round the premises and when they reached the enclosed part she said: "Do you know what the enclosed part of a convent is?" They did not. "Only nuns may go in there", she said. "If you try to force your way in you will go to hell." They took fright and hurriedly left. Once again the Jews were safe.

On 2 November 1944 the government held the first meeting of the Upper Chamber (corresponding to the British House of Lords) and invited Cardinal Serédi to attend. The session was to discuss Szálasi's constitutional powers, but the official invitation did not contain any is agenda. One of the priest-members of parliament informed the Cardinal in advance that important constitutional questions would be raised. Cardinal Serédi arrived at the House with his secretary and sat down on a sofa in the corridor in the front of the Chamber.

Dr. Gyula Kornis, a prominent member of the Upper Chamber, came and sat next to him. While they were talking the secretary obtained a copy of the printed agenda, on which the only item was to be the election and installation of Ferenc Szálasi as leader of the nation and head of state. When the Cardinal saw and read this he realised his presence at this special session would have been interpreted as approval by the Catholic Church of Szálasi as head of state. [10] He at once stood up, led Kornis to the window, and pointed to the inscription on the facade the Law Courts opposite and read *Justicia est regnorum fundamentum* (Justice is the foundation of nations).

Then he hurriedly left the building and returned to Esztergom as a demonstration of his opposition to the illegal proceedings in parliament.

Eichmann and his men of the *Sondereinsatzkommando* returned to Budapest on 18 October 1944 to continue their horrible scheme of the destruction of the Hungarian Jewry, despite the fact that Germany's defeat was by then in sight. The successes of the Allied forces after D-Day on the Western Front, and the closing in by the Soviet troops in the East, left nobody in doubt as to the outcome.

Budapest was completely ruined as the result of continuous air raids by the Allies and by the shelling of the Soviet ground forces. Inevitably, very many lives were lost, including numbers of Jews who lived in the ghettos, in the 'sheltered (yellow star) houses' and many of those hiding in convents, monasteries and elsewhere.

The most terrible atrocities against Jews on Hungarian soil were committed during the siege of Budapest which came to an end on 13 February 1945 when Russian troops occupied the whole city. About this period Andrew Handler in his book, *The Holocaust of Hungary*, (The University of Alabama Press, 1982) writes (page 29):

"...Even Ferenc Fiala, Szálasi's press chief, admitted that in the absence of law and order in besieged Budapest 'everyone who had acquired a machine gun could become judge and executioner' (Fiala, *Zavaros Évek*, p.142). Roving gangs of youths who had escaped from correctional institutions, as well as members of the Budapest underworld, took advantage of the prevailing chaos and anarchy and committed grave atrocities. These unsavoury characters not only brandished machine guns but also wore Arrow-Cross armbands. Instead of helping to defend the 'Queen of the Danube' against the 'Mongolian hordes' they perpetrated acts of violence with reckless abandon and wanton brutality against Jews and those whom they branded as politically dangerous.

Thus they succeeded in staining whatever military honour and dignity defenders in a hopeless situation are customarily accorded. Those who became the masters of life and death, virtually within shooting range of the advancing Soviet soldiers, not only went on with their bloody, senseless rampage, but actually made preparations to blow up the ghetto so that not a single Jew would survive the fall of Budapest. Remarkably, their plan was foiled by the resolute intervention of General Schmidhuber, commander of the S S *Feldherrenhalle Division*, who was himself a casualty soon thereafter.

The next chapter must be seen against this terrible background. There is some irony in this Hungarian tragedy: it is known that many of the above 'masters of life and death' changed colours overnight and became 'partisans' and then supporters of the Communist tyranny.

Chapter III

Catholic Institutions in the Resistance Movement

Antal Meszlényi, in his book *The Hungarian Church and the Protection of Human Rights*, lists all institutions, schools, convents, monasteries, students' hostels, etc. which offered asylum to persecuted Jews.

1. The Lazarist House, Budapest

Thirty men were hidden in this house, pretending to follow spiritual exercises. Father Koehler, one of the priests was the indefatigable leader - a sort of commander-in-chief - of the Budapest rescue operations. As head of the team authorized by the Papal Nunciature, he issued thousands of safe conduct passes and when Jews were later driven into ghettos he obtained special permission from the authorities to be with them all the time, caring for them in fourteen emergency hospitals and two chapels. He was greatly helped in his work by the Sisters of Charity who also provided food for the detainees.

2. The Mother House of the Sisters of Charity.

They began their life saving operation in August 1944 by admitting fifty adults and 150 children of deportees. They concentrated their efforts on the poor, abandoned and lonely subjects of the persecution. The Nazis tried several times to search the premises, but strangely enough they were satisfied each time after looking at some documents nuns presented to them at the door. Every Jew was saved.

3. Sacred Heart Day School, Sophianum

Eighty women and forty children were the first Jews admitted. Ten, mostly husbands, joined them later and were fed all through the siege of Budapest, most of them free of charge. The school, situated in centre of Budapest with no garden for the enclosed nuns to get fresh air, owned a small villa in Zugliget, on the outskirts of the city, in Buda.

There they first housed twenty fugitives, but when the Sion Convent had to be evacuated eighty more found refuge there. Arrow Cross agents tried to raid both places several times, but the firm resistance of the nuns saved the situation each time. All Jews survived.

4. National Association of Catholic Housewives (Benedictine Oblates)

Ten political refugees and eighty-two Jews sought and obtained asylum in the institute and some of them were still there in 1970, because they had nowhere else to go.

5. Sion Convent, Sashegy, Buda.

One hundred and ten persons were there when the Gestapo, stationed nearby, discovered their hiding place. The nuns succeeded in evacuating the shelter before the search party arrived and placed the refugees partly with the Sacred Heart nuns in Zugliget and partly with private persons. All were thus saved from certain death.

6. Franciscan Missionary Sisters, Hermina út, Pest.

In mid-October they opened their house to 120 children and 30 adults. The children received a schooling. The 150 refugees had no ration cards, so the nuns fed them from their own resources and suffered much hunger themselves. On 10 December the Nazis broke into the house, and took away all but a few older children and adults who managed to break through the surrounding cordon. To punish the nuns the attackers robbed them of all their money and food. The sisters also took part in Father Koehler's rescue operation to the border town of Hegyeshalom, carrying safe-conduct passes from the Nuncio to Jews being taken to Auschwitz. The nuns were brutally attacked by the Nazis and accused of being British spies, but in spite of that they managed to rescue and bring back to Budapest a large number of Jews.

7. The Hospital of the Order of St Elizabeth (Elisabethinae)

Over one hundred Jews were admitted as if they were patients. The nuns were so clever in disguising them that in spite of several inspections the agents of the Arrow-Cross never found out that they were refugees.

Furthermore, with the safe-conduct passes of the Nunciature the nuns brought out of the brick factory at Obuda many Jews detained there prior to deportation. They provided them with clothes when needed. Everyone survived.

8. The Capuchin Friary (O.F.M. Cap.)

The Germans occupied it in the summer of 1944 for military purposes, so none could be hidden there. But the friars managed to find private hiding places for many Jews.

9. The Society of the Sacred Heart Sisters (Népleányok), Pest.

There was very little room in their Home, so they sent applicants to the nearby Jesuit Provincial House. But in the Corda bookshop run by the Sisters they set up an admission bureau to which the Holy Cross Association and parishes could direct the refugees. The Holy Cross Association was established for the protection of baptized Jews under the spiritual leadership of Professor József Jánosi SJ and directed by the journalist Dr. József Cavallier.

The bureau then passed them on to brave private individuals who volunteered to hide them in their homes. In their Vöröstorony Retreat house outside the capital the Sisters hid twenty persons and gave 200 meals daily to those in need. All this amid constant harassment by the Nazis. Everyone survived.

10. Collegium Marianum (Students hostel in Pest)

One hundred girls were sheltered there and were fed free of charge if destitute. All were saved.

11. College of St Anne, Pest.

Countess Pejacsevich placed 150 refugees there, the majority of whom were children from the countryside. They escaped harassment by the Nazis because one of the policemen on duty at the nearby Romanian Embassy posted himself in front of the college gate, pretending it was an official building. Everyone was saved.

12. Collegium Theresianum, Pest.

Thirty Jewish girls were hidden there among the students. The Nazis raided the house three times, but never found anyone, because the girls rushed each time to the partly bombed part of the house through a passage dug under the rubble. The Nazis never reached that part of the house because they did not find the secret passage.

13. The Champagnat Institute of the Marist Brothers

They gave refuge to one hundred children and fifty parents, but they were betrayed by one of the French soldiers also hiding there. He came from Alsace and was probably an SS agent. Forty Gestapo men burst into the building one night and murdered most of the Jews. They arrested the six Brothers and took them to Gestapo headquarters on Svábhegy. From there they were taken to the district court of Pest and to the cellars of parliament and were cruelly tortured. Finally they were taken to Castle Hill, where they survived the siege. Only a few Jewish children and adults, accidentally left behind in the institute, survived.

14. The Pauline (Pálos) Monastery, Mount St Gellért, Buda.

Mostly occupied by the German army since summer 1944 they could not admit anyone, but they managed to place in private homes all those who turned to them for help.

15. Mother House of the Daughters of the Divine Redeemer, Svábhegy, Buda

They sheltered 150 children, but the Nazis and the Gestapo, whose headquarters were quite near by, found them and took them away.

16. The Carmelite Nuns (O.D.C.)

Gave hospitality to 330 Jews, mostly children, all of whom were saved.

17. The Mary Ward School in Váci utca, Pest.

They admitted 40 children and 8 adults, later a further sixty children and twenty adults to their villa in Zugliget. Both places were inspected and harassed several times but nothing happened to anyone.

18. The Central Seminary, Pest.

They hid forty children, but when the situation became too dangerous the seminarists took some of them home to their parents and relatives. Fourteen remained with the students and temporary shelter was provided for another thirteen refugees.

19. The House of Mercy, Obuda.

Twenty-five adults and fifteen children hiding there were taken before Christmas to so-called sheltered accommodation on Nazi orders. People in sheltered houses were under curfew and supposed to be deported later, but because of the siege there was no time to carry out the deportations and many Jews in sheltered houses survived.

20. The Good Shepherd Convent, Buda.

They admitted 112 girls. Here again the Nazis twice raided the house, but a hidden passage into an adjacent building provided a refuge for the fugitives and everyone survived.

21. The Jesuit Provincial House, Pest.

Father Rayle, with the Lazarist Father Koehler, one of the leading figures of the rescue team, hid roughly 150 Jews in the Provincial House, which especially during the last week of the siege of Budapest was in a highly vulnerable position. Day after day the Nazis broke into the house and chased the priests all over the building at gunpoint. Father Rayle put an end to this procedure by disguising two Hungarian soldiers - from 100 soldiers who were also hiding in the building - as policemen, transforming the porter's lodge into a police post. This stopped further entry by anyone into the building. All refugees survived.

22. The Ranolder Institute - Girls school run by the Sisters of Charity, Pest.

The school suffered extensive damage during the Allied bombings and could not admit anyone, but 100 Jewish girls were hidden in the Blessed Catherine Holiday Home in Zugliget. There the nuns installed a fake military workshop and managed to survive until the siege, when that part of the city was quickly liberated from the Germans and the Jews were saved.

23. The Daughters of Divine Charity, Knézits utca, Pest.

In November 1944 two hundred forced labourers were put up in the house and very well catered for. After they left 110 adults and children were given asylum. Arrow-Cross agents stationed across the road spotted them and broke into the house. They kept the Sister Superior at gunpoint and took away the fugitives. Only five or six managed to escape over the roof.

24. Women's Home, run by the Social Sisters, Bokréta utca, Pest.

The twenty-five refugees hiding there were denounced by a Nazi employee. Sister Schalkházi and teacher Vilma Berkovits together with two Jews were driven away and shot the same day. The papers of other refugees were found in order, but they did not feel safe and fled.

25. Institute of St Theresa, Proféta utca, Pest.

Thirty fugitives were put up in the house, which also functioned as accommodation agency. Many hundreds of Jews picked up their safe-conduct passes and false papers there and about 500 were directed to safe private addresses. The Nazis tried to infiltrate the Institute several times, but the Sisters always managed to avert the danger and everyone survived.

26. The Cistercians in Horánszky utca, Pest, successfully sheltered fifteen refugees.

27. The Headquarters of the Catholic Apprentices

Twenty-six places were retained for refugees. Dénes Sándor, a teacher of religion, and Dutch officers who were hidden there on a secret mission to Budapest, directed the resistance activities of an enthusiastic group of young Christians. They carried out their humanitarian rescue operations while doing military service by tricks worthy of the most daring adventure stories. Many thousands of safe-conduct passes and false documents were handed out from here. In spite of a German motorised unit being moved into the premises at the end of December, everyone survived.

28. Sisters of Mercy of Szatmár, Hám János Home.

The Home was just one flat in a large housing block, but the Sisters managed to admit twenty Jews. The other tenants only found out about this when they did not come down to the air raid shelter because Germans sheltered there as well. Everybody kept quiet about it, so all the Jews were saved.

29. Society of the Sacred Heart, Ajtósi Dürer Sor, Pest.

Two hundred women and children found refuge in this boarding school for girls. Furthermore, a large contingent of forced labourers (all Jews) who were living in a grammar school nearby obtained papal safe-conduct passes through the Sisters.

When the labour force was moved away, many of them found refuge and accommodation through the Sisters. They were given food and clothing as well. Everyone was saved.

30. Caritas Old People's Home

Though very small it sheltered eleven Jews. The Arrow-Cross agents became suspicious of the numbers and arrested the warden during the night. They interrogated and threatened him with imprisonment, but he gave nothing away and all were saved.

31. Josephinum (Society of the Blessed Virgin Mary), Pest. [11]

Sixty children and twenty adults, including two Yugoslav citizens were hiding there, quite near the infamous Nazi centre on Andrásy út. In spite of that no harm came to anyone, they all survived the siege.

32. The Benedictines (O.S.B.)

Hid 80 Jews in the air-raid shelter of their monastery and kept them all through the siege. Fathers Lucius Havasi and Francis Xavier Szunyogh suffered much while acting as ghetto chaplains.

33 The Sisters of Unio Eucharistica, Pest.

Their Institute was in a private apartment in Appony Square, near the Elizabeth Bridge. They transformed it into a small hospital and admitted twenty Jews as 'patients'. Following a betrayal, the Nazis raided the flat in the middle of the night and drove away all the refugees whose documents were not good enough.

They also dragged the Sister Superior to a detention centre, beat her, and threatened her with execution. They then let her go with a warning that if she was caught once more hiding Jews they would kill her at once. In spite of that she hired another flat in Andrassy út and later in Benczur utca, where she again took in thirty Jews. She placed a further forty in private houses all were saved. The founder of the Order, Prelate Professor Arnold Pataky, also placed his four-room flat at the disposal of fugitives and provided many Jews with false documents which he obtained by bribing a Nazi. All destitute people were helped free of charge. Professor Pataky was a member of the Upper House of Parliament and was present at the only session called by the new head of state, the Arrow Cross man, Ferenc Szálasi, at which he vigorously protested against the inhuman treatment of Jews.

34. Salesian Fathers' House of St Aloysius, Obuda

Twelve adults and forty children were admitted there. The close proximity of the local Nazi centre made the place dangerous from the start. The Nazis attacked it three times. During the first raid they drove away half the refugees, some of whom they shot at once. The second time five men were taken away. The third time the Nazis returned was during Christmas night when they drove thirteen little boys to the river Danube. There they shot twelve of them dead. The thirteenth, who could swim, was not hit but simulated the fall into the Danube and miraculously survived to tell of the horrors of that night. Meanwhile the Father Superior and his deputy were dragged to Nazi headquarters for a brutal beating. Only the personal intervention of the Papal Nuncio saved their lives. As a further punishment, the house was ransacked and the money box of the poor Salesian Fathers stolen.

35. Rescue operations of the Social Sisters (Sociális Testvérek)

Under the leadership of Sister Margit Schlachta, the Society of Social Sisters took the lion's share of all rescue operations. Their sense of justice and respect for human dignity placed them in the forefront of fighters against brutality, injustice and murder. Few people know that Sister Schlachta travelled to Rome and personally presented to the Pope a secret report she had compiled on Jewish persecution in Slovakia. As a result of her efforts the Slovak bishops took an energetic stand against the Nazis and put an end to deportations from Slovakia. While in Rome she also had discussions with Cardinal Spellman. Margit Schlachta also sent a circular letter to 500 Hungarian members of parliament, blaming them for the unlawful appropriation of Jewish property. The Sisters organised courses to explain and condemn Hitlerite doctrines and to teach Christian charity.

The Social Sisters' periodical *Word of the Spirit* bravely sided with the persecuted. Sister Schlachta's New Year letter enraged extreme right wing politicians. Hundreds of letters of safe conduct were obtained by the Sisters from the International Red Cross, the Swedish Embassy and the Papal Nuncio. The latter's residence provided a 24 hour emergency service.

In 160 groups with eighty teachers, spread all over the country, they provided religious instruction to over 10,000 Jews who, protected by the Holy Cross Society, wanted to become Christians. Four Sisters were murdered by the Nazis and are considered as martyrs. One of them, Sister Salkházi said one year before her death: "If anyone among the Sisters has to die during these hard times, let it be me." God accepted her sacrifice.

The Sisters also did a wonderful job in ghettos and sheltered (yellow-star) houses, helping many Jews to escape. Roughly a thousand Jews were rescued in the following houses of the Society of Social Sisters: The Mother House in Budapest, Thököly ut: 140 persons; Remeteváros: 120; Ajtosi Dürer Sor 100; at Pécs: 20; Jankovich holiday camp: 20; Zamárdi: 15; Kolozsvár: 10; Nagyvárad 20; Szegvar: 10; Ulászlo utca: 16. The others were in the houses at Bokréta utca, Pest, Szombathely, Székesfehérvár, Gyöngyös and Zugliget.

Chapter IV

Excerpts from the commentary by Dr. András Zakar on *L'Eglise Ne S'est pas Tue* (Dossier Hongroise 1940-45) (*The Church did not remain silent - Hungarian Dossier 1940-45*) by Jenő Lévai.

In an introductory study in Levai's book, L. Bolgar and T. Schreiber review the history of Judaism in Hungary. Coming mostly from Galicia the Jews very quickly occupied important economic and trading positions in the country and gained more and more influence on the political and cultural life of the nation. Bolgar and Schreiber think this is due to the fact that the Hungarians in the 19th century were too busy trying to resist Germanising tendencies coming from Vienna.

The Versailles, or Trianon, peace treaty of 1920 was supposed to be based on the self-determination of ethnic groups, and yet it excluded four and a half million Hungarians from belonging to their motherland.

The unjust peace treaty and many other events, such as the *Anschluss* (Austria's annexation by Germany) in 1938, and the failure of the Western Powers to resist Hitler's dictatorship gradually orientated Hungarians towards the Third Reich, because they hoped it would support their claim to review the Trianon frontiers. However, when World War II began, Hungarian politicians initially resisted German pressure quite successfully. In September 1939 the government refused to allow German troops to use Hungarian territory on their way to Poland. In 1941 the Prime Minister Count Pál Teleki committed suicide rather than submit to Germany's demand that Hungarian troops attack Yugoslavia. Thus Hungary succeeded in remaining an oasis of peace in war-devastated Europe until early 1944, and gave asylum to 70,000 Jews from neighbouring German-occupied countries.

"When deportations began", continue Bolgar and Schreiber, basing their assertions on contemporary documents, "the Hungarian Church, especially Cardinal Serédi, constantly acted according to the intentions of the Holy See and its representative in Hungary the Apostolic Nuncio Angelo Rotta. Bishops and clergy heroically tried to protect the persecuted. It is true that some - especially after the Arrow-Cross coup of October 1944 - vacillated and lost courage, but many remained firm and dedicated, especially Bishops Aron Márton of Gyulafehérvár (Transylvania) and Vilmos Apor of Győr."

Jenő Levai also writes an introduction in which he analyses Hochhuth's play *The Representative*, and the book by Gerald Reitlinger *The Final Solution* in which Chapter 16, which deals with Hungary, is incomplete and needs important corrections and amendments. "My first documentation", he says, "dates from 1946, when authentic sources of information were scarce. Later, from German diplomatic sources, Hungarian official documents and with the help of Mgr. Genaro Verolino who, with the Nuncio's permission, allowed [me] to see the Apostolic Nuncio's archives, I saw more clearly and could use this new material in my Hungarian book published in 1946 and entitled *The Grey Book*. Alas, Mr. Reitlinger did not take my amendments into consideration when his book was published again and translated into English in 1956. Therefore, I have to admit that Hochhuth and Reitlinger are not accurate where details on the fate of Hungarian Jews are concerned."

Lévai's book is in two parts. The first part contains memoranda which Nuncio Rotta sent to the Hungarian government on behalf of Pope Pius XII, the latter's open telegram to Regent Horthy and his reply. It also contains the text of the Vatican's safe-conduct passes issued to thousands of Jews.

The second part of Lévai's book is entitled: *Independent activity of the Hungarian Catholic Church*. In this section one can read details of Cardinal Serédi's correspondence, protests sent to various members of the government and their replies, records of personal interviews with the Nuncio and other bishops, the strictly confidential letter to the Episcopate, a report on the Gerecse meeting. Finally, this part summarises reports and some documents relating to sermons preached during the persecutions, and details of activities of institutions trying to save lives. (See Chapter III.)

Unfortunately the book contains several errors and omissions. This is all the more regrettable because the author had access to historical documents and claims to be reliable. It needs rectification and the filling in of many gaps.

It must be said, therefore, that no one should believe that after reading Lévai's book he or she has an accurate picture of the Church's life-saving activities (The work of the Holy Cross Society is not mentioned at all). Nevertheless, the book is valuable because, for the first time after 22 years, documents are submitted to an international forum which prove that the Hungarian Catholic Church and its leader, under the guidance of Pope Pius XII, tried to protect the persecuted Jews most courageously and successfully in spite of great risk to themselves. Dr. Zakar's main criticism concerns the quite obviously biased use of the published material.

1) A small but very important passage of the 1944 Pastoral Letter has been omitted from the French text. This is all the more regrettable because without it the impartial views held by the bishops on the Jewish question are not evident, nor is the responsibility of the Jews themselves for their contributing to the ill-feeling mentioned. The relevant passage - obviously omitted intentionally - runs as follows: 'We cannot deny that some members of the Jewish community have had a subversive and destructive influence on Hungarian economic, social and moral life and no protest was made against it by fellow-Jews. We do not doubt that the Jewish question has to be solved legally and justly. Therefore, we do not object to, but approve of, any necessary and justifiable reforms of the economic structures which need to be undertaken for the abuses to be remedied'.

2) The number of deaths cited include not only those due to persecution, but also those of war victims, such as civilian casualties from Allied military action, the atrocities of the conquering Russian forces, or natural deaths.

3) Many Jewish people living in the provinces managed to avoid deportation (by escaping from detention, hiding, or going to Budapest, etc). Therefore, Lévai should not rely on only three sets of figures when compiling his statistics: those Jews saved in Budapest 119,000; those who came back from deportation 121,000; and those who survived forced labour camps 20,000; a total of 260,000. There were more Jews living in Hungary after the war than Lévai's statistics would indicate.

4) Lévai's statistics also omit to mention all those who after the war returned to territories outside the Trianon borders. He quotes the number of Jews living in the enlarged Hungary, but his number of those returned refers only to the smaller, post-Trianon Hungary.

5) The picture is made even more confusing by the fact that Lévai's statistic does not say that the figure of 825,007 Jews living in Hungary includes also the territories which were returned to Hungary between 1938 and 1941. It is probable that French readers know nothing about the country's reduction in size after 1920 and again in 1945. Statistics of survivors are very sad matters indeed. Every human life is of infinite value, but when facts are distorted it is our duty to rectify them.

6) True figures should be sought from German sources which are far more satisfactory. According to a report by Veessenmeyer, the representative of the German government in Hungary, sent to the German Foreign Office in December 1943, 1,100,000 persons in Hungary were affected by anti-Jewish laws in 1940. In the memorandum handed over by Cardinal Serédi to the prime minister in 1944 he mentions roughly one million. The disparity of 100,000 between the two figures was due to the difference between the Hungarian and German assessment of who was a Jew. The Church had obtained a change in the law defining a Jew (two Jewish grandparents instead of one, etc). According to the 1941 census out of the 14,683,323 inhabitants of Hungary, 725,007 (4.9%) were of Jewish religion, of which only 139,433 considered themselves to be Jewish nationals.

7) It is evident that there are many more survivors than are accounted for in the book. Furthermore, there are many who returned to the USSR, Romania, Yugoslavia and Austria. It should also be established how many went to other foreign countries, including Israel.

Finally, many of those who initially fled to Budapest and managed to save their lives there, later left the country and settled down elsewhere (UK, USA, etc.).

8) The book should have mentioned the political maturity of the Hungarian people, the risks the Church took and the battles it fought to save the lives of the Jews, while during that same period no similar efforts were made in other occupied countries - apart from some isolated attempts to save a few Jewish individuals, especially rich ones. With reference to the deportation of Jews from Hungary, one should mention that exceptions were made in the case of some wealthy Jews and their families, Weiss, Chorin, Kornfeld, etc. (1,684 individuals). These were flown to Switzerland and Portugal by the SS in exchange for their handing over their factories and wealth. It must be added that many non-Jewish people were also deported and murdered, such as left-wing politicians, intellectuals, trade union leaders and others who would not submit to Nazi rule.

Sometimes, attempts to save Jews were hindered or even frustrated by the Allies. One such was an attempt to present a ransom proposal to Adolf Eichmann, but the British arrested the courier on the Turkish Syria border and did not release him until after the war. [12] Many people believe it was some British and American actions that prevented the saving of one million lives and not the Hungarians. It is ironic that the victorious powers after the First World War, in 1920, were capable of destroying the thousand-year-old geopolitical, historical, economic and cultural entity of Hungary, but could not, or would not, protect the victims of fanatical racism in 1944.

9) Figures in Lévai's book (p. 15) are confusing because, if the number of Jews deported and killed during the German occupation is 618,007, and that of the survivors is 260,000, we get the figure of 878,007, whereas there were originally supposed to be only 825,000 in all. A book on the subject twenty-two years later should show more thorough research.

The author states that in Hungary and in many other countries you could read *Mein Kampf*. He should have mentioned that the basic error of the Rosenberg racist theory was that it made every Jew responsible for Talmud ethics. In a Papal encyclical published in 1937 the Church condemned racial persecution and Nazism, and was not only 'shocked' by it, as he says on page 11. By constantly emphasizing equal human rights and Christian brotherhood, Pope Pius XI infuriated racists [13]. Some Jewish leaders strictly adhered to rabbinical explanations of the Talmud which are based on a religious and national creed established 2,500 years ago and never revoked. This belief proclaims the absolute superiority of the Jewish race over all others.

By dying on the Cross for all mankind Jesus Christ obtained for every human being the privilege to become the 'chosen' of God, a privilege originally granted to Abraham and his descendants, of whom the Messiah would be born. After Jesus Christ the elevation of one race above another is not acceptable any more. If someone refuses to adopt Christ's teaching he has in our time to accept the solemn declaration of the United Nations on the equality of races and of human rights.

10) On page 34, the book does mention the risks Hungarian bishops took when protesting against Jewish persecution and when they smuggled the Auschwitz Minutes to Geneva for publication. But it does not tell its readers that the Swiss authorities refused to allow their publication or circulation. They were then sent on to England, but when published there many people treated them with scepticism.

It is a pity the book does not comment on the odd situation that while the Hungarian Church and people under Nazi occupation had the courage to take risks, Switzerland which made much capital out of its neutrality, did not allow even a newspaper article to inform the world of what was going on. As a neutral state it is just that kind of service it could have offered to mankind... The Jewish Council, established for the protection of Jewish interests, could have had the same role, but they did not even take the trouble to warn those whom they knew would be taken to concentration camps next day. Nor did they help to publicise the real purpose of the deportations.

11) On page 109 there is just a short mention of the dramatic Gerecse conference between Cardinal Serédi and the prime minister, and of the confiscation of the pastoral letter by the government. The author should have added that next day special couriers did take 700 copies personally to parish priests who had not received them [Cf. p 211.]

EPILOGUE

If there is common ground between Christian and Jewish Hungarians it must be our common faith in the almighty, merciful God on whose blessing all our efforts for reconciliation and harmony depend. A second common ground is surely the earthly reality that Hungary is our common home. Do we not share the same sentiments, the same love for our homeland? If we do, that should be a guarantee for working together for the good of our country, irrespective of racial, religious or cultural differences. There was a great Hungarian Jew who believed in this dream. He was the Chief Rabbi of Hungary, Simon Hevesi (Handler) who died in 1943, before Hungary became the last victim of the Nazi tyranny.

When Hungary regained some of the territories taken away by the unjust Trianon Peace Treaty, he composed the following prayer at the end of 1941:

"Almighty and wonder-working God! I believe in the miracle of world history. I believe that Thou hast worked wonders with Hungary, our beloved nation, and shalt work wonders with her forever. May Thou keep and protect her and may Thy mercy, like a golden bridge, glitter over her.

"Praised be Thou, O Lord, for restoring to our nation the lands that had been taken from her. We raise our countenance to Thee in hopeful trust and believe fervently that Thy justice shall not diminish. The paths of world history are tangled, but Thy justice is like the glittering rays of the sun that cut through even the densest mist of time.

Oh may Thou continue to be the heavenly guardian of truth and bring a joyous, glorious, and blessed future upon the Hungarian nation. May truth and tranquillity, fraternal labour, blissful contentment, and sincere cooperation flourish in this land. Grant us, O Lord, that we may share in the sacred work of building the future. Grant us, O Lord, the nobility of comprehension so that we may serve the highest truth, the glory and welfare of our land, the moral order of the world, and brotherly love with labour, endurance, sacrifice, renunciation, enthusiasm, unselfishness, and devotion. May we be allowed to witness the coming of better times, to contribute with exemplary moral conduct and the purity of our daily lives, to the realization of a higher moral ideal in which the salvation of mankind and our nation is hidden and the brightness of which emanates from Thy sacred teaching.

"Like a thirsty deer that languishes for the cool waters of the brook, our souls yearn for Thee, Helping God, our Protector in Heaven, and Ever-vigilant Guardian over earthly affairs. Blot out the memory of our tribulations and sufferings and bring relief to tormented mankind. May wisdom and understanding, intelligence and creativity, and the spirit of faith and kindness descend upon mankind so that we may enjoy the happiness which Thou hast bestowed upon it with the treasures of the universe that Thou hast created in Thy fatherly mercy. Like eternal desire and dreamlike lamentation, yearning for Thy mercy and for salvation lives in the hearts of all of us. Pardon our sins and redeem us. Merciful God, redeem mankind, the flock of Thy covenant, that lives in fear of the dark future and longingly awaits the blessing of Thy divine mercy.

"Do not cast us away from Thee; do not deprive us of Thy sacred spirit. Let Thy light and bliss descend upon us so that they may guide us to Thee.

"Sacred holidays are at hand; the present shall soon be past on the wings of time; the new year is upon us. We raise our countenance toward Thee. Look down upon us, O Lord! Our Redeemer! Our God! Write mankind into the book of happiness! Our Father, our King, grant us a happy new year! Amen." [14]

If all Christian and Jewish Hungarians could pray together like this, a dream could become a reality, the peace of Hungary would be an inspiration to the rest of the world. Should we dare to have such a hope? I wonder.

At the meeting between Pope John Paul II and the Hungarian Jewish representatives on 18 August 1991, in the Apostolic Nunciature in Budapest, Peter Kardos, the Chief Rabbi of Hungary, in his welcoming address said: "The most horrendous manifestation of anti-Jewish behaviour [by Hungarian Catholics] was in the middle of the 20th century, when six million of our Jewish brothers and sisters, among them 600,000 Jews living in Hungary, were murdered. The leaders of the Hungarian Catholic Church at that time did not make any public condemnation of the deportation of the hundreds of thousands." Hardly the hand of welcome.

What hope is there of improving Hungarian Christian-Jewish relations when Stephen Kinzer writing in *The New York Times* (19 August, 1991) can criticise the Pope's decision to pray at the tomb of Cardinal Mindszenty upon arriving in Hungary? He describes Cardinal Mindszenty as an anti-Semite, who, he writes, quoting the Hungarian Jewish monthly magazine *Szombat*, "as Bishop of Veszprém, allowed priests to hold Mass on 25 June 1944, at which they prayed to God to free their town from Jews", whereas the opposite was the case (Cf. Mindszenty *Memoirs* p. 17). He also blames the Cardinal for the increased tension between Jews and Catholics in Hungary.

For all Hungarian Catholics, and for other Christians too, Cardinal Mindszenty is a martyr of the Hungarian Catholic resistance to Nazism and Communism. If Hungarian Jews maintain their present critical attitude towards the late Cardinal and the Catholics of Hungary in general, an attitude which appears to be founded upon questionable statistics and a partial interpretation of the events of Hungarian history during the years 1944-45, there can be little progress towards a better understanding based on the truth.

Little or no recognition has been given by the Jewish community, now living freely in Hungary, to the Church as a whole or to those many individual men and women who worked at considerable risk to themselves to save their Jewish compatriots. If the Jews of Hungary continue to inject a note of rancour as they propound their ill-founded belief that they were alone in their suffering, with all hands turned against them, supporting this belief on grounds of doubtful validity, what chances can there be for a genuine reconciliation between us?

Simon Hevesi

Born in Aszód (Pest county) in 1868, Simon Hevesi (Handler) completed the last years of his high school education in the National Rabbinical Institute in Budapest, where he continued his theological studies. He was ordained rabbi in 1894, and following brief periods of service in small communities, he was elected rabbi of the Pest community in 1905.

*He became chief rabbi in 1927, a position he was to hold until his death in 1943. A skilled and effective speaker — he taught homiletics and Jewish philosophy at the National Rabbinical Institute — Hevesi was also a frequent contributor to scholarly publications and a leader in the cultural life of Hungarian Jewry. His works include *Dalalat Alhairin* (1928), a study on Moses Maimonides's *Guide for the Perplexed*. "Prayer" is translated from "Ima," in *Ararát*, ed. Aladár Komós (Budapest: Országos tzraelita Leányárvaház, 1941), pp. 10-11. By permission of *A Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete*.*

ENDNOTES

1. Leaders of all religious denominations in Hungary, philosophers, economists and writers as well, have joined forces in the newly established *Reconciliation Foundation*, the aim of which is to combat anti-Semitism.
2. Dr. Jusstinián Serédi, a Benedictine monk, professor of Canon Law and a personal friend of Pope Pius XII, was Cardinal Archbishop of Esztergom and Prince Primate of Hungary from 1927 until his death on 29 March 1945.

3. He wrote a few books, published in Hungarian in the West: *Elhallgatott Fejezetek a Magyar Történelemből*. (Suppressed Chapters of Hungarian History), 1976; *Gróf Teleki Pál Halála*, (The Death of Count Pal Teleki), 1981; *Melkizedek*, 1982; *Kazariai Allamcsiny* (The putsch of Kazakhstan), 1987.

4. A nationalist party, many members of which were Nazi sympathisers.

5. Adolf Eichmann (1906-62) was an official of the Nazi S.S. As head of the Gestapo's Jewish section after 1939, he was chiefly responsible for the murder of millions of Jews in occupied Europe. Arrested by the Allies in 1945, he escaped and fled to South America. He was captured by the Israeli secret service in Argentina (1960), taken to Jerusalem, tried, and executed (1962).

6. The *Jewish Chronicle* published in its issue of 5 July 1991, a report by Joseph Finklestone from Bucharest about the country's Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen accusing the Romanian Government — at a ceremony marking the 50th anniversary of the Romanian pogroms that the Romanian people had been lied to for fifty years about the Holocaust. There was also harsh criticism of President Iliescu who, in a speech written for the occasion, maintained that "Hitler's 'Final Solution' had not been put into effect in Romania because its citizens had had the courage to resist it." The remark was greeted with gasps of astonishment from the 2,000-strong congregation, which included a number of Holocaust survivors and prominent historians.

The ceremony was followed by the unveiling of a monument in memory of the estimated 400,000 Romanian Jews who died at the hands of the Nazis. Concern for the future of Romania's 18,000 Jews was expressed in a speech by Mr Hammer and in messages from Israel's President Chaim Herzog, US Secretary of State James Baker, former German Chancellor Willy Brandt and several prominent American Jewish leaders.

7. These are reputed to be reports by escapees from Auschwitz about their treatment.

8. Apart from a considerable number of Jewish converts to Christianity, about 100,000 Christians were regarded by the Nazis as Jews because one of their parents or grandparents was a Jew, and these were included in the total Jewish population, thus making the total up to 825,000 (1941).

9. The national organisation representing Jewish interests.

10. Since the times of St. Stephen, the first King of Hungary (1001-1038), the Prince Primate is not only the leader of the Catholic Church in Hungary but also a prominent Political figure and is regarded as the highest-ranking citizen of the country.

11 The Hungarian Catholic weekly *Uj Ember* reported on 7 July 1991 that on 4 June 1991, at the Embassy of Israel in Budapest, Slomo Marom, Israel's Ambassador to Hungary, presented the Society of the Blessed Virgin Mary and its foundress Zsuzsanna Ván with the Yad Vasem Medal for saving Jewish lives at the time of the Jewish persecution by the Nazis. The Ambassador expressed the gratitude of all Jewish people and assured Sister Van that her name will be engraved on the marble tablet kept at Yad Vasem Park in Jerusalem, a national memorial to the victims of the Holocaust.

12. Joel Brand, a wealthy Jewish businessman who emigrated from Germany to Hungary in 1934, regarded it as his special task to rescue Jews from the East. Dr Rudolf Kastner, the leader of the Hungarian Zionist movement, offered a ransom to Eichmann in exchange for all the Jews in Hungary. Kastner was regarded as a Nazi collaborator and was later murdered in Jerusalem (F. K. Kaul *The Eichmann Affair*, Budapest, 1965, pp. 222-223.)

13. *The Independent* reported (17 July 1991) that Rudolph Rahn, a former German ambassador to Rome, stated in an interview given to the Catholic magazine *30 Giorni*, that in late 1943 Hitler wanted to storm the Vatican, **seize** Pope Pius XII and his cardinals and deport them to Germany.

Rahn and General Karl Wolff, who was to be in charge of the operation, persuaded him not to go ahead with the plan.

14. *The Holocaust in Hungary* by Andrew Handler, p. 33. The University of Alabama Press, 1982. See note on Simon Hevesi p. 45

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