

INFORMATION HISTORY OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

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The emperor-king's Hungarian Maccabees: the components of Hungarian Jewish First World War propaganda¹

Glässer, Norbert – Zima, András

Emancipation and social engagement facilitated the Central European Jewry's identification with the modern notion of national identity. During the Great War this often came into conflict with Jewish universalism. Those of Jewish denomination supporting the various national identity notions identified with the war aims and propaganda of the given nation while they tried to find the antetype of the new circumstances in the Jewish past and Judaism.

The study analyses the structure of the war propaganda published by the Hungarian Neolog and Zionist press. It aims to examine the biblical antetypes, the topoi of the modern Jewry and Central European discourse in the enemy-image, war aims and Jewish self-definition of the press. In terms of the manifestations of the Jewish population's loyalty towards the Austro-Hungarian state there were differences between the Jewry in Habsburg-Austria and in Hungary. While the former were expected to display a dynastic loyalty, the latter were expected to identify with the modern notion of the Hungarian nation. However, numerous social and cultural phenomena, as well as internal Jewish discourse can only be interpreted within a general Central European framework. In their communication German language publications and the institutional elite who made passage possible played a significant role. Looking at German language Jewish papers as well, the essay studies the expectations of the power elite (civil religion, cults, cultural mission), the political reports of the civil society (Russian and Rumanian Jewish refugees, the fate of the Eastern European Jews, conflicts within the hinterland) and the religious interpretations of Judaism adapted for the present.

The Hungarian language Jewish press analysed in the present study (*Egyenlőség, Zsidó Szemle*) create a modern forum that served both as a medium for the flow of information and a tool of cultural change. The publications reflect

¹ Norbert Glässer is a grant-supported member of the MTA-SZTE Research Group on Religious Culture (03 217). András Zima is a member of Department of History Jewish Theological Seminary – University of Jewish Studies.

wider social processes within the information ecosystem, whereas the 'facts' found in them can give an insight solely into the ambitions of the editorial circle and the institutional elite behind the certain paper. The news items published earlier by the press reappeared in the framework of the war propaganda with transformed messages. The study touches on these transformations connected to the internalization of war aims and the apologetic application of hero worship.

Jewish press as a modern forum

The press is both an instrument and a mechanism of the changes of modernity. According to Sara Abrevaya Stein the press became the forum for issues related to the changed social and cultural circumstances, and often itself became an assistant of change. In the investigation of the Budapest Hungarian-language Jewish press, we regard modernity as a process. Modernity brought unprecedented new challenges and the communities were constantly forced to respond.² However, the opinions and strategies appearing in the press should not be confused with the everyday practice of the actual communities. Only the opinion-shaping intention of the journalism elite can be detected behind the press. We know relatively little about the readers. Even the letters from readers are the results of a process of editing. Nevertheless, the opinion of the journalism and publishing elite is not independent of the real community life. It was not only the press but also the institutional system above the communities that created the new phenomenon of modernity. The papers had differing functions, they adapted to the given social circumstances and were influenced by the political and economic changes. One thing they all had in common was that they represented group interests aspiring to traditionalism in face of the new trends of modernity.

Budapest Neology and Orthodoxy appeared in the last third of the 19th century and was in continuous contact with Jews in other parts of the country. This reading public was not monolingual: in addition to the increased adoption of the Hungarian language from the Compromise of 1867 there were also users of Hebrew, Jüdisch-Deutsch and German. This was reflected to varying degrees in the different papers.

The press appearing as the new forum and tool of modernity had been used by the advocates of Jewish enlightenment long before the Neolog-Orthodox split (*tajlung*) as a means of spreading their views. By virtue of its debates and attitude-shaping role it also offered ready-made cultural models for the Orthodox-Neolog separation. The younger generations of the modernizing Jewry in the western provinces of the Habsburg Empire soon joined in the German, later other language

² Abrevaya Stein, Sarah. 2004. *Making Jews Modern* The Yiddish and Ladino Press in the Russian and Ottoman Empires. Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. p. 16.

journalism.³ Following the years of neo-absolutism – during the elaboration of the argumentation of the Compromise – the formerly merely reporting press became a “propagator of ideas”.⁴ The denominational media of the consciously modernizing Jewish wings were created in this socio-cultural medium. The inter-strategic and group-strategic discourse of the time of institutionalization was formulated by the Hungarian-language, Budapest-based Israelite weeklies,⁵ both toward the integrating Jewry and the Hungarian society. *Egyenlőség*, the weekly social paper (1882-1938), edited by Mór Bogdányi, (1854-1923), later Miksa Szabolcsi (1857-1915), then by his son Lajos Szabolcsi (1890-1943) was close to the Pest Israelite Community although they had no institutional ties. The weekly often opposed the position of the Community and represented the opinion of the Neology. It was the Zionist press – thrust into the background by both Neolog and Orthodox communities – that advocated the secularizing, Jewish national approach of modernity in Hungary. We can regard the Budapest-based *Zsidó Néplap* – social and literary weekly (1904-1905), edited by Lajos Dömény (1880-1914) as the starting point. The Hungarian Zionist Organization originate their official newspaper from 1910⁶, titled *Zsidó Szemle*, which was edited by Lajos Bató, Benjámin Beregi, Oszkár Hammerschlag, Leo Lukács, Mózes Richtmann and József Schönfeld from 1911. In 1919 it was published as *Jövők* – Jewish social weekly, then again under the name of *Zsidó Szemle* – Jewish weekly, between 1920-1938. From the viewpoint of the topic examined here the cultural-Zionist *Múlt és Jövő* – literary, art, social and critical journal (1911-1944), connected to the circle of young Neologs who broke away from the *Egyenlőség* and were represented by József Patai also becomes important. *Múlt és Jövő*, which can be considered as the Hungarian adaptation of the Berlin-based cultural Zionist *Ost und West*⁷ wished to reconvert the Jewish intelligence alienated from tradition to Judaism. No war-time Hungarian-language institutional orthodox source was published – which could constitute a parallel with the earlier ones. However, the *Jüdisch-Deutsch Allgemeine Jüdische Zeitung* became an Orthodox daily outside the Central Office. The Orthodox Jewish newspaper was banned during the 1919 Republic of Soviets

3 Bányai, Viktória. 2000. *A magyar zsidó sajtó előzményei és kezdetei (1868-ig)* [The precedents and beginnings of the Hungarian Jewish press (until 1868)]. Elhangzott: Magyar zsidó sajtótörténeti konferencia, Budapest, 2000. május 14. http://www.hebraisztika.hu/site/publikacio_kb.html Accessed April 12, 2007., Kieval, Hillel J. 2000. *Languages of Community*. The Jewish Experience in the Czech Lands. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press. p.32.

4 Lipták Dorottya. 2002. *Újságok és újságolvasók Ferenc József korában*. [Papers and readers in the Franz Joseph era] Bécs – Budapest Prága. Budapest. L'Harmattan. pp. 37-38.

5 The language assimilation of the Jewry progressed mainly in urban environments and in regions with a Hungarian population, regardless of that, it became a strategy in Neology. Frojimovics Kinga. 2008. *Szétszakadt történelem. Zsidó vallási irányzatok Magyarországon 1868-1950*. [Torn history. Jewish religious trends in Hungary 1868-1950] Budapest: Balassi Kiadó. pp. 105-111.

6 Between 1910-1911 the paper was published as *Zionist Organization of Hungary*

7 Brenner, David A. 2008. *German Jewish Popular Culture Before the Holocaust*. New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group. p. 14.

and its relaunch was prevented by the loss of its reading public following the Trianon peace dictate.⁸

Central European Jewish discourse and trends

The war propaganda and hero worship that mobilised the Jewry shows similarities within the Central European Ashkenazi population. In the Central European states the Jews who were granted civil rights identified with the modern notions of national identity – within varying frameworks. Habsburg-Austria was organized based on political and dynastic principles thus in the Austrian part of the monarchy there was no state-level nationalism displayed either in the ethnic or in the language or cultural sense. Austria's Jewish citizens managed to remain loyal to the state in a way that they did not have to identify with any national identity. In contrast to Habsburg-Austria the Hungarian political elite defined Hungary as a nation-state and expected its Jewish inhabitants to adapt the prevalent Hungarian, language and culture based concept of the nation. In Hungary all this – a double loyalty: within the framework of commitment to the dynasty and the nation – intertwined with the cultural mission to be carried out among the Jews in Russia and the Balkans within the ideology of turning towards the East. In the Hungarian part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (1867-1918) great emphasis was placed in the Neolog press on the idea of belonging to the nation.⁹ In this context the mission of Neolog Jews was twofold: on the one hand in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy protection of the interests of the Hungarians through Hungarian culture that could be acquired, and in areas inhabited by minorities through the representation and spread of Hungarian culture, and on the other hand an internal mission within the Jewry to spread enlightened European culture. The criticism expressed by representatives of the internal cultural mission was directed mainly at education and the new generation. This pointed beyond the question of the immigration of Eastern European Jews through Galicia and can be regarded rather as a general criticism of the strategies aimed at traditionalism. In the cultural mission writings that appeared in *Egyenlőség* the figure of the Eastern European Jew became the vehicle of features showing an inability to assimilate.¹⁰ The cultural mission discourse was also intertwined with the universalist moral mission of Neolog Jewry that reinterpreted the eschatological features of Judaism. In the new historical mission

8 Glässer Norbert. 2014a. *Találkozás a Szent Igazzal*: [Encountering the righteous one] The Hungarian orthodox Jewish press' tzadik image 1891-1944. Szeged: Néprajzi és Kulturális Antropológiai Tanszék. p. 341.

9 „A zsidóság missziója [The mission of the Jews]” *Egyenlőség*, 30 December 1882. p.4., cf. Zima András. 2008. “Cult or spirit? Integration strategies and history of memory in Jewish groups in Hungary at the turn of the 19th-20th century.” *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica* 53 (2): 243-262. p. 247. doi:10.1556/AEthn.53.2008.2.2

10 E.g. Szabolcsi, Miksa: „Külföldi és Magyarországi orthodox vezérek [Orthodox leaders abroad and in Hungary]” *Egyenlőség*, 16 June 1912. pp. 1-4

of the Jews the ideal Jew became a champion of modernity, setting an example for the whole of mankind. The cultural mission aspirations targeting the Jews of Galicia became the most intense during the First World War.

Within the premodern-modern change – following Meredith B. McGuire's thoughts written on the social role of religion – we can recognise the decline of religious authority and institutional legitimacy, the privatization of religious interpretations and the rationalization and selection of religious tradition.¹¹ Meanwhile, with the expansion of modern nation-states a demand occurs for the sacralisation of mundane national history and the creation of new, community-forming rituals. In their language and set of symbols these turned to wide-spread religious knowledge. The symbolic policy, called 'civil religion' or 'national religion' by sociology of religion was constructed on the base of religious practice.¹² In the case of the Orthodoxy adhering to the framework of former life worlds ('Lebenswelt' in the Habermasian sense) and to the internal models of the group¹³ and the Neologs (congressional wing) who submitted their denominational traditions to moderate reforms and identified with the modern Hungarian notion of national identity the civil religion formed by an outsider political elite presents a particularly suitable field of examination. The person who thematized the Hungarian symbolic policy as opposed to the dualist Monarchy's policy of power – was Lajos Kossuth, then an émigré. Kossuth created his own world of symbols by questioning the legitimacy of the status quo of power, his followers in his independence claims on the other hand, made their endeavours within the framework of the dualist state.¹⁴

The new Israelite institutional network was established along with the formation of the modern civil state. It would be a mistake to claim that only religious antetypes defined their models of interpretation. The establishment of the institutional network was the result of secular, historical events. As the Hungarian symbolic policy was formed by the events of the 1848 revolution, the stages in the institutionalisation of the Neolog, Orthodox and status quo ante movements determined the adaptation of the symbolic policy. The monarch complied with the requests of the Orthodox delegates just like with the requests of the opposing Neolog camp who urged moderate religious reforms. The conflict was linked to the 1868-69 Israelite congress organized by Eötvös whose purpose was to create

11 Cf. McGuire, Meredith B. 1997. *Religion. The social Context*. Belmont CA., Albany NY.: Wadsworth Publishing Company. pp. 278–292.; Gleszer Norbert, and Zima András. 2009. „A világosság örök forrása” A hagyomány fogalma a zsidó felekezeti oktatás sajtóvitáiban. [*The eternal source of light. The concept of tradition in the press disputes on Jewish denominational education.*] *Ethnographia* 120 (4): 333-353.

12 Cf. GERŐ András. 2004. *Képzelt történelem. [Imaginary history Chapters from the 19-20th century history of Hungarian symbolic policy]* Fejezetek a magyar szimbolikus politika XIX-XX. századi történetéből. Budapest: Eötvös Kiadó – PolgART Kiadó. pp. 17-21.

13 Cf. Ferziger Adam S. 2005. *Exclusion and Hierarchy* Orthodoxy, Nonobservance, and the Emergence of Modern Jewish Identity. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

14 Cf. Gerő 2004. 53-67.

a national representative body of the Jewry.¹⁵ In this way the Catholic monarch became a patron of religiousness and the religious Jewry, a symbolic figure among the Jews.¹⁶ Franz Joseph I, being apostolic Hungarian king was also the prince of Jerusalem. The religious interpretations kept alive throughout generations further strengthened the bond. Among the religious models the Talmudic and Mishnaic antetypes of exile were determinant. Thus the debate on constitutional law, one of the most important social discourses of the dualist era obtained its Neolog and Orthodox communal interpretation in the light of these factors.

Respect for the crowned head stems from the religious traditions of Judaism. Leo S. Singer, Orthodox Chief Rabbi of Rimaszombat published a *Hovat haLevavot* adaptation titled *The doctrine of duty* in 1907 which is a Hungarian-language collection of religious ethics discussions. It contains a section titled *K'vod haMalachut* (*The respect of the kingdom*) which focuses on the respect shown for the crown and power. He deduces esteem for the king from the *Ethics of the Fathers* (Pirkei Avot 3:2): „»Pray for the peace, welfare and bliss of the king and rule; for were it not for the fear of it, a man would swallow his neighbour alive. <<” The Mishnah attributes the saying to Rabbi Chanina, the Deputy High Priest. In his doctrine of duty, Chief Rabbi Singer provided the religious reading of the text: “Our holy religion commands us to show grateful respect to the king and the authorities as these guard the calm of us all by administering equal justice so that we will not be disturbed in our fruitful working by evil men.”¹⁷ Besides the blessing to be said upon seeing the crowned head he also mentioned loyalty to the king, deducing it from the *Proverbs*. „»Fear the Lord and the king; do not mingle with insurgents and unpatriotic people. <<”¹⁸ (Proverbs 24:21) Chief Rabbi Singer grasped the esteem for the king as respect for the order of the country: “He who does not respect the laws of his country or evades them, who avoids his obligations toward his country in any way or instigates inequality among his fellow citizens instead of promoting and strengthening peaceful solidarity does not only infringe the evident law of our religion but is also a dishonest man who deserves the Lord’s punishment as well as the just contempt of the citizens.”¹⁹ Chief Rabbi Singer drew the pre-modern image of the monarch legitimised by God – a monarch outside of society still representing its order.²⁰ At the same

15 Cf. Katz, Jakov. 1999. *Végzetes szakadás* Az orthodoxia kiválása a zsidó hitközségekből Magyarországon és Németországban. [Fatal split. The separation of the Orthodoxy from the Jewish communities in Hungary and Germany] Budapest: Múlt és Jövő Kiadó. pp. 229, 233, 243-252.

16 „Hírek [News]” – „A király szavai márványban. [The King’s Words in Marble]”. *Zsidó Híradó*, 25 October 1894. p. 9.; See the belated portrayal of the returning topos: „I. Ferenc József és az orthodoxia. [I. Francis Joseph and the Orthodoxy].” *Orthodox Zsidó Újság*, 20 November 1941. p. 5.

17 Singer S. Leó. 1907. *Kötelességtan*. [The doctrine of duty] Rimaszombat: Lévai Izsó Könyvnyomdájában. p. 210.

18 Singer 1907. 211.

19 Singer 1907. 211.

20 Cf. Hahner Péter. 2006. *A régi rend alkonya* [The decline of the old order] Egyetemes történet 1648-1815. Budapest: Panem.

time, respect for the monarch was part of those endeavours of the Compromise represented by Ferenc Deák, which aimed to harmonize feudal traditions with the modern notion of national identity,²¹ and of the loyalty toward the state demanded from the peoples of Habsburg-Austria.²² The prayer book titled *Prayers for Jews* edited by Immanuel Löw, published by B Taub and Co. in Szeged in 1903 contains two Hungarian-language versions of the prayer to be said for the king.²³ Both texts portray the contemporary structure of society from the king to the praying “congregation”, asking for God’s blessing on the representatives of power, the nation, the city and the community. As a motto, Immanuel Löw indicated the section of the Mishnah and the Holy Scripture. Both in 1848 veteran Chief Rabbi Lipót Löw and his son’s prayer text king, nation and country appeared as interwoven concepts. This gains significance due to the fact that the propaganda of the Great War was founded on dynastic grievances and national goals alike.

Hugarian Jewish mission in the Great War

The Budapest-based Neolog Israelite weekly, *Egyenlőség* ascribed the continuing existence of peace between the peoples and denominations of the Monarchy to the Dynasty. It made the Dynasty appear to be an institution above nations and religions which alone was destined to preserve the unity of the Empire. The antetypes of this topos can be found in the royal jubilee publications published under the aegis of the ruling house on the one hand, and in the texts of prayers said for the welfare of the monarch and the state, as well as in the religious discussions on loyalty toward the ruling power on the other.²⁴ The Neolog *Egyenlőség* fitted certain characters of the royal family into Hungarian symbolic policy. The mourning border editorial written after the Sarajevo assassination can also be interpreted within this conceptual framework. „*There is no temple of the Hungarian Israel where mourning prayers cannot be heard for the sudden loss of the proud hope, the crown prince of the empire. He was an enormous cedar on the top of Lebanon, seen from afar and was felled by evil, murderous hands. That Abner had to die this death! He was just and free, suited for reign and he was killed by the weapon of sinners.*”²⁵

The Jewry’s identification with the aims of the empire and the nation-state

21 Cf. Péter László. 2004 „Ország és királya a hatvanhetes kiegyezésben.” [Country and her king in the 1867 Compromise] In *Kiegyezés*, edited by Cieger András, 546-584. Budapest: Osiris.

22 Cf. Rozenblit, Marsha L. 2001. *Reconstructing a National Identity. The Jews of Habsburg Austria during World War I.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 4, 9.

23 Löw, Immanuel. 1903. *Imádságok zsidók számára.* [Prayers for Jews] Szeged: Taub B. és Társa. pp. 44-47, 47-48.

24 Cf. Unowsky Daniel L. 2006. *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism. Imperial Celebrations in Habsburg Austria, 1848-1916.* Central European Studies. West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press., Damohorská, Pavla. 2010. *The Jewish Prayer for the Welfare of the Country as the Echo of Political and Historical Changes in Central Europe.* Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Husitská teologická fakulta.

25 „Imádságunk [Our Prayer].” *Egyenlőség*, 5 July 1914. p. 1.

can partly be regarded as the social expectation of emancipation and partly as the reciprocation of the gesture of acceptance. It was in these circumstances and in the First World War participation that Viktor Karády saw the identification tendency he labelled as “borrowed nationalisms”.²⁶ Karády’s raising of the issue should be examined in the given life world defined by notions of national identity, economic endeavours and conflicts of power.

According to Marsha Rozenblit, every Jewish faction in Habsburg-Austria identified with the Monarchy’s world war aims, just like in Hungary. They felt it was a Jewish holy war at the same time whose one important task was to rescue the Jewish population of Austrian Galicia from Russian tyranny. Rozenblit believes that this way they were able to demonstrate their solidarity with the state and the Jewry simultaneously. The events of the last two years of the war (the tension caused by food shortage resulting in anti-Semitic agitation) further strengthened their belief that only this state above nations (Austria) can guarantee the safety of the Jews.²⁷ The above mentioned parallel loyalties became more predominant during the war: fidelity to the sovereign and the nation fused in the common war aims. The traditional Jewish prayer or blessing for the crowned head and its reinterpretation to fit the national rhetoric constituted an adaptation of the Monarchy’s war propaganda. “*We prayed to you on the threshold of war, Everlasting God. Master of Armies, you who give strength to the people. Our ancestors had faith in you and you were our recourse. Be with us in our just cause. Bless our king who you ordered as Moses to show the way, let the light of your triumph shine on him in your grace so he can halt his enemies. Oh, be the protector of our Hungary, extend a protective arm when she battles her foes, show your marvellous helping power.*”²⁸ The victory prayer by Rabbi Simon Hevesi of Pest on the front page of *Egyenlőség* brought the news of the Gorlice victory in May 1915.

The idea of belonging to the nation, unity with the nation and common sacrifice pervaded the paper in the days immediately after the declaration of war. This also harmonized with the official state propaganda. “*We have fused and blended heart and soul with our nation. We are of one body, so much united that it would be an offence to speak about it separately. And if we do it is only as a reminder and to reassure ourselves: that us who challenged our neighbours in things good and noble during the decades of peace will take the challenge now and we offer even our lives keenly for this holy land, for this great and noble nation. We saw you, my Hungarian Jewish brothers among the marching troops, in the war din of railway stations, you were marching where you were supposed to, to fight for the king whose laws made us free, to fight for the nation that accepted us, embraced us and gave us a home, land and air.*”²⁹

26 Karády Viktor. 2000. „Zsidó identitás és modernizáció, avagy az asszimiláció paradoxonai.” [Jewish identity and modernization or the paradoxes of assimilation] In *Zsidóság Európában a modern korban*. Társadalomtörténeti vázlat, edited by Karády Viktor. Budapest: Új Mandátum, 249-281. pp. 269.

27 Rozenblit. 2001, 4.

28 Hevesi, Simon: „Ima a győzelem után [Prayer after the Victory].” *Egyenlőség*, 9 May 1915 p. 1.

29 „A háború [The War]”. *Egyenlőség*, 2. August 1914. p. 1.

Besides loyalty to the nation *Egyenlőség* identified with the war and its aims as if it were fought for the Jewish cause as well and as if the Central Powers meant to avenge the wrongs done to the Jews in Russia. They contrasted the freedom and culture embodied by the Monarchy with oppression and barbarianism attributed to Russia. Szembe állították a Monarchia által megtestesített szabadságot és kultúrát az Oroszországnak tulajdonított elnyomatással és barbársággal. *“Revenge for Kishinev, Homel, Bialystok, revenge for the trials and raids in Kiev, for the deadly nights and horrific days, revenge which does not stem from political theory but which has slowly been ripened by glorious life, revenge for the centuries of servitude. Thus many battles of this war were indeed fought in the name of revenge.”* – wrote *Egyenlőség* at the end of 1914.³⁰

Before this time the Neolog press regarded the Neologs living in the ethnic regions as communities spreading the Hungarian language and culture. The Jewry of the Balkans was often placed in the scope of historical and ethnographical interest which at the same time distanced them from the Central-European Jewish lifestyle and created a romantic image of the oriental Jew. These clichés proved easy to use as a basis for the imagery of the Eastern-European war aims and future tasks.

The independent Central-European Jewish notion of national identity formed a parallel interpretational framework.³¹ Instead of identifying and merging with the Hungarian nation, *Zsidó Szemle*, a Zionist weekly propagated unconditional loyalty to the nation, the empire and the Dynasty. In their point of view since Zionist territorial aspirations did not concern Central Europe they presented no conflict with Hungarian national interests. For them, this differentiated the Jewish national movement from the national pursuits of other minorities in Hungary. The Zionist paper reacted to the news of the assassination with emphasising loyalty toward the Monarchy. *“In this serious moment we are aware that one of the painful issues of the Monarchy is the problem of nationalities. Among the many centrifugal aspirations in this monarchy, the ruling family represents the enormous centripetal force. If such a huge binding force comes apart we feel as if the earth has shaken and we heard a rumble from underground. If we look around we can see that every nationality gravitates outwards. Except for the Hungarians. And the Jewry. Bias or hatred might doubt it but it is a fact that the future of the Hungarians and the Jews is tied together in this land of four rivers and three peaks. It is an assault on truth to dare claim, with the intent to incriminate that consciousness of Jewish ethnicity or even nationality does not agree with the most intransigent patriotism.”*³²

The Zionists were accused of being unpatriotic by the Neology multiple times.

30 „Revanche [Revenge].” *Egyenlőség*, 6 September 1914. pp. 1-2.

31 Zima András. 2015. *A cionizmus, mint közép-európai nemzeti mozgalom* [Zionism as a Central-European nationalistic movement]. Budapest: World Zionist Organization Department for Diaspora Activities – Izraeli Kulturális Intézet Budapest – The Jewish Agency for Israel – Hezl Center.

32 Judaeus Pencion: „Ferenc Ferdinánd trónörökös [Francis Ferdinand, the Crown Prince].” *Zsidó Szemle*, 1 July 1914. p. 1.

According to the Zionists the idea of a Jewish nation does not mean disloyalty to the nation or the state. Their commitment to the Hungarian nation and the Monarchy was declared in the *Zsidó Szemle* immediately after the declaration of war. “Zionism and patriotism have always been closely linked and formed a harmonic union. We always felt what we owed to the country that we are citizens of, to the homeland that acknowledges us as sons. These serious times only reinforce our sense of duty and steels our will directed toward the service of our country.”³³

Also as a means of defence against Neolog accusations of unpatriotic conduct and to prove their loyalty to the country they called the Zionist youth to arms drawing on Jewish tradition. “Maccabees! We believe and hope that our words won’t find you in the peaceful shelter of your parental home, we believe and hope that following the impulse of your hearts you are showing it on the battlefield that the heroic spirit of the Maccabees lives on is us! Our enemies have made terrible and false accusations against us to make our pursuits more difficult (...) We all have a duty to protect our home country. Volunteer for military service!”³⁴

The Zionist paper also published an appeal to subscribe to a war loan, portrayed Zionist heroes killed in the war, such as Lajos Dömény, one of the leading characters of the movement who died in 1914 at the Russian front.³⁵ The Zionists also attacked Russia and supported the war aims. “The Hungarian government called the country to subscribe to national war loans. It is the holiest duty of every Hungarian citizen to give their own excess capital to the state in the form of this war loan. With these lines I wish to raise the idea that our national organization, along with each of our societies should subscribe to the loan to the extent of their excess sums.”³⁶ József Schönfeld called the Zionist societies to subscribe to war loans with these lines on the pages of *Zsidó Szemle* in November 1914.

Interpretations of a shaping heroic cult

The shaping of the Hungarian Jewish hero-type already started at the war front: self-sacrificing fight and persistence to the very end became distinct. The phenomenon did not only appear in Hungary. The lyrics to *Reiterlied*, one of the best known cavalry songs in Habsburg-Austria – which interprets the same heroic image – were written by Hugo Zuckermann, the son of a Czech Jewish tradesman, its popular melody was composed by Franz Lehár who dedicated it to crown prince Charles. The Neolog and Zionist papers dedicated a permanent section to the Jewish heroes who sacrificed their lives for their country. Opposing the stereotypes that questioned Jewish participation and commitment in the war the

33 Háború küszöbén [On the eve of War].” *Zsidó Szemle*, 2 August 1914. p. 2.

34 „Felhívás! [Notice!] – Makkabea cionista egyetemi hallgatók köre; Bar-Kochba zsidó műegyetemi hallgatók egyesülete” *Zsidó Szemle*, 5. September p. 1.

35 Dr. Dömény Lajos halálára [On the Death of Dr. Lajos Dömény]. *Zsidó Szemle*, 20 August 1914. pp. 1-2.

36 „Hazafias kötelesség. [Patriotic Duty]” *Zsidó Szemle*, 15 November 1914. p. 2.

publications were not only meant as a remembrance but to represent heroism and far-reaching commitment to the nation. This was the starting point of the heroic cult that was fulfilled during the next decades remembering the Great War.

Even before the 1916 Jewish census in Germany the Jews had often been accused of being incapable of heroic, self-sacrificing deeds. To disprove that claim the example of the Maccabee war of independence was used and reinterpreted at the same time. In this sense the heroes of the Maccabee revolt were not humble Jews acting on the Lord's instructions but self-sacrificing fighters whose descendants are capable of the same in the present for the country and the nation. The Hungarian symbolic policy appearing in the propaganda intertwined with the universalist moral mission ideology of reformed Judaism. At the same time the Neolog Maccabee simile appearing in the propaganda was dissociated from the Zionist Maccabee parallel which also carried an ethnic meaning. *"The tradition of active heroism, the ancient maccabee example needed to be resurrected more and more (...) We celebrate the maccabee-memory more than ever, because it's not the glory of the ethnic community that we value, we do not regard him as a type only belonging to the Jewry but the eternal antetype of moral heroism who can be a guide to every member of the middle-class. (...) That is why the Hungarian Jews bear witness at their Chanukah feast that they will light the flames of remembrance at the collective altar of patriotism and they will seal the tradition of heroism as Hungarians, together with Hungarians of other religions with shedding their blood together. It is a common ideal and common heroism: this is the Maccabee inheritance of us, Hungarian Jews!"*³⁷

In Central Europe the Jews were also often accused of evading military service³⁸ that's why *Egyenlőség* published an announcement at the beginning of the war in which they asked for their readers' cooperation in collecting data about soldiers, the war dead, casualties, decorated soldiers and about the activities of corporations and institutions in the field of war-time charity. The parallels of the apologetic reply appeared among the columns of the Zionist weekly.³⁹

During the war the appearance of Jewish refugees from Galicia in Hungary split the Jewish public opinion. The Hungarian anti-Semitic groups used the situation to influence public opinion against the Jews. First the Neolog elite would have rather escaped the problem they were afraid that the appearance of masses of refugees could start a new wave of anti-Semitism. *„Luckily, their appearance here in Hungary is quite new and no one wishes it to be large-scale. In all respects we are a newly developing country, we have to increase our productivity, we have enough middlemen without them”*⁴⁰ The author is referring to the retail trade activity of

37 *Egyenlőség*, 1915. november 28./ 1. Mezei Ernő: A zsidó hősi kultusz [The Jewish heroic cult]

38 Penslar, Derek J. 2011. „The German-Jewish Soldier: From Participant to Victim.” *German History* 29 (3), 423-444., pp. 427-428.

39 The death notice of Lajos Dömény, attorney, with mourning borders *Zsidó Szemle*, 20 September 1914. p. 1.

40 Fabó, Bertalan: „A lengyel zsidó [The Polish Jew].” *Egyenlőség*, 28 March 1915. p. 15.

the refugees which became linked with raising prices and concealment of goods in outside accusations.

Similarly to the situation in Hungary, David A. Brenner reported that the middle-class maskil German Jews were averse to the Eastern (Polish) Jews. The Ashkenazi Jews from the western part of Germany were terrified of an invasion of “hordes” of Eastern Jews, even though, according to Brenner, up to 1918 the number of Eastern Jewish immigrants was not more than a few hundred per year. Brenner labelled this behaviour as “Jewish anti-Semitism”. The Zionists in Germany who professed a nation-concept different from that of the maskil Jews protested against the phenomenon the same way as in Hungary.⁴¹

The issue of the Galicia refugees raised the question of Jewish solidarity again and again. The attitude of Habsburg-Austria’s Jewish elite was that the refugees were Austrian victims in Austria’s war and Jewish brothers in need at the same time. That is why their reaction was particularly sensitive to the “insensitivity” of Hungary’s Neolog elite in the case of the “polisch” Jewish refugees.⁴² The Neolog newspaper rebuffed the accusations and – reinterpreting it within the social debate following the 1867 Compromise – deemed the Austrian Jewish newspapers’ reprimands to be an anti-Hungarian attack. *“Should that anti-Semitic coryphaeus step forward who could phrase this attack better, and I think that those of our Christian brothers who leech on the Jewish question will be enraged at the Jüdische Zeitung for having meddled in their business. None of the facts of this brutal attack which is of the same mould as the other anti-Hungarian Austrian newspapers’ tone these days is true.”*⁴³ – disclaimed the anti-Zionist columnist of the Neolog paper.

The Neolog concept of nation can be best shown through the handling of the Galicia Jews problem. In the congressional wing’s understanding a Jew living outside the Hungarian border is to be regarded as a foreigner, i.e. an Austrian citizen (Austrian Jew) as s/he is the inhabitant of the other side of the empire. This way Jewish solidarity can’t reach beyond human solidarity. Nevertheless, *Egyenlőség* and other Neolog organizations held fundraisers to help the refugees. *“It’s not our fault. In terms of Jewish solidarity we cannot go beyond human solidarity, and we never regarded helping and aiding our suffering Jewish brothers, wherever they may be as an act of Jewish national solidarity.”*⁴⁴ – wrote the above mentioned Neolog columnist lawyer.

The Neolog cultural-mission strategy – which formed part of the war propaganda discussed earlier – came to the fore again in connection with the Eastern Jews. During the war its point was that after the hopeful victory it will fall on the Neology of Hungary to assist the cultural advancement of the Eastern Jews

41 BRENNER 2008. 14.

42 ROZENBLIT 2001. 9.

43 Fleischmann, Sándor: „Válasz egy osztrák támadásra [Response to an Austrian attack]”. *Egyenlőség*, 9 May 1915. pp. 2-3.

44 Fleischmann, Sándor: „Támadás a magyar zsidóság ellen. [Attack on the Hungarian Jewry]” *Egyenlőség*, 4 July 1915. pp. 10-11.

along with making them suitable to the modern times. „The task is set in front of our eyes that in this whole territory to the north and south of us, in the region of the desert-wandering and uncertain drifting of huge Jewish masses the Hungarian Jewry must gain controlling influence. Our more developed culture, firmer traditions and above all, our assured legal status obliges us to do so. There is no issue or type of modern Jewish life that hasn't appeared within the confines of the Hungarian Jewry.”⁴⁵ – wrote Ernő Mezei, Neolog columnist who often attacked the Eastern Jews appearing in Hungary in his earlier articles. In these debates the maskil Jewish culture-mission topoi transformed into war propaganda messages.

Identifying with the war propaganda and the outside attacks intensified the conflicts between Jewish strategies, the Neolog-Zionist conflict became more accentuated than the Neolog-Orthodox conflict. The Neolog middle-class Jewish elite thought that *Egyenlőség's* Zionist propaganda could endanger their position the most. They feared that Jewish nationalism, especially in the time of war could provide arguments for the anti-Semites. That's why the Zionist movement's increasing influence among the Eastern Jews worried them. The cultural, political and economic advancement of the Eastern Jews seemed like the most effective tool against Zionism. After all, according to the *Egyenlőség* the best solution would have been if the mostly Hasidic, Eastern Jewish masses who were not integrated into the Polish or Russian nation had integrated into a large nation (German, Polish). The thus modernized and integrated Eastern Jews could not have served as a basis for the Zionist, and because of being part of a nation they wouldn't have immigrated into Hungary. “The Eastern Jews are mainly of German origin. Their language, customs and culture that they have preserved for centuries are close to those of the Germans. Most great works of German authors are translated into jargon. The fact that the harshness of the Russian laws compelled many to attend German universities promoted German-style educatedness. Shall we make Germans out of the Jews, or give free rein to the already begun Polishization or could we use the inner strength of the Jewry in some way in the interest of their progress and liberation? This is the detailed form of the question of the Eastern Jews.”⁴⁶ – as *Egyenlőség's* policy-setting article put it.

With an apologetic aim against anti-Semitic attacks *Egyenlőség* often used the works of Zionist writers following various strategies, more rarely the works of Zionist artists but always with the omission of the original, Zionist ideological context.⁴⁷ At the end of the war, along with the Jewish ethnographic Hasidism interpretation within the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* which evoked a mixed

45 Mezei, Ernő: „Magyar missziók, zsidó missziók. [Hungarian missions, Jewish missions]” *Egyenlőség*, 16 April 1916. pp. 5-6.

46 „A keleti zsidók kérdése” [The issue of the eastern Jews]. *Egyenlőség*, 26 March 1916. pp. 1-3.

47 Eg. Sacher-Masoch: „Hámán és Eszter Purimi mese a zsidó népéletből, [Haman and Esther – a Purim tale from Jewish folklore]” *Egyenlőség*, 23 February 1918. pp. 13-15.; Grosz, Mór (rabbi and teacher in Jerusalem): „Purim a Szentföldön. [Purim in the Holy Land]” *Egyenlőség*, 23 February 1918. p. 16.; Solem Alejchem: „Antiszemiták ha éjjel találkoznak [Anti-Semites if they meet at night]”. *Egyenlőség*, 20 April 1918 p. 18.

162 response, the neo-Orthodox response to the *Wissenschaft* was published in the paper in the form of translations of Lipót Grünwald's Hebrew and Yiddish pieces on Hungarian Hasidism edited by Lajos Szabolcsi.⁴⁸

In contrast to the Neolog strategy the Zionists didn't consider national Jewries but a universal Jewry so within this conceptual framework they regarded the Galicia Jews as part of the universal Jewish nation. They qualified the Neology's course of action concerning the Galicia Jews as a betrayal. "It pains us to see during the whole course of the war that these great times found the official institutions of the Hungarian Jewry to be rather petty. (...) The Jewry abroad already regards the Hungarian Jewry as deniers of Jewish solidarity. The official leaders can get over these foreign opinions with a distinguished or less distinguished gesture, but the time will have to come when even the now indifferent part of the Hungarian Jewry will shamefacedly admit that there has been an unforgiveable neglect."⁴⁹ The Zionist paper supporting the notion of an independent Jewish nation called the Neolog universal philanthropic solidarity to account for particular Jewish solidarity and inner Jewish universalism.

At the peak of the refugee question illustrations depicting Eastern Jews were often published in *Múlt és Jövő*, a cultural Zionist literary magazine. The task of these representations was too strengthen the solidarity of modern, middle-class Budapest Jews toward the Galicia fugitives. The visual messages appeared even when the article itself was written on a completely different subject.⁵⁰

The discrepant collective consciousness and nation-concept of the two modernizing Jewish trends can be constructed through their World War I strategies and their treatment of the problem of the Galicia refugees. According to the Neolog approach the Jewish refugee from Galicia is the citizen of a foreign country, solidarity with them cannot be more than "the feeling of human solidarity". For the congressional trend the first and foremost community was the Hungarian nation. In the collective consciousness of the Zionists, however, – besides their ardent loyalty to the state – the primary consideration was belonging to the people of the Jews, thus a refugee from Galicia was one of the Jews. Due to the fact that they formed their ideas within two different conceptual frameworks, in essence they had no common ground for discussion in their polemic.

48 Grünwald, Lipót: „A Messiás sírja [The Messiah's grave]”. *Egyenlőség*, 23 March 1918. p. 28.; Grünwald, Lipót: „Magyar zsidók és a hamis Messiás [Hungarian Jews and the false Messiah]”. *Egyenlőség*, 27 April 1918. pp. 12–13.

49 „Óvás” [Objection]. *Zsidó Szemle*, 31 March 1916. p. 1

50 Not intended to be comprehensive: *Múlt és Jövő*: J. Weinles (Warsaw): „A pogrom menekültei” [Refugees of the pogrom]. September–October 1914. p. 475.; L. Pilichovszky: „Útközben.” [On the road] November 1914. p. 520.; „Max Fabian: Menekülők” [Fugitives] November 1914. p. ?.; „Julius Cohn: Hontalanul” [Homeless] November 1914. p. ?.; „David Kohn (Vienna): A menekült” [The fugitive] July 1915. p. ?.; Arthur Markovicz (Krakow): „Talmudi vita.” [Talmudic debate] July 1915. p. 247.; Makó, Bertalan: „Galicia mártírjai.” [The martyrs of Galicia] January 1917. p. 30.; Galambos, M.: „Hazátlanok.” [Countryless] October 1917. p. 398. Orosz harctéri tanulmány: „A „libás” bácsi. [Russian battlefield study: The old man with the goose] Bleier Sándor mérnökhadnagy felvétele”. *Múlt és Jövő*, June 1918. p. 212.

The place of Israelite discourse in the Central European information eco-system⁵¹

During this era we regard Central Europe as an existing homogeneous cultural region consisting of the territories defined by the German language and culture between Western Europe and the eastern Slavic region. As a consequence, the nationalistic movements emerging in the region bore the characteristics of German nationalism (such as language and culture-based national identity). Before World War I the whole area was filled by Germany and Austria-Hungary. Between the two world wars by Central Europe we mean Germany and the entirety of nation-states built on the ruins of former dynastic powers situated between Germany and Soviet-Russia.⁵² Zionism which appeared in Central Europe at the very end of the 19th century could only gain real popularity in Eastern Europe. The groups of European Jews supporting Zionism became members of a national community before the declaration of the State of Israel by laying a claim for a state for their ethnic community. Other Jewish trends, however, continued to regard themselves exclusively as religious communities and an integrated part of the majority nation and did not wish to partake in creating a Jewish nation. This was particularly characteristic of the Central European, urban, middle-class Jewish masses. According to David J Fine, world war enthusiasm counted as middle-class behaviour. As significant masses of Central European Jews belonged to the urban middle-class, the Jews' enthusiasm corresponded with the norms of their social environment. On the other hand, the war presented an excellent opportunity for the Jewish elite to prove their commitment to the majority nation.⁵³

Apart from the press, written, printed, spoken, visual or musical symbols can also be regarded as propaganda tools. Every set of symbols that influences the opinion, beliefs or actions of the audience concerning a disputed issue is treated as propaganda after Robert K Merton.⁵⁴ The World War I Jewish propaganda in Hungary drew its antetypes from various sources. On the one hand they updated the widely-known liturgical and religious texts, and on the other they adapted to the general Central European war discourse and used the topoi of the Central Powers' German-language Jewish press. The Sabbath and holiday prayer for the welfare of the state or the monarch inserted the prayer for the non-Jewish, secular power into the dialogue with the Lord, into the occasions of worship substituting sacrifice in the temple. That is why it is an important expression of the relation-

51 See Z. Karvalics László: 2014. „Horizontokat tágító és civilizáló erő: Az információtörténelmi fordulat irányairól és esélyeiről a sajtótörténet-írásban” The horizon-broadening and civilising force: on the directions and chances of the information-history change in the history of the press *Médiakutató* 2014 nyár, 7-15. pp. 10-11. Accessed December 4, 2014. http://www.mediakutato.hu/kiadvany/2014_02_nyar.html

52 Lendvai. L. Ferenc 1997. *Közép-Európa koncepciók*. [Central Europe concepts] Budapest: Áron Kiadó. p. 10.

53 Fine, David J. 2012. *Jewish Integration in the German Army in the First World War*. Berlin, Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, p. 11.

54 Merton, Robert K. 2002. *Társadalomelmélet és társadalmi struktúra*. [Social theory and social structure] Budapest: Osiris. p. 593.

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הנחתן השועה לַמַּלְכִים וּמַמְשֵׁלָה
 לְנַס־כִּים. מַלְכוּת־מַלְכוּת כֹּל
 עוֹלָמִים. הַפּוֹצֵה אֶת דָּוִד עֲבָדוֹ
 מִחֶרֶד וְרָעָה: הַנּוֹתֵן בַּיָּם דָּרָךְ
 וּבַיָּם עֵזִים נִתְיָבָה. הוּא כִרְךָ
 וְשִׁמּוֹר וְיִנְצוֹר וְיַעֲזוֹר וְיִרְוֶמֶס
 וְיַגְדֵּל וְיִנְשֵׂא לְמַעַל הָאֵת
 אֲדוֹנָנוּ הַמֶּלֶךְ
פְּרֹאֲנִץ יִצְעָה הַרְאֵשׁוֹן
 דָּוִם הוֹדוּ:

KÜLD HAMAR A BÉKE HETRNÖKÉT
 NÉPEDEMEK!

Teruzzte

לשנה טובה תכתבו

Seden/maad

ship of the Jewry and the ruling power. Its antetypes can be found in antiquity, they are regarded as the Judaisation of Egyptian and Roman non-Jewish practices. From the 17th century the variations of the Ha-noten Teshu'ah texts display the relationship of the community and the broader socio-cultural system.⁵⁵ The text of the prayer for the monarch, Franz Joseph and/or Emperor William appeared on the World War I propaganda prayer-postcards supplied with their portraits. These postcards show the Jewish middle-class' identification with Central European war aims. The illustrated prayers for king and victory could also be discovered in the toolbox of the Judaised Hungarian Jewish World War I propaganda.⁵⁶ The battlefield prayer book "*Shield and armour*" published for Neolog Jewish soldiers also contained the prayer for the king.⁵⁷ Battlefield prayer-books were quite common for both Christians and for the Israelite soldiers of the belligerent parties.⁵⁸ Their roots can be traced back to the 19th century appearance of the status- and stratum-specific prayer books of the denominationalised modern society. Apart from the texts of the Scriptures applied to the welfare of the ruling power who was interpreted as the maintainer of order and social structure, all over Europe these books contained prayers for victory and the defeat of the enemy forces, in the form of updated texts of the founding memory of Judaism.⁵⁹ The war propaganda present at liturgical events also manifested itself in the form of homiletics.

Among the reformist attempts of Judaism, national language homilies served a significant purpose in adjusting to the framework of the modern nation-state, in acquiring the national languages and culture and in spreading the reformist endeavours. The communal speeches (drasht) in the synagogues were mainly dignifying, admonitory Yiddish language orations. The homilies delivered in the "language of the people" – first in German, later in Hungarian – thus became the symbols of Jewish enlightenment.⁶⁰ With his speech held at worship on the birthday of the monarch in 1914,⁶¹ Chief Rabbi Immanuel Löw of Szeged adjusted to the Neolog first world war discourse according to which the nation and the king became one during the war and some conflicts ceased to exist.⁶² The homily

55 Damohorská 2010. 7, 12-13, 17-20.

56 See MILEV No. Hu HJA K361; Hu HJA K393; Hu HJA K262; Hu HJA K709 theorem

57 *Pajzs és Vért*. Imádságok izraelita vallású katonák számára [Shield and armour. Prayers for Israelite soldiers], III. bővített kiadás, Az Országos Izraelita Iroda költségén kiadja az Országos Rabbiegyesület, Budapest, é.n. [1916]

58 Penslar 2011. 426.

59 Penslar 2011. 426.

60 Glässer Norbert. 2014b. „Az integráció politikai liturgiái: Szimbolikus politika és hazafiság Löw Immánuel beszédeiben” [Political liturgies of integration: Symbolic policy and patriotism in the speeches of Immanuel Löw] In *Zsidók Szeged társadalmában*, edited by Tóth István. Szeged: Csongrád megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 92-111.

61 Löw Immánuel. 1923. *Száz beszéd* [One hundred speeches], 1900-1922. Szeged: Schwarz Jenő kiadása. p. 4.

62 See Zima András. 2013. „Az »örök zsidó kérdés«: Első világháborús neológ és cionista csoportstratégiák a budapesti felekezeti sajtóban. [The eternal Jewish question: World War I Neolog and Zionist group strategies in the Budapest denominational press]” In *A teológiától a divatig*, edited by Kiss Endre, Balázs Edit. Budapest: Országos Rabbiképző – Zsidó Egyetem – OR-ZSE Kaufmann Dávid Zsidó Kultúrátudományi Kutatócsoport, 123-125.

Löw gave on the king's birthday in 1916 was built around the wedding war aims and victories. He compared the words of Isaiah (50:8) with Franz Joseph's *Viribus unitis!* motto. "Let us stand together! The words of the king became the word of the prophet this week, when armed fight was made unavoidable due to the devious violence attacking us. (...) The Monarchy and Germany are standing armoured, standing together! Central Europe will no longer be the highway of roving adventurers (...) Our united arms will reap glory (...) The Monarchy shall thrive again under the sceptre of our aged king."⁶³ The speeches in the synagogue followed the Jewish attitude to time, they drew essential parallels between the past preserved in the religious founding memory and the events of the day.⁶⁴ Searching for these essential parallels wartime Neolog and Zionist editorials both used comparisons from the Scriptures. The topos of the Italian perjury, for instance which was referred to as 'Judas-state' in Christian anti-Semitic propaganda was replaced with Amalek, the enemy image of Judaism. "And the most evil among evils, the most nefarious among the nefarious is the traitor Italian, degenerate descendant of the noble Latins who like Amalek, stabs us in the back and thus condemns himself in the eyes of the entire world."⁶⁵ – they wrote when hearing that Italy had declared war on the Monarchy. The eschatological vision of Neolog articles projected the punishment of the traitor. "The hand of the avenging God will show our triumphant way, the finger of the punishing God will lead our enemy's ships to whirlpools and their armies into devastation. Hungarian Jews, hardened in this terrible period, steeled in these colossal days, with our heads held high and our arms of iron, carry on, onward with our nation to our final victory!"⁶⁶ The First World War self-interpretations of the various Jewish group strategies – similar to the Hungarian Zionist and Neolog Maccabee parallel – were accompanied by antetypes from the Scripture. In France the sermons of the rabbis identified the German Army with Amalek. The idea of the "ancient Maccabee mentality" also appeared among the English Jews. In the case of the French Jews Yiddish-speaking Jewish refugees represented this thought.⁶⁷ Loyalty to the Dynasty was replaced with new attachments in Central Europe after the war. Between the two world wars loyalty to the common state and empire was replaced with the faith the peoples of the successor states placed in their own uniqueness. The post-war internal advances of Zionism should be regarded as part of this new self-definition.

Jewish particularism, the confrontation of Jewish universalism and the question of an own national identity with the Jewish identification with different notions of national identity is a recurring issue in today's Jewish historiogra-

63 Löw Immanuel 1923. 6.

64 Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim. 2000. *Zachor: Zsidó történelem és zsidó emlékezet*. [Jewish history and Jewish memory] Budapest: Osiris Kiadó – ORZSE., Rékai Miklós. 1997. *A munkácsi zsidók „terített asztala”*: [The "laden table" of the Jews of Mukacheve] Néprajzi tanulmány. Budapest: Osiris.

65 Dr. Groszmann Zsigmond: „Egy zsidó államférfiu győzelme az olaszok fölött.” [A Jewish statesman's victory over the Italians] *Egyenlőség* 13 June 1915, p 16

66 Uj háboru [New war] *Egyenlőség* 23 May 1915 p 1.

67 Penslar, Derek J. 2013. *Jews and the Military A History*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. pp. 153-154.

phy. This is reflected in the current topos that claims, in retrospect that the Jews residing in various countries prayed for the downfall of one another – as enemies.⁶⁸ According to Derek J. Penslar, Jewish solidarity that existed above nations remained visceral for the Jews at the war front and in the hinterland and the feelings of solidarity often competed with similarly honest emotions of patriotism. The above quoted David J Fine points at this question from the aspect of the modern, 19th century notions of national identity and the life world of the middle classes. In his study on World War I German army officers Fine presents the Jewry of Germany as an ethnic community, however, he does not regard Jews and Germans as opposite poles. What's more, he claims it is German-consciousness that made the Jews German.⁶⁹ That is why we cannot look back through ethnicist, Zionist glasses, aware of the facts of the Holocaust and the birth of the State of Israel and judge the collective consciousness of the Jewry of a region in an era when the idea of a Jewish nation was not yet mainstream.

The world war Jewish media propaganda of Hungary adapted its tools into the non-Jewish war propaganda. They mourned the crown prince and praised the Dynasty, the Empire, the Hungarian nation, they condemned the Russians and raved about the war.⁷⁰ Even *Népszava*, the newspaper of the Socialist Democratic party blamed the Russians for the escalation of the conflict between the Monarchy and Serbia, naturally within a leftist, Marxist framework, condemning tsarist imperialism. “*Russian tsarism which has enough of its own problems at home is disrupting world peace and interferes with Serbian issues. If it weren't so tragic it would be amusing that the bloody tsar wants to protect the independence of a state whereas the very same tsarism keeps the Finns under barbaric oppression having robbed them of their freedom. The same tsarist regime constantly endangers the independence of the northern states with its insatiable greed.*”⁷¹ – wrote *Népszava* which at the time of the assassination blamed the Monarchy's imperialism for the situation. Among the Jews the liturgical texts and the various layers of the texts of the religious founding memory transformed into wartime mobilization messages in the press' propaganda articles.

After the war these messages went through another transformation. In the synagogues of Hungary that had suffered significant territorial losses the names of the fallen members of the community were immortalized in memorial plaques. This tendency is discernible in both Orthodox and Neolog communities. Depending on the financial situation of the community the Israelite memorial plaques

68 Penslar 2013, 152.

69 FINE 2012, 6-7.

70 Cf. Schwendinger, Christian. 2011. *Kriegspropaganda in der Habsburgermonarchie zur Zeit des Ersten Weltkriegs Eine Analyse anhand fünf ausgewählter Zeitungen*. Hamburg: Diplomatica Verlag GmbH.; Gerő András. 2014. *Merénylettől a hadüzenetig. A béke utolsó hónapja a Monarchia Magyarországnál* [From assassination to the declaration of war. The last month of peace in the Monarchy's Hungary] [28 June 1914 – 28 July 1914] Budapest: Habsburg Történelmi Intézet – Első Világháborús Centenárium Emlékbizottság. pp. 7-21.

71 A válság tetőpontján [At the peak of the crisis] *Népszava*, 2 August 1914 p 1

168 were often the first in the line of local memorial plaques erected. The intent of the sponsors can be interpreted within the framework of the Monarchy's Neolog and Orthodox self-image: retaining their turn-of-the-century self-definition they regarded themselves as Hungarians and their denomination as Israelite. The purpose of the memorial plaques was to demonstrate their community's belonging to the Hungarian nation and to carry an apologetic response to the accusations gaining force with the collapse after the world war. They commemorated the bravery and unselfishness of the Israelite heroes, their performance in the First World War while providing a physical manifestation to the deeper collective layers of meaning pertaining to the present defined by the segregation law (*numerus clausus*).⁷²

72 See Glässer Norbert. 2014c „Jüdische Kriegerdenkmale und Zivilreligion in Ungarn (1914–1944).“ *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica* 59: (2), 407–416. doi: 10.1556/AEthn.59.2014.2.10.