Migration and Exile

Hungarian Medical Students in Vienna and Prague, 1920–1938

Introduction

"I was poor, yet satisfied" – remembered the psychiatrist Miklós Kun of his youthful years spent studying medicine in Vienna and Prague.[1] The medical faculties of the University of Vienna and of the German University of Prague were among the most prestigious of East Central Europe, the former being the single most important medical school of the continent East of Paris;[2] and the latter employing numerous alumni of the former who would later return to Vienna at the peak of their careers.[3] Yet Kun's road to these institutions was paved with random choices, as was the case of many other Hungarian Jewish students confronted with the harsh reality of the numerus clausus – a restrictive Jewish quota in interwar Hungarian higher education. On the whole, three groups of people were discriminated against by Hungarian universities in the interwar period and were therefore highly motivated to emigrate for the sake of studies: Jews, left-wingers, and women.

The present chapter is dedicated to the experience of Hungarian medical students of the University of Vienna and of the German University of Prague in the age of the numerus clausus (1920–1938)[4] when an overwhelming majority (85%) of such students were Jewish, alongside an analysis of their geographical and social origin. They were Jewish in the sense of the anti-Semitic Hungarian numerus clausus law, thus belonged to the so called "numerus clausus exiles." My analysis is based on a sample of Hungarian medical students in both universities containing all enrolled Hungarians in every fifth year of the period from 1921, the first academic year when the impact of the numerus

1 Miklós Kun, *Kedves Hilda: Egy elmeorvos az elmebeteg huszadik században* [Dear Hilda: A Psychiatrist in the Insane Twentieth Century] (Budapest: Medicina, 2004), 31.

2 Victor Karady, "Funktionswandel der österreichischen Hochschulen in der Ausbildung der ungarischen Fachintelligenz vor und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg" in *Bildungswesen und Sozialstruktur in Mitteleuropa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Education and Social Structure in Central Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, eds. Victor Karady and Wolfgang Mitter (Köln-Wien: Böhlau, 1990), 179.

3 Kun, 31.

4 According to Mária M. Kovács, the age of the numeri clausi lasted until 1945. Cf. Mária M. Kovács, *Törvénytől sújtva: A numerus clausus Magyarországon, 1920–1945* [Stricken by the Law: The Numerus Clausus in Hungary, 1920–1945] (Budapest: Napvilág, 2012). While I agree with Mária M. Kovács that the age of the numerus clausus did not end with its amendment in 1928, I count it until 1938 because from 1938 new anti-Semitic laws were introduced, targeting a larger part of the Jewish population. In addition, in the same year it also became impossible for Hungarian Jews to study in their traditional target countries due to the Anschluss, the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and the introduction of anti-Semitic legislation in Italy.

clausus became measurable.[5] Such analysis of the students' background is meant to test three hypotheses connected to the student migration provoked by the numerus clausus. So far no one backed up such common assumptions with empirical data. This is the gap in the research field I wish to fill with my contribution, in the present study limiting my scope to numerus clausus exiles who studied medicine in Vienna and in Prague.

Firstly, it is expected that in Vienna we find more non-Jewish Hungarian students than in Prague. Secondly, that in Vienna students were mostly recruited from Western Hungary and in Prague they mostly came from former "Upper Hungary" and Transcarpathia, from 1920 parts of Czechoslovakia. Thus, that besides random choices exemplified by Kun's itinerary, one's geographical origin also played a role in the choice of university when looking at the pattern to be found in the collective story of migrants. Finally, it is expected that migrant students were likely to come from intellectual families since such background increased both the willingness and the capability of studying abroad.

My sample contains seven hundred and fifteen students. There were more Hungarian students in Vienna and Prague during the period, considering that albeit medical faculties were the most popular among them, the German technical colleges were also highly popular and I did not include all academic years. Naturally the numerus clausus was far from being the only possible motivation for Hungarians to study abroad and even those targeted by the numerus clausus might have had multiple reasons to emigrate. Yet, as I demonstrated elsewhere, most Hungarians who studied abroad between 1920 and 1938, fell in the category of Jews under the numerus clausus and their emigration was connected to the Jewish quota and to the anti-Semitic atmosphere in Hungary.[6] At the same time, since Hungarian academia was as unfriendly towards women as towards Jews, the story of Hungarian peregrination in the interwar period is not only the story of numerus clausus refugees but also of the exiles of academic misogyny.

Vienna and Prague belonged to the most important destinations of the emigration provoked by the numerus clausus. Literally speaking, "numerus clausus exiles" should not necessarily refer to Jews only – although historically the term has only been used for Jews – but to those as well who were expelled from or not admitted to Hungarian universities because of missing "the requirements of unwavering loyalty to Hungary and impeccable moral being" (i.e. had taken part in revolutionary activity in 1918–1919).[7] However, over the years as new cohorts applied to university, the significance of one's

5 Thus, my sample includes all Hungarians who enrolled in the academic years 1921/22, 1926/27, 1931/32 and 1936/37.

6 Ágnes Katalin Kelemen, "The Exiles of the Numerus Clausus in Italy," *Judaica Olomucensia* (2014): 56–103.

7 "1920. évi XXV. törvénycikk a tudományegyetemekre, a budapesti közgazdaságtudományi karra és a jogakadémiákra való beiratkozás szabályozásáról" (Law XXV of 1920 on the Regulation of Enrolment in the Universities, in the Faculty of Economics at the University of Budapest and in the Academies of Law), 1920, https://1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3&param=7440 (accessed: September 8, 2017)

activity in 1918–1919 decreased, while anti-Semitic discrimination did not. Discrimination against women also remained dominant and received more official backing as years went by.

At the same time, Vienna hosted the populous group of Hungarian political refugees who had been forced to leave their homeland after the collapse of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. Many of these refugees fled Hungary through Czechoslovakia.[8] Among the political refugees there were students, Jews and Jewish students as well. However, as the steady level of Hungarian Jewish student migration over the 1920s and 1930s shows, the numerus clausus related emigration was a phenomenon characteristic of Jewish, rather than of left-wing youth.

Vienna and Prague drew the first large waves of Hungarian migrant students right after the introduction of the numerus clausus in Hungary in 1920. These cities had a liminal position between inland and abroad on Hungarians' mental map, as 1920 was the year of the dismemberment of "Greater Hungary"; Austria-Hungary had fallen apart just two years earlier. The generation that had trouble getting into higher education in the early 1920s had been raised in "Greater Hungary" that existed in the framework of the spacious Austro-Hungarian Monarchy which used to have a unified educational system and educational market.[9] This generation started high school with the expectation that their high school diploma would entitle them to enrol in a Hungarian university, but also enable them to easily study at any university within the Monarchy. Thus, wandering around universities in Austria and Czechoslovakia did not mean an Odyssey on unknown troubled waters, but rather a wandering in a homey space which had just recently become hard to navigate. It became clear only by the passing of time that the numerus clausus and its anti-Semitic spirit was there to stay in Hungary and many younger cohorts were to navigate the same waters while discovering new destinations in Western Europe.

Hungarian Jewish Students on the Move

While the Hungarian legislators aimed to remove Jewish youth from the intellectual professions, numerous Jews asked themselves "Where should I study?" rather than asking what alternative career they should choose instead of their field of interest. The above quoted Miklós Kun first thought of moving to Vienna to study medicine. However, it was unappealing, because his aunt whom he disliked lived there. Therefore, he went to Graz and started to look for a room to rent. Since all landladies asked his religion, he left with the impression that Austria was a place full of anti-Semites where he had no intention to stay. Hence, he came back to Budapest and asked a former (Jewish) schoolmate where he was going to study. He said Brünn (the German name for Brno). Kun was first surprised that there was a university in that city, then quickly decided to try his luck

8 Eszter B. Gantner, *Budapest–Berlin: Die Koordinaten einer Emigration, 1919–1933* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2011), 13.

9 Karady, "Funktionswandel," 180–181.

there. In the train to Brno he started to chat with a German gentleman who informed him that in Brno medicine was only taught in Czech. Thus, Kun accidentally realized that he had to change his destination to find a medical faculty with German as the language of instruction. So, he asked the gentleman where he should go. He answered the closest German medical faculties were in Dresden and in Prague. As Prague was closer, Kun went to Prague.[10] At the German University of Prague he was inspired by Otto Plötzl – a professor of psychiatry, a prominent member of the famous *Viennese school* – to such an extent that he followed him to Vienna, despite of the presence of the annoying aunt, when Plötzl was offered an appointment at the University of Vienna.[11]

It is important to note that Hungarian student migration was not a novel phenomenon, but indeed had a long pre-history and the universities of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy had been important targets before 1918. Ever since Jews were allowed to study at university, they were also "overrepresented" among Hungarians studying at Austrian and German universities.[12] However, the promulgation of the numerus clausus law was followed by a conspicuous exodus of Hungarian Jewish students to German speaking universities and their proportion among Hungarians abroad reached over 90% in the early 1920s,[13] while before the First World War it was 20%.[14]

The coeval Hungarian Jewish public discourse referred to the émigré Hungarian Jewish students as "numerus clausus exiles" and historians followed suit. After a short debate, the Jewish community leadership and the Jewish members of the Hungarian Parliament gave up on fighting the numerus clausus and concentrated their efforts on helping Jewish youth to study abroad. Lajos Szabolcsi, a prominent intellectual as poet, translator and editor, quickly recognized the significance of the spontaneous "flocking" of Hungarian Jewish youth to foreign universities. The *Central Student Aid Committee* established by Szabolcsi engaged in fundraising from Jewish communities and from individual donors between 1922 and 1929 and thereby enabled fifteen hundred students to graduate abroad.[15] There is no trace of the committee's activity after 1929. Presumably

10 Kun, 26.

11 Kun, 32.

12 László Szögi, "Magyarországi zsidó egyetemi hallgatók a német nyelvterület egyetemein és főiskoláin, 1789–1919" [Jewish Students from Hungary at Universities and Colleges in the German-speaking Area, 1789–1919], *ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtár Évkönyvei* 10.1 (2011): 107–18.

13 Victor Karady, "Egyetemi antiszemitizmus és értelmiségi kényszerpályák: Magyar zsidó diákság a nyugat-európai főiskolákon a numerus clausus alatt" [Academic Anti-Semitism and Forced Intellectual Careers. Hungarian Jewish Students at Western European Colleges in the Age of the Numerus Clausus], *Levéltári Szemle* 42.3 (1992): 21–30.

14 Szögi.

15 Lajos Szabolcsi, "Szabolcsi Lajos jelentése a Központi Zsidó Diákbizottság működéséről. Jelentés Magyarországi Izraeliták Országos Irodájának 1929. évi működéséről" [Report by Lajos Szabolcsi on the activity of the Central Jewish Student Aid Committee to the National Office of the Israelites of Hungary. Report on the activities of the National Office of the Israelites of Hungary in 1929] (1929), K 28. Department of Nationalities and Minorities 14/53rd item, Hungarian National Archives.

it failed as a consequence of the Great Economic Crisis which decreased capabilities of donation.

However, not all numerus clausus exiles received stipend from the committee. Some were financed by their own Jewish community, by their families or earned a living while studying abroad. Financial struggles are central in students' narratives about their student life abroad both in coeval documents and in autobiographies written long after. For example, Miklós Kun received 100 pengős (*pengő* was the Hungarian currency of the time) each month from his uncle, however, when the Jewish community of Buda granted 40 pengős to him, the uncle decreased his support to 60 pengős without knowing that 100 pengős was a low income for a life in Prague. Kun was also helped by his mother, who sent him goose liver which he divided into portions of "microscopic slices" in order to have something to eat besides sardines that he could buy on credit at the end of the month.[16] Later on, he starved even more in Vienna. Arthur Linksz, another Hungarian Jewish medical student at the German University of Prague, was helped to start his life in Prague by his relatives in Czechoslovakia and then maintained himself by preparing fellow students (preferably beautiful and wealthy female colleagues) for the difficult comprehensive exams in anatomy and biology.[17]

Vienna was central to the education of Hungarian physicians also before the First World War. In the early 20th century, Vienna offered medical education with an international prestige for the same tuition fees as the internationally less recognized Hungarian institutions of higher education.[18] Thus, a Viennese degree was the most efficient means of upwards social mobility for groups that could hardly rely on any other social capital, which was the case of Jews at the turn of the 20th century.[19] With such pre-history it seems to be a most natural phenomenon that Vienna attracted large numbers of Jews escaping Hungarian academic anti-Semitism after 1920. Although they did not find a friendlier reception in Vienna. As Herbert Posch highlights, "the introduction of the Republic and democracy in Austria scarcely left a mark on the universities,"[20] and anti-Semitic abuses took place on the Viennese campus on a regular basis, just like in Budapest. At the Technical College of Vienna a numerus clausus was implemented in the form of a 10% quota on foreign applicants of Jewish *Volksbürgerschaft* (ethnic citizenship) between 1923 and 1933, despite the disapproval of the Ministry of Education.[21] The campaign of the German Student Union (*Deutsche Studentenschaft*) leading up to this

16 Kun, 30.

17 Arthur Linksz, *Harc a harmadik halállal: Ifjúkorom Magyarországon* [Fighting the Third Death: My Youth in Hungary] (Budapest: Magvető, 1990), 350.

18 Karady, "Funktionswandel," 180.

19 Karady, "Funktionswandel," 181.

20 Werner Hanak-Lettner, "The University: A Battleground (1875–1945). A Discussion with Mitchell Ash, Gabriella Hauch, Herbert Posch, and Oliver Rathkolb," in *Die Universität: Eine Kampfzone*, ed. Werner Hanak-Lettner (Wien: Picus Verlag, 2015), 73.

21 In 1933 admission of foreigners to all Austrian universities was restricted.

numerus clausus was triggered by a Jewish professor, Samuel Steinherz, becoming rector at the German University of Prague in 1922,[22] which will be detailed later in the present chapter.

This episode demonstrates the strength of the academic ties between Vienna and Prague. At the University of Vienna, however, where the medical faculty belonged, the situation was different than in the Viennese Technical College. Anti-Semitism was strong and violent, however, Jews were not pushed out, but rather segregated. In each subject there was a course taught by an "Aryan" professor, in case the German nationalist students boycotted another one because of being Jewish or liberal or left-wing. For instance, the world-famous anatomy professor and public health and welfare innovator, Julius Tandler, led the "1st Anatomy Institute." He was both Jewish and a Social-Democrat, a city councillor of Red Vienna – plenty of reasons to be the main target of anti-Semitic attacks which he documented in his *Chronology of terror*, ignored by all interwar rectors.[23] And there was a "2nd Anatomy Institute" led by the right-wing Ferdinand Hochstetter. The nationalist students chose Hochstetter's lecture and from time to time attacked Tandler's students, because one's choice of anatomy institute and lecturer implied opting for a political outlook and worldview.[24] Students' suffering at abusive anti-Semitic students' hands interested the university administration even less than the appeals of Tandler.

Yet the presence of a strong left-wing student movement made an enormous difference for Jewish students. As the Hungarian László Farádi put it in his memoir, unlike in Hungary, "in Vienna there were *tussles*, not *beatings*."[25] While in Hungary in the case of a "Jew beating" the non-Jewish students passively stood by, in Vienna there were Social Democratic students who got involved and sided with the abused Jewish fellow students.

Prague, unlike Vienna, was a novelty in its function as a destination for a large number of foreign Jewish students. The new Czechoslovak Republic quickly established its image as a democratic and tolerant country. While the Czechoslovak state indeed

22 Juliane and Paulus Ebner Mikoletzky, *The Technische Hochschule in Vienna 1914–1955: Hidden Growth between War and Crisis (1914–1937)*, Vol. 1 (Wien: Böhlau, 2016), 95–101.

23 Werner Hanak-Lettner, "Exclusion, Terror and Pogroms: News, Reports, and Recollections 1918–1938," in *Die Universität: Eine Kampfzone*, ed. Werner Hanak-Lettner (Wien: Picus, 2015), 154.

24 László Farádi, *Diagnózis az életemről* [A Diagnosis of My Life] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1983), 70–71.

25 Farádi, 65. The situation in Romania was similar to that in Hungary or possibly even worse both in terms of widespread anti-Semitic campus violence and in terms of the lack of solidarity shown by non-Jewish students. The journals of the Romanian Jewish writer Mihail Sebastian record several instances of severely violent acts perpetrated by students inspired by the virulent anti-Semitism of the so-called Legion of the Order of St Michael, also known as the Iron Guard. Mihail Sebastian, *Journal 1934–1944* (London: Heinemann, 2001), e.g., 49, 114, 120.

stood up against anti-Semitism, being a migrant from Hungary was not a favourable status, since this state owed its existence to the collapse of Austro-Hungary. In addition, the German University of Prague as an institution was much less welcoming towards Jews than the Czechoslovak state, despite being among the least anti-Semitic German universities since the 1880s.[26]

This institution, the main higher educational resource of Bohemian Germans, had such a hard time with the transition to Czech dominance that it almost moved abroad in 1918. Rector August Naegle did not accept the authority of the new Czechoslovak state, instead he declared the extraterritoriality of the university and placed it under the jurisdiction of the also new Republic of Austria. Alongside radical German nationalist students, he also considered moving the university to the Sudetenland or abroad. The more pragmatic German professors, however, achieved that in April 1919 the university declared its loyalty to Czechoslovakia and remained in Prague. Thereby it gained a central role in the education of the German minority of Czechoslovakia and Jews from the Slovak territories and from Hungary who did not speak Czech or Slovak, but spoke German.[27] Polish Jews were also to be found here, just like at the German Technical College of Prague where Simon Wiesenthal, the future Nazi-hunter studied as in his home town, Lwów (now Lviv in Ukraine), there was a Jewish quota in the technical college.

Despite the continuous protest of local German students, the proportion of foreigners – many of them Jews – in the student body of the German University of Prague grew over the 1920s. In 1920 one tenth of the students were foreigners, in 1930 one fifth of them.[28] This shows that the university administration recognized that the enrolment of foreign students served the institution's interest in the new Czechoslovak environment that was unfavourable to institutions where German was kept as the language of instruction. At the same time state intervention was also needed to stop anti-Semitic excesses. Prior to the 1920s, Jewish professors kept an unwritten harsh rule, imposed on them by their nationalist German colleagues, that if and when a Jewish professor was elected as rector, they would turn this position down. However, in July 1922 the historian Samuel Steinherz broke this tradition and accepted the position after being elected. This provoked an intense wave of anti-Semitic protests from professors and students of the university itself and even from a number of Austrian universities.

Some students were not willing to accept their degrees in the graduation ceremony "from the hands of a Jewish rector." Steinherz broke under this pressure and resigned. However, the Czechoslovak Ministry of Education declared that someone being forced

26 Hanak-Lettner, "The University: A Battleground," 66.

27 Jiří Pešek, "Jüdische Studenten an den Prager Universitäten 1882–1939" [Jewish Students at the Prague Universities 1882–1939], in *Jeho Praha: vybor statí Jiřiho Peška k dějanám Prahy: vydáno k životnímu jubileu autora. / Ausgewählte Studien von Jiří Pešek zur Geschichte Prags: Herausgegeben zum 60. Lebensjubiläum des Autors* [Selected Studies by Jiří Pešek on the history of Prague. Published for the 60th birthday of the author] (Praha: Scriptorium – Archiv hlavního místa, 2014), 427–28.

28 Pešek, 428.

to give up a position because he was Jewish was such a nonsense that could not happen in the Czechoslovak Republic where everyone was equal. Hence Steinherz had to serve his full mandate as rector.[29] The frequency of anti-Semitic student demonstrations decreased after 1923, however in 1929 both Czech and German students demonstrated in Prague for the introduction of a numerus clausus against foreign, Jewish and poor students. They did not achieve this goal while the first Czechoslovak Republic existed.[30]

Thus, student life was not free from anti-Semitic excesses and dramatic events in Prague. Yet the exiles of the Hungarian numerus clausus preserved Prague in their memory as a peaceful haven where they could forget about anti-Semitism, which haunted them both in their home country and in their often chosen next places of study in Austria and Germany. Jakab Fürth, a future Harvard professor of pathology, is actually said to have left Hungary "because of the saddening situation" for Prague as early as 1918.[31] Similarly to Miklós Kun, he stayed until an inspiring professor left (in his case Edmund Weil in 1922). Arthur Linksz, who was studying medicine at the German University in Prague in 1922–1923, when the crisis over the rectorate of Samuel Steinherz took place, fails to mention the whole affair and any of the related anti-Semitic protests in his memoir where he reflects on his student life in Prague in quite some detail.[32] This is all the more noteworthy as politics, anti-Semitism and his Hungarian and Jewish identities play a large role in this autobiography.

This example demonstrates that while autobiographical writings are valuable sources to shed light on how individuals put up with historical situations, they are dangerously selective. Additionally, to test hypotheses related to a group, we need to turn to sources that tell us about a great number of them rather than to memories of a few of them.

Social and Geographical Origin and Patterns of Identification

I collected the enrolment forms of all Hungarians enrolled in medicine in every fifth year between 1921 and 1936 in the archives of the University of Vienna and in the archives of Charles University in Prague, which preserves the documents of the German University of Prague which was closed down in 1945. It is not evident whom to regard as Hungarian in these enrolment books, since in different years different kinds of data was asked regarding origin (citizenship, nationality, or mother tongue) and also in the early 1920s citizenship in the territories freshly lost by Hungary in the Treaty of Trianon was still fluid. Hence I used a broad definition. I basically included every student who had something to do with post-Trianon Hungary, thus was born there, was resident there or had studied there before enrolling in Vienna or in Prague. My reason was that such people

29 Pešek, 430.
30 Pešek, 430–431.
31 Alexander Emed, *Zsidó származású magyar orvosok* [Hungarian Physicians of Jewish Origin] (Budapest: Fapadoskönyv Kiadó, 2011), 118.
32 Linksz.

were more probably influenced by the numerus clausus introduced in 1920 when making a decision about their studies than Hungarians who had spent all their life in former "Upper Hungary" and in Transcarpathia that now became parts of Czechoslovakia.

(Perhaps) ironically, it was much easier to decide whom to regard as Jewish. The numerus clausus law targeted everyone born in the Israelite denomination, even if they belonged to a Christian denomination at the time of their enrolment in a university (although some university authorities made exception in this case). And denomination was a very easily accessible public data in this period in East Central Europe. It was included even in the high school degree, which was necessary for university enrolment, thus it did not make much sense for a person to deny their Jewish origin. With regard to the German University of Prague, Jiří Pešek notes that the administrators never checked the veracity of the self-reported data on religion and nationality that students wrote on their enrolment form.[33] Therefore the frequency of Jewish religious self-identification and the rareness of leaving this row blank is all the more worthy of our attention.

I constructed a database of seven hundred and fifty-six Hungarian enrolments, four hundred and five of them in Vienna and three hundred and fifty-one in Prague. As the following data in the table shows, contrary to the assumption based on the pre-existing prestige of the two universities, the German University of Prague was a more popular choice in the beginning of the age of the numerus clausus than the University of Vienna. This is, of course, connected to the general circumstances prevailing in these cities, which were more difficult in Vienna that had turned almost overnight from the capital of an empire into the oversized capital of a small country, the leftover of the Monarchy after basically all nationalities had split away. By the mid-1920s Hungarian enrolment in Vienna picked up very significantly though, while in Prague it dropped as living costs rose after the Czechoslovak financial reform of 1923. During the 1930s the number of Hungarian medical students was similar in both cities.

	1921/22	1926/27	1931/32	1936/37
University of Vienna	38	232	82	53
German University of Prague	161	50	91	49

Number of Hungarian medical students

However, if we want to look at who the people behind these numbers were, we must take into account the overlaps between the groups enrolled in these two different cities, as the typical numerus clausus refugee studied in multiple cities and countries during their university studies. In addition, the connection of the Viennese and Prague medical faculties was strong, as many Viennese alumni were part of the Prague faculty and returned to Vienna later as professors. Students quite often followed professors, the case of Miklós Kun leaving Prague when Otto Plötzl was appointed in Vienna, is a case in point. Yet of course there are overlaps between the group of Hungarians enrolled in

33 Pešek, 424.

Vienna in different academic years and the same is true for Prague. Fortunately, the enrolment forms provide rich enough information (including place of birth, residence, father's name and profession and address) to enable us to distinguish between students who had the same last name and first name as several colleagues of theirs in case of very common names. After counting all these overlaps, my sample includes seven hundred and fifteen students, three hundred and eighty-two in Vienna and three hundred and thirty-eight in Prague. Five students studied in both of the universities in an academic year that was relevant for this research.

The share of Jews was almost the same in the two groups, 85% in Vienna and 86% in Prague. However, in the Viennese sample everyone declared a religious affiliation except for three students (which is less than 1%); whereas in Prague twenty-one did not (6%). It is a fortunate coincidence that almost nobody's religious affiliation is missing in the Viennese sample, as this enables me to test the first hypothesis.

The share of Jews among Hungarian medical students in Vienna was hardly lower than in Prague. It was logical to assume the contrary, since Vienna having a very prestigious medical school and as home to a significant Hungarian refugee population was an attractive destination for students who did not leave Hungary because of being Jewish, but were either simply ambitious or exiled for their left-wing politics. The reason is that on the one hand – as mentioned earlier – as years went by, younger cohorts applied to university in Hungary who could not be accused of participating in the revolutions in 1918–1919. On the other hand, as the mutual recognition of university degrees between Austria and Hungary ended with the collapse of Austro-Hungary, for youngsters who aimed at a career in Hungary and were not hindered in enrolling in a Hungarian university by the numerus clausus (thus not of Jewish origin), it made less sense to study in Austria now than for an older generation before 1918.

There were three different ways to express Jewish religious affiliation during the act of enrolment: mosaisch (Mosaic), israelitisch (Israelite) and jüdisch (Jewish). I did not standardize them, but kept them as three different categories because I initially believed it would enable me to trace different patterns of Jewish self-perception. To my disappointment this is not the case, as the two dozen students who turn up in different academic years turned out to use these expressions interchangeably. However, although in the Hungarian context where these people came from, Israelite was the most widespread version, among the Viennese enrolments we find "Mosaic" more often, while the sample of enrolment forms from Prague is dominated by "Israelites," as it would also be the case in a Hungarian context at that time.

Both in Vienna and in Prague, there was a possibility to self-identify as Jewish in terms of religion *and* nation in three out of four of the academic years examined here (1926, 1931 and 1936). In Vienna the enrolment forms asked the student's *Volksbürgerschaft* (ethnicity), in Prague they asked their nationality. We know the ethnicity or nationality of 81% of the Viennese and of 53% of the Prague students. In both places at least three quarters (in Vienna 75%, in Prague 77%) identified themselves as Hungarian.

In Vienna almost one fifth (19%) identified themselves as Jewish, in Prague a lower proportion (16%).

It is important to note that students of Jewish nationality who turn up in more than one enrolment form in my research, because they enrolled in two different years I examined, often switch between Jewish and Hungarian nationality. Thus, their Jewish national self-identification is not necessarily an expression of Zionism, it merely means that they did not reject the idea that Jews were possibly a nation.

The students who opted for Jewish national self-identification in the context of university enrolment in Vienna or in Prague used an opportunity they did not have in their home country. For in the Hungarian legal system the Jewish nation did not exist. The numerus clausus was endorsed on the basis of religion. The Jewish nationality, or more often the Jewish "race" existed mostly in an anti-Semitic context, in the executive ordinance of the numerus clausus law and in anti-Semitic press. A positive claim to Jewish nationality was not widespread. In fact, Zionism was significantly more popular among Hungarian Jews in Czechoslovakia and Transylvania in this period than within Hungary. It must be noted that high quality Zionist journalism and literary work existed even in Hungary.[34] However, the Jewish communities' institutional structure – on whom fundraising activity for the sake of numerus clausus refugees relied – was dominated by assimilationists, and first of all by conservatives who had been terrified enough by Bolshevism in 1919 to be supportive of the anti-Semitic new Christian Course for its anti-Communism.

Compared to this situation, the numerus clausus refugees confronted an entirely different reality both in Vienna and in Prague. In Vienna Zionist was one of the three main categories of student fraternities (*Burschenschaften*), besides Pan-Germanists and Liberals. And the *Burschenschaft* scene was a central part of student life, as half of the students "wore colours," thus belonged to a *Burschenschaft*.[35] The Zionist Burschenschaften were diverse among themselves as well and many of them were descendants of pre-Zionist Jewish national student fraternities which had been organized on a territorial basis. For example, the first one, *Kadimah* was established in 1883 by East European students, *Bar Giora* was for Jewish students from the Southern Slavic countries, while *Ivria* was established for alumni of Silesian schools. Importantly, there is no trace of any Hungarian Jewish or Hungarian Zionist student fraternity in Vienna either from before or after the First World War.

In the 1920s, twelve different Zionist fraternities were active in Austria and by this time they had become more political than before the war. The youngest person to be the president of the Convention of all Austrian Zionist student fraternities was in fact the future famous author Arthur Koestler, who was born and raised until his teens in

34 For instance, on the columns of the weekly *Múlt és Jövő* [Past and Present].

35 Arthur Koestler, *Arrow in the Blue. The First Volume of an Autobiography: 1905–1931* (London: Vintage, 2005), 107–109.

Budapest.[36] However, as we know from his extensive autobiographical writings, he encountered and started to follow Zionism only in Vienna. There were also student clubs for Jewish students organized by study field, such as the *Jüdisch-akademischer Techniker Verband* (Jewish-Academic Engineer Association) and the *Akademischer Verein Jüdischer Mediziner*. The latter had twelve members who also belonged to the *Bécsi Magyarnyelvű Főiskolai Hallgatók Egyesülete / Verein Ungarisch Sprechender Wiener Hochschüler* (Association of Hungarian Speaking Viennese Students).[37]

In addition, among the ninety-two medical student members of the *Bécsi Magyarnyelvű Főiskolai Hallgatók Egyesülete*, eighty-one were Jewish, including the president and the first secretary.[38] Seven of the medical student members were not Hungarian citizens, and six of these seven were Jewish. Thus, this club also attracted Jews who came from territories lost to Hungary in 1920 who were still interested in maintaining their Hungarian ties. In addition, a case proving that by calling the club an association of Hungarian speakers rather than of Hungarians was a choice for the sake of inclusion: one of the members was a Jew from Transylvania with a Hungarian name and Hungarian native speaker (of Jewish religion) and Romanian by nationality. It seems that those students who were interested at all in joining groups based on their origin, were enthusiastic both about their Jewish and Hungarian identities.

Similarly to Austria, Zionism in general was more popular in Czechoslovakia than in Hungary. According to the memories of Miklós Kun, approximately one hundred students had lunch every day in the Jewish canteen in Karlovska ulica in Prague in the mid-1920s. Half of the students were Zionist and half of them Communist. The debate whether the canteen should be closed on Labour Day or on Yom Kippur even led to tussles.[39] Kun does not mention the stand of his Hungarian fellow students. However, the Zionist socialist Ha-Shomer Ha-Tsair movement's Prague branch was anecdotally dominated by Hungarian speakers in the 1930s. However, it is not known what proportion of these dominant Hungarians were students.[40]

36 Koestler, 109. This must be taken with a grain of salt, however, since Koestler is known for deliberate inaccuracies in his narratives. Judit Szapor, *A világhírű Polányiak: Egy elfeledett család regényes története* [The world-famous Polányis: The adventurous story of a forgotten family] (Budapest: Aura, 2017), 199.

37 "Mitgliederliste des akademischen Vereines jüdischer Mediziner aufgenommen am 5. November 1927" [List of Members of the Academic Association of Jewish Medical Students admitted on the 5th of November 1927], S164.120, Archives of the University of Vienna.; "Statuten des Vereines ungarisch sprechender Wiener Hochschüler 6.XII.1929" [Statutes of the Association of Hungarian Speaking Viennese Students December 6, 1929], S164.201, Archives of the University of Vienna.

38 Looking at the whole membership, not only at medical students (who were the majority with ninety-two students out of one hundred and forty-eight), we find that seventeen out of twenty students who were in the leading committee of the association, were Jewish.

39 Kun, 28.

40 Tatjana Lichtenstein, *Zionists in Interwar Czechoslovakia. Minority Nationalism and the Politics of Belonging* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016), 287.

Besides the share of Jews, the gender proportion was also almost identical between the Viennese and the Prague sample, with 16% of the Viennese students being women, 84% men; and 14% of the Prague group being women, 86% men. The presence of women among migrant students (not only among Jewish ones) is an important question not only for its own sake, but also because they were exiles of academic misogyny. The new Hungarian rulers hurried to curtail female access to higher education, because their full access to universities under the same conditions as for men had been a policy of the Károlyi government in late 1918.

Since the numerus clausus was a cornerstone of the new right wing authoritarian so called "Christian Course" in interwar Hungary, it was meant to reinforce male, nationalist, conservative hegemony and to secure the educational reproduction of the Christian (i.e. non-Jewish) middle class. As the country's territory was reduced to one third and its population to one half, the labour market for intellectuals decreased dramatically after the First World War. The new right wing rulers saw it best to decrease competition for scarce resources by promoting the interest of the sons of the historical "Christian" middle class – which originated in the déclassé nobility – at the expense of women and Jews. As Katalin Fenyves put it, "the Numerus Clausus was the symbolic moment when anti-Semitism and sexism met."[41]

By the time the numerus clausus developed from an idea into an actual law, it restricted the eligibility of applicants only on a nationalist and political basis, directed only against Jews and left-wingers.[42] However, in 1927 a new decree on women's access to higher education denied their access to legal, chemical engineering and mechanical engineering education. In addition, in the architecture department of the Budapest University of Technology and Economics, a 5% quota was imposed on them and even this low proportion could be admitted only if the number of male applicants did not fill the pre-defined number of admissible students (which was defined for each faculty by the Ministry of Religion and Public Education each year in order to prevent overcrowding).[43] With regard to medicine and humanities, the 1927 decree granted access to women without any gender quota (within the limit of the pre-defined number of admissible students). However, in practice women were often discriminated against by admission committees even if based on their secondary school leaving exam grades they should have been admitted.[44] Hence, academic misogyny's role in the emigration of Hungarian female students must be recognized throughout the interwar period, just like the role of the ongoing enforcement of the anti-Jewish quota in the emigration of Jewish students even though the Jewish quota did theoretically not exist after the 1928 amendment of

41 Katalin Fenyves, "When Sexism Meets Racism: The 1920 Numerus Clausus Law in Hungary," *Hungarian Cultural Studies* 4 (2011): 87–102, http://ahea.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/ahea/article/view/35/26 (accessed: September 3, 2017).

42 However, the Ministry of Education allowed the medical faculty in Budapest to deny access to all women in 1920–21.

43 Fenyves, 98.

44 Fenyves, 98.

the higher educational law.[45] As a consequence, it is obvious that female Jewish migrant students were escaping a double pressure when leaving Hungary.

In addition, a new restrictive decree on women's higher education was introduced in Hungary in 1934, which maximized their share in faculties of medicine and arts at 30%; in pharmacy at 50%, and also at 50% in departments of business and economy. This decree remained in vigour until the end of the Second Word War.[46]

And indeed while at first glance the 15% share of women in my sample might seem a small minority, it was still higher than women's share in the student body of Hungarian universities in those years. In Hungary, the proportion of women in higher education achieved its peak with 16.1% (1187 students) in 1916–17, and then it never again reached 15% until the Second World War.[47] The academic year 1920–21, when the medical faculty of the Pázmány Péter University of Budapest did not admit women at all, saw the low point of women's presence in interwar Hungarian higher education with 6.7% (six hundred and seventy-four students).[48]

In my sample altogether one hundred and eight students were women and the great majority of them (86%) Jewish. Jews were generally overschooled in Hungary when compared to non-Jews in the same socio-economic clusters. However, Jewish overschooling was even more pronounced and conspicuous among women, as urban Jewish families pioneered in sending their daughters to secondary schools that was a pre-requirement of university studies.

In terms of transnational comparison, Pascale Falek's doctoral dissertation, *A Precarious Life: East European Female Jewish Students in Interwar Belgium*,[49] is a relevant case in point. The author investigated the social background and university trajectories of approximately one thousand women. Most of them were not married when they migrated, and the married ones came with their husbands who were also students.[50] Similarly to the Belgian university documents, the sources I investigated in the university archives in Vienna and Prague, do not include marital status. Only one woman out of one hundred and eight was definitely married and seven others had different last names from their fathers, thus they might have been married, too. Seven women were sisters

45 See more details on how the amended law made it actually very easy to discriminate against Jewish applicants and to hold on to a Jewish quota in the admission policies of universities: Andor Ladányi, "On the 1928 Amendment to the Hungarian Numerus Clausus Act," in *The Numerus Clausus in Hungary: Studies on the First Anti-Jewish Law and Academic Anti-Semitism in Modern Central Europe,* eds. Victor Karady and Péter Tibor Nagy (Budapest: Pasts Inc. Centre for Historical Research, History Department of the Central European University, 2012), 69–111.; M. Kovács, *passim*.

46 Fenyves, 99.

47 Fenyves, 98.

48 Fenyves, 99.

49 Pascale Falek, *A Precarious Life: East European Female Jewish Students in Interwar Belgium*, Ph.D. dissertation (Florence: European University Institute, 2011).

50 Falek, 93.

of male students, and four women had a sister within the sample, however, other family connections cannot be identified within the sample.

After mapping the places of birth of the Viennese and the Prague group with the QGIS software, I found that the Viennese students' places of birth were contrary to the hypothesis not concentrated in Western Hungary. However, they were much more concentrated within the borders of post-Trianon Hungary than the places of birth of the Prague students. As was to be expected, indeed many of the latter were born in localities that after 1920 became parts of Czechoslovakia, with a high concentration in Transcarpathia that now is part of Ukraine. The maps of the places of residence of the students show that the Viennese students were almost without exception people resident in post-Trianon Hungary (with no concentration in Western Hungary), whereas the Prague students' places of residence are concentrated in the territory that until 1920 belonged to Hungary and then to Czechoslovakia.

However, with regard to this information we must be cautious, as they are self-reported and it was in the students' interest to claim residence in Czechoslovakia even if they were not living there except for their studies. In addition, for most Hungarian Jews (and Jews are a great majority of my sample) it was rather easy to get an official residence in Slovakia and Transcarpathia, as Hungarian Jewish families tended to have branches in different parts of former Greater-Hungary. Thus, many of them had relatives in Slovakia and Transcarpathia, after 1920 parts of Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak authorities suspected that many Hungarian students claimed false Czechoslovak residence. This is a question where autobiographical sources help out and let us see a more authentic picture than data found in official documents such as the university enrolment forms. The sources suggest that indeed most students in the precarious situation the numerus clausus put them in, did try to play out every possible card to be able to study abroad and decrease the costs.

However, two phenomena must be added to this point. First of all, the migration of families was a normal fact of life in the first decades of the 20th century, and these cohorts were born when it was still just inner migration within Hungary (i.e. before the end of the First World War) to move from Slovakia to Budapest, or even further away. Hence, the fact that the country of birth and the country of residence was different in 57% of the cases in the Prague sample – counting on the basis of the post-1920 borders, thus involving moving of the person not only of the border – cannot be automatically attributed to false residence claims. Many people moved around already in their childhood. The reflection of Arthur Linksz can be described as typical:

> what should I respond to the question where I come from? From Pest? I lived there some of the good years of my adulthood and I came here [in the United States] from there. From Galgóc? There I was merely born. From Devecser? I was a child there. Some say I am from Pápa, I indeed went to secondary school

> there, some say I am from Kőszeg, because my father became the rabbi of Kőszeg later.[51]

Linksz indeed did not really belong to former Upper Hungary or Slovakia, from the point of view of Czechoslovak authorities it was logical to see him as someone exploiting every contingent circumstance he could (that he happened to be born in Galgóc). However, he was also right in claiming the right to enrol as a Czechoslovak as he had been born there. Even an own relative of his saw him as a traitor for escaping the Czechoslovak military service after all that he owed to this new state where he could study, and could have even practiced his medical profession without learning Czech or Slovak, relying on his German only.[52] Yet, he left Prague in 1923 to never return and next time he claimed to be a Czechoslovak was for the sake of getting in the United States in the late 1930s in the Czechoslovak quota, which was easier than getting in under the Hungarian quota.[53]

In addition, both state borders and citizenship was fluid between Hungary and Czechoslovakia in the period between the collapse of Austro-Hungary and the de-facto establishment of Czechoslovakia (1918) and the Treaty of Trianon (1920) that officially defined the new borders. Not to mention residence, which is fluid at all times. Although the white terror of 1919 shocked Hungarian Jewry tremendously, they did not know until September 1920, the promulgation of the numerus clausus law, that they had to get used to anti-Semitic discrimination by the state for decades to come. Meanwhile citizenship continued to be fluid in the early 1920s since Hungarians of the territories that were now lost to the country, had to officially declare their chosen citizenship by a legal process called *optálás* (opting), which gave yet another occasion for anti-Jewish discrimination.[54] Thus, Hungarian Jews born or living in Slovakia and Transcarpathia had indeed good reasons to move back and forth in those years even beyond avoiding the status of foreign students.

This being said, among the students enrolled in Vienna, 85% were resident in the same country where they were born, so those who enrolled in Prague clearly show a higher likelihood of either having really moved out of Hungary or of not saying the exact truth about their residence – as the Czechoslovak authorities feared. In fact, Jewish families extended to the Austrian part of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and it was disadvantageous to be a foreign student in Austria. Foreigners paid a triple tuition fee.

51 Linksz, 49.

52 Linksz, 348.

53 Tibor Frank also draws attention to the fact that it was worth for Hungarians who could do that due to their geographical origin, to identify themselves as Czechoslovaks, Romanians or Yugoslavs in order to increase their chance to get in the Unites States. Cf. Tibor Frank, *Double Exile: Migrations of Jewish-Hungarian Professionals through Germany to the United States, 1919–1945* (Oxford and Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009), 16.

54 Vilmosné Vázsonyi, *Egyszer volt… Emlékirat 1947-ből* [Once upon a time… Memoir from 1947] (Budapest: Budapest Főváros Levéltára, 2015), 149–151.

If they passed a colloquium successfully each semester, they could be *gleichgestellt* (equalized) with Austrian students, while Austrian students were exempted from tuition fees for the same achievement.[55] Yet, almost no student in my sample reported Austrian residence. Thus, residence without citizenship apparently did not help.

Fortunately, the enrolment forms in most cases contain the father's residence as well. They provide an insight into whether or not the students lived where their families did when they were not at the university. While in Vienna, over four fifths (84%) of the students declared the same place of residence as that of their fathers,' in Prague only 63%. However, unfortunately in Vienna we do not have the fathers' addresses for 11% of the students and in Prague for every fifth student. We know explicitly only of about twenty-one Viennese students (5%) who were resident at addresses other than their families' and in Prague of about fifty-one students (15%). The difference between the two groups is striking regarding the maps of their fathers' addresses, the Viennese students' overwhelming majority reporting that their fathers lived in Hungary. Many of the Prague students' fathers lived in Czechoslovakia. Yet not as many fathers' residence was claimed to be in Czechoslovakia (one hundred and fourteen fathers – 34%) as of students (one hundred and seventy-two – 51%).

With regard to family background, I regarded those fathers as intellectuals whose occupation either required a university degree or a secondary school leaving exam (érettségi) or was at the time considered to be working in an intellectual profession. Hence not only doctors, engineers, lawyers, teachers, professors, rabbis and priests were taken into account as intellectual fathers, but also journalists, artists and clerks. The first superficial impression would suggest that the Viennese group with 31% of them having an intellectual father came from a more intellectual background than the Prague group with its 23% being children of intellectual fathers. However, in this category unfortunately too many people's data are missing with regard to Prague to make a conclusion. In Prague more than one third of the students (35%) did not fill in the data on their father's profession. The proportion of students not reporting their father's occupation is lower in Vienna, but still one fifth (21%). In addition, a bigger proportion of Viennese students' fathers are known to have a *non*-intellectual profession – almost half of them (48%) – than of Prague students' fathers (41%). Looking at both groups together, about 28% we do not know the father's profession, however, we know that another 28% of them had an intellectual father and 45% of them had a father who did not work in an intellectual profession. The amount of missing data is regrettably too high to make a strong claim regarding the hypothesis that migrant students were likely to come from intellectual families. However, the fact that almost half of them came from non-intellectual families, enables me to claim that the emigration did promote Jewish upwards educational mobility in an age when the Hungarian state aimed at preventing it with the numerus clausus.

55 Farádi, 54.

Conclusion

Vienna continued to be central to Hungarian peregrination after the First World War, and the German University of Prague achieved a comparable significance in it. Both the Viennese and the German medical faculty in Prague provided excellent professional training, due to the latter's strong ties to the Viennese medical school. Although in reality the situation was not black and white, Prague emerges from autobiographical sources by its alumni as an island of peace in an international Central European sea of anti-Semitism, while Vienna appears in an ambivalent light as both a place of traumatic experiences of anti-Semitic violence and as a city of inspiration with its dynamic scientific and cultural life, for some also attractive for the strength of social democracy in Red Vienna. One of the left-wing minded alumni, László Farádi, remembered his Viennese student years in the following way:

> Not only the gigantic personalities of the medical school fascinated me, but also the vibrant literary and music and theatre scene, the lights and the shadows of the metropolis, the mixture of white and coloured people, the thirsty-for-knowledge people flocking there from everywhere, the mass of asylum-seeker emigrants, who were either absorbed by the metropolis, or dispersed in different countries of the world and served the workers' movement faithfully and selflessly as internationalists, or ended up in the trash bin of history.[56]

In Prague Hungarian students did not participate in the local cultural life to the extent they did in Vienna, because most of them did not speak Czech. However, they saw Czechoslovakia very positively, as Miklós Kun put it "Masaryk's Bohemia was extraordinarily liberal, an ideal democracy."[57]

Besides autobiographical sources, the information on students' background found in enrolment forms were also central to the present chapter. The analysis of the sample of the seven hundred and thirty-one Hungarian medical students enrolled in the University of Vienna and in the German University of Prague in 1921, 1926, 1931 and 1936 falsified the first hypothesis, partially verified the second hypothesis and provided a counter-indication to the third hypothesis. Thus, the share of Jews among Hungarians in the Viennese medical faculty was not lower than at the German University of Prague. In Vienna as many as 85% and in Prague 86% of the Hungarians were Jewish, thus belonged to the numerus clausus exiles. Geographical origin on the whole did play a role in whether one ended up in Vienna or in Prague. However, Vienna drew students from all parts of Hungary. Regarding the Prague students, many of them were indeed connected to territories in Czechoslovakia, whereas Hungarians in Vienna were almost only residents of post-Trianon Hungary. The data on family background with regard to the

56 Farádi, 58–59.
57 Kun, 27.

level of education are hard to compare because of the different proportion of missing data in Vienna and Prague. Yet, altogether 45% of the sample were children of non-intellectual fathers, which falsifies the third hypothesis and demonstrates that emigration promoted upwards educational mobility of Hungarian Jewry in the age of the numerus clausus.

Austro-fascism greatly decreased the possibilities and the willingness of numerus clausus exiles to study in Vienna after 1934. In March 1938 the Anschluss of Austria to Nazi Germany was immediately followed by the *Ausschluss* (exclusion) of Jews from universities. By the end of March 1938, Jews could not enrol in the University of Vienna. In late April they were even forbidden to enter the campus, except for a few who were permitted to continue their studies on the basis of a 2% *numerus clausus*.[58] A half year after the Anschluss, as a consequence of the Munich Pact and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, Prague also ceased to be an option for foreign Jews as a destination. Due to the deterioration of circumstances all over Europe, most numerus clausus exiles had no other option than to return to Hungary. In the next few years Hungary even seemed to be a safe shelter compared to territories controlled by the Nazis. However, as is well known, Hungary sided with the Third Reich in the Second World War.

Unsurprisingly, many characters of the story here told fell victims to the Shoah. They were mostly Jewish men belonging to that generation which was primarily taken into forced labour service during the Second World War. A few of the survivor Vienna and Prague alumni doctors made successful medical careers in post-1945 Hungary. Miklós Kun became a prominent psychiatrist who introduced group therapy, family therapy and a 24 hour telephone helpline for the first time in Hungary. László Farádi became deputy health care minister between 1968 and 1973 and an advisor to the World Health Organization between 1970 and 1973. György Gottsegen founded the Hungarian cardiological institute, which nowadays is named after him. Emmi Pikler founded a new school of childcare. Pál Schwarczmann became the director of the Israelite Charity Hospital in Budapest. Béla Wald edited the first Hungarian oncology book.

Others made internationally recognized careers because after their studies in Vienna or Prague they emigrated to the United States through Germany, like Jakab Fürth, who taught at Harvard University and Arthur Linksz who pioneered research on dyslexia. Researching their trajectories is a logical continuation of the story told in *Double Exile* by Tibor Frank.

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Tibor Frank's monograph *Double Exile: Migrations of Jewish-Hungarian Professionals through Germany to the United States, 1919–1945* has been a great inspiration for me ever since I wanted to be a historian of the numerus clausus exiles.

58 Adina Seeger, "Expulsion, exile and (no) return: Jewish academics and students at the Viennese Universities in 1938 and afterwards," in *Die Universität: Eine Kampfzone,* ed. Werner Hanak-Lettner (Wien: Picus Verlag, 2015), 160.

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