

Theses of the Doctoral (PhD) Dissertation

David Turbucz:  
**THE HORTHY-CULT**  
**1919–1944**

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Eger, 2014

## 1. Antecedents of my research

Miklós Horthy, the Regent of Hungary, and the historical period named after him have already been the subject of historical research in many important respects. This statement is true with the exception of the Horthy cult which existed throughout the interwar period, but its intensity, emphases, main messages and public role kept changing during that time. Articles and papers on this chapter of the symbolic politics of the Horthy era as well as monographs making references to the political role of his cult have already been published, but the cult of Miklós Horthy has not been comprehensively researched and documented.

First Miklós Szabó dealt with this theme in a study, in which he examined the political anniversaries of that time. Among them was the twentieth anniversary of the Regent's reign.<sup>1</sup> After the transition of 1989/1990 Tibor Dömötörfi has published a four-page illustrated article on the subject of the Horthy-cult in *História*. He has given a brief chronological overview of this cult's history and of the means of cult-building process.<sup>2</sup> Gyula Vargyai has researched in Hungarian archives how the National Army influenced the public and supported Horthy's election as Regent.<sup>3</sup> Lóránd Dombrády has examined some aspects of

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<sup>1</sup> Miklós Szabó: Politikai évfordulók a Horthy-rendszerben [Political anniversaries in the Horthy-regime]. In: *Világosság*, 1978/8–9. (19.) 507–516.

<sup>2</sup> Tibor Dömötörfi: A Horthy-kultusz elemei [The elements of Horthy-cult]. In: *História*, 1990/5–6. (XII.) 23–26.

<sup>3</sup> Gyula Gyula: *Katonai közigazgatás és kormányzói jogkör (1919–1921)* [Military administration and the rights of the Regent (1919–1921)]. Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 1971. 264–277.

Horthy-cult in one of his books, entitled *The Supreme War Lord and his Army*, for instance, the impact of his cult on his self-image.<sup>4</sup> Thomas Sakmyster, in his biography of Horthy entitled *Hungary's Admiral on Horseback*, has emphasized that the Horthy-cult played an important role in symbolic politics during that time.<sup>5</sup> Lajos Olasz has showed in his monograph on the subject of Vice-Regent that the cult of the Regent and of his family became more intensive between 1920 and 1944.<sup>6</sup> Ignác Romsics has contributed to this research with a paper on the Horthy-images between 1919 and 2007.<sup>7</sup> Olasz has published a study on the subject of Horthy-cult between 1938 and 1944.<sup>8</sup> The above mentioned historians' books, studies were basically based on the previous publications and they attempted at extending our knowledge by using lesser-known sources. The antecedents of my research cannot be considered as comprehensive research. It is the reason for the deficiencies of Hungarian historiography concerning

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<sup>4</sup> Lóránd Dombrády: *A legfelsőbb hadúr és hadserege* [*The Supreme War Lord and his Army*]. Zrínyi, Budapest, 1990.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Sakmyster: *Admirális fehér lovon. Horthy Miklós, 1918–1944*. [*Hungary's Admiral on Horseback. Miklós Horthy, 1918–1944*.] Helikon, Budapest, 2001.

<sup>6</sup> Lajos Olasz: *A kormányzóhelyettesi intézmény története (1941–1944)*. [*The history of the position of Vice Regent (1941–1944)*] Akadémiai, Budapest, 2007.

<sup>7</sup> Ignác Romsics: Horthy-képeink [Our Horthy-images]. In: *Mozgó Világ*, 2007/10. (XXXIII.) 3–32.

<sup>8</sup> Lajos Olasz: A kormányzó-kultusz alakulása a második világháború időszakában (1938–1944) [The cult of the Regent during the Second World War (1938–1944)]. In: Péter Miklós (ed.): *Újragondolt negyedszázad. Tanulmányok a Horthy-korszakról* [*Rethinked 25 years. Studies about the Horthy-era*]. Belvedere Meridionale, Szeged, 2010. 354–369.

the Horthy-cult. In the last years other publications were also published which are relevant to my research. I would like to refer to the publications of Gábor B. Albert, Jan Bröker, Róbert Kerepeszki, Gergely Kunt, Balázs Sipos, Boldizsár Vörös and Miklós Zeidler. In respect of local history Csaba Pál, Géza Forgó and Tamás Csíki can be mentioned.

In my research, on which I worked between 2007 and 2014, I attempted to reconstruct the leader cult of Horthy by using and of course supplementing the above mentioned specialized literature. On this subject I have published several studies and articles, of which you can find information in my publication list.

## **2. Research aims**

I have used the methods and the results of political anthropology, discursive political science, history as well as media history in such a way as to achieve the following goals:

1. Identification of the constituent elements and layers of his positive, official image which were existed between 1919 and 1944. In addition to their identification, it has been also necessary to demonstrate the function and role of the constituent elements of the selectively constructed image.
2. Demonstration of the techniques and means of cult-making and their function, that is, how to contribute to the preservation of the leader's image.
3. Identification of the Horthy-cult's phases and the cult's functions have been two aspects of my analysis.

4. Since family members of Horthy played also important roles in his leader cult, I have examined how their images supplemented the idealized image of the Regent.

5. The Horthy-cult, as every leader cult, did not appear and exist spontaneously. Thus, it was very important to identify who built this cult. It cannot be answered in every case, because the journalists' names usually were not displayed under their praising articles. It is known who made public speeches, greetings, painted the Regent's portraits, and photographed him, but it has been difficult to cover their motivations. What is more, there may have been differences between their private and public opinion.

6. Due to the lack of representative sources (opinion poll) it is very difficult, almost impossible to answer how much the Hungarian society accepted the leader's image of Horthy. In the case of a nondemocratic political system, before the appearance of opinion polls, the public opinion cannot be analyzed. I have not found reports on public mood dealing with the popularity of the Regent. The documents of trials of lése-régents cannot be considered to be a representative sample. It is the reason why I have not been able to analyze the public mood of interwar Hungary. To some extent the reception and impact of the Horthy-cult can be analyzed on the basis of diaries and letters. Of course, there were different ways of internalizing this cult. Despite the fact that there may be similarities between mentalities, everybody interprets the reality surrounded him/her in distinct ways. Although I have read and analyzed diaries, I do not deal with them in my doctoral dissertation because they do not highlight the effectiveness of cult-building. There would be only one way to do it: to collect a more or less representative sample. Thus I have

primarily focused on the means of cult-making, and on the role of mass communication, which disseminated the leader's image. In addition I have analyzed the content and frequency of his image. All in all, my dissertation is not about the reception of this cult, but about the cult-makers and those techniques which played a decisive role in influencing the public opinion.

7. I have analyzed the impact of the cult on Horthy's own personality and self-image. First and foremost it can be analyzed regarding the territorial revision (1938–1941) and the occupation of Hungary (1944).

8. I have not avoided analyzing the counter-discourses, but it is not the primary objective of my doctoral dissertation to give a detailed overview of them, because they could not air their views. Therefore their impact, especially in the case of leftist emigration, was relatively limited.

9. I have not attempted to make a detailed comparison of contemporary leader cults. In the theoretical introduction I present those aspects of this on which, in my opinion, this comparison should be based. And I also present those factors which explain similarities and differences between these cults. In other chapters I refer to those constituent elements of leader's image which existed in the case of another leader cult, too. In the summary I compare the cult of Hitler with the cult of Horthy. In my opinion the Hitler cult can be mentioned as the most extreme manner of sacralization of a leader. Thus it seems to be the best way to relativize this cult presented in my doctoral dissertation. A detailed comparison may be a subject of future research.

### **3. Research methods and sources**

My research has been primarily based on those sources and public techniques that played decisive role in cult-making in the questioned period.

The printed press can be considered to be the most important means of influencing the public opinion, while the role of the new means of mass media (radio, newsreel) was rather limited. The press was regularly full of praises and photos, portraits. Moreover, the daily press thoroughly reported on the occasions of cult-making, and dealt with the means of cult-making. Thus the Hungarian dailies, weeklies highlight different aspects of this cult (leader's image, anniversaries and so on). It cannot be stated in connection with the radio and newsreels, because the radio programmes and newsreels disseminated less information on the anniversaries, and before the Second World War they did not play an important role in cult-building. During the war their role in cult-making process was not consistent. It is the reason why the press – as opposed to biographies, films, songs, textbooks, postcards and placards – can be used for different aims. Printed press is a multi-faceted historical source in this respect. Through the press the intensity of this cult can be analyzed. In my research I have attempted to select a representative sample from the daily press (18 national dailies) according to their political affiliations. In addition to the press I have attempted to analyze every source which was relevant to cult-building process. The leader's image was also spread and mediated by placards, leaflets, paintings, portraits, postcards, stamps and commendations, which were special types of cult-building, and, of course, press coverages and

other kinds of propaganda materials were often illustrated with them. Consumption goods, souvenirs, diaries, and biographies can also be described as a specific source type. Public education, as an important part of political socialization, had also an essential role in cult-building process, because it could influence a receptive age-group, the pupils' thinking and values through history teaching and school holidays. Furthermore they had to learn the cultic messages because of test-papers and repetition. Other segments of the Hungarian society were not obliged to learn cultic texts by heart. In this respect it has been necessary to analyze the textbooks, the manners of school festivities and the role of youth organizations. Besides public education the traditional churches had profound impact on public opinion. It is the reason why I have analyzed preachings.

Archive documents highlight the background, motivations and mechanisms of the cult-making process, which were not public but absolutely crucial in terms of politics. For instance, the documents of

- the Chief of the General Staff (HL VKF),
- the Ministry of Defense (HL HM),
- the Prime Minister's Office (MNL OL K 26),
- some Prime Ministers (MNL OL K 37, 38, 39, 468),
- the Ministry of the Interior (MNL OL K 148, 149),
- the Hungarian News Agency (MNL OL K 428),
- the Regent's Office (MNL OL K 589),
- the Press Archive (MNL OL K 609),
- the Hungarian Radio (MNL OL K 615) and



- the Hungarian Film Agency (MNL OL K 675).

I have analyzed the content of the mentioned texts, especially of the articles. It made it possible to create graphs and tables about the annual frequency of leader's image in certain elements in those articles published on the anniversaries. It may be a methodological innovation. As a result I have been able to compare the phases of this cult, and to identify and demonstrate the tendencies in an empirical way.

#### **4. New scientific results**

The primary objective of my doctoral dissertation is to extend our knowledge concerning the leader cult of Horthy. With my doctoral dissertation I contribute to the understanding of leader cult's phenomenon and of the political culture and symbolic politics of the so-called Horthy-era. I also shed light on the function of mass media and propaganda. As I have mentioned I have attempted at locating this cult in international context without making a detailed comparison. Thus I have not focused on only this cult: a comparative approach is not lacking.

The reconstruction of the Horthy cult shows how contemporaries, who identified themselves with this cult, interpreted the reality. The Horthy-cult, as every leader cult, can be considered to be a mirror of the hopes and fears of the society. The Horthy-cult was a reaction to the defeat in the First World War. According to his simplified and fictive image he was the only one being capable of leading the Hungarian nation to the "brighter future" (territorial revision), of "healing" the nation, of restoring

lost national glory. It was the reason why Horthy-cult and irredentism amalgamated. His official image, which was protected by the law, was made up of different layers and elements. According to it Horthy was the steersman of Hungary holding the steering-wheel in his strong arms, overcoming all obstacles (rocks, whirlpools, storms) that hindered the achievement of the national goals. He was depicted as the “father of the nation”, the “embodiment” of the nation, thus – in the cultic interpretation – there was a special, unbreakable bond between the leader and the led. It meant that everybody obeyed his orders, the whole nation stood unconditionally behind the “wise”, “strong” leader towering above political parties. According to this interpretation neither the present nor the future could be imagined without the Regent, the envoy of “the God of the Hungarians”. The entry into Budapest became a symbolic beginning of a new period, which made it possible to fulfill the national desires.

This leader cult built around his figure became an important source of the political system’s legitimacy. Through the official leader’s image the regime could transmit a vision of national greatness that radiated hope and sense of safety. This cult was an important means of integrating the society. Since the Regent personified the political system and the nation, his celebration on different anniversaries expressed symbolically that the Hungarians identified themselves with the existing regime. In order to justify his entitlement to his position, his qualities, abilities and deeds were exaggerated, and a selectively constructed, oversimplified image was created. The cult-makers continuously had to justify his leadership. Therefore every triumph and success was attributed to Horthy; they were

explained by his excellent decisions. His indispensability was emphasized. He saved the nation from destruction in 1919, argued the journalists and everybody who took part in cult-building. In the second part of the twenties – after the stabilization of Hungary – Horthy became a “builder” of a new country. The Prime Minister’s, István Bethlen’s indisputable achievements were attributed to him. Finally he was depicted as the “enlarger” of Hungary who could regain the lost territories between 1938 and 1941. During the Second World War this statement was often made that the Regent was capable of fulfilling those national desires which were embodied in him.

The history of Horthy-cult can be divided into two phases. During the first years of that period the leader cult of Horthy was built basically, but not exclusively by the radical right (fajvédők). Therefore the above summarized image connected to their political programme and vision in their own mouthpieces. With this cult they attempted to legitimize the new, militarized Hungary, which should be led by strong arms, and, in which the society is homogenized. The leadership principle was an important element of their vision. Those dailies which did not belong to the radical right disseminated a more universal leader’s image, which reinforced after 1925. As it is known, in the first years of the twenties Horthy distanced himself from the extreme right, from his former comrades, who made him the leader of the Hungarian nation. As a result of the consolidation some elements of his image disappeared in the mid-twenties, such as militarism, autocracy, leadership principle and the future vision of the radical right, but the main message did not change: he was depicted as the only one being capable of leading the nation to a “brighter

future". After 1925 his cult was built from year to year by the whole state apparatus in association with the traditional churches, local authorities, non-governmental organizations, mass media and so on. As a result of elevating this cult at state level it could reach more or less almost every segments of the society. It is important to note that the Horthy-cult paralleled the cult of Austrian Emperor and Hungarian King Franz Josef. There were several occasions of cult-building, but the anniversaries related to the leader were the most important, such as his birthdays, name days, and the jubilees of his entry into Budapest and his election to Regent. Horthy became a symbol of the conservative, consolidated regime, the "supreme guardian" of stability and the constitution. The second phase began about 1925. It lasted approximately twenty years. In the cult-building process participated the parliament made up of two houses, the government, the political, religious and military elite, county authorities, municipalities and some representatives of science, literature and culture. It can be stated that the Horthy-cult penetrated into everyday life and its symbolic role gradually increased during that time. It culminated after 1938. The territorial revision was not the only one reason why the cult reached its peak, because his leader cult was a decisive instrument for the government to stabilize the political regime. In 1944, after the occupation, this cult did not disappear, while it was used as a part of German war propaganda: everything that happened after 19 March 1944, stated the cult-makers, was accepted by the Regent.

My analysis of the content of cultic texts, such as articles, speeches, is based on the tables and graphs in Appendix (number of articles, frequency of the image's

constituent elements, and the number of photos used for illustration). In addition I present and analyze the role of different means of cult-making. Since the radio, newsreels and propaganda films (*Észak felé* [Towards north], *Kelet felé* [Towards east]) played a limited role in cult-building, I have not been able to carry out the same analysis. I have examined the type of radio programmes broadcast on the anniversaries,<sup>9</sup> and most important characteristics of newsreels (commentary, soundtrack, cutting, messages and so on). These aspects of my dissertation extend our knowledge concerning mass media, and highlight some aspects of the limited, authoritarian publicity in interwar Hungary. Of course, the Hungarian dailies did not take part in cult-building in the same way, for instance, some of them did not cover the anniversaries regularly, and there were also differences in the extent to which they lauded the Regent. As opposed to these facts the Horthy-image were very similar in the dailies.<sup>10</sup> It shows the existence of pluralism (it was not obligatory to take part in cult-building) and the limitations placed on the publicity (it was not permitted to criticize, mock the Regent). Thus the discourse on the Regent was limited. When I analyze the types and forms of visual representation I refer to the fact that Horthy was depicted as a monarch or as a warrior. I have analyzed how the used types of visual representation supplemented and underlined the messages of cultic texts. Some of well-known, talented painters, sculptors etc., such as Fülöp László, Zsigmond Strobl Kisfaludy, Vilmos Aba-

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<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately in the radio archive I could not research because no document survived the 20. century.

<sup>10</sup> Of course, in the case of the radio and the newsreels, which were supervised by the Government, there were no similar differences.

Novák, contributed to cult-making. I present other cultural aspects of cult-making (poems, songs). I have analyzed in details the Horthy-image in textbooks, in which Horthy was primarily revered for his role in the First World War and in the counter-revolution. The authors of textbooks did not place considerable emphasis on the Regency, the role of Horthy as Head of the State. This aspect of his life was lauded rather in speeches made on school holidays. In my doctoral dissertation I attempt to analyze almost every aspect of cult-making process, but, as I have mentioned, the motivation of cult-makers is not covered in every case. There was no Propaganda Ministry in Hungary, which was responsible for cult-building, but documents prove that the Prime Ministers and some ministers, in cooperation with armed forces, churches and those non-governmental organizations which were loyal to the regime built this cult. The cult-building activity can be described as an elite activity, because either they were so close to the Regent or they had a position in which they could not afford to avoid cult-making.

The Horthy-cult was not exclusive leader cult. So it was not obligatory to take part in cult-building, but there were very limited possibilities for leftist emigrants, social democrats, liberals and extreme right to counterbalance the official (positive) Horthy-image. The Hungarian legitimists created his own Horthy-image (“traitor of the throne”), because Horthy and the government hindered the attempts of Karl IV to return onto the Hungarian throne. During the Second World War the extreme right mocked indirectly the Regent through the members of his family depicting him as a “weak” leader who was under influence of the Hungarian Jews.

Historians have already analyzed the impact of the leader cult on Horthy's self-image. As a result of my detailed research these statements can be supplemented. For instance, Horthy could not show any restraint in pursuit of territorial revision because the main message of his cult was that he was destined to regain the lost territories. In 1944, after the occupation Horthy did not resign, because he thought that he had to fulfill his duty. He was convinced that he was the only one who could better the future of his nation. He was also convinced that the Army would obey his orders.

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All in all, my doctoral dissertation extends our knowledge about interwar Hungary in some important respects, since his cult was a part of political life, public life and everyday life. And, of course, especially in the case of symbolic politics: a modern political myth is presented in my work. Thus the reconstruction of the Horthy-cult may modify our present opinion both on Horthy and interwar Hungary. This theme intersects some other possible research topics, such as international comparison, nation-building, national identity, leadership-theory, and the nature of modern political systems. The local and social history of Horthy-cult can be researched in the future. Besides the better understanding of interwar Hungary this cult offers further research opportunities with broader context.

## 5. Publication list<sup>11</sup>

### *Studies*

1. A Horthy-kultusz [The Horthy-cult]. In: Ignác Romsics (ed.): *A magyar jobboldali hagyomány, 1900-1948.* [*The tradition of the Hungarian right wing, 1900-1948.*] Osiris, Budapest, 2009. 138–166.

References (23):

- Boldizsár Vörös: Különböző politikai hatalmak ugyanabban a fővárosban. Szimbolikus térfoglalási akciók Budapesten 1918–1919-ben [Different political powers in the same capital]. In: Károly Csúri, Magdolna Orosz, Zoltán Szendi (eds.): *Tömegek és ünnepek. A nyilvánosság rítusai a közép-európai modernségben.* [*Masses and holidays. The rites of publicity in the modernity of Central-Europe*] Gondolat, Budapest, 2009. 15–31. (1 reference: p.25. 18. footnote)
- Tamás Csíki: A kormányzó Gödöllőn – Kultusz és mindennapok [The Regent in Gödöllő. Cult and everyday life]. In: *Kommentár*, 2010/1. 53–64. (2 references: p.53. 3. footnote; p.54. 6. footnote)
- Levente Püski: Horthy és a politikai elit [Horthy and the political elite]. In: *Debreceni Disputa*, 2010/4. (April) (VIII.) 4–8. (1 reference: p.8.)
- Lajos Olasz: A kormányzó-kultusz alakulása a második világháború időszakában (1938–1944). [The cult of the Regent during the Second World War (1938–1944)]. In: Péter Miklós (ed.): *Újragondolt negyedszázad. Tanulmányok a Horthy-korszakról* [*Rethinked 25 years. Studies about the Horthy-era.*]. Belvedere Meridionale, Szeged, 2010. 354–369. (2 referenced: p.354. 1. footnote; p.369. 22. footnote)

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<sup>11</sup> Here only those publications are mentioned that are relevant to the Horthy-cult. My full publication list is available in MTMT (<https://www.mtmt.hu/>) and on [www.turbuczdaavid.hu](http://www.turbuczdaavid.hu). All publications were published in Hungarian.



- Róbert Kerepeszki: Az egyetemi bajtársi egyesületek sajtója a Horthy-korszakban [The press of radical right student organizations]. In: *Könyvszemle*, 2009/4. (125.) 456–474. (1 reference: 45. footnote)
- Róbert Kerepeszki: *A Turul Szövetség országos és debreceni szervezete (1919–1945)*. [The national and local organization of Turul Association (1919–1945)] Doctoral (Ph.D) dissertation. Debreceni Egyetem, Bölcsészettudományi Kar [University of Debrecen Faculty of Humanities], 2009. (1 reference: p.128. 356. footnote)
- Kerepeszki, Róbert: Overseas Travel as a Shaping Force of World View: the Case of Miklós Horthy. In: Harris, Mary N. with Agnarsdóttir, Anna & Lévai, Csaba (eds.): *Global Encounters European Identities. Europe and the Wider World V*. Pisa University Press – Cliohres.net, Pisa, 259–270. (1 reference: p.268. 7. footnote)
- Gergely Bödök: A magyarországi fehérterror (Az atrocitások eltérő olvasatai 1919–1920-ban). [The White Terror in Hungary. Different interpretations of the atrocities in 1919–1920.] In: Gábor Erdődy (ed.): *Visszatekintés a 19–20. századra*. [Looking back on the 19–20th centuries.] ELTE TDI, Új- és Jelenkori Magyar Történeti Program [ELTE Doctoral School of History, Modern and Contemporary Hungarian History], Budapest, 2011. 97–111. (1 reference: p.98. 1. footnote)
- Balázs Sipos: *Sajtó és hatalom a Horthy-korszakban. Politika- és társadalomtörténeti vázlat*. [Press and Power in the Horthy-era. Political and social-historical draft.] Argumentum, Budapest, 2011. (1 reference: p.117. 27. footnote)
- Gergely Bödök: Vörös és fehér. Terror, retorzió és számonkérés Magyarországon 1919–1921 [Red and white. Terror, reprisal and impeachment in Hungary in 1919–1921]. In: *Kommentár*, 2011/3. (1 reference: p.25. 33. footnote)
- Bröker, Jan: *Horthy is a nobody: trials of lese-regent in Hungary 1920–1944*. CEU, Budapest, 2011. (1 reference: p.4. 11. footnote)
- Róbert Kerepeszki: A budaörsi csata emlékezete és a királykérdés a két világháború közötti egyetemi ifjúsági mozgalmak politikai gondolkodásában. [The memory of skirmish in Budaörs and king question in the political thinking

- of student organizations in interwar Hungary.] In: *Múltunk*, 2011/3. (LVI.) 36–63. (1 reference: p.54. 57. footnote)
- Balázs Balázs: A Horthy-korszak politikai rendszere (1919–1944). [The political system in Horthy-era (1919–1944)] In: István Vida (ed.): *Magyarországi politikai pártok lexikona (1846–2010). I. köt. Parlamenti választásokon jelöltet állító pártok.* [Encyclopedia of Hungarian political parties (1846–2010). Vol. 1.] Gondolat – MTA-ELTE Pártok, Pártrendszerek, Parlamentarizmus Kutatócsoport [Research Group of Parties, Party Systems, Parliamentarism], Budapest, 2011. 137–148. (1 reference: p.140. 10. footnote)
- Róbert Kerepeszki: „Éljen I. Miklós, Magyarország királya!” – Egy politikai gyűlés háttere és körülményei [“Long live Miklós I, the King of Hungary”. About a political meeting’s background and circumstances.]. In: Zoltán Kovács and Levente Püski (eds.): *Emlékkönyv L. Nagy Zsuzsa 80. születésnapjára.* [Studies in honour of Zsuzsa L. Nagy] Debrecen, 2010. 135–152. (1 reference: p.152. 60. footnote)
- Róbert Kerepeszki: *A Turul Szövetség 1919–1945. Egyetemi ifjúsági és jobboldali radikalizmus a Horthy-korszakban.* [The Turul Association 1919–1945. Radical right students and their organization in the Horthy-era.] Attraktor, Máriabesnyő, 2012. (1 reference: p.314. 647. footnote)
- Gábor Ujváry: A budai királyi palota és a nagypolitika a két világháború között. [Connections between Buda Castle and politics in interwar Hungary.] In: Gábor Ujváry: *A harmincharmadik nemzedék. Politika, kultúra és történettudomány a „neobarokk társadalomban”.* [The thirty-third generation. Politics, culture and history in the “neo-baroque society”] Ráció, Budapest, 2010. 494–518. (1 reference: p.500. 15. footnote)
- István Murányi–Flórián Sipos: Nemzeti radikálisok Horthy-képe [The Horthy-image of national radicals]. In: *Mozgó Világ*, 2012/8–9. (38.) 137–152. (2 references: p.148. and p.152.)
- Püski, Levente: Die Beziehung zwischen Parlament und Staatsoberhaupt im Ungarn der zwischenkriegszeit. [The Connection between Parliament and the Head of the State in interwar Hungary.] In: Wilhelm Brauneder-István Szabó (eds.): *Das Staatsoberhaupt in der Zwischenkriegszeit.* [Head of the State in

- interwar period.*] Pázmány Press, Budapest, 2011. 131–145. (2 references: p.140. 35. footnote; p.144. 55. footnote)
- Levente Püski: Magyarország politikai berendezkedése a két világháború között [The political system of Hungary between the two World Wars.]. In: *Korunk*, 2012/11. (XXIII.) 13–25. (1 reference: p.25. 13. footnote)
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