

After One Hundred Years: The “Trianon 100” Research Group of the Momentum Program of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

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The Momentum [Lendület] funding scheme was initiated in 2009 by József Pálinkás, the President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (HAS) at that time. The program aimed at attracting young Hungarian researchers who had left the country with well-endowed research funding to repatriate while enjoying competitive and solid financial support. To quote one of the entries on the webpage of the HAS, the project was conceived for the purpose of “decreasing the migration of young and successful researchers, securing the cultivation of talent, enhancing career advancement opportunities for young researchers and increasing the competitiveness of the network of research institutes under the auspices of the HAS as well as that of universities.” The call, which was initially tailored to the needs of the natural sciences, went under significant changes, enabling the participation of humanities scholars like Géza Pálffy (HAS Research Centre for the Humanities), Attila Bárány (University of Debrecen, Faculty of Humanities), and Boglárka Weisz (HAS Research Centre for the Humanities). At the same time, the application for and eventual awarding of funding for the project Trianon 100—which was, together with ten other projects, selected from a pool of about one hundred applicants—confers a tremendous responsibility. Trianon 100 was the first endowed historical project that focuses on the twentieth century and, as such, can be a trailblazer for other projects with a similar scope. The research group comprises twenty-one members who are contracted for a variety of tasks, but only one full-time and one part-time position have been created so far. Beyond these core members, we are closely collaborating with twenty to twenty-five researchers; about thirty to forty other colleagues have participated in our events as presenters or carried out research projects for us, including scholars based in Hungary, Hungarian scholars from neighboring countries, and

international researchers, bringing the total number of collaborators to approximately seventy or eighty people as of now. Most of them are, naturally, historians, but our cooperation transcends disciplinary boundaries and encompasses collaboration with art historians, sociologists, archivists, literary historians, and geographers.

Prehistory: Research on Trianon since 1920

The perception of the Trianon Peace Treaty has always been conditioned by public life and memory politics that have never ceased to influence its historiographical depictions. Although the manner in which the treaty would be addressed was predetermined by the immediate sense of loss, the first professional attempts at a scholarly assessment were made soon after the treaty, in the forms of publications and editions of primary sources and subsequent commentaries. Such undertakings included a two-volume selection of primary sources (the third volume remained unpublished) edited by Francis Deák and Dezső Újváry,¹ and the publication of those materials which recorded the activities of the Hungarian peace delegation,² as well as several books authored by statistician László Buday,³ which set the foundations for further research. Jenő Horváth, a diplomatic historian,⁴ and the historian-journalist and diplomat Gusztáv Gratz⁵ are exemplary in this sense, albeit deeply influenced by the *zeitgeist* and their own biases. When considering 1945 as a caesura in relation to the discussions of the Trianon Peace Treaty, one should not necessarily attribute much significance to the alleged sensitivity of the question, either for the occupying powers or for the Communist Party that was already preparing for the *Gleichschaltung* of society—even if such sensitivity was not completely absent. One should rather focus on how the preparations for the second Trianon in-the-making, the Paris Peace Treaty, paralyzed the will of the elites and drained their energy.

After an approximately fifteen-year hiatus, the scholarly assessment of the Trianon Peace Treaty finally resumed. Zsuzsa L. Nagy's 1965 monograph *A párizsi békekonferencia és Magyarország 1918–1919* (The Paris Peace Conference and Hungary, 1918–19)⁶ analyzed the debates about the “Hungarian question” within the limits of her time. Although some historical works had been progressively addressing the new order that followed the Great War, especially in relation to the Little Entente, France, or “Eastern security,” the first monograph that put the treaty into focus was Mária Ormos's *Padovától Trianonig* (From Padua

to Trianon) in 1983.⁷ Relying on French diplomatic sources, Ormos's work opened up new avenues towards further research. Géza Jeszenszky dealt with the changes in the attitudes of the British public and opinion leaders in his dissertation, published in 1986 as *Az elveszett presztíz* (Lost prestige).⁸ Lajos Arday analyzed the priorities of British politics concerning Hungary during the peace conference in his 1990 *Térkép csata után* (Map after battle),⁹ while Ernő Raffay put the inner dimensions of the collapse in the center in his 1987 *Erdély 1918–1919-ben* (Transylvania in 1918–19).¹⁰

Large-scale primary source editions were initiated in this period as well, aiming at contextualizing the Peace Treaty of Trianon in a broader framework of diplomatic history. Most importantly, the series under the leadership of Magda Ádám as editor-in-chief (*Documents diplomatiques français sur l'histoire du bassin des Carpates 1918-1932*) developed into a two-decades long undertaking; its volumes were also published in Hungarian and provide much-needed, though not fully utilized, information about the period.¹¹ Miklós Lojkó's works were similarly important in relation to the British context.¹²

The transition of 1989 considerably broadened historical scholarship's space for maneuvering; however, paradoxically, it was soon pushed back into a narrowly conceived professional discursive space. Freedom of expression, later coupled with the information-technological revolution(s), resulted in historians' loss of monopoly on discussions about Trianon. Expert views were increasingly outweighed by works and acts of public history and memory politics. Some representatives of these currents are the journal *Trianoni Szemle* (Trianon Review), as well as the adjacent Trianon Kutató Intézet (Trianon Research Institute); the journal *Nagymagyarország* (Greater Hungary); the Trianon Museum in Várpalota; and myriad blogs and publicly available video series. The state-endorsed Nemzeti Összetartozás Napja (Day of National Unity) was introduced in 2010 as part of this process of restructuring memory politics.

Several pieces of work stand out among the historical knowledge production of the past three decades, however. Some of the most influential books include Ignác Romsics's 2001 monograph about the Trianon Peace Treaty¹³ and Miklós Zeidler's book appearing the same year about the idea of Hungarian revisionism.¹⁴ Zeidler also edited the primary source collection *Trianon*, published in the series *Nemzet és emlékezet* (Nation and memory),¹⁵ while György Litván edited sources

about the negotiations of the four Great Powers.¹⁶ The 2010 work of the present author *Trianon-legendák* (Trianon legends) also bears mentioning.¹⁷ Others focused on specific aspects of the context of the peace treaty, thus helping to broaden the horizons of research. Géza Boros elaborated on the monuments commemorating Trianon;¹⁸ Éva Kovács investigated the discourses of memory;¹⁹ Lajos Pallos gave important insights on propaganda concerning the defense of territory;²⁰ and Gergely Romsics published about the Trianon discourses of post-1989 Hungarian politics,²¹ just to name a few from among the rich and insightful contributions.²²

When surveying international literature, it becomes immediately apparent that the Hungarian peace treaty rarely features as a singular event. Setting aside that literature that falls beyond academic historiography, the Trianon Peace Treaty is usually depicted as part of a larger process. It has been discussed as one of those proceedings of the peace conference that concerned Central and Eastern Europe, the transformation of these regions, or as part of the grand narrative about the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the birth of the successor states.²³ The characteristic attitude of “extra Hungariam non est vita” (there is no life outside Hungary) had little resonance in this sphere. This was reflected in the early foreign publications on the topic, for example the books of C. A. Macartney (*Hungary and Her Successors*, 1937)²⁴ and Francis Deák (*Hungary at the Paris Peace Conference*, 1942),²⁵ just to name a few. This trend largely continued from the 1960s to the 1970s and onwards, when the number of publications rose exponentially, as demonstrated by the works of John C. Swanson²⁶ and Mark Cornwall.²⁷ They could utilize important books, such as the compilation of Bela Kiraly, Peter Pastor, and Ivan Sanders.²⁸ (Paul Gradwohl and Anikó Kovács-Bertrand also relied on these works). With regard to the historiographies of the successor states, two trends dominated. On the one hand, Trianon was often missing from the narratives of neighboring countries’ historiographies, as the fulfillment of national progress and the establishment of independent nation-states in 1918 rendered a detailed analysis of the peace treaties unnecessary. On the other hand, when Trianon was present, it was embedded in a narrative that adopted the patterns of traditional nation-centered history (one of the best examples is Marián Hronský’s 2011 *Trianon: Vznik hraníc Slovenska a problémy jeho bezpečnosti*).²⁹ However, a new generation of historians (such as Roman Holec, Miroslav Michela, László Vörös,

Lucian Leustean, and others) that has emerged in both Bratislava and Bucharest is interested in novel approaches, and thus is prone to frame their respective research within regional and transnational terms.

The plan

Upon winning the grant in 2016, the HAS-Momentum Trianon 100 Research Group presented a five-year research plan. The proposal was built on four main pillars, taking into consideration the historiographical traditions detailed above:

1. International context: documents and interpretations
2. Hungarian society and the postwar collapse
3. The solidification of the peace system
4. The memory of Trianon in Hungarian society

A brief explanation of the pillars now follows. Perhaps the first point is going to be the least attractive for a broader public, as it encompasses not-so-spectacular sources of diplomatic history. The main contribution pertains to the inclusion of the perspectives of the as yet (in Hungary) scarcely discussed victorious great powers (Italy, Japan and the USA), and unexplored aspects of the involvement of neighboring countries (Romania, Czechoslovakia, and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) in the preparation of the peace treaty and in the peace conference itself. We plan to publish the resulting source collections in the most traditional form. We are also exploring opportunities for online release; however, this option seems to be less viable than the paper-based one. Within the same pillar, more primary sources will appear that have never been published, despite being closely connected to the activities of the Hungarian peace delegation (memoirs, the journal of the peace delegation, etc.). We will provide an analysis of the geographical-historical argumentation of the peace delegation as well. Many prestigious scholars in the field are participating in this part of the project: Miklós Zeidler (Eötvös Loránd University [ELTE], Faculty of Humanities), Tibor Glant (University of Debrecen, Faculty

of Humanities), Balázs Juhász (ELTE, Faculty of Humanities), Péter Wintermantel (independent researcher), Árpád Hornyák (University of Pécs, Faculty of Humanities), Attila Simon (Fórum Intézet [Forum Institute]), Béni L. Balogh (Hungarian National Archives [HNA]), and Róbert Győri (ELTE, Faculty of Social Sciences). As of 2019, the resource exploration and collection of archival sources was complete in all cases, and some of the envisioned works have already been published, while others are in press.

The second pillar consists of social historical inquiries. Our research focuses here on the performance of the Hungarian state during the years of 1918–21. We concentrate on several issues, including the country's economic nosedive, the social crisis, the question of the army, paramilitary violence, the role of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, and the wave of refugees. We hope to be able to go beyond the assertions of Istvan Mócsy published in 1983,³⁰ especially in relation to the integration and composition of refugees. We will seize the opportunity to finally approach these issues based on relevant archival sources. Our intervention will clarify issues of the army and war violence (possibilities for and alternatives to resistance, the army as a social entity, etc.). We will engage with such defining economic players, policies, and general circumstances, amidst the turmoil of economic collapse, as the fuel needs of cities, food requisition and distribution by the authorities, and governmental regulation of prices and trade. At the policy level, we pay special attention to housing policies, in relation to the issue of refugees and broader concerns of social politics. The stabilization of the counter-revolutionary regime was enabled in part by its competence in finding more fitting (at least from its point of view) solutions to these pressing questions, as compared to the Soviet Republic or the Károlyi regime, thereby succeeding in securing significant societal support. Zsombor Bódy (Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Faculty of Humanities) leads the research pertaining to social issues. Tamás Révész (HAS Research Centre for the Humanities) and Szabolcs Nagy (HNA Archives of Veszprém County) deal with questions of the army and war violence. The issue of refugees is investigated by István Gergely Szűts (HNA Archives of Veszprém County) and by the author of this summary. We both benefit from the immense statistical help of Gábor Koloh (The Museum and Library of Hungarian Agriculture).

The third pillar serves the purposes of establishing a Central European context. The Hungarian peace treaty is not a self-contained

entity; in that sense, it is impossible to comprehend its repercussions without sufficient knowledge about the history of the region as a whole. Here we should emphasize three major points of interest. The transitional states that were established in Central Europe are important more than just anecdotally or for filling chronological holes. Between 1918 and 1924, numerous entities emerged that existed for only a few days, weeks, or months (for example, Gabriele d'Annunzio's Fiume, the Banat of Leitha, and the Republic of Central Lithuania). In the territory of Greater Hungary, one may mention the Szekler, Banat, Eastern Slovak, Spiš, Kalotaszeg, and Prekmurje republics. We investigate these attempts in a comparative manner, trying to establish commonalities and reasons for (non-)success. We are also looking into the potential influence of Wilsonian ideas and early fascism. This branch of research is carried out in collaboration with the newly established Central European Research Institute of the National University of Public Service. We are interested in exploring the local and regional dimensions of imperial transitions through local case studies (i.e., utilizing the materials of smaller archives) in order to uncover the effects of imperial transitions on local societies. The major research questions pertain to the ways in which state administrations were affected by the transitions, as well as how public space or the school system were affected. Furthermore, we analyze patterns and strategies of the representatives of new state power, contrasting them to those of minority elites (and other groups), as well as the delimitation of the discursive space within which all these players navigated. The research is carried out in tandem with the European Research Council Consolidator Grant-funded project NEPOSTRANS, under the leadership of Gábor Egry. The works about the transitions in Kassa/Košice, Bártfa/Bardejov, and Szatmárnémeti/Satu Mare have been concluded and the results are partially published, while the research concerning some northern Hungarian towns—Szepes/Spiš, Zombor/Sombor, Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia, and Arad—is in progress. This pillar's participants include Attila Simon, Veronika Szeghy-Gayer (State Science Library of Košice), and Tamás Sárándi (Museum of Mureş County). We will touch upon the border issues of Hungary and the newly established states: how space was used (smuggling, border crossing, in situ demarcation of the border), and the destruction of economic and social ties (or their regeneration). Among the most important contributors are Róbert Győri, István Gaucsík (Slovak Academy of Sciences, Institute of History), and Péter Bencsik (University of Szeged, Faculty of Humanities).

The fourth pillar deals with the place of Trianon in Hungarian collective memory. This pillar goes furthest in terms of multidisciplinary. Literary historians and sociologists are deeply involved in this subproject, along with historians. This pillar is made unique by its time span as well as its chronological arch, ending with contemporary issues. Our goal is to investigate the locus of Trianon and revisionism in the evolution of Hungarian and foreign political thought, historiography, belles-lettres, and the politics of memory. Furthermore, we survey the historiographies of neighboring countries as well, how their research progressed in relation to Trianon, what other traumas they have had to come into terms with, how these traumas are (in)comparable to Trianon, and whether these attempts were successful or not. We will deal extensively with representations of Trianon in public spaces, and a survey of monuments is currently in the making. These areas of interest will be reflected in a large sample poll and two qualitative, focus-group-based analyses aimed at learning about the image of Trianon in Hungarian society in general and its meanings for history teachers. Among others, art historian Flóra Mészáros (Gáspár Károli University of the Reformed Church, Faculty of Humanities), historian Réka Krizmanics (Central European University), and literary historian Júlia Vallasek (Babes-Bolyai University) are participating in the realization of the fourth pillar. Csaba Zahorán (HAS Research Centre for the Humanities) compares Hungarian and Romanian memory politics. Gergely Romsics (HAS Research Centre for the Humanities and ELTE, Faculty of Social Sciences) is expected to deliver a synthesis of Hungarian foreign political thought in relation to Trianon. Balázs Bazsalya (ELTE, Faculty of Social Sciences) coordinates the sociological research projects that we have launched in coordination with the Research Institute for National Strategy, and the first products of this research are already completed. We have finished a large-sample survey of Hungarian history teachers that is going to be published in the spring of 2020.

Achievements

We believe that scientific performance needs to be measured not only by its own standards. Historical scholarship, fortunately, continues to speak to many people, and society reflects on its discoveries, debates, and recent results. This is particularly true for such important topics as the Trianon Peace Treaty. Therefore, we consider it our task to

popularize our work in various ways. We run the website *trianon100.hu*, as well as a Facebook page that has more than four thousand followers—a number that is growing dynamically and is uncommonly large for a Hungarian research group. Our articles and interviews with members of the research group are published in the national press, both in print and electronic version. The research group collaborated with the popular history journal *Rubicon* on the publication of its special issue on Trianon in 2017, contributing over sixty pages.³¹ Our writings feature regularly in the journal *Múlt-kor* and on different online platforms.

The research group has published seven volumes at the time of writing, some of which have already been printed in multiple editions.³² By the end of 2019, the first monograph of the project came out as well, that of Tamás Révész about the military policies of the Hungarian state in 1918–19.³³ Other works are currently at different stages of the editorial process and are expected to come out in 2020. These volumes include a contribution about Romanian, Serb, and US preparations for the peace treaty with Hungary and a collective volume based on the papers that were presented at our November 2018 conference on refugee issues. Moreover, another collective volume is going to be published soon with a prestigious British publisher, investigating the links between the Trianon peace treaty and geography.

In the course of such a long-term research project, it is to be expected that new initiatives will arise along the way that will be worth including. In our case, these new inspirations may comprise monographs, exhibition scenarios, the development of new city walking tours, or a movie idea. Based on these initiatives, three other books have already been published in cooperation with our research group,³⁴ as well as another volume of popular history, aiming to summarize the research work accomplished, focusing on social and cultural history and microhistory.³⁵ Furthermore, the members of our research group have published about thirty articles and book chapters in Hungarian and international outlets, including *Történelmi Szemle*, *Századok*, and international journals,³⁶ while they have also presented at more than forty conferences in Hungary and abroad. They have published about forty popular history contributions, and given presentations directed at general audiences across Hungary and beyond (seventy to eighty events altogether); the total audience at these events amounted to several thousand. From among the conferences that Trianon 100 itself has

organized, the one entitled *Hullóidő* (Falling time), concerning Szekler identity, stands out. This conference was co-organized with the HAS Centre of Social Sciences, Institute for Minority Studies, and took place in Budapest, on May 25, 2018. We consider our international conference *Úton* (On the road), focusing on issues of refugees, mobility and migration, similarly important. The event took place in Budapest on November 9–10, 2018, with Peter Gatrell (University of Manchester), a well-known authority on refugee history, giving the keynote speech. We are proud of the workshop that we organized together with Romanian, Slovak, and Serb historians in September 2018, as well as an internal workshop in Vienna in collaboration with the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute in December 2018. Meanwhile, the research group builds and shares databases on our website. We published a map-based database of Trianon memorials across the Carpathian Basin (<http://trianon100.hu/emlekmuvek>) that will ultimately contain the descriptions and exact locations of about 350 monuments in the region. We also granted public access to our database of Trianon refugees (<http://trianon100.hu/menekultek>) in May 2019; it was visited by close to fifty thousand users in the first three days after launching. The database contains over fifteen thousand names, and its apparent success illustrates how this initiative is one of the many ways through which historical scholarship can enable the understanding of the past.

Should all our plans come to fruition, our research group's final output will consist of twelve to fourteen volumes, dozens of professional and popular articles, presentations, and conferences by 2021. These results should enable us to present Hungarian society with fresh and valid knowledge that establishes a framework for thinking and learning about Trianon for decades to come. On the other hand, we strive for an “about-face” that is long overdue in our historical scholarship. While research into political and diplomatic history remains important, we wish to give a larger role to social and cultural history as well as to the history of mentalities. We also provide a broader, regional comparative perspective, in order to have a more complex understanding of what happened to Hungary between 1918–24.

Translated from the Hungarian by Réka Krimanics

NOTES

1. Francis Deák and Dezső Újváry, eds., *Papers and Documents Relating to the Foreign Relations of Hungary*, 2 vols. (Budapest: Royal Hungarian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1939–41).
2. Jenő Cholnoky, ed., *A magyar béketárgyalások: Jelentés a magyar békeküldöttség működéséről Neuilly s/S.-ben 1920 januárius–március havában* [The Hungarian peace negotiations: A report on the activities of the Hungarian peace delegation in Neuilly s/S in January–March 1920], 4 vols. (Budapest: M. kir. tudományegyetemi nyomda, 1920–21).
3. Especially László Buday, *Magyarország küzdelmes évei* [Hungary's years of struggle] (Budapest: self-published, 1923).
4. Jenő Horváth, *A trianoni békeszerződés megalkotása és a revízió útja* [The making of the Trianon peace treaty and the road to revision] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1939).
5. Gusztáv Gratz, *Forradalmak kora. Magyarország története 1918–1920* [The age of revolutions: The history of Hungary, 1918–20] (Budapest: Magyar Szemle Társaság, 1935).
6. Zsuzsa L. Nagy, *A párizsi békekonferencia és Magyarország 1918–1919* [The Paris Peace Conference and Hungary, 1918–19] (Budapest: Kossuth, 1965).
7. Mária Ormos, *Padovától Trianonig 1918–1920* (Budapest: Kossuth, 1983); published in English as *From Padua to the Trianon, 1918–1920*, trans. Miklós Uszkay (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1990).
8. Géza Jeszenszky, *Az elveszett presztízs. Magyarország megítélésének megváltozása Nagy-Britanniában (1894–1918)* [Lost prestige: The transformation of the estimation of Hungary in Great Britain, 1894–1918] (Budapest: Magvető, 1986).
9. Lajos Arday, *Térkép csata után. Magyarország a brit külpolitikában 1918–1919* [Map after battle: Hungary in British foreign policy, 1918–19] (Budapest: Magvető, 1990).
10. Ernő Raffay, *Erdély 1918–1919-ben* [Transylvania in 1918–1919] (Budapest: Magvető, 1987).
11. Magda Ádám, György Litván, and Mária Ormos, eds., *Documents diplomatiques français sur l'histoire du bassin des Carpates 1918–1932* [French diplomatic documents on the history of the Carpathian Basin, 1918–32], 5 vols. (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1993–2010); Magda Ádám and Mária Ormos, eds., *Francia diplomáciai iratok a Kárpát-medence történetéről*, 5 vols., trans. József Barabás (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1999–2013).
12. Miklós Lojkó, *British Policy on Hungary 1918–1919: A Documentary Sourcebook*, SSEES Occasional Papers 28 (London: School of Slavonic

- and East European Studies, 1995); *Meddling in Middle Europe: Britain and the "Lands Between" 1919–1925* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2005).
13. Ignác Romsics, *A trianoni békeszerződés* [The Trianon peace treaty] (Budapest: Osiris, 2001).
 14. Miklós Zeidler, *A revíziós gondola* [The revisionist idea] (Budapest: Osiris, 2001); published in English as *Ideas on Territorial Revision in Hungary, 1920–1945*, trans. Thomas J. DeKornfeld and Helen Dilworth DeKornfeld (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 2008).
 15. Miklós Zeidler, ed., *Trianon* (Budapest: Osiris, 2003).
 16. György Litván, *Trianon felé. A győztes nagyhatalmak tárgyalásai Magyarországról* [Towards Trianon: The victorious powers' negotiations about Hungary] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi intézete, 1998).
 17. Balázs Ablonczy, *Trianon-legendák* [Trianon legends] (Budapest: Jaffa, 2010).
 18. Géza Boros, "Trianon köztéri revíziója, 1990–2003" [The revision of Trianon in public spaces, 1990–2003], *Mozgó Világ* 29, no. 2 (2003): 3–22.
 19. Éva Kovács, "Trianon, avagy 'traumatikus fordulat' a magyar történetírásban" [Trianon, or the "Traumatic Turn" in Hungarian historiography], *Korall* no. 59 (2015): 82–107.
 20. Lajos Pallós, "Területvédő propaganda Magyarországon" [Propaganda in defense of territory in Hungary] 1918–1920, I–II. *Folia Historica* 24 (2005/06): 33–95, 26 (2008/09): 37–75.
 21. Gergely Romsics, "Trianon a Házban. A Trianon fogalom megjelenése és funkciói a pártok diskurzusaiban az első három parlamenti ciklus idején (1990–2002)" [Trianon in the House: The appearance and functions of the concept of Trianon in party discourses during the period of the first three parliamentary cycles (1990–2002)], in *Az emlékezet konstrukciói. Példák a 19–20. századi magyar és közép-európai történelemből* [The constructions of memory: Examples from nineteenth- and twentieth-century Hungarian and Central European history], ed. Gábor Czoch and Csilla Fedinec (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2006), 35–52.
 22. Space limitations do not allow me to list all the relevant works here, but I consider the works of Nándor Bárdi and László Szarka essential in providing a history of Hungarian minorities, first and foremost their collaborative synthesis, Nándor Bárdi and Csilla Fedinec, eds., *Minority Hungarian Communities in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), and Bárdi's own volume, Nándor Bárdi, *Az otthon és a haza. Tanulmányok a romániai magyar kisebbség történetéről* [The

- home and the homeland: Studies on the history of the Hungarian minority in Romania] (Jyväskylä, Finland: University of Jyväskylä, Faculty of Humanities, Department of Art and Culture Studies, Hungarian Studies, 2013).
23. From among the works of émigré scholars, beyond the regularly cited works of Oszkár Jászi, we should mention Lajos Hatvany's book *Das verwundete Land* [The wounded land] (Leipzig: E. P. Tal und Co., 1921), a work that has never been translated into Hungarian.
 24. C. A. Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors: The Treaty of Trianon and Its Consequences 1919–1937* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937).
 25. Francis Deák, *Hungary at the Paris Peace Conference: The Diplomatic History of the Treaty of Trianon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942).
 26. John C. Swanson, *The Remnants of the Habsburg Monarchy: The Shaping of Modern Austria and Hungary, 1918–1922*, East European Monographs 568 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).
 27. Mark Cornwall, *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary: The Battle for Hearts and Minds* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).
 28. Béla K. Király, Peter Pastor, and Ivan Sanders, *Essays on World War I: Total War and Peacemaking, A Case Study on Trianon* (New York: Social Science Monographs, Brooklyn College Press, 1982).
 29. Marián Hronský, *Trianon: vznik hraníc Slovenska a problémy jeho bezpečnosti, 1918–1920* [Trianon: The establishment of Slovakia's borders and problems of its security, 1918–20] (Bratislava: Veda, 2011).
 30. Istvan I. Mócsy, *The Effects of World War I. The Uprooted: Hungarian Refugees and Their Impact on Hungary's Domestic Politics, 1918–1921*, East European Monographs 157 (New York: Social Science Monographs, Brooklyn College Press, 1983).
 31. *Rubicon* 28, no. 7–8 (2017).
 32. Miklós Zeidler, *A magyar békeküldöttség naplója – Neuilly – Versailles – Budapest (1920)* [The diaries of the Hungarian peace delegation: Neuilly, Versailles, Budapest (1920)] (Budapest: MTA BTK, 2017); Balázs Juhász, ed., *Trianon és az olasz diplomácia – Dokumentumok a békeszerződés előkészítéséről 1919-1920* [Trianon and Italian diplomacy: Documents about the preparations of the peace treaty, 1919–20] (Budapest: MTA BTK, 2018); Zsombor Bódy, ed., *Háborúból békébe: a magyar társadalom 1918 után* [From war to peace: Hungarian society after 1918] (Budapest: MTA BTK, 2018); Attila Simon, ed., *Csehszlovák iratok a magyar-szlovák államhatár kijelöléséhez (1918-1920)* [Czechoslovak files relating to the demarcation of the Hungarian-Slovak borders, 1918–20]. (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2019).

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36. Some of these are available on our website, <http://trianon100.hu/publikaciok>.