

LEVÉLTÁRI KÖZLEMÉNYEK

Kilencvenötödik évfolyam

EURÓPA ÉS A HABSBURGOK



mnl

MAGYAR NEMZETI
LEVÉLTÁR

LEVÉLTÁRI KÖZLEMÉNYEK

KILENCVENÖTÖDIK ÉVFOLYAM
2024



Budapest, 2025

LEVÉLTÁRI KÖZLEMÉNYEK

Archival Publications Revue
des Archives

A Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára
Közleményei

Journal of the National Archives of Hungary
Revue des Archives Nationales de Hongrie

Kilencvenötödik évfolyam

Főszerkesztő
Szabó Csaba

Szerkesztőség
Fiziker Róbert (felelős szerkesztő),
Kovács Szabolcs, Kulcsár Krisztina, Miklós Dániel

Szerkesztőbizottság
Czetz Balázs, Mikó Zsuzsanna,
Németh László Sándor, Ö. Kovács József, Rácz György

Székhely (postacím):
1014 Budapest, Bécsi kapu tér 2–4.
(1250 Budapest, Pf. 3.)

mnl.gov.hu/mnl/ol/leveltari_kozlemenyek
Email: lk@mnl.gov.hu

A borítóképhez felhasznált fotó:
Ferenc József Habsburg Ottóval, családi fotó (1915. k.)
HU-MNL-OL-P 240-1.-a-681.

HU ISSN 0024–1512
A kiadásért felel a Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár főigazgatója
A borítót tervezte: Nagy Attila
Műszaki szerkesztő: Máté István
Nyomdai kivitelezés: OOK-Press Kft., Veszprém
Felelős vezető: Szathmáry Attila
Megjelent 20,5 (B/5) ív terjedelemben

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Europe and the Habsburgs

Ákos Kárbín: The political games of Francis Joseph in the early 20th century. Or how the head of state played politics?	9
Ádám Suslik: The protection of the Habsburg royal family and the assassination plots against them between 1884 and 1915	31
Richárd Paulusz: On the history of the 1921 Stockholm conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union	45
Dániel Miklós: Otto Habsburg and the progressive Hungarian emigration	67
Bence Kocsev: Politics as a vocation. Otto von Habsburg in the service of European integration	85

Archival studies

Mónika Lökkös: Study tour at the North Rhine-Westphalia Archives	107
Laura Sajben-Csonka: Teacher training courses at the Hungarian National Archives	117
Zoltán Szatucsek – Zsolt Záros – István Hegedűs: The repatriation (of the records) of prisoners and internees of World War II	125
Adrienn Závoczki: Report on the research trip carried out under the Klebelsberg Kuno Scholarship Program	135
Gert Schneider: Time to act (Translated by Attila András Szabó)	143

Workshop

András Molnár: Archivists of Zala County 1790–1890	161
György Fuchs: „Communist” assassination plan in the autumn of 1932 against governor Miklós Horthy and István Bethlen	189
István Hegedűs: Land division on the horizon. Comparative analysis of monthly reports of the county land offices (1945–1946)	215
Balázs Wencz: Contributions to the history of the Hungarian–GDR Labor Agreement, 1967–1983	233
Ádám Somorjay OSB: Prince-Primate Mindszenty in the defense of the Hungarians in Czechoslovakia. Part II. Based on the archives of the British Foreign Office, 1945–1948	247

Book reviews

Balázs Viktor Rác: Royal biographies and what lies behind them... (Oborni Teréz: Erdély fejedelmei. Budapest–Kolozsvár, 2023)	275
Ágnes Ordasi: A neighboring political stage and battlefield (Varga Szabolcs – Sokcsevits Dénes: A horvát szábor története. Budapest, 2022)	278

Veronika Keresztes: Sources of the Diocese of Nitra (Codex Diplomaticus Episcopatus Nitriensis. Tomus I. Eds.: Richard Marsina – Jozef Meliš. Nitriae, 2021)	282
Csaba Szabó: Made of stone and soul (Premontreiek 100 éve Gödöllőn. Rend- és iskolatörténeti tanulmányok. Szerk.: Czeglédy Noémi és Kara Anna. Gödöllő, 2024)	288
Csaba Katona: Hungary, April–December 1945 (A szovjet elhárítás hálójában. A Szövetséges Ellenőrző Bizottság ismeretlen dokumentumai. Szerk.: Baráth Magdolna. Budapest–Pécs, 2024)	298
András Schlett: Deep drilling in the backyard of the Green Ring (Az agrárium útkeresése Közép-Európában a két világháború között. Szerk.: Estók János. Budapest, 2024)	300
Péter Dominkovits: New results from domestic Roma research (Cigánysors. A cigányság történeti múltja és jelene. V. kötet. Szerk.: Márfi Attila. Budapest–Pécs, Eisenstadt, 2024)	302
Editorial afterword to the next hundred years	307
Pro Archivo	309
In memoriam	313
Abstracts of the papers	317

ANGOL NYELVŰ ÖSSZEFOGLALÓK ENGLISH ABSTRACTS OF THE PAPERS

GYÖRGY FUCHS

“COMMUNIST” ASSASSINATION PLAN IN THE AUTUMN OF 1932 AGAINST GOVERNOR MIKLÓS HORTHY AND ISTVÁN BETHLEN

The topic of my study is the presentation of an assassination attempt planned by communists against Governor Miklós Horthy and Prime Minister István Bethlen in the autumn of 1932, which, however, seems more like a fabrication of the gendarmerie than a communist-internationalist conspiracy. The aim of the gendarmerie in this case was most likely to increase the weight and prestige of the political investigation department established at that time within the gendarmerie, in contrast to the political investigation subdivision of the Budapest Police Headquarters, which until then had been considered a rival and had national competence in political investigative matters. The Novi Saxon gendarmes, “blessed” with a rich imagination in both conspiracy and interrogations to shame medieval executioners, as well as detectives from the gendarmerie, turned a simple family quarrel into a European-scale conspiracy. The “conspiracy” involved not only the remaining members of the former Jászberény Directory – Jenő Wittreich, István Toughs, Géza Zigholcz – but also those who were expelled to the Soviet Union – Sándor Vitéz, Gábor Paczauer, Henrik Gárdos – who “brought” the threads of the conspiracy from Paris through Vienna and Budapest to Moscow, so to speak. Naturally, the MSZDP, which was beginning to organize again in the countryside at that time, could not be left out of the case. In my study, I present the whole course of the case, from the investigation by the gendarmes and investigating magistrates to the compensation procedure of the suspects, and I also try to present the further fate of the accused.

**LAND DIVISION ON THE HORIZON.
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MONTHLY REPORTS
OF THE COUNTY LAND OFFICES (1945–1946)**

The purpose of my study, in addition to providing a more detailed view and new perspectives on land distribution, is to present the activities of the county land offices during 1945 about land distribution and to correct the data on land distribution. The land offices were in direct contact with the land settlement committees of the villages, but their work has not been discussed in detail yet. Statistics and literature from the period of state socialism, and the works that still refer to them, show that the figures for the events that fundamentally reorganized land ownership in the period 1945–1947 often do not correspond to the official reports of the land offices.

In the historical assessment of land distribution before 1990, there are hints from the very beginning that the series of events in 1945 and 1946, in the land settlement, was the prelude, perhaps even the first step, of the subsequent Sovietization. In the literature, this question has become much more nuanced and precisely delineated since the publication of the results of the MTA BTK – NEB Rural History Research Group.

THE POLITICAL GAMES OF FRANCIS JOSEPH IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY OR HOW THE HEAD OF STATE PLAYED POLITICS?

In this study, I have tried to present three selected cases from the parliamentary history of the Monarchy after the turn of the century, in which the intervention of Francis Joseph in everyday politics is very evident. At the same time, we can see that as the head of state has aged, he has adapted to everyday processes and adapted to them in an appropriate way. How much did the political routine of the head of state, born in August 1830 and enthroned in December 1848 – 51 years in Austrian terms, 33 years in Hungarian terms – serve him in the years after 1900? He was the first man of the state, who was, in a sense, the initiator and the terminator of certain processes. A very active head of state, who has intervened in constitutional and parliamentary relations.

In addition to his room for manoeuvre, which depended on the monarch, the common foreign minister's personal and political character, virtuosity, combinatorial ability and, above all, creativity were decisive factors for the foreign and security policy of the entire Monarchy. The Head of State was aware of this. Alois Lexa von Aehrenthal's predecessors – Gustav von Kálnoky, as well as Agenor Gołuchowski – were essentially overthrown by the Hungarians, because of their interference in Hungarian internal affairs. The Hungarian Prime Minister, Dezső Bánffy was responsible for Kálnoky's displacement, and, in case of Gołuchowski the delegations were. Given these backgrounds, it is not surprising that when Aehrenthal was appointed, Francis Joseph acted with caution, and Aehrenthal himself sought the support of the Hungarian government. The Hungarian connection provided by the marriage of Aehrenthal was demonstrably important to Francis Joseph.

The ruler was actively political, not reluctant to make decisions and to stand by them consistently. The emperor took a serious step, when he appointed Ernest von Koerber as Austrian Prime Minister. After his downfall at the end of 1904, Paul von Gautsch, who had been more in favour, was again given the opportunity to form a government, and not for the last time. However, following an assassination attempt on the Austrian Prime Minister, Karl Stürgkh, Koerber became Prime Minister again, and he was appointed by Francis Joseph.

In his decisions, the head of state has acted – in most cases – in accordance with the Constitution, or at least in agreement with the customary law. There are some among his decisions, which are, as head of state, questionable ones, for example the decision to leave István Tisza Hungarian Prime Minister in office, and the events after that, followed by a constitutional crisis, what clearly places responsibility on the king.

POLITICS AS A VOCATION

Otto von Habsburg in the service of European Integration

Although Otto von Habsburg had been politically active since his youth and, from the 1950s, played a significant part in shaping various conservative, Christian Democratic, and explicitly anti-communist networks, his formal political career began only in 1979. That year, he was elected to the European Parliament on the list of the Bavarian Christian Social Union (CSU). Over the course of his two decades in the European Parliament, he drew on his political instincts, diverse experience, and wide-ranging network to support the project of European integration, emerging as a prominent figure in its institutional and intellectual development.

The political and social environment that shaped Otto von Habsburg's thinking is particularly significant. Despite the complexity of his international background, his European activities have predominantly been examined through the frameworks of national historiographies. This perspective has frequently obscured the fact that a comprehensive understanding of his work requires situating it within the transnational context of interconnected political and social forces.

This study seeks – with its limited scope – to situate Otto von Habsburg's oeuvre within the broader political context of the late 20th century and will draw on sources from the Historical Archives of the European Union (Florence), the archives of the Hanns Seidel Foundation (Munich), and the collection of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation (Budapest). Using these materials, the objective is to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of his political profile and influence on public life, thereby providing a clearer delineation of his role in shaping the trajectory of European politics during the many “critical junctures” of integration.

DANIEL MIKLÓS

OTTO VON HABSBURG AND THE PROGRESSIVE HUNGARIAN EMIGRATION

During the Second World War, Otto von Habsburg was extensively active in his exile. He made efforts to restore independence of Austria, to bring Hungary to the Allies side and to create a future Central European federation. One of the main opponents of his activities was the Czechoslovak government in exile, based in London. In the United States, where the Archduke was active, both Czechoslovak propaganda and the pro-Czechoslovak Hungarian émigré groups sought to counteract Otto von Habsburg's activities. These Hungarian émigrés, whose intellectual leader was Mihály Károlyi, tried to convince their readers in their own press that the Archduke's views were wrong. The aim of this paper is to provide a brief insight into these articles and to use them to show the approaches and arguments used to try to discredit and make impossible the work of Otto von Habsburg in the United States.

ARCHIVISTS OF ZALA COUNTY 1790–1890

The archives of Hungary's noble counties were formed from the records and document collections of officials, primarily notaries. In the 17th-century Zala County, notaries were also the guardians of the archives, managing the documents and ensuring their proper storage. The initially itinerant archive was moved to a permanent storage location after the county seat was built in Zalaegerszeg in 1732. In 18th-century Zala, notaries were primarily responsible for the archives, but practical tasks related to the documents were partly carried out by clerks assigned to them or by other county officials, who, until the end of the 1780s, performed their official duties on a "part-time basis" and occasionally judges of the County High Court were also entrusted with certain tasks.

From 1790, Zala County had its own "archivarius," appointed by the lord lieutenant. Since the last three archivists in office from 1891 to 1950, when the county archives were nationalized (Márton Fitos, József Fára, and Béla Szabó) have already been studied in detail, this paper looks at the lesser-known or almost unknown careers and archival activities of the eight people who held this position until 1890.

The first archivist of Zala County was Péter Deák in 1790–1791, followed by József Domján from 1791 to 1794. Farkas Hány is considered the most prominent archivist of Zala County, having held this position for the longest period, from 1794 to 1850. Basically, it was the outcome of Hány's work that the county's pre-1849 archives were organized in a way that still exists today, and it is mainly thanks to him and his colleagues that these documents are relatively easy to research. Hány's successor in 1850 was Ferenc Könczöl, but he died in 1854. In 1861, Balázs Kerkapoly became the archivist of the archives operating in the old county hall, followed by Ágoston Hány from 1862 to 1865, Károly Paar from 1865 to 1874, and finally Károly Hanty from 1874 to 1891.

RICHÁRD PAULUSZ

ON THE HISTORY OF THE 1921 STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE OF THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION

Within the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), established in 1889 with Hungarian participation, the parliament of the Dualist Hungarian state was represented as a distinct entity. Regarding the projected Third Hague Peace Conference, in June 1914 the Hungarian group reported that, at a meeting of the delegations, the Joint Foreign Minister had given a favorable response to the prospect of Hungarian participation. The first post–Great War conference of the IPU was held in 1921. The Hungarian group, however, failed to avail itself of the opportunity to participate, despite Belgian and French pressure. From this period date the French-language letters – here reproduced in full – of Secretary Arisztid Dessewffy, President Albert Berzeviczy, and the Norwegian Secretary-General Christian Lous Lange, all affirming their support for the continuation of the organization. These documents are preserved in the IPU archives at Le Grand-Saconnex, Switzerland. At the Stockholm conference, the Secretary-General presented his report on the Union’s wartime activities.

In June–July 1914, to secure the return of the Italian group, the IPU Council resolved to abstain from any pronouncement concerning conflicts between governments. On 1 August 1914, Lord Weardale (Philip Stanhope), President of the Council, together with Secretary-General Christian Lous Lange, addressed an anti-war telegram to the national groups, while Lange also wrote directly to the Danish, Norwegian, and Dutch foreign ministers.

According to Berzeviczy’s memoirs, Lange, during his visit to Budapest in April 1915, expressed sympathies for the Entente. Nevertheless, Berzeviczy regarded him as a potential mediator, encouraging him to approach the three Scandinavian monarchs with a view to convening a peace conference. In July 1915, Prime Minister István Tisza received the plan with “serious goodwill”, though he recommended consultation with the Foreign Minister, referring to the recent failure of Danish mediation in St. Petersburg, which had collapsed owing to German indiscretion. In September, Foreign Minister István Burián—who would later, in 1916, oversee the Central Powers’ peace proposal—rejected the initiative, arguing that it might embolden the Entente. In September 1918, however, he addressed an appeal to an unnamed neutral state. Earlier that summer, in June 1918, Vilmos Fraknói, the Austrian Heinrich Lammasch, and the German Ludwig Quidde had jointly submitted a peace plan to the IPU.

ÁDÁM SOMORJAY OSB

**PRINCE PRIMATE MINDSZENTY IN DEFENCE
OF HUNGARIANS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA 1945–1948**

Part II.

Based on the archives of the British Foreign Office

Prince Primate József Mindszenty, Archbishop of Esztergom, paid special attention to the fate of the territories north of the Danube. This was the greater part of his own diocese, the majority of which was inhabited by Hungarians, and which reverted to the Archdiocese of Esztergom between 1938 and 1945, following the decision of the Holy See after the First Vienna Award. Months after the end of the Second World War, but more than a year before the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty on 10 February 1947, in October 1945, this territory, which had been de facto re-occupied by Czechoslovakia, was again separated from the Archdiocese of Esztergom.

The study, which includes and processes documents from the British Foreign Office, is the second part of the publication of the same title, published in the 2021 issue of *Levéltári Közlemények*. It is worth returning to the question, as within the material of the British Foreign Office we have identified a substantial number of documents. In this second publication, therefore, our objective is to provide an account of the Mindszenty-related communications (letters, telegrams, memoranda) located in the British diplomatic reports.

THE PROTECTION OF THE HABSBURG ROYAL FAMILY AND THE ASSASSINATION PLOTS AGAINST THEM BETWEEN 1884 AND 1915

The protection of the ruling family during their travels or longer stays in Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary required special preparations, which could take several months for the relevant authorities to complete. The direct protection of the family was always provided by detectives from the internal affairs authorities, while the gendarmerie secured the routes with full deployment, which consumed large sums from the ministry's budget.

The vast majority of threats preserved in the archives of the Ministry of the Interior are baseless, anonymous drafts. The Ministry of the Interior took these cases out of the jurisdiction of the police or gendarmerie and conducted the investigation if the warning was issued on higher orders (by the Imperial and Royal Ministry of War). During the investigation, the Imperial and Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Interior Ministry of Cisleithania, and the Vienna Police Headquarters had to be notified in all cases. In such cases, relations between the two countries were maintained by a gendarmerie captain sent from Austria, who established close working relationships with representatives of the administrative bodies, primarily in connection with railway security and reception ceremonies at railway stations. Except for Franz Ferdinand, the imperial family never refused to participate in the latter.

In this paper, I aim to show what kind of security measures were in effect between 1881 and 1914, as well as the investigations that took place in the event of threats. However, we can learn about the motives and goals of the would-be assassins and the possible outcomes of their plans, knowing that in such cases of attempted murder, the perpetrator was to be sentenced to death. In order to avoid this, in many cases the threatening person was declared mentally ill and his family was punished with confiscation of property.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE HUNGARIAN–GDR LABOR AGREEMENT

On 26 May 1967, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) concluded the “Agreement between the German Democratic Republic and the Hungarian People’s Republic on the Temporary Employment of Young Hungarian Workers in the Socialist Enterprises of the German Democratic Republic for the Purpose of Gaining Professional Practical Experience”. Within the framework of this agreement, several thousand young Hungarians worked and lived in the GDR until 1983.

Perhaps less widely known is the fact that numerous young East Germans were employed in Hungarian factories; however, their numbers were negligible compared to the Hungarian workers in East Germany. In this study, I not only provide an overview of the 1967 agreement but also examine the outcomes of the labor exchange and the challenges that arose during this bilateral cooperation.