



FRAKNÓI EMLÉKKÖNYV

Fraknói Vilmos (1843–1924) püspök, történész
a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia főtitkárának emlékezete

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Remembrance of Vilmos Fraknói (1843–1924)
Bishop, Historian, Secretary-General of the
Hungarian Academy of Sciences

On the 100th Anniversary of his Decease
edited by
PÉTER TUSOR & VIKTOR KANÁSZ



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Halálának 100. évfordulóján

szerkesztette

TUSOR PÉTER & KANÁSZ VIKTOR



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A PÁLYA VÉGÉN Fraknói Vilmos utolsó hónapjai, temetése és korai emlékezete

„Újabbkori történetírásunk erős úttörőt nyert benne, éles-
szemű kutatót, aki nagy nemzeti problémáinkból merített,
hogyan okulásra hasson és tanítson. Történetírói munkásságát so-
hasem állította jelszavak vagy pártérdekek szolgálatába, sohasem
hódolt oly irányzatoknak, melyek a korszerű távlatok ellenére
sem képesek szabadulni az egyoldalú pártoskodás szellemétől...
Fraknói Vilmos mindezekkel az igazságokkal tisztában volt, a
múltidézésben éles szemmel látott, nem takargatva, tömjénezve
ott sem, ahol a nemzeti hiúság életrekeltésével mindig könnyű
olcsó sikert aratni.”¹

Fraknói Vilmos idős korára országsszerte elismert, híres személy lett. Nyi-
latkozatai, tudományos munkái jelentős közérdeklődésre tartottak számot. Az
iránta megnyilvánuló figyelem élete utolsó hónapjaiban csak fokozódott, em-
lékét pedig a halála utáni években is ápolták.

I. AZ UTOLSÓ HÓNAPOK

Fraknói Vilmos 1923-ban ünnepelte 80. születésnapját. A nagyhírű tudóst
ez alkalomból Horthy Miklós kormányzó és² a kultuszminiszter is üdvözöl-

¹HORÁNSZKY LAJOS, *Gróf Batthyány Lajos tragédiája*, A Kisfaludy-Társaság Évkönyve 57 (1924-
1928) 187–204, 187–188.

²„A Magyar Távirati Iroda jelenti: Fraknói Vilmos püspököt Gellért-szállói lakásán ma dél-
ben felkereste Flandorff Róbert kabinetirodai osztálytanácsos és átadta a püspöknek Horthy
Miklós kormányzó következő üdvözlő levelét: – Kedves Doktor Fraknói püspök! Önzetlen, ha-
zafias tevékenységben oly gazdag élete folyamán elérkezett a Mindenható különös kegyelmé-
ből születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójához. Ez alkalomból teljes elismeréssel emlékezem meg
hazánk kultúrájának emelése körül kifejtett, a történetírás terén kimagasló munkálkodásával,
a történelmi kutatást, támogató példás áldozatkészségével szerzett kiváló érdemeiről és szívből

te,³ Weigl Géza készített vele interjút a *Világ* című folyóiratban,⁴ valamint több korabeli sajtóorgánium is megemlékezett róla:

„Fraknói Vilmos nyolcvan éves. Budapestről jelentik: A magyar tudományos világ Fraknói Vilmost ünnepi: nyolcvanadik születése napja alkalmából, aki hatvan esztendőn keresztül gazdagította a magyar történetírást. A magyarországi humanizmus és reneszánsz korának egyik legélesebb eszű búvára volt. Corvin Mátyás mögé meg tudta festeni az egész korszak sokszínű hátterét. Mohács előzményeit talán senki sem tárta fel kérelhetetlenebbül, mint ő. Martinovicsról és társairól írott munkáját sok támadás érte, de a legújabbban magától Fraknóitól kibányászott ismeretlen okiratok nem támadóinak, hanem neki adtak igazat. A maga tudományos működésén kívül mindig önzetlen támogatója volt mások tevékenységének is. Ennek a törekvésnek állította szolgálatába összeköttetéseinek értékesítésével és anyagi erejének megfeszítésével a Római Magyar Történelmi Intézetet, amely sok fiatal magyar kutatónak tudományos otthona, sok értékes magyar történelmi munkának bölcsője lett.”⁵

A szép életkor feletti örömet azonban beárnyékolta a címzetes püspök egyre romló egészségi állapota. Súlyos bélrákot diagnosztizáltak nála, s emiatt 1923 tavaszán Bécsben megműtötték.⁶

Ezt követően hazaköltözött, de mivel nem volt a fővárosban lakása, egy ügyvéd ismerősénél lakott Zebegényben, majd a budapesti lakásukban kapott két szobát, s vállalták, hogy gondozni fogják az egyre betegesebb Fraknóit. Ebbéli reményeiben azonban csalatkoznia kellett, mert meglehetősen cudarul bántak vele, ezért 1924 májusában rokona, Szentgyörgyi Ignác segítségével a

kívánom, hogy továbbra is lankadatlan tetterővel élvezhesse munkás élete gyümölcseit. Horthy s. k.” Magyarország 30 (1923) 47. sz., 5.

³ „A magyar tudományos világ általánosan tisztelt neszтора, dr. Fraknói Vilmos püspök, most töltötte be nyolcvanadik esztendejét, s az alkalomból gróf Klebelsberg Kuno kultuszminiszter ma meleghangú üdvözlőiratot intézett hozzá. Méltatja benne Fraknói nagyjelentőségű tudományos működését, mely most is újabb munkákkal fogja gazdagítani a tudományt, s kiemeli a Római Magyar Történelmi Intézet megalapításával és tudományos célokra tett nagylelkű alapítványai-val szerzett érdemeit. Biztosíthatom Méltóságodat arról, – így fejezi be üdvözlő iratát – hogy az egész nemzet ismeri és hálásan méltányolja a tudománynak szentelt minden fáradozását és annak gazdag eredményeit. A Mindenható áldását kívánom további működésére.” Pesti Napló 74 (1923) 45. sz., 8.

⁴ Lásd e kötetben (*Függelék/II*): *Fraknói-dokumentáció*, 2. sz. Egy nappal korábban egy rövid cikkben emlékeztek meg a tudósról. Világ 14 (1923) 46. sz., 5.

⁵ Ellenzék 44 (1923) 50. sz., 5; lásd még: Pesti Napló 74 (1923) 46. sz., 5; Aradi Közlöny 38 (1923) 46. sz., 4.

⁶ Pesti Napló 75 (1924) 248. sz., 12. Lásd *Fraknói-dokumentáció*, 8.a sz. Egészségügyi állapotáról korábban is cikkezett már a sajtó, például Budapesti Hírlap 14 (1894) 51. sz., 10; Új Nemzedék 4 (1922) 278. sz., 6.

pesti Park-szanatóriumba vitték. Mindeközben az Akadémia saját bérházában szerzett neki egy háromszobás lakást, azonban korábbi főbérője egy szerződést íratott alá, melyben Fraknói hozzájárult, hogy a neki kiutalt lakást az ügyvéd rokonaival együtt vegye birtokba, cserébe a gondozásáért. A kisgyermekes család be is költözött a lakásba, az idős tudós gondozását azonban nem vállalták, így Fraknói lakhely nélkül maradt. A helyzet tarthatatlansága következtében Fraknóit rokona, Kestranek Vilmos,⁷ az Angol-Osztrák Bank bécsi vezérigazgatója vezetésével gondnokság alá kívánta a családja helyezni, valamint Bécsbe vitetni. Fraknói azonban szülőföldjén kívánt meghalni, így Budapesten maradt, s a budai Vöröskereszt-kórház II. pavilonjában helyezték el, ahol kitüntetett figyelem és gondoskodás közepette telhettek utolsó hónapjai.⁸ Sőt, ifjonti lendülettel dolgozott a Corvin-könyvtár feldolgozásán, az MTA történetének megírásán, valamint az Akadémiai Könyvtár igazgatói pozícióját is megpályázta, bár végül érezvén ereje végességét, jelentkezését visszavonta.

„A 82 éves tudós a következőket mondotta: – Értésülése helyes. Körülbelül fél évvel megelőzőleg a Corvinák történetének, valamint a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia történetének megírására vállalkoztam. Ez utóbbit aktuálissá az Akadémia jövő év novemberében elkövetkező centenáriuma teszi. Valamivel később konkrét formában felmerült a főkönyvtárosi jelöltségem is. Nagy örömmel és ambícióval készültem ezt a tisztséget betölteni, de közben egészségi állapotom annyira rosszra fordult, hogy kezelőorvosom tanácsára és saját belátásomra hallgatva kénytelen voltam írásban bejelenteni Berzeviczy őxelenciájának visszalépésemet. Lemondtam, átengedtem a teret nálam fiatalabbaknak, kiknek fizikuma is megbírja az állás terheit én elhatároztam, hogy végleg a Vöröskereszt lakója maradok, ahol a legnagyobb szeretettel, gondoskodással vesznek körül öreg napjaimra. Dolgozgatok csendes visszavonultságban. Az Akadémia története terjedelmes méretű munka lesz, és bár eddig csak a bevezetéssel tudtam elkészülni, reményem, hogy állandóan javuló egészségem megengedi idejére bevégezni ezt a megtisztelő feladatot.”⁹

⁷ Kestranek Vilmos Fraknói Karolina nevű testvérének fia, illetve a tudós keresztfia volt. DUFF HART-DAVIS, *László Fülöp élete és festészete*, Budapest 2019, 40. 45.

⁸ Lásd részletesen: *Fraknói-dokumentáció*, 3 sz.

⁹ Magyarország 31 (1924) 241. sz., 7. Vö. Pesti Napló 75 (1924) 6. sz., 4. A Corvinákkal kapcsolatos céljairól így nyilatkozott 1922-ben: „Ami engem illet, ennek a fölfedezésnek még egy másik fölfedezést is köszönhetek: a két tudósban, akik a Corvinák fölfedezésének dicsőségében testvériesen megosztóznak, komoly munkatársakra bukkantam és segítségükkel megvalósíthatom életem egyik fő célját: megírhatjuk a Corvin-kódexek történetét.” Uj Nemzedék 4 (1922) 159. sz., 5.

A visszalépés az akadémiai főkönyvtárosságtól azonban nem vette kedvét, s önéletrajzát is diktálni kezdte.¹⁰ Betegsége mindazonáltal rohamosan terjedt szervezetében, s állapota 1924 novemberére válságosra fordult. A sajtó élénk érdeklődéssel követte a püspök állapotát, rendszeresen készítettek vele, orvosaival és az őt ápoló nővérekkel interjúkat, amelyek sok különleges adatot nyújtanak Fraknói életéhez.

„...És egy barométer. Zichy Géza gróf ajándéka, öt héttel ezelőtt kapta meg és úgy tekintett rá, mint a legszebb ereklyére... A falon egyszerű nyírfa keretben egy Máriakép. Rafael utánzat. Alatta kedvenc íróasztala, kicsi és fehér. Rajta könyvek. Criterion című angol revü, akadémiai kiadványok. Jegyzetek... Melkbe szeretett volna utazni, ahol Európa legrégebbi monostora van... Cairóról szeretett beszélni leginkább az öregúr – mondja a kedves, fiatal doktor. – Cairóról, amelyet Zichy Géza gróffal együtt nézett meg.” – „Eljárt az Akadémiára is, ahol még a legkisebb rangú emberek is imádták. Folyton kutatott. Európának majd minden könyvtárát bejárta. Ez volt az élete. Mindig is mondta: – Én nem éltem, nem örültem, én mindig csak dolgoztam! – Hát akkor miért lett tudós – kérdezték –, mi lenne, ha még egyszer megszületne? – Történetíró!... Rómát mennyire szerette. Regényt soha, de soha nem olvasott, de mivel Rómáról olvasni akart, bizony gyakran elővette Erdős Renée *Santera bíboros*-át.”¹¹

November 10-én felvette az utolsó kenetet,¹² s meglátogatták családtagjai, Kollányi Ferenc,¹³ valamint kívánságának eleget téve barátja, Prohászka Ottokár is, azonban őt már nem ismerte fel a nagybeteg Fraknói.¹⁴ Utolsó napjaiban eszméletét veszítette, s végül november 20-án jobblétre szenderült.

¹⁰ „Reggel, amilyen korán csak tudott, felkelt és akkor elővette az ő tudományos könyveit és írt, írt, írt... Hiába volt minden beszéd, ő csak írt. Ez volt az öröme... Gárdonyinak «Az öreg tekintetes» című könyvét olvastunk sokszor. Hát, ha már ez megvan, írjuk meg «Az öreg méltóságos»-t is, mondotta neki és ő máris belekezdett a diktálásba. Életének legrégebbi időszakaira, a kispapságra, a gimnáziumi tanárságra, a gyermekkorára olyan bámulatraméltó pontossággal emlékezett vissza, hogy megcsodáltam. Az akadémiai korszaknál bizony már gyakrabban esett időbeli tévedésekbe.” *Az Ujság* 22 (1924) 246. sz., 7.

¹¹ Például *Az Ujság* 22 (1924) 246. sz., 7. Lásd még: *Nemzeti Ujság* 6 (1924) 245. sz., 13; *Az Ujság* 22 (1924) 246. sz., 1; 8 *Órai Ujság* 10 (1924) 246. sz., 2; 247. sz., 8; *Az Est* 15 (1924) 246. sz., 9.

¹² *Pesti Napló* 75 (1924) 245. sz., 11.

¹³ „Kollányi prépost naponta felkereste és imádkozott felgyógyulásáért.” *Magyarország* 31 (1924) 248. sz., 15.

¹⁴ Barátságukról: „Prohászka Ottokár székesfehérvári megyéspüspök volt akkor Fraknói Vilmos vendége. Tudni kell ugyanis, hogy Fraknói Vilmos nagyon szerette Prohászka püspököt, nagyra tartotta kiváló képzettségéért, és a köztük fönnálló politikai és világnézeti különbség dacára is többször kívánt vele hosszasan elbeszélgetni.” *LUSZTIG ELEMÉR, A pacifista püspök emlékezete*, *Reggeli Hírlap* 33 (1924) 269. sz., 8; *Pesti Hírlap* 46 (1924) 248. sz., 9.

2. A VÉGSŐ NYUGHELYEN

Fraknói halálhíre futótűzként terjedt a sajtóban, s hosszabb-rövidebb nekrológokban búcsúztatták az elhunytat.¹⁵ Lelki üdvéért november 27-én a budapesti Egyetemi-templomban tartottak gyászmisét, amelyet teljes papi segédlettel Székely István prelátuskanonok, egyetemi tanár, a Szent István Akadémia másodelnöke celebrált. A *Nemzeti Ujság* így tudósított erről:

„(Fraknói-rekviem.) A minap elhunyt kiváló történettudós lelki üdvéért csütörtökön délelőtt 10 órakor engesztelő szentmiseáldozat volt az Egyetemi templomban, amelyet a Szent István Akadémia, mondatott legnagyobb jótevőjéért. A gyászoló közönség sorában ott láttuk a Szent István Akadémia részéről Apponyi Albert gróf elnököt, Mihályfi Ákos osztályelnököt, Heiner főtitkárt, Kollányi Ferenc jáki apátot, Csekonics Endre grófot, Notter Antalt, azonkívül számos egyetemi professzort és akademikust. A szentély előtt felállított katafalkot a főpapi jelvények díszítették. A rekviemet Székely István prelátus pontifikálta növendékpapok segédletével, a papnövendékek énekára pedig Koudela kar-nagy vezetésével nagy rekviemet adott elő.”¹⁶

Fraknóit az MTA és a Szent István Társulat is saját halottjának tekintette, s gyászjelentésben tájékoztatták haláláról tagjaikat.¹⁷ A tudóst az Akadémia oszlopcarnokában ravatalozták fel, s Csánki Dezső, Székely István és Szász

¹⁵ Például Magyarország 31 (1924) 248. sz., 15; Reggeli Hírlap 33 (1924) 267. sz., 5; Nemzeti Ujság 6 (1924) 247. sz., 6; Az Ujság 22 (1924) 248. sz., 2; 8 Órai Ujság 10 (1924) 248. sz., 4; Aradi Közlöny 39 (1924) 252. sz., 2; Az Est 15 (1924) 248. sz., 13; Pesti Hírlap 46 (1924) 248. sz., 9. A hír külföldre, például Lengyelországban is megjelent: Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności 29 (1924) 9. sz., 1.

¹⁶ Nemzeti Ujság 6 (1924) 253. sz., 9. Vö. Magyar Jövő 6 (1924) 273. sz., 4.

¹⁷ „Fraknói Vilmos halála mély gyászba borította a Szent István Társulatot és a Szent István Akadémiát is, mert ennek a két intézménynek egyik nagy jótevője és tiszteletbeli tagja volt. A Szent István Társulat kitűzte a gyászlobogót, a koporsóra koszorút helyez. A Szent István Akadémia külön gyászjelentésben tudatja tagjaival részvétét. Az Akadémia pénteken tartott II. osztálybeli ülésén az elnöklő Timon Ákos egyetemi tanár, az ezután tartott együttes ülésén pedig Székely István másodelnök emlékeztek meg meleg szavakkal az elhunyt nagy tudósról.” Nemzeti Ujság 6 (1924) 248. sz., 9. Vö. Petőfi Irodalmi Múzeum, Kisnyomtatvány szakanyag, Any.72.316.

Károly mondott búcsúbeszédet.¹⁸ Innen a rokonság, Kollányi Ferenc, valamint a tisztelői kíséretében díszes lovaskocsi vitte a koporsóját a Kerepesi úti temetőbe.¹⁹ A november 22-iki temetési szertartást Prohászka Ottokár végezte. Mindez a *Nemzeti Ujság* részletes beszámolójában:

„Frankói Vilmos temetése. Ma délután három órakor a részvét impozáns megnyilvánulása mellett temették el Frankói Vilmos püspököt, a nagy történettudóst, akinek holttestét a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia oszlopos előcsarnokában helyezték ravatalra. Többek között koszorút helyezett a ravatalra: a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, a Szent István Akadémia, a Római Magyar Történelmi Intézet, a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum és mindazok a tudományos intézetek, amelyekben az elhunyt történettudós jelentős szerepet játszott. Pontban három órakor megkezdődött a temetési szertartás, amelyet Prohászka Ottokár székesfehérvári megyéspüspök, az elhunyt egyik legbizalmasabb barátja végzett fényes papi segédlettel. A szertartás végzésében Prohászka püspök mellett Kollányi Ferenc jáki apát és Kovács Kálmán lipótvárosi apátplébános segédkeztek. Az egyházi szertartást Prohászka püspök megható hangú imája és búcsúztató beszéde fejezte be. Utána a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, a Történelmi Társulat, a Heraldika Társulat és a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum nevében Csánki Dezső dr., az Akadémia történelmi osztályának elnöke mondott megható beszédet. Ezután Székely István dr. prelátus beszélt a Szent István Akadémia nevében, majd Szász Károly a Kisfaludy Társaság nevében mondta el megható búcsúztató beszédét. A temetési szertartás befejezése után a gyászmenet megindult a Kerepesi temető felé, ahol Frankói Vilmos püspököt a főváros által adományozott díszsírhelyen – közvetlenül Pasteiner Gyula sírja mellett – helyezték örök nyugalomra.”²⁰

Utolsó éveiben Frankói meglehetősen zilált pénzügyi viszonyok között élt, ennek ellenére hagyatéka jelentős értéket képviselt, különös tekintettel szel-

¹⁸ Szász beszéde megjelent: A Kisfaludy-Társaság Évlapjai 57 (1924–1928) 350. Lásd *Frankói-dokumentáció*, 9. sz.

¹⁹ Erről egy korabeli híradó is beszámolt: <https://filmbiradokonline.hu/watch.php?id=8134> (2024. 03. 11.). TÓTH VILMOS, „*Nemzeti nagylétiünk nagy temetője*”. *A Fiumei úti sírkert és a Salgótarjáni utcai zsidó temető adattára*, Budapest 2018, 307. A 45. parcellában található sírjának felirata: „Frankói Vilmos arbei püspök... nagyvárad kanonok... született 1847... meghalt 1924... A magyar történettudomány nagyérdemű fáradhatatlan művelője és áldozatkész mecénása”.

²⁰ *Nemzeti Ujság* 6 (1924) 249. sz., II. „A gyászszertartáson jelen voltak: Apponyi Albert gróf, Radnay c. érsek, Mészáros István érseki helynök, Wlassics Gyula báró, Hóman Bálint és még sokan.” *Az Ujság* 22 (1924) 250. sz., 6. Lásd még: *Pesti Napló* 75 (1924) 249. sz., 12; *Reggeli Hírlap* 33 (1924) 269. sz., 2; 8 *Órai Ujság* 10 (1924) 254. sz., 8.

lemi téren könyveire és leveleire.²¹ Bár nem mindenki tudta,²² de az idős tudós végrendeletet, valamint egy pótvégrendeletet is hagyott hátra maga után. Ebben – miután tiltakozott a szabadkőművességgel való gyanúba keverése ellen – általános örökösévé a Szent István Akadémiát jelölte meg. Ezen kívül a nagyváradi papnöveldeinek, a szentjobbi plébániának hagyott nagyobb összeget, levelezését, kézirateit, valamint okiratgyűjteményét a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum könyvtárának hagyta, a Római Magyar Történeti Intézetnek pedig a Rómában, Budapesten és Szentjobbon levő könyveit, valamint a római levéltárakban végzett munkálatok gyűjteményét adta. Végrendeletét sikeresen érvényesítették, s valorizálva fizették ki a benne szereplő összegeket.²³

3. AZ EMLÉKEZET ELSŐ ÉVTIZEDEI

A tudós püspök emléke halálát követően sem enyészett el. Bár sosem tanított egyetemen, a Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem bölcsészeti karának 1924. decemberi ülésén a dékán emlékezett meg róla,²⁴ s hasonlóan Budapest székes-

²¹ „Fraknoi püspök... vagyonát a Szent István Akadémiára hagyta, hogy az tetszése szerint használja föl az örökséget kulturális és nemzeti célokra. A leltározás rendjén azonban az derült ki, hogy az utolsó évek alatt a valamikor hatalmas Fraknoi vagyon teljesen megsemmisült... a szentjobbi apátsághoz tartozó birtokok Romániához kerültek s ugyancsak Románia területén van a püspök nyolc holdas szőlője, amelynek jövedelméből az utóbbi években nem folyt be semmi. Ehhez járult még hozzá, hogy a püspököt az utolsó években arra vette rá a környezete, hogy készpénz vagyonát kosztüizletekbe fektesse. Ezek az üzletek azonban rosszul ütöttek ki s a spekulációkban a püspök minden készpénze elúszott. Tényleges aktívuma a vagyonnak csupán két tétel. Egyik a püspök nagyértékű könyvtára, kéziratei és levelezése, a másik a Romániában lévő nyolc hold szőlő. Fraknoinak egyetlen kéziratea maradt, a Corvin-könyvtár ismertetése.” *Ellenzék* 45 (1924) 291. sz., 2. – Az állításokat érdemes kritikával szemlélni, a tényleges körülményeket további kutatás tárhatja majd fel. Vö. e kötetben, I/4 és I/7 is.

²² „Végrendelet – legalább az eddigi megállapítások szerint – nem maradt utána. 1912-ben ugyan kiállított az akkor betegeskedő tudós egy végrendeletszerű blankettát, de ebben nem jelölt ki néven senkit szellemi örökségének birtokosává. Ezt az írást most Szentgyörgyi Ignác őrzi. Valószínű tehát, hogy munkáinak kiadási joga és kézirateinak gyűjteménye egyetemlegesen családjának életben lévő tagjaira fog szállani.” *Az Ujság* 22 (1924) 248. sz., 2.

²³ *Az Est* 15 (1924) 251. sz., 6.

²⁴ „Elnöklő Dékán őszinte részvétellel emlékezik meg arról a nagy veszteségről, mely a magyar tudományos világot Fraknoi Vilmos elhunytával érte. Kiemeli Fraknoi Vilmos nagybecsű történeti munkásságát, a Római Történeti Intézet megalapítását, s főleg az egyetem alapítójáról, Pázmány Péterről írt nagyhatású életrajzát. Indítványozza, hogy a kar a magyar tudományos világot ért veszteség feletti részvételének az ülés jegyzőkönyvében adjon kifejezést.” A budapesti

főváros tanácsának ülésén Ripka Ferenc főpolgármester méltatta.²⁵ 1924 végén Angyal Dávid a *Magyar Bibliofil Szemle* hasábjain méltatta a tudóst,²⁶ majd a Katolikus írók és Hírlapírók Országos Pázmány Egyesülete 1925. május 19-én tartott gyűlést „az egyesület melegszívű barátjának, Fraknói Vilmosnak emlékére”.²⁷ Az esemény elnöki megnyitóját Prohászka Ottokár mondta, majd Áldásy Antal tartott emlékbeszédet. Áldásy beszédét a *Katolikus Szemle* közölte,²⁸ Prohászka beszédének azonban csak a vázlata maradt meg.²⁹ A következő években is folytatódott a megemlékezések: 1926-ban is Áldásy Antal mondott beszédet a Genealógiai Társaságnál,³⁰ valamint Horánszky Lajos emlékezett meg róla,³¹ 1927-ben pedig az MTA-ban Berzeviczy Albert tartott felolvasást Fraknóiról. Beszéde nyomtatásban is megjelent, s a tudós leghíresebb méltatása lett.³²

Mikor 1927-ben Klebelsberg Rómában járt, az *Istituto per l'Europa Orientale* másodelnöke, Gioacchino Volpe ünnepi beszédében megemlékezett Fraknói Vilmos és Berzeviczy Albert munkásságáról a magyar-olasz kultúrkapcsolatok kiépítése terén.³³ A következő évben Karinthy Frigyes is megemlékezett róla

kir. m. Pázmány Péter tudományegyetem bölcsészeti Karának 1924. évi december hó 10-én tartott II. rendes ülésről. ELTE Levéltára, 8.a.30. 40. o.

²⁵ „Összinté mély sajnálattal kell megemlékezni, tisztelt közgyűlést pótló tanács, Fraknói Vilmos püspökről, aki a múlt hó 19-én [...] elhunyt. A megboldogult a magyar múlt egyik legnagyobb tudósa volt, aki a magyar katolikus egyház hagyományokban gazdag, de tudományos fejlettségében a jelen színvonalon álló világnézetét vitte a történetírásba és ezzel méltóképp sorakozik a világ-irodalom legnagyobb katolikus történetírói mellé. Hitét és hazáját egyenlő lelkesedéssel szerette és tudományos munkálkodásával jelentősen gazdagította. Javasolom, hogy emlékét a mai ülés jegyzőkönyvében örökítsük meg és a Magyar Tudományos Akadémiához, amelynek az elhunyt főtájkára volt, intézzünk részvétiratot. (Helyeslés).” Fővárosi Közlöny 35 (1924) 41. sz., 1107.

²⁶ ANGAL, *Fraknói Vilmos*, 129–131.

²⁷ *Magyarság* 6 (1925) 13. sz., 11; 6 (1925) 108. sz., 11; *Nemzeti Ujság* 9 (1927) 105. sz., 11.

²⁸ ÁLDÁSY, *Fraknói... emlékezete*, 449–460.

²⁹ Székesfehérvári Püspöki Levéltár, IX.9. K, Töredékek, 1925. Ezúton köszönöm MÓZESSY GERGELY segítségét.

³⁰ ÁLDÁSY, *Fraknói Vilmos emlékezete*, 1–5.

³¹ HORÁNSZKY, *Gróf Batthyány Lajos tragédiája*, 187–188.

³² BERZEVICZY, *Fraknói... emlékezete*, 2. Az írás némileg rövidítve és átdolgozva 1928-ban franciául is megjelent. BERZEVICZY, *Guillaume Fraknói*, 139–165.

³³ *Pesti Napló* 78 (1927) 64. sz., 9; „Gioacchini [...] Volpe, országgyűlési képviselő, a másodelnök, maga is nagy tudós és kiváló hírvégyetemi történettanár... Berzeviczy Albert neve nagyrabecsült Olaszországban, éppen úgy, mint Fraknói Vilmos neve, akít mi már szinte olasznak is tekintünk, éppen a Vatikáni Könyvtárban folytatott nagyjelentőségű tudományos kutatásai révén.” *Pesti Napló* 78 (1927) 66. sz., 5.

egyik írásában,³⁴ majd Bánffy Miklós *Martinovics* c. drámája kapcsán került elő többször a neve, ugyanis az író sokat tanulmányozta Fraknói munkáját, s ez alapján rajzolta fel Martinovics – immár nem túl szimpatikus – alakját.³⁵

A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia elnöke, Berzeviczy Albert kezdeményezésére az MTA és a Szent István Akadémia elhatározta, hogy Fraknóinak méltó síremléket állítanak, melyhez a két intézmény megfelelő anyagi háttérrel is biztosított.³⁶ Az 1929-re elkészült síremlék Damkó József szobrászművész alkotása, aki még Rómában, életében mintázta meg Fraknóit.³⁷ A nagy érdeklődés övezte ünnepségen sok intézmény és egyesület képviseltette magát, s koszorúzta meg Fraknói síremlékét. Az emlékbeszédet a kezdeményező Berzeviczy Albert mondta.³⁸

A következő másfél évtizedben sem feledkeztek meg róla. A római Magyar Történeti Intézet és a lateráni bazilikában lévő magyar emlékmű, illetve a trianoni békediktátum körüli tárgyalások révén rendszeresen előkerült a neve,³⁹ a Szent István Akadémia évente kiosztotta a róla elnevezett díjat,⁴⁰ valamint több érdekes visszaemlékezés látott napvilágot. Többek közt Hodinka

³⁴ „Nem amit az iskolában tanultam róla. Néhány száraz, de megbízható adat, ha jól emlékszem, Fraknói püspök könyve egy szikár sötétszemű ferencrendi apátról, aki valami diplomáciai kiküldetésben Párizsban járt abban az időben és visszatért.” KARINTHY FRIGYES, *Naplóm*, Pesti Napló 79 (1928) 228. sz., 12.

³⁵ Pesti Napló 80 (1929) 17. sz., 10. „...hiányzik ez a különös, árulkodó redő, amely pár évtized óta – főképp Fraknói levéltári kutatásának publikációja nyomán – szinte démonikus árnyalásával mélyült... Kisbán Miklós ezt a Fraknói által markánsan megrajzolt figurát nagyjából változatlanul vitte a színpadra. Kivált ami a «jellemző» külsőségeket illeti. Az ő Martinovicsa mindenestre «betéve» tudja Fraknóit.” Pesti Napló 80 (1929) 33. sz., 14. E munka a későbbi évtizedekben is hatást gyakorolt, például Szamos 65 (1933) 18. sz., 5; Magyar Jövő 44 (1945) 176. sz., 4.

³⁶ „Tízezer pengő Fraknói Vilmos síremlékére. A Szent István Akadémia péntek délutáni együttes ülésén Reiner főtitkár bejelentette, hogy a Tudományos Akadémia ötezer pengőt szavazott meg Fraknói Vilmos síremlékére. A Szent István Akadémia ugyanilyen összeggel járult hozzá a síremlék felállításához.” Pesti Napló 79 (1928) 108. sz., 12.

³⁷ Damkó éppen Fraknói támogatásával utazhatott ki Rómába, s a tudós a későbbiekben is kapcsolatban állt a művésszel. PROHÁSZKA LÁSZLÓ, *Damkó József egybázművészeti alkotásai*, Vigilia 79 (2014) 10. sz., 739–747. A síremlék előzménye a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában őrzött terrakotta mellszobor lehetett. MNG 19–21. századi Gyűjtemény, Szobor Osztály, l.sz. 86.19-N; Pesti Napló 80 (1929) 230. sz., 7; 80 (1929) 232. sz., 4; Új Idők 30 (1924) 49. sz., 479.

³⁸ Magyar Országos Tudósító 11 (1929) 232. sz., 1929. október 11; 6. és 8. kiadás; Budapesti Hírlap 49 (1929) 232. sz., 4. Beszámolt róla még: Nagyvárad Napló 32 (1929) 230. sz., 5.

³⁹ Például Magyarország 34 (1927) 60. sz., 9; Budapesti Hírlap 48 (1928) 13. sz., 5; Amerikai Magyar Népszava 30 (1929) 308. sz., 4.

⁴⁰ Magyarország 8 (1927) 287. sz., 7.

Antal arról osztott meg egy szinte népmesei momentumokat magán viselő történetet, hogy Fraknói hogyan esett el a pécsi püspöki széktől,⁴¹ majd Papp Sándor⁴² és Szomory Dezső idézte fel a Rómában kutató tudós alakját.⁴³ Legfontosabb mégis Szekfű Gyulának az *Olasz Szemle* 1943-as számában megjelent írása, amit a tudós születésének centenáriuma alkalmából írt.⁴⁴

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A vatikáni–magyar kutatások elsőrangú tudósának emlékeztét a második világháborút követő kommunista diktatúra elfojtotta. Ennek ellenére Fraknói Vilmos emléke máig él. Jelentőségét a magyar állam által 2000-ben alapított Fraknói Vilmos-díj jelképezi, római örökségét pedig a nevét viselő római történeti kutatócsoport viszi tovább.

KANÁSZ VIKTOR

⁴¹ Pécsi Napló 35 (1926) 115. sz., 9–10; illetve lásd e kötetben, I/6.

⁴² „Abban az időben XIII. Leó pápa volt a katolikus egyház feje, s hogy milyen nagy érdeklődéssel volt a magyar ügyek iránt, arra jellemző, amit 1893-ban a magyar képviselőválasztás után Fraknói püspöknek mondott Rómában: «Na, a választás úgy ütött ki, ahogy gondoltuk, a szabadelvű párt nagy többséggel győzött, de hogy Falk Miksa Aradon megbukhasson, erre nem gondoltam!»”. Az Est 30 (1939) 208. sz., 5.

⁴³ „Abban a nagyon régi, nagyon szent és nagyon szegény Rómában, ahol Fraknói püspök kis tömzsi árnya tűnt fel az utcákon. Mindig azt hittem, megkapja a fejére egy tavaszi reggel a bíbornoki kalapot. Mert olyan finom, kedves, tudós feje volt! Az egész ember olyan rokonszenves volt! Maga is szerény zarándok Rómában. Holott otthon olyan nagy rangja és sokféle címe volt. Gondolom, éneklő kanonok is volt. Most itt látom a tömegben ezt a kedves egyházi embert a Costanzi-színház előtt. Vált egy jegyet magának a Tosca első előadására. Egy szerény támlásszéket a hátulsó sorokban. – Mindegy az, hol ül az ember, – mondja. – Mindenütt ugyanazt a zenét hallja... – Milyen szép idő van! – mondja a püspök úr barátsággal. – Gondolja meg, januárban vagyunk és süt a nap! Isten áldása lebeg Róma felett.” SZOMORY DEZSŐ, *Régi papírok*, Pesti Napló 84 (1933) 59. sz., 36. Ezenkívül Feleký Károly New York-i gyűjteménye kapcsán tett egykori megnyilatkozásáról. Pesti Napló 86 (1935) 94. sz., 9.

⁴⁴ *Olasz Szemle* 2 (1943) 9. sz., 1267–1274. Újraközlését lásd jelen kötet bevezetőjében. Ezen kívül már korábban, 1931-ben is hasonló jellemzést adott Fraknóiról: „...Fraknói Vilmos pedig rendkívül kiterjedt munkásságával Hunyadi Mátyás, valamint az egyház és állam viszonya történetében szerzett érdemeit, úgy kiterjedt adatgyűjtésével, mint aktuális politikától meg nem vesztegetett előadásával.” SZEKFÜ GYULA, *Politikai történetírás*, A magyar történetírás új útjai, Budapest 1931, 397–444, 435.

KÖNYVÉSZET
MVH – MREV – CVH
Nekrológok, életrajzi irodalom, lexikográfia*

A) MONUMENTA VATICANA HUNGARIAE

MVH I/1

Pápai tizedszedők számadásai 1281–1375 / Rationes collectorum pontificiorum in Hungaria 1281–1375, Budapest 1887 (LXXVII + 524 p.) (IPOLYI ARNOLD beszercebányai püspök *Előszavával*, X–XVI; FEJÉRPATAKY LÁSZLÓ *Bevezetésével* IL–LXXIII).

MVH I/2

Gentilis bíbornok magyarországi követségének okiratai 1307–1311 / Acta legationis cardinalis Gentilis 1307–1311, Budapest 1885 (CXX+512 p.) (PÓR ANTAL *Bevezetésével*, XLVIX–CVII; FEJÉRPATAKY LÁSZLÓ *Előszavával* [*Az oklevéltár ismertetése*] CIX–CXX).

MVH I/3–4

IX. Bonifác pápa bullái. I: 1389–1396. II: 1396–1404 / Bullae Bonifacii IX. p. m. IX. I: 1389–1396. II: 1396–1404, Budapest 1888–1889 (XXXVIII + 368 és 656 p.) (FRAKNÓI VILMOS *Bevezetésével* XXI–XXXVIII).

MVH I/5

A római Szentlélek-Társulat anyakönyve 1446–1523 / Liber Confraternitatis Sancti Spiritus De Urbe 1446–1523, Budapest 1889 (XXVIII + 168 p.) (BUNYITAY VINCE *Előszavával* XVII–XXVIII).

MVH I/6

Mátyás király levelezése a római pápákkal 1458–1490 / Mathiae Corvini Hungariae regis epistolae ad Romanos pontifices datae et ab eis acceptae 1446–1523, Budapest 1891 (LXXV + 280 p.) (FRAKNÓI VILMOS *Bevezetésével*, XXXIX–LXIV; DÉCSÉNYI-SCHÖNHERR GYULA *Előszavával*, LXV–LXXV).

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* C) A kötetben idézett, fontosabb tételek szerepelnek. A teljes sorozat könyvészete: CVH I/20, 15* és 18–19*. *Open Access*: <https://institutumfraknoi.hu/kiadvanyok/cvh>. A következő (D–E–F) alfejezetek válogatás jellegűek.

MVH II/1

Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései 1524–1526 / Relationes Oratorum Pontificiorum 1524–1526, Budapest 1884 (CLIV + 472 p.) (IPOLYI ARNOLD püspök *Előszavával*, XV–XXI; FRAKNÓI VILMOS *Bevezetésével* LXXXIX+CLIII) [Sajtó alá rendezte ÓVÁRI LIPÓT].

MVH II/2

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MVH II/3

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Összeállította: TUSOR PÉTER–NEMES GÁBOR

RÖVIDÍTÉSEK

AAV	Archivio Apostolico Vaticano
AE	Archivum Ecclesiasticum
AÉ	Akadémiai Értesítő (A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Értesítője)
AHP	Archivum Historiae Pontificiae
ANR-Bihor ACERC	Románia Nemzeti Levéltára Bihar Megyei Szolgálat (Arhivele Naționale ale României – Serviciul Județean Bihor), A Nagyváradi Latin Szertartású Székeskáptalan Levéltára (Capitulul Episcopiei Romano-Catolice)
ASRS AA.EE.SS	Archivio Storico della Segreteria di Stato – Sezione per i Rapporti con gli Stati e le Organizzazioni Internazionali, Archivio della Sacra Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BDHIR	Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom
BSz	Budapesti Szemle
CAV	Collectanea Archivi Vaticani
CST	Collectanea Studiorum et Textuum (<i>Collectanea Studiorum et Textuum I/1–6. II/1–2</i> ; szerk. TUSOR PÉTER, Budapest 2015–2024)
CVH	Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae (<i>Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/1–24. II/1–II</i> ; szerk. TUSOR PÉTER, Budapest–Róma 2004–2024)
DBI	Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (vol. 1–100, Roma 1960–2020)
DF	Diplomatikai Fényképtár
DL	Diplomatikai Levéltár
DHHE	Dissertationes Hungaricae ex Historia Ecclesiae
ELTE EKK	Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem – Egyetemi Könyvtár és Levéltár, Kézirattár
ESz	Egyháztörténeti Szemle
GyEL	Győri Egyházmegyei Gyűjteményi Központ Levéltára
HK	Hadtörténelmi Közlemények
HTK	Hittudományi Kar
ItK	Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények
KEMKI ADK	Közép-Európai Művészettörténeti Kutatóintézet, Archívum és Dokumentációs Központ
KPI	Központi Papnevelő Intézet
KSz	Katolikus Szemle (Katholikus Szemle)
LK	Levéltári Közlemények
LSz	Levéltári Szemle

MEI	Magyar Egyháziroldalmi Iskola
MÉL	Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon (<i>Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon I–IV</i> , főszerk. KENYERES ÁGNES, Budapest 1967–1994)
MEV–Regnum	Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok–Regnum
MHH	Monumenta Hungariae Historica (Magyar Történelmi Emlékek)
MHI	Monumenta Hungariae Italica (Olaszországi Magyar Oklevéltár)
MKL	Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár, Magyar Királyi Kancellária Regisztratúrája
MKLex	Magyar Katolikus Lexikon (<i>Magyar Katolikus Lexikon I–XVII</i> , szerk. DIÓS ISTVÁN–VICZIÁN JÁNOS, Budapest 1993–2014)
MKsz	Magyar Könyvszemle
MNG	Magyar Nemzeti Galéria
MNL-OL	Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár
MNM	Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum
MOE	Magyar Országgyűlési Emlékek
MÖStA	Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs
MREV	Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vespriemiensis (<i>Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vespriemiensis. A Veszprémi Püspökség Római Oklevéltára I–IV</i> , szerk. FRANKÓI VILMOS–LUKCSICS JÓZSEF, Budapestini 1896–1907)
MS	(Új) Magyar Sion
MTA (RAL)	Magyar Tudományos Akadémia (Régi Akadémiai Levéltár)
MTA KIK(K)	MTA Könyvtár és Információs Központ (Kézirattár)
MVH	Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae (<i>Monumenta Vaticana Historiam Regni Hungariae Illustrantia. Vatikáni Magyar Okirattár, I/1–6. II/1–3</i> , szerk. FRANKÓI VILMOS, Budapestini 1881–1909)
MZsL	<i>Magyar Zsidó Lexikon</i> (<i>Magyar Zsidó Lexikon</i> , szerk. Ujvári Péter, Budapest 1929)
MZsO	Magyar–Zsidó Oklevéltár
NBD	Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland
PKt	Pálos Könyvtár
PL	Prímási Levéltár
PPKE	Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem
<i>Püspöplexikon 1804–1918</i>	<i>Magyarország egyházmegyéi és főpásztorai. Intézménytörténeti – életrajzi lexikon 1804–1918</i> (CST III/I–V), szerk. SZIRTES ZSÓFIA–TUSOR PÉTER–RUPERT KLIEBER, Budapest 2024
OSzK(K)	Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (Kézirattár)
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
ÖStA HHStA	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv
RMK	Régi Magyar Könyvtár
RMNY	Régi Magyarországi Nyomtatványok
RNyT	Régi Nyomtatványok Tára
SZINNYEI, <i>Magyar írók</i>	SZINNYEI JÓZSEF, <i>Magyar írók élete és munkái I–XIV</i> , Budapest 1891–1914

- THEINER, *Vet. mon. Hung.* AUGUSTINUS THEINER (ed.), *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam illustrantia*. I: 1216–1352. II: 1352–1526, Romae–Parisiis–Vindobonae 1859–1860
- THEINER, *Vet. mon. Slav.* AUGUSTINUS THEINER (ed.), *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*. I: *Ab Innocentio PP. III. usque ad Paulum PP. III* (1198–1549). II: *A Clemente VII usque ad Pium VII* (1524–1800) *cum additamentis saec. XIII et XIV*, Romae–Zagrabiae 1863–1875
- TSz Történelmi Szemle
- TT (Magyar) Történelmi Tár
- VFL Veszprémi Főegyházmegyei Levéltár

SUMMARIES

I. CHAPTERS FROM THE FRAKNÓI BIOGRAPHY

I. THE FAMILY AND HOMELAND OF VILMOS FRAKNÓI

Vilmos Fraknói was an important figure of the Hungarian ecclesiastical middle class of the 19th century, who had an exceptional clerical career. Thanks to his talent and the support of his patrons and superiors, he was able to pursue his academic activities professionally as a priest.

From a rural background in Nyitra (Nitra) County, as a Catholic priest of Jewish origin, he came to the forefront of Hungarian ecclesiastical and secular science, and for a time he was a member of the leadership of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Vilmos Frankl was born on 27 February 1843 to Jewish parents in Ürmény, Nyitra County. His father, Sándor Frankl, served as a manorial physician on the Ürmény estate of the Hunyady Counts, one of the most advanced farms in Nyitra County, and converted to Catholicism. His wife, Johanna Gerstl, however, remained a Jew until her untimely death in 1845.

The study includes a source-based description of place and time of birth, village of birth and baptism. The family circumstances of the parents are examined: the ancestors of Sándor Fraknói and Johanna Gerstl and their life histories; the father's remarriage; an overview of Fraknói's siblings and relatives. Vilmos was baptised at the age of two, when he was a toddler, while his mother was still alive, in the Roman Catholic ceremony in the Catholic Church of St. László (Ladislaus) of Ürmény, part of the Archdiocese of Esztergom, together with his two sisters. Sándor Frankl later became a manorial physician at the Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky) estate of the Archdiocese of Esztergom, and allowed his talented son to enter the Church.

The presentation of Vilmos Fraknói's family circumstances and the early stages of his life also sheds light on the assimilation strategies of Hungarian Jewry and the role of the Catholic Church in social mobilization in the middle third of the 19th century.

BALÁZS RÉTFALVI

2. ON FRAKNÓI'S EARLY CAREER AS A HISTORIAN (with his letters to Prince Primate Simor publicized)

Based on the 1924 *curriculum vitae* of Fraknói's and his biography of the previous year, the essay traces the years of his studies, their decisive moments and the actors in his career choice. A surprising result is that Fraknói, born in 1843, was – according to his own account – a minor seminarian in Nagyszombat (Trnava), which dates from 1849–1850, since the institution closed its doors in 1850. He eventually continued his secondary school studies at the Benedictines in Esztergom, where he was greatly influenced by Jakab Zsigmond Ferenczy OSB, his professor of History and Hungarian. From 1855 he was a student and *convictor* at the Archepiscopal Gymnasium in Nagyszombat, from 1856 a cleric, a resident of the *Seminarium Marianum*, and from that time on a fellow student of Károly Hornig. He was only 15 years old, when in the summer of 1858, he was assigned to the Central Seminary by Prince Primate János Scitovszky. It was within the walls of the *Seminarium Centrale*, reading the books of the Pauline library, that his vocation as a historian matured. His first publications were related to the Seminary's School of Ecclesiastical Literature and he was involved in the translation into Hungarian of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*.

His determination to become a historian turned into a firm decision by his successful application to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1859–1860, and especially by the favourable assessment of Antal Csengery and Gusztáv Wenzel. Imre Szabó, papal prelate and rector of the seminary, and Cardinal János Scitovszky helped him to achieve this goal. Thanks to them, he was able to remain a resident of the Central Seminary after completing his theological studies, and in 1862 he enrolled in the Faculty of Arts, where he obtained a second doctorate after two years, in addition to his theological one. This special opportunity was based on Fraknói's early schooling and rapid study progress. According to canon law, he could not even be ordained as a subdeacon in 1862, at the age of 19.

From among the other ecclesiastical patrons to advance Fraknói's career, the Bishop József Lonovics of Csanád, the appointed Archbishop of Eger, who had returned home from exile, requires specific mention. It was at Lonovics's encouragement that he began to study Péter Pázmány. His three-volume series of Pázmány monographs (1868–1869 and 1872), based on eight years of research, brought Fraknói corresponding and full membership of the Academy, and the recognition and support of Mihály Horváth, who was initially reticent in the development of his academic career. After years of teaching at the Gymnasium in Nagyszombat in 1864/1865 and at the Lyceum in Esztergom in 1865–1871, Fraknói came to Pest and there, thanks to Arnold Ipolyi, with whom he became friends, came into closer contact with Horváth.

In addition to Scitovszky, who ordained Fraknói a priest in the Esztergom Basilica in 1865, another Archbishop of Esztergom, János Simor, also played an important role in the development of his scientific career. An analysis of Fraknói's letters to the

Prince Primate, published in the appendix, forms the second, more extensive part of the study. The documents allow us to draw several important conclusions. Fraknói's first research trips to Rome, Italy (1867 and 1870), Spain and France (1868) were made possible thanks to Simor's permission and various general and personal recommendations (e.g. to cardinals, Prime Minister Andrassy). All this, in addition to the undoubted personal interest of the Prince Primate in History, shows the extent to which contemporary interest in Fraknói's research, and in history in general, was different from that of today. It is noteworthy that Fraknói expects and anticipates direct ecclesiastical and didactic benefits from his expected results. What is more, when referring to the examples of his great predecessors, he formulates – in general terms – expectations towards the Prince Primate. In 1872 and 1873, both Fraknói and Simor stated that the main aim was to write a synthesis of Hungarian church history with a modern approach. Fraknói finally realised his "life's goal" in his monographic treatise on the relations between the Holy See and Hungary.

The letters preserved in the Primate's Archives, published in the Appendix, contain historically important information that Fraknói not only started his *Hungarica* research with the assistance of his archpastor, but also began to explore the archives of Hungarian aristocratic families thanks to Simor's intervention. This enabled him to study the documents of the Batthyány archives in Köpcsény (Kittsee) in the summer of 1872. The impressions he gained there may also have contributed to the fact that a few years later he began to collect private archives for deposit at the National Museum, which Antal Áldásy considered to be an outstanding achievement of his oeuvre. Fraknói's achievements in the systematic research of the *Hungarica* are better known, viz. the systematic exploration of diplomatic reports in Italy, especially in Rome and in Simancas. The discovery that Fraknói had not gained access to the Vatican archives before 1881 is a real gem in the history of research. He could only obtain indirect access to his material through the archives staff, for the first time by Theiner in the summer of 1870. The repertory-like information he had on the *Archivio Segreto's* fonds and Hungarian-related documents were based on lists from Paris, dating back to the Napoleonic period. In 1874, Fraknói intended to use the Prince Primate's new cardinal's dignity to have a senior official of the Vatican archives copy the Hungarian aspects of the 16th-century reports of the Viennese nuncios with him.

In the light of 14 years of persistent, increasingly impatient waiting, it is understandable why Fraknói, putting everything else aside, hurried to Rome in the spring of 1881 to finally receive the first two volumes of the *Nuntiatura Germaniae*, the reports of Cardinal Legate Campeggio preserved in the *Archivum Arcis*, the first four volumes of the *Lettere dei Principi* and the accounts of the papal tithes in Hungary. And even more understandable is the organisation of the broad ecclesiastical coalition which, with the persuasion of 43 bishops, cathedrals, chapters, grand chaplains, canons and monastic magistrates, made possible the foundation of the *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae* in 1882 and the publication of the first volumes soon afterwards.

In view of the preceding events, it is surprising that from 1881 the main role of the episcopate was played not by Cardinal and Primate Simor, but by Cardinal Lajos Haynald, Archbishop of Kalocsa, in supervising and supporting the research of Hungarian history in the Vatican.

PÉTER TUSOR

3. VILMOS FRANKL AND THE HUNGARIAN SCHOOL OF CHURCH LITERATURE (1859–1861)

The study provides an insight into a little known period of Vilmos Frankl/Fraknói's life, the period of the first scientific attempts of the scholar who was to lay the foundations for modern Hungarian historiography and systematic Vatican research. Between 1858 and 1862, Vilmos Frankl was a student at the Central Institute for the Education of the Clergy (*Seminarium Centrale*) in Budapest. Since 1813, the seminary had a self-education circle for seminarists, which has continued its work under the name of the Hungarian Ecclesiastical Literature School since 1850 to this day. It has been intended to promote the linguistic, stylistic and rhetorical skills of the seminarians, in the framework of which translations, poems and studies are prepared and presented at their meetings; they also evaluate each other's work. The annual "output" is usually published as the *Munkálatok* (Acts) publications.

The present study shows that, in addition to the renowned scholar's priestly vocation, he had strong historical-scientific goals and interests from a very young age, and that he developed a strong affinity for them as a seminarist. Already at such an early age, at the dawn of his career, he displayed an objective critical vision, combined with a mature self-awareness. He is largely responsible for the establishment of this evaluative perspective within the School. Frankl was a full member of the School for two academic years between 1859 and 1861, but remained closely associated with it until his death. Between 1879 and 1892, Fraknói also offered a prize for the best students who had written the best dissertations on religious studies (preferably on church history).

GYÖRGY SÁGI

4. NOTES ON CANONICATE OF VILMOS FRANKÓI IN NAGYVÁRAD (ORADEA)

The scholarly and commemorative literature on Vilmos Frankói's career as a historian, science organizer and patron of the arts has so far paid little attention to the activities of this eminent scholar in relation to his ecclesiastical dignitaries. Even the few exceptions have mostly dealt with the difficulties and conflicts of his career as a high priest. Frankói formulated his own human and research identity primarily in the context of his status as a clergyman, and by his own admission his main aim in life was "to explore the history of the Catholic Church in Hungary". Besides the titles and dignities he held in the Catholic Church, and which he mostly acquired early in life (canon of Nagyvárad [Oradea], titular abbot of Szekszárd, bishop-elect of Arbe [Rab], abbot of Szentjobb), gave him a social status and influence that greatly assisted him in his work. The most significant of these were his dignified ecclesiastical positions in the Diocese of Nagyvárad – his 46-years membership of the Cathedral Chapter of Nagyvárad and his nearly quarter of a century as Abbot of Szentjobb – provided a stable and substantial financial basis for his life and professional career. This paper summarises the historical and cultural background of Vilmos Frankói's canonry at Nagyvárad, and his ecclesiastical, scientific and artistic activities related to the Nagyvárad *stallum*.

Vilmos Frankói received his appointment on 24 March 1878, and on 8 April of the same year he was invested in one of the canonries, called literary canonry (*stallum litterarium*), of the Cathedral Chapter of Diocese of Nagyvárad. This peculiar and unique institution, uncommon in the history of the Hungarian Catholic Church, was then only 70 years old, but it was established at the beginning of the 19th century as the institutionalisation of a much older, almost half a millennium old local ecclesiastical tradition. Founded by King St. Ladislaus in the last decades of the 11th century, initially as a collegiate and later as a cathedral chapter, it was an important institution of ecclesiastical culture, especially historiography, in Hungary. Thanks mainly to its bishops of Italian and Dalmatian origin, it was already from the first third of the 15th century significantly influenced by the emerging Italian Proto-Renaissance and later by humanist culture. As a consequence, from the 1430s onwards, it became a common practice within the see to grant prestigious canonical estates to their holders, usually young ones, so that they could use them for higher studies abroad, mainly in Italy. In addition, it later became a means of rewarding acquired humanist culture and merits in its dissemination, and some members of the chapter established one of the earliest humanist literary circles (*contubernium*, *convivium*) of the early European Renaissance outside Italy at the court of Bishop János Vitéz (1445–1465) of Nagyvárad. The process, which continued with interruptions until the mid-16th century, came to an end with the late medieval disintegration of the diocesan organisation. After the religious wars, the Turkish destruction and the

difficult decades of reorganising the diocese afterwards, this tradition was revived at the court of Bishop Ádám Patachich (1759–1776), who organised a literary, artistic and scientific circle with an arcadian approach, now inspired by the ideas of the Church Enlightenment, partly using the canonry of the See. This custom was institutionalised at the beginning of the 19th century, when the former chapter of 10 stalls was enlarged to include 16 of them, and part of the new canonry posts were reserved to reward ecclesiastical figures who had distinguished themselves in the scientific and literary life of the country.

Vilmos Fraknói gained such a literary *stallum* at a relatively young age, which, with his annual net income of 15 to 20 000 forints per year, made him one of the 300 most important landowners in Hungary. Although the holders of the literary stallum were full members of the Nagyváradi Chapter, the special rules that applied to them gave them a great deal of freedom and room for manoeuvre within the framework of a regulated, ecclesiastical way of life. In the case of Fraknói, this meant almost complete exemption from the obligation of residency and from the liturgical duties of the chapter during the entire period of his canonicate. As a consequence, he gave up his right of gradual promotion in the chaplaincy as early as 1891, and retained all the time the minor titles he had held, the archpriesthood of Central Szolnok and later of Kraszna.

Despite his relatively loose relationship with his see, which became increasingly distanced from the end of the 19th century, Vilmos Fraknói's connections with the Diocese of Nagyváradi are well traceable. During his canonicate of more than four decades, he spent a considerable amount of time at Nagyváradi: initially – but less frequently in the later period – he spent the Christmas and the Easter holidays there, as well as the Cathedral's annual *patrocinium* (August 15, the Assumption of Mary), and attended the most important events in the life of the Cathedral (inaugurations, promotions, priestly anniversaries, funerals), as well as for recreation and official functions not directly related to the work of the Chapter.

Only a few, less significant episodes of his work as a historian can be linked to Nagyváradi, but many traces of his artistic patronage are still preserved in the city's built heritage (the ceiling paintings of the parish churches of Nagyváradi and Szent-jobb, the 19th century stained glass ornaments and windows of the Episcopal Cathedral and Residence, the majolica relief of St. Ladislaus, etc.). In 1925, the literary canonry seat vacated upon the death of Vilmos Fraknói was inherited by Sándor Ernst, rector of the *Seminarium Centrale* in Budapest, but after the Second World War, the political situation and the loss of landed estates that had provided remuneration meant that the custom of donating literary stalls disappeared. The study concludes with Vilmos Fraknói's will, dated 1891 and authenticated by the members of the Nagyváradi Chapter, which contains one of the earliest version of his plans for a large-scale science patronage.

TÜNDE BALLA–ATTILA LAKATOS

5. A HISTORIAN IN A NEW ROLE

Fraknói, Secretary-General of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

The name of Vilmos Fraknói is closely intertwined with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Hungarian historiography. Already in 1860, he won a prize in the Academy's competition, which attracted the attention of Arnold Ipolyi, and with his support he entered the academic world. In 1870 he was elected a corresponding member of the Academy, and in 1873 he became a full member and secretary of Class II.

At the Academy, he launched several new initiatives to modernize the study of History, and succeeded János Arany as Secretary-General in 1879. During his tenure as Secretary-General, a number of projects were carried out, such as the erection of the statue of János Arany, the Széchenyi Memorial Year, the interior design of the Academy's new building, and multiple donations enriched the Academy. During his office the Academy became the centre of the Hungarian scientific life.

As Secretary-General, he played a major role in the management and reorganisation of the Academy's staff, which, while not one of his most creative tasks, was an essential part of his job. His correspondence and reports not only deal with the internal affairs of the Academy, but also reflect his personal commitment and respect for his colleagues.

He left a lasting mark on the history of the Academy through his significant work as a historian and his role in its administration. He resigned as Secretary-General in 1889 to devote more time to his work as a historian.

ATTILA HÓGYE–CSONGOR CZIRÁKI

6. VILMOS FRAKNÓI AND THE EPISCOPAL
THRONE OF PÉCS

One of the most interesting questions of Vilmos Fraknói's life is why, despite his fame and work, he remained a member of the ecclesiastical middle class, why he could only be a titular (elected) bishop, why he could not actually head a diocese. During his lifetime, contemporary journalism was concerned with the question, and numerous reports claimed to know that the scholar priest would become Bishop of Nyitra, Vác, Kassa or Pécs, while other sources mentioned him as a candidate for the title of bishop of Nagyvárad. Upon his passing, obituaries and later memoirs also raised this question, and in particular, there arised some surprising theories concerning the bishop's seat at Pécs. According to several reports, in 1896 Fraknói was the candidate of the Hungarian government for the Bishopric of Pécs (*Quinqueecclesien.*), but the idea was ultimately defeated by Rome's opposition. The present paper uses Viennese and Vatican sources to clarify the events.

On 17 October 1896, Gyula Wlassics, Minister of Religion and Public Education, addressed a transcript to the common (Imperial and Royal) Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order to appoint Fraknói as Bishop of Pécs, among other issues. Referring to a verbal consultation with the Emperor-King, he asked for the consent of the Holy See. However, during the Foreign Minister's negotiations with the Vienna nuncio, it soon became clear that the Holy See did not consider Fraknói's appointment acceptable. The reasons given were a lack of pastoral experience, an unsuitable lifestyle and a lack of administrative skills. However, Wlassics insisted on Fraknói's candidacy. He asked Prince Primate Kolos Vaszary and Bishop Lőrinc Schlauch of Nagyvárád for information, and they cleared him of these charges. The government, citing the support and praise of the two prelates and Fraknói's academic merits, called on Agenor Goluchowski, the Monarchy's Foreign Minister, to obtain the Apostolic See's prior approval. However, during the negotiations conducted through the Monarchy's Holy See envoy, the Papal Secretariat of State did not change its position. Fraknói, who had meanwhile arrived in Rome, unsuccessfully sought an audience with the Pope, and the difficulties surrounding his case finally led him to declare that he would not accept his appointment as Bishop of Pécs and would resign as a candidate. This meant that, despite any further attempts by the Hungarian government, he was finally deprived of the episcopate.

What could have been behind the Holy See's decision? In addition to the reasons listed by the Viennese nuncio, Hungarian public opinion at the time also mentioned Fraknói's family background and the Masonic stamp. The nunciature's reports reveal that József Samassa, Archbishop of Eger, was a serious domestic opponent of Fraknói, who made the same accusations against him before Nuncio Emidio Taliani did. We must suspect the Cardinal Secretary of State, the powerful Mariano Rampolla, of being behind the Holy See's refusal. The head of Vatican diplomacy must have frowned upon the increasing familiarity of Fraknói in Roman circles, and in particular his intimate relationship with Pope Leo XIII. His association with Masonic scholars, and perhaps also his background, might have been a source of resentment. At the same time, his appointment as bishop of the diocese, with the obligation of residency, would have been an excellent way of removing Fraknói from the Eternal City. This paper attempts to resolve and understand the contradiction.

With Rome's hindering of Vilmos Fraknói's higher ecclesiastical career, Hungarian and universal Catholicism became poorer with a great archpriest. Despite his title of bishop of Arbe, Fraknói remained a member of the ecclesiastical middle class until his death. His spiritual and human legacy, however, elevates him far above those who preceded him in his ecclesiastical career in the memory of posterity.

PÉTER TUSOR-VIKTOR KANÁSZ

7. FRAKNÓI AND THE TEMPTATION OF AUSTRIAN CITIZENSHIP

The study traces the last years of Vilmos Fraknói's career in Vienna in the context of the transnational family ties that developed as a result of the bourgeois mobility that unfolded in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Through marriages in Moravia, his entire family had moved to Vienna by the turn of the century, and he provided advice and financial support for the education that would lay the foundations for their social advancement. He also officiated at the marriage ceremonies of several family members, usually in places that made the public aware of their status as members of the bourgeoisie. In 1914, in preparation for his retirement in Hungary, he followed his relatives and bought an apartment in the imperial city, which may have been personally motivated by a search for support in old age.

He remained present in Hungarian science and public life with his studies and political initiatives, and returned to Budapest for an extended period in October 1918. He described the bourgeois democratic revolution as a natural evolutionary phenomenon, and his statements legitimised the Károlyi government and its foreign policy, which met the Entente's expectations. In mid-November, the Ministry of Religion and Public Education, under his chairmanship, set up a special commission to prepare the sharing of the Monarchy's cultural heritage, which envisaged bilateral negotiations with Austria on the basis of the traditional Hungarian conception of public law, applying the principles of quota and parity. He arrived in Vienna on 17 March 1919 to coordinate the preparatory work for the sharing of court museums and common archives and to start negotiations, but he did not carry out any further substantial activities in this field. Although the Government of the Council (Soviet) Republic of Hungary confirmed his mandate and notification at the beginning of April, the successor body to the commission he chaired, the Directorate for Art and Museums, dismissed him two weeks later and ordered him to return home.

However, Fraknói did not comply with the order, and in May 1919 he took Austrian citizenship because of the hopeless conditions at home and for his personal safety. However, his decision was not made public and his notification was not revoked. This gave him the opportunity, as the chairman of the Hungarian liquidation committee, to examine the confidential historical documents relating to the outbreak of the First World War, and he attempted to clarify the role of the Hungarian government and István Tisza in the origins of the First World War in a German-language study published in the autumn on the basis of primary sources. After a year, he successfully applied for a revocation of his Austrian citizenship with the intention of emigrating. It was not until early 1922 that he finally left Austria, to escape the trap of tax prosecution for failure to file income tax returns during his Austrian citizenship. According to his later statement, he wanted to die in Hungary and be buried in Hungarian soil.

IMRE RESS

8. THE END OF THE CAREER

The last months, funeral and early memories of Vilmos Fraknói

By his old age, Vilmos Fraknói had become a nationally recognised and famous figure. His statements and scientific works were of considerable public interest. He celebrated his 80th birthday in 1923, but was diagnosed with colon cancer and underwent surgery in the spring of 1923 in Vienna. He then moved finally back home, lived in Zebegény and Budapest, then in the Park Sanatorium in Pest, and later spent his last months in the Red Cross Hospital in Buda. Here he worked mainly on the processing of the Corvin Library and on writing the history of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and finally passed away on 20 November 1924.

Fraknói was considered by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Szent István (St. Stephen) Society as one of their own, providing funeral honours. The scientist was laid in state in the columned hall of the Academy. From there, his coffin was taken by horse-drawn carriage to the cemetery on Kerepesi út, accompanied by his relatives, Ferenc Kollányi and his admirers. The funeral service was conducted by Ottokár Prohászka. On the initiative of Albert Berzeviczy, a dignified burial monument was erected by 1929. The scholar-priest's memory did not fade after his death: a multitude of memorials, recollections and articles have recalled his figure. And on the 100th anniversary of his birth, he was commemorated by Gyula Szekfű in his native country and by the *Osservatore Romano* in his second homeland, Rome. The memory of this leading scholar of Vatican-Hungarian research was suppressed by the communist dictatorship following the Second World War. Despite this, the memory of Vilmos Fraknói lives on to this day, his importance is symbolised by the Vilmos Fraknói Prize, established by the Hungarian state in 2000, and his scholarly work is carried on by the academical Research Group of the Catholic University bearing his name.

VIKTOR KANÁSZ

II. FRAKNÓI'S OEUVRE AS A HISTORIAN AND SCIENTIST

I. FRAKNÓI, THE CATHOLIC HISTORIAN
AND SCIENCE FOUNDER

Vilmos Fraknói's view of History was not free from the influences of Romanticism, and was based on historicism embedded in positivism. The quality and quantity of his work, his founding of series, journals and institutions, and in part his scientific creative actions in his academic positions, led him to be described as 'surpassing the sci-

entific achievements of his contemporaries'. Gyula Szekfű and Egyed Hermann gave his oeuvre a worthy place in the 1940s. Later, Marxist criticism obscured Fraknói's figure. Current historiography praises his work, but does not elevate it above those of his contemporaries. In the context of the 19th century and the early 20th century, the term 'conservative' is wrongly applied to him.

His approach, extending well beyond historicism, can be seen most directly and clearly not in his historical works, but in his publications on church politics. His writings reveal both a distinctive and a modern conception of Catholicism around 1870. On a historical basis, Fraknói sought to reassess the liberal, unfavourable view of 19th century Hungarian Catholicism. He expected the Catholic high clergy to play an organic, rather than an isolationist role in the life of the country, in the fields of science, culture and education. His own career would be a model of these ideals: from the late 1870s for a good decade, his career as an ecclesiastic (abbot, canon, bishop-elect) and secular career would simultaneously be upward. The latter was never in politics, but exclusively in the world of science (Secretary-General and then Vice-President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences). His ecclesiastical publicity reveals in detail the framework of thought and interpretation within which his scientific texts can be placed. His goals as a historian were determined by his attitude to church politics. With his academic work, Fraknói aimed at the internal transformation of his own church as much as at reinterpreting its place and role in Hungarian society. By means of historicism, he sought to incite the high priesthood, historicising in appearances and jealously guarding its multiple privileges and, of course, its estates, to action.

As a scholar, Fraknói was first and foremost a Catholic, both ultramontane and a patriot. His choice of subjects and his approach to history are determined by his Catholicism. It is through this lens that he views his own time as well as history. It is within this framework that the objectives of his historiography and the realisation of those objectives need to be considered. At the same time, he is free from apologeticism. As early as 1861, he summed up his basic stance by stating that the historian's "special field is the past, his main law is love for justice". He exposed the conflict of Cardinal Péter Pázmány with the Holy See in the same way as he exposed the character flaws of Ignác Martinovics, a Jacobin revered as a national martyr. Fraknói was passionate about Catholic ideas in his quest for historical truth. His approach is based on the fact that he no longer sees historical problems as apologetic, but as a professional historian from the perspective of a teleological salvation history. In this respect, he is very close to Ranke, but he also surpasses him. It is his indirect theological approach, combined with his liberal arts studies, which gives the reason for his 'aspect-based' historiography, as emphasised by Gyula Szekfű. The Catholic character of his approach to history is indirect, apart from his works explicitly written on ecclesiastical history. His works are never theologised or made theological, or even religiously biased. Nevertheless, he sees the fulfilment of the Hungarian history he researches and views in holistic continuity in the fulfilment of its Catholic character, and he is constantly looking for

examples and experiences from the past. An excellent example of this is his biography of Werbőczy, published in 1899. Only some of his publications are directly concerned with church history, and a good part of them are on diplomatic, political or cultural history. He should not be, therefore, regarded as a mere church historian. Fraknói does not establish a transitional, path-finding perspective, but a new voice and with it a new vision in the ‘professionalising’ and ‘specialising’ Hungarian historiography.

Fraknói’s idea was a spiritually renewed Catholicism, autonomous and modern, i.e. socially sensitive, cutting-edge in science and culture, independent of the liberal state, but unfolding within a system of national liberalism and gaining recognition for itself in the free competition provided by liberalism. In his own church, he was close to Ottokár Prohászka and Sándor Giesswein. In the ‘race to win souls’, he himself was a leading figure in the field of historiography, in the organisation of scientific studies and, as a church dignitary, furthering scientific studies and the patronage of the arts. In addition to his unique approach, Fraknói’s historiography is characterised by a prolific professionalism based on incredible diligence. His treatment of diplomatic reports, which focuses on the widest available source base, brought a new tone and quality to domestic historiography. He can be regarded as the most important founders of modern medieval, early modern and modern historiography in Hungary, including many sub-disciplines, because of the versatility and scope of his work. His decades of research in Rome, his institute and his Vatican series have placed his oeuvre in a European perspective. His writings still serve as the starting point or the constituent elements of new narratives, whether medieval or early modern, and even, in part, in the field of modern scholarship. Alongside his Roman scholarly heritage, this is another enduring foundation of his local value as a historian.

Vilmos Fraknói can be defined as a “professional, progressive Catholic and patriotic priest-historian with a European horizon” in the ranks of historians of the period of the Reconciliation. He is the most emblematic figure of the beginnings of scientific historiography in Hungary.

PÉTER TUSOR

2. FRAKNÓI’S VATICAN RESEARCH AND THE MEDIEVAL HUNGARIAN HISTORY

One of the main focuses of Vilmos Fraknói’s work as a historian and writer was on the 15th–16th centuries, and in particular on the biographies of the public clergy – and to a lesser extent of the seculars. As a member and official of the Academy of Sciences, he played no small part in the organisation and management of scientific research, but the impact of his work began to be perceived in the long run. His research in the Vatican and the institutionalisation and regular organisation of source research there

focused attention on a source area that provided a wealth of small data sources for the study of everyday life and culture in the Middle Ages, an approach that later became dominant in Hungarian medieval research.

Among other things, Fraknói's efforts to systematically and completely explore the entire archival holdings and units of the Vatican's Hungary-related research proved decisive. By establishing the two series of source publications, which he founded and whose volumes he either compiled and edited himself or designated the content and the editor, he created a source base for researchers which not only facilitated subsequent scholarly research, but also determined both its themes and its direction. In particular, the volumes of the *Monumenta Vaticana* containing the Lateran bulls of Pope Boniface IX had a major impact on later studies, as did the source publications exploiting the lists of papal tithes, the Gentile-documents, the Matthias Corvinus correspondence and the registers of the Society of the Holy Spirit. The *Monumenta Romana* has become a model enterprise in the compilation of diocesan documentary archives, and the canonisation record in the first volume has proved to be a fertilizer in many fields of historiography.

The content of the sources Fraknói chose for publication later set the course for the development of historical geography, ecclesiastical social history – especially prosopography – diplomatic history, the history of religion and other fields of research in Hungary. His syntheses on the reign of Matthias and the Jagellonians, his syntheses on the history of relations between the Holy See and his monograph on the royal canon law are, like his source publications, reference works and handbooks for modern historiography, which form the basis for further research.

KORNÉL SZOVÁK

3. VILMOS FRAKNÓI, THE FOUNDER OF THE HUNGARIAN MEDIEVAL STUDIES

Fraknói's research on *Hungarica* (Hungary-related issues) in foreign archives and libraries has always been at the forefront of historiography, emphasising his merits. At the same time, Fraknói's role in increasing the domestic source base has not been emphasised. His early works were still written on strictly medieval topics in the early 1860s. These he created on the old, rudimentary source base, and today they have only historiographical value. From 1863 on, he published mainly modern church history studies, books and source publications, closely connected with his teaching activities in Nagyszombat (Trnava) and later in Esztergom. He clearly returned to pre-Mohács topics after his appointment as head of the library (2 April 1875), obviously after having become acquainted with the rich manuscript material of the Széchényi Library of the Hungarian National Museum. The present paper describes Fraknói's

pioneering role in Hungarian medieval studies, as head of the library, in the expansion of domestic sources and the preservation of domestic sources between 1875 and 1878. Together with his colleague János Csontos, he invented the institution of “family inheritance”, and thus began the process of bringing the documents of Hungarian noble families preserved in the rural mansions of the country into the museum.

His parallel with Gyula Pauler is particularly important for the understanding of Fraknói's oeuvre, since they were not only contemporaries and fellow historians, but they had been friends since the 1860s. Fraknói took part in the reorganisation of the archives in the early 1870s and, seeing that the archives were only interested in collecting public records, opened the museum to private records. As a result, a well-defined – and instinctive – division of labour between the two institutions was established.

Since the cultivation of auxiliary sciences is particularly emphasized in medieval studies, the second part of the essay describes Fraknói's relationship to the Hungarian Heraldic and Genealogical Society, founded in 1883. He declined Béla Radvánszky's invitation to participate in the foundation, but this is not to be seen as a sign of Fraknói's insensitivity to the auxiliary sciences, but as an *ex officio* pose: the “treasury” opposition of the Academy's Secretary-General to any “new formation”. Fraknói soon became reconciled to the Society, joined it, and in 1885 he also became a member of the board of directors. Later, some of his publications appeared in *Turul*.

Fraknói wrote summary biographies and thematic monographs instead of minor auxiliary research, but always used the latest methods of auxiliary science. His role in medieval studies is well illustrated by a comparison between the state of medieval studies in Hungary in 1860 and the state it had reached in 64 years by the time of Fraknói's death in 1924. In Hungarian medieval studies, the results of the following six decades (1924–1982) are not even close to the previous one.

GYÖRGY RÁCZ

4. FRAKNÓI AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE EARLY MODERN RESEARCH

The paper takes stock of the work of Vilmos Fraknói in the field of early modern history. Fraknói's works on the 16th to 18th centuries can be grouped around four main topics: research on Péter Pázmány's biography and his oeuvre; the history of domestic education and attendance at foreign universities; the history of Hungarian Diets (National Assemblies); and the relations between the Papacy and the Kingdom of Hungary. In addition, there is a fifth area on the frontier of the early modern period, the biography of Ignác Martinovics (1755–1795), leader of the Jacobin movement in Hungary. In conclusion, Fraknói's research in several areas is still indispensable today, above all his findings on the life and work of Péter Pázmány, his works and source

publications on the relationship between the papacy and the Kingdom of Hungary, and last but not least his source publications on the history of the 16th century Hungarian Diet.

ISTVÁN FAZEKAS

5. TRAPPED IN NARRATIVES
Fraknói's textbook and reactions to it

The grammar school textbook of Vilmos Fraknói (Frankl), published in 1863 (corrected editions: 1864, 1866), received considerable press coverage. He was asked to write the book in the years before the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, when he was a university student, to counterbalance the Protestant secondary school textbooks that were so numerous at the time. Transylvania was portrayed as a place of unrest and the Transylvanian princes in a negative light. It was not widely praised in the press at the time of its publication, but later it was used as a point of attack against Fraknói in much of the press, as it was described as 'unpatriotic'. The textbook also played an important role in the smear campaign against the author in the 1870s. In the press, the accusations made against the textbook sought to appeal to emotions rather than to act as substantive criticism.

ZITA LŐRINCZ

6. GUIDED TOUR OF
THE LIBRARY EXHIBITION OF VILMOS FRANKNÓI
(1877)

In 1877, the Hungarian National Museum organised an exhibition on History and Literature of the Széchényi National Library, which included documents, codices and antiquarian books, as well as portraits and landscapes. Vilmos Fraknói, now in his second year as keeper of the library, put together an extremely rich exhibition.

His catalogue was published in the journal *Magyar Könyvszemle*, which he founded. Several documents appear in the subject index which are related to Fraknói's previous and later book research and his work as director. The Corvinas – with special reference to the philological research of János Vitéz –, the humanistic book culture and the tangible presentation of the retrospective historical bibliography in Hungarian, including the publications of Péter Pázmány, are all key points of interest for the librarian. With his multifaceted approach to these topics, Vilmos Fraknói anticipated many aspects of modern book history and library science. And through his work as a

scholar-organiser, he elevated bibliographical and book-historical research, practised as an auxiliary discipline before, to the status of a discipline in its own right.

The overview analysis of the exhibition object list reveals in detail the criteria for the selection of the presented library documents and evaluates the related research of Vilmos Fraknói from a scientific-historical point of view.

MÁRTON SZOVÁK

7. ABOUT THE SCIENTIFIC DEBATES OF VILMOS FRAKNÓI

Albert Berzeviczy, Chair of the Academy of Sciences for more than thirty years, named Kálmán Thaly, Lajos Kossuth and Henrik Marczali as Fraknói's most important debating partners in his 1927 work *The Memory of Vilmos Fraknói*. The designation of the debate partners – and thus indirectly of Fraknói's most important research topics – was in line with the scientific policy of the time, but the sources show that Fraknói had only one open exchange of correspondence with Thaly and Kossuth (in 1875 and 1877 respectively), and that he worked with the former on occasion. He maintained a particularly good and regular working relationship with Henrik Marczali, the third named debating partner. Fraknói's works on Hungarian statehood and public law were also subject to debates, but these are not mentioned in the memorial speech.

JULIANNA ORSÓS

8. FRAKNÓI'S PUBLIC JOURNALISM (1870–1918)

Vilmos Fraknói is remembered primarily as an outstanding historian, as a canon of Nagyvárád, or as the Secretary-General of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. However, less is usually said about Vilmos Fraknói's public journalistic activities. Yet, throughout his long creative career, in addition to the many tasks he attended, he also expressed his public views on issues he considered important. In the period under review, he published more than 30 articles on three major topics. In the 1870s, he took a stand on the challenges of the period to Catholicism, including the issue of Catholic autonomy. In 1882, he became involved in the cultural debates (*"Kulturkampf"*) in Hungary concerning the forthcoming educational decrees, and continued to do so afterwards. Finally, during and after the First World War, he investigated the causes of the unfolding catastrophe and

the possibilities for peace. Fraknói's views, insights and positions in the fields of ecclesiastical, cultural and foreign policy are important elements in understanding his personality and his oeuvre.

RÓBERT P. OLÁH

9. THE LITERATURE OF THE FRAKNÓI OEUVRE

Science metrics analysis

Vilmos Fraknói's vast body of work was almost common knowledge even among his contemporaries, and his necrologues invariably highlighted his rich scientific heritage. The bibliography has also provided an opportunity to examine his work in terms of scientific metrics. He published 67 monographs and an impressive 226 papers, mainly in journals. He was also a prolific contributor to encyclopaedic dictionaries, with 230 in all.

So far, no attention has been paid to Vilmos Fraknói's reviews, although several of them are very interesting and educational. He wrote a total of seventeen of them during his lifetime, so he did not often make use that kind of publication. In his reviews, Fraknói stressed the importance of archival research and source publications in Hungary and abroad, especially in Italy, which were intended not only to serve Hungarian historiography but also to serve foreign historians who wished to study the history of Hungary. His review of the Vatican archival research is particularly interesting, and he made the important point that the focus of research should be on the 14th and 15th centuries.

In addition to his scientific publications, he published a substantial number of articles on other topics, almost a hundred in all. Of particular interest are his debates on scientific works, often of a topical and sectarian nature, the two most exciting of which were with Kálmán Thaly and Lajos Kossuth. More than a quarter of his non-academic publications are publicist writings, focusing largely on two periods or topics. Fraknói held strong views on Catholic autonomy and secularization. The other period, productive in journalistic terms, was the First World War. In his publicism, he did not deny his status as a historian: he collected, analysed, argued and synthesised information. His editorial work plays a major role in his oeuvre. He wrote few eulogies or necrologues, but almost all of them were about people he admired and to whom he owed a great deal, such as Flóris Rómer, Arnold Ipolyi, Lajos Haynald and Sándor Szilágyi.

GÁBOR NEMES

III. ITALY, ROME, VATICAN

I. HUNGARIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN A EUROPEAN CONTEXT

Vilmos Fraknói and his "Hungarian school of history" in Rome (1882–1905)

After the official opening of the Vatican Archives in January 1881, Vilmos Fraknói, canon of Nagyvárad, abbot of Szekszárd, and Secretary-General of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, who earlier had been researching in Rome with special permission but had no direct access to the material, rushed to the Eternal City in May. He held talks with Cardinal Secretary of State Ludovico Jacobini, Cardinal Joseph Hergenröther, the archivist of the Holy Roman Church, and was even received in private audience by Pope Leo XIII (1878–1903). Fraknói's plan, presented to them, was for the Vatican sources to be published by the Apostolic See itself, partly with the help of priest-historians and at the expense of the Hungarian Church, in a series of its own. As he explained in a variety of ways, this venture would enable the papacy to catch up with the states actively supporting modern historiography without any particular sacrifices, and at the same time the international reputation of Hungarian Catholicism and scholarship would be greatly enhanced. Ultimately, his ambitious idea was well received by the Curia, provided that he succeeded in raising the necessary funds. At the same time, he asked for – and did receive – research permission to study Vatican sources relating to Hungary between 1300 and 1526.

On his return home, Fraknói immediately started organising. First of all, he informed Cardinal Primate János Simor, Cardinal Archbishop Lajos Haynald of Kalocsa, Bishop Arnold Ipolyi of Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica) and Bishop Lőrinc Schlauch of Szatmár (Satu Mare) of the outcome of his negotiations in Rome. On 16 August 1881, having secured their support, he asked the Chapter of Nagyvárad to offer 500 forints per year for the publication costs of the newly established Vatican series, the *Monumenta Vaticana*, and "to ask all the chapters of the country to offer certain annual contributions for this purpose." On the same day, the canons of Nagyvárad called upon all the chapters and the most wealthy monastic orders of the country, and one or two bishops to make donations. As the rest of the episcopate felt neglected, they were addressed by Fraknói in a letter of 23 November.

With one or two exceptions, the reactions were so favourable that in the summer of 1882, a total of about 170,000 lire were available for a period of ten years. In the meantime, a major confusion, fortunately successfully averted, was caused by the fact that in early March 1882, either in response to an action in Rome, or following a bishops' meeting, or both, Lajos Haynald modified Fraknói's ambitious idea. The undertaking was limited to the publication of sources relating exclusively to Hungary. Haynald's letter to the Holy See and Fraknói's negotiations in May 1882, when he hurried to the Eternal City to overcome the problems, had already included the matter of publishing Hungarian documents in the Vatican from the very beginning, i.e.

from 1881. In other words, the preliminary ideas were retroactively modified. In the course of his personal discussions in the Curia, Fraknói managed to avert the difficulties – the State Secretariat had also had concerns about the planned publication of the nuncios' reports – and to clarify the details. Following Lodovico Jacobini's agreement by letter of 19 May 1882, the founding meeting of the participants in the enterprise was held in Budapest on 4 June 1882, with Cardinal Haynald presiding.

The meeting precisely outlined the objective pre-approved by Rome and defined the name of the series. According to this, the aim of the undertaking is nothing less than the publication of "the historical monuments in the Papal archives relating to our Church and our country, in two series: *a*) the publication of the correspondence of the papal nuncios at the court of the Hungarian kings; *b*) the adaptation, completion and continuation of Theiner's *Monumenta Hungariam Sacram illustrantia*. The title of the work be: *Vatican Hungarian Documentary Library. Monumenta Tabularii Vaticani Hungarica*", which was later modified. At the meeting, an editorial committee was finally elected to direct the research, organise the publication and manage the funds. The institutional backing was provided by the Szent István [St. Stephen] Society, the scientific organisation of Hungarian Catholicism. Fraknói published the foundation documents in the summer of 1882 in the pages of the *Magyar Sion*. It was not only the historiographical importance of the enterprise that prompted him to do so. The haste seems to indicate that he also wanted to prove that the idea had been limited to the Hungarian dimension all along.

Between 1884 and 1891, under the direction of the Monumenta Vaticana-Commission, but actually under the direction of Vilmos Fraknói, eight volumes, mostly of heavy size, were published in quick succession, divided into two *series*. The editions were extremely ornate and sophisticated, with a large historical introduction in Latin and Hungarian, an index and, if not a large number of notes, an appendix of notes providing the most important information.

In the end, no publisher was indicated on the volumes published in Budapest, but the briefer of Pope Leo XIII praising the enterprise and the Papal and Hungarian coat of arms were placed at the beginning of each work. The publications were very well received by the peer review.

* * *

The ten-year pledges of the Hungarian chapters and archpriests expired in 1892, and were not renewed. The Monumenta Vaticana-Commission was not dissolved, but at the end of the first decade, which was not only encouraging but also bright, the work was continued in a completely new framework and along a new concept. Following the example of the Prussian and Austrian institutes that had been set up in the meantime, Fraknói also saw the future in institutionalisation. In his end-of-life retrospective, he speaks of his Institute of Hungarian History in Rome as early as 1882, when the *Monu-*

menta Vaticana Hungariae was launched. From 1892 onwards, the focus was on the establishment of the headquarters and the legal character of this virtual scientific institute. However, as he had not received any substantial support for this idea in Hungary, he alone realised his plan. The temporary fall in property prices in Rome enabled him to buy a plot of land in the park of the former *Villa Patrizi* from the proceeds of his own ecclesiastical benefices. It was here, near *Porta Pia*, that the headquarters of the Fraknói Institute of Hungarian History in Rome was built in 1894. However, it was not legally established. The building, with its solid elegance, was a private institute for Hungarian researchers who came to the Eternal City, above all for Vatican research.

Fraknói's Institute of History, which quickly became a scientific and cultural centre, soon launched a new type of series. As French research sought to make full use of the 13th-century Vatican source material, and the Germans and Austrians had already divided up the early modern material from Vienna (Prague) nunciature, which also contained a wealth of Hungarian references, Fraknói focused his institute's investigations on the 14th and 15th centuries. In contrast to the method of the *Monumenta Vaticana*, the Hungarian sources in the various Vatican registers, which were systematically reviewed as far as possible, were not selected according to their archival place or a particular historical topic, but were to be published according to dioceses. This procedure not only corresponded to the nature of the papal registers of the period, which mainly contained entries by diocese, but also made it possible to publish more colourful and often complementary sources (suplications, papal documents on various subjects). By the way, it was expected that the diocese concerned would support the publication of Roman sources from its own history. The latter idea, thanks to Cardinal Károly Hornig, was realised in the diocese of Veszprém, one of the largest dioceses in Medieval Hungary.

Despite the strikingly similar typography, it cannot be stated that the *Monumenta Romana* of the Hungarian dioceses was intended to replace the earlier *Monumenta Vaticana*. Indeed, the former method was by far not suitable for the publication of recent age Vatican sources. The best proof of this is the last volume of the *Monumenta Vaticana*, published in 1909 after a long hiatus, containing the reports of the papal nuncios of Transylvania.

The picture of the heyday of Hungarian research in the Vatican at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century includes, in addition to the above mentioned series, the works of the thirty or so researchers working in Rome, and especially the independent works of the twenty or so members of the Institute. The syntheses of Vilmos Fraknói, who had been appointed Abbot of Szentjobb by King Franz Joseph, on the right of the Hungarian kings to appoint bishops and on Holy See–Hungarian relations stand out by far among the smaller, larger publications and studies. The third volume of the latter, published by 1903, was not only the crowning achievement of the renowned author's Roman activities, but also the actual final chord. Because of his advanced age, Fraknói found himself less and less suitable to manage and maintain his private institute. His attempts to hand over his enterprise

to the Diocese of Nagyvárad and the Hungarian episcopate failed for various reasons. And since, despite the wide professional recognition of the institute's work, the supply of personnel in Hungary was also stagnating, he returned to Budapest in 1905. The building of his institute was rented by a nearby clinic until 1913, when he donated the building to the Hungarian state for the purposes of the Hungarian Institute of History in Rome, founded in the same year. Fraknói finally closed down and sold the Artists' House, which was built next to the Historical Institute building in 1904, at the beginning of 1913.

The present study and its summary differ in two essential points from the text that was originally prepared for the review of the historiographical antecedents of the *Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae* when it was launched in 2004 (CHV I/1exc.), and then republished 18 years later with an expanded version (CVH I/20). The first one is that Fraknói's idea of a virtual Roman institute of Hungarian history had already been present, practically from 1882, when the *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae* was founded. The other is that between June and March 1881 Fraknói was indeed thinking of a universal edition of the *Monummeta Vaticana* published by the Holy See, which he was forced to modify retrospectively.

PÉTER TUSOR

2. "My dear friend and son of great respect!"

THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN RÓMER AND FRAKNÓI AND THE MONUMENTA VATICANA

The incompletely preserved correspondence of Flóris Rómer and Vilmos Fraknói is the private correspondence of two very busy, dedicated people, scientists and friends, but their letters also frequently discuss official business, their research, scientific endeavours and scientific organisation.

Vilmos Fraknói's short letters are not generally informative about his travels in Italy, but the publication of invaluable sources in the Vatican Archives is the subject of a flurry of enthusiastic letters between the two men. Organisational matters relating to the publication of the *Monumenta Vaticana* series are the most frequently discussed ones among the letters dating back to 1881–1882. Fraknói tried to involve Rómer in his work, saying 'Viribus unitis we would go further' (6 June 1881), he often invited him to Rome. But Rómer is only involved in the organisation, editing and checking of the Latin texts, and he uses his contacts and his experience as a scientific organiser to help Fraknói in his enormous work. For example, it was thanks to him that the Chapter of Nagyvárad took an initiative role in the publication of the *Monumenta Vaticana*. The long-planned joint trip to Rome with Fraknói and the research in the Vatican archives were ultimately cancelled.

TERÉZ CSÉCS

3. THE ENCHANTMENT OF NAPLES *Lipót Óváry and the Hungarian historiography in Italy*

Lipót Óváry arrived in Naples in 1861 as a soldier of Garibaldi. Afterwards, at the encouragement of Bartholomeo Capasso, he began his historical research in the library and archival collections of Naples which had not been studied from a Hungarian point of view. From 1870 onwards, on behalf of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, he systematically researched the collections of Naples and its surroundings. His most important results were initially related to the Kingdom of Hungary's relations with Italy in the Angevine period, and then, while researching the Farnese Archives in Naples, he discovered a set of diplomatic documents from the pontificate of Pope Paul III. By working on these documents, Óváry wrote his name into the historiography of Hungarian historical research in the Vatican. After his return to Hungary in 1876, he became vice-archivist and later chief archivist of the National Archives, but his research on the Vatican did not stop there, and he participated in the *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae* series. He also made several attempts at research in the Vatican archives, the closest he came to the *Cortile del Belvedere* was in 1879, but this project was not realised.

Meanwhile, Óváry continued writing for the press, and as a permanent publicist in the press department of the Prime Minister's Office, he regularly wrote to Italian and French newspapers about fake news and attacks because of nationalities, mainly Romanian. He participated in Hungarian and international academic life, was a member of several academies, associations and societies, and gave lectures at international conferences of historians. However, since his scholarly works were written mainly in Hungarian, his work is little known to international scholars of church history.

VIKTOR KANÁSZ

4. PAPAL TITHES AND TAX COLLECTORS IN 14TH CENTURY HUNGARY *László Fejérpataky and the Hungarian Monumenta Vaticana*

The paper reviews the role of László Fejérpataky, considered to be the innovator of historical auxiliary sciences, above all diplomacy, in Hungary, in the Vatican's source research. The young historian joined the staff working on the *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae* series at the request of Vilmos Fraknói in 1883. At that time, he was working on discovering and publicising documents relating to the activities of Cardinal Gentilis de Monteflorum, the papal legate to Hungary, the result of which was published in 1885.

On his second research trip to Rome (1885–1886), he worked on the Hungarian data in the account books of the 14th-century papal tax collectors begun by Frigyes Pesty, which finally appeared in print in 1887. In addition to the above-mentioned facts, he was also the first to research the archives of the *Dataria Apostolica* with Vilmos Fraknói, Theodor Sickel and some of his Hungarian and Austrian fellow historians, which he reported on in detail in his letters from Rome.

From 1913 until his death in 1923, he took an active part in the work of the Hungarian Historical Commission of Rome, which was part of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and organised research in the Vatican. The last results of Fejérpataky's Vatican-related work were published after his death. The editorial staff of the *Hungarian Historical Handbook* series asked Fejérpataky to prepare a paleography and a diplomatic summary of papal documents, but his death prevented him from completing these tasks. From the notes and sketches in his estate, his pupil, Antal Áldásy produced a unified manuscript, which was published in 1926, three years after Fejérpataky's death.

TAMÁS FEDELES

5. FERENC KOLLÁNYI AND ROME (1893)

Between January and May 1893, Ferenc Kollányi, on behalf of the Monumenta Vaticana Commission, conducted research on *Hungarica* in the Vatican and Roman state archives, looking through the *supplications* of Pope John IV (1431–1447) and the *Annata* books of 1471–1560. The Esztergom-Downtown chaplain, then barely thirty years old, wrote ten letters to the general public at home during his absence, which served as the main source material for this study. These letters not only described the methods and sometimes difficult circumstances of his research in Italy, but also the everyday life of the months he spent in the Eternal City. The domestic readership – and the modern man – can get a vivid picture of the carnival and atmosphere of Rome at the turn of the previous century, as well as of the ecclesiastical celebrations that Kollányi experienced (the 50th anniversary of Leo XIII's consecration as bishop, the beatification of Francesco Saverio Maria Bianchi) and the excursions to Naples and Pompeii. In the letters, the young historian reveals his own emotions and thoughts with genuine sincerity, adding fascinating contributions to the historiography of his late 19th Century Vatican research.

Ferenc Kollányi, who was still at the beginning of his career, was inspired by the trip to Rome, which was followed by a second one in 1897 (this time the scholarly cleric visited not only the archives of Rome, but also those of Parma, Florence and Mi-

lan). Known among Hungarian medievalists mainly for his work on church history and church law, Kollányi continued his active scientific activity until his appointment as canon of Nagyvárád in 1911, and he participated in scientific organization until his death in 1933.

TERÉZIA HORVÁTH

6. JÓZSEF LUKCSICS AND THE GOLDEN AGE OF DIOCESAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

József Lukcsics was born on 4 February 1875 in a small village in Transdanubia, Kerta, in a well-to-do peasant family. In 1893, he was admitted to the seminary in Veszprém, and from 1894, as a student of the Central Seminary, he continued his theological studies at the Faculty of Theology of the Royal Hungarian University of Budapest. After his ordination Lukcsics continued his studies at the *Augustineum* in Vienna. While in Vienna he was already engaged in research on church history. In July 1900, after completing his studies and obtaining his doctorate, Károly Hornig, Bishop of Veszprém appointed him chaplain and theology teacher in Pápa. Bishop Hornig introduced him to Vilmos Fraknói, a priest who was by then a nationally renowned scholar. Hornig is said to have invited Fraknói for a ride in his carriage and seated the young cleric opposite him. After Lukcsics passed the exam, his journey from the parish of Pápa soon took him to Rome.

József Lukcsics replaced his predecessor, Miklós Pallay, also a priest of the diocese of Veszprém, who had assisted Fraknói with the first two volumes of the *Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vésprimiensis*. For the third volume of the *Monumenta*, in addition to transcribing the sources, comparing them with the originals and preparing the index, Lukcsics also wrote the introduction, almost 60 pages long. He also began to revise the series of the Apostolic Chamber. In the course of the work on the volume, several leading figures of Hungarian-related studies at the Vatican (such as Á. Gilbert Zaich, Ferenc Kollányi, Antal Beke, Menyhért Érdújhelyi, Pál Tóth Szabó and Pongrácz Sörös) also contributed to the work of the Vatican's translation process, coordinated by József Lukcsics.

While work commenced on the fourth volume, which was not originally planned, in January 1903, Lukcsics took the lead. It was certainly in this year that he completed his review of the volumes of the Apostolic Chamber in the Vatican archives and in the Italian State archives. A separate publication of the collection was out of the question at that time, and the manuscript can only be published after his death. He also uncovered many valuable sources for the *Monumenta* volumes while arranging the documents at the Veszprém Chapter. Lukcsics was not idle during the summer, when the Vatican archives were kept closed: in 1901, Hornig appointed him episcopal librarian,

and then he was given the task of organising the archives of the Veszprém Chapter. Volume IV and its appendix therefore contain many documents and charters from this archive. For the last volume, he also carried out research in the Budapest University Library, where he worked from 1904, and includes sources from the collection of copies of the 18th century Jesuit historians Gábor Hevenesi and István Kaprinay.

Lukcsics completed his research in Rome in the spring of 1904, and in September 1904 he was already employed at the University Library in Budapest, assisted in his appointment by Bishop Károly Hornig. He worked at the University Library from 1904 until 1909. In February 1909, also with the support of his bishop, he was appointed professor of Church History at the Faculty of Theology. In addition to courses in Hungarian and universal church history, he also gave seminars on Latin palaeography and diplomatic studies, as well as a seminar on ecclesiastical antiquities. One of the highlights of his teaching career was that he was Dean of the Faculty of Theology in the academic years 1912/1913 and 1917/1918. Teaching and university administration left less time for publications. On November 16, 1922, Bishop Nándor Rott of Veszprém appointed him canon and he had to give up his chair. In recognition of his merits and services, he was awarded the title of full professor of the University. His diocesan bishop gave the newly arrived canon some responsibilities: from 1923 to 1935 he held the post of superintendent of the diocese, and also became a synod examiner and judge. In 1924 he became a member of the committee of the Veszprém County Legislature, in 1926 abbot of Kapornak, in 1927 archdeacon of Somogy, and in 1934 papal prelate.

József Lukcsics died unexpectedly. His necrologues remembered him not only for his ecclesiastical career, his sensitivity to social issues or his academic work, but also for his direct manner, his sympathy and his honesty, which made him unheard of in his diocese.

GÁBOR NEMES

7. TRANSYLVANIA IN ROME. THE VATICAN RESEARCH
OF ENDRE VERESS

The pitfalls and lessons of an irregular career arc

The role of Endre Veress, a distinguished Transylvanian historian, in unveiling Hungarian monuments in the Vatican and Italy, as well as his vast published and unpublished oeuvre and legacy, play an inescapable role in the study of Hungarian–Italian relations. His documentary publications have put the Principality of Transylvania on the map of national and international scholarship. Vilmos Fraknói played an unforgettable role in initiating and then continuing his research trips to Rome and Italy, and he soon noticed young Veress's commitment to epistolary and manuscript

research, which was matched by an unconventional work ethic. The result of their collaboration was the publication of the correspondence of the Transylvanian nunciature set up by Pope Clement VIII during the prolonged Turkish wars. Unfortunately, further work was greatly hindered by Veress's eccentric personality. This was not only reflected in his conflict-laden relationship with Hungarian historians, but also in the fact that he alone carried out his research and published his results. These factors played a role in his failure to gain either the academic membership or the university professorship that was the norm at the time. After the First World War, Veress's publications in *Fontes Rerum Hungaricarum* and *Fontes Rerum Transylvanicarum* effectively took over the role of the *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae* and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' *Monumenta Hungariae Historica* series.

TAMÁS KRUPPA

APPENDICES

I.

FRAKNÓI-BIBLIOGRAPHY (1861–1924)

The bibliography was mainly based on and supplemented by the following works: *Fraknói Vilmos negyedszázados irodalmi munkássága 1861–1885* [*Vilmos Fraknói's literary activity of a quarter of a century*], Budapest 1886; *Fraknói Vilmos irodalmi munkássága 1860–1910* [*Vilmos Fraknói's literary activity*], Budapest 1910; RÖTTLER, *Egyház, műveltség, történetírás* [*Church, Culture, and Historiography*], 346–353. The bibliography is only complete with regard to the scholarly work of Vilmos Fraknói. It is a hopeless enterprise to provide a complete list of his wide-ranging public and political activities, so only a representative selection is included. The same can be said of the reviews of individual works by Fraknói.

GÁBOR NEMES

II.

FRAKNÓI-DOCUMENTATION *Life interview, autobiography, newspaper articles* 1923–1924, 1926, 1928–1929

The press of the first half of the 20th century devoted considerable attention to Vilmos Fraknói. His name regularly appeared in periodicals of all kinds, with a wide

range of ideas and political backgrounds, and he was the subject of articles in newspapers, literary and political journals. These reports, recollections and interviews, which are often unknown or only scarcely known, can, by supporting and supplementing archival sources, help to explore the life of the scholar bishop and reconstruct his scientific activities. With this in mind, here are 15 selected contemporary documents which may be of help to future research on Fraknói.

The first two articles were written on the occasion of the scientist's 80th birthday. Less well known is the tangled history of the elder Fraknói's post-Trianon housing problems. This is described in three articles in the *Pesti Napló* of October 1924. The everyday life and death of the priest, who worked tirelessly in his last months, is described in the following three articles. Two of the obituaries following Fraknói's death are included in the selection, together with the funeral speech of Károly Szász and the will of the deceased. Several years after Fraknói's death, memoirs of his life were published. Among them are those of Antal Hodinka and Lajos Szalay, and finally the 1929 report of the *Hungarian National Correspondent*, which describes the dedication of Fraknói's grave.

The writings published here do not even begin to cover the "*Fraknóiana*" of the above years in the Hungarian press. The collection of further, shorter or possibly latent, or earlier press sources is a task for future research.

VIKTOR KANÁSZ

III.A

FROM CARICATURES TO SCULPTURES

Images of Vilmos Fraknói

Vilmos Fraknói was one of the most famous historians of his time, and in addition to his scientific pursuits, he was also interested in the arts, and had friendly relations and frequent correspondence with the art world, not to mention the Roman House of Art he founded. Accordingly, from his early days as a young scholar to the present day, a number of pictorial sources have survived. In many cases, these are not only portraits, but also caricatures with political messages, as well as sculptures, paintings and small sculptures that made on his memory.

VIKTOR KANÁSZ

III.B

PHOTO GALLERY

Several photos of Vilmos Fraknói were taken during his life. The selection of photographs aims to provide a comprehensive visual insight into the life of the late scientist. The earliest photo is from before 1888 and the latest from 1924. The published images are the result of extensive research. In addition to the images found in various collections, family photographs of particular importance are those that have been unknown to researchers until now. They have been preserved in the possession of the historian's living lateral relatives, thus further enriching the pictorial source material already known about Fraknói.

VIKTOR KANÁSZ–GYÖRGY SÁGI–PÉTER TUSOR

LIFE PATH

Chronology

The chronological curriculum vitae of Fraknói, based on the results of the studies in the volume and on the literature and lexicography cited in the volume, provides both an overview and a detailed overview of the career of the scholarly high priest. The *Chronology* is not entirely linear. The individual periods of his life, which can be bound to a specific site, are presented separately, sometimes with a summary introduction. Many earlier erroneous data (for example, the year of the bishop-elect of Ardey, 1892, obtained from the air) have been checked and corrected.

PÉTER TUSOR

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