



FRAKNÓI EMLÉKKÖNYV

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

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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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szerkesztette
TUSOR PÉTER & KANÁSZ VIKTOR



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FRAKNÓI KÖZÉLETI PUBLICISZTIKÁJA (1870–1918)

Ha Fraknói Vilmosra gondolunk, elsősorban kiváló történészként, váradi kanonokként, vagy a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia titkáráként jut sokunk eszébe. Természetesen nem véletlenül, történetírói munkássága és tudomány-szervezői tevékenysége mai napig hatással van a magyar tudományosságra. Azonban kevesebb szó szokott esni Fraknói Vilmos közéleti publicisztikai tevékenységéről. Pedig hosszú alkotói pályája során, a rengeteg ellátott feladata mellett, általa fontosnak tartott ügyek kapcsán kifejtette közéleti nézeteit is. Jelen írás a Nemes Gábor által összeállított *Fraknói-bibliográfia* alapján a történelem publicisztikai munkásságát mutatja be.¹

1870 és 1918 között 22 címen, több esetben folytatásokban, több mint 30 publicisztikája jelent meg Fraknóinak. Ezen közel ötven év során három olyan nagyobb időszakot és négy témakört tudtam körülhatárolni, amikor Fraknói valamilyen módon kilépett a történészi szerepből és jelenének aktuális kérdései kapcsán tollat ragadott. Az első ilyen esemény, amely során kifejtette nézeteit, az 1870-es évek katolikus autonómia vitája volt.² Az autonómia kongresszus célul tűzte ki magának, hogy megteremti a vallásszabadság és a vallási egyenjogúság magyarországi keretrendszerét.³ Az 1870-es évek elején számos cikkben foglalkozott nem csupán a magyar katolicizmus önkormányzati lehetőségeivel és módjaival, de országos körképet is adott arról, hogy más, az országban vagy a nagyvilágban több helyütt működő felekezetek miként viszo-

¹ Lásd e kötetben: *Függelékek/I.* – A kezdeti, 1860-as évek publicisztikájának áttekintése: ROTT-
LER, *Fraknói... pályakezdése*, 1058–1061; kibővítve 1870–1871-ig német nyelven: Uő, *Vilmos Fra-
knói's publizistische Tätigkeit*, 87–100.

² Az 1870-es évek autonómia vitájáról részletesen lásd: SARNYAI CSABA MÁTÉ, *Katolikus auto-
nómia-koncepciók (1848-tól 1920-ig)*, Budapest 2022, 57–68.

³ Egyik alapkötet Sarnyai idézett munkáját megelőzően: TÖRÖK JENŐ, *A katolikus autonómia-
mozgalom 1848–1871: adalékok a magyar liberális katolicizmus történetéhez*, Budapest 1941. A katoli-
kus autonómia körüli századfordulós politikai helyzetről újabban: NÁNDORI BARBARA, *A kato-
likus autonómia történetéhez. A II. autonómia-kongresszus 9-es albizottságának működése és az erre
tett püspöki észrevételek (1898)*, MS 46 (2010) 2. sz., 201–232.

nyulnak az államhatalomhoz és az autonómiához. Ennek során több írásban a szerb kongresszus tevékenységéről,⁴ a protestáns egyházak állapotáról,⁵ reformmozgalmaikról, az amerikai,⁶ valamint az angol és a belga katolicizmus állapotáról is beszámolt Fraknói.⁷ E korszak témájával egy időben tűnt fel Fraknói az I. Vatikáni Zsinatot és annak döntéseit védelmező cikke.⁸

Az 1882-ben újra napirendre kerülő, korábbi Eötvös-i tanügyi javaslat hatására törte meg több mint egy évtizedes közéleti publicisztikai csendjét Fraknói. Ekkor egy háromrészes, összesen több mint 70 oldalas történeti áttekintést adott a magyar katolikus iskolaügyről és észrevételeket fűzött a készülő törvényhez is.⁹

Végezetül a világháborús időszak tekinthető az utolsó alkalomnak, amikor több esetben (az autonómia-vita éveitől kezdve) a legtermékenyebb publicisztikai korszaka) kifejezésre juttatta személyes véleményét. 1916-ban és 1917-ben számos írása jelent meg. E cikkekben főként Olaszország háborúba lépésének közvetlen diplomáciai előzményeit, valamint Anglia háború előtti diplomáciáját taglalta az idős történész.¹⁰ De a Hármas szövetség életképességét és a román állammal folytatott tárgyalásokat is értékelte Fraknói.¹¹

1. MELY LAPOKBAN PUBLIKÁLT FRAKNÓI?

Elmondható, hogy Fraknói közéleti témájú írásait a korai időszakban a *Magyar Sion*-ban adta közre. Ez esetében a legkézenfekvőbb megoldás volt, hiszen 1870-től Zádori Jánossal szerkesztője volt a neves lapnak. 1882-től, mikor újra napi politikai, oktatásügyi kérdésekben nyilvánult meg, a ma már kevésbé ismert *Budapesti Szemle*t választotta írásai számára. Kötettség e laphoz is fűzte, a *Budapesti Szemle* kiadója a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia volt, amelynek 1879-től a titkári pozícióját töltötte be. A *Szemle* kiváló színvonalát a század nagynevű tudós-szerkesztői biztosították. Kiemelendő a nagyváradi születésű Csengery Antal, jogász-közigazdász, aki Deák Ferenc köréhez, majd pártjához

⁴ *Fraknói-bibl.*, 43. sz.

⁵ *Fraknói-bibl.*, 47–48. sz.

⁶ *Fraknói-bibl.*, 49. sz.

⁷ *Fraknói-bibl.*, 42. sz.

⁸ *Fraknói-bibl.*, 75. sz.

⁹ *Fraknói-bibl.*, 242. sz.

¹⁰ *Fraknói-bibl.*, 470–471. sz.

¹¹ *Fraknói-bibl.*, 479. sz. és 472. sz.

tartozott és a kiegyezésben is tevékeny szerepet vállalt.¹² Csengery 1871 és 1880 között az MTA másodelnöke volt. A folyóirat másik neves szerkesztője Gyulai Pál irodalomtörténész, egyetemi tanár, műkritikus volt.¹³ Gyulait 1867-ben választották az Akadémia rendes tagjává, 1873-tól töltötte be a lap szerkesztői pozícióját. A *Budapesti Szemlé*ben jellemzően irodalmi, filozófiai és történelmi témájú hosszabb, értekező írások jelentek meg. Tehát mondható, hogy mind a korai, mind a későbbi közéleti megnyilvánulásai esetében Fraknói ismerős felületeket vett igénybe. Közéleti írásaival nem hagyta el az Akadémia tágabb körét.

Ennek ellenére is előfordult, hogy egyes írásait álnév alatt jelentette meg. Ez úgy a tudományos munkáinak egy részére, mint a publicisztikájára is igaz állítás. 1870-ben az észak-amerikai rabszolgakérdés kapcsán Újváry Sándor néven jelentette meg írását. Másik munkája, szintén az 1870-es *Magyar Sionban*, Észak Amerika vallási állapotáról szintén álnéven került kiadásra, Réthy Elek néven. Elgondolkodtató, hogy vajon a felvetett témák miatt szeretett volna némi távolságot a személyétől, vagy az 1870-es *Magyar Sionba* írt amúgy is nagyszámú közleményét akarta ellensúlyozni más, fiktív nevekkal Fraknói.

2. FRAKNÓI PUBLICISZTIKÁINAK JELLEMZŐI

Fraknói Vilmos, mint általában a publicisták, akik hatni kívánnak olvasóközönségükre, a tényalapú állításai mellett igyekezett erős képekkel is élni. A korai, hetvenes évekbeli publicisztikáiban, az autonómia viták során az egyházat rendszeresen viharban hánykolódó hajónak ábrázolta. Üldözött közönségnek mutatta be a katolicizmust. Gyakran előkerült leíró soraiban a külső, egyházellenes ellenség, amely lankadatlanul támadásokat intéz a békére és önkormányzatiságra vágyó magyar katolicizmus ellen. Álnéven, Amerika vallási állapotairól írt cikkében az „egyházellenes álliberalizmust” jelölte meg fő ellenséggként.¹⁴ Bár ennél jobban aztán nem fejtette ki, hogy kire, vagy kikre gondolt. Egy másik publicisztikájában a katolikus helyzetet úgy summázta,

¹² Csengery tudományos és tudománypolitikai szerepvállalására lásd: SZÁNTÓ GYÖRGY TIBOR, „A tudós céb éltető és intéző szellemének mondják...” Csengery Antal az Akadémián, Magyar Tudomány–AÉ ú.f. 25 (1980) 10. sz., 780–788.

¹³ Gyulai Pálról szóló szakirodalom százéves hagyományra tekint vissza, utóbbi időben összefoglalóan: BEKE ALBERT, *Gyulai Pál személyisége és esztétikája*, Budapest 2017.

¹⁴ *Fraknói-bibl.*, 49. sz., 351.

hogy ma (tudniillik az 1870-es években) nagyobb bátorság nyíltan katolikusnak lenni, mint két évtizeddel korábban a szabadságharc oldalára állni.¹⁵ Jól érezhetően tehát publicisztikáiban igyekezett egy ostrom alatt lévő közösség képét felrajzolni. Ezzel kívánta a cselekvés szükségességének az érzését felkelteni olvasóiban.

A fentiek mellett pozitív példákkal is élt Fraknói. Az Egyházat – amellet természetesen, hogy az isteni igazságok hirdetőjének tekintette – a kultúra elsődleges bölcsőjének és terjesztőjének is nevezte, annak minden előnyével és eredményével, amelyet a társadalom felé közvetített.¹⁶ Alapállításnak tartotta, hogy a legutóbbi századig az egyház biztosította a haladást és a társadalmi emelkedés lehetőségét, ahogy fogalmazott: „egyházunk... a nyomor és szenvedések leghatalmasabb enyhítője”. Meglepően sokszor hozta fel a katolikus önkormányzatiság kapcsán az Amerikai Egyesült Államok példáját. Lényegében állandóan emlegetett pozitív jövőképe egy olyan egyház volt, mint ami az USA-ban már mindennapi valóság volt a 19. században. Többször, több esetben dicsérte az amerikai kongresszust, amely illetéktelennek vallotta magát vallási kérdésekben.¹⁷ Ez különösen szimpatikus volt Fraknói számára, mert – ahogy hangsúlyozta – ez nem jelenti azt, hogy ne lennének az amerikaiak vallásosak. Különösen jó példa erre szerinte, hogy a függetlenedésük óta eltelt évtizedekben több mint 40 egyházmegyét alapítottak az országban.

3. A CIKKEK JELLEGE

Fentiekben arról szóltam, hogy milyen képeket használt, milyen visszatérő példákkal érvelt publicisztikáiban Fraknói. Meg kell jegyeznem, hogy Fraknói rendszerint került a hír, a tárcá, az interjú és minden egyéb más újságírói műfajokat. Egyedül és kizárólag publicisztikákat írt olyan témákban, amelyekben kellően szakavatottnak érezte magát. 1882-ben a középtanodai törvényjavaslatról szóló cikkében az alábbi módon magyarázta a közéleti diskurzusba történő belépését: „azt hisszük vannak esetek, mikor a történetíró fölfüggesztheti bűvárlatait, és anélkül hogy hívatlannak látszanék, hozzászólhat a napi kérdésekhez, főleg ha azok a múlt történeti előzményeivel és a nemzete jövődjé-

¹⁵ *Fraknói-bibl.*, 44. sz., 4.

¹⁶ Uo., 5–6.

¹⁷ *Fraknói-bibl.*, 49. sz., 354.

vel kapcsolatban állanak”.¹⁸ Ezt a mondatot lényegében tekinthetjük Fraknói értelmiségi alapállásának és publicisztikai ars poeticájának. Ennek megfelelően járt el a legtöbb esetben írásai kapcsán. Amennyiben lehetséges volt, mindig értelmezte az adott kérdés távolabbi és közelebbi múltját. Ebből felállított egy, a napjaira vonatkozó diagnózist, majd mint a jó orvos, egyből megoldási javaslatokat – orvosságot – is kínált az érintettek számára. Orvosságának fő alapja szinte mindig a lefolytatott vita és az abból születő egyezség volt (ez alól természetesen a világháborús publicisztikai kivételt képezték). Nem vetette el a vita fontosságát az autonómia kereteit meghatározó kongresszus esetében sem. Legplasztikusabban pont e viták kapcsán fogalmazta meg álláspontját a disputák szükségességéről:

„Ha kívánjuk, hogy saját nézeteink és szándékaink iránt mások igazságosak és méltányosak legyenek; tanuljunk meg igazságosak és méltányosak lenni mások iránt. Ha kívánjuk, hogy az ellentétes nézetek nyilatkozásai ne elkeserítő összeütközések, hanem szerencsés fejleményeknek legyenek szülői: vagy csatkozhatatlanságunkról győzzük meg ellenfeleinket; vagy ha erre képesek nem vagyunk, a mérséklet és engedékenység szellemét emeljük uralomra” – írta.¹⁹

Publicisztikáiból kitűnik, hogy a modern állam tekintetében alapvetően a parlamentarizmust tartotta hasznos és szükséges feltételnek. Többször hangsúlyozta, hogy a sikeresen lefolytatott érdemi viták előrébb viszik a közügyek jelen állását.

Fraknói a hetvenes években a *Magyar Sion* főszerkesztőjeként több éven keresztül évenként körülírta a magyar katolicizmus aktuális helyzetét, majd megoldási javaslatokat is tett. Publicisztikáiban sosem merült el a panaszkodásban, egyszer sem találni önfelmentő sorokat. Minden esetben diagnosztizált és megoldásokat javasolt. Akárcsak a tudományos pályája, úgy publicisztikai működése is az aktív tenni akaráson alapult.

Itt legjobb példának, kulcsmunkának a *Föladataink* című beköszöntőt tartom, az általa átvett *Magyar Sion* első évfolyamának első számában, 1870-ből.²⁰ A szerző nem köntörfalazott, nem óvatoskodott, körülírta a helyzetet, amelyet kora problémájának látott és a következőként összegzett: „volt, hogy üldözöttebb volt az egyház, de befolyásától sosem volt ilyen megfosztott”. E helyzet kapcsán feltette a kérdést, amely valószínűleg valóban érdekelte és

¹⁸ *Fraknói-bibl.*, 242. sz., 297.

¹⁹ *Fraknói-bibl.*, 40. sz., 110.

²⁰ *Fraknói-bibl.*, 44. sz. De ugyanebben a műfajban említhető az 1871. évi és a 1872. évi évértékelője is: *Fraknói-bibl.*, 61. sz., 75. sz.

foglalkoztatta: „Minek tulajdonítható, hogy a katolikus egyház isteni erejét sok századon át oly gazdagon gyümölcsöztette az emberiség érdekében? És minek tulajdonítható, hogy a mai nap ezt az isteni erőt kevésbé képes értékesíteni?”²¹ Fraknói szerint be kell ismerni, hogy számos szép eredmény ellenére lankad az egyháziak buzgalma. Itt néhány jelenséget is felsorolt a szerző, amelyeket kulcsproblémának látott: **1.** A tudomány több ága, amely az Egyház és az egyháziak nélkül fejlődött, mára az Egyház ellen fordult. **2.** Nem mérték fel jól a sajtó hatalmát és szerepét.²² **3.** A szociális kérdések megoldására új eszmék születtek, amelyeket nem vettek a közelmúltig komolyan, de félelmetes ellenséggé válhatnak a jövőben. Meg kell jegyezni, hogy szinte látnoki erejű megállapításnak bizonyult ez utóbbi meglátása. Majd Fraknói summázata szerint leszorították az egyházat a vezéri pozícióból, amelyet az ellenségek foglaltak el. Fraknói, mikor szóba hozta az államvallást, ismét az Amerikai Egyesült Államok példáját hozta, miszerint semmiképp sem érdemes fájlalni az államvallások korának a végét két ok miatt sem. Elsősorban, mert az USA és Anglia katolicizmusa látványosan fejlődött a korszakban annak ellenére, hogy nem államvallás a katolikus az említett országokban.²³ Másrészt Fraknói szerint az államvallási állapotból jutott a magyar katolicizmus oda, ahol most van, tehát nem érdemes arra visszatérni.

A cikk célja egyértelműen az olvasók felrázása volt, így a diagnosztizálás után javaslatot is tett a fenti szituáció javítása érdekében. Fraknói leszögezte és cselekvése mozgatójának tartotta, hogy az egyház küldetése továbbra sem változott, annak ereje mit sem apadt az évszázadok során. Éppen ezért reményét fejezte ki, hogy az egyetemes egyház szintjén, a zsinatra tartozó ügyekben javítani fog a zsinat az egyház emberi alkotásain ott, ahol a kor megkívánja. Kijelentette, hogy a püspökök kezdeményezésére a magyar egyháznak is meg kell újulnia. Harmadrészt Fraknói szerint a papságnak be kell vonnia a munkába a világi elemet is, a tenni akaró világiakat.²⁴ Az autonómia segítségével Fraknói szerint nagyobb az esély a közönyösök felrázására. Azt is állítja, hogy ez a felrázás viszont az autonómia nélkül lehetetlen. Tehát látható, hogy a szerző valódi helyzetértékelésbe bocsátkozott, nem kerülve esetenként az önkritikát sem.

²¹ *Fraknói-bibl.*, 44. sz.

²² A katolicizmussal ellenséges sajtó mindennapos jelenségéről és a katolikus sajtó gyenge helyzetéről egyébként is többször osztott meg gondolatokat: *Fraknói-bibl.*, 49. sz., 61. sz.

²³ Fraknói szinte csodálattal adózott a „békénhagyott” katolicizmus önszerveződő erejének. *Fraknói-bibl.*, 49. sz., 351–352.

²⁴ *Fraknói-bibl.*, 44. sz., 14–15.

4. FRAKNÓI ÉS A KATOLIKUS AUTONÓMIA

Elsőként a már említett autonómia kapcsán született írásokból egyet röviden ismertetek. A magyarországi katolikus egyház önkormányzati szervezete című cikke 1871-ben jelent meg a *Magyar Sionban*.²⁵ Fraknói ekkor bízott, hogy az 1870 októbere és 1871 márciusa között dolgozó kongresszus által hozott szervezet képes lesz az egyházi állapotok helyzetét jobbra fordítani. Fraknói e cikkében arra vállalkozott, hogy ha nem is, mint a viták felett álló, de azokat kívülről figyelő személy módjára visszatekinthet és a főbb jelenségekre és eredményekre felhívhatja a figyelmet.²⁶ Teszi ezt – állítása szerint – azért, hogy ismertesse a vitában résztvevő két irányzatot. Kifejtette, hogy bízik benne, hogy a közjó és az igazság diadalát fogja szolgálni az eredménye. E korszakban minden cikkében fellelhető vezérmotívum, hogy az autonómia és az önkormányzatiság fontossága megkérdőjelezhetetlen, véleménye szerint egyedüli feladat mára annyi, hogy annak hatáskörét kell megszabni.²⁷ Az autonómiáról kifejtette, hogy el kell látnia a funkciót, hogy a király apostoli jogának közegéül szolgálhasson, biztosíthassa az egyház vagyonát és függetlenségét, végeredményben pedig remélte, hogy ez megtörheti a világiak közönyét.

Kevés, szinte egyedüli alkalomak egyike, amikor a cikk írója véleményem szerint eltért írása elején meghatározott feladatától és szerepétől. Az álláspontok ismertetése helyett a cikk további részében hangsúlyosan egy álláspontot képviselt. Ellenezte az általa hangos kisebbségnek titulált csoport azon állítását, hogy nem csupán a tróntól, de Rómától is függetlenednie kéne a magyar egyháznak. Fraknói szerint ez legitim elvárás egy protestáns egyháztól, de nem a katolikustól, annak nem képezheti programját. Majd azzal folytatta, hogy elvetette a kisebbség azon gondolatát, miszerint az autonómiát teljes mértékben parlamentáris alapokra kellene helyezni. Szerinte ez kivitelezhetetlen és összeegyeztethetetlen az egyház hierarchiájával. Itt újra a történész szólalt meg, aki távlatokban tekint a folyamatokra, érve ezért így foglalható össze: a parlamentarizmus csak ma tűnik progresszív megoldásnak és hatékonynak, a katolikus berendezkedés azonban évszázadok viszonylatában bizonyított.

Ezt követően újra az Amerikai Egyesült Államokat hozta példaként: Fraknói nem ellenezte a gondolatot, hogy be kell vonni a világiakat is az egyház

²⁵ *Fraknói-bibl.*, 58. sz.

²⁶ Bár a vitán kívülállóként jellemezte magát, elveiben a Haynald Lajos-féle véleményt osztotta.

²⁷ Különösen is kifejtve a tárgyalt cikken kívül: *Fraknói-bibl.*, 40. sz., 106.

munkájába, de véleménye szerint ennek meg kell találni a megfelelő módját.²⁸ Az USA-ban túlzottan befolytak a világiak az egyháziak ügyeibe, főként pénzügyeibe, önjáróvá váltak a közösségek, amelyekre alig volt befolyása a püspököknek.

Fraknói örömet fejezte ki, hogy Ghyczy Kálmán tervezete már nem fog megvalósulni. Ghyczy ugyanis arra tett javaslatot, hogy az autonómiáért cserébe mondjon le az egyház anyagi előnyeiről és a római függéséről. Fraknói csattanósan annyit válaszolt, hogy tehát akkor lehetnénk függetlenek, ha megszűnnénk katolikusnak lenni.²⁹

5. FRAKNÓI VILÁGHÁBORÚS ÍRÁSAI

Ezen cikkek esetében legtöbbször már nem is publicisztikákról, hanem külpolitikai elemzésekről beszélhetünk. Munkáinak alapjául a legtöbbször az *Osztrák–magyar öröskönyv* szolgált, amely a monarchia háború előtti diplomáciai dokumentumait tartalmazta.³⁰ Cikkei során többször megfogalmazta Fraknói, hogy Olaszország neutralitásának a megtartása nem volt realitás, megvalósíthatatlan feladatnak látta. Az angolokat általában felbújtóknak, míg az olaszokat hitszegőeknek bélyegezte. Az olaszokkal és a Salandra-kormányral kapcsolatban többször megjegyezte, hogy lelkiismeretlenek, 32 év után áru-lókká váltak, lesújtó véleménnyel volt róluk.³¹ A *Magyar Figyelő*ben 1918-ban megjelent *Anglia politikája a világháború kitörése előtt* című munkája elején leszögezte, hogy a öröskönyvben nyilvánosságra hozott iratokat ő a történeti kritika módszerének alkalmazásával kívánja elemezni.³²

A korszakból a legélesebb, legkritikusabb cikke a *Hármas-szövetség agóniája* címet viseli, amely 1917-ben jelent meg a *Budapesti Szemle* hasábjain.³³ Fraknói megosztotta olvasóival, hogy 1915. május 2-án ő maga írt Burián István külügyminiszternek, kérje fel XV. Benedek pápát, hogy járjon közben a békéért

²⁸ Itt számos pénzügyi és joghatóságbeli problémás esetet felsorolt, amelyet az Egyesült Államokbeli katolikusoknak is ki kellett küszöbölniük működésük során. *Fraknói-bibl.*, 58. sz., 247–251.

²⁹ Uo., 253–254.

³⁰ *Osztrák–magyar öröskönyv. Diplomáciai akták a háború előzményeinek történetéhez 1914*, Budapest 1915.

³¹ Antonio Salandra (1853–1931), 1914-től 1916-ig Olaszország miniszterelnöke.

³² *Fraknói-bibl.*, 491. sz., 306.

³³ *Fraknói-bibl.*, 479. sz.

és Olaszország semlegességéért az olasz királynál. Ezen a ponton Fraknói tehát nem csupán leírója volt a körülötte zajló eseményeknek, hanem megpróbálta azt alakítani is. Ennek elsősorban az szabott gátat, hogy Burián mellőzte Fraknói kérését. Olaszország háborúba lépése előtt a monarchia külügyminisztériuma a diplomáciai tárgyalások során hajlandónak bizonyult fennhatósága alatt álló területekről egyezkedni, azokat az olasz fél számára átengedni. Cikkében ezt az időszakot Fraknói így interpretálta a magyar helyzetre:

„Aggkorom éjjeli nyugalma és nappali munkáját 1915. május 18. és 1916. augusztus 29. között gyakran zavarta meg az a (phantasmagoriának bizonyult) kérdés: nem fog-e találkozni kormány, mely Románia «utógondolatok nélküli barátságának biztosítása végett» románoktól lakott magyarországi területeket fog felajánlani? És ha igen, nem fogja-e ezt az ajánlatot az osztrák Reichsrat éppen úgy megünnepelni, mint a magyar képviselőház a Trentino és az Isonzo-terület följárását?»³⁴

Mindemellett Fraknói aláhúzta, hogy ilyen jellegű engedménytételekkel nem lehet sem szövetségest, sem barátot biztosítani egy hatalom számára, hiszen a zsarolók így újabb és újabb követelésekkel állnának elő. Az olasz kormányról kialakított lesújtó képen ekkor sem változtatott az idős tudós. Az olasz miniszterelnököt azzal vádolta Fraknói, hogy üres frázisokat használt, amikor beszámolt a parlamentjének a hadüzenet előtti tárgyalásokról. Tudniillik Salandra miniszterelnök a tárgyalások megszakítását annyival indokolta, hogy „a tárgyalások megszakítását az ország méltósága követelte”.³⁵

Az olasz kormány mellett Fraknói korholta a monarchia külügyi vezetését is. A tárgyalások során szembeütnő folyamatos bizonytalankodás és a világosan meg nem húzott érdekek Fraknói szerint felbátorították az olaszokat. „Államférfiúnak nem szabad azt, amit tegnap teljesíthetetlennek nyilvánított, ma mint teljesíthetőt elfogadni, annál kevésbé följárlni. Burián ezt ismételtelen megcselekedte.” Ezt Fraknói nem hagyta ennyiben, részletesebben is, a külügyért nem kímélve fejtette ki véleményét a kialakult helyzetről:

„Azon állítása, hogy az olasz követelések a monarchia leglényegesebb életfeltételeivel ellentétben állanak, nem taktikai eszköz gyanánt szolgál neki az ellenféllel folytatott alkudozásokban; benső meggyőződéséből ered, melyet bizalmas munkatársa, a római nagykövet előtt tár föl. Mivel tehát mégis kész volt utóbb ugyanazon követeléseket teljesíteni: vagy lényeges életfeltételeket áldozott föl vagy azoknak fölismerésére képtelennek bizonyult.”

³⁴ Uo., 220.

³⁵ Uo., 223.

Ez tehát végeredményben a történész szerint kellő alapot adott az olasz kormánynak ahhoz, hogy úgy lássák, érdemes megkockáztatni egy háborút a monarchiával. Mint írta:

„Amikor az engedékenység siklóján mindig mélyebbre csúszott, ellenfeleiben szükségkép azt a felfogást keltette, hogy ő maga a monarchia ellenállási képességében nem bízik, hogy tehát a monarchia mint barát nem értékes, mint ellenség nem félelmes; mintegy hitelesítette a bécsi udvarnál működő olasz katonai attaché jelentését aki a monarchia ellen indítandó hadjáratot «katonai sétakirándulásnak» tüntette föl”.³⁶

Fraknói szerint tehát Burián István alkalmatlan volt a feladatára.³⁷ Azonban akárcsak korábbi publicisztikáiban is, ekkor is hozott pozitív példát, a történelemből vett és általa elvárt mintát. Ez esetben id. Andrássy Gyula közös külügyminisztert emelte ellenpéldaként, miszerint – ellentétben Buriánnal – ő erősen, határozottan és bátran tudta képviselni a maga hivatali idejében a monarchia érdekeit. Fraknói erre konkrét példaként az 1878-as berlini kongresszuson tanúsított működését állította követendő példaként, az idősebb Andrássyt valódi államférfinek titulálva. Fraknói heves, már-már indulatos cikkének a végén egy kiszólást, egy utószót még betoldatott: „Megjegyzem, hogy dolgozatom ezen utolsó fejezete félesztendő óta készen állt és Burián visszalépése következtében jelentékenyen enyhített formában lát itt napvilágot.”³⁸ Látható tehát, hogy tudatosan alakította a cikket Burián aktuális politikai súlyához mérten. Ezen megjegyzés alapján is érzékelhető, hogy közéleti cikkeinek fontos szerepet szánt Fraknói, azokat következetesen alakította, arányosan súlyozta mondandóját a címzett politikai státuszához és szerepéhez mérten.

6. ÖSSZEGZÉS

Fraknói Vilmos közéleti publicisztikai tevékenységét minden megnyilvánulásakor a világos helyzetértékelésből adódó cselekvő válaszadások jellemezték. Legyen szó a katolikus autonómiáról, a tanügyi helyzetről, vagy a világháború káoszáról. Ghyczy Kálmánnak és Burián Istvánnak címzett sorai pedig világosan mutatják, hogy egy országosan jegyzett honatyának, vagy a

³⁶ Uo., 227.

³⁷ Ezt részben erősíti az újabb, személyes kapcsolatait vizsgáló kutatás is: HAJDU TIBOR, *A miniszter és apósa (Burián István és Fejérváry Géza)*, TSz 49 (2007) 549–561.

³⁸ *Fraknói-bibl.*, 479. sz., 232.

monarchia egyik közös miniszterének személye sem gátolta abban, hogy egyháza, országa és nemzete érdekében kifejtse véleményét.

Az elvesztett világháború, majd az azt követő trianoni békediktátum után az idős tudós nem közölt több publicisztikát. Véleményét, ha áthallásosan is, de történeti munkákban fejezte ki. Több munkát jegyzett a trónfosztás után a Habsburg-dinasztia és a Magyar Királyság kapcsolatainak kezdetéről, a királyválasztásokról, a Habsburg-ház trónöröklési jogáról.³⁹ Fraknói publicisztikai apró szelete csupán a grandiózus életműnek. Mégis közéleti megnyilvánulásainak majdani részletes elemzése még közelebb vihet minket a nagy tudós személyének és szemléletének minél pontosabb megismeréséhez.

OLÁH P. RÓBERT

³⁹ *Fraknói-bibl.*, 499. sz., 503. sz.

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

Buonvisi bíbornok bécsi nuntius jelentései. Budavár felszabadításának kétszázados emlék-ünnep alkalmából közrebocsátva / Relationes Cardinalis Buonvisi in Imperatoris et Hungariae Regis curia nuntii apostolici anno MDCLXXXVI exaratae. In anniversarium arcis Budae ducentis abhinc annis recuperatae memoriam typis vulgatae, Budapest 1886 (CLVI + 310 p.) (FRAKNÓI VILMOS *Bevezetésével* LXXV–CLVI) [Sajtó alá rendezte ÓVÁRI LIPÓT].

MVH II/3

Erdélyországi pápai követek jelentései VIII. Kelemen idejéből 1592–1600 / Relationes Nuntiorum Apostolicorum in Transilvaniam missorum a Clemente VIII 1592–1600. A Vatikáni Magyar Okirattár-Bizottság megbízásából a vatikáni s egyéb külföldi levéltárakban gyűjtötte és közrebocsátja VERESS ENDRE, Budapest 1909 [XXXVI + 488 p.] [FRAKNÓI VILMOS *Bevezetésével*, V–XX].

B) MONUMENTA EPISCOPATUS VESPRIMIENSIS

MREV I

A Veszprémi Püspökség Római Oklevéltára, báró Hornig Károly veszprémi püspök megbízásából közrebocsátja a Római Magyar Történeti Intézet / Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Veszprimiensis. Munificentia Caroli L[iberi] B[aronis] Hornig episcopi Veszprimiensis edita a Collegio Historicorum Hungarorum Romano. I: 1103–1276, Budapest 1896 (CLX + 410 p.) (FRAKNÓI VILMOS *Bevezetésével*, LXIX–CLX).

MREV II

A Veszprémi Püspökség Római Oklevéltára, báró Hornig Károly veszprémi püspök megbízásából közrebocsátja a Római Magyar Történeti Intézet / Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Veszprimiensis. Munificentia Caroli L[iberi] B[aronis] Hornig episcopi Veszprimiensis edita a Collegio Historicorum Hungarorum Romano. II: 1276–1415, Budapest 1899 (CII + 468 p.) (FRAKNÓI VILMOS *Bevezetésével*, XXXIX–CII).

MREV III

A Veszprémi Püspökség Római Oklevéltára, báró Hornig Károly veszprémi püspök megbízásából közrebocsátja a Római Magyar Történeti Intézet / Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Veszprimiensis. Munificentia Caroli L[iberi] B[aronis] Hornig episcopi Veszprimiensis edita

a Collegio Historicorum Hungarorum Romano. III: 1416–1492, Budapest 1902 (CXXVI + 394 p.) (LUKCSICS JÓZSEF Bevezetésével, LXV–CXXVI).

MREV IV

A Veszprémi Püspökség Római Oklevéltára, báró Hornig Károly veszprémi püspök megbízásából közrebocsátja Lukcsics József dr. / Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vésprimien-sis. Munificentia Caroli L[iberi] B[aronis] Hornig episcopi Vésprimiensis edidit Josephus Lukcsics dr. IV: 1492–1526. Pótlékkal az I–III. kötethez / Cum supplementis ad tomm. I–III, Budapest 1907 (CXII + 564 p.) (Bevezetés LXIX–CXII [I: A veszprémi püspökök 1492–1526. II: A veszprémi püspökök okmányok alapján kijavított névsora. III: Az oklevéltár befejezése]).

C) COLLECTANEA VATICANA HUNGARIAE

CVH I/1

ARTNER EDGÁR: „Magyarország mint a nyugati keresztény művelődés védőbástyája”. *AVatikáni Levéltárnak... Okiratai... / "Hungary as Propugnaculum of Western Christianity". Documents from the Vatican Secret Archives (ca 1214–1606)*, bev. TUSOR PÉTER; kiad. SZOVÁK KORNÉL–TÖRÖK JÓZSEF–TUSOR PÉTER, Budapest–Róma 2004 (CCVI + 336 p.).

CVH I/1exc.

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CVH I/3

TUSOR PÉTER: *Purpura Pannonica. Az esztergomi „bíborosi szék” kialakulásának előzményei a 17. században / Purpura Pannonica. The "Cardinalitial See" of Strigonium and its Antecedents in the 17th Century*, Budapest–Róma 2005 (334 p.).

CVH I/4

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CVH I/5

Erdély és a Szentszék a Báthoryak korában. Okmánytár II (1595–1613) / Transilvania and the Papacy in the Age of the Báthorys. Documents II (1595–1613), bev., kiad. KRUPPA TAMÁS, Budapest–Róma–Szeged 2009 (XXXI + 303 p.).

CVH I/7

Consistorialia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1426–1605) / Documents of papal Consistories about the Lands of the Holy Crown of Hungary (1426–1605), bev. TUSOR PÉTER, kiad. TUSOR PÉTER–NEMES GÁBOR, Budapest–Roma 2011 (LXVIII + 304 p.).

CVH I/8

Magyarország és a római Szentszék. [I:] Források és távlatok (Tanulmányok Erdő bíboros tiszteletére) / Hungary and the Holy See of Rome. [I:] Sources and Perspectives (Studies in Honour of Cardinal Erdő), szerk. TUSOR PÉTER, Budapest–Róma 2012 (466 p.).

CVH I/9–10

Cameralia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1297–1536) / The Camera Apostolica's Documents about the Lands of Hungarian Holy Crown (1297–1536). I: Obligationes, Solutiones. II: Divisiones, Provisiones, Visitationes, Quindennia, Rationes, Annatae, Obligationes particulares, Legationes, Varia, Taxae, ed. † LUKSICS JÓZSEF–TUSOR PÉTER–FEDELES TAMÁS ET AL. (NEMES GÁBOR; KOLTAI ANDRÁS–KALOTAI NOÉMI–KISS GERGELY–MATUS ZSANETT; C. TÓTH NORBERT–BUJDOSÓ ÁDÁM), Budapest–Roma 2014 [(XIV + 384 p. és 488 p.).

CVH I/12

Brevia Clementina. VII. Kelemen pápa magyar vonatkozású brevői (1523–1526) / The Hungarian-related Breves of Pope Clement VII (1523–1526), bev., kiad. NEMES GÁBOR, Budapest–Róma 2015 (XXII + 207 p.).

CVH I/13

TUSOR PÉTER: *Pázmány, a jezsuita érsek. Kinevezésének története, 1615–1616 (Mikropolitikai tanulmány) / Pázmány, the Jesuit Prelate. His Appointment as Primate of Hungary, 1615–1616 (A Micropolitical Study)*, Budapest–Róma 2016 (460 p.).

CVH I/15

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CVH I/17

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CVH I/18

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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-Bihar ACERC	Románia Nemzeti Levéltára Bihar Megyei Szolgálat (Arhivele Naționale ale României – Serviciul Județean Bihor), A Nagyváradi Latin Szerartású 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, Archivum 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> , I/1–6. II/1–3, 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>Püspöklexikon 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

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- 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 FRANKNÓI'S EARLY CAREER AS A HISTORIAN (with his letters to Prince Primate Simor publicized)

Based on the 1924 *curriculum vitae* of Franknói'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 Franknói, 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 Franknói'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 Franknói'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 Franknói 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, Franknói 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 Franknói 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 Franknói'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 Gołuchowski, 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 FRAKNÓI (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 Rémer, 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 Nagyvárad 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 Érdűhelyi, 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

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Contents (in Hungarian).....	v
------------------------------	---

PROLEGOMENA

Preface. The Fraknói Centenary (1924–2024) (Péter Tusor)	xI
Gyula Szekfű: The centenarian Vilmos Fraknói	xV
Ágnes R. Várkonyi: Variations on liberalism	xx
László Solymosi: Welcome speech. Centenary Commemorative Conference (Nagyvárad [Oradea], 2–3 May 2024)	xxxvi

I. CHAPTERS FROM THE FRAKNÓI BIOGRAPHY

1. The family and homeland of Vilmos Fraknói (Balázs Rétfalvi)	3
2. On Fraknói's early career as a historian (with his letters to Prince Primate Simor publicized) (Péter Tusor)	25
3. Vilmos Frankl and the Hungarian School of Church Literature (1859–1861) (György Sági)	75
4. Notes on canonicate of Vilmos Fraknói in Nagyvárad (Oradea) (Tünde Balla–Attila Lakatos).	103
5. A historian in a new role. Fraknói, Secretary-General of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Attila Hőgye–Csongor Cziráki) ...	133
6. Vilmos Fraknói and the episcopal throne of Pécs (Péter Tusor–Viktor Kanász)	155

7. Fraknói and the temptation of Austrian citizenship (Imre Ress) 209
8. The end of the career. The last months, funeral and early memories of Vilmos Fraknói (Viktor Kanász). 235

II. FRAKNÓI'S OEUVRE AS A HISTORIAN AND SCIENTIST

1. Fraknói, the Catholic historian and science founder (Péter Tusor) 247
2. Fraknói's Vatican research and the medieval Hungarian history (Kornél Szovák) 285
3. Vilmos Fraknói, the founder of the Hungarian medieval studies (György Rácz) 310
4. Fraknói and the beginnings of the early modern research (István Fazekas) 329
5. Trapped in narratives. Fraknói's textbook and reactions to it (Zita Lőrincz) 349
6. Guided tour of the library exhibition of Vilmos Fraknói (1877) (Márton Szovák). 361
7. About the scientific debates of Vilmos Fraknói (Julianna Orsós) 369
8. Fraknói's public journalism (1870–1918) (Róbert Oláh P.) 391
9. The literature of the Fraknói oeuvre. Science metrics analysis (Gábor Nemes). 403

III. ITALY, ROME, VATICAN

1. Hungarian historiography in a European context. Vilmos Fraknói and his "Hungarian school of history" in Rome (1882–1905) (Péter Tusor) 415
2. "My dear friend and son of great respect!" The correspondence between Rómer and Fraknói and the Monumenta Vaticana (Teréz Csécs). 445

3. The enchantment of Naples. Lipót Óváry and the Hungarian historiography in Italy (Viktor Kanász)	485
4. Papal tithes and tax collectors in 14th Century Hungary. László Fejérpataky and the Hungarian Monumenta Vaticana (Tamás Fedeles)	535
5. Ferenc Kollányi and Rome (1893) (Terézia Horváth)	575
6. József Lukcsics and the golden age of diocesan historiography (Gábor Nemes)	591
7. Transylvania in Rome. The Vatican research of Endre Veress (The pitfalls and lessons of an irregular career arc) (Tamás Kruppa) . .	609

APPENDICES

I. Fraknói-bibliography (1861–1924) (Gábor Nemes)	657
II. Fraknói-documentation. Life interview, autobiography, newspaper articles 1923–1924, 1926, 1928–1929 (Viktor Kanász)	695
III.a From caricatures to sculptures. Images of Vilmos Fraknói (Viktor Kanász)	735
III.b Photo gallery (Viktor Kanász–György Sági–Peter Tusor)	756
<i>Life path / Chronology</i> (Péter Tusor)	765
<i>Bibliography (MVH–MREV–CVH. Necrologues, biographical literature, lexicography)</i> (Péter Tusor–Gábor Nemes)	779
<i>Abbreviations</i>	789
<i>Authors</i>	793
<i>Summaries</i> (in Hungarian)	795
<i>Summaries</i> (proofread by László Kristó–Olivér Kőhalmi)	823
<i>Index</i> (György Sági)	851

