Váralljai Csocsán Jenő válogatott tanulmányai

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Eugene CSOCSAN de Váralja

THE JUST INCOME DISTRIBUTION

Introduction. According to Aristotle the science is knowledge through causes.[1] Income distribution is performed by the market, but it depends on the amount of national income just as on the system of law in force and it is the required means making the division of labour possible, which serves as its immediate aim. Income distribution could be defined therefore as the distribution of the national income (causa materialis) defined by the system of law (causa formalis) though the market (causa efficiens) for the immediate purpose of the division of labour (causa finalis).

As in the Aristotelian system the material cause and the formal cause forms strong connection, the right income distribution also can not be achieved by concentrating only on the legal system nor by the increase of the national income alone. The types of income distributions can be differentiated by the legal systems in force, as the form distinguishes the species, and the just income distribution depends on correspondence of the legal system to the ethical norms and on its correspondence to the hierarchy of aims

1 ἐπεὶ δὲ φανερὸν, ὅτι τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς αἰτίων δεῖ λαβεῖν ἐπιστήμην
(τότε γὰρ εἰδέναι φαμὲν ἕκαστον, ὅταν τὴν πρώτην αἰτίαν οἰώμεθα γνωρίζειν),
τὰ δ' αἴτια λέγεται τετραχῶς,
ὧν μίαν μὲν αἰτίαν φαμὲν εἶναι τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι
(ἀνάγεται γὰρ τὸ διὰ τί εἰς τὸν λόγον ἔσχατον, αἴτιον δὲ καὶ ἀρχὴ τὸ διὰ τί πρῶτον),
ἑτέραν δὲ τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον,
τρίτην δὲ ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως,
τετάρτην δὲ τὴν ἀντικειμένην αἰτίαν ταύτῃ, τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα καὶ τἀγαθόν
(τέλος γὰρ γενσέως καὶ κινήσεως πάσης τοῦτ' ἐστίν).
Metaphysica, I, III, 1, 983/a (ARISTOTLE: The Metaphysics Book I-IX with an English translation by Hugh Tredennick, Cambridge Massachusetts-London 1961, page 16, lines 24-34)

Ist chapter. The National Income

The national income is the sum of the national economy's total product during a financial period (usually in a year). Namely the individuals join the economic activity through the monetary system of each nation, and as a consequence the share of the participants depends on the amount of the proceeds brought forward by the nation and on time involved.

Among the components of the national income the Quadragesimo anno names the national resources,[2] and the Rerum novarum states that the wealth of states originates from the labour of the workers.[3] The amount of labour's proceeds are increased by division of labour and by the ambition or love of work as well. We have to include however into the human labour the activity of the mothers and of those who are engaged in the households, just as the intellectual work, as we can gain more by good devices, than by force. The plans of the engineers might be sold valuably abroad and the international commerce could become every important component of the national income, as it has been pointed out by the Ubi arcano, when it deplored, that languent populorum inter se commercia.[4] a Finally the Quadragesimo anno stressed, that if intelligence, capital and labour do not cooperate, the human work can not be fruitful.[5]

2 "..sed non minus patet summos illos conatus irritos futuros fuisse vanosque, immo vero ne tentari quidem potuisse, nisi Creator omnium Deus pro sua bonitate divitias et supellectilem naturalem, opusque ac vires naturae, prius fuisset largitus" *Quadragesimo anno*, Acta Apostolicae Sedis (henceforth *AAS*) 1931 (annus XXIII) page 195.

3 "non aliunde quam ex opificum labore gigni divitias civitatum" *Rerum novarum*, LEONIS XIII Pontificis Maximi Acta, Volume XI., Rome 1892 (henceforth *Acta Leonis*), page 123; Quadragesimo anno, *AAS* 1931 (a. XXIII), page 194.

4 Ubi arcano, *AAS* 1922 (a XIV), page 679.

5 "....nisi enim corpus vere sociale et organicum constet, nisi socialis et iuridicus ordo operae exercitium tueantur, nisi variae artes, quarum aliae ab aliis dependent, inter se conspirent ac mutuo compleant, nisi quod maius est, consociantur ac quasi in unum conveniant intellectus, res, opera, nequit fructus suos gignere efficientia hominum." *Quadragesimo anno*, *AAS* 1931 (a. XXIII), page 200.
Already Pope Leo XIIIth stressed "Non res sine opera, nec sine re potest opera consistere" Rerum novarum, *Acta Leonis* , page 109... *Quadragesimo anno*, *AAS* 1931 (a. XXIII), page 195

IInd chapter. The system of law

1. On *the system of law* we mean the sum of legal regulations in force on a given territory. The system of law is of fundamental importance as far as the income distribution is concerned, as the income distribution is in fact conveyance of property, and the property is by definition a right and as such it is part of the legal system. In any case the income distribution distributes the national income between persons, and the relationships between persons is regulated by justice, and according to Saint Thomas Aquinas the object of justice is the law.[6]

The income distribution changes by the transformations as well as by the alterations and even modifications of the system of law in force. In slavery the slave was only *res, quo quis uti et abuti potest* and without being a legal person the slave could not have an income properly speaking. In the feudalism the vassal received the fief from the ruler and similarly gave the land to the serfs for retributions in kind without the use of money. In the capitalistic system the labour is not bound anymore to his landlord and free to move on the market in which contractus ius fecit inter partes. The employees however often have to accept the conditions given by the employers and for example the landowners might easily obtain half of the agricultural products, while the serfs (in Hungary) used to retain 80 % of the proceeds. As the power of the trade unions develops the labour force might reach better conditions by collective bargaining. It should be noticed however, that there is no necessary sequence in the succession of the just mentioned systems of law, for example the slavery returned after the feudalism on English and French territories after the colonisation of America.

The effect of the system of law on the income distribution is clearly demonstrated by the redistribution of income through taxation, through social security system, just as through inflation, which depends on the monetary authorities regulated by low.

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2. *The factors influencing the systems of law.* On the development of the systems of law the evolvements of various theories have decisive influence. After the triumph of the Christianity Justinian found the slavery contrary to the natural law.[7] Medieval moral theology considered the in-

6 [5] II^{a} II^{ae}. qu. 57. art 1

terest as usury, and therefore the medieval states forbade it, as did already Charlemagne.[8] The ethics of Francesco Vitoria and Suarez shaped the emerging international law of Hugo Grotius to very considerable extent.[9] The ideology of liberalism transformed the European systems of law, though Wilhelm Ketteler remarked, that it is not new, what is true in them, and what is new in them is not true.[10] Even according to the Marxism the theory penetrating the masses becomes material force.

It is however not only the theories, which condense in the systems of law, but even human instincts, it is the avarice which oppresses the exploited, and it is cupidity, which confiscates the estates of the privileged. Sexual libidinousness gains often franchise. Propaganda and speeches in parliament often rely on sentiments and instincts. According to the theology divine grace also influences human decisions.

The development of economic life obviously has effect on the evolvement and transformation of laws, nowadays interest taking is allowed even by the canon law.[11] The stages of development of the means of production however does not go parallel with the advance of the law, for example the Arabic civilisation was more ahead of the early medieval Europe, nonetheless it took slavery as natural.[12]

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3.The *enforceability* is the existential component of law, and it means physical force. The physical force stems firstly and passively from the limitation of the human body, which needs provisions, by which it might be coerced, secondly and actively from the abilities and readiness of the human body to enforce its influence. According to Saint Thomas Aquinas it is the prime matter which individuates the individual[13] and in their

7 TORNYOS, Gyula S.J., *Rabszolgaság* (Slavery) in: *Katolikus Lexikon*, Volume IV., Budapest 1933, page 57, second column.

8 IBRÁNYI, Ferenc, *A kamatkérdés erkölcstudományi problematikája* (The problem of interest in ethics), Theologia 1936 et seq. Cf.: BIRÓ, Bertalan: *Kamat* (Interest) in: Katolikus Lexikon, Volume II, page 482

9 Gajzágó, László: A nemzetközi jog eredete (The Origine of International Law) Budapest 1942.

10 KETTELER, Wilhelm Emmanuel Freiherr von, *Die Arbeiterfrage und das Christentum*, Mainz 1863, translated into Hungarian by Gyula KATINSZKY with the title: *A munkások kérdése és a kereszténység*, Eger 1864, page 25

11 BÍRÓ, Bertalan loco citato

12 TORNYOS. op.cit, page 58, first column.

13 I qu 50. a 4.

abilities and power the individuals differ from each other. Thirdly the power derives from the topography of the relationships among social aims as well as from the topography in the hierarchy of human provisions.

As the result of the diversity of the individuals, they obtain different incomes, and we may represent this on a statistical pyramid. The steepness as well as the curvature of this pyramid's sides shows the unevenness of the income distribution, which might differ within the same system of law, and therefore it belongs to its existential, and not to its essential components, and in fact it corresponds to the economic power.

According to the Divini Redemptoris the economic power could be used to the infringement of the workers' lawful wages and their social rights.[14] Economic power could be changed by nationalisation or by static or dynamic property reforms depending on the systems of law. Dynamic property reform means such an income policy, which allows the propertyless to save and acquire property.

Land reforms might be mentioned among the static property reforms. Land reforms are not new phenomena in the history of the mankind, as there were land reforms in South-East Asia under the influence of Buddhism since the VIth century A.D.[15] and in China under the Sung dynasty (A.D. 961-1280)[16] and the jubilees of the Jews[17] could be also classified as a kind of land reform. It has been pointed out by Count Paul Teleki, that a landreform must not create too small farms, which are not viable economically.[18]

14 "Nonne deplorandum est, ius mancipii ab Ecclesia sancitum idcirco usurpatum esse, ut opifices mercede sua suoque sociali iure defraudarentur." Divini Redemptoris, *AAS* 1937, (a. XXIX) page 92.

15 Imaoka DZSUICSIRO, *Új Nippon*, Budapest 1929, page 28

16 *Új Idők Lexikona*, Budapest 1939, Volume 15, page 3831

17 Lev 25_{8-16}, cf.:Num 36_4

18 "A földreformok hatása kétségtelenül az, hogy az emberek eladnak földet, mások vesznek és természetszerûen kialakulnak a létminimumok, amelyeket a zöldasztalnál rosszul állapítanak meg. Ilyen rossz megállapítás például a 4-5-6 hold. Ez a legszerencsétlenebb csoport, melyet teremteni lehet, pedig nagyjából és általában mindenfelé ezt a csoportot teremtették meg a földreformok. Ezt a német úgy mondja, hogy "zu weing zum Leben, zu viel zum Sterben". Ennek az embernek annyi földje van, hogy a magáéval is foglalkoznia kell, de ebből megélnie nem lehet.
(The effect of the landreforms is that some people will sell land, while others will buy from it, and naturally they will develop a badly established mini-

According to Alexander Horváth the purpose does not differ from the substance in ethics, where the object of the action is its aim,[19] which however might not be realised in each and every action. The process of income distribution is formed by the system of law, which could be considered its object, and the morality of the income distribution depends on the conformity of the laws with the moral norms.

IIIrd chapter. The market.

1. *The market* is the exchange of the offer and the demand in a monetary economy, which forms the prices (price formation), and on this base it transfers the goods. The market could be approached as providing titles to acquire property (titulus acquirendi dominium) from the side of subjective law (ius subiectivum), but in fact the main question in the operation of the market is: what could be gained for what. This in fact lies in the field of objective law, which investigates, what is due to the other: id, quod alteri debetur: ius obiectivum.[20] The various systems of law tried

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mum for living at the negotiating table. Such a bad measure is to establish small holdings with the size 4-5-6 cadastral acres (2,30-2,88-3,45 hectares). This is the most unfortunate group, which could be created, though such holdings were created by the landreforms generally almost everywhere. This is "zu wenig zum Leben, zu viel zum Sterben" as the Germans say. Such a man has to deal with his land, but it is not enough to live.)"
Count Pál TELEKI, *Magyar politikai gondolatok* (Hungarian Political Thoughts), published by Béla KOVRIG, (Nemzeti Könyvtár 42-43) Budapest 1941, page 71

19 "motus specificatur a termino"
"Der Zweck ist für das moralische Leben wie überhaupt für jede Tätigkeit nie etwas rein ausserlich, sondern er ist das vereinigende verbindende Element, die Form einer Summe von verstreuten Akten oder Seinwesen(I II qu. I a 3. Näheres über diese relative Einheit in A. Horváth: Metaphysik des Relationen, Graz 1914)"
"Da nun den moralischen Seinwesen das formgebende begrenzende Element die Zweckursachen bildet"
"Der Zweck ist die Form der moralischen Seinwesen.-"
"Die Moral vermag demnach auf ihren Gebiete nichts abzugrenzen nichts zu definieren ausser durch den Zweck, und dasjenige was seinem Zweck bestimmt ist muss als eine in sich innerlich abgegrenzte moralische Grösse gelten. Jede andere änsserliche Abgrenzung gehört nicht in die moralische, sondern in eine andere Überlegung."
Alexander HORVÁTH, *Eigentumsrecht nach Heiligen Thomas von Aquin*, Graz 1929, pages 120-121.

to impose official centrally defined prices. The principle of Christian subsidiarity however requires, that the central authority should not intervene unnecessarily in the affairs of its subjects, and in fact there is no better institution, than the free price formation. In such a system the contract makes law between the contracting parties: contractus ius facit inter partes.

In such conditions can economic considerations prevail. In fact the economic goods are consumed directly or indirectly by the individuals, and only through the free price formation could the consumers, (who constitute the aim and the sense of the economic activity,) assert their evaluation. It should be emphasised, that in a monetary economy alone could such an evaluation really develop, and only in such an economy can we find a real market.

The nominal income appears in money and the real income is realised by the consumers by the means of the money, and both incomes are formed on the market. Such price formations (and incomes) already emerged on the markets of antiquity, even if slavery prevailed then, and in the past centuries there were Hungarian feudal landlords, who made their herdsmen to drive cattle to the Western European markets.

It is in fact the market, which executes the income distribution. Namely prices are formed by the market, and even if the prices are fixed, the number of the transfers at the fixed price will define the amount of income from that business. Economics distinguishes four kinds of incomes: the wages, the profits, the rent and the interest, and all the four are produced on the market.[21] The interest on capital is formed on the money markets, and if the central authorities fix the interest, the capital will flow to such countries, where higher interest can be obtained. The rent on land will be defined by the supply and demand for land, and if

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20 cf.: Benedictus MERKELBACH, *Summa theologiae moralis*, Vol. II., Bruges 1962, pages 156-157

21 Paul. E. SAMUELSON, Economics. The chapter on "Distribution of Income" can be found on *different pages* of the various issues since the 1948 edition in New York. (In the 1976 New York edition see pages 572-597(wages), pages 598-619(interest), pages 620-628(profits), pages 559-571 (land rent).
See also Heller, FARKAS, *Közgazdaságtan* (Economics), Volume I., Budapest 1945, pages 62-70 (wages), 71-78 (interest), pages 78-79 (profit), pages 79-83 (land rent).

the land owner himself cultivates the land, he has to sell the produce of the land on the markets.

In capitalistic system wages develop on the labour market and the independent producer similarly has to produce for the market, just as the real value of his income will depend on the price formations. The gains of the enterprises are defined by the price differences between the means of production and the selling prices, therefore the gains also stem from the price differentials between the two (or more) markets in question.

Monopolies might influence prices, but in such a case the monopoly will constitute the supply or the demand (in the case of monopsony) and therefore this does not changes the fact, that even in such cases the market defines the income. It has been pointed out by Oswald von Nell-Breuning, that a monopoly could overcome the laws of economics only in the sense in which an aeroplane could overcome the laws of aerodynamics, which however could not be neglected by any aircraft.[22]

If the prices are officially fixed, the parties remain free to abstain or participate in the transaction at such fixed prices and the realised income will depend on this. In any case the officially fixed prices easily develop black markets, which also produces black incomes.

The introduction of social security system naturally modifies the income distribution, but it must be realised, that the real value of the incomes after the income redistribution will still depend on the price formation in the markets.

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2. *Teleological value system.* We exchange quite different things on the market, which are not even in equivocation, and the appearance of money on the market only increases the number of species dealt with on there. The exchange justice however prescribes mathematical equality between the exchanged goods or services,[23]therefore the question is: how could the different goods of different types obtain equality or parity?

The Genesis explains, that God made the goods of the earth for the use of men.[24] According to the analysis of Saint Thomas Aquinas the

22 NELL-BREUNING S. J., Oswald von, und Hermann SACHER, *Zur Wirtschaftsordnung*, (Wörterbuch der Politik Volume IV,) Freiburg im Breisgau 1953, page 20.

23 II^{a} II^{ae} qu 61 a.2,

things of the external world could be used by man's reason and will for his own use, as made for him, because the less perfect things are for the more perfect.[25]

Because of this utility contained in the external goods, they share an analogous conform quality, by which we can bring these different goods (and services) under a common denominator. This utility is not an univocal , (that is identical) quality of the goods, but an analogous one, consisting in its applicability to a goal: uti est semper eius, quod est ad finem according to Saint Thomas Aquinas.[26]

Economic value therefore stems from the proportional analogy of the utility, which means a relation of "final" causality, where the goal, the "analogatum princeps", is the man and his needs, and submitted to this concept are the useful goods (and services), which consitute the "inferiora" of the analogy, while the causal relationship required for this analogy is teleological.[27]

The utility however is the essential constituent of the economic value, because it also contains an existential constituent, which consist in the rarity of the item in question. This rarity means presence in at least five dimension: in space and time and in the social ambience, because a good might be available wholesale, but not at the retailers.

Most of the goods in human use can be substituted, and the use or consumption itself could be postponed. Therefore even ancient scholastics knew, that economic value also depends on its estimation, by which man, the goal of economy decides on the use of the various goods.

In this estimation we compare the various goods available in our possession and in the market and decide which is the more suitable to our goals in the given circumstances. In this evaluation the virtue of prudence has a key roll. "The prudence does not give the aims to the moral

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24 Gen $1_{26\text{-}30}$.

25 res exterior ...potest considerari ....quantum ad usum ipsius rei et sic habet homo naturale dominium exteriorum rerum, quia per rationem et voluntatem potest uti rebus exterioribus ad suam utilitatem, quasi propter se factis; semper enim imperfertiora sunt propter perfectiora, II^a II^{ae} qu. 66 a.. l.

26 I^a II^{ae} qu. 17 a. 3; Benutzung ist nach Thomas Verwendung einer Sache zu einem Zweck, see Alexander Horváth: Eigentumsrecht nach heiligen Thomas von Aquin, Graz 1929, page 61.

27 cf.: ZEMPLÉN, György, *Metaphysica*, pages 24-35 especially, pages 28-28, 33.

virtues, but it decides only about the means by which the goals could be achieved".[28]

Prudence considers the given circumstances and decides accordingly, and it is possible, that it would decide differently by the changes of circumstances. It should be noted meanwhile, that economic transactions usually also require purchasing power as well. The virtue of prudence however presupposes a certain development of intellectual ability as well as the possession of the cardinal virtues, which direct the person to the right goals. As the various individuals might lack these, and might be even the prisoners of various passions and sentiments, it is far from certain that each individual's each decision and transaction had been the right choice. These conditions open ample room for the influence of advertising and propaganda.

The subjective estimations and the changes in the rarity of the goods brings waves into the price levels, which in turn induces competition among the sellers. According to the Quadragesimo anno "the right order of the economy can not tolerate completely unlimited competition"[29] but the competition "if kept within limits, is justified and might be useful"[30] It has been pointed out by Pius XII in the Christmass message of 1951, that "The Christian order is the solidaristic competition of free peoples and persons".[31]

According to the teleological theory of value analysed above the essence of economic value stems from the proportional analogy of human

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28 Ad prudentiam non pertinet praestare finem virtutibus moralibus, sed solum disponere de his quae sunt ad finem. II^{a} II^{ae} qu. 47 a. 6.

29 Quemadmodum unitatis societatis humanae inniti non potest oppositione "classium", ita rei oeconomicae rectus ordo non potest permitti libero virium certamini....*Quadragesimo anno*, *AAS* 1931, (a. XXIII), page 206.

30 liberum certamen, quamquam dum certis finibus continetur, aequum sit et sane utile, rem oeconomicam dirigere plane nequit; *Quadragesimo anno*, *AAS* 1931, (a. 1931, (a. XXIII), page 206
Liberum certamen certis ac debitis limitibus saeptum, magis etiam oeconomicis potentatus publicae auctoritati in iis, quae ad eius manus spectant, efficaciter subdantur oportet. *Quadragesimo anno*, *AAS* 1931 (a.XXIII) page 212.

31 l'ordine cristiano, in quanto ordinamento di pace è essentialmente ordine di libertà. Esse è il concerto de pace solidale di uomini e di popoli liberi per la progressiva attuatione, in tutti i campi della vita degni scopi assequati da Dio all' umanità. Già per la decimaterza 24th December 1951, *AAS* 1952 (a. XXXXIV), page 13.

utility, while its existence depends on the rarity of the items involved and on their evaluation in relationship to the users' goals. (Meanwhile it could be noticed, that a good bought can be hardly sold on precisely the same price because the economy is a goal oriented process and in its flow it is not possible to return to exactly the same point.)

This teleological value theory differs fundamentally from labour theory of value introduced by David Ricardo,[32] which was forged into the key and central axis of the Marxism by Carl Marx. According to his labour theory of value the value of the good is defined by socially required labour.[33] This definition however is "dialectically" ambiguous, because while it claims to be a labour theory of value, in fact it smuggles the consumption and the demand into the definition by using the expression "socially required". In the reality the society continually reduces the amount of socially required work by the introduction of various devices, inventions and robots. Therefore the acceptance of the labour theory value would imply, that the total value available to society had been continually reduced by technological development. The labour theory of value can not give unambiguous direction for values for example in the case of power stations, as electric power is certainly required socially, but the labour required for its production is completely different, if the power stations are based on the energy in coal or on the energy of water power. In addition there are economic values, which do not contain any human labour. One can obtain money for allowing the harvest from apricot, nut, banana or coconut trees, which might have grown without any labour involved. Similarly the diamonds appearing in the soil for example in Sierra Leone can not be without any economic value.

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32 "in the early stages of society the exchangeable value of these commodities or the rule which determines how much of one shall be given in exchange for another depends almost exclusively on the comparative quantity of labour expanded on each." Ricardo, David: The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation, London 1817,Chapter I "On Value", (London edition of 1948, page 6.)

33 Es ist also nur das Quantum gesellschaftlich nothwendiger Arbeit oder die Herstellung eines Gebrauchswerths gesellschaftlich nothwendige Arbeitzeit welche seine Werthgrösse bestimmt"Marx, Carl: Das Kapital, Volume I, Hamburg 1867, Ersttes Buch:"Der Produktives Process des Kapitels" Ester Abschnitt "Waare und Geld", Erstes Kapitel: "Die Waare". (Third edition Hamburg 1883, page 6)

3. The goods exchanged on the markets are brought under common denominator by *the money*. As the division of labour widens always further and further, in the process of increasing traffic of the transactions, they will be performed using a specially sought after good. Eventually the society will abstract from the primary use of this commodity, which will become the money.

The money however can not be brought into existence without human will: the society of monkeys lacks money. Namely the human will is intelligent desiring faculty, and the money presupposes abstractions, value judgements and the ability to relate to purpose. Meanwhile according to Saint Thomas Aquinas the money is useful for everything[34] and this in itself shows, that in addition to intelligence human will is required to the establishment of money, because it is the will, which actually applies the means to an end (what is implied by utility, as explained above;)[35] This will in civilised societies is the legislation, but in less developed societies money could be introduced by customary law as well.

The money produced by human will is an artificial being and as such its formal cause and essence is given by its aim. "The money has been invented mainly for making exchanges"[36] The money is general means of exchange and in this it performs two functions. *Firstly* it is an instrument of transfer: it is useful for acquiring anything sensible[37] *Secondly* as a means of evaluation it implies quantity. The value of money depends on its quantity, but also on its speed. Namely the money could be consumed as a means of transfer by the individual consumers, but not by the political economy, where in fact it emerges, when it is spent, and quicker is spent more of it appears publicly. This shows firstly, that its publicly available quantity increases by its speed, and secondly this joins the money's two functions in question.

Ferenc Ibrányi mentioned the material cause of the money.[38] According to the quantity theory of money the matter of money or respectively the amount of its security funds gives the value of the money. In the re-

34 pecunia utilis est ad omnia II^{a} II^{ae} qu. 118, a. 7 ad 2.
35 cf.: $I^{a}II^{ae}$ qu 17. a 3.
36 pecunia principaliter inventa est ad commutationes faciendas, II^{a} II^{ae} qu 78, a 1. corpus articuli.
37 utilis est ad omnia sensibilia acquirenda II^{a} II^{ae} qu.118 a. 7 ad 2.
38 IBRÁNYI, Ferenc: *A kamatkérdés erkölcstudományi problematikája.* (The ethical problem of interest), Theológia 1936

ality the material of the money is irrelevant concerning its essence and function(s): gold, kaori shells and paper as well has been used for money, and already in the XIXth century the authorities in Vienna could keep the value of their paper money without the provision of corresponding security funds,[39] as did many other authorities ever since. In fact money transactions can be performed with the help of columns of numbers in the banks without using any physical money. The material used for the money matters only if the national economy is declining and the money is loosing its value, that is to say, when its nominal value differs from its real value.

"The money has been ordained to serve as means to other goal"[40] This goal (causa finalis) is the participation in the result of (national) production. Therefore the money of the better performing national economies is better sought after, than the money of less successful economies and the power of a money is also influenced by the high technology and cultural achievements, which could be bought by it.

IVth chapter. Teleological Hierarchy

1. *The structure of common good's content. (bonum cummune tamquam finis qui).* The Chistian sociology is focused on the common good according to which the society's goal is the common good[41]

According to Paul Kecskés "we to have to establish the content of the important concept of the common good, the «bonum commune» in the goods of cultural value. Meanwhile the common good is the goal of the social community, and because of this (just) found connection we might establish, that culture is the goal of society."[42] The culture is activity for

39 The Austro-Hungarian Central Bank has suspended the conversion of banknotes in 1848. "It was proposed that the payment with metal would start in 1867, but it has been suspended by the war. In the crisis year of 1873 the decision to limit the amount of banknotes to 200 million forints was suspended. In the autumn of that year the traffic of banknotes has risen to 373 million forints and only 38 % of this amount had metal cover." *Révai Nagy Lexikon*, XIV. kötet, Budapest 19 887. oldal
See also HELLER, Farkas, *Közgazdaságtan* (Economics) , Volume II Alkalmazott közgazdaságtan (Applied Economics) Budapest 1947, page 150

40 pecunia ordinatur quidem ad aliud sicut ad finem II^{a} II^{ae} qu. 118 a. 7 ad 2.

41 Eberhard WELTY, *Gemeinschaft und Einzelmensch.* Salzburg-Leipzig 1935, page 211

42 Pál, KECSKÉS, *A keresztény társadalomelmélet alapelvei.* (The Principles

the realisation of spiritual values, by which the members of the society participate in spiritual perfection.[43] The culture is the incessant strive for the values of truth, goodness, beauty and holiness[44] and these values subsist and remain valid independently from man and his existence.

Economic prosperity, public health, sports and legal order also belong to the common good, but they could not belong to culture, because in the earlier centuries there were quite a few very high cultures, which nonetheless might have lacked many or even any achievements in these just mentioned fields, by which civilisation is constituted. Civilisation is keeping of the norms, by which the society and its members are raised from the rough savagery of nature in the provision of their physical and biological needs. It has to be stated. that economic prosperity, public health, sports and legal order and any of their goods or achievements have no meaning if no man exists. In this they differ fundamentally from the cultural values as explained above.

Culture and civilisation mutually presupposes each other as content and container.[45] Culture however stays always the main aim, which is served by civilisation as its important means. Therefore the civilisation might not be allowed to become self-centered. Meanwhile culture might permeate civilazation, the sports might contain ethical values, and industrial arts might ennoble economic life. Civilization itself might facilitate the development of culture. In this relationship it has been pointed out already by the Rerum novarum ...so is the real national economy realised, in which the all members of the nation obtain those goods ... which are not only enough for subsistence, but which can raise man to higher and nobler cultural life.[46]

of Christian Social Theory), Budapest 1938, page 156.

43 cf.: Gyula KORNIS, *Kultúra és politica* (Culture and Politics), Budapest 1928, pages 42-48.

44 KECSKÉS, loco citato.

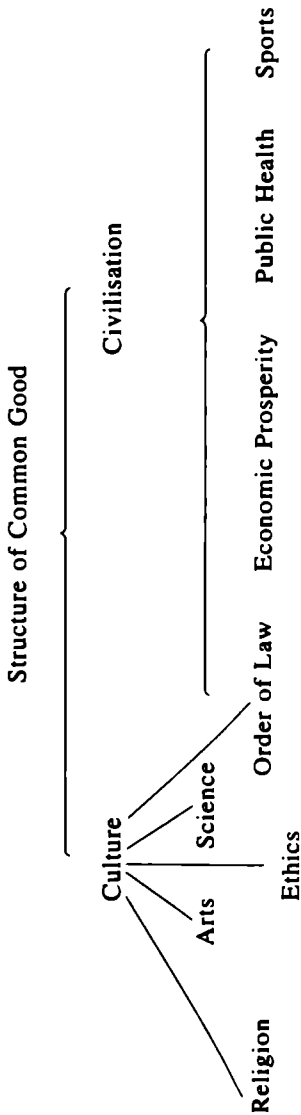
45 cf.:KECSKÉS, op.cit. page 141

46 Etenim tum demum res oeconomico-socialis et vere constabit et suos fines obtinuit, si omnibus et singulis bona omnia suppeditata fuerint, quae opibus et subsidiis naturae, arte technica, sociali rei oeconomicae constitutione praestari possunt; quae quidem bona tot esse debent, quot necessaria sunt et ad necessitatibus honestisque commodis satisfaciendum, et ad homines provehendos ad feliciorem illum vitae cultum, qui modo prudenter res geratur, virtuti non solum non obest, sed magnopere prodest. (cf.: S. Thomas: De regimine principum, I. 15, Encycl. *Rerum novarum, Acta Leonis,* Vol. XI, pagina 123) *Quadragesimo anno, AAS* 1931, (a. XXIII), pgae 202; *Divini Re-*

On the main central joining point of culture and civilisation is located the legal order, without which no civilisation is possible, and which is based on moral standards. It is the system of laws, which joins the material civilisation with the spiritual culture, reflecting the fact, that in the root of the legal system, in the human person these two worlds meet, when the soul occupies the body. The subjects of law are always persons, and if there is no natural person given, artificial legal persons will be projected there by the system of law.[47]

demptoris, *AAS* 1937 (a. XXIX), page 93.

47 As far as social psychology is concerned it is an interesting phenomenon, that the legal systems' projections multiply the persons of the society by the creation of legal persons. According to the experience of Leopold Szondi's deep psychology the legal orientation of someone is connected with "diastole and systole of the ego" in Szondi's terminology. The just mentioned psychological processes are connected with the multiplication of the ego in the cases of split personalities. Only human persons seem to have the processes termed by Szondi "ego diastole and systole", and therefore it is natural, that only in human societies can we find such multiplications of the members of the society. In the same mental processes in question can we find the psychological roots of the legal persons.


Structure of Common Good
Civilisation
Culture
Science
Arts
Religion
Ethics
Order of Law
Economic Prosperity
Public Health
Sports

2. *The dynamism of the common good (Bonum commune tamquam finis cui).* We have just seen the central place occupied in the common good by the legal order, It is the legal order in which the human personality forming the society is reflected most sharply. It is necessary therefore to investigate the role of subjects of law in the formation of the common good.

In the system of individualism the highest value is the individual, and in contrast to this the collectivism subjects the individual to the interests of the community. The Christian Social Theory however acknowledges the dynamic but harmonic tension in the structure of the common good.

According to Saint Thomas Aquinas "the common good is the goal of the individual persons living in community, as the good of the whole is the goal of any of its parts"[48] The common good however can not be achieved, if the members do not share the common good; the share in the common good is due to the members: "As the part and the whole is somehow the same, what belongs to the whole, somehow belongs to the part. Therefore" (and so) "when something is distributed to each from the common good, anybody receives, what is his own."[49] In the distributive justice something is given to somebody private person, in as much what belongs to the whole is due to the part.[50]

The general justice therefore keeps the common good in dynamic tension. It requires not only the duties of the members for the common good, but as *general virtue* demands not only the fulfilment of the exchange justice between the subjects of the society, but just as much that the distributive justice must share the common good with the community's fellow persons.[51]

3. *The rights of the human person constituting the principles of the income distribution with special respect to the teaching of the popes.*

I. According to Saint Thomas Aquinas "man has *natural dominion* over the external things because he can use the external things for his

48 bonum cummune est finis singularum personarum in communitate existentium, sicut bonum totius est finis cuiuslibet partium; II^{a} II^{ae} qu 58. a 9. ad 3.

49 Sicut pars et totum quodammodo sunt idem, ita quod est totius, quodammodo est partis. Et ita cum ex bonis communibus aliquod in singulis distribuitur, quilibet aliquo modo recipit, quod suum est II^{a} II^{ae} qu 61. a 1. ad 2.

50 In distributiva iustitia datur aliquid alicui privatae personae inquantum id quod est totius est debitum parti. $II^{a}II^{ae}$ qu 61. a 2.

51 cf.: II^{a} II^{ae} qu. 58. a 1.

own utility, as made for him, namely the less perfect are always for the more perfect ... This natural dominion over the other creatures is due to man because of the reason, in which he has been constituted the image of God, and it has been manifested in the very creation of man, where in Gen 1_{26} it is said: Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea etc." (and over the birds of air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping things that creeps upon the earth)[52]

The same *natural right* with the same explanation has been emphasised by Pope Pius XII: "God blessing our prime parents said to them: 'Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it' (Gen 1_{28}). To the first family head He said: 'In the sweat of your face you shall eat bread' (Gen 3_{19}). The dignity of the human person therefore demands the right to use the earth's goods as the fundamental natural conditions of life" (Christmas message of 1942)[53]

This right known as *"ius utendi"*[54] stems from the indispensable human need for food and shelter. This necessity forms a transcendental relationship between the humans and the needed supplies constituting a very strong ontological base of the right to use them, i.e. the ius utendi according to Alexander Horváth.[55]

This ius utendi is transformed in the lifetime of a person. In the reality it already appears as maternity grants before the birth and takes the forms of family allowances in the childhood. It was required by the

52 et sic habet homo naturale dominium exteriorum rerum, quia per rationem et voluntatem potest uti rebus exterioribus ad suam utilitatem, quasi propter se factis, semper enim imperfectiora sund propter perfectiora.....Hoc autem naturale dominium super caeteras creaturas, quod competit homini secundum rationem, in qua imago Dei consistit, manifestatur in ipsa hominis creatione, Gen 1_{26} , ubi dicitur: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram; et praesit piscibus maris, etc. (II^a II^{ae} qu 66. a 1., corpus articuli).

53 Dio benedicendo i nostri progenitori, disse loro: "Crescite e multiplicatevi e riemite la terra e soggiogatela"(Gen 1_{28}). E al primo capo di famiglia diceva poi "Nel sudore della tua fronte ti ciberai di pane" (Gen 3_{19}).La dignità della persona umana esige dunque normalmente come fondamento naturale per vivere il diritto all'uso dei beni della terra; Con sempre, 24th December 1942, *AAS* 1943 (a. XXXV) page 17.

54 cf.: R. Zimmermann, O:S:B.: Das ius utendi bei Thomas v. Aquin und in den päpastlichen Soziallehren, Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie, 1954 (3. Heft) page 302.

55 Alexander HORVÁTH, *Eigentumsrecht nach heiligen Thomas von Aquin*, Graz 1929, page 68.

Quadragesimo anno, that the wages should be adapted to the increasing burdens as the family enlarges.[56]

Later in life it is again the same ius utendi which demands the right to work and just wages. According to the Divini Redemptoris the state "must guarantee opportunities for work especially for the breadwinners and for the young"[57] and "we have not satisfied the duties of social justice, until the wage can not support the worker and his family."[58]

Similarly it follows from the same ius utendi, that "we have not satisfied the duties of social justice until we have made provisions for those who become old, ill or out of work"[59] as declared by the same encyclical Divini Redeptoris.

In addition the Quadragesimo anno stated, that the "right proportion is also important between the wages and those prices, which are closely connected with them, for which the various agricultural and industrial goods can be bought."[60]

It was recorded in 1942, that the Beveridge plan, which scheduled to cover virtually all these needs in Great Britain, required 11 % of the country's national income.[61]

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56 Pessimus vero est abusus et omni conatu auferendus, quod matres familias ob patris salarii tenuitatem extra domesticos parietes quaestosam artem exercere coguntur, curis officiisque peculiaribus ac praesertim infantium institutione neglectis. Omni igitur ope enitendum est, ut mercedem patresfamilias percipant sat amplam, quae communibus domesticis necessitatibus convenienter subveniat. *Quadragesimo anno, AAS* 1931 (a. XXIII), page 200.

57 In hoc praeterea eorum qui publice imperant versari curas praecipuas oportet, ut illa civibus suis vitae adiumenta parent, quibus si iidem careant, rem ipsam publicam quantumvis recte compositam, concidere pronum est, utque maxime patribus familias ac iuvenibus opera suppeditent. *Divini Redemptoris, AAS* 1937 (a. XXIX) page 103.

58 Neque satis sociali iustitiae factum erit, nisi opifices et sibimet ipsis et familiae cuiusque suae victum tuta ratione ex accepta, rei consentanea, mercede praebere poterunt. *Divini Redemptoris, AAS* 1937, (a.XXIX) page 92.

59 (Neque satis sociali iustitiae factum erit).....nisi denique opportunum erit in eorum commodum inita consilia quibus iidem, per publica vel privata cautionis instituta, suae ipsorum senectuti, infirmitati operisque vactioni consulere queant. *Divini Redemptoris*, on the just quoted page 92.

60 Apposite etiam ad rem facit recta inter salaria proportio: quacum arcte cohaeret recta proportio pretiorum, quibus illa veneunt, quae a diversis artibus progignuntur, qualia habentur agricultura, ars industrialis, alia. *Quadregesimo anno, AAS* 1931, (a, XXIII) page 202

61 Nachrichten für Aussen-Handel, 4th December 1942.

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II. In his Christmas message of 1942 Pope Pius XII has required: "the dignity of the human person demands the right to use the earth's goods as fundamental natural conditions of life", but he joined it immediately: "To this the demand corresponds, that virtually everybody must get *private property*"[62] Namely "it ought to be prevented, that the worker would get into such economic dependency, which can not be reconciled with the right of the human person.[63] (ibidem)

According to Saint Thomas Aquinas everybody cares much better for the private property, by which public order and social peace can be much more easily maintained.[64]

Pope Leo XIII explained in the Rerum novarum, that the private property follows from the reasonable nature of man, who has to take care of his future.[65] It has been pointed out by the same encyclical, that the work of the worker marks his product, which give title to own it.[66]

In the explanation of Alexander Horváth because of this work the product gets into causal relationship with the worker, and this is only a predicamental relationship. Therefore the ontological base of the private property is weaker, than the natural right of ius utendi[67] mentioned

62 La dignità della persona umana esige dunque come fundamento naturale per vivere il diritto all'uso dei beni della terra; a ciu risponde l'oblogo fondamentale di accordare une proprieta privata, possibilmente a tutti.
Con sempre on the 24 December 1942, *AAS* 1943 (a. XXXV), page 17

63 ma se vogliono contribuire alla pacificazione della communità, dovranno impedire che l'operaio, che e o sera padre di famiglia, venna condannato ad una dipendenza a sevitu economica, irreconciliabile con i suoi dititti di persona. Con sempre on the just quoted page 17.

64 II^a II^{ae} qu 66. a 2.

65 Homo enigma cum innumerabilia ratione comprehendat, rebusque praesentibus adiungat atque annectat futuras, cumque actionum suarum sit ipse dominus, propterea sub lege aeterna, sub potestate omnia providentissime gubernantis Dei, se ipse gubernat providentia consilii sui: quamobrem in eius est potestate res eligere, quas ad consulendum sibi non modo in praesens, sed etiam in reliquum tempus, maxime iudicet idoneas. Ex quo consequitur, ut in homine esse non modo terrenorum fructuum, sed ipsius terrae dominatum oporteat, quia e terrae fetu sibi res suppeditari videt ad futurum tempus necessarias. Rerum novarum, *Acta Leonis,* Vol. XI., Roma 1892, page 101.

66 ...in qua velut quamdam personae suae impressum reliquit; ut omnino rectum esse oporteat, eam partem ab eo possideri uti suam, nec ullo modo ius ipsius violare cuiquam licere. Rerum novarum, op.cit. page 103.

67 in II^a II^{ae} qu 66. a 1.

above stemming from the transcendental relationship between man and what he needs.[68]

According to Saint Thomas Aquinas the right of private property does not originate from the natural law, but from the *ius gentium* because the animals have no private property, and the law of private property can be only deduced from the nature of things by reason.[69]

In fact we ought to remember, that there was no private property in the first churches of the apostles and in the Jesuits' reductions in Paraguay between 1640 and 1768,[70] as there is no private property within the religious orders to this day.

* * *

III. The social teaching of the Supreme Pontiffs accepting the principle of private property recognises, that "the distribution of the goods on earth, which has been heavily disturbed by the contrast of a few extremely rich and enormous masses of the propertyless have to be brought into harmony with the common good and social justice,[71] (Quadragesimo anno). "...the more just distribution of the goods on earth" is a "legitimate demand"[72] (Divini Redemptoris).

In fact "the private property became a direct power to exploit the labour of others"[73] (Christmas message of 1941).

68 Alexander HORVÁTH, O. P., *Eigentumsrecht nach heiligen Thomas von Aquin*, Graz 1929, page 109

69 II^{a} II^{ae} qu 57. a.3; qu 66 a 2 ad 1.

70 JABLONKAY Gábor S.J.: *Redukciók* in: *Katolikus Lexikon*, IV. kötet, 1933, page 74.

71 Sua igitur cuique bonorum attribuenda est; efficiendumque, ut as boni communis seu socialis iustitiae normas revocetur et conformetur partitio bonorum creaturum, quam hodie ob ingens discimen inter paucos praedivites et innumeros rerum inopes gravissimo laborare incommodo cordatus quisque novit. *Quadragesimo anno*, *AAS* 1931 (a. XXIII), page 197; Dans la tradition, 7th July 1952, *AAS* 1952 (a. XXXXIV), page 619.

72 Ii enim, qui eiusmodi causam provehunt, fucata hac veritatis specie utuntur, se nimirum velle solummodo operariae plebis sortem ad meliorem fortunam reducere; itemque velle et quidquid non rectum in rem administrandam Libertas, quos vocant, invexerint, opportune sanare, et ad aequabiliorem bonorum partitionem devenire: quae omnia procul dubio legitimis rationibus attingi posse nemo est, qui non videat. *Divini Redemptoris*, *AAS* 1937, (a. XXIX), page 72-73.

73 la proprietà privata divenne per gli uni potere diretto verso lo sfruttamento dell'opera altrui, negli altro generò gelosia e odio.....Nell'alba, 24th December 1941, *AAS* 1942 (a. XXXIV) page 14

Pope Pius XII repeatedly stated, that "It is the more just distribution of wealth for which you can and must strive today just as you had to yesterday. This is one of the programme points of the Catholic social doctrine"[74] (Dans la tradition). In a reception of the Italian agricultural workers in the week of Easter 1956 Pope Pius XII emphasised the necessity of a land reform.[75]

It is however not so much the static, but the *dynamic wealth reform* which stays in the focus of the Catholic social doctrine: "Therefore at least from henceforth every effort must be made, that the produced goods would accumulate only reasonably at the proprietors, but they should be obtained by the workers in plenty ... in order to save a little family property... and to be liberated from the destiny of proletarians."[76] (Quad-

74 ciò a cui pero voi potete e dovete tendere è una più giusta distribuzione della richezza. essa è e rimane un punto programmatico della doctrina sociale cattolica. Conforto, letizia e giusto, 7th September 1947, *AAS* 1947 (a. XXXIX), page 428.
"Ce à quoi vous pouvez et devez tendre" aujourd'hui comme hier, "c'est à une plus juste distribution de la richesse. Elle est reste un point du programme de la doctine sociale catholique" Dans la tradition, 7th July 1952, *AAS* 1952 (a. XXXXIV), page 620.

75 Non spetta a Noi Definire i particolari provvediamenti che la società deve adottare per adempiere l'obbligo di prestare aiuto alla categoria rurale; nondimeno Ci sembra che gli scopi persequiti dalla vostra Confederazione coincidano coi doveri della società stessa verso di voi. Tali sono, ad esempio, diffondere la proprietà agricola e il sviluppo produttivo; porre gli agricoltori non proprietari in condizioni di salari, di contratti e di dedito tali da favorire la loro stabilità sui fondi da essi coltivati e facilitare il consequimento della piena proprietà (salvo sempre il riguardo dovuto alla produttività, ai diritti dei proprietari e sopratutto ai loro investimenti); ...
...ed in fine adoperarsi affinchè venga rimossa quella troppo stridente differenza tra il reddito agricolo e l'industriale, che causa l'Abbondanza delle campagne, con tanto danno della economia in un Paese come il vostro, fondato in buona parte sulla produzione agricole....Vi siano grati 11th April 1956, *AAS* 1956 (a.XXXXVIII) pages 278-279.

76 Quare omni vi ac contentione enitendum est, ut saltem in posterum partae rerum copiae aequa proportione coacerventur apud eos, qui operam conferunt, non ut in labore remissi fiant - natus est enim homo ad laborem sicut avis ad volandum, -sed ut rem familiarum parsimonia augeant; auctam sapienter administrando facilius ac securius familiae onera sustineant; atque emersi ex incerta vitae sorte, cuius varietate iactantur proletarii, non solum vicissitudinibus vitae perferendis pares, sed etiam post huius vitae exitum iis, quos post se relinquunt, quodammodo provisum fore confidant. Haec omnia a decessore Nostro non solum insinuata, sed clare et aparte proclamata hisce Nostris Litteris etiam atque etiam inculcamus. *Quadragesimo anno*, AAS

ragesimo anno) "We have not satisfied social justice, until we had not made possible to the workers to save a modest property in order to prevent wide-spread (universal) poverty" (Divini Redemptoris).[77]

It has to be pointed out, that already in 1863 the Bishop of Mainz, Wilhelm Emmanel Frieherr von Ketteler has proposed to establish "Produktiv-Assotiationen" in which the worker becomes also entrepreneur. In this way he could receive from the profits in addition to his wages.[78]

Finally it ought to be stressed that according to the Con sempre in a state capitalism "under the oppression of the state ... the lack of freedom might bring even heavier consequences, as it is shown and proved by experience."[79]

However the encyclical Divini Redemptoris ascribes very important role to the state: "The measures of the state must be such, that they could reach the big capitalists, who control enormous fortunes, and who might increase these to the detriment of the common good."[80]

1931, (a. XXIII), page198.

77 *Divini Redemptoris* AAS 1937 (a XXIX), page 92.

78 "A produktív társulatok lényegét a munkásoknak magában az üzletben való részvételénél ismertük meg. Azokban a munkás üzleti vállalkozó és munkás is egyszersmind, s ezért kettős része van a jövedelemben: a munkabér és a tulajdonképeni üzleti nyereség osztalékja.....Szükségtelen itt jobban bebizonyítani a produktív társulatok nagy becsét a munkásosztály helyzetének javítására...részvétünket és támogatásunkat a legnagyobb mértékben megérdemli. (The essence of the productive societies could be learned in the participation of the workers in the business. In these the worker is both entrepreneur and worker is at the same time, and therefore he has double share in the income: wages and share in the profit... It is not necessary to prove it here further the great importance of the productive societies for the improvement of the working class(e)s' situation....It deserves our participation and support.)" KETTELER, Wilhelm Emmanuel Freiherr von: *Die Arbeiterfrage und das Christentum*, Mainz 1863. In Hungarian: *A munkások kérdése és a kereszténység*. translated by Gyula Katinszky, Eger 1864 (!), page 105.

79 Che questa servitù derivi dal prepotere del capitale privato o dal potere dello Stato, l'effetto non muta; sotto lapressione di uno Stato, che tutto domina e regola l'intera vita pubblica e privata, penetrando fino nel campo delle concezioni e persuasioni e della coscienza, questa mancanza di liberta può avere consequenze ancora più gravose, come l'esperienza manifesta e testimonia. Con ¨sempre 24th December 1942, *AAS* 1943 (a.XXXV), page 17

80 At in id suscepta a rei publicae moderatoribus consilia eiusmodi sane esse debent ut revera ad eos pertineant, qui opibus copiisque affluant, et easdem cotidie in proximorum grave detrimentum adaugeant. Divini Redemptoris, *AAS* 1937 (a. XXIX.) page 104.

On the other hand the Quadragesimo anno acknowledges, that the reservation of certain goods for public property can be demanded with every right, because the excessive power connected with them can not be owned by private persons without the damage of the common good.[81]

4. *Investigation of the connection and hierarchy of socio-economic goals.*

a). "The ultimate principle in distribution, as in every phase of economic process, can be no other, than the principle ruling and regulating the whole process: the goal of the economy, the providing for the needs of the people conformable to the then attained cultural standards."[82]

Therefore the provision of the population, (the requirements of the ius utendi) have a priority over the accumulation of wealth among the social goals. This priority also follows from the difference in force between the natural law of the ius utendi and the ius gentium prescribing private property. The same precedence is demonstrated by the ontological foundations of the two, because the transcendental relationship forming the base of the ius utendi is stronger then the causal relationship from which the right of private property stems.

If the economy does not keep this priority, depending on the deviation, economic depression, or even crisis will emerge, as the Charitate Christi compulsi wrote it in 1932: "...even the few, who caused the troubles by their unsatisfiable hunger for profit, or who cause it up to now, have been submerged bringing the wealth of many into destruction. It becomes justified in a striking manner, what the Lord God Holy Spirit said of the individual sinners: 'one is punished by the very things by which he sins' (Sap 11_{16})"[83]

81 Etenim certa quadam bonorum genera rei publicae reservanda merito contenditur, cum tam magnum secum ferant potentatum, quantus privatis hominibus, salva re publica, permitti non possit. huiusmodi iusta postulata et desideria iam nil habent, quod a christiana veritate abhorreat, multoque minus socialismo sunt propria. Quapropter, qui haec tantummodo persequentur non habent cur socialismo se aggregent. *Quadragesimo anno, AAS* 1931 (a. XXIII), page 214.

82 MULCAHY S.J, Richard: *The Economics of Heinrich Pesch*, New York 1952, page 123.

83 ii porro perpauci qui immodico quaestui servientes, tantorum malorum magnam partem, causa fuerunt et sunt, ii ipsi - inquimus - haud raro iisdemque hisce malis inhoneste obruuntur primi, plurimorum bona fortunasque in suam perniciem rapiuntur, de singulis flagitiosis hominibus Spiritus Sanctus ea sententia edixerat: "Per quae peccat quis, per haec et torquentur" Sap XI 17

In order to overcome the depression public works have been started in Central Europe giving bread to those out of work. In America Roosevelt introduced the New Deal. The name of this reform shows, that it was a new distribution of income, by which the needy and the poor could find provisions through social security arrangements. These social measures were not necessarily secured by balanced state budget each year, but they were justified by the theories of Keynes.[84] He became a Lord because of his achievements in economics, and using his theories Keynesian economists succeeded to avoid depression and unemployment as well as inflation for many years following the IInd World War.

The Beveridge Plan (which scheduled to cover virtually all the social needs represented by the ius utendi,) stated, that "It could not be expected, that the Social Security Fund would balance its expenditures and incomes each year. The old age and health insurance is a life's job and not of a year. Similarly it is not desired, that the payments of the unemployment benefits should equal the corresponding contributions every year. The Fund (of Social Security) might contribute to the full employment by saving in the period of prosperity and by spending and possibly borrowing in depression".[85]

It has to be stated, that this observation corresponds to the statement of the Divine Redemptoris: "As soon as we satisfied social justice, its fruit will appear immediately in the quickening paces of the entire economic life, in the peace and order, that is in the healthy beat of the society's body."[86]

b) The accumulation of wealth is economically useful and much needed for economic development and morally it might be right, because the saving requires self-denial. The inclination to acquire is an instinct planted into us by God, but it ought to be bridled by generosity. Otherwise it becomes a goal in itself, that is to say the capital sin of greed. It

Charitate Christi compulsi, *AAS* 1932 (a XXIV), page 178.

84 KEYNES, John Maynard: "The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money," London 1936

85 MIHELICS, Vid: *A Beveridge-terv* (The Beveridge Plan), Budapest 1944, page 153.

86 Si igitur iustitiae sociali provisum fuerit, ex oeconomicis rebus uberis enascentur actuose nativitatis fructus, qui in tranquillitatis ordine maturescent, Civitatisque vim firmitudinem ostendent; quemadmodum humani corporis valetudo ex imperturbata, plena fructuosaque eius opera dignoscitur. *Divini Redemptoris*, AAS 1937 (a. XXIX), page 92.

is this greed, which mixes up the right precedence of the social aims by giving priority to the acquisition of fortunes over the social provisions required by the ius utendi.

"The love of money is the root of all evils" (I. Tim 6_{10}) ...the cupidity appearing in thousand forms and under the most varied names is the most chief reason, that mankind has fallen into this final misery"[87] (Charitate Christi compulsi).

"The strifes between the social classes excessively guarding their own interests originate from the eyes' desire, that is from the improper cupidity"[88] (Ubi arcano dated 23rd December 1922) The Con sempre obviously condemned that "social order, which hid its weakness and its unbridled instinct for profiteering and power behind the illusory surface or mask of hackneyed slogans"[89] (24th December 1942).

Inasmuch therefore the capitalism is defined as a social system in which the exclusive supreme norm and final goal is profit-making and profiteering, it must be condemned morally on the base of social justice and natural law, just as on the base of generosity.

c) State capitalism is the worst possible form of capitalism, where the greed of the state leadership jealously confiscates any private profit. This strangles private initiative, the main driving force of the economy, or forces it to move to the black market. The result is demoralisation and the progressive extinction of private accumulation and private initiative especially in the service of individual consumption. In these measures state capitalism fundamentally opposes subsidiarity, the main principle of Christian sociology. In state capitalism all competitors disappear from the market and the state dominating the market can freely exploit the consumers offering only inferior goods and it could stop despotically the sale of any product at will.

In fact the state capitalism can distort the course of economy turning its goal serving military, ideological and political purposes instead of the

87 "Radicem" videlicet "omnium malorum cupiditatem" esse.....nonne denique cupiditas, quoqumque demum nomine aut forma appaletur in causa potissimum est cur hominum genus ad extremum discrimen adductum miserantes conspiciamus? Charitate Christi compulsi 3rd May 1932, *AAS* 1932 (a. XXIV) page 179.

88 ex concupiscentia oculorum, idest habendi cupiditate, acerbae illae nascuntur contentiones civilium ordinum, suis cuiusque commodis plus nimio inservientium .Ubi arcano 23rd December 1922, *AAS* 1922 (a. XIV) page 682.

89 Con sempre, 24th December 1942, *AAS* 1943 (a. XXXV).

satisfaction of consumers. In such an economy the beneficial effects of the large investments could not spread further on the free market.

State capitalism exploits not only the consumers, but the workers as well, as the monopoly of the state appears as monopsony on the labour market. It can force down wages to starving levels and abolishing family wages it can compel mothers to leave their families and join the labour-force.

d) Looking back to our previous investigations we have seen, that the fundamental aims of economy correspond organically to the requirements of natural law and ius gentium. Therefore the right economic policy is also the policy of justice and generosity.

According to Heinrich Pesch the goal of the economy is providing for the needs of the people,[90] which is in fact economic prosperity. Increasing economic prosperity however can not be maintained without the growing accumulation of wealth. The growth of the accumulated wealth in turn requires the further development of production. Meanwhile modern economic production can not be maintained and even less developed further without the division of labour. The division of labour in its turn can not be achieved without the distribution of income. Summarising these considerations we have found the following hierarchy of goals:

Culture Order of Law Public Health Economic Prosperity Accumulation of Wealth Increase of Production Division of Labour Income Distribution.

* * *

Conclusion. The goals investigated in this study have an effect on the economy and mixing up their priorities might bring the economy into depression and even into crisis. These goals appear as norms to the mind in the order of the patterns called causae examplares in the scholastic philosophy. The same aims however constitute goals for the will.

The income distribution will have a completely different pattern, if the system of law in force subjects the common good to the accumulation of wealth, or if the system of law secures the requirements of common good. The income distribution will be right and just, if the system of law in force incorporates the patterns prescribed by the natural law

90 Richard MULCAHY S.J., *The Economics of Heinrich Pesch*, New York 1952, page 123.

and the ius gentium, which means, that the requirements of common good and the social justice have been incorporated into the social institutions and in the practice of law. "It is necessary, that this justice should permeate all the social and state institutions, and that it should prevail in the social policy, that is to say to create such a social order, which marks the whole economy and which is animated by the soul of social charity."[91] (Quadragesimo anno)

The system of law has to guarantee that the fair competition would not degenerate into unlimited competition.[92] Meanwhile "we have to increase the available goods by the orderly development of the production, but we have to watch, that the fruits of common efforts have to be justly distributed".[93] (Dans la tradition)

"...the right distribution is not a simple thing ... we have to investigate it on the level of political economy, because we can recognise the fixed goal, for which we have to strive on earth, that is the interest of the common good, only from that that perspective"[94] The grace of Christ is needed, that "in every field of human society the citizens and their leaders would recognise and follow the goals prescribed by the Creator and in order that the Cupertino of the individuals and of the peoples would

91 Altiora igitur et nobiliora exquirenda sunt, quibus hic potentatus severe integreque gubernetur: socialis nimirum iustitia et caritas socialis. Quapropter ipsa populorum atque adeo socialis vitae totius instituta ea iuastitia imbuantur oportet maximeque necessarium est, ut vere efficiens evadat seu ordinem iuridicum et socialem constituat, quo oeconomia tota veluti informetur. Caritas vero socialis quasi anima esse debet huius ordinis; ad quem efficienter tuendaum et vindicandum auctoritas publica alacris incumbat opportet; id quod minus difficulter praestare poterit, si ea onera a se excusserit, quae ei non esse propria ante declaravimus...
Quadragesimo anno, *AAS* 1931 (a. XXIII), pages 206-207.

92 See Quadragesimo anno quoted in footnotes [27] and [28] as well as the Gia per la decimaterza quoted in footnote [29].

93 "s'il est vrai, que pour satisfaire à cette obligation le moyen le plus naturel est d'accroître les bien disponibles par un sain développement de la production, encore faut-il dans la poursuite de cet effort garder le souci de répartir justement les fruits du labeur de tous Dans la tradition 7th July 1952, *AAS* 1952 (a. XXXXIV) pages 621-622

94 Ces quelques réflexion montrent la difficulté d'une saine distribution pour répondre aux exigences de la vie sociale, elle ne saurait être abandonné au libre jeu des forces économiques aveugles, mais doit être envisagée au niveau de l'économie nationale, car c'est là que se prend une claire vision de la fin à poursuivre du bien commun temporel. Dans la tradition 7th July 1952, *AAS* 1952 (a. XXXXIV) pages 622-623.

be directed to these aims and that they would practice social justice and charity within the states and between the states."[95] (Gia per la decimaterza volta dated 24th December 1951)

95 Della grazia di Cristo sull' intelletto e sulla volontà dei cittadini e del loro capi, affinche essì riconoscano e persequano gli scopi assegnati dal Creatore in tutti i campi della convivenza umana, si studino di dirigere verso questi fini la collaboratzione degl'invidui e dei popoli ed exercitono la giustizia e la carità sociale nell' intero degli Stati e fra loro Gia per la decimaterza volta, 24th December 1951, *AAS* 1952, (XXXXIV), page 11.

Negative income taxation in the United Kingdom

PART I.

HISTORY OF THE NEGATIVE INCOME TAXATION

(A) First debates on the negative income taxation in the United Kingdom (1942 - 1951) p. 1

(B) The second wave in Britain (1957 - 1961) p. 5

(C) Proposals in Northern America (1962 - 1966) p. 6

(D) The third debate in the United Kingdom after 1965 p. 9

The procedure of negative income taxation - without using this expression - was invented by Lady Juliette E. Rhys-Williams, who published a pamphlet during the war in August 1942, with the title "Something to Look Forward".(1) There is no copy of this article in the public libraries in Britain. The only place where we could trace it at the beginning of 1967 was the catalogue of the library of Nuffield College in Oxford, but even there it was missing from the shelves and now even from the catalogue. After some discussion, she published her reforms in the form of a book in 1943 with the same title.

Lady Rhys-Williams built her reform on the observations that during the unemployment of the 1930s "..... the Unemployment Assistance Board before the war repeatedly drew attention to the fact that unemployed men with several children were better off on the dole than when they were earning full wages ....." (2)

Therefore she proposed a basic "social security" payment, equivalent to unemployment benefit, to everybody whether in work or not, thus at one and the same time ensuring that the out-of-work had enough to live on, but they were not deterred from seeking employment by the fear that their situation would be worsened thereby.(3)

While she warranted the minimum subsistence to everybody in this way, there remained no need for the personal income tax allowances, and she could propose a proportional taxation with the same tax rate on every other income than this basic social security payment.

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(1) According to Arthur Seldon, "The reverse income tax goes back in principle to the American economist Henry C. Simons". (The Times, 4th Sept. 1967) Mr. Seldon does not specify this more concretely, Professor Simons of the University of Chicago died in 1948, and we could not trace any sort of negative income tax in his writings which are in the libraries of Oxford. It is surely not mentioned either in the content or in the indices of his books:

A positive programme for laissez faire, Chicago 1934.
Personal income taxation, Chicago 1938.
Economic policy for a free society Chicago 1948.
Federal Tax Reform, Chicago 1950.

The only things which one could find are tax rebates and not negative income taxes:

"Rebates should be made available every five years for the amount by which an individual's income tax payments for the last five years have exceeded by more than 10 per cent, the total which he would have paid if his income tax year had been exactly one-fifth of his total taxable income for the five-year period".

Personal Income Taxation 212-3.

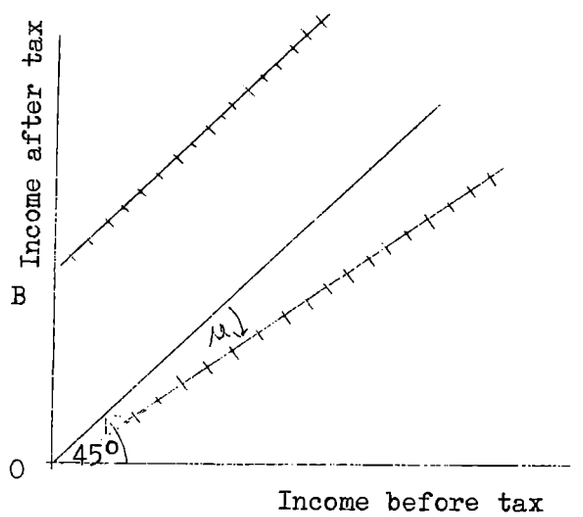
(2) Lady J.E. Rhys-Williams: Proposals for Simplifying and Reducing Income Tax. Cardiff (1943) page 1. (Reprinted later in Liberal Publication Department: Family Allowances and Social Security, London, 1944).

(3) Liberal Party: Reform of Income Tax and Social Security Payment (Yellow Books) 1952, page 9.

As a result the income redistribution was determined in her scheme by two factors:

1. the marginal tax rate, as it is expressed in angle μ which applies on the very first unit of income and
2. by the basic social security payment given to everybody and represented by line $\overline{OB}$ in the case of no other income, and which shifts the function on the redistribution from the origo to point B.

Diagram 3.1



The abolition of the tax allowances and the proportional flat rate taxation would have resulted in a huge simplification of the taxation. According to its own estimate the Inland Revenue could save from its staff 10,000 - 15,000 persons "once the new system had become properly established".(1) This was 21-31% of the whole staff employed in 1949-50.

To balance the expenses of the scheme and the other Government expenditures covered by the income tax revenue beforehand, she proposed originally a 45% tax rate on every £ of income, starting on the very first (except the social security payments as it was mentioned above). With this revenue she was in the position to suspend the payment of the National Insurance contributions, and this opened the way of the amalgamating of the Inland Revenue and the National Insurance reducing further the duplication of the bureaucracy.

Meanwhile the critics found the 45% tax rate too high, and when Lady Rhys-Williams tried to reduce this percentage first to 35% and later on to 33%, she was forced

1. either to restrict the universibility of the benefits(2)
2. or to jeopardise the minimum subsistence(3)
3. or to reintroduce the national insurance contributions(3)

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(1) Memorandum at the Inland Revenue submitted to the Royal Commission on the Taxation of Profits and Income 18th July 1951, p. 65, para. 39.

(2) See Liberal Publication Department: Family Allowances and Social Security, 1944.

(3) Lady J.E. Rhys-Williams: Income Tax Reform, March 1949.

Any of these modifications spoiled necessarily the attractiveness and the elegance of the original system.

It is curious that as a genuine liberal she felt that her brilliant invention could not be justified unless everybody participating in it signed a contract with the State according to the orthodox liberal doctrines which banished any state intervention. Nevertheless she dropped this condition too in the later version.

Meanwhile the ingenuity of her insight fascinated many other minds during and after the war in Britain, who tried to realise her reforms in various forms. A common feature of all these proposals was that not considering the social security payments which were considered tax free, they had no tax exemption limit. Therefore the taxation would have started with the first unit of income, as in the schemes of Lady Rhys-Williams.

In May 1943, when the introduction of the P.A.Y.E. system was prepared and disputed, two actuaries, A.T. Haynes and P.J. Kirton published a proposal with the title "Income Tax in relation to Social Security". Their scheme required a 41.64% tax rate on the earned and a 50% tax rate on the unearned income. While their original proposal would have restricted the benefits to the tax payers, after that the P.A.Y.E. system was set in force they made a newer version which extended the allowances to everybody. The scheme of Messrs. Haynes and Kirton was further modified in four articles by the Economist in January 1946.

In an article entitled Taxation and Incentives in the Lloyds Bank Review of April 1948 Mr. S.P. Chambers, the Finance Director of the I.C.I. and formerly member of the Board of the Inland Revenue was concerned mainly with the disincentive of the high tax burden and therefore he suggested a 15% tax rate in the lower income branches, but the resulting state revenue could finance only insufficient social allowances.

Professor James Meade of the London School of Economics found an excellent means of controlling inflation in the scheme of Lady Rhys-Williams, though this fiscal operation too was contrary to her liberal feeling. Even Professor Meade tried to reduce the tax rate of the schemes making three alternatives. The first of his plans would have been financed by a general 42.5% tax rate. When he attempted to lower this further to 36.25 or 35% he had to combine it with a poll-tax for the national insurance. The latter was retained in the third alternative, which proposed a 31.25% tax rate on the earned and a 45% tax rate on the unearned incomes.(1)

While Lady Rhys-Williams prepared the conclusions of her modifications in a book Taxation and Incentive,(2) the Liberal Party's Yellow Book:

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(1) Prof. I. Meade: Planning and Price Mechanism p.42-46, 105-107.

(2) Published 1953.

Reform of Income Tax and Social Security Payments sought a solution "between the generosity of Lady Rhys-Williams and the parsimony of Mr. Chambers".(1) They found "an absolute conflict between security and incentive".(2) Their compromise proposed a 25% tax rate on earned and a 30% tax rate on unearned income(3) but it was necessarily impaired (handicapped) by a surtax of respectively 10 and 15% above £600 yearly income and by the combined disadvantages of all the reported schemes which it tried to reconcile.

Probably this movement among the Liberals prompted the hearing of the Royal Commission of the Taxation of Profits and Income on 21-22 June and on 18th July, 1951, which examined the proposals. The results may be expressed in a concise form with the words of the memorandum of the Inland Revenue:

The objectives which these schemes originally set out to achieve may be summarised as follows:-

1. To amalgamate income tax and social security into a single coherent and logical system;
2. To remove the disincentive effects of the present(4) income tax by substituting a flat rate tax, and
3. To simplify administration.

None of the schemes so far put forward in fact achieve all these three objectives.(5)

Considering their failures from our perspective seventeen years later, the causes could be found mainly in three factors

(a) Nearly all of the authors of the above mentioned schemes had some animosity if not hostility against the P.A.Y.E. system, which was quite a new institution at that time. Therefore they wanted rather to replace it by their proposals instead of building it into their own plans. This behaviour spoiled them from the most powerful tool;

1. which could render the social security payments more selective.
2. which could amalgamate the Inland Revenue and the Social Security.

Consequently they could not obtain economies through the restriction of the double bureaucracy.

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(1) Liberal Party (Yellow Book); Reform of Income Tax and Social Security Payments, p. 23, para. 62.

(2) Ibidem, p. 12, para. 32.

(3) Ibidem, p. 12, para. 32.

(4) As it was in 1951.

(5) Memorandum submitted by the Board of Inland Revenue (Minutes of Evidence taken before the Royal Commission on the Taxation of Profits and Incomes, p. 61, para. 22.

(b) Instead of the that time existing progressive taxation they proposed in general a flat proportional tax rate. This would have reduced naturally the revenues of the treasury on the first instance. At the same time the same flat rate proportional taxation ab ovo could not employ a greater selectivity even in the higher income branches on the negative poll tax of the proposed universalistic social security payments. Consequently the monetary advantages widely appeared on micro-level only increased the insoluble difficulties of the finance in macro level. While they usually attempted to lower the higher marginal tax rates of the progressive taxation, the reduced revenues of the Treasury could not balance the rising expenditures.

(c) Meanwhile the GNP of the United Kingdom at market prices increased from £19,330 in year 1950 to £30,207 million in year 1966, using constant prices of 1958. This is an increase of 56% ompared with this and during the same period the population grew only with 9% from 50.18 million to 54.74 million. This gives a much wider freedom for the social policy not only because of the resulting 43% augmentation of the per capita income, which necessarily reduced the extent of the poverty in absolute sense, but because the burden of the social expenditure can be spread over a much larger revenue. Consequently this may open the solution of the financial problems, which could not be overcome at the time of Lady Rhys-Williams.

After the proceedings of the Royal Commission on the Taxation of Profits and Income in June and July 1951, the interest in these schemes seems to be lessened on the British Isles, but it sailed over the Atlantic. The studies of C.E. Syres and Robert R. Schultz in 1951 closely follow the plans of Lady Juliette though Schultz chose a progressive taxation instead of the proportional. The book in which Lady Rhys-Williams explained her last modifications: Taxation and Incentive, was published in 1953. This marked the end of the first period in the history of the negative income taxation.

It is the irony of fate that the second wave for this state intervention in the social security was launched again from circles which could be considered liberal in the classic European sense.

On the 27th March, 1957, the Manchester Guardian had a leading article with the title "Beyond Beveridge". This proposed a new form of the negative income taxes after Lady Rhys-Williams. "There is no doubt in fact - wrote the article - that one reason why neither party is prepared to support old age pensions at a level sufficient to cover all basic needs is that much of the money would go to people already fairly comfortably off. So those whose need is genuine are driven to seek National Assistance - the very thing the Beveridge scheme set out to avoid".

"Perhaps a way out might be found - continued the Guardian - by using the machinery of the Inland Revenue. Two features of the tax system suggest that it could be extended to take over the function of allocating cash benefits. One is the degree to which taxation is already used as an instrument of social policy. The idea of income tax allowance as a form of social service is unfamiliar. Yet there is a strong case for recognising them as such. At the end of 1955, according to the Treasury estimate quoted by Professor Titmuss, the cost of the Children's and dependants' tax allowances was £425 million. In effect this cost is borne by other tax payers. The second feature follows from this; it is that tax collection operates by the most rigorous of all means tests, but one which nevertheless is generally accepted. Could not this system be extended down the scale, with cash benefits as a form of negative "taxation" for those in certain defined categories? After all, tax collectors already have some experience of this two-way traffic; they who are unemployed, or on strike, receive cash rebates. Schemes for assimilating all cash payments with the income tax system were put before the Royal Commission on Taxation by Lady Rhys-Williams and by the Liberal party ....."

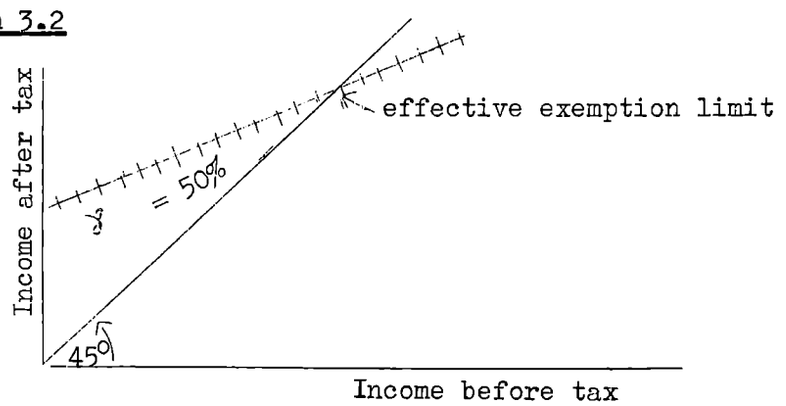
This shows that the Guardian was aware of the link which connected his proposals to Lady Juliette's scheme. The proposal of the Guardian was repeated with some modifications by Arthur Seldon in his article "Pensions in the Society" in the same year, and Mr. Seldon returned to the same question in his Hobart paper "Pensions for Prosperity" published in 1960. "Old people in need would receive more generous grants in place of National Assistance to supplement their income from private saving or gifts from families; the grants would be determined by income codes calculated from returns of income as compiled for income tax. Those whose income exceeded the current break-even point would pay tax; those whose income fell below the point would receive grants; the grants would thus form an inverse tax; they would be arranged to minimize the discouragement to private saving or family subvention."

This Hobart paper was republished in 1961, which shows well that the idea of the negative income taxation was never completely extinguished on British soil after it was invented in 1943.

In the United States Milton Friedman gave new impulse to this fiscal reform. In 1962 he published a book with the title "Capitalism and Freedom", which was based on the lectures which he held at Wabash College six years earlier in 1956. In this panegyric of the free enterprise his approach to the negative income taxation was similar to that of the Manchester Guardian. He suggested to cash the half of the tax exemptions, which remain unused in the case of the incomes lower

than this limit.[1] This means that he determined the negative income tax beginning from the break-even point, where the tax exemptions equal the income, and he wanted to supplement 50% of each missing dollar below this point, which is the negative marginal tax rate in our definition represented by the angle γ

Diagram 3.2



Robert J. Lampman[2] too used the break-even point and the same angle γ in the definition of negative income tax as Friedman did. But Lampman based the measure not on the equity of the taxation but he tried to put the break-even point to the poverty line, employing several marginal rates as 14%, 25%, 50% and 75%.

As far as the negative income taxation is defined starting from the break-even point downwards, it satisfies to the social justice in as much as it cashes the unused tax exemptions to the poor. Nevertheless there is no a priori guarantee in this particular method, that even those who have no other income at all will be brought above the poverty line or at least above the minimum subsistence level by using this definition . As a result Lampman's scheme has to be supplemented by the existing previous social security provisions. Consequently this makes only rather more complicated the social services instead of simplifying it.

This may explain that D.B. Smith[3] was not mollified by the expenses, but he turned back to Lady Rhys-Williams while devising a welfare plan with 40% marginal tax rate for Canada in 1965.

Meanwhile there were economists in the United States who did not feel it improper to support the 100% marginal tax rate in the

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(1) Capitalism and Freedom, p. 192.

(2) Robert J. Lampman "Progress for Poverty", Proceedings of 57th Annual Congress of National Tax Association, Pittsburgh, 1964.

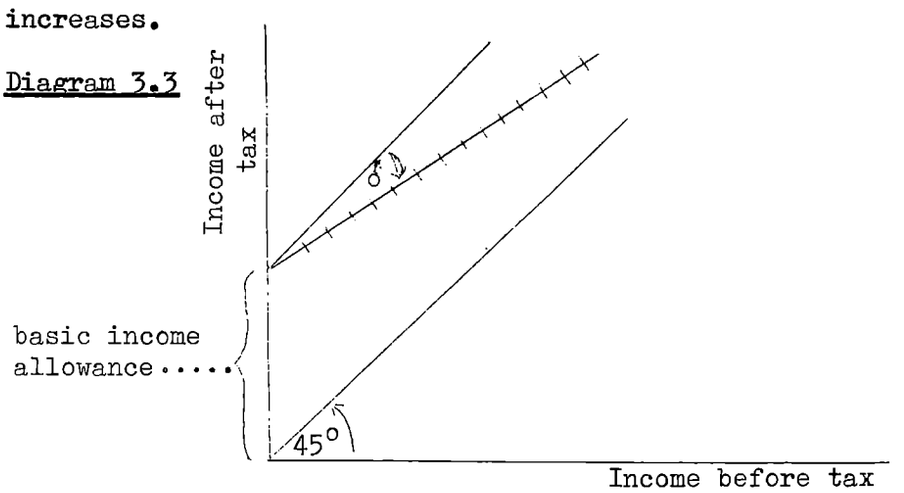
" " Approaches to Reduction to Poverty American Economic Review, Papers and Proceedings. Vol. 55 (May 1965)

(3) D.B. Smith "A simplified approach to social welfare, Canadian Tax Journal, Vol. 13 (May - June 1965).

case of social security payments, because this was urged by E.E. Schwartz in 1963[1] and R. Theobald in 1959.[2]

In James Tobin's plan the negative income taxes are defined with a new third method by a basic allowance and by a reduction rate.[3] He proposed a basic allowance of $400 in the case of no other income. This would be given to each person in a household, in order that there would be no incentive to break up families. Nevertheless he would restrict this amount to $150 beyond the sixth family member, and he would not give any allowance beyond the eighth, because he supposes that there are economies of scale in the household, and he wants to limit the family size. Furthermore he could not avoid to pay large size families with comfortable incomes otherwise. After that everybody was provided in this way in extreme necessity, this basic allowance would be reduced by the reduction rate represented by angle d, as the pre-tax income increases.

Diagram 3.3



In order to avoid any discouragement against self-initiative or thrift, he chose a 33% rate for the reduction rate. In this way he is able to

1. render a subsistence minimum
2. to everybody
3. As a result his proposal could substitute most of the existing social security provisions.
4. The 33% marginal rate can easily join his project to the existing American progressive taxation.

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(1) Edward E. Schwartz: "A way to end the means test", Social Work, Vol. 9 (July 1964), p. 3 - 12.

(2) Robert Theobald: Free Man and Free Market, New York 1963, 192-193.

(3) James Tobin: Memorandum on Bank Income Allowances, Unpublished Yale University, 1965.

" " Improving the Economic Status of the Vigro Daedalus, Vol. 94 (Fall 1965, p. 878-98).

" " Income Guarantees and Incentives, United States Chamber of Commerce, 9th December, 1966.

5. Consequently he avoids the expensive and superfluous allowances given across the board to the unneedy and wealthy persons in the Rhys-Williams' schemes.

Therefore Tobin's plan is the best developed, well pondered and most suitable form of the negative taxes put forward up to now.

In the meantime the waves of the negative income taxation returned to Britain. It was Professor Richard M. Titmuss who pointed out in the Times of 4th October 1965, that "Extending tax allowances to the poor could be achieved by adapting the P.A.Y.E. machinery". He was followed by Professor Abel-Smith in the Telegraph Supplement on 25th April, 1966.

The Conservative Political Centre published Hilary Sevill's paper AUNTIE in a similar sense in November 1966. She suggested to employ computers for this purpose. The son of Lady Juliette, Sir Brandon Rhys-Williams, proposed to connect the advantages of the amalgamation of the income tax and the social insurance system with the Post Office Giro.(1)

While the Liberal Party sponsored these reforms for many years, within the Labour Party and the Government, Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker, that time cabinet Minister responsible for welfare policies, spoke at a meeting in Cambridge on Sunday before 22nd June 1967. He said "I also hope that the greater use of computers for keeping our records, including those of the Inland Revenue, will make it possible to achieve what is sometimes called 'income tax in reverse', that is to say, everyone fills in a form about his income and the state then deducts tax or pays a grant, as the case may be. There will be difficulties, but it must be our objective to solve these. By this measure we can make our social services selective without any overt or invidious income test". (The Times, 22nd June 1967).

In the same month Douglas Houghton published an I.E.A. occasional paper: "Paying for the Social Services", in which he claimed "not only could the structure of P.A.Y.E. and its ingenious and flexible coding system and tax tables be used to provide an automatic minimum income, it could be adapted to a scheme for payment for state services". (p. 12). He found the basis of this solution in a "socialist principle: From each according to his ability, to each according to his need" (p. 18).

Meanwhile the ultra-conservative forces of the left wing orthodoxy felt that the new social reforms will endanger the vested interests of the establishment of the social services, and they tried to concentrate their attack on these recent initiatives. They based their arguments on two fallacies. The first fallacy is that the negative income tax is a

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(1) The New Social Contract, August 1967.

means test and it is just to apply this means test on the rich but it is immoral to apply the same procedure on the poor. The second fallacy is that the "infinite and infinitely changing circumstances of individuals and families"[1] could not be provided through a selective service properly changing as the circumstances require it, if we use computers, but there is (or there will be) an universalist infrastructure with an infinite number of services and that a further increase in the number of regulations will bring us nearer to the paradise.

Professor Dennis Lees' article: "Poor Families and Fiscal Reform" was published by the Lloyds Bank Review in October 1967 with this socio-political atmosphere in the background. His plan for a negative income taxation was advocated in Parliament by Mr. Tim Fortescue on 8th November 1967 during the second reading of the Family Allowances and National Insurance Bill (Hansard 1093 - 1094 columns).

Dennis Lees ' plan excited considerable interest as the correspondence of the Financial Times showed between 2nd and 24th October 1967. The following objections were mentioned in these letters:

1. That the really poor do not get in touch with the P.A.Y.E. system (G. Bayliss 6th October 1967).
2. That tax assessments do not correspond to the real income (D.J.D. Clark 12th October) though this was denied in other letters (A.W. Nelson 16th October).
3. That the proposals of Professor Lees would hit seriously those large families who are (near or) above the break-even point (D.J.D. Clark, 12th and 14th October 1962).
4. That over-population is itself a problem, and a little pressure upon the more fecund members of the community to exercise might not be a bad thing (A.W. Nelson, 16th October, 1962).
5. That there is a big jump in his marginal tax rate at the break-even point (A.J. Ward, 16th October, 1967).

In his article Professor Dennis Lees was concerned mainly but not exclusively with the question of the family allowances.

He followed Milton Friedman in defining the negative income taxes starting with the unused tax exemptions from the break-even point. As Friedman, Dennis Lees too proposed a negative income tax of 50% on p. 10 and 11 of his paper.

On the percentage of a tax rate we used to understand either the effective or the marginal tax rate. Effective tax rate relates the

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(1) R.A. Titmuss: Universal or Selective? The Practical case against the Means-test State. New Statesman, 15th Sept. 1967, p. 309. Professor Titmuss writing in the Times seems to have different opinions, when writing in the New Statesman, where he states: "Let us suppose the impossible: that the P.A.Y.E. system could be adapted".

whole amount of taxes to the whole amount of pre-tax income, while the marginal tax rate shows that part of every new unit of income which must be given for taxation. There is no reason why these concepts could not be applied to the negative income tax.

The problem is that Professor Lees' negative income tax of 50% is not 50% either from the viewpoint of the effective tax rate or from the viewpoint of the marginal tax rate.

His effective tax rate is in fact always changing because the proportion between the pretax income and his allowance alters at any increase or decrease of the pretax income, as it can be seen on his diagram on p.11. Therefore it is not a constant figure of 50%.

On the other hand for example in the case of a family with three children, he augments the allowances as income diminishes from £881, where he gives just no benefit up to £187 at the pre-tax income of £400. This means that he gives a portion of nearly 40% after each missing £ as income sinks below the break-even point. While he does not change this latter measure, he applies a negative marginal tax rate of 38.9% (in the case of a couple with three children),(1) because

$$\frac{187}{881 - 400} = \frac{187}{481} = 0.389 = 38.9\%$$

The second question is the comparison on p.13 between Professor Lees' negative tax payments and the supplementary benefit scales, which appear to be "remarkably similar". Meanwhile this is not so much "by chance" as he states, but because the horizontal line of the function of the Supplementary Benefits crosses his negative income tax line at the pre-tax income of £537.64, near his chosen point of £500. So if we can speak about chances, it is only in the sense that he hits a sufficiently narrow chance, where the two figures are close together. At any other point a little further away in both directions, the comparison would not be so striking. This negative income tax would give much higher and correspondingly much lower figures than the supplementary benefit.

Therefore in the case of this system, it does not correspond to the reality that

> "If supplementary benefit scales are accepted as the norm, then there may be something to be said for a progressive negative income tax, with the proportionate rate of benefit rising as income falls below subsistence levels. At any rate, it looks as if something like 50% rate of negative income tax would maintain roughly the same subsistence floor that is generally considered acceptable at the present time". (page B).

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(1) This marginal tax rate varies between 38.4% and 38.8% in other given cases of Table 2.

First of all in the case of progressive taxation the marginal tax rate should change as income is changed while in his case the marginal tax rate remains the same all the time between 38.4% and 38.9%.

Secondly his negative income tax falls much below the Supplementary Benefit level, which was at £671 in the case of a couple with three children (with the rents, as they are supposed by Professor Lees) when he wrote. While the two systems gave the same disposable income at £537.64, Professor Lees' negative income tax decreases to £342.5 if the same mentioned family's pre-tax income decreases (which always could happen for several reasons) while the supplementary benefit remained unaltered at £671.(1)

This further raises the question if Professor Lees wanted to replace the supplementary benefits through his system, or only the family allowances. Though he did not say this so plainly as we pose the question, nevertheless he rejected the Supplementary Benefit system on p.9 because

(a) a large number of eligible families do not apply
(b) of the wage stop
(c) it does not provide any incentive to work.

On p.10 he proposes "an alternative which" would avoid both "the type of the means test" used with the Supplementary Benefits and "the initiative of the recipient of benefits" that is their application for it. These two are the main characteristics of the Supplementary Benefit scheme. Instead he would instal "a system, whereby anyone with allowance and exemptions in excess of income would receive benefit payments at some specified rate". (p.10)

If he defines "anyone" as he did in this definition, in that case his system is not restricted only to families with children. This is more stressed when he made a comparison with the then existing positive income taxation, in which "anyone in excess of income tax allowances and exemptions pays tax at some specified rate" (p.10). The childless families and the single persons are and were by no means exempted from the positive taxation which was and is in force, but they pay even more. Therefore as far as Professor Lees' comparison stays even they should participate in his negative taxation.

Moreover his diagram explaining his system (on p.11 and its description on p. 10) excludes any further Supplementary Benefit above his negative income tax, because his pattern gives the disposable income on the axis Y, and this depends only on the function of his negative income tax and on nothing else.

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(1) The Supplementary Benefit scale is in fact considerably higher because it disregards at least £1 of each parent's income in each week. Consequently the £671 should have to be augmented further by £104 for the whole year.

Even if we suppose that he did not want to replace the Supplementary Benefits in this part of his article, he creates only a second organisation which competes with the existing one, but less efficiently because it leaves the more poor either worse off as explained above, or in the same trap of the Supplementary Benefit with its application for means test, which he wanted to avoid.

Furthermore Table 2 on p. 12 would suggest that the value of the family allowances would remain unchanged by the positive taxation between £500 and £1000 yearly income.

Another negative income tax scheme was proposed in parliament by the Labour M.P. for Bedfordshire South, Mr. Gwilym Roberts, on 24th November 1967.(1) His plan could be compared with Lampman's method, who tried to fill the so-called poverty gap.

He proposed a minimum wage of £13, and to pay those who are living below this level, for example on Supplementary Benefit, 4/- after each missing £. in negative taxation. For example, a single person receives £5. 6. 0. supplementary benefit today.

The difference is	£13. 0. 0.		
Less	£5. 6. 0.		
	£7.14. 0.	=	154 shillings
			154 : 5 = 30 = £1.11. 0.
			34
			4

Therefore this person's income would be supplemented by £1.11. 0. The joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Social Security, Mr. Charles Loughten's difficulties against this scheme centered on three issues.

1. That the definition of the taxable income does not coincide with all the revenues which must be taken into account considering needs.
2. That the P.A.Y.E. machinery is deficient for the purposes of the negative income tax in its present form because:
   (a) between 3 and 4 million old people are not at present required to make income tax returns;
   (b) there would be enormous problems to fill these forms for those who are not able to do so:
   (c) the present P.A.Y.E. code is useless for this purpose;
   (d) the trade unions would raise objections if employers sought to be informed about the detailed financial circumstances of the employed;
   (e) The P.A.Y.E. was 18 months out of date and therefore there would be problems in meeting immediate needs.
3. It would introduce a disincentive to the employee.(2)

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(1) Hansard 1636-1642.

(2) Hansard 1719-1720.

But this is not the case as we know from earlier a 20% supplymentation of the missing income below the break-even point (what the 4 shillings in a £. means) represents only 20% marginal tax rate considering it from a viewpoint at the ordinata.(1) Meanwhile a 20% marginal rate is negligible if we compare it with the 100% rate of the supplementary benefit applied in the same income brackets.

If the definition of the income is more severe in the application of the S.B. than in the income taxes, then it would be the time to stop this discrimination as the social justice would require.

It is true that the income tax returns are very complicated, but the S.B. application forms can compete with them in intricacy. Nevertheless this artificial bureaucratic barrier cannot be (an) excuse (not) to give justice to those who would be entitled to these benefits otherwise.

If the present P.A.Y.E. code is useless or out of date for this purpose, it would require only a relatively small change to make it up to date.

The real difficulties of Gwilym Roberts' scheme lay in three other reasons:

(1) The benefit accruing according to his definition to somebody who is literally penniless would be only £2.12. 0. This is the danger which any scheme defined from the break-even point with the help of angle is exposed; such a small help in itself is clearly insufficient, it cannot solve the poverty problem in itself, and it increases only the number and the amount of the existing social administrations.

(2) The minimum wage in itself cannot solve the problems of the big families; it would be unfounded to raise the level of the minimum wages to the point where it would correspond to the needs of a family with four children, when there are only relatively few such families. At the same time a minimum wage adapted to a six-member family will not be sufficient for an eight-member family and so on.

The minimum wage of £13 proposed by Gwilym Roberts is in fact less than a father with four children could get each week from the S.B. Committee. Therefore this scheme does not help the bigger families where the occurrence of poverty is greater.

(3) While Gwilym Roberts' plan did not solve the problem in relation to his project to the existing social security systems, even greater inconsistencies arise in connection with positive taxation. He would subsidise every income up to £13 per week, which makes £676 in a year. In the meantime any single person with a yearly income above £283, any married couple with £437 if they have no child or with £587 if they have one child, must pay taxes according to the regulations in force. This

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(1) At the axis Y, angles δ and γ are necessarily equal as it was explained on diagram 1.7.

would only intensify the existing anarchies in the social legislation in a not negligible degree.[1] [2]

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(1) Five days later on the 29th November 1967 during the third reading of the Family Allowances and National Insurance Bill, the negative income taxes were again mentioned in Parliament. The Minister of Social Security, Mrs. Judith Hart, said:-

"One possibility - mentioned in the Second Reading and today, and also in the debate last Friday - is a possible negative Income Tax, or Income Tax in reverse, at some time in the future. This proposition is full of the difficulties and complications that my hon. friend outlined last Friday. It is equally exposed to the difficulty that, in so far as we are talking about negative Income Tax systems, of whatever kind, we are talking about a point which is necessarily pretty far in the future, because in order to carry out any of the systems, we need pretty complete computerisation in the Inland Revenue and on the social security side, and however fast we move on both fronts - and we are moving very fast - we cannot envisage that this would be a real issue for several years.

Therefore, if people want to discuss the question not in realistic terms but in terms of what we should do nine or ten years hence, by all means let them discuss Income Tax in reverse, but it cannot be regarded as a way out, at this moment, in this Bill."

"Mr. Pardoe: I am sure that the right hon. Lady will agree that at present on our Income Tax return form we have a figure which states the amount that we receive and that is included in the taxable income. I merely ask that that figure should be doubled or trebled, notionally. We do not need computers to do that. It is a simple mathematical calculation."

"Mrs. Hart: If the hon. Member had waited, he would have seen that I was coming to that point. I was dealing first with possible machinery concerned with a system of Income Tax in reverse as a possible method of avoiding means-tested benefits and yet providing that the money went from the rich to the poor. I am explaining why that is not on, in practical terms, for a good while ahead. It is not with us in terms of reality at the moment."

Hansard columns 529-530.

(2) Concerning the History of the Negative Income Tax, see further Symposium in "Industrial Relations", Vol. B. 121-165.

Christopher Green: Negative Taxes and the Poverty Problem, Washington 1967.

Meanwhile when in 1968 Mr. Richard Crossman became the overlord of the then newly united Department of Health and Social Security in the Labour Government, the whole idea of the negative income taxation has been dropped, partly for practical reasons as was pointed out in the White Paper published in January 1969.(1)

But the Labour Government lost the election in June 1970 and the Conservative Research Centre started to study intensively the possible use of negative income taxation in order to increase Social Security. Eventually the Conservative Government introduced a Family Income Supplement Scheme which became an Act of Parliament on the 17th December 1970.(2) This scheme has similarities with the negative income taxation as far as it is income related, but its effects are restricted to households where there is at least one child. Apart from this the Supplement is not given automatically by the State, but ought to be claimed by those who are entitled to it. Finally it is channelled through the Social Security network which is very often overloaded by long queues and not through the taxation authorities which handle the matters much more efficiently. Because of these reasons the Family Income Supplement cannot be considered negative income taxation in the proper sense.

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(1) "National Superannuation and Social Insurance" (Cmnd. 3883, p.33).

(2) Public General Acts and Church Assembly Measures 1970 (II pp.1499-1505).

PART II

THEORY OF NEGATIVE INCOME TAXATION

(A)	Definition of negative income tax	p.1.
(B)	The mathematics of the negative income tax	p.4.
(C)	The social ethics of the negative income taxation	p.9.
(D)	The equalisation of the burden of the maintenance of the dependants	p.22.
(E)	Policy implications	p.29.

THEORY OF NEGATIVE INCOME TAXATION

A) Definition of negative income tax*

Negative (or reverse) income tax is redistribution of income through a) payments made b) automatically by the c) taxation authorities and depends f) only on each income tax unit's e) level of revenue, as measured g) by income tax assessment.**

a) It is a payment, whereas positive income tax is a levy.

b) It is given automatically without any application of the prospective beneficiary. In this respect it differs from the different kinds of national assistance and the supplementary benefits, which are conditional on the recipient's initiative. Under a reverse income tax system it is the duty of the state to discover the dangers imperilling the social security. In this way the moral, psychological and social discriminations implicit in the present application machinery would disappear. In these respects the present system is therefore perversely selective and much less universal than negative income taxation.

c) It is given by the taxation authority either directly or through its agencies and not through any other state department, social, or charitable organisation. Thus, it is distinguished from other social security benefits or allowances and charities. At least some kind of amalgamation between the Inland Revenue and the Ministry of Social Security - with resulting economies - is necessarily involved here.

d) Human persons are the final beneficiaries of any social security provisions as individuals. Human persons are not mechanical atoms of a nation but form organic sociological units or groups through which they share in the life of the whole society. Their needs and rights vary according to their positions or roles in these units, as we can see for example in the provisions of the existing social security arrangements distinguishing between wives, children and dependents, whose entitlements are certainly not mechanically uniform.

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* We consider the expression "negative income tax" to be synonomous with the term "reverse income tax". Nevertheless, the negative income tax appears to be more proper and meaningful as shall be seen in the section of Social Ethics.

** The letters of the alphabet in this definition are referring to the following sections of information labelled with them.

d) Consequently, human persons do not participate immediately with social security, but through an organic unit to which they belong. In the meantime, these units are even now much nearer to the income tax units than to any other sociological formation, such as the family or household. A sick or unemployed son or a father over pensionable age, for example, receives this benefit irrespective of his position in the family or household in general.

e) The amount of negative income tax payable to these income tax units depends on the level of their income in so far as it is granted if income sinks below a certain standard. This constitutes the selectivity of the negative income taxation and differentiates from a negative poll tax given mechanically without any further condition.

f) This forms the only and sufficient entitlement without any further qualification to each and every person. This further distinguishes it from supplementary benefits, which discriminates against those who are in full-time employment and against those who are wage-stopped and in this sense, too the negative income taxation is more universal than the existing system.

g) As mentioned before, negative income tax measures the revenue of the income tax units through income tax assessment. In as far as somebody prefers to call the assessment of surtax a means test, the negative income tax too involves a means test, though this will hardly promote the clarification. Nevertheless, if the richer strata of a society may be subjected to this examination through surtax, there can be found no reason why the less affluent members of the same society should be exempt from the same procedure. Consequently, negative income tax would provide more equal treatment and would be more universalistic in this sense. It would also eliminate the distinctions which divide the nation into those whose income is assessed for taxation and those whose income is not assessed, and into those whose income is means tested, and those whose income is not. The Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Social Security, Mr. Charles Loughin, pointed out for example, that 3 and 4 million old people are not at present required to make Income Tax returns.(1) In any case, we cannot confuse the means test and the negative income tax* as we cannot confuse the conditions with the results.

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(1) Hansard, 24th November 1967, 1719 column.

As Peter Townsend equated them in The Guardian 4th October, 1967.

h) Finally, negative income is a re-distribution of income, in the same way as are all the provisions of social security. If we analyse the concept of re-distribution a little further, we find that the last foundation of any social security payments find their morality in the order of nature. On the other hand, nature has destined her goods for the service and consumption of the men and on the other, without these goods men can neither develop, nor maintain their personalities.** The system of private property is founded in the order of nature and then defined in the positive laws of the nations. It satisfies this right in a greater or lesser extent for the population. The remainder should be provided through the social security. Meanwhile society is in continuous change nowadays. By describing legal categories of poor persons and by giving rights to a particular benefit to everyone in each category, we leave out necessarily those who are unfortunate enough not to be included in those specially qualified categories either because they were out of the classifier's reach of knowledge, or because their categories had not yet emerged, while the categorisation was in progress.

The natural right of the individual to self-sustenance and to self-development does not entitle a second right in the share of the secondary re-distribution of those who are provided with enough use, sources through the primary distribution. It is wrong that some are deprived or are in misery because of wasting in family allowances and other social welfare on millionaires.

Poverty is an economic category of insufficiency of means related to basic needs, a category which cannot be abolished by legal casuistry. Negative income tax is a powerful and conveniently elastic method if not for the abolition of poverty then at least for its banishment due simply to the fact that instead of leaving the state to wait if the poor happen to knock, the state is forced to look for them.

The elasticity of the negative income tax appears in the solution of questions unanswered by existing provisions. A man with several children could not receive more unemployed than employed as he does now if his pay is less than his allowance in the case of unemployment, he would receive the corresponding negative income tax automatically.

** Alexander Horvath: Eigentumsrecht p. 68. 1929.

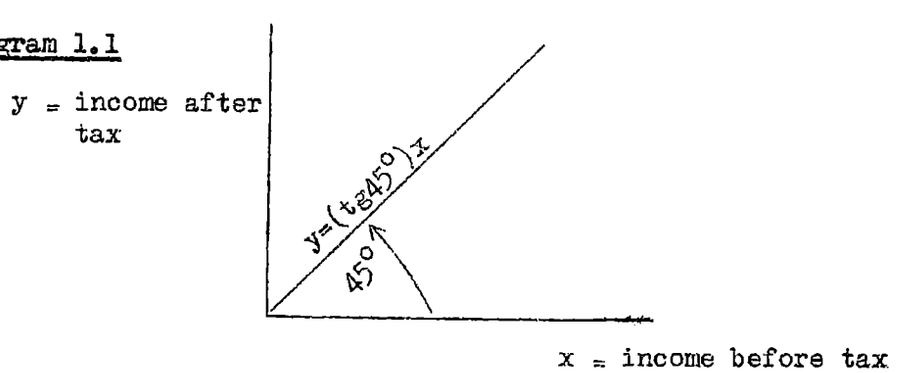
In the same way negative income tax could amend what might be considered an injustice i.e. a person of fluctuating income may be entitled to receive an allowance in some weeks, while another with a more constant, but lower (although still above standard) income receives nothing. Negative income taxation may allow grants in a week of apparent need, but its final amount could be assessed on the whole year's income and overpayments should be refunded if thought just.

B) The mathematics of the negative income tax

Income tax assessment is described by Diagram 1.1, where the horizontal axis is the income before tax (y) and the vertical axis is the income after tax (x). The straight line crossing the origo, and constituting an angle of 45° to the vertical and horizontal axes represents the case where the tax is zero. This is clear if a point on the axis of the income before tax is chosen - it is mirrored by the 45° line at the same distance on the axis of income after tax, the function of which is given by the equation:

$$y = (\tan 45^{\circ})x \qquad \ldots\ldots\ldots (1)$$

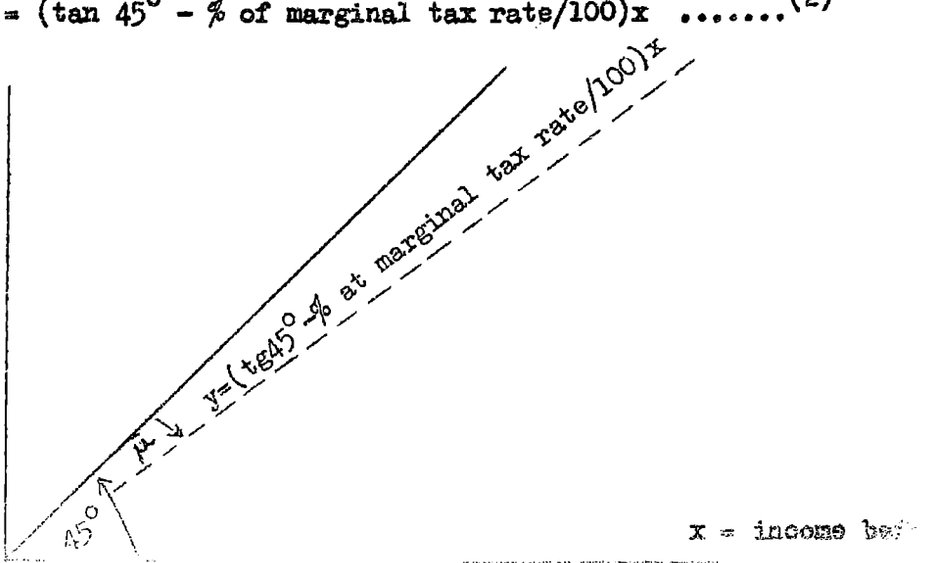
Diagram 1.1



In the case of a proportional tax starting with the very first unit of income, the effective and the marginal tax rates will coincide. In this case pretax income is divided uniformly according to the general tax rate, into tax and income left after the tax. Therefore, we should subtract the marginal tax rate from the multiplier of x.

$$y = (\tan 45^{\circ} - \%\text{ of marginal tax rate}/100)x \qquad \ldots\ldots (2)$$

Diagram 1.2



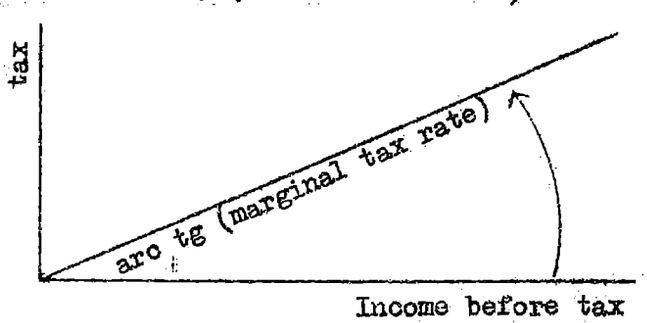
It follows from the equation (2) that:

$$\text{angle } \mu = 45^{\circ} - \text{arc tan } (1 - \text{marginal tax rate})$$

In the case of both proportional and progressive taxation the income before tax as an independent variable defines the amount of both the positive and the negative taxation as a dependent variable in a different function. In this function the marginal tax rate itself is a tan value, and it gives the slope of the line. The angle between the line of this function and the abscissa is tan (marginal tax rate). In the case of proportional taxation starting with the very first unit of income:

$$\text{tax} = (\text{marginal tax rate}) \ (\text{income before tax})$$

Diagram 1.3



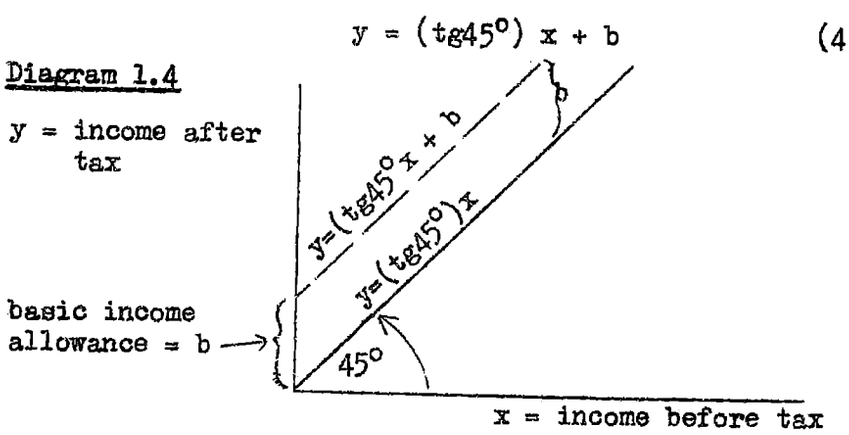
In the determination of the negative income tax we can distinguish two main characteristics.

1. The basic income allowance given in the case of those who have no other income, which we can represent, where income before tax = 0, with the letter b.

In the case of a negative "poll" tax there is a line crossing b, parallel with the no tax line at 45° to the income before tax axis (x) because all incomes would be increased by the same amount.

$$y = (tg45^{\circ})\ x + b \qquad (4)$$

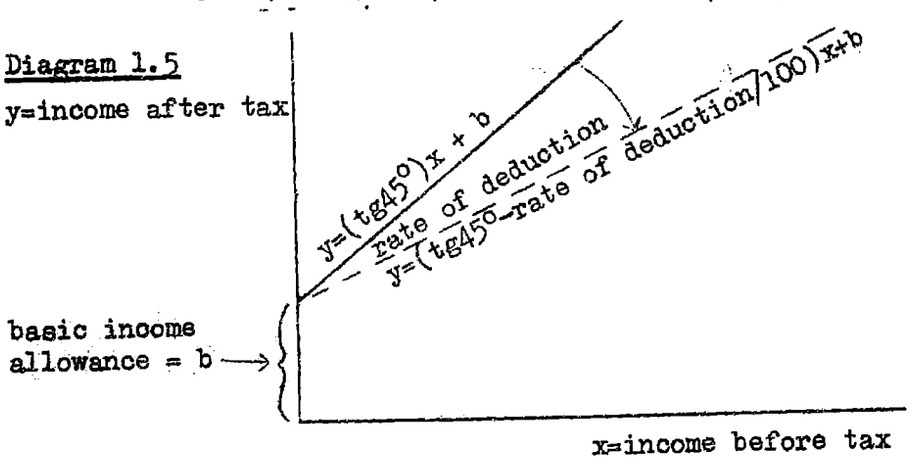
Diagram 1.4



2. Secondly, if we wish to decrease the negative tax allowance in proportion with increasing income, the rate of deduction, by which the increasing income lessens the allowance must be spelt out. This could be represented by the equation:

$$y = (\tan 45^{\circ} - \%\text{ of rate of deduction}/100)\ x + b$$

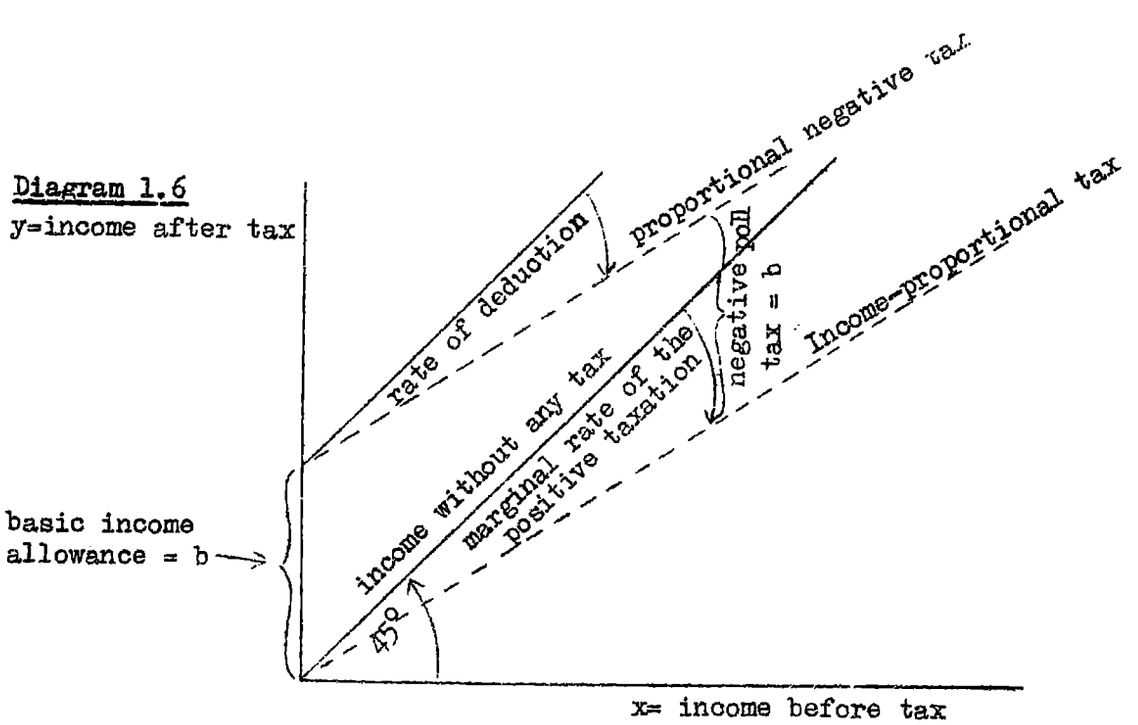
Diagram 1.5



In the case of the negative poll tax (diagram 1.4) the rate of deduction is zero.

This rate of deduction is in fact a marginal tax rate. The situation in this case is the same as it would be if first the state would apply a proportional tax, the marginal tax rate of which being equal with the rate of deduction starting at the first unit of income and then give to everybody a negative poll tax.

Diagram 1.6



This diagram shows quite clearly that we can arrive at the same line of the proportional negative income tax (green line on diagram 1.6) in two ways:

1. By deducting from the basic income allowance of b according to some marginal deduction rate, or
2. By applying a proportional tax starting with the first unit of income but giving a negative poll tax equal to everybody.

This is the reason why Lady Rhys-Williams' proposal in 1942 for a tax free income guarantee and proportional taxation, and the recent American schemes in basic allowances and reduction rates, do appear to differ, while being the same in the results of their re-distributive mechanism in microlevel.

At the same time we can see from the diagram that in order to arrive at the same line of the proportional negative income tax the angle corresponding to the marginal deduction rate must equal the angle corresponding to the marginal tax rate, i.e. the marginal rates in both procedures must be the same.

The basic income allowance and rate of deduction necessarily fix the point where the line of proportional negative taxation touches the 45° line of zero taxation - the break-even point where an income is left unchanged at this position. Below this point negative income tax augments the income. It necessarily follows that the effective exemption limit of the positive taxation cannot be below the break-even point otherwise some would receive less than the guaranteed level, and the state itself ought to pay its own levy.

Meanwhile the break-even point could coincide with or be below the effective exemption limit of previous taxation. If the percent of marginal tax rate after the break-even point is the same as the percent of the deduction rate before it, the line of the proportional negative tax will define the "joining point" above which the previous tax measures will remain unchanged. Though the marginal tax rate of the new system between the break-even point and the joining point is higher than that of the previous one[1], the new system means tax reductions within this zone and therefore less effective taxation on persons just above the break-even point.

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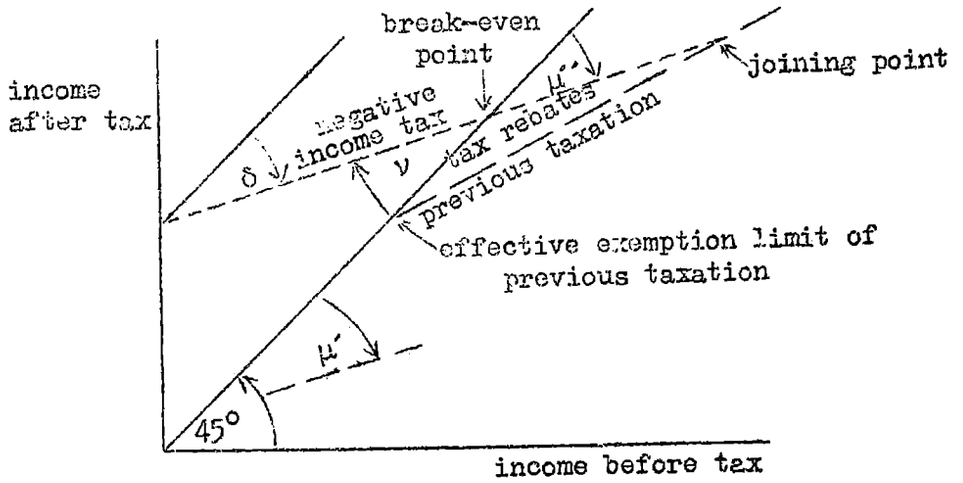
1) The line of the negative income taxation cannot meet the line of the previous taxation unless μ "is greater than the angle originating at effective exemption limit between the 45° line and the previous taxation.

Diagram 1.7



Investigating this diagram we can distinguish four angles:

Angle δ corresponding to the marginal deduction rate,

Angle μ' Corresponding to the marginal tax rate involved in the operation of a marginal deduction rate as it was explained above,

Angle μ'' which is the angle between the line of the proportional negative income tax crossing the break-even point and the 45° line. This angle corresponds to the marginal tax rate of positive taxation above this point,

Angle ν resulting from the meeting of the 45° no tax line and the line of the negative income tax before the break-even point. This angle represents the negative marginal tax rate, in as much as it measures the extent to which each missing pound is supplemented through the negative income tax by the Treasury as the income drops below the break-even point.

It is somewhat confusing that all the 4 angles are equal and must be equal in the case of proportional taxation(1).

Angles δ, μ' and μ'' all leave the same proportion of any new unit of income in the possession of its owner and therefore their incentive effect should be equal if applied to the same income. Nevertheless, there is a fundamental difference from the side of re-distribution between angles ν and μ'', as far as angle μ'' takes away the part of incomes between its sides, while angle ν augments the incomes in the same proportion.

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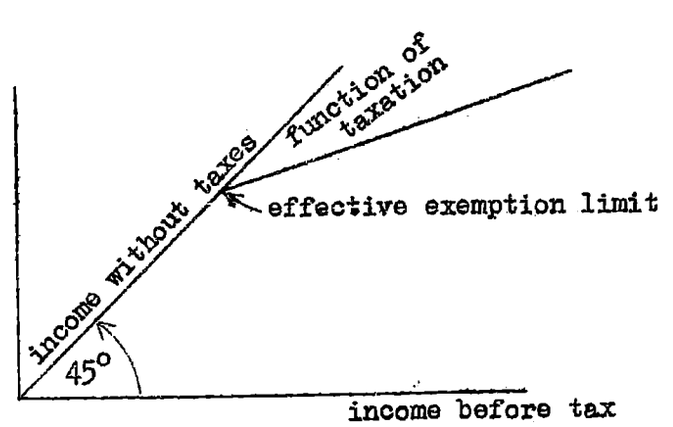
(1) While this is apparent in the cases of ν and μ'' because they are opposite-facing angles, and the same was proved above concerning angles δ and μ'. Angles ν and δ are equal, because the angles between parallel lines are equal.

C) <u>The social ethics of the negative income taxation</u>

(A) the traditional jurisprudence distinguishes between general and particular justice. The general justice defines the obligation towards the community while the particular justice regulates the duties towards the individuals. The particular justice is distinguished further, into commutitive justice controlling the relations between the individuals, while the distributive justice prescribes the duty of the community towards its members. Newer investigations in social ethics realised that there are intermediary organisations between the individual and the community. The relations between these intermediary bodies and their members are ruled by the social justice. It was Aristotle 2300 years ago who introduced mathematics and geometrics into this subject, claiming that the measure of the communitive justice is mathematical equality, while the distributive justice is defined according to geometric proportion. Therefore it does not seem to be improper to turn back for a moment to the mathematical section where - diagram 1.2 shows a theoretical case when a taxation starts and is applied on the very first unit of income. There is no civilised nation which would enforce such an injustice in the reality. People on very small incomes need help and support from society in order to survive, and they could not bear any burden of positive taxation at all.

Therefore any taxation in harmony with the minimal requirements of social ethics gives an exemption limit, below which any income is tax free.

<u>Diagram 1.8</u>



The mathematical description of this arrangement is a little awkward, because the function changes at the exemption limit. Nevertheless, retaining our original signs where x = income before taxes and y = income after taxes, we can write:

$$y = x - \left\{ \left[\text{marginal tax rate} \quad (x - \text{exemption limit})\right] \left[f(x)\right] \right\} \quad \ldots (1,7)$$

where f(x) is a simple boolean expression the value of which is either 1 after the exemption limit or 0 before it.

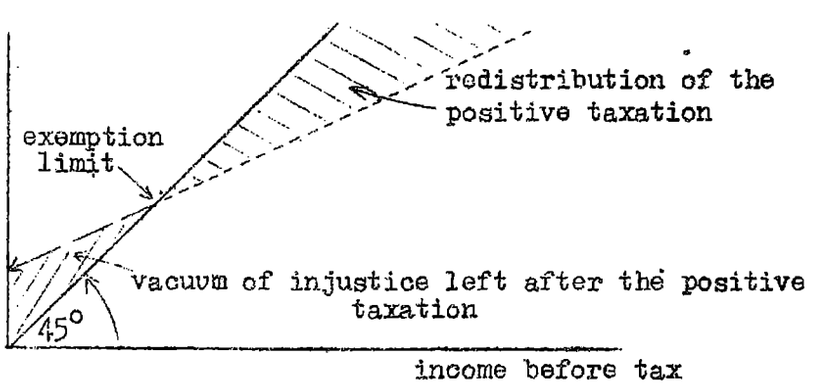
Therefore:

$$f(x) = \begin{cases} 0 \text{ if } x \leqslant \text{effective exemption limit} \\ 1 \text{ if } x > \text{effective exemption limit} \end{cases}$$

Though the effective exemption limit leaves free of taxes any income below it, it does not solve all the problems of the distributive and social justice which are involved in a re-distribution through taxation.

Namely, whether the burden of the levy is evenly distributed in a proportional taxation or if it is progressive i.e. increasing as the tax-payer becomes more affluent, positive income tax grows more in amount as income becomes higher. Thus a re-distribution of incomes is produced, involving very high amounts in the higher income brackets, and decreasing steadily down to zero at the effective exemption limit, where this re-distribution ceases and a vacuum is created.

Diagram 1.9



Positive income tax leaves the smaller incomes unaffected, while justice would require that everybody could share in the same re-distribution to the same measure. No one can deny that the income taxation modifying most of the incomes come either from earning or private property, according to a certain measure of re-distribution. This makes the income distribution at the taxed income units, more equal. But the problem is that this procedure is partial, because it is applied only in the case where it secures tax revenue for the state, but it is not applied in the case if the same measure would require expenditure to cover the poorer or the poorest on the same level of re-distribution. This inconsistency cannot be justified by saying that it is the unequal distribution of private property which leaves the poor in deficiency, because the income level from private property and earnings is very much modified by the progressive taxation, and in as much as the state maintains progressive taxation, its re-distribution purpose cannot be denied.

But this re-distribution will remain partial until it neglects to share the poor in the same re-distribution according equal measure. Therefore distributive justice could not be done until we allow for negative income tax below the effective exemption limit, which will being up the lower revenues to the same level of the re-distribution.

This will not only simplify the mathematic form of the equation of re-distribution,(1) but it will introduce a selectivity in the benefits of proportional negative income tax inasmuch as these allowances decrease as the income from other sources increases, and they completely disappear at the break-even point. Selectivity in social services is doubted by those who hold universality as a principle of re-distribution. The ultimate ideological foundation of this is the equality of men, which requires every person should receive equal treatment and consequently equal benefits, which are in fact, nothing else than negative poll taxes as we defined them above.

We cannot avoid therefore, an inquiry into the sense in which human beings are equal.

In so far as one accepts the platonic philosophy, which prevailed for example in the eastern churches,(2) human beings are equal because they participate in the same devine idea, though the shadows of the same essence may be somewhat modified on the cave's wall.(3)

According to the thomistic picture of the world the individuals are distinguished from each other through matter in which they are embodied - matria quantitate signate est principium individuationis.(4) Consequently, the human equality is restricted to the human soul, and there will be so many different persons as many human bodies exist.

If we strictly follow the doctrines of Aristotle, the transcendental relation existing between the body and the soul will necessarily modify even the human spirit.(5)

If somebody rejects platonic idealism and either denies the existence of the universalia as do the occasionalists or Ockam or if he denies the existence of the soul as do the materialists, he destroys the bases of the human equality, because in these cases nothing remains which may be equal between men; even homozygota twins differ in their bodies.

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(1) From equation (1.6) to the equation (1.5)
(2) Endre von Ivanka Plato Christianus
(3) Πλάτων·Πολιτεία
(4) S. Thomas of Aquinas: Summa Thologica 1. 50.4; De principio individuationis
(5) Ἀριστοτέλης· Περὶ Ψυχῆς. II. 1. p 412. a 27.

This is the original sin of historical and dialectical materialism, because if human society is led only by material forces it could never arrive at the perfect equality of man.

This same applies to any biological evolution of the races. If there is to be progress the sons born at the same time to a mother and daughter have to differ somewhat and there is no guarantee that after one million years of human evolution, there is no individual lagging behind or overtaking the average. The law of the great numbers would require a normal distribution even here.

Consequently, equal, universalistic social benefits are justified in an idealistic, theoretical society, where everybody is in fact equal and uniform allowances would help to maintain the original equality.

In the reality of life not only, for example, are males excluded from maternity grants, but income distribution practically follows Pareto's curve (as can be seen for example on the 87-90 pages of the 105th Report of the Inland Revenue for the year ended 31st March, 1962). The slight deviations which appear here or in Dr. Thomas Stark's[1] dissertation are so negligible, that if the statistical discrepancies could be reduced to the same order of magnitude in other economic figures as GNP or foreign trade figures, the difference between natural and social sciences would disappear. Pareto's curve is very far from perfect equality of incomes, where all are on the level of the average. The Bolshevik economies have also failed to reach such levelling of incomes. Even if the class differences complained of by Milovan Djilas[2] in Yugoslavia could be explained by the unique development of this country, the presence of Soviet tanks in Central Europe could not realise an income equality there through socialism. The "distribution of incomes among the total number of workers and employers in Poland 1955" given by Oskar Lange,[3] shows the existence of a small group of people, not more numerous than as required by Pareto's curve, whose high revenues compared with the rest of the nation hardly brought the equality of incomes down to the surface of the earth. In fact the lognormal income distribution of the Polish communist regime given by Lange and Pawlowski hardly differs in its nature from the lognormal income distribution of

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(1) Unpublished dissertation.

(2) Milovan Djilas: The New Class, London, 1957, 1966.

(3) Oskar Lange: Introduction to Econometrics, Warszawa, 1962, p.199.

the "capitalistic" United States shown by Samuelson.[1]

What will be the result if universalistic benefits are applied not in a fictional utopia, but in the real life of an everyday society where inequalities exist and will continue to exist?

Quite apart from the extraordinary financial burden of a universalistic negative poll tax given to everybody across the board compared with a selective proportional negative income tax, universalistic benefits product just the contrary effect to that which their supporters probably intend to obtain. They forget that we are not living on a sphere of the platonic ideas, that re-distribution is an upside-down world, where uniform benefits do little to diminish existing income inequalities.

For example, let us suppose there is a society consisting of only 3 members. One has £100 p.a., the second £3100 p.a. and the third £6100 p.a. If you give to each a universal benefit of £100, this may change the relative share of the total income of the three members of this society, but the existing differences remain unchanged at £3000.

Even if taxation cuts down the income of the two more affluent members, a universalistic post tax benefit would maintain the money differences between taxed and untaxed incomes.

If the universalists subject the uniform benefits to the existing positive taxation, they in fact employ selectivity, and they abandon the principle of equal treatment for all and are no longer universalist.

But a settlement of this nature only increases bureaucracy and augments the administrative costs of the social services by duplicating unnecessarily the operations of government departments - which necessarily reduces the amount of the help which could otherwise be given. Everybody who has had to use post offices overcrowded by social security claimants knows the inefficiency of such duplications.

The inefficiency of the procedure is further shown by the fact that the effective tax rate, which defines the measure according to which social security benefits are syphoned back to the Treasury, is below 33% for the vast majority of the population up to £6000 yearly income[2]; an income of £5000 p.a. does not need any child allowance.

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(1) See Oskar Lange, op. cit. p.199-200 and Samuelson Economics (5th edition) Fig. 6 on p.1251. See also the study of Horam Bergson: The Structure of Soviet Wages mentioned by Samuelson. Newer Studies only corroborate the lognormal shape and similarity of bolshevist and capitalistic income distribution. For the years 1966-67 see the articles of P.J.D. Wiles and Stefan Markowski, Income Distribution under Communism and Capitalism, especially Fig. 7, p.505. Soviet Studies, University of Glasgow, April 1971.

(2) A.R. Prest: Public Finance (Second Edition) p.248. Effective tax rate.

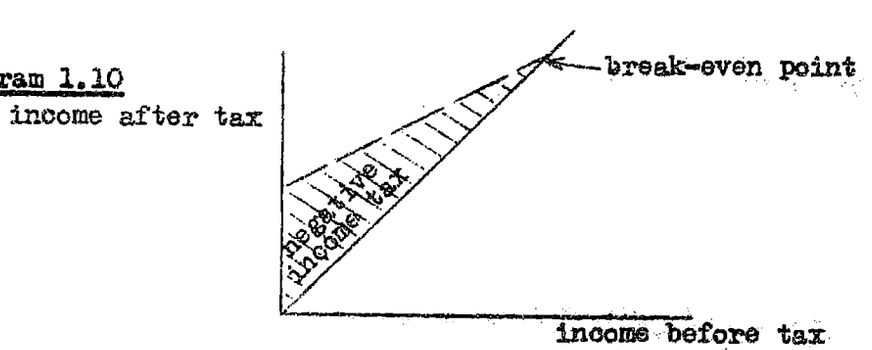
The small amount of these benefits compared with the whole income does not help a person in these income brackets. It is like pouring water into the ocean at the cost of the civil budget.

Furthermore, reduction of family allowances by the 33% tax rate, is so small compared either with family allowances themselves or with the income differences themselves, that it does not lessen inequalities, practically speaking.

In addition, the same arrangement leaves universalistic benefits untouched below the effective exemption limit. This means that it gives the same aid to those who need it less as to those who are in the greatest misery. Therefore it only conserves the inequality between the poorer classes and therefore it is very far from the claim supported by the followers of the equality: to each according to his needs.

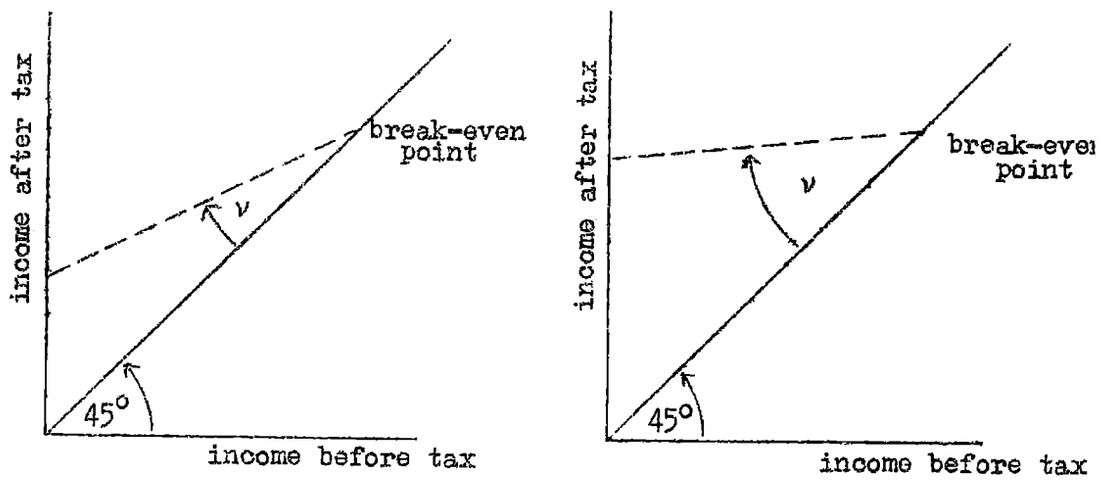
A proportional negative income tax, on the contrary, will apply only below the break-even point (diagram 1.10). It will concentrate all the available resources in helping the poorest sector of the nation. Consequently it will give a much larger amount of allowance than would be possible in a universal benefit, which pours money indiscriminately and without any sufficient reason into the purses of the affluent and augments the Treasury's gain through the millions which are taxed back without reaching their original destination in the maintenance of genuine social security. As a result proportional negative income taxes forcefully contribute not only to the great alleviation of poverty but also the equalisation of incomes, much more so than other methods including any form of universalistic benefits, while they focus limited resources at the crucial points.

Diagram 1.10



It the moral aim is to increase the help given to the poorest within the framework of negative taxation, then it is necessary to increase the negative marginal tax rate (as it was defined earlier) starting from the break-even point.

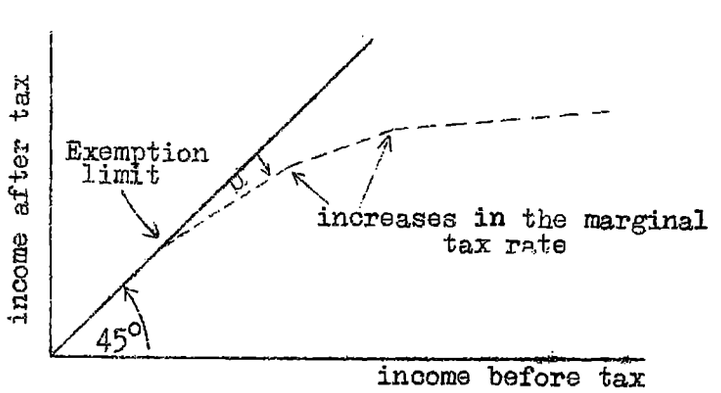
Diagram 1.11



The point of these diagrams is that, though the allowance given in both cases is reduced to zero at the break-even point, but in the second case, with a higher marginal tax rate, the poorest will get a much higher share. There will also be a greater equality between all those who are to the left of the break-even point.

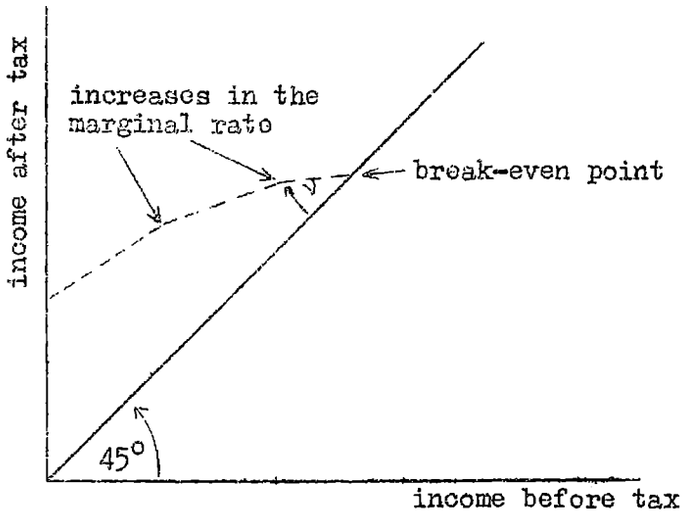
Another point we must realise is that negative income taxation is an inverse world and progressive and regressive marginal tax rates have reverse effects, compared what is the case in positive taxation. In the case of positive taxation progression means increasing marginal tax rates, and reducing the after-tax income of higher income earnings by a higher percentage (Diagram 1.12).

Diagram 1.12



In the case of negative taxation, similar augmentation of the marginal rates between the vertical axis, where the pre-distribution income is zero, and the break-even point only apparently represents progression.

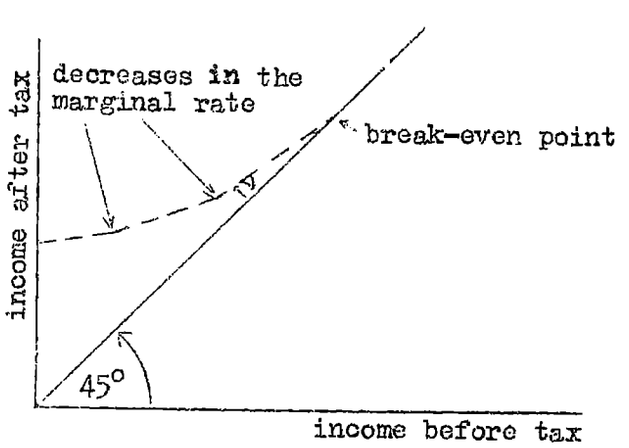
Diagram 1.13



In reality this means that, starting from the break-even point, we increase our aid more quickly as income decreases in the higher income bracket of the poor, than we do after the first break at the line. After the second break the poorest get even less.

Therefore in the increase space of negative income taxation, the increase of the marginal rate with the increasing income results in a regressive re-distribution, while the decreasing marginal rates on the same side of the break-even point render a more "progressive" social security.

Diagram 1.14

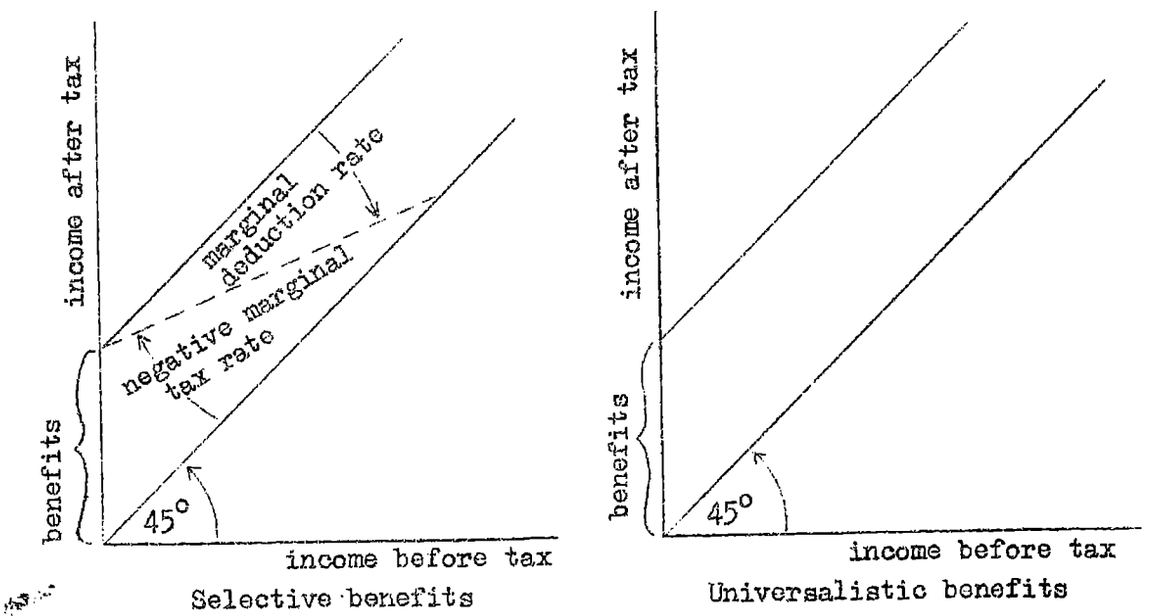


This is the reason which disqualifies the suggestion to give a complete tax exemption to the lowest revenues, because this means that the incomes in the lowest brackets are not augmented in the same proportion through the re-distribution as in the higher ones (as in Diagram 1.12).

At the same time this is the right perspective which reveals the progressiveness of a proportional negative income tax and the regressiveness of the universalistic benefits. The selective benefits even with

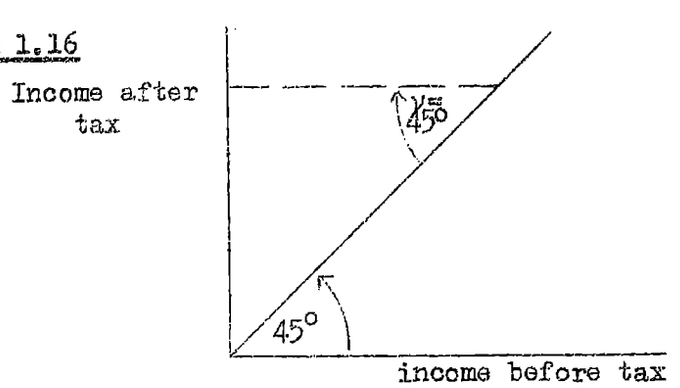
an unchanged marginal rate give much more to the poorer. Meanwhile, the marginal rates of the universalistic benefits are zero because its function is parallel with the no tax line at 45°. The resulting insensitivity of this arrangement excludes any real progression in the allowances, what a social responsibility would require.

Diagram 1.15



The greatest possible help to the poorest, would be if the negative marginal tax rate would be increased up to 100%

Diagram 1.16



This would bring everybody to the same level of the break-even point on its left hand side, and this would make a complete equality among the poorest, but:-

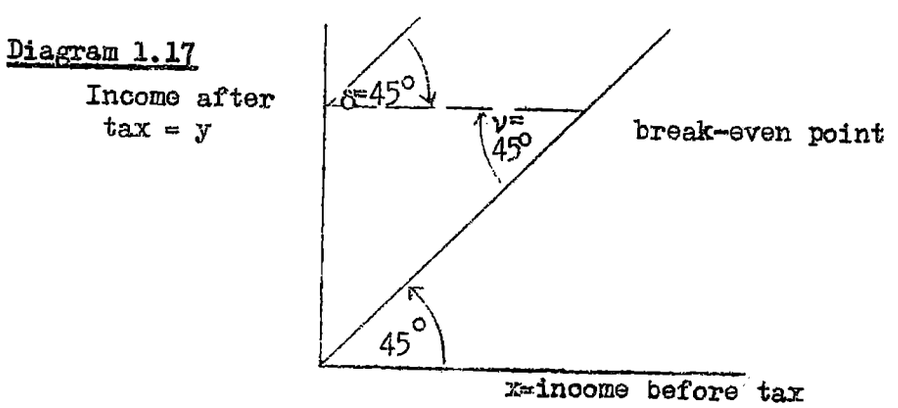
a) only among this stratum.

b) and it would create other injustices, mainly among those who are near to the break-even point on both sides. Those, who are just above it will be excluded from any help, while everybody else below this line would be brought up nearly to the same level without any effort.

It will remain questionable if the marginal difference between their income is worthwhile the pain required to reach it.

At the same time, those who are on the left of the break-even point are demoralised in a similar way, if they realise that their self-effort is unnecessary sacrifice, while they do not obtain anything more than those who remain quite lazy, because of the 100% marginal taxation, what the horizontal line on Diagram 1.16 means if we consider it from the side of the incentives starting at the Y axis.

Diagram 1.17



Meanwhile in this arrangement the complete equality is restricted to those who are on the left side of the break-even point. A further question is whether it is a greater equality, if in one part of a society only the effort may bring reward, while on the other part of the society, no effort is awarded at all even if this kind of settlement will decrease the crescent of the Lorenz curve.

We have to understand properly that there is a dialectical contradiction between the equality and the incentiveness in the life of the society, and we have to find a balance between the extremes of the universalistic benefits which do not hinder any incentive with their 0% marginal tax rate and the equity of the complete equality which taxes with 100% any self effort.

The priori mathematical equilibrium between these extremes is 50% marginal rate which therefore gives the greatest possible theoretical balance between the redistributive social justice and the incentive left for self effort. Moreover this 50% marginal rate is not so enormous as it seems to be.

First of all we have to realise that this measure is only slightly different from the rate of the marginal relief given to the low income pensioners as a social relief by the U.K. Further on the Supplementary Benefit applies on the same place a 100% marginal rate on the poorest strata of the society as its predecessor the National Assistance did on the same way for decades without being accused for immorality or exploitation on this account. Compared with the present circumstances and the Supplementary Benefit therefore our negative income tax would reduce the marginal tax rate by 50% in fact in the U.K., which is itself may be feared to be too much.

Furthermore as it was pointed out at the end of Section B, the meaning of the marginal tax rate is not the same before and after the break-even point.(1) In the income brackets lying above this division mark it shows the proportion according to which the state taxes each new income unit, while for the income brackets below this point it shows that in which measure each missing income unit is supplemented by the state. Consequently its meaning is inversed and its function is mirrored in both sides of the break-even point.

But even above the break-even point up to the joining point,(2) - that is up to the last point until the marginal rate of the negative income tax has any effect at all - the resulting income after re-distribution will be higher as it would be without its application. Therefore though the marginal tax rate is higher, the effective tax rate will be lower and it will become inversed below the break-even point.

In this context the memorandum of the Inland Revenue pointed out: "What the worker is concerned about is the net pay he finds in his pay packet: he is not likely to concern himself unduly with the arithmetical processes underlying this result" (submitted to the Royal Commission on the Taxation of Profits and Income, 18th July, 1951, page 62, para.22).

It is in fact the basic regular earning of the family and not the irregular windfalls which determines the general welfare of a household.

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(1) See angles μ'' and ν on diagram 1.7.

(2) See diagram 1.7.

Therefore from the point of view of the incentive to work, we have to distinguish between the acceptance of full-time employment and between the extra effort and overtime work.

Regarding the acceptance of full-time employment it would be very difficult to believe that somebody is more ready to work for let us say £400, what he would receive without the negative income tax than for £560 what he would get if the £400 pre-redistribution income is supplemented by the 50% negative income tax.(1)

Turning to the special effort and the overtime work, according to the traditional marginal utility approach to leisure and income the marginal utility of the leisure becomes higher only in the higher and highest income brackets, and this is the usual argument against the progressive taxation.(2) Nevertheless the empirical research started in this field in the last years seems to display that even these high income groups whose considerable part learned economics and consequently marginal utility theory are not refrained from more works by the large marginal rates either because they do not realise it, or it does not make them worry.(3)

---

(1) Wage stop has been defined by the Ministry of Social Security as "The rule under which the national assistance allowance paid to a man required to register for work, or temporarily sick, was normally limited to the sum which would bring his other resources (excluding family allowances) up to the amount of his net weekly earnings when employed full-time in his usual occupation. A similar rule applies to supplementary allowances paid under the Ministry of Social Security Act 1966." (Ministry of Social Security - Circumstances of Families, H.M.S.O. London 1967).

At the same time a "wage stop" may withhold people to give up work in the help of a greater benefit being out of work, but if a person with a higher income became unemployed, the work incentive of the Supplementary Benefits to accept a less paid job is zero, or probably negative because this would bring as a consequence that he became wage stopped. And there are millions of jobs in Britain, which pay less than the Supplementary Benefits and as the Labour M.P. for Bedfordshire South, Gwilyn Roberts pointed out: While this "problem in the nationalised industries and public corporations may be bad, it is generally even worse for local authority and municipal employers" (Hansard 29th November, 1967, 1696 column. See 1661 column too, Nicholas Scott's intervention). Consequently the Supplementary Benefits educate much more for idleness than for self-effort while a negative income tax would eradicate any such problem. Especially if the allowances are not granted in the case of somebody not registered as employed while he is out of work or if he defers to accept employment after a considerable time, as it was required already by Lady Rhys-Williams.

(2) A.R. Prest: Public Finance (second edition, 1963) 65-75.

(3) R. Barlow, H.E. Braser, I.N. Morgan: How the Affluent acquire and manage their wealth. Brookings Research Report 57, Washington 1966.

Therefore the low income groups a fortiori are not and cannot be discouraged from work by any lower marginal rate than that of the supplementary benefit.(1)

Apparently the social ethics furnish us with another solid point in our co-ordinate system. The basic income allowance given to those who have no other income at all cannot be below what is called the poverty line. This determines the point where the function of the negative income tax will cross the vertical axis. It is expected that if everybody has been brought up above this level, the poverty will be abolished, and therefore everybody proclaims the abolition of poverty in a nearer or in a longer future.

The only problem is that up to now, nobody has defined peremptorily what poverty is(2) and consequently nobody knows what will be abolished. The distinction introduced between absolute and relative poverty does not bring the solution nearer, because now, two definitions are missing instead of one.

If we identify the absolute poverty with the deficiencies appearing below requirements of the maintenance and development of the human personality, then it is demanded by natural law, that the basic income allowance cannot be below the absolute poverty level.(3)

On the other hand it seems to be just that until more resources are ready for re-distribution, the basic allowance ought not to be higher than that income at which in the average saving starts to appear in the average income tax unit. Indeed it would probably abolish any incentive to work if somebody without any effort could save.(4)

---

(1) Nevertheless at the time when Britain became chronically handicapped by the low increase of the national product and national campaigns have fostered it, it seems to be more proper to set tax free any overtime work at least on the side of the labour force and with this we eliminated most of the possible dis-incentive effect of a higher marginal tax rate.

(2) Samuel Mencher: The Problem of Measuring Poverty. British Journal of Sociology, Vol. XVII No. 1, March 1967.

T. Lynes: National Assistance and National Prosperity. Occasional Papers on Social Administration, No. 5, London 1962.

P.E.P.: Poverty: Ten Years After Beveridge. Planning, Vol. XIX No. 344, 1952.

B.S. Rowntree: Poverty and Progress. London 1941.

(3) Alexander Horvath: Eigertumsrecht, p. 68. Graz 1929.

(4) Though in particular circumstances this may be the right social policy contributing to higher social security.

In fact, the basic income allowance will probably be on a level between the minimum of the absolute poverty line and the maximum point from which saving starts in the average, but it would be difficult to define exactly where, while the definition of relative poverty is missing. So on this account, the crossing point on the vertical axis remains a faulty point, and we have to turn to the jurisprudence for other sources if we want to determine the basic income allowance more precisely. It is the distributive and social justice requiring proportional equal re-distribution of income starting from the break-even point downwards (as we have seen at the beginning of this section) which helps us to fix the basic income allowance more exactly. If we hope that the poverty in an absolute sense is disappearing, the relatively poor will remain τοὺς πτωχοὺς γὰρ πάντοτε ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν[1] and therefore social policy will always have a scope and a destination to fulfil in order that the spirit would prevail over the deficiencies of the matter.

D) <u>The equalisation of the burden of the maintenance of the dependents.</u>

Analysing the basic income allowance it is quite clear, that it ought to be increased if the number of persons in a household increase. Meanwhile, it seems that this increase in the family expenditure requirements could not be measured in a too mechanical way. Namely, there are economies of scale not only in housing and furniture, if a household increases from one person to two. There are strong indications that these economies are extended to food, clothing and school expenditure as well, and that the expenses on the fifth child are probably smaller than for the first one.

Just income re-distribution towards children and other parents involves other problems as well. Namely, it is quite clear that as a maintenance of a child requires at least £65 per annum as the Supplementary Benefit scale indicates, this £65 benefit will give a very important and indispensable help to those, whose yearly income is only £650 and, therefore, this family allowance makes 10 per cent of the whole income. But the same £65 benefit will be only slightly required, when it constitutes only 7.5 per cent over the whole income, while its help will become negligible when it submerges below 5 per cent. The same applies, for example, to the double £135 benefit in the case of two children and so on.

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(1) "The poor will always be with you". In 12, 8.

Therefore, distributive justice would require as the burden of childrens' maintenance is financially subsidised by the State, that the subsidy would be proportionate with that economic burden, what the existence of these dependants causes in that particular family.

Consequently, as it is felt that childrens' maintenance requires a given sum in the case if no other income is given, this given sum ought to be shortened as the income of the household increases, and - as distributive justice requires proportionate equality - in equal proportion.

The question is now in which proportion? There are obviously two limits here. Though it may require further studies, it seems that - as we have pointed it out just before - as a minimum the help given by the family and child allowances become marginal and neglibible as it falls below 5 and especially if it is below $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the annual income. Therefore, we can nearly always withhold at least 2.5 - 5 per cent of the annual income from the child allowances, as an if pre-tax income increases above zero. This would naturally mean that if the value of family allowance at zero pre-tax income is equal to 'x' then the allowance would be completely withheld when:-

x = 5 per cent of the (yearly) income

In the same manner the allowance of the second child too would be completely withheld at the income bracket when:-

2x = 5 per cent of the (yearly) income

This arrangement could be represented graphically in the following form:-

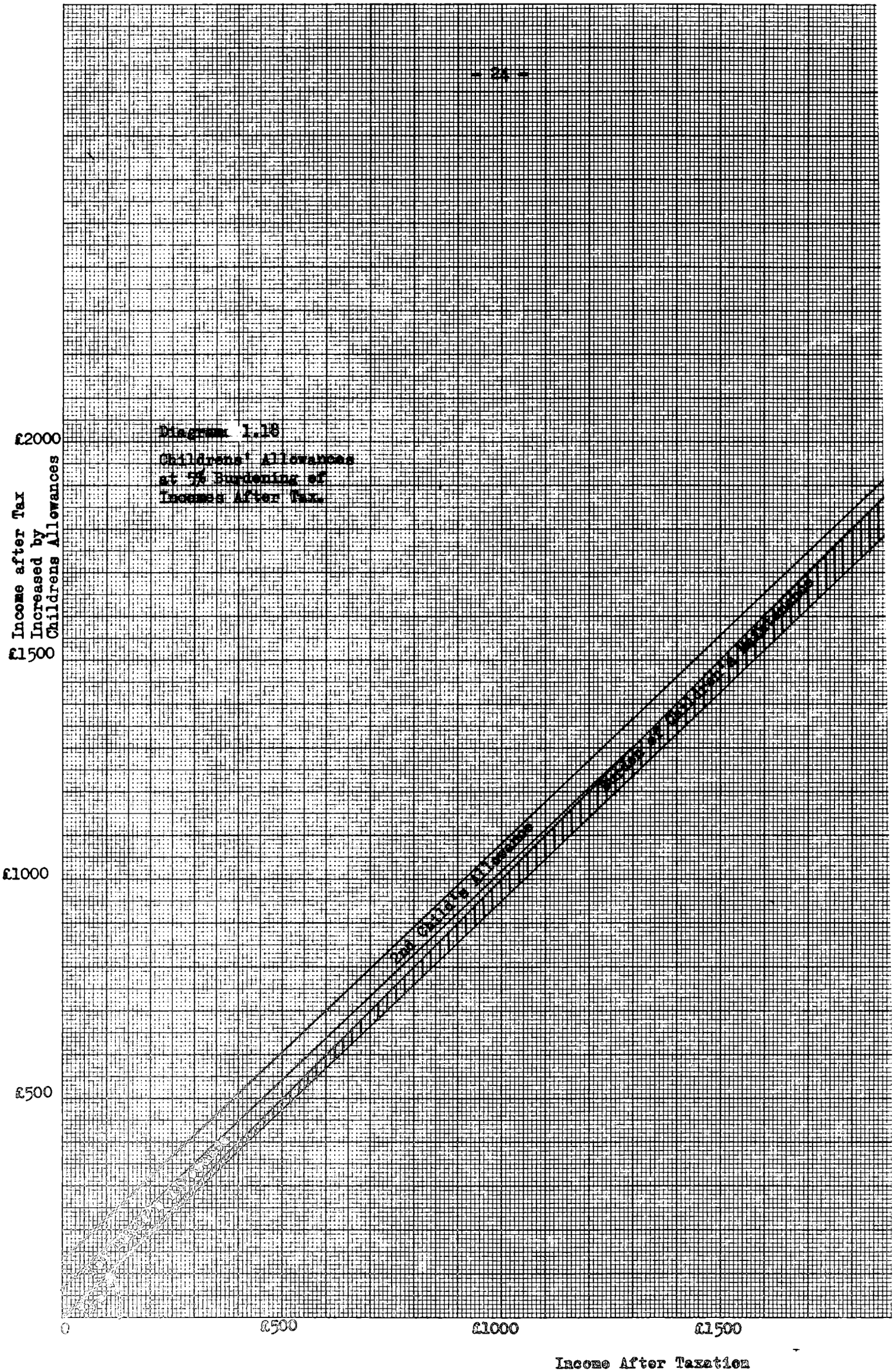
Diagram 1.18
Childrens' Allowances
at 5% Burdening of
Incomes After Tax.
2nd Child's Allowance
Income after Tax
Increased by
Childrens Allowances
£2000
£1500
£1000
£500
0
£500
£1000
£1500
Income After Taxation

Apart from the proportional equality, required by justice, this burdening of the childrens' maintenance on the families income would correspond to the responsibility of the parents who ought to contribute to the maintenance and education of the children.

At the same time this arrangement could give the population policy, which is intricated into the conflicting aims of the family and child allowances in several countries, a tool, which could easily be handled and which could have universal and proportionate effect across the board on the whole population. Namely the burdening of the childrens' allowances could easily be increased by the State, if it is felt, that the number of the births is too numerous in a society, while it can be alleviated, if populationistic policy prevail. Though it became fashionable in the English speaking countries to deny any effect of the family allowances on the number of the children, after the French and recent Hungarian experiences, it would be hard to deny their impact on the current probabilities of enlargement of the families.*

So while the upper limit of the alleviation of the burdens of maintaining the children is obviously limited by the resources which a particular state has at disposition for this purpose, actually and by all probability it will be modified by the population policy which the nation in question wants to follow.

A further question is how will be the marginal tax rate changed because of this type of arrangement of the family allowances.

In the case if there are no other taxes, it is clear that the new marginal tax rate will be equal with the very proportion according to which we shall change the income with the childrens' maintenance: If £100 is given as one child benefit and if it is diminished to £0 if income increases up to £1,000, then the incomes are charged up to 10% of the childrens' maintenance, and the marginal tax rate too will be 10%, because while the pre-tax income increased by £1,000, the post re-distribution income will be increased only by £900 (from £100 to £1,000). This means that each new unit of income will be shortened by its 10%.

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* Prof. Colin Clark and Dr. Eugene Csoosán de Várallja.
The Measurement of Reproduction of Fertility in the Developed Countries.

The picture is a little more complicated when there are previous taxes which diminish the post-tax income. It would be both unjust and unreal to change the childrens' maintenance on the pre-tax income, because the effect of the taxation would easily disturb the equalisation of the family burdens. Furthermore, the diminishing of the child allowances will be spread over a much wider range of the pre-distribution income and therefore the increase of the marginal tax rate will be less, than is the case of no other taxes. How much less?

To solve this question let us retain the 10% charging of the income by the childrens' maintenance. We have seen that:

1) $$\text{income after tax} = \left[\begin{pmatrix}\tan 45^\circ - \text{marginal tax}\\ \text{rate}\end{pmatrix} \times \text{income before tax}\right] + \begin{pmatrix}\text{benefit given in case}\\ \text{of no other income}\end{pmatrix}$$

In the case of 10% charging of the incomes, we shall not give any child allowance to anybody if he has only one child and his income is £1000.

2) Therefore in this case income after tax = 1000

At the same time

3) income before tax - taxation = income after tax.

In the case of proportional taxation we can write

4) $$\text{income before tax} - \begin{pmatrix}\text{marginal}\\ \text{tax}\end{pmatrix} \times \begin{pmatrix}\text{income before}\\ \text{tax}\end{pmatrix} = \begin{pmatrix}\text{income}\\ \text{after tax}\end{pmatrix} \quad \text{or } w - xw = g$$

in our case $w - xw = 1000$

Therefore,

$$w\,(1 - x) = 1000$$

$$w = \frac{1000}{1 - x} = \text{income before tax}$$

While we have supposed that the basic childrens allowances is £100, we can substitute equations (2), (3), (4) into equation (1) and we can write

5) $$1000 = 1 - \begin{pmatrix}\text{marg. tax}\\ \text{rate}\end{pmatrix} + \begin{pmatrix}\text{increase of the}\\ \text{marginal tax rate}\end{pmatrix} \frac{1000}{1 - \text{marg. tax rate}} + 100$$

or

$$1000 = 1 - (x + y)\ \frac{1000}{1 - x} + 100$$

After solving the brackets and simplifications we find

6) $$y = 0.1 - 0.1x \quad \text{that is to say}$$

increase of the marginal tax rate = 10% - 10% of the marginal tax rate.

If we further generalise our equation (5) we can write:

7) $$\begin{matrix}\text{The income to}\\ \text{be charged}\end{matrix} = \left[1 - (x + y)\right] \frac{\text{The income to be charged}}{1 - x} + \begin{matrix}\text{basic child allowance}\\ \text{in case of no other}\\ \text{income.}\end{matrix}$$

From which we arrive after the solution of the brackets and after simplifications

8) $y = \frac{\text{basic child allowance}}{\text{income to be charged}} - \frac{\text{basic child allowances}}{\text{income to be charged}} x$

This means that the increase of the marginal tax rate will depend on the first instance of the percentage according to which the pre-redistribution income is charged with the childrens' maintenance, but its measure is lessened by the marginal tax rate multiplied by the same percentage of charging itself.

For example if the marginal tax rate is 25% and we charge the post tax income up to 10% with the childrens' maintenance:

$$y = 10\% - 10\% \times 25\%$$
$$y = 0.1 - (0.1 \times 0.25) = 7.5\%$$

Therefore in this case the marginal tax rate will increase by only 7.5% instead of 10%.

If we increase further the marginal tax rate up to 50%

$$y = 10\% - (10\% \times 50\%) = 5\%$$

its increase will be only 5%, and if we do not charge more than 5% of the incomes with the childrens' maintenance at the same 50% marginal tax rate its augmentation will be only 2.5%.

$$y = 5\% - (5\% \times 50\%) = 2.5\%$$

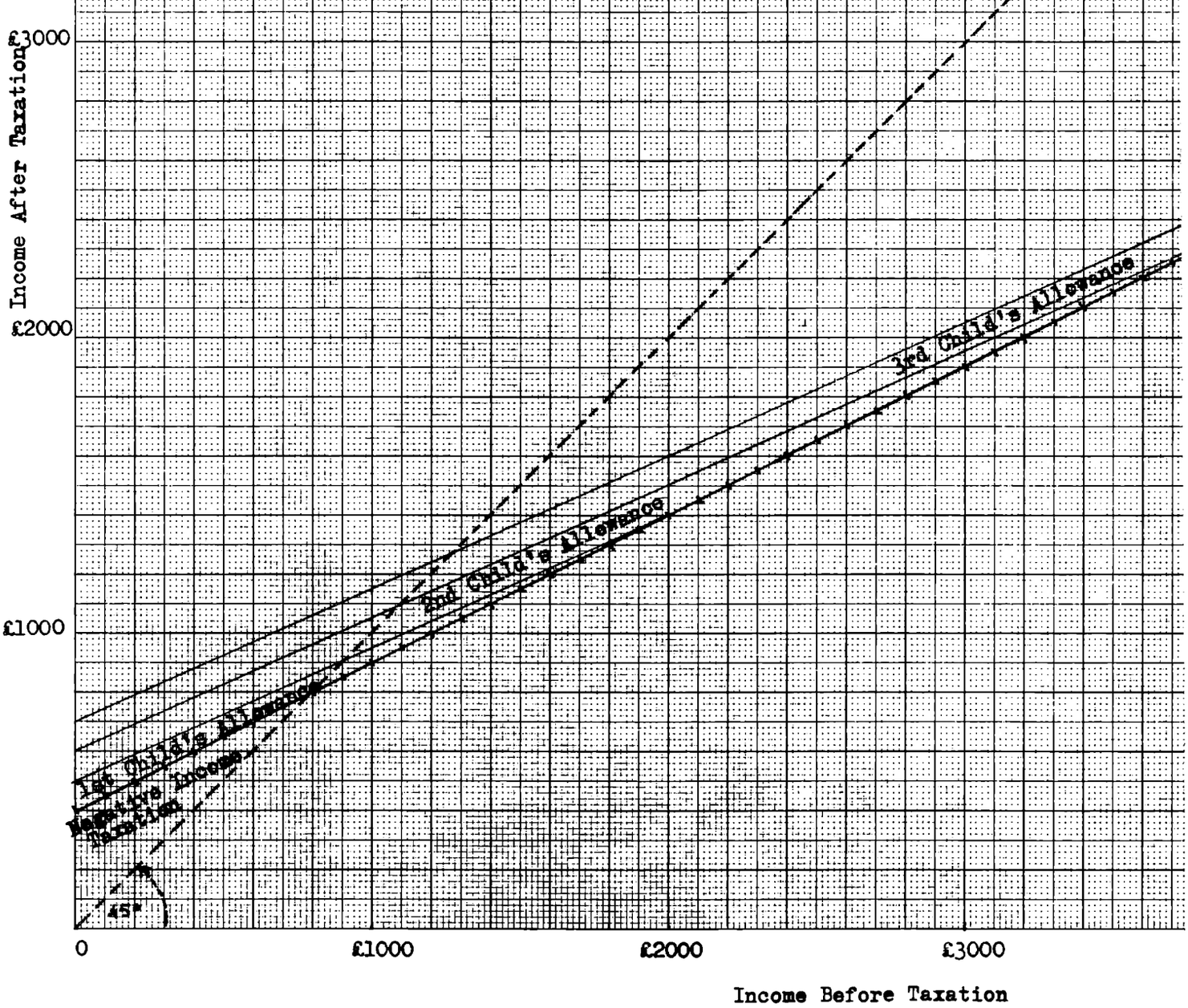
In the case of a 34.6% tax rate the 5% charging will grow the marginal tax rate by

$$y = 5\% - (5\% \times 34.6\%) = 3.27\%$$

This increases in the case of the 5% charging are so light that there seems to be no objection to accept it neither from point of the marginal tax rate nor from the point of negligible burden imposed on the family budget through this negative income tax.

Diagram 1.19.

Children' Allowances at 10% Burdening of Family Incomes Above £400 p.a. Basic Benefit of Married Couples (In the Cast of 50% Negative Income Taxation and Supposing that One Child requires £100 p.a.)



E) Policy Implications

Negative income taxation is not only the most powerful weapon in the battle against poverty, but it necessarily involves the solution of many other social security problems.

First of all it could be used to free the government from the Procrustean bed of National Health Services costs. Under this approach it would be possible that the Treasury will endorse any medical bill incurred by those who are below the break-even point,(1) decreasing the discount above this point in proportion with the marginal tax rate. Or it would be possible to declare that the medical bills are payable in ten days time, and the Treasury would pay immediately the expenses of those who are below the break-even point. Even that would be possible too, that the Treasury would pay any medical bill on the first instances, but it would recover it according to the tax bracket.

Any of these alternatives could and would destroy any discrimination existing now between the rich and the less affluent, who at the moment cannot afford better treatment outside the National Health Service liberating them from the overwhelming monopoly, bureaucracy and less careful service of any nationalised industry.

In the meantime this would render not only more social justice, but it would close the doctors' brain drain.

At the same time it would help even the rich when sick, a state in which every human being is likely to be handicapped.

The fiascos of the over monopolised Health Service make it hardly believeable that the liquidation of the private schools will improve the level of education. Therefore the only real exit from the perplexities of this question is to follow the pattern suggested above in connection with the National Health Service. This would guarantee a free choice as well as an equal start to everybody in life without applying the administrative strait jacket of a state monopoly.(2)

There is hardly any real hunger in Western Europe today and the most real danger to social security is the slum. The majority of those who are forced to live in slums are forced because of economic reasons, and therefore it is not enough to pay 99% of the rents as the supplementary benefits do(3) in the U.K., because this only preserves indefinitely the human misery.

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(1) Diagram 1.7.

(2) On these problems see: I.A.E. Welfare State and Welfare Society.

(3) Ministry of Social Security Annual Report, 1966, p.56.

Consequently it would be necessary that the difference which is needed to enable slum dwellers to obtain decent housing would be provided by the Treasury to those below the break-even point. These allowances would be given to those who leave the slums, up to the amount which is the difference between the two rents, but it could not be increased further by a second change in the domicile. These allowances would disappear automatically above the corresponding break-even point, as the negative income-tax itself disappears.(1)

Furthermore negative income taxation can be used to some extent to control inflation or deflation, as has been pointed out.(2) Progressive taxation concentrates its effect on the high income brackets and leaves the largest masses only slightly affected or not affected at all. An increase of the tax rate in such circumstances hardly has the desired anti-inflationist effect. The negative income taxation would gain the influence of the changing marginal tax rate across the board on the entire society, depressing (or inducing) the demands of the mass of the population.

Finally negative income taxation could be used in such a way as to be a very efficient tool in the elimination of inefficient firms, and thus could contribute to an increase of national productivity. Namely those firms which are subsidised above a certain level, above a certain percentage of employees through the negative income taxation over several years, ought to be liquidated within the next period.

---

(1) The increase in the National Insurance Reserve Funds has slowed down in recent years. Nevertheless, in 1967 according to the Accounts of the National Insurance Funds, House of Commons Papers 362, ordered to be printed 27th February, 1967, pp. 16-17, they contained £1,300 million in nominal value in the U.K. The handling of this capital is the classic example of mis-management in the nationalised industries, in that firstly these funds' market value has declined sharply to £850 million, and secondly, they are invested in securities irrelevant to social security, e.g. the Sudan Government and British Transport.

In the meantime, private insurance in Britain has increased its investment in land and property from 10% in 1963 to 19% in 1966 (The Times, 9th August 1966), and in the U.S.A. also private insurance companies are investing more in housing, which is further evidence that private institutions are often more social in their policies than are nationalised monopolies.

Meanwhile 1.5% of the total balance of the National Insurance Reserve Funds is held in mortgages and in housing bonds. Their marketing value remained equal to the nominal value. This fact as well as their existence shows that it would be possible to improve the dwelling conditions by a considerable capital, without increasing the social security budget with a penny. At the same time this would be a more economical investment and a little more social policy.

(2) Professor Meade, Planning and Price Mechanism, p.44.

In this respect naturally only the basic allowances would be counted and not the increases for dependants. A new child gives future opportunities to the whole national economy and to the whole nation in the future, but it gives no, or rather negative gain to the firm where the parents work at the time of the birth. There seems to be no justification anyhow to correlate the economic efficiency of a firm to the fecundity of the employees' wives. The arrival of a new offspring is clearly a national opportunity and burden, and it must be covered by a national arrangement at macro-economic level.

This does not mean that the father is not obliged by the nature to provide for his children and his family, but this micro-economic consequence must be restricted to the families and not extended to the firms.

Nevertheless the liquidation of the firms which require a higher percentage of basic negative income taxes and for a longer period than it is permitted would be

(1) a more human and of more social solution than used to be the "wage stop" in the U.K., or not even wage stop for those who are forced to work on such a low wage

(2) this would be a more flexible and more suitable measure than the rigidity of minimum wage

(3) nevertheless this would discourage the employers to withhold the payments of the low income groups or to keep the wages too low, leaving the rest to be paid by the Treasury.

(4) this would foster the national productivity because it would force the use of the labour force in a more efficient way to eliminate wastage of time and effort under present arrangements.

(5) at the same time it would eliminate exploitation of the human labour in those firms nationalised or not[1] whose profitability stems only from the maintenance of low wages

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(1) (referring to the U.K.) Mr. Gwilym Robert, Labour M.P. for Bedfordshire South, "While the problem (of low wages) in the nationalised and public corporations may be bad it is generally even worse for local authorities and municipal employees" (Hansard 24th November 1967, column 1696).

Mr. Nicholas Scott, Conservative M.P. for Paddington South: "It must be remembered that the biggest offenders (by paying too low wages) are the nationalised industries, local government and the central government" (Hansard 24th November 1967, column 1661).

(6) the increase of productivity later on will allow a decrease in taxation when the same amount could be collected by smaller tax rates which would give further incentives to increasing productivity. This probably is the way out of a low equilibrium trap. The low increase in productivity was kept for long further down by ever increasing taxation in the United Kingdom. Japan, on the other hand, has probably the highest increase of productivity of any advanced nation, and the lowest taxation.

PART III

BALANCE OF COSTS AND SAVINGS OF THE NEGATIVE INCOME TAXES ON MACROECONOMIC LEVEL IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

A) Arising expenditure P. 1.

B) Disposable resources P. 13.

C) Selections of alternatives P. 15.

Applying the negative income taxation in the United Kingdom and in order to investigate the balance of costs and possible savings of the negative income taxation, we shall study first the variations of the involved public expenses. Secondly we have to establish the sources which could be mobilised to finance these costs, and thirdly at the end we can scrutinize the alternatives which will be left free for our choice.

A) Arising costs.

Our basic source was the Inland Revenue's 109th Report for the year ending on 31st of March 1966 which gives the income distribution of the United Kingdom in tables 85-88.(2) For the Income Tax units below effective exemption limit we had to rely on tables 1:6 and 2:23 of Dr. Thomas Stark's unpublished thesis. He has three tables concerning the £50-250 per annum income groups, of which table 2:23 is the nearest to the Inland Revenue's Report in the sense that he did not yet readjust it according to his purposes and therefore more properly completes the missing income brackets from the published tables. Meanwhile Dr. Stark's whole work is based on information received from the same Inland Revenue.[x] Naturally we had to use the assumption that the average income of each reported income bracket was equal to the middle of the class intervals.

Our previous investigations enable us to apply an important division in the calculation of the involved expenses. Namely we can separate the estimation of the costs of the childrens' and dependants allowances from the basic benefits of the negative income tax. This simplifies the calculations considerably.

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[x] see his table 1:6.

(2) Cmnd 3200 pp. 115-118.

Let us start with the negative income taxes without the dependants' increases. In this calculation - and in the whole chapter - we assume that the basic income allowances in the case of no other income is £190 - p.a. for a single person and £366. 12. 0. p.a. for a married couple.

With these suppositions we can put the expenses of the negative income tax with a strictly applied 100% marginal tax rate as 498 million a year. 98% of this money would go to single persons, while the remaining part to married couples.

(In the case if we leave £1 tax free for each person each week in the fashion of the existing supplementary benefits, the cost would more than double to £1031 million, of which only 92% would benefit single persons.)

If we decrease the marginal tax rate below 100% we shall augment the expenses approximately linearly until we reach the 70% marginal tax rate. The growth of the costs will be £88 million in average after each 10% decrease.

From this point onwards the expenditure will accelerate exponentially. In the interval between 60 and 50% it will reach a magnitude which is nearly four times of the starting average increase, and in the range when the marginal rate will decrease from 50% to 40% the growth will be more than 12 times as big, therefore the resulting total expenditure on the negative income taxes alone would be £2398.7 million p.a.

Diagram 5.1 shows that the trend at this point became nearly vertical, and we did not venture to make further calculations into the astronomical dimensions which are completely unrealistic at the present structure of the British income distribution and economic development.

Diagram 5.1.

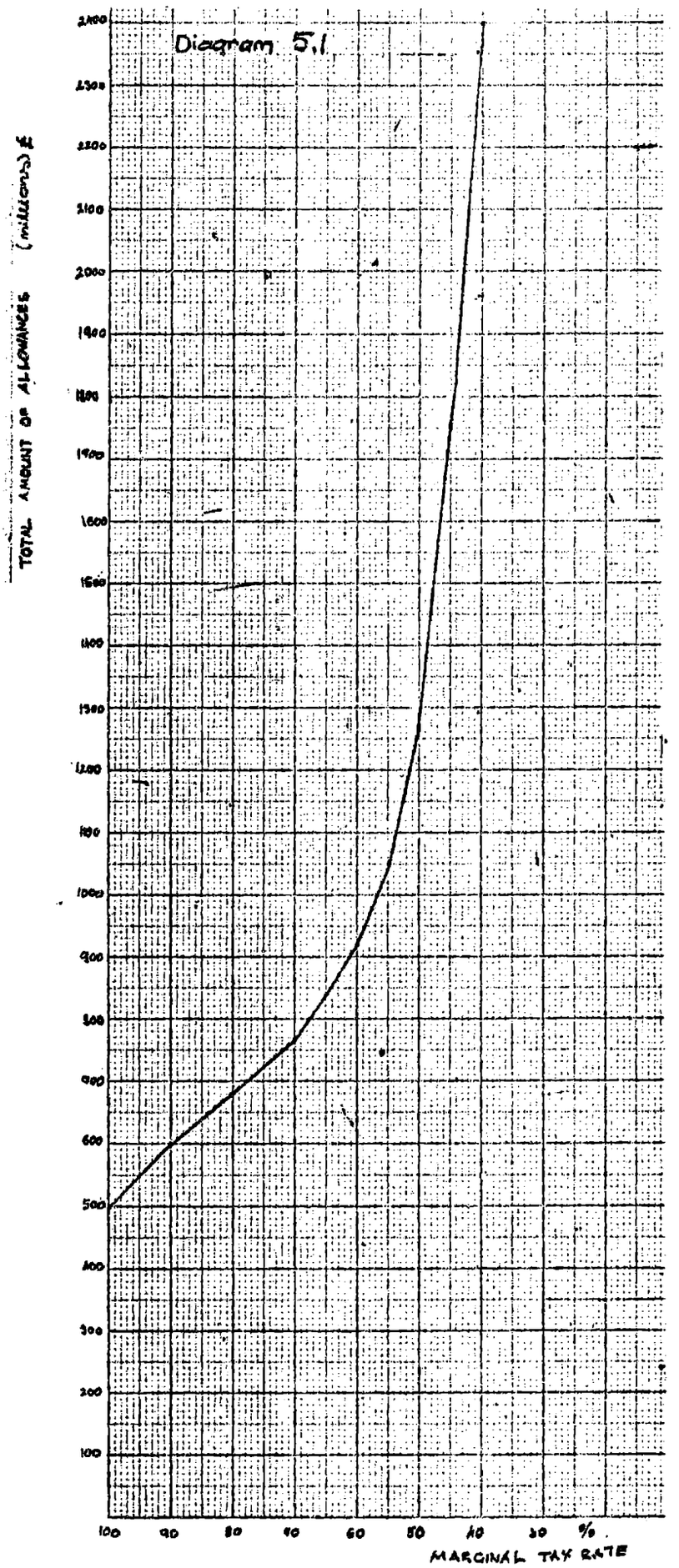


Diagram 5.1
TOTAL AMOUNT OF ALLOWANCES (millions) £
2400
2300
2200
2100
2000
1900
1800
1700
1600
1500
1400
1300
1200
1100
1000
900
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
%
MARGINAL TAX RATE

Tables 5.1 - 5.3 below give the details which build up the total costs as they were described in the preceding paragraphs:-

Allowances due above effective exemption limit (without dependants)

millions

Marginal tax rate	Allowances				
	to Married couples		to single persons		TOTAL
	wives earning	wives not earning	single males or widowers	single females or widows	
40%	400.4	865.9	91.7	122.7	1480.7
45%	219.4	533.2	46.0	69.6	868.2
50%	62.3	295.0	22.4	35.4	415.1
55%	31.0	172.9	10.9	17.5	232.3
60%	18.8	109.7	3.3	5.2	127.0
65%	12.3	72.5	0.7	1.0	86.5
70%	8.0	47.3	-	-	48.1
80%	4.4	25.7	-	-	30.1
90%	2.4	13.7	-	-	16.1
100%	1.1	9.4	-	-	10.5
Supplementary benefit scale	6.3	37.2	-	-	43.5

Table 5.2 - Allowances due below effective exemption limit (without dependents)

millions

Marginal tax rate	Yearly income between £50 - £250		Yearly income below £50.	TOTAL
	Married Couples	Single persons		
40%	38.3	526.5	353.2	918.0
45%	37.4	496.1	350.7	884.2
50%	36.5	465.7	348.3	850.5
55%	35.5	435.3	345.8	816.6
60%	34.6	405.0	343.4	783.0
65%	33.7	374.6	340.9	749.2
70%	32.7	344.2	338.4	715.3
80%	30.8	283.5	333.5	647.8
90%	29.0	222.7	328.6	580.3
100%	27.1	136.2	323.7	487.0
Supplementary benefit scale	40.1	508.6	438.7	987.4

Table 5.3. Summary of Total Costs (without dependants) Million £.

Marginal tax rate	Allowances due income tax units		Total
	above effective exemption limit	below effective exemption limit	
40%	1480.7	918.0	2398.7
45%	868.2	884.2	1752.4
50%	415.1	850.5	1265.6
55%	232.3	816.6	1048.9
60%	137.0	783.0	920.0
65%	86.5	749.2	835.7
70%	48.1	715.3	763.4
80%	30.1	647.8	677.9
90%	16.1	580.3	596.4
100%	10.5	487.0	497.5
Supplementary benefit scale	43.5	987.4	1030.9

The increase to the income tax units below £250 and linear. (Table 5.2). The share of the married couples in this category goes up by 1.9 million after each 10% decrease of the marginal rate and the corresponding gain of the single persons is 60.7 and respectively 4.9 million in general. The reason of this linearity is that the number of units in this group do not change by definition if we alter the marginal rate, which is the only factor influencing the figures.

Diagram 5.2

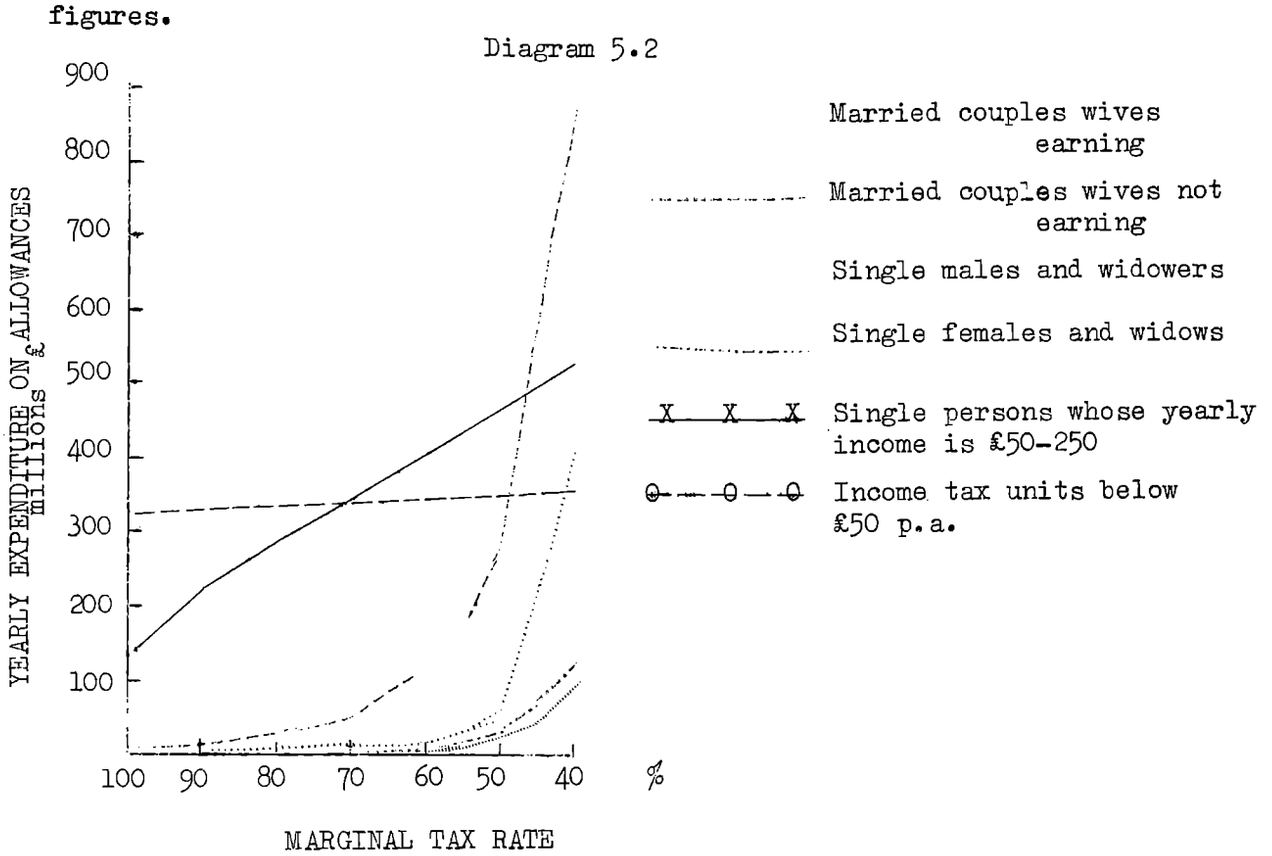
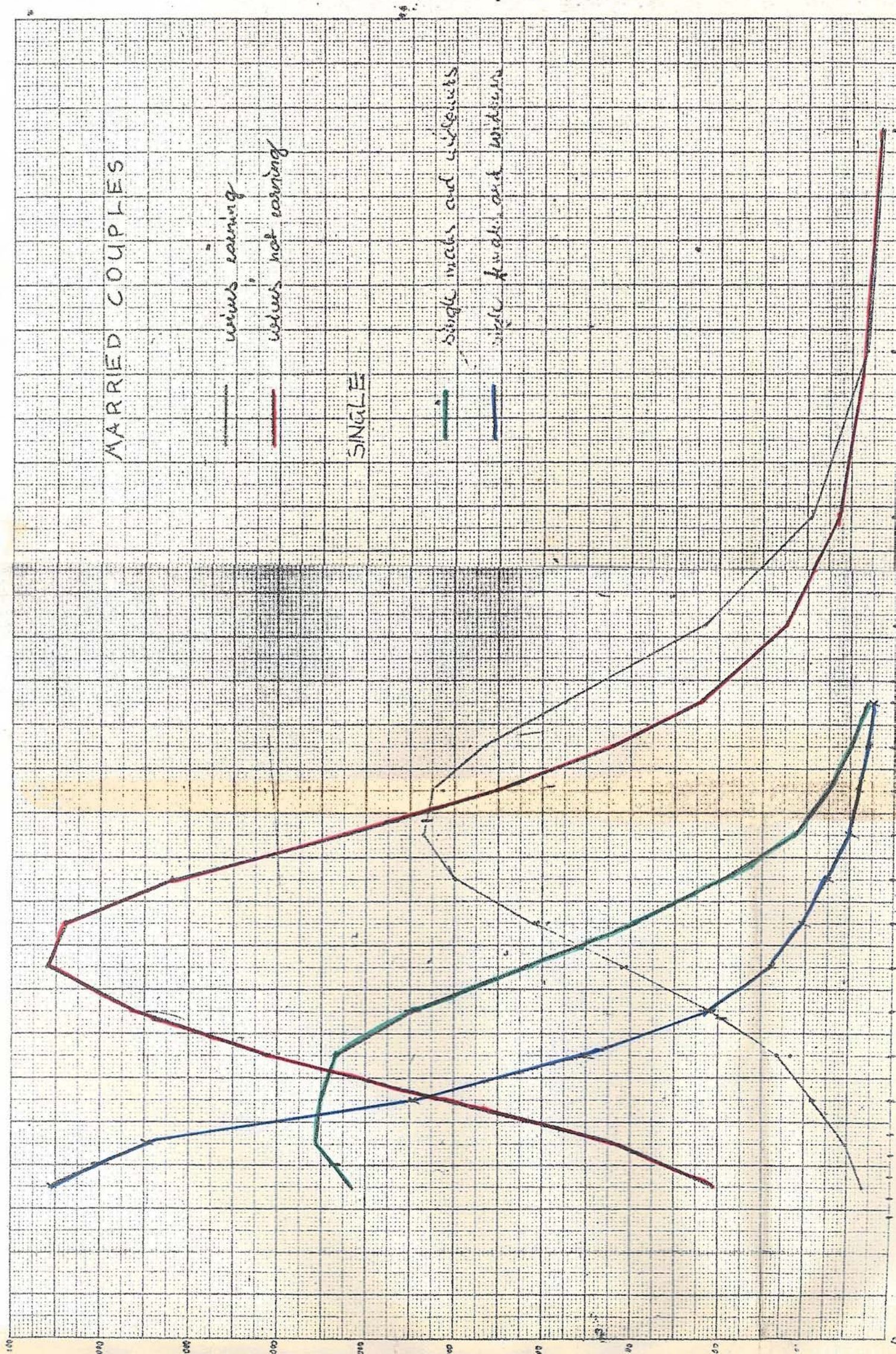


Diagram 5.3.


MARRIED COUPLES
wives earning
wives not earning
SINGLE
single males and females
single females and males

In contrary the variations in the other four categories follow a rather exponential pattern. The reason for this is that as we decrease the marginal rate more and more units will be entitled to receive the allowances which auguments the costs abruptly. (Table 5.1)

The increase for the married couples where the wives are not earning starts earlier, because the mode in the frequency distribution is in a lower income bracket in the group than in the case when the wives earn.

For the same reason the figures for men remain behind the total allowances for women, while the lower number of the population in these categories and the lower basic allowances render these two groups less important in the financial expenditures.

Diagram 5.3 shows the frequency distribution of the main four groups according to income brackets.

On the whole we can say that the expenditures are mainly determined by the requirements of the single persons whose income is below the effective exemption limit until the marginal tax rate decreases from 100% to 70%. This category constitutes more than 2/3rds of the increase of the costs in this interval. (Table 5.3)

After this point the most crucial factor becomes that category of the married couples where the wives do not earn. (Table 5.1) Their shares will occupy the greatest part of the enlargement of the expenditures.

The role of the group where the wives earn becomes important only after that the marginal rate sunk below 50%.

Table 5.4 displays the amount according to which the tax rebates alter with the changes in the marginal tax rates.

Table 5.4.

Millions

Marginal tax rate	Tax Rebates		
	To Married Couples	To single persons	Total
40%	849.6	92.6	942.2
45%	415.6	42.1	457.7
50%	159.7	17.0	176.7
55%	63.4	7.2	70.6
60%	25.6	1.9	27.5
65%	11.7	0.3	12.0
70%	1.2	-	1.2

We can see that they practically do not emerge before the marginal rates lessen below 70%, but their effect appears mainly, when they go under 50%. Out of the £1133 million total increases in cost which occur as the marginal tax rate falls from 50% to 40% the tax rebates make £765.5 million, which constitutes two thirds of the new charges to the treasury resulting from this modification.

Up to now we counted only the allowances which would accrue to the nucleus of income tax units in the case of the negative income taxation without taking into consideration the maintenance of the dependants.

For practical reasons, - as we shall see it later, - and for the different pattern which they display we shall analyse the cost of the childrens' allowance separately from the expenses on adult dependants.

The table below shown the total expenses if the state pays the whole maintenance[o] of all the dependants without any charging of the individual income tax units' budget.

Table 5.5[x]

Type of income tax unit	Costs of total yearly allowances		
	of the children	of the adult dependants	Together
Married couples wives earning	362.4	221.7	584.1
" " wives not earning	900.2	327.2	1227.4
Single males & widowers	32.2	90.4	122.6
" females & widows	26.1	65.9	92.0
Together	1320.9	705.2	2026.1

The table reveals that the majority of the requirements would go to married couples, only 10.6% of the money payable correspond to claims laying in the units of single persons. On the other hand more than 70% of the expenses on the allowances would be due to the adult dependants in the two categories of the single persons, contrary to the married couples.

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[x] The table includes dependants shown by Dr. Stark below effective exemption limit.

[o] As it is defined in the Supplementary Benefit Scales.

If we start to charge the families with their relatives maintenance, the costs of the childrens' allowance payable by the Treasury decrease rapidly. This is displayed on diagram 5.4. Here all the lines start at £1321 million, corresponding to the total of the first column of table 5.5 which gives the Treasury's expenses before charging the individual income tax units. In the case of a negative income tax with 50% marginal tax rate a 5% charging would save £350 million, a quarter of the whole amount on this account. A further charging up to 10% of the family income the expenses would be reduced to approximately to their half to £658.5 million and they would sink below their quarter before the parents' income would be burdened up to 20% by their sustenance.

It is interesting that there is no or only a negligible difference between these costs if the marginal rate of the negative income tax rises above 60%. The corresponding line can be seen on diagram 5.5. The greatest difference which occurs between the curvatures of 60% and 50% marginal rates is at 20% charging and it is only 19 million. The saving would be somewhat more when the marginal rate of the negative taxation decreases from 50% to 40%, because this would increase the income of a very wide range of the population as we have seen[o] by a further redistribution of £1133 million. Meanwhile the resulting total saving at the children's allowance in this case will not be ever higher than £54 million[x], less than 1/20th of this increase.

If we add the adult dependants' maintenance to the cost of the allowances due to the children, the resulting new expenditure show very small elasticity, while we start to charge them on the families income as Diagram 5.5 exhibits this. A five per cent burdening would save only £39 million which is only 5.5% of the £705.2 total costs. Even at 10% burdening the reduction of the expenditure is somewhat less than £100 million which makes 14% of the whole. Though after 12% charging the response became more elastic, the aggregate of the adult dependants' allowances became higher than the sum of the childrens allowances. The resulting economies reach the middle of the original figure alone when the households' income is loaded nearly up to 20%, while the same measure of saving was reached by a 10% charging in the case of the children. The reason of these different patterns is clearly that the maintenance of the adult dependants constitute a much bigger problem which falls with a comparatively more sensible weight on the families budget.

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[o] Table 51-3.

[x] Which difference appears at 17.5% charging.

Diagram 5.4 THE VARIATION OF EXPENDITURE ON CHILDRENS' ALLOWANCES

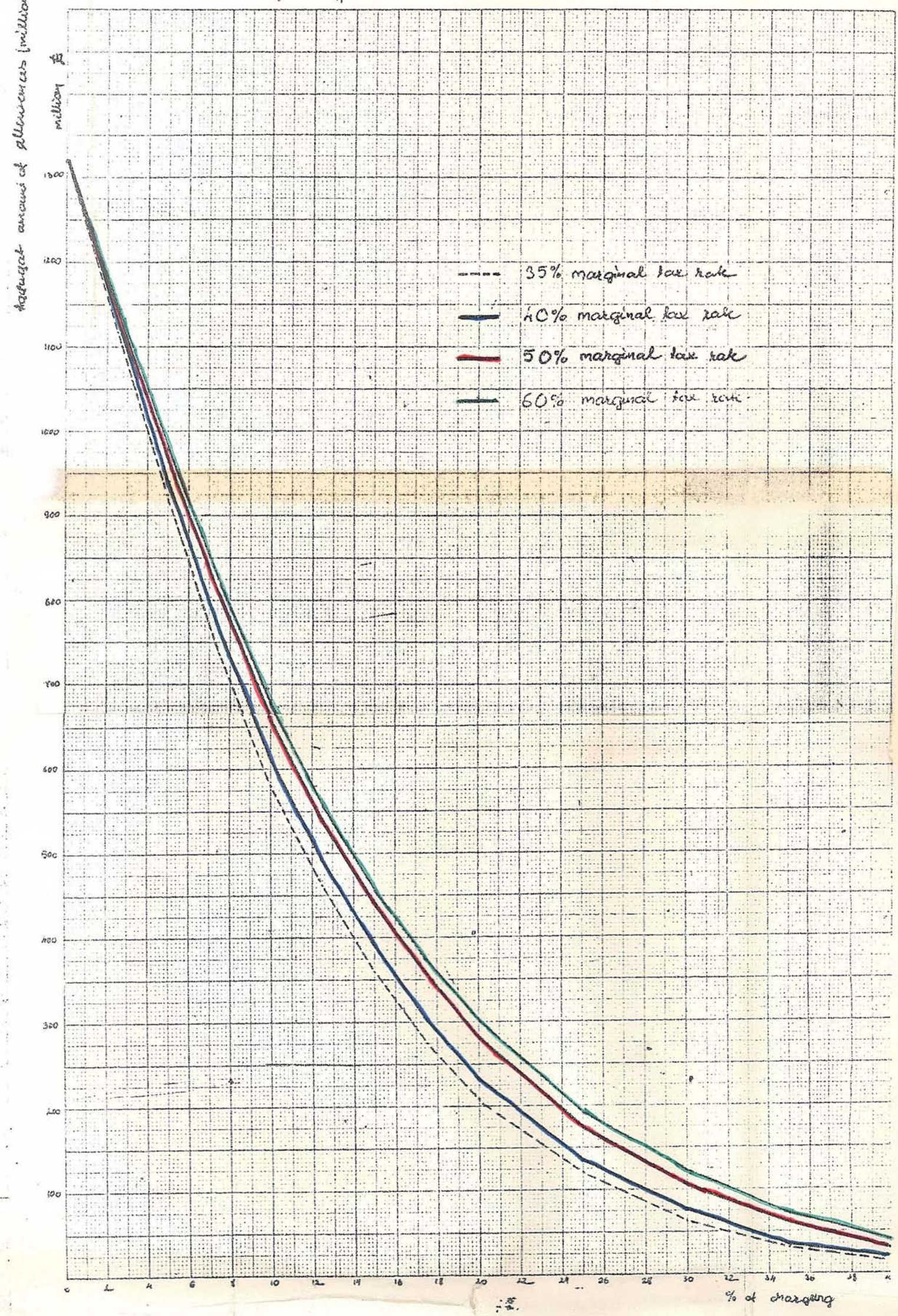
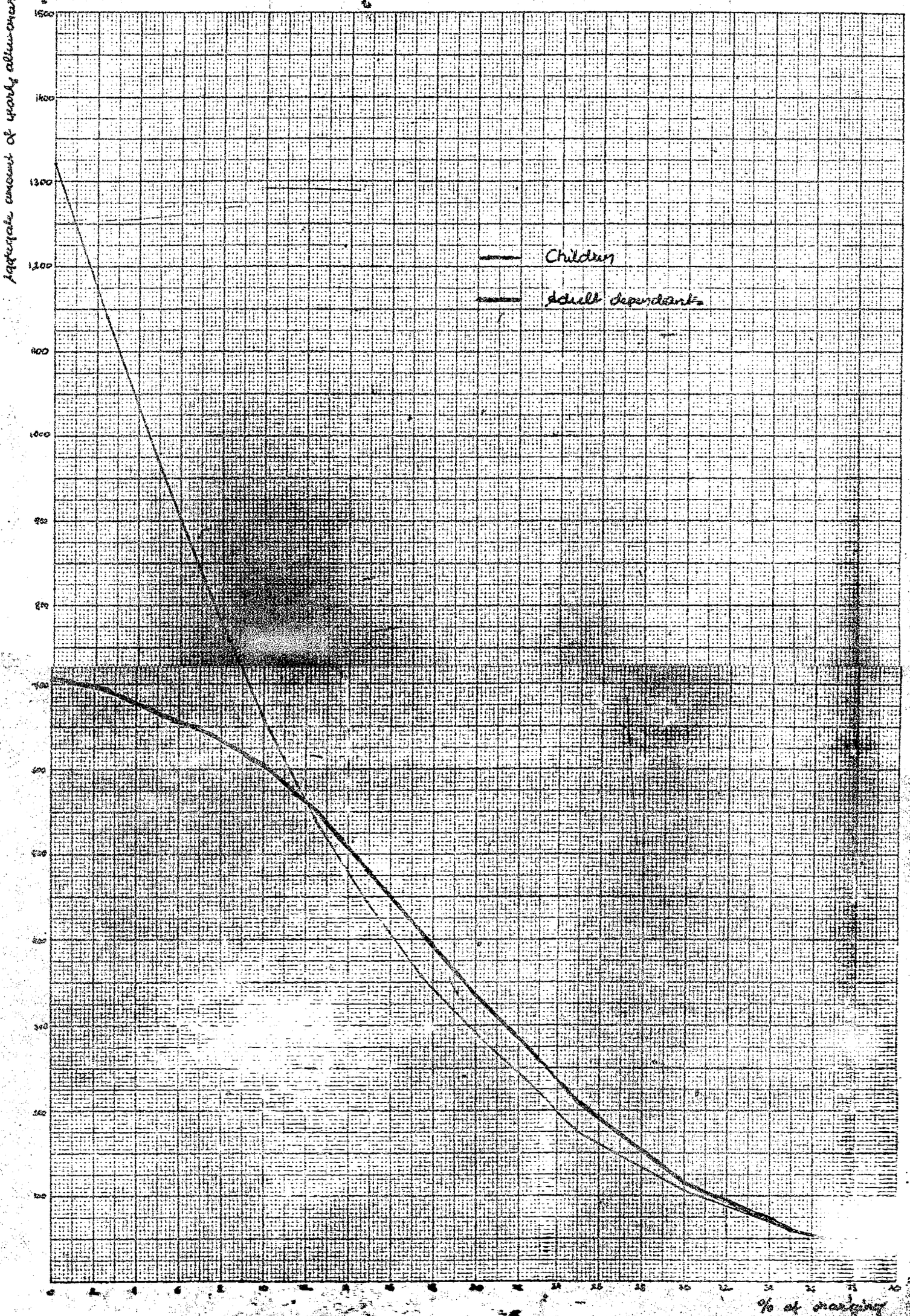


Diagram 5.5 THE COMPARISON OF THE EXPENDITURES ON ADULT DEPENDENTS' AND CHILDREN'S ALLOWANCES AT 50% MARGINAL TAX RATE



The analysis of the expenditure according to the type of the income units shows, that the aggregate cost of the dependants' allowances as charged on the families' revenue is the most elastic in the case of the married couples, where the wives earn. The second in this respect is the group where the wives do not earn, while the single females show the most rigid pattern. (Diagram 5.6).

This corresponds to the order according to which the modes appear on the dependants' frequency curves.

If the dependants are concentrated in lower income brackets their maintenance costs are set against a smaller capacity which cannot absorb them more fully.

Diagram 5.7

THE DISTRIBUTION OF DEPENDANTS ACCORDING TO INCOME

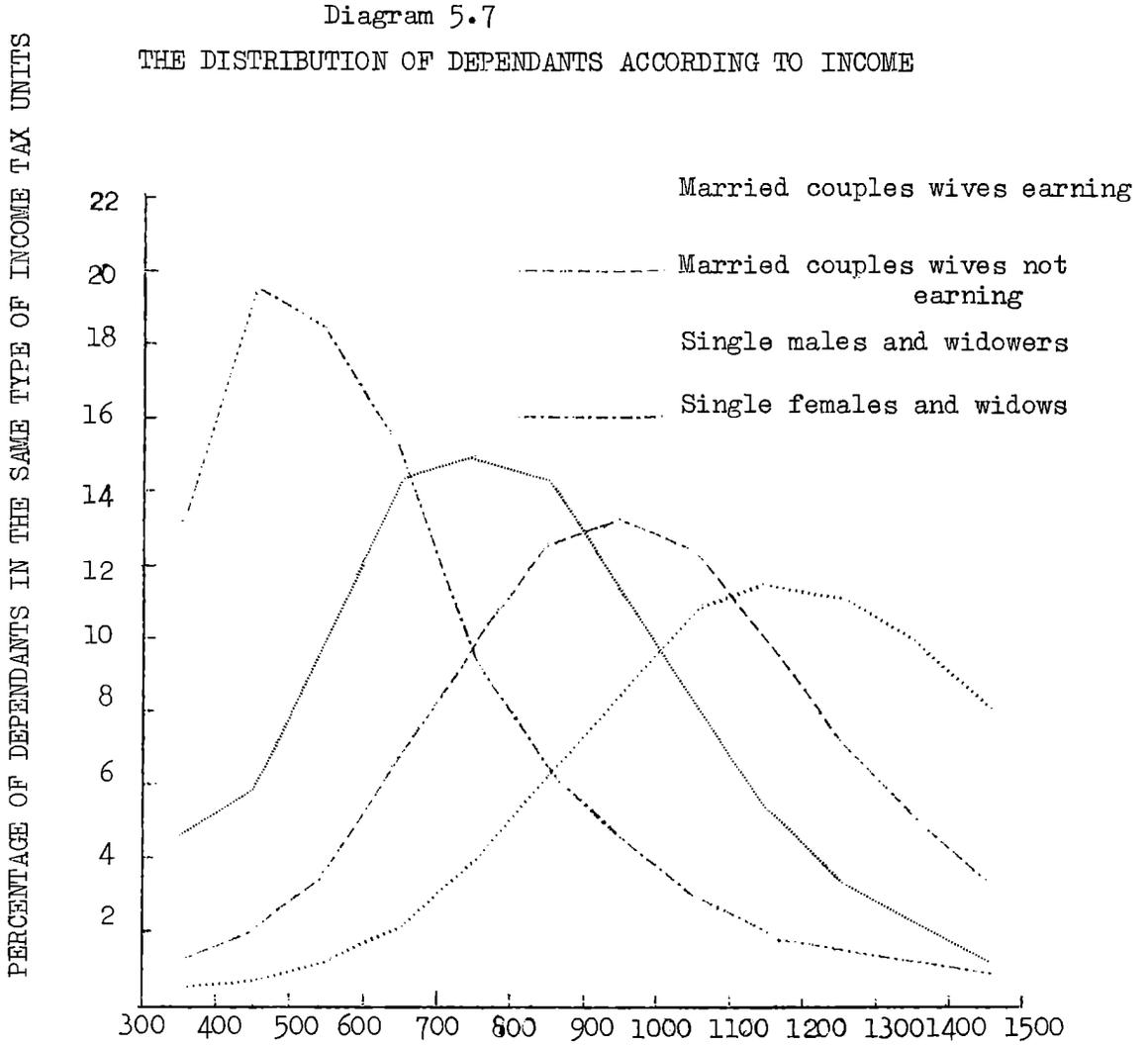
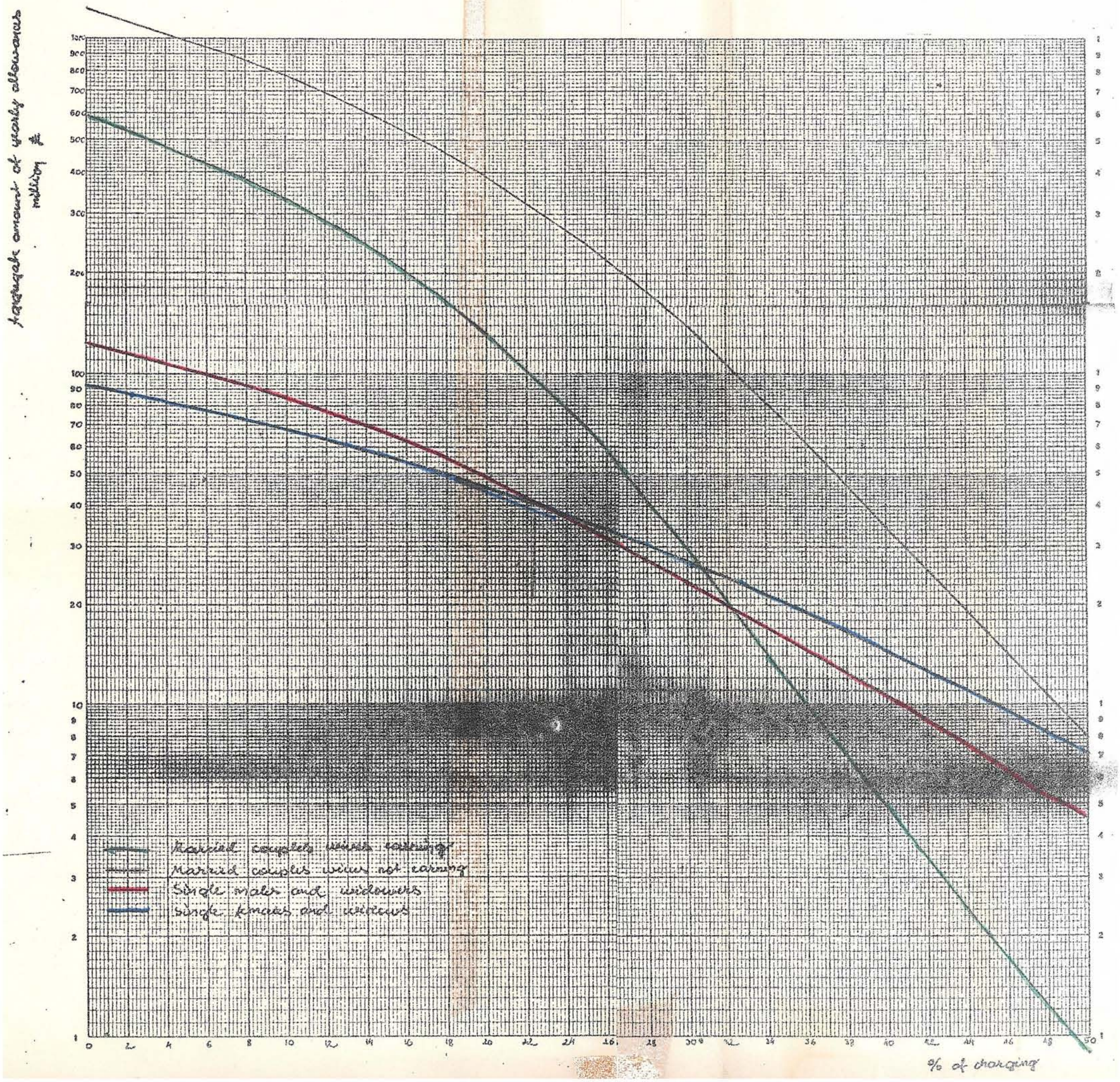


Diagram 5.6 THE ELASTICITIES OF EXPENDITURE ON DEPENDANTS' ALLOWANCES IN THE VARIOUS INCOME TAX UNITS

-12a



B) Disposable resources to finance negative income taxation.

After that we have examined the components which determine the expenses of the negative income taxation let us turn now to the question, which are the sources available to finance these liabilities in the U.K? At this point we arrive at a not too bright picture. Not as if the figures of the purchasing power which could be mobilised for this purpose would not be clear, but because the austerity programme which any government have to pursue in the foreseeable future overshadows the better hopes.

In this context we cannot expect either that a greater share of the budget will be spent on social security or that an increased positive taxation will provide wider frames for income redistribution.

Therefore nothing else is left for us than to draw up the inventory of those present government expenditures, which would be replaced by the negative income taxes. They are not very many, though they do not give a negligible fund. These are:-

1. The family allowances on which £340 will be paid out in a full financial year. It is estimated that from this gross cost £75 million will be recovered from tax paid on the allowances themselves and £83 million from the reduction of the total tax allowances. Further it is, expected that a further £13 million will be saved on other social security expenditure. These give the net costs as £169 million. (Letter of the Department of Health and Social Security on 11th November 1968. Q2(X)661/358).

2. In addition the Ministry of Social Security paid £50 million for children through the network of the National Insurance (Information given in the letter PR(X)661/358 of the Ministry's Information Division on 29th April 1968).

3. I suppose that at least a quarter of the Supplementary Benefits are paid out only because the childrens requirement was higher than the resources. This gives £68 million.

4. The tax allowances for children for the 1968-69 is estimated to be £675 million by a letter of the Statistics and Intelligence Division of the Inland Revenue dated 6th of May, 1968.

5. The tax relief for adult dependants is given as £35 million in the same letter.

6. Contrary to the general expectation I do not hope that there will be considerable economy in the administration costs. We must acknowledge that the overhead costs of the national insurance have sunk considerably from the level of 8.5% at which it was in 1938 to 3.7% in 1966.* Though it shows a further downward tendence, but it is of course very slow now, because it is not possible to decrease the expenses without any limit.

In the meantime the administration of the Supplementary Benefit is probably the most labour intensive branch of the Social Security and the type of work required by the negative income taxes is much nearer to the Supplementary Benefits than to the other services of this Ministry.

The computerisation of the Inland Revenue and the National Insurance will save expenses, but the computers cannot deal with information which is not properly channelled into them. The transfer of this information cannot be executed without laborious human work.

It is hardly possible to imagine that the Ministry of Social Security could be totally suppressed because there are some special branches of the social security which require special care and which cannot be overtaken completely in this kind of reform. Such are for example the industrial injuries and the care of the blind. Even in the case if the Ministry would cease to exist, the Inland Revenue ought to increase its staff because they simply do not take care of the income tax units of 3 or 4 million old people who have no prospect for tax due income. This was pointed out by the Joint Parliamentary Secretary for the Ministry of Social Security, Mr. Charles Loughlin in Parliament on 29th November 1967, (Hansard 1720 column).

Taking into the consideration all the involved simplifications including a book-coupon system for the permanent cases and including the supposition that the Registrar General's documents make superflous the second registration in Newcastle-on-Tyne, when the National Insurance follows automatically the citizenship, the whole economy on the administration costs is probably not more than 20 million.

7. Meanwhile if the acquired rights of those who paid the National Insurance up to now in the hope of the corresponding pensions could allow to increase the marginal tax rate of the negative income tax of the pensioners to 40%, we could save £262 million on the difference which is between the present 31-32% rate and the 40%. In the case if we could apply the 50% rate to the pensions too, the economy on this account would grow to £311 million. As we shall see these measures do not abolish necessarily the incentive to save for old age.

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x A.T. Peacock : The Economics of the National Insurance and Central Statistical Office: National Income and Expenditure (Blue Book) 1967 p. 53

8. Adding up all these items we have £1017 million to finance the negative income taxes at the moment and £1279 or £1328 million if the marginal rates on the well-to-do pensioners could be increased.

C) Selection of alternatives.

Before we are going further we have to eliminate a double counting, which would otherwise occur if we did not check our previous calculations.

The number of the dependants as it is recorded on tables 85-88 of the 109th Report of the Inland Revenue would be:-

Table 5.6.

Type of income tax unit	Number of income tax units	Children	Adult Dependants
Married couples wives earning.	4,800 600	3,766 672	1,255 510
" " " not earning.	7,931 600	9,295 810	1,852 640
Single males & widowers.	4,582 500	334 820	511 800
" females & widows.	3,759 500	271 450	373 140
Total	21,074 200	13,668 752	3,993 090

These figures account for 33,806400 persons in the neclei of the income tax units and for 17,661842 dependants either children or adults. This gives 51.468242 persons in the United Kingdom for the year 1964-5 which is less by 2,690300 than 54,160,00 the population of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in the middle of this calendar year.*

Meanwhile the real problem arises when we realise that income tax units below the effective exemption limit are missing from the Inland Revenue's Report. Nevertheless as it was mentioned earlier their figures could be found in the information given to Dr. Stark by the Inland Revenue.

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* While we desire to give the same amount of allowances to wives and adult dependants, this cannot affect our calculations, nevertheless we may mention that 692 700 married women too ought to be hidden either within the dependants or within those who are reported as single persons or in both category.

As we have seen in table 5.6 there are only 12.732 000 married women in the 109th Report of the Inland Revenue (tables 85-88). In the figures of those who are below effective exemption limit given to Dr. Stark by the Inland Revenue, there do not appear more than 125.100 wives. This gives 12,857 300, while there were in fact 13,550,00 married women probably due to tax regulations which allure to evasions.

Consequently in addition to the 51.468242 persons mentioned above we find 4,361,300 persons in the income brackets between £50-250 p.a. and furthermore 1,962,000 persons, whose yearly income was below £50. This gives 57,731 532, which would mean that we generated somewhere 3,571 542 supernumerary inhabitants, who have never moved on the shores of these islands.[1)]

The source of these double counting are the adult dependants without any doubt. It is quite clear that this low "income tax units" could not survive with such a small revenue and they are in fact affiliated to other income tax units mainly above the effective exemption limit. On this ground we may infer that out of the 3,993 090 adult dependants reported by the Inland Revenue in 1964-5 only <u>about 420 000 that is to say 10% have no income on their own account.</u>

To supply the adult dependants with their proper allowances therefore we have two ways to choose, but we have to eliminate then the double provisions at any rate. If we prefer to deal with adult dependants as small income earners (usually below effective exemption limit) and in the case if we choose 50% marginal tax rate, the allowances due to single income tax units below the effective exemption limit cost

	465.7	
	348.3	
	£814.0	million (see table 5.2)

This ought to be augmented further £70.5 million for the 10% of the adult dependants, (just mentioned before) who have no other income (in the supposition when no maintenance of the dependants is charged on the private post-tax income). In this way we took into account the private pretax income of these adult dependants, and this approach seems to be nearer to the practice of the Ministry of Social Security, which does not provide practically anybody as adult dependant in the National Insurance and only few thousands came into this category in the Supplementary benefits.*

If we choose the other solution, that is to say we provide the adult dependants through the householders to whom they belong, retaining the supposition where no income is charged by their maintenance we have to pay for these 3,993 000 persons' allowances 705.2 million. (See Table 5.5 and diagram 5.5).

This leaves	6,323 300[o]	
	- 3,993 090[2)]	
	2,330 210	below the effective

---

1) See tables 1.6 (page 21) and 2.23 of Thomas Stark's thesis.

* Information given in the letter PR(X)661/358 of Ministry's Information Division on 29th April 1968. According to this source the whole number of dependants above the age of 16 and provided for in supplementary benefit assessments is only 8000 persons.

o Total number of single persons with income below effective exemption limit. (See tables 1.6 p. 21. and 2.23 of Thomas Stark's thesis.

2) Number of adult dependants reported in the 109th Report of the Inland Revenue tables 85-88. (See our table 5.6 too).

exemption limit unprovided. Their share in a negative income tax of 50% marginal rate (chosen in the alternative case before) would be maximum £390.6 million if all the 1,962,000 below £50. p.a. incomes are in this group or more properly £268.0 million if all of their income is between £50 and £520 p.a. It seems to be just to suppose that those low-income single persons below effective exemption limit who are not attached to other households are concentrated rather in the income bracket above £50. p.a. because they could hardly survive below this level.

Therefore total cost in this alternative would be £1095.8 or respectively 973.1 million which is considerably higher than the previous alternative, because this second approach is not affected by the private income of these adult dependants. At the same time the expenses even in this procedure could be restricted if we charge the households' income with the maintenance of their dependants, but we do not reach the same cost-level of the previous variant in this case until the charging is not higher than approximately 10%. (Diagram 5.5)

But for simplicity's sake we shall use now the first alternative. Namely in this case it is enough to use our table 5.2 which takes into account all the income tax units below the effective exemption limit, and to add for those adult dependants who have no income* the maximum £70.5 million.

Applying now the yardstick of the £1017 million (which we could mobilise without any further taxation or other measure at the moment) to table 5.3 we will realise that it can provide the requirements of a negative income tax at 60% marginal tax rate it leaves only £97 million for financing the childrens' and adult dependants' allowances.

Even a negative income tax with 70% marginal rate would leave only

$$\begin{array}{r} 1017 \\ -\ 763 \\ \hline 254 \end{array}$$

million for the dependants, which would require a 26% charging of the families' income with the childrens maintenance. (Diagram 5.4)[x]

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* 420.000 persons mentioned on page 16.

x We have to deduct the £705-60 million of the adult dependants' allowance, which shows little elasticity against the charging. From the £254 million the remaining £184 million satisfies only to 26.1% charging on the diagram of the childrens' allowances numbered 5.4.

CONTRIBUTION

Eugène Csocsán de Várallja

LA TELEOLOGIE SOCIALE

Quand on parle des étroites relations entre l'éthique et la politique on doit réaliser que l'éthique chrétienne est fondamentalement téléologique. Par exemple in I^{a} II^{ae} saint Thomas d'Aquin commence ses discours avec Dieu comme la fin finale des hommes et aussi de toutes les vertus. Selon la sociologie chrétienne le but fondamental de la société est le bien commun, et je me réjouis qu'à l'instant M. le Professeur Henri Hude a parlé du bien commun dans ce contexte. Mais finalement qu'est-ce que ça signifie : bien commun ?

Le bien commun est plus que la somme des biens des individus, mais il n'est pas indépendant de ces biens individuels, et il constitue le contenu des biens nécessaires pour la réalisation des biens privés, comme l'ordre juridique, le bien-être et la culture.

La question principale pour nous est comment une société peut arriver au bien commun. Pour trouver la réponse précise j'aimerais vous évoquer l'instruction de l'encyclique «Rerum Novarum» du Pape Léon XIII.

Premièrement la tâche primordiale du pouvoir public est d'assurer le progrès social et l'avancement du citoyen.

Deuxièmement – comme M. le Professeur Henri Hude l'a aussi mentionné – c'est la garantie de la paix en exerçant les règles éthiques de la société. Nous devons éviter et même anticiper les conflits sociaux.

Troisièmement la société doit défendre chaque institution créée en faveur des familles. Il faut garder le prestige de la famille en tant que cellule indispensable de la société. Mais en même temps du côté de la famille il faut attirer l'attention des parents à leur responsabilité pour élever et éduquer leurs enfants.

Quatrièmement – selon l'encyclique Rerum Novarum – les sociétés doivent assurer la liberté de religion.

Cinquièmement les membres de la société doivent respecter la loi, le système administratif juridique, c'est à dire qu'il faut respecter les droits des autres personnes. Naturellement les entreprises doivent aussi respecter les droits de leurs employés.

Sixièmement le pouvoir public est responsable pour partager des charges et des impôts à la façon équitable parmi les membres et différentes classes de la société.

Septièmement pour promouvoir la mise en valeur du bien commun, il est indispensable de soutenir le progrès de l'industrie et du commerce. Selon le concept de Rerum Novarum le développement de l'agriculture est aussi un élément primordial du progrès social. Et nous devons y ajouter également les aspects écologiques en utilisant l'enseignement de la théologie pour protéger et défendre la terre comme créature du Créateur. Et le respect de ces principes nous amène à la compréhension du bien commun.

Selon l'éthique chrétienne la vertu de justice générale est nécessaire pour nous amener au bien commun. Mais la société en général et les politiciens en particulier ont besoin d'une autre vertu, de la sagesse pratique. La sagesse pratique selon la définition latine d'Aristote et de saint Thomas d'Aquin est : *recta ratio agibilium.*

Qu'est que ça veut dire ? Qu'est ce que ça signifie ? Il s'agit de décision juste, ce qu'il faut faire. Il faudrait qu'on parle davantage de cette sagesse que nous puissions trouver les moyens conduisant à nos buts, résoudre les contradictions de la vie et trouver les solutions les meilleures. Je veux dire que nous devons examiner les connections téléologiques qui se trouvent parmi les buts différents. Malheureusement je n'ai pas le temps de les détailler. Cela peut être le thème d'une autre intervention.

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THEORY OF VALUE AND MONEY BASED ON THOMAS AQUINAS

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The market pulsates in the teleological dynamism of the economy. The price formations of the market focus on the problem of value. The various goods obtain a common denominator in value judgements through the three stages of evaluation.

At the first stage in the ontological base constituted by the analogia proportionis of utility, reason, the mind, can recognise the teleological relationship. At the second stage in this light of aims, reason can appreciate the value relationships in the items' rarity compared with the goals proposed. At the third stage, reason compares the possibilities of means with the aims which count to the person's will, and the various disparate items become of equal value by the decision of the will, in which the standard is the virtue of prudence.

Economic value is measured by money, which is the product of the human society's will following our reason, as the society of monkeys lacks money. Money is such a tool of measuring economic value by which we might acquire anything according to its measure, as it is a draft on the national product constituting its real matter in the Aristotelian sense.

Justice is the steady and perpetual will to give his (or her) right to everyone according to Ulpianus: "Iusticia est constans et perpetua voluntas ius suum cuique tribuendi."[1] Ulpianus' definition was put into the following form by Thomas Aquinas: "habitus secundum quem aliquis

[1] "Iustitia est perpetua et constans voluntas ius suum cuique tribuens." With this definition starts the very beginning of Justinian's *Institutiones*, and therefore, the *Corpus Iuris Civilis. Iustiniani Institutiones, Liber I., titulus 1., principium.* See: *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (12. editio stereotypa), Volumen I, Institutiones, recognovit Paulus Krueger, Berolini 1911: 1. See also: Ch. M. Galliset (opera et cura): *Corpus Iuris Civilis Academicum*

constanti et perpetua voluntate ius suum cuique tribuit" (II^{a} II^{ae}, qu. 58, art. 1).

Justice has been traditionally divided into three species, namely general (or so-called legal) justice, distributive justice and commutative justice.

> Justice renders man in comparison to the other, but [this] other could be considered in two ways, either as a single person; [...] or the other is considered in the community with his social relations. [...] [t]o the other as a single person refers the particular justice, and to the other in community refers general justice. General justice has a special object, which is the community's common good (*bonum commune*).[2]
>
> The private person relates to the community as a part to the whole. Two relationships are attached to any (such) part, namely the relationship of a part to another part, and the relationship of the whole to a part. The first is governed by commutative justice, the other by distributive justice, which distributes the common (property) according to a ratio.[3]

The encyclicals *Quadragesimo anno* issued on 11th May 1931[4] and *Divini Redemptoris* issued on 19th March 1937[5] also mention social justice.

Parisiense, in quo *Iustiniani Institutiones, Digesta sive Pandectae*, Codex, Authenticae seu Novellae, 11th edition: Paris 1881, 12th edition: Paris 1888, p. 119. It is the *Digesta* or *Pandectae* that shows that this is Ulpianus' definition: "Ulpianus libro primo regularum(:) iustitia est perpetua et constans voluntas ius suum cuique tribuendi", *Digesta Liber I., titulus 1., principium 10.* See: *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (12. editio stereotypa), Volumen I., Digesta, recognovit Theodorus Mommsen, retractavit Paulus Krueger, Berolini 1911: 29 (after the first 56 pages).

[2] "Iustitia ordinat hominem in comparatione ad aliud. Sed alius dupliciter potest coonsiderari: uno modo tamquam persona singularis; [...] alio modo alius consideratur in communi una cum suis relationibus socialibus. [...] [a]d alium prout est persona singularis habetur iustitia particularis; ad alium vero prout continetur sub communitate habetur iustitia generalis. Iustitia dicitur generalis inquantum habet obiectum speciale, quod est bonum commune communitatis" (II^{a} II^{ae}, qu. 58, art. 5).

[3] "Privata enim persona comparatur ad communitatem sicut pars ad totum. Ad aliquem partem vero duplex ordo attenditur: partis ad partem et totius ad partem Ad aliquem partem vero duplex ordo attenditur: partis ad partem et totius ad partem: primam dirigit et ordinat commutativa, alteram distributiva, quae est distributiva communium secundum proportionerm" (II^{a} II^{ae}, qu. 61).

[4] "Alienum est igitur a iustitia sociali, ut proprii emolumenti gratia et posthabita boni communis ratione opificum salaria nimis deprimantur aut extollantur" (*Encyclica Quadragesimo anno, Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, Annus XXIII, Volumen XXIII, Roma, 1 junii 1931, Numero 6., p. 202).

[5] "Ac praeterea in comperto posuimus, tum solummodo hominum consortione posse e teterrima ruin swervari sospitem, ad quam per Liberalismi placita compellitur, in quius recta morum disciplina silet, cum scilicet socialis iustiae christianaeque caritatis

This, according to Benedict Merkelbach, is in fact legal justice.[6] According to Georgius Zemplén, however, "iustitia socialis ordinat relationes singularum partium, quae distributione laboris oriuntur: ordinat igitur iustas relationes inter eos qui laborem dant et inter eos, qui laborem assumunt."[7] Professor Zemplén therefore agreed with Johannes Messner as regards this concept, who wrote that the social groups were the subjects of social justice.[8]

Inasmuch as we consider society not as a mechanical, but as an organic body, we must realise that there are relations not only between the community as a whole and its single members and the single members among themselves, but also between the various organs of society, and social justice should regulate the relationships between the various organs of society.

Commutative justice requires that goods and/or services must be exchanged according to strict equality and according to equal value.

> The right measure in exchange justice is taken according to mathematical proportion. Namely in exchanges something is given back to the single person for his item, which was accepted from him, as is evident in sales and purchases. Therefore it is necessary to equalise item to item, so that when one has more from what belongs to the other, the corresponding amount has to be given back to that person to whom it belongs.[9]

> Justice consists in giving back to the other person what is due to him according to equality.[10]

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praecepta oeconomicam civilemque temperationem imbuant atque pervadant [...]" (*Encyclica Divini Redemptoris, Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, Annus XXIX, Series II, Volumen IV, Roma 31 martii 1937, Numero 4., p. 80).

[6] Benedictus Henricus Merkelbach: *Summa theologiae moralis ad mentem Divi Thomae*, vol. 2, Brugis (Bruges): Desclée de Brouwer, 1962 : 258f.

[7] Georgius Zemplén: *Tractatus de iustitia* (lectures given at the Faculty of Theology in Budapest 1953–1954), p. 23.

[8] "Die Träger der Rechtsverpflichtungen der sozialen Gerechtigkeit sind in erster Linie die gesellschaftlichen Gruppen: in den Verhandlungen und Übereinkommen der verschiedenen Gruppen müssen diese einander den ihnem zukommenden Teil an den Früchten ihrer sozialwirtschaftlichen Kooperation gewähren. Die soziale Gerechtigkeit muss daher von allem die Arbeitgeber und Arbeitnehmer im Verlaufe der Verhandlungen des kollektiven Arbeitsvertrages leiten [...]" (J. Messner: *Das Naturrecht*, Innsbruck: Tyrolia Verlag, 1950 : 218).

[9] "Medium in iustitia commutativa accipitur secundum mediatatem arithmetricam. In commutationibus enim redditur aliquid singulari personae propter rem eius, quae accepta est, sicut patet in emptionibus et venditionibus. Et ideo oportet adaequare rem rei, ut quando iste plus habet eo quod est alterius, tantumdem restituit ei, cuius est" (*AST*, II^{a} II^{ae}, qu. 61, art. 2).

[10] "Ratio vero iustitiae consistit in hoc quod alteri reddatur quod ei debetur secundum aequalitatem" (*AST* II^{a} II^{ae}, qu. 80, *corpus articuli*). Cf. Merkelbach (*op.cit.* : 260).

The market is the meeting of the supply and the demand and it is realized in the exchange of goods and/ or services with the transfer of property. In the meantime we have to notice that in barter trade completely different and disparate things are exchanged, which are not connected even by equivocation. The introduction of money on the market only increases the items and species exchanged there.

This raises the question of how equality could be established between disparate goods and services which are not connected even by a common name (ὁμώνυμον)? How could we bring so many different and disparate things and services under a common denominator? This brings us to one of most intricate and quite disputed questions of economics, the theory of value.

THE ESSENTIAL COMPONENT OF ECONOMIC VALUE

Investigating this problem we have to make three observations.

1. Firstly, Thomas Aquinas himself observes:

> outside things could be considered [...] other way, that is to say according to the use of the very thing, and in this relation man has natural control over outside things, because of his reason and will *he can put outside things to his own use,* as they were made for him, namely the imperfect (things) are always for the more perfect, as was explained above. And from this reasoning the Philosopher [=Aristotle] proves in chapter V of the first book of *Politics* that the possession of outside things is natural for man.[11]

In this text, Thomas Aquinas refers to the following statements of Aristotles' *Politics*:

> Property of this sort then seems to be bestowed by nature herself upon all, as immediately upon their first coming into existence, so also when they have reached maturity [...] plants exist for the sake of animals and other animals for the good of man, the domestic species both for his service and his food [...] If therefore nature makes nothing without purpose or in vain, it follows that nature has made all animals for the sake of men [...] One kind of acquisition therefore in the order of nature is a part of the

[11] "[...] res exterior [...] potest considerari [...] alio modo quantum ad usum ipsius rei; et sic habet homo naturale dominium exteriorum rerum, quia per rationem et voluntatem potest uti rebus exterioribus ad suam utilitatem, quasi propter se factis; semper enim imperfectiora sunt propter perfectiora, ut supra habitum est. Et ex hac ratione Philosophus probat in I. *Polit.*, cap. V., quod possessio rerum exteriorum est homini naturalis." (*AST*, II^{a} II^{ae}, qu. 66, art. 1)

> household art [...] (Aristotle: *Politics*, Book I, chapter III, 1256 b 7–9, cf. 16–27).[12]

In relation to the same question, Thomas Aquinas also cites the first chapter of Genesis, where we find:

> [...] God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him male and female he created them. And God blessed them, and God said to them: "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over every living thing that moves upon the earth."[13]
>
> [...] God said: "Behold, I have given you every plant yielding seed which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree with seed in its fruit you shall have them for food. And every beast of the earth, and every bird of the air, and everything that creeps on earth everything that has breath of life, I have given, I have given every green plant for food."[14]

This fact that outside things were made for the use of man, who can put them to his own use, in the words of Thomas Aquinas implies that they are useful: "richness in itself is useful, namely it is desired for that reason, because (and inasmuch as) *it could be used by man*."[15]

2. Secondly, we have to observe that according to Thomas Aquinas,

> to use implies the application of something for some purpose. However the thing which is applied for something else is related to this as its end; and therefore to use always implies destination to an end. Therefore those are said to be useful which can be applied for an end, and utility itself is sometimes called (the) use.[16]

[12] Translation by H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge Mass., 1932, 1990: 34–37. "ἡ μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη κτῆσις ὑπ' αὐτῆς φαίνεται τῆς φύσεως διδομένη πᾶσιν. ὥσπερ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν εὐθὺς. οὕτω καὶ τελειωθεῖσιν. τά τε φυτὰ τῶν ζώων ἕνεκεν εἶναι καὶ τἆλλα ζῷα τῶν ἀνθρώπων χάριν. τὰ μὲν ἥμερα καὶ διὰ τὴν χρῆσιν καὶ διὰ τὴν τροφήν, [...] εἰ οὖν ἡ φύσις μηθὲν μήτε ἀτελὲς ποιεῖ μήτε μάτην, ἀναγκαῖον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἕνεκεν αὐτὰ πάντα πεποιηκέναι τὴν φὺσιν. [...] Ἓν μὲν οὖν εἶδος κτητικῆς κατὰ φύσιν τῆς οἰκονομικῆς μέρος ἐστίν [...]" (Aristotelis opera ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri (Berlin 1831); editio altera ex cura O. Gigon, Volumen alterum, Berlin, 1960, page 1256, column b, lines 7–9, 16–19, 20–22, 26–27).

[13] *Gen.* 1, 27f.

[14] *Gen.* 1, 29f.

[15] "Divitiae habent secundum se rationem utilis: ea enim ratione appetantur, inquantum in usum hominis caedunt" (*AST*, II^{a} II^{ae}, quaestio 118, art. 2 *corpus articuli*).

[16] "Respondeo dicendum, quod uti, sicut dictum est, importat applicationem alicuius ad aliquid. Quod autem applicatur ad aliud, se habet in ratione eius, quod est ad finem; et ideo uti semper est eius, quod est ad finem. Propter quod et ea quae sunt ad finem accomoda utilia dicuntur, et ipsa utilitas interdum usus nominatur" (*AST*, I^{a} II^{ae}, quaestio 17 art. 3, *corpus articuli*).

These quotations from Thomas Aquinas justify the statement of the philosopher Alexander Horváth O.P.: "According to Thomas [Aquinas], use is the application of something for an aim" ("Benützung ist nach Thomas Verwendung einer Sache zu einem Zweck").[17] It follows that the usefulness of goods implies a causal relationship, namely a teleological causal relationship.

3. Thirdly, we have to observe that there are very many things and there might be just as many, if not more uses of them. Usefulness therefore is by no means a univocal[18] (συνώνυμος) expression and concept. Namely, a term might refer to various items of the same name (*inferiora*) in the same sense, in which case the term refers to the items involved in a univocal (συνώνυμος)[19] sense.[20] The same name might refer to completely disparate items as the name *cancer* refers to both the constellation and to the illness; in which case the term is equivocal (ὁμώνυμος).[21] Finally, the same term might refer to various items partly in the same sense, but partly in a different sense, in which case it applies to the various items in an analogous (ἀνάλογος) meaning,[22] in which there remains a certain correspondence between the various items.[23]

In the Latin terminology, we distinguish *analogia proportionis* from *analogia proportionalitatis*;[24] and *analogia proportionalitatis* itself is further

[17] A. Horváth, O.P.: *Eigentumsrecht nach dem dem hl. Thomas von Aquin*, Graz: Ulrich Moser's Verlag, 1929: 61.

[18] "*univocal*: 'having only one proper meaning'," in: D. Thompson (ed.): *Oxford Concise Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995: 1531.

[19] "Terminus universalis stricte univocus est, qui significat rationem simpliciter unam convenientem multis distributive (unum in multis)." J. Gredt, OSB: *Elementa Philosophiae Aristotelico-Thomisticae*, Friburgi Brisg: Barcinone, 1956: 131.

[20] G. Zemplén: *Metaphysica* (lectures given at the Faculty of Theology in Budapest 1949), p. 25.

[21] "Aequivocus est aequivocus simpliciter, si ratio significata nullo modo est una, sed solummodo nomen, id est terminus oralis est unus [...] Gredt, loco citato." Cf. Zemplén (*op.cit.*: 25f).

[22] "*analogous*: 'partially similar or parallel; showing analogy';" "*analogy*: (usually followed by *to, with, between*) 'correspondence or partial similarity'," in: *Oxford Concise Dictionary*, p. 44.

[23] "Quamvis igitur nomen desumitur a rebus quantitativis, loquendo de analogia non sumus amplius in ordine quantitativo, sed ascendimus ad tertium gradum abstractiomis ad realitates metaphysicas. In hoc ordine proportio non amplius habitudinem quantitativam, sed habitudinem rerum significat, et nihil aliud est, nisi convenientia in aliquo ordine" (Zemplén *op.cit.*: 26).

[24] "*Proportio* proprie loquendo nihil aliud est, nisi habitudo unius quantitatis ad alteram, sicut unum dicitur alteri aequale vel duplum vel triplum" (Zemplén *ibid.*). "Cum proportio est habitudo duarum quantitatum, *proportionalitas* est habitudo duarum pro-

subdivided into two. *Analogia proportionalitatis impropriae* is in fact nothing else, but a metaphor, as in the expression *the meadow smiles.*[25] *Analogia proportionalitatis propriae* is maintained through the equality of two ratios, which is called *proportionalitas* in Latin. In this case, the term applies mainly in one sense only in the main *analogatum*, but it applies in a proportional sense to the other *inferiora.*[26]

In the case of *analogia proportionis*—to use the Latin terminology—the concept could be applied properly in the original sense again just to the main item(s) alone, which is (are) called *analogatum princeps;* while the other items (the so called *inferiora*) are named similarly only because they have a causal relationship with the main item's condition in question.[27] For example, living things alone could be properly called healthy, but we also name healthy for example a medicine and the air, as they bring health to those who live, and even the colour of the person, because health can give a healthy colour to someone.

We have seen that according to Thomas Aquinas, the usefulness of goods means a causal relationship, namely, a teleological causal relationship. The chief aim of this teleological relationship was explained by him in article 1 of the 66th question in II^{a} II^{ae}. As we have similarly seen, there the Angelic Doctor made it clear that man has natural control over outside things, because of his reason and will, *he can put outside*

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portionum.Sic agitur de proportione, quando dicitur sex esse duplum numeri trinarii, agitur vero de proportionalitate quando dicitur proportio 'duo ad quattuor' esse eadem proportioni 'quinque ad decem'" (Zemplén *op.cit.* : 30). In Latin, *proportio* is the ratio of two numbers. Therefore, the name of *analogia proportionis* in English should be analogy of ratio. In English, the ratio of two ratios is called proportion, which relationship is called *proportionalitas* in Latin.

[25] Gredt (*op.cit.* : 132); Zemplén (*op.cit.* : 29).

[26] "Nam rationem significatam esse unam secundum quid intrinsecus contingere nequit, nisi quatenus est una proportionaliter, i.e., secundum aequalitatem duarum proportionum inter se, ita tamen út proprie in unoquoque analogato, i.e., in unoquoque de quibus praedicatur terminus analogus, salvetur" (Gredt *op.cit.* : 131). "Proprietates analogiae proportionalitatis propriae. 1) Perfectio significata per nomen in omnibus analogatis proprie et formaliter verificatur. [...] 5) Perfectio significata, licet proprie sit in omnibus, magis perfecte invenire potest in uno, quam in altero secundum gradus essentialiter inaequales" (Zemplén *op.cit.* : 32f).

[27] "In analogia autem attributionis analogata minus principalia principale analogatum causaliter respiciunt tamquam terminum secundum diversas habitudines causales" (Gredt *op.cit.* : 132). "In casu analogiae attributionis nomen tribuitur pluribus propter diversas habitudines causales, quam habent ad aliquid unum idemque, in quo perfectio significata proprie et formaliter inest" (Zemplén *op.cit.* : 27). "Analogia attributionis dupliciter dividitur: a) formaliter secundum diversas habitudines causales qua inferiora referuntur ad princeps analogatum, sic habitudo talis potest esse in ordine causae efficientis, exemplaris, finalis" (Zemplén *op.cit.* : 28).

things to his own use, as they were made for him, namely the imperfect (things) are always for the more perfect.

Therefore, according to Thomas Aquinas, man's use is the main aim (*analogatum princeps*), which is served by the various useful goods (*inferiora*) which are connected by a teleological causal relationship. This means that the concept of usefulness belongs to the *analogia proportionis seu attributionis* in the Latin terminology.

This analogy gives the base on which the various goods and services might be brought under a common denominator. Meanwhile, as Thomas Aquinas places utility into the teleological hierarchy or system of aims, and as the aim is a formal cause, we can call utility the essential component of economic value.

Therefore, the usefulness of the various goods constitutes the base on which we can bring the various goods and services under a common denominator inasmuch as they are useful.

THE EXISTENTIAL COMPONENT OF ECONOMIC VALUE

Economic value also has an existential component. Thomas Aquinas observed that the price of goods might change according to place or time: "[...] quamvis carius vendat. Potest hoc licite facere [...] quia pretium rei est mutatum, secundum diversitatem loci vel temporis [...]" (*AST*, II^{a} II^{ae}, quaestio 77 art. 4, *ad secundum*).

These changes in the prices of the goods in fact originate from the changes in their rarity. "The value depends [...] on the abundance or lack of something, the number of buyers and sellers, the rarity [...]."[28] In reality, economics is a teleological process: "The ultimate principle in distribution, as in every phase of the economic process, can be no other than the principle ruling and regulating the whole economic process: the goal of the economy, the providing for the needs of people corresponding to the then attained cultural standards."[29] In a teleological process, it cannot be irrelevant in what number and proportion the various means are available to reach the various goals here and now.

Air itself is a very useful item because we would die without air, but it has no value on the surface of the earth, because it stays ready for everyone virtually in unlimited quantity at sea level. However, above

[28] "Pendet valor [...] ex copia et inopia rerum et emptorum aut venditorum frequentia vel raritate" (Merkelbach *op.cit.*: 541).

[29] R. E. Mulcahy, SJ.: *The Economics of Heinrich Pesch*, New York: Holt, 1952: 123.

10,000 metres it becomes rare, and one has to transport it there, which might be a costly business. It is also decisive that the air must be there in time, because it is not enough to supply oxygen in the stratosphere in three days' time if someone needs it now. *Rarity therefore means presence in all the four dimensions*, and this is the reason why it is an existential value. Price differences on the various markets originate to a large extent from this factor. Perhaps we may add a fifth, a social dimension, because it is not enough that a commodity is present wholesale if it is not available at the retail level.

This rarity is expressed in the relationship of demand and supply. Meanwhile supply and demand constitute the market, where useful and rare goods obtain trade value, and become merchandise.

Nonetheless, the trade value of merchandise cannot be realised unless there is a real demand for it. Ultimately real demand is always man choosing his consumption. It is decisive therefore which needs demand supply from the economy. The needs demanding supply from the economy are the selective decisions of human persons. It is true that there are certain needs whose satisfaction cannot constitute a choice for the human person, because otherwise he would die. Nevertheless, the two most needed such goods, air and water, usually do not constitute economic value.

Among the other goods, however, there is in general a great deal of exchangeability: one can choose between various kinds of calorie supplies, and there is a wide range of various proteins of both animal and vegetable origin, from which we can select. In addition, man might abstain for a very considerable time from consumption because of his free will, as in fasting. Therefore, it is difficult to find a concrete item for which a person would have an unconditional concrete need and which could not be substituted for by something else. Because of this reason Thomas Aquinas already mentioned estimation in price formation: "This I say, because sometimes just price is not defined exactly, but comes from a certain estimation."[30]

Obviously, in the Middle Ages, the volume of trade was much more restrained than in our times, and the role of estimation was much more limited. The significance of estimation has become a fundamental consideration in the school of marginal utility since the 19th century.

[30] "Quod ideo dico quia iustum pretium rerum quandoque non est punctualiter determinatum, sed magis in quadam estimatione consistit" (*AST*, II^{a} II^{ae}, quaestio 77 art. 1, ad 1)

The choice is in fact limited according to the income of the consumers, therefore, effective demand is fixed to the cash available to the public, as Aristotle said: "money is the first element and limit of commerce" (Aristotle: *Politics*, Book I, chapter III, 1257 b 22f).[31]

It should also be stressed that the selection of the consumers retains influence even if the prices are fixed officially, because even if prices are fixed, it cannot be decided by the authorities, how much and what will be consumed, and which shops' merchandise will sell better, and, as a consequence, whose income will increase more.

Meanwhile, as the relationship of goods to each other does not follow necessarily from their nature, and because the overwhelming proportion of goods can be consumed only by individuals, and therefore the goal of the economy is the service of individual persons, who alone have immortal soul and human dignity, it seems to be more proper if price formation is not the result of a central decision, but its fluctuation gives room to the aim/designating role of the individuals' demands.

As the rarity of goods changes, the alteration in their prices corresponds to the virtue of prudence, which requires the consideration of all circumstances.

Thomas Aquinas defines prudence as the "right arrangement of those which could be done": *recta ratio agibilium* (II^a II^{ae}, quaestio 47, articulus 2, *sed contra*).[32] Making this definition, the Angelic Doctor quotes Book VI of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, where in the Stagirita's second definition we read: "therefore it is necessary that prudence is a custom to act according to right reckoning concerning the human good" (1140 b 20–21).[33] The fact that by good Aristotle means moral good seems to be apparent from his first definition of the same concept given two paragraphs earlier: "it remains therefore that it is a custom to act according to right reckoning what is good or bad for human beings [literally: for men]."[34]

[31] Aristotle: *Politics*, translation of H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge Mass., 1932, 1990: 44f. "τὸ γάρ νόμισμα στοιχεῖον καὶ πέρας τῆς ἀλλαγῆς ἐστίν" (Aristotelis opera ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri (Berlin, 1831), editio altera ex cura O. Gigon, Volumen alterum, Berlin, 1960: 1257, column b, lines 22–23).

[32] The same definition is used by Thomas Aquinas in I^a II^{ae}, quaestio 57, articulus 4, *corpus articuli*. In Hungarian: *a cselekedhetőknek helyes elrendezése*.

[33] Aristotle: *The Nicomachean Ethics*, with an English translation by H. Rackham, Cambridge Mass., 1926, 1999: 338f. "ὥστ' ἀνάγκη τὴν φρόνησιν ἕξιν εἶναι μετὰ λόγου ἀληθῆ, περὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἀγαθὰ πρακτικήν" (*Nicomachean Ethics*, Book VI, chapter 5 number 6; Aristotelis opera ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri (Berlin, 1831), editio altera ex cura O. Gigon, Volumen alterum, Berlin, 1960: 1257, column b, lines 20–21).

[34] Aristotle: *The Nicomachean Ethics*, with an English translation by H. Rackham, Cambridge Mass., 1926, 1999: 336f. "λείπεται ἄρα αὐτὴν εἶναι ἕξιν ἀληθῆ μετὰ λόγου

Concerning the operation of prudence it was pointed out by Thomas Aquinas that:

> As prudence deals with concrete actions in which various aspects might convene, it might happen that something, that in itself might correspond to the aim, nevertheless—because of the circumstances—becomes wrong and inopportune to reach the aim [...] and therefore circumspection is required for prudence, so that man can compare those things, which he makes for the goal, with the circumstances.[35]

This aspect, as explained by Thomas Aquinas, was included in the definition given by Merkelbach in his *Moral Theology according to The Divine Thomas' Mind*: "Prudence is divinely infused virtue, by which the practical mind dictates what should be done here and now considering all circumstances as corresponding to our final supernatural end."[36]

The virtue of prudence plays a decisive role in the realisation of exchanges and barters. Namely, it is prudence that compares the means with the aims: "It is not the business of the virtue of prudence to fix aims for moral virtues, but only to decide about those (means) which conduct to the aims."[37] "Prudence arranges the means for the goal."[38]

Estimation itself consists of nothing else but establishing that—compared with our aims—among the goods to be exchanged my goods

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πρακτικήν περὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακά" (*Nicomachean Ethics*, Book VI, chapter 5 number 6; Aristotelis opera ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri (Berlin, 1831), editio altera ex cura O. Gigon, Volumen alterum, Berlin, 1960: 1257, column b, lines 4–6).

[35] "Quia prudentia est circa singularia operabilia in quibus multa concurrunt, contingit aliquid secundum se consideratum esse conveniens fini, quod tamen ex aliquibus concurrentibus redditur malum vel non opportunum ad finem [...] Et ideo necessaria est circumspectio ad prudentiam, ut scilicet homo id quod ordinatur ad finem, comparet cum iis quae circumstant" (*AST*, II^{a} II^{ae}, quaestio 48 art. 7, ad 3).

[36] Merkelbach (*op.cit.*: 12): "virtus divinitus infusa qua ratio practica dictat quid, omnibus consideratis, hic et nunc sit agendum ut vere conveniens fini ultimo supernaturali."

[37] "Ad prudentiam non pertinet praestare finem virtutibus moralibus, sed solum disponere de his quae sunt ad finem" (*AST*, II^{a} II^{ae}, quaestio 47 art. 6); "[...] prudentia disponit de mediis ad finem [...]" (*AST*, II^{a} II^{ae}, quaestio 47 art. 7).

[38] "Prudentia disponit de mediis ad finem" (*AST*, II^{a} II^{ae}, quaestio 47 art. 7). "[...] our choice of actions will not be right without Prudence any more than without Moral Virtue, since, while Moral Virtue enables us to achieve the end, Prudence makes us adopt the right means to the end" (Aristotle: *The Nicomachean Ethics*, with an English translation by H. Rackham, Cambridge Mass., 1926, 1999: 372f). "οὐκ ἔσται ἡ προαίρεσις ὀρθὴ ἄνευ ἀρετῆς· ἡ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τέλος ἡ δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὸ τέλος ποιεῖ πράττειν" (*Nicomachean Ethics*, Book VI, chapter 13 number 7; Aristotelis opera ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri (Berlin, 1831), editio altera ex cura O. Gigon, Volumen alterum, Berlin, 1960: 1145, column a).

or the other contracting party's goods are more suitable and more useful here and now. As we have already seen, utility is the suitability of the item to an end, according to Thomas Aquinas (*AST*, I^{a} II^{ae}, quaestio 17, art. 3). Namely, if I consider my own item more suitable for my aim, believing that it will conduct me to my aim more easily and in a better way, I shall never exchange it for something else. Therefore, that will be the more valuable one which will conduct me to my aims in the easiest and best way, or something, that is unconditionally needed to reach it.

It is possible that without the present circumstances, or considering the item in itself in an abstract manner, we would judge and estimate differently. In the practice of real life, however, I shall judge the means, the existing outside objects in the light of the aims which count to me. "The goal has the same function in actions as axioms have in deductions."[39] This conclusion applies to both parties, to the sellers and to the buyers as well, and even to the private economic evaluation of the money, that is to say to the value of money. I shall sell something only in that case, if I need money more; if I value the money given for it more than the item to be sold, because with the money in question I shall reach the aims which count to me, more easily than if I do not sell it. This conclusion applies to both parties engaged in the exchange also in the sense that they appreciate the offer of the opposite party more than what these themselves offer, because if only one side reaches this opinion, the other side would not be ready for the agreement and the contract could not be reached.

Concerning this issue, Thomas Aquinas wrote:

> [I]t seems that buying and selling was introduced for the common utility of both: namely when one needs the other's good, and vice versa (the other needs the item in the first person's possession), as is clear from the first book of Aristotle's *Politics*:[40] "[...] with every property there is a double way of using it; both uses are related to the article itself, but not related to it in the same manner—one is peculiar to the thing and the other is not peculiar to it. Take for example a shoe—there is its wear as a shoe and there is its use as an article of exchange [...]."[41]

[39] "Finis sic se habet in operabilibus, sicut principium in speculativis" (*AST*, II^{a} II^{ae}, quaestio 47, art. 6; cf. II^{a} II^{ae}, quaestio 23, art. 7 ad 2 and II^{a} II^{ae}, quaestio 26, art. 1 ad 1 and ad 2).

[40] "Emptio and venditio videtur esse introducta pro communi utilitate utriusque: dum scilicet unus indiget re alterius et e converso, sicut patet per Philosophum, in I. *Polit*" (*AST*, II^{a} II^{ae}, quaestio 77, art. 1, *corpus articuli*).

[41] Translation by H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge Mass., 1932, 1990: 6–9. "ἑκάστου γὰρ κτήματος διττὴ ἡ χρῆσίς ἐστιν, ἀμφότεραι δὲ καθ' αὑτὸ μὲν ἀλλ'

We should realise that when Thomas Aquinas speaks about common utility here, by utility he means something applicable for a purpose as he explained it in I[a] II[ae], quaestio 17 art. 3, *corpus articuli*.[42]

It has to be pointed out that the virtue of prudence, even the virtue of economic prudence, presupposes a certain intellectual ability as well as the possession of the cardinal virtues to at least some extent, which may be lacking in various persons.

> To choose is an act of man, who acting for a goal considers and approves those which are useful and necessary for the goal, rejecting those which are in opposition to this goal. To choose rightly, two things are necessary. Firstly, right disposition to the human aims: to the final end of human life, and to each particular aim or value, which is subjected to the final end. Secondly, a certain disposition to judge and distinguish those things which are suitable for the aims. The first disposition is obtained by charity and by the other moral virtues, the second by the custom of the mind to consider and to judge those issues which conduct to the end. But this custom is called prudence. Therefore prudence is most needed by man.[43]

Thomas Aquinas explained that "[...] from natural inclination most men follow their passions, only the wise [persons]) resist [...]."[44] "The human laws are given to people among whom there are many who are

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οὐχ ὁμοίως καθ' αὑτό. ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν οἰκεία ἡ δ' οὐκ οἰκεία τοῦ πράγματος ὑποδήματος ἥ τε ὑπόδεσις καὶ ἡ μεταβλητική·" (Aristotelis opera ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri (Berlin, 1831), editio altera ex cura O. Gigon, Volumen alterum, Berlin, 1960: 1257, column a, lines 6–9).

[42] Cf. the quote from A. Horváth, O.P. above (Horváth 1929: 61).

[43] "Electio est actus quo homo tendens ad aliquem finem discernit et approbat ea, quae sunt ad finem utilia vel necessaria, rejiciendo ea, quae intentioni finis opponitur. Ad rectam electionem duo requiruntur: primo bona dispositio in ordine ad fines humanos: ad finem ultimam vitae humanae et ad singulas fines seu valores particulares, qui ultimo fini subordinantur; secundo quaedam dispositio ad dijudicanda et secernanda ea, quae sunt ad finem. Prima dispositio fit per habitum charitatis et virtutum moralium, secunda vero per habitum rationis, quo homo consiliatur et iudicat circa ea quae sunt ad finem. Sed talis habitus vocatur prudentia. Ergo prudentia est virtus maxime homini necessaria" (*AST*, I[a] II[ae], quaestio 57, art. 5, *corpus articuli*). Cf. "Conclusio. Prudentia est virtus intellectalis, quia subiectum habet in intellectu practico, non tamen versatur circa veritates universales, sed circa applicationem universalium ad particulare opus. Participat tamen dignitatem verae virtutis moralis, quae supponit connexionem cum voluntate. Prudentia perficitur sub motione appetitus recti. Inde supponit virtutes morales, quibus finem non constituit, sed invenit veritatem particularem et constituit medium in operibus aliarum virtutum" (G. Zemplén: *De virtutibus moralibus infusis*. Commentarium in II[a] II[ae], *S. Theol.*, qq. 47–171. Anno Academiae 1954–1955 primo semestro, p. 27).

[44] "[...] ex complexione naturali plures hominum sequuntur passiones, quibus soli sapientes resistunt" (*AST*, I[a] II[ae], quaestio 9, art. 5, ad 3).

not up to the measure of virtue [who lack virtue]."[45] Therefore, it is far from certain that a given transaction has been the right choice either objectively or subjectively.

In everyday life, very few persons would decide as the *homo oeconomicus* would require it.[46] On the one hand, there might be a few who have higher considerations. On the other hand, actual expenditure surveys show that with the increase of income the expenditure on luxuries increases and saving starts to appear at a relatively high income level, and even there, only a small proportion of incomes is put into saving.[47] In fact, it is rather social aping and imitating that prevail, expressed by the saying: "keeping up with the Joneses."

These considerations provide ample room for the influence of advertising with the aim of selling more of a product.

Summarising our investigations, we can say that the market pulsates in the teleological dynamism of the economy. The price formations of the market focus on the problem of value. The various goods obtain a common denominator in value judgements through the three stages of evaluation.

At the first stage in the ontological base constituted by the *analogia proportionis* of utility, reason, the mind, can recognise the teleological relationships.

At the second stage in this light of aims reason can appreciate the value relationships in the items' rarity compared with the goals proposed.[48]

At the third stage, reason compares the possibilities of means with the aims which count to the person's will, and the various disparate items become of equal value by the decision of the will, in which the standard is the virtue of prudence.

It should be noticed, however, that merchandise bought at a price can be rarely sold at the same price, because of the economy's stream of the teleological process in which we cannot step into the same water twice.

[45] "Lex humana populo datur, in quo multi sunt a virtute deficientes" (*AST*, II^{a} II^{ae}, quaestio 77, art. 1, ad 1).

[46] Alfred Marshall (1842–1924) "avait trop le sens de la multiplicité des mobiles qui déterminent l'action humaine pour consentir à utiliser exclusivement la psychologie rationelle et hédonistique de l'"homo oeconomicus'" (E. James: *Histoire sommaire de la pensée économique*, Paris: Montchrestien, 1965 : 216).

[47] P. A. Samuelson: *Economics*, 8th ed., New York: McGraw-Hill Kōgakusha, 1970: 97, Fig. 11-1 "Expenditure for consumption at different income levels, 1970".

[48] At the second stage reason appreciates the value relationship of items' rarity compared with the goals.

THE MEASURE OF ECONOMIC VALUE: MONEY

In economic evaluation it is money which brings various goods and services under a common denominator. In order to understand money, we ought to know it from its causes:

> It is clear that knowledge must be taken from the origin's causes (namely it is said we know each thing when we think to understand the [their] primary cause). There are four kinds of causes. One of these is the essence, that is what it would be, (namely [the question] "why" is retraced to the final word [=in the final accounting], to cause and origin which is the first "why"); the second is the matter or substrate; the third is the source of motion; the fourth is the cause which is the opposite to this, namely the purpose or "good [aimed at]", (this is the aim of every origin or motion).[49]

The same four kinds of causes required for science were also explained by Thomas Aquinas in his *Commentary* (*In XII libros Metaphisicorum*).[50] Therefore, money has to be investigated from these aspects.

THE ORIGIN OF MONEY

The goods exchanged on the markets are brought under a common denominator by money. Namely, it is noticed by society that certain products, which are much in demand might make exchanges easier in every respect. As traffic in transactions grows with the expansion of the population and with the increasing division of labour, it becomes

[49] Aristotle: *Metaphysics* I, 983 a 24–32; the translation above is based on H. Tredenneck: *Aristotle: The Metaphysics*, Books I–IX, Cambridge Mass. & London: Harvard University, 1961 : 17, and J. Halasy-Nagy's translation in *Arisztotelész: Metafizika*, Szeged: Lectum, 2002 : 43, 369–371, as well as a recent translation by G. Ferge: *Aristotelés Metephysica* (Ἀριστοτέλους τα μετὰ τὰ φυσικά), Budapest: Logos, 1992 : 983a, 24–30. Aristotle's original text says: "Ἐπεὶ δὲ φανερὸν ὅτι τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς αἰτίων δεῖ λαβεῖν ἐπιστήμην (τότε γὰρ εἰδέναι φαμὲν ἕκαστον, ὅταν τὴν πρώτην αἰτίαν οἰώμεθα γνωρίζειν), τὰ δ' αἴτια λέγεται τετραχῶς, ὧν μίαν μὲν αἰτίαν φαμὲν εἶναι τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι (ἀνάγεται γὰρ τὸ διὰ τί εἰς τὸν λόγον ἔσχατον, αἴτιον δὲ καὶ ἀρχὴ τὸ διὰ τί πρῶτον), ἑτέραν δὲ τὴν ὕλην καὶ ὑποκείμενον, τρίτην δὲ ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, τετάρτην δὲ τὴν ἀντικειμένην αἰτίαν ταύτῃ, τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα καὶ τἀγατόν (τέλος γὰρ γενέσεως καὶ κινήσεως πάσης τοῦτ' ἐστίν)" (Aristotelis opera ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri (Berlin, 1831), editio altera ex cura O. Gigon, Volumen alterum, Berlin, 1960 : 983, column a, lines 24–32).

[50] Liber I, Lectio III, see: Doctoris Angelici divi Thomae Aquinatis opera omnia, Paris 1882–1924, volume 24, pp. 350, 352. Cf. Liber II, Lectio II, see *op.cit.* : 407, second column.

almost inevitable that society begins to abstract from the primary use of the just mentioned products. Eventually, as the result of this abstraction process, an artificial homogeneous mediating instrument comes into being, to which society can relate its value judgement and which frees the exchanges from the difficulties of finding matching supplies and demands in the barter trade. This homogeneous mediating instrument is money.

It is obvious that human will is needed to produce this mediating instrument: the society of monkeys lacks money. The will is reasonable desiring capacity *facultas appetitiva rationalis*. It is only the will which is able to follow the value judgements discussed in our earlier investigations. Meanwhile for the invention of money, apart from value judgements, abstraction is needed and recognition of relationships, especially recognition of teleological relationships. Therefore it is the will, the desiring faculty following the reason, which makes man able to produce money. Money is therefore the fruit of the human will, but obviously not of a single person's decision, as it has to be acceptable to each member of society. Society's will however is legislation, but the form of legislation must correspond to the development of the society in question. In less developed societies it is customary law which makes money acceptable. In French colonies in Africa the French authorities were unable to replace cowrie shells (*Cypreaea moneta*),[51] which the natives used according to their customary law, by French money.[52] Such cowrie shells were used as money not only in Africa, but also in South Asia[53] and apparently even in North China in very ancient times, as among the first Chinese money issues one finds some cast in the form of cowrie shells.[54] Its name *cowrie* comes from Hindi (and Urdu) *kauri*[55] indicating its use in India. Cowrie shells were reintroduced to the Carpathian basin by the Hungarian Conquerors in the 10th century[56] and István Gedai, the Chief Director of the Hungarian National Museum, thought that they were used as primitive money.[57] István Kovács's objection that

[51] *Új Idők lexikona*, vol. XV, Budapest: Singer és Wolfner, 1939 : 3708.

[52] F. Heller: *Közgazdaságtan*, vol. I, Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1945 : 85.

[53] *Új Idők lexikona*, *ibid.*.

[54] R. G. Dotty: *Coins of the World*, Toronto: Bantam, 1976 : 106.

[55] *Oxford Concise Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995 : 311.

[56] L. Kovács: 'Volt-e a honfoglaló magyaroknak kauricsigapénzük?', *Századok* 133, 1999 : 69.

[57] I. Gedai: 'Pénzhelyettesítő eszközök a magyaroknál az önálló pénzverés előtt', *Archaelogiai Értesítő* 121–122, 1994–1995 : 155–157; I. Gedai: 'A honfoglalók pénzei', *Valóság* 39, no. 3, 1996 : 56–59; I. Gedai: '"Primitive money" of the Hungarians before

cowrie shells can be found only as female decorations in the Hungarian graves of women and of girls[58] is not valid, because only women wore and wear coined money as well, for example in the Balkans and in certain parts of the Carpathian Basin. The coins however do not cease to be money because women decorate themselves with them. In fact, they decorate themselves with coins precisely because the coins are money. In East Africa, especially in Ethiopia, Maria Theresia's *thaler* were in use, and the various armies fighting there had to obtain these coins from the mint in Vienna. Moreover, they had to stick to one particular old die, because the inhabitants would accept only this particular cast as money.[59] It was pointed out by Paul A. Samuelson that "Historically a great variety of commodities has served at one time or another as a medium of exchange: cattle (from which comes the Latin stem of 'pecuniary' and also the words 'capital' and 'chattel'), tobacco, leather and hides, furs, olive oil, beer or spirits, slaves or wives, copper, iron, gold, silver, rings, diamonds, wampum beads or shells, huge rocks and landmarks and cigarette butts."[60]

At a higher stage of development customary law is replaced by written law. It should be noticed, however, that even in modern societies apart from the currency used, one can pay by cheques and sometimes by bank notes issued by private banks, as for example in Scotland. Nevertheless, the state tries to regulate these possibilities by law and by discount policy.

THE ESSENCE OF MONEY

Money, as we have just seen, is the product of human reason and will in the outside world, and as such, it is an artificial being (*ens artificiale*) by its nature. The essence and *form* (εἶδος) of an artificial being is its purpose (τέλος). "To say what is a table, to say what it does, what is its purpose."[61] In any case, according to Aristotle, the form is the item's *purpose*, "ἐντελέχεια."[62]

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independent coinage', in: A. Kumar (ed.): *Exmoneta. Essays on numismatics in honour of David W. MacDonald*, New Delhi: Harman Publishing House, 1988 : 457–462.

[58] Kovács (*op.cit.* : 68f).

[59] Dotty (*op.cit.* : 68); according to Dotty, it was the *thaler* issued in 1780 that was accepted in Ethiopia and in the Near East, and this continued to be minted even in the 1960s. See also, Heller (*op.cit.* : 85).

[60] Samuelson (*op.cit.* : 51).

[61] J. L. Acrill: *Arisztotelész*, in: *Filozófiai kis enciklopédia*, (translated from J. O. Urmson and J. Rée (eds.): *The Concise Encyclopedia of Western Philosophy*, London & New York: Routledge, 1991), Budapest: Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1993 : 31.

[62] P. Kecskés: *A bölcselet története főbb vonásaiban*, Budapest, 1943 : 13.

Thomas Aquinas stated that "pecunia ordinatur quidem ad aliud sicut ad finem"[63] ("money is related to other things as means to (an) end"); that is to say, money is a tool according to the Angelic Doctor. In question 78 of II^{a} II^{ae} he also specified what kind of tool: "pecunia principaliter inventa est ad commutationem faciendas,"[64] which means that money was invented to make exchanges. Therefore, according to him, money is a tool of exchange.

In the same article, Thomas Aquinas also explains that money was invented for measuring goods in exchanges as we can find in the fifth Book of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*: "Quantitas autem rerum quae in usum hominis veniunt mensuratur secundum pretium datum ad quod est inventum nomisma ut datur in V *Ethic.*"[65] In that book, the Stagirita wrote: "Money then serves as a measure which makes things commensurable and so reduces them to equality[66] for such a standard makes all things commensurable, as all things can be measured by money."[67]

By the fact that money can measure various things, it makes them comparable, which in itself makes exchanges easier, and even if the value of the two things do not match each other, it makes sales possible and makes future sales and at various places possible.

However, measuring is only one of the main functions of money. In question 118, Thomas Aquinas explained that "Money is useful to acquire anything containing virtually someway everything."[68] This statement shows another chief function of money, namely that it is a tool of transfer, it is in a sense *titulus acquirendi dominium*. The same statement makes it also clear that with money we can buy anything, which shows that it is a kind of draft on the national income. This is best demon-

[63] *AST*, II^{a} II^{ae}, quaestio 118, art. 7, ad 2.

[64] *AST*, II^{a} II^{ae}, quaestio 78 art. 1, *corpus articuli.*

[65] *AST*, II^{a} II^{ae}, quaestio 78 art. 1, *corpus articuli.*

[66] Aristotle: *The Nicomachean Ethics*, with an English translation by H. Rackham, Cambridge Mass., 1926, 1999: 287. "Τὸ δὴ νὸμισμα ὥσπερ μέτρον σύμμετρα ποιῆσαν ἰσάζει [...]" (*Nicomachean Ethics*, Book V, chapter 5 number 14; Aristotelis opera ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri (Berlin, 1831), editio altera ex cura O. Gigon, Volumen alterum, Berlin, 1960: 1133, column b, lines 16–17).

[67] Aristotle: *The Nicomachean Ethics*, with an English translation by H. Rackham, Cambridge Mass., 1926, 1999: 287. "τοῦτο γὰρ πάντα πειεῖ σὺμμετρα· μετρεῖται γὰρ πάντα νομάσματι" (*Nicomachean Ethics*, Book V, chapter 5 number 15; Aristotelis opera ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri (Berlin, 1831), editio altera ex cura O. Gigon, Volumen alterum, Berlin, 1960: 1133, column b, lines 21–23).

[68] "Pecunia utilis est ad omnia aquirenda, continet quodammodo virtute omnia, et ideo habet quandam similitudinem felicitatis ut dictum est" (*AST*, II^{a} II^{ae}, quaestio 118, art. 7 ad 2).

strated by the use of cheques and bank cards, by which the amount of payment can be easily varied.

On the other hand, Thomas Aquinas' statement: *pecunia utilis est ad omnia aquirenda,* is also valid in the sense that not all money incomes originate from exchanges of goods. The salaries of admirals and cardinals also enable them to obtain food. This shows again well, that the money is in fact draft on the national income, because these officials do not give any merchandise in exchange. It is also obvious: the better a national income is, the more sought after is its currency. Meanwhile we know by now that the national income might increase. This implies that if I do not cash in my draft on the national income now, the corresponding share of the same national income might increase say in five years' time and this makes in fact interest payments possible and justified, which was not realised by Aristotle, who believed that interest taking was contrary to nature:

> But as we said, this art [of economics] is twofold, one branch being of the nature of trade while the other belongs to the household art; and the letter branch is necessary and in good esteem, but the branch connected with exchange is justly discredited (for it is not in accordance with nature, but involves men's taking things from one another). As this is so, usury is most reasonably hated, because its gain comes from money itself and not from that for the sake of which money was invented. For money was brought into existence *for purpose of exchange*, but interest increases the amount of the money itself (and this is the actual origin of the Greek word: *offspring* (ὁ τόκος) resembles parent, and interest is money born of money); consequently this form of business of getting wealth is of all forms the most contrary to nature.[69]

Here, Aristotle opposes the expressions κατὰ φύσιν 'in accordance to nature' and παρὰ φύσιν '(in this case) contrary to nature'. Thomas Aquinas bases the prohibition of interest on the concept of exchange

[69] Aristotle: *Politics*, translation of H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge Mass., 1932, 1990: 51. "Διπλῆς δ' οὔσης αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ εἴπομεν, καὶ τῆς μὲν καπηλτικῆς τῆς δ' οἰκονομικῆς, καὶ ταύτης μὲν ἀναγκαίας καὶ ἐπαινουμένης, τῆς δὲ μεταβλητικῆς ψεγομένης δικαίως (οὐ γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐστίν), εὐλογώτατα μισεῖται ἡ ὀβολοστατικὴ διὰ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ νομίσματος εἶναι τὴν κτῆσιν καὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ὅπερ ἐπορίσθη· μεταβολῆς γὰρ ἐγένετο χάριν, ὁ δὲ τόκος αὐτὸ ποιεῖ πλέον (ὅθεν καὶ τοὔνομα τοῦτ' εἴληφεν· ὅμοια γὰρ τὰ τικτόμενα τοῖς γεννῶσιν αὐτά εστιν, ὁ δὲ τόκος γίνεται νόμισμα ἐκ νομίσματος)· ὥστε καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ φύσιν οὗτος τῶν χρηματισμῶν ἐστίν" (Aristotelis opera ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri (Berlin, 1831), editio altera ex cura O. Gigon, Volumen alterum, Berlin, 1960: 1258, column a, lines 38–40, column b, lines 1–8).

function of money according to Aristotle's teaching: "Money was invented to be tool of exchange according to Aristotle (in V. *Ethic*[70] and in I. *Polit.*[71]) and therefore the proper and main use of money is its consumption and destruction."[72]

"It has to be known that there are things whose only use is their consumption."[73] These are the so-called *res primo usu consumptibiles* which are consumed by their first use. It follows, that their use cannot be distinguished from their consumption and their use cannot be separated from their consumption. Therefore their use and consumption cannot be sold separately either. Money is precisely such an item in Aquinas's text quoting Aristotle just above, and this is the reason that interest cannot be taken for the use of money according this argument.

Interestingly enough, Thomas Aquinas however went beyond Aristotle, as he recognised other functions of money as well:

> [H]e who lends money transfers the ownership of this money to whom he lends. Therefore he, who borrows money, keeps it at his own risk, and he has to repay it entirely. Therefore the lender must not demand more. He however, who entrust a merchant or a tradesman with his money in a common venture, does not transfer the ownership of his money to the person in question, but it remains his. In this case the merchant or the tradesman deals with this money at the owner's risk. Therefore the owner can demand part of the gain, as his share.[74]

[70] Aristotelis opera ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri (Berlin, 1831), editio altera ex cura O. Gigon, Volumen alterum, Berlin, 1960: 1133, column a, lines 20–21.

[71] Aristotelis opera ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri (Berlin, 1831), editio altera ex cura O. Gigon, Volumen alterum, Berlin, 1960: 1257, column a, lines 35–41.

[72] "Pecunia autem secundum Philosophum in V. *Ethic* et in I. *Polit.* principaliter inventa est ad commutationes faciendas: et ita proprius et principalis pecuniae usus est ipsius consumptio sive distractio" (*AST*, II[a] II[ae], qu. 78, art. 1, *corpus articuli*).

[73] "Sciendum est, quod quaedam res sunt quarum usus est ipsarum consumptio" (*AST*, II[a] II[ae], qu. 78, art. 1, *corpus articuli*).

[74] "[I]lle qui mutuat pecuniam transfert dominium pecuniae in eum cui mutuat. Unde ille cui pecunia mutuatur sub periculo tenet eam, et tenetur integre restituere. Unde non debet amplius exigere ille qui mutuavit. Sed ille qui committit pecuniam suam vel mercatori vel artifici per modum societatis cuiusdam, non tranfert dominium pecuniae suae ad illum, sed remanet eius, ita quod cum periculo ipsius mercator de ea negotiatur vel artifex operatur. Et ideo licite potest partem lucri inde provenientis expetere, tamquam re sua" (*AST*, II[a] II[ae], qu. 78, art. 2, ad quintum).

THE MATTER OF MONEY

Professor Ferenc Ibrányi referred to the *material cause* of money.[75] Once upon a time they believed that the value of money came from its gold or silver content or at least from the gold or silver deposits in the Central Banks. Modern societies paying by bank cards have demonstrated that the material content of money is irrelevant. Today it must be clear that columns of numbers on computers can function just as well if not better than money made of gold. Nevertheless as far as money is a draft on the national income, the national income has to be considered as the remote material cause of money. Namely the amount of money must be kept within a certain proportion with the national income by various fiscal and monetary policies, otherwise we create deflation or inflation. Economics stresses the following equation:

$$M(\text{oney})^{76} \times V(\text{elocity of money}) = N(\text{et})\ N(\text{ational})\ P(\text{roduct})^{77}$$

This equation shows that the value of money depends on the net national product, but also that if the total amount of money increases above a certain level of the net national product the units of money will fall in their value. Beyond a certain amount in such cases the velocity of the circulation of money will increase as well, with the result of galopping inflation. In any case, the above equation shows that the material with which money deals is in fact the Net National Product.

[75] F. Ibrányi: 'A kamatkérdés erkölcstudományi problématikája', *Theológia* 4, 1937: 321f.

[76] M = public's currency + demand deposits + time deposits.

[77] Samuelson (*op.cit.*: 266).

SZEPARÁTUM

Váralljai Csocsán Jenő

ERDÉLY NÉPESSÉGE

Különlenyomat a

MAGYARORSZÁG NEMZETISÉGEINEK ÉS A SZOMSZÉDOS ÁLLAMOK MAGYARSÁGÁNAK STATISZTIKÁJA
(1910-1990)

című kötetből

BUDAPEST, 1994

Váralljai Csocsán Jenő

ERDÉLY NÉPESSÉGE

A Trianon után Romániához került területen az 1910. évi népszámláláskor 1 663 576 volt a magyar anyanyelvűek száma.[1] Az első világháború végén a menekülők ezt a számot 1920 végéig 154 276 fővel csökkentették, s őket még további 42 759-en követték a következő négy év folyamán.[2]

A román hatóságok 1920 végén a népesség valóságos megszámlálása helyett összeírást rendeztek a "magyar eredetűek" megállapítására.[3] Ennek során az ortodox és zsidó vallású magyarokat mind románoknak, illetve zsidóknak számították[4], nem törődve azzal, hogy a zsidóságra áttértek már a honfoglalás előtt, a kazár törzsszövetség birodalmában kerültek a magyarok közé.[5] /Johannész Szkylidzész és Kedrénosz bizánci történetírók följegyezték, hogy az erdélyi magyarok vezére, a gyula, Konstantinápolyban megkeresztelkedett s onnan hazatérve magával hozta Hierothosz bizánci püspököt, aki a gyula területén székelve sokakat a bizánci ortodox egyházba térített.[6]/ Az 1920-as román összeírás az újonnan uralmuk alá került területen lévő magyar eredetűek számát 1 325 659-re tette.[7] Ezzel szemben a magyar Központi Statisztikai Hivatalban végzett számítások szerint akkor a szóban forgó területen 1 464 244 magyar tartózkodott, vagyis a román statisztikusok 1920-ban a magyarok számát 10,5%-kal kevesebbre becsülték.

Az Erdélyben 1930. december 29-én tartott népszámlálás ezen a területen 1 480 712 magyar anyanyelvűt talált[8], ami 5,2%-kal volt csak kevesebb, mint amennyire becsülte az ott élő magyarok számát - 1 557 589 főre - a magyar Központi Statisztikai Hivatal. Ugyanaz az 1930. évi román népszámlálás ugyanakkor a magyar nemzetiségűek számát 1 353 276 főben jelölte meg[9], ez már 15,1%-kal tért el a magyarok becslésétől.

Az 1940. augusztus 30-i II. bécsi döntés után 1941. január 31-én Észak-Erdélyben 1 343 695 magyar anyanyelvűt találtak[10], Dél-Erdélyben pedig 1941. április 6-án 363 206 magyar nemzetiségűt.[11] Így Észak- és Dél-Erdélyben együtt legalább 1 706 901 magyar élt 1941-ben, ami 9,6%-os növekedést mutat 1930-hoz viszonyítva és 16,6%-ost 1920 óta.

Lengyel Béla altábornagy értesülése szerint a II. bécsi döntés után Romániában /Dél-Erdéllyel együtt/ 500 000 magyar maradt[12], ami nagyjából megfelel az 1930-ban Dél-Erdélyben talált 473 567 magyar anyanyelvűnek[13], valamint a Regátban 1941-ben lelt 43 982 magyar nemzetiségűnek.[11] A probléma azonban az, hogy a II. bécsi döntést követően Dél-Erdélyből és a Regátból átköltözők, illetve menekülők áradata indult meg - számukat 1944 nyaráig Stark Tamás 190 132 főre tette[14] /közülük 105 894 fő 1944 februárjáig Észak-Erdélyben telepedett le[15]/. Varga E. Árpád arra a megállapításra jutott, hogy a II. Világháború során Észak-Erdély magyarsága 71 ezerrel nőtt, Dél-Erdélyé pedig 70 ezerrel fogyott ezen vándorlások következtében.[16]

Az 1948. január 28-án tartott népszámlálás Erdélyben 1 481 903 magyar anyanyelvűt mutatott ki[17], ami annyit jelent, hogy a II. Világháború során az erdélyi magyarok száma legalább 224 998-cal, más számítások szerint 247 861-gyel[18], tehát 13,2-14,2%-kal fogyott.

A következő nyolc év során azonban a magyar anyanyelvűek száma 9%-kal gyarapodott Erdélyben az 1956. február 21-én történt népszámlálás szerint, amikor is létszámuk 1 616 199 főt ért el.[19] /Ez évi 1,09%-os gyarapodás./

Ugyanilyen növekedéssel tíz évvel később az erdélyi magyarok számának 1 800 000-et kellett volna elérnie, de legalább 1 740 000-et, ha az átlagos erdélyi népszaporulattal számolunk, ami a szóban forgó évtizedben éves átlagban 0,756%-ot tett ki.[20] Ezzel szemben az 1966. március 15-én rendezett népszámlálás mindössze 1 625 702 magyar anyanyelvűt talált[21], tehát a magyarok számát legalább 7-11%-kal eltorzította. P. A. Compton professzor a londoni egyetem Westfield College-ában 1972. április 21-23-án tartott előadásában kifejtette, hogy az 1966-os román népszámlálás a magyarok számát 23%-kal is alábecsülhette.[22]

1966 végétől Ceausescu rendszere megszüntette a művi vetéléseket[23] - ezzel kívánták a születések gyakoriságát emelni. Mindenesetre az 1966-os népszámlálást követő 11 évben Erdély népessége átlagosan évente 1,004%-kal szaporodott[24], vagyis gyakorlatilag hasonló mértékben, mint a magyarok 1949 és 1956 között. Így 1977-ben a magyarok számának 1 950 000-et, illetve 2 030 000-et kellett volna mutatnia különböző források szerint. Ezzel szemben az 1977-es román népszámlálás kötetében olyan megjelölést találunk, amely egyszersmind "anyanyelv és

nemzetiség szerint" szeretné a kisebbségek számát kimutatni[25], pedig nyilvánvaló, hogy a kettő ugyanazzal a számmal nem adható meg. Az így szerkesztett táblázatban azután a magyarok számát Erdélyben 1 651 307-re tették.[26] Ez annyit jelentene, hogy míg Ceausescu népesedéspolitikai rendszabályai következtében egész Erdély népessége 11,61%-kal növekedett 1966 és 1977 között[27], a magyar lakosság gyakorlatilag az 1966. évi szintjén maradt volna. Nyilvánvaló, hogy az erdélyi magyaroknak az 1977. évi román népszámlálásban található 1 651 307-es száma teljesen hihetetlen és elfogadhatatlan, s ez a népszámlálás az előbbiek alapján megközelítőleg 18-23%-kal alábecsülte a magyarok számát.

1977 és 1992 között Erdély népessége a román népszámlálások szerint pusztán 0,184%-al nőtt. Ilyen szaporodást föltételezve a 2 030 000 magyar száma csak 2 086 000 - 2 090 000-re emelkedett volna 1992-ig, ebből azonban le kell vennünk a mintegy 50 000 Magyarországra menekültet, s a Németországban letelepedett további 6000 erdélyi magyart, akikhez Ausztriában még 2000, Svájcban és más országokban pedig mintegy 1000 fő kivándorlót hozzá kell adnunk.[28] Ezek után 1992-ben az erdélyi magyarok száma 2 030 000 főre tehető.

Az 1992-es román népszámlálásra jellemző, hogy Bukarestben 8611 magyart mutatott ki, a Regát többi részében pedig csak 4039-et. Ugyanakkor a Romániai Magyarok Demokratikus Szövetsége /RMDSZ/ 1990. május 20-án a képviselők listáján 3765 szavazatot kapott Bukarestben, a Regát többi részében pedig a megfélemlítések ellenére 16 996-ot, tehát négyszer annyit, mint amennyi magyar adódik népszámlálás szerint.

Az 1992. január 7-én tartott népszámlálás szerint Erdély területén mindössze 1 598 938 magyar nemzetiségű személy lett volna. Ezzel szemben az erdélyi egyházak 1987-re vonatkozó becslése az erdélyi magyarok számát 2 030 000-re tette[29], vagyis az már öt évvel korábban 27%-kal magasabb volt, mint amennyit a népszámlálás kimutatott. Érdemes összehasonlítani az 1992-es népszámlálás vallási adatait az egyes egyházak lélekszámbecsléseivel. Az 1992-es népszámlálás eredményeihez képest a legkisebb eltérést az unitáriusok lélekszámánál találjuk, amelyet a románok öt százalékkal kisebbnek mutatnak, mint az egyház fölmérése, pedig az unitáriusok kis száma miatt papjaik jól ismerhetik híveik számát. A reformátusok esetében a szóban forgó eltérés már 12,3%-ra rúg, vagyis a román statisztika gyakorlatilag 100 000 református lelket hagyott ki. Még hihetetlenebbek a római katolikusokra vonatkozó népszámlálási adatok. Az általuk Erdélyben kimutatott 842 259 római katolikus között - statisztikáikból következően - 72 684 németet[30], s még mintegy 20 000 más nemzetiségűt[31] számlálhatunk. Erdélyben 1992-ben mindössze 749 575 magyar római katolikus lett volna, pedig a római egyház már 1987-ben is 950 000 magyar katolikust[29] látott el.

Amennyiben a román közigazgatás alá került területen a magyar római katolikusok száma 1992-ben mindössze 749 575 lenne, akkor számuk 1910 óta /82 év alatt/ csupán 17%-ot nőtt volna[32], ami teljesen hihetetlen. A trianoni területen ugyanis 39 év alatt 1900 és 1949 között a római katolikusok 30,4%-kal gyarapodtak /1941-ig pedig 27,9%-kal/.[33]

Csík, Udvarhely, Maros-Torda, Szatmár és Szilágy vármegye területe gyakorlatilag azonos volt 1910-ben és 1941-ben, így lakosságuk összehasonlítható. Kolozsvár, Marosvásárhely, Nagyvárad és Szatmárnémeti városokat hozzájuk számítva azt találjuk, hogy az 1910. és 1941. évi népszámlálás között ezen a területen a római katolikusok száma pusztán harminc év alatt 28,6%-kal növekedett[34], s így az lehetetlen, hogy a római katolikusok egész Erdélyben 82 év alatt csak 17%-kal lennének többen, mint 1910-ben.

Ebben a vonatkozásban az is döntő jelentőségű, hogy Erdélyben a békepapok* és Casaroli működése nem tudta megbénítani a katolikusok vallásoktatását és így a katolikusok népességgyarapító hagyománya inkább fönnmaradt, mint a trianoni területen.

Ugyanebben az összefüggésben arra is rá kell mutatni, hogy a katolikus népesség szaporodása mindig jelentősen magasabb volt, mint a reformátusoké. A trianoni területen 1910 és 1949 között a reformátusok 23%-kal növekedtek[35], míg a katolikusok 30%-kal. A föntebb megjelölt erdélyi területen pedig 1910 és 1941 között a reformátusok száma 24,0%-kal nőtt, a római katolikusok 28,63%-ával szemben.[34] További szempontokat ad az a vallásszociológiai fölmérés, amely szerint a trianoni területen az 1978-1985 közötti időszakban a katolikusok 42%-a tartotta magát vallásosnak, a reformátusoknak pedig csak 32%-a[36].

Az alábbi összehasonlítás mutatja az egész népesség vallási megoszlását 1910-ben[37], 1930-ban[38] és 1992-ben a népszámlálások szerint, illetve a román közigazgatás alá került területen élő magyarok vallási megoszlását 1910-ben[37] és 1987-ben[29] */1. tábla/.*

Az 1930. évi román népszámlálást összehasonlítva az 1992. évivel - szintén kitűnik az utóbbi adat kérdéses volta. A görög katolikus egyháznak a szomszédos Galíciában, Kárpátalján és az eperjesi egyházmegyében tapasztalható

* Az állam és az egyház kibékülését, közeledését érvényesíteni kívánó papok. A velük szemben álló egyháziak tábora e kompromisszumokat az egyház elárulásaként élte meg. */Szerk./*

nagymérvű újjáéledése ugyanis hihetetlenné teszi, hogy a román hatóságok által 1930-ban kimutatott 1 385 445 görög katolikus /akiknek 92%-a román nemzetiségű volt/ helyett 1992-ben csak 209 174 lenne Erdélyben, tehát az 1930. évinek mindössze 15%-a[38].

A népesség vallási megoszlása Romániában
1910–1992

/1. tábla/

Vallás	Össznépesség						Magyar nemzetiségűek			
	1910		1930		1992		1910		1987	
	abszolút szám	százalék	abszolút szám	százalék	abszolút szám	százalék	abszolút szám	százalék	abszolút szám	százalék
Római katolikus	991 938	18,9	947 351	17,1	842 259	10,9	632 599	38,1	950 000	46,8
Görög-katolikus	1 240 618	23,6	1 385 445	25,0	209 174	2,7	83 689	5,0	80 000	3,9
Görögkeleti	1 807 704	34,4	1 932 356	34,8	5 360 246	69,5	24 121	1,5	..	..
Evangélikus	262 231	5,0	274 415	4,9	36 249	0,7	36 133	2,2	30 000	1,5
Református	696 705	13,3	696 320	12,6	701 632	9,1	686 014	41,2	800 000	39,4
Unitárius	68 753	1,3	68 330	1,2	75 603	1,0	67 922	4,1	80 000	3,9
Zsidó	182 630	3,5	192 833	3,5	2 857	0,04	130 762	7,9	3 000	0,15
Egyéb	4 408	0,1	51 313	0,9	461 578	6,0	1 872	0,1	90 000	4,4
Összesen	**5 254 987**	**100,0**	**5 548 363**	**100,0**	**7 709 944**	**100,0**	**1 663 121**	**100,0**	**2 030 000**	**100,0**

Az 1992. évi román népszámlálás megbízhatóságára jellemző, hogy még a teljesen magyarellenes bukaresti római katolikus érsek /valamint Petru Gherghel Iasi-i püspök is/ rámutatott arra, hogy a Regátban több római katolikus hívőt "hivatalból" ortodoxnak írtak be a népszámláló biztosok, s még más rendellenességeket is tapasztaltak. Közösen aláírt közleményüket a következőképpen fejezték be: "Milyen hitele lehet a népszámlálásnak, ha már megkezdése pillanatától ilyen rendellenességek fordultak elő?"[39]

A magyar egyházi kimutatásokból is kitűnik azonban, hogy az elmúlt 80 év alatt a román közigazgatás alá került területen igen elszaporodtak a szekták követői. Ezek 1910-ben a magyarok között még 2000-nél kevesebben, ellenben 1987-ben már 90 000-en voltak, ami több mint ötvenszeres növekedést jelent. Ha hihetnénk a román népszámlálásnak, az egész népességben ugyanezen a területen - így következésképpen főként a románok között - a szektások elszaporodása még rohamosabb volt, mert létszámuk 105-szörösét is elérte az 1910-ben föltételezhetőnek. A baptisták száma a román közigazgatás alá került területen 37 829-et ért el 1930-ban, és 94 462 lett volna 1992-ben, tehát két és félszeresére nőtt volna 62 év alatt. Az adventisták száma ugyanakkor majd hat és félszeresére nőtt volna: 4 528-ról 29 123-ra. Látványosabbnak tűnik a pünkösdiek /pentecostalisták/ előretörése, akiket még 1930-ban önállóan nem mutattak ki, viszont az 1992-es népszámlálás számukat Erdélyben 158 701-re teszi.

A magyarság vallási megoszlásán kívül alapvető jelentőségű földrajzi megoszlása[40] és tömörülése. Ebből a vizsgálatból kiderül, hogy a Székelyföld mind fontosabb és fontosabb részét alkotja az erdélyi magyarságnak, mert 1910-ben még az itt lakók mindössze 32%-át tették ki az utóbb román közigazgatás alá került magyarságnak, 1992-ben pedig már 45%-át - legalábbis a népszámlálási adatok szerint.

Igen jelentősnek kell tartanunk, hogy jóllehet a történeti Erdély többi részében a magyarok a 20. század elejére már csak jóformán szórványként maradtak fönn, ez az országrész magyar lakosságát majdnem érintetlenül megőrizte, mert arányuk 1910-ben 22% volt, s ez csak 19%-ra csökkent 1992-ig. Ebben az segíthetett, hogy nagy részük tulajdonképpen többé-kevésbbé összefüggő három vonulatban települt, ezek közül az egyik Bánffyhunyadtól Kolozsvárig, a másik Kolozsvártól Bethlenig, a harmadik pedig Torockószentgyörgytől az Aranyosszéken keresztül, s a Kis-Küküllő mentén húzódik Erzsébetváros irányában.[41] Még fontosabb lehetett, hogy Erdély központja, Kolozsvár egyre több magyart szippant fel és ez jelentősen ellensúlyozhatja a vidékről elvándorlók veszteségét.

A Marostól északra /a Körösvidéken és Máramarosban/ élő magyarok majd negyven /39/ százalékát alkották az utóbb román közigazgatás alá került magyarságnak 1910-ben, azonban súlyuk jelentősen csökkent az elmúlt 82 év alatt, mert arányuk ezalatt 31%-ra apadt - legalábbis ha hihetnénk az 1992. évi népszámlálásnak.

Még súlyosabb lenne a bánáti magyarság vesztesége, amelynek a létszáma 1910 és 1992 között közel egyharmadával /32%-kal/ csökkent a hivatalos adatok szerint, s a megmaradók kétharmada egyetlen városban, Temesvárott él.

Fenti elemzésünket az erdélyi magyarság földrajzi megoszlásáról szükségképpen a román népszámlálásokból vezethettük csak le. Az itt említett számítások azt tételeznék föl, hogy a román népszámlálások a magyar lakosságot országszerte egyformán torzítják és így területi viszonylagos megoszlásukat nem ferdítenék el. Rá kell azonban mutatnunk, hogy ez a föltételezés nem feltétlenül igaz. A Székelyföldön ugyanis a helyi közigazgatás a legutóbbi időkig magyar kézben maradt, és a helyi összeírók nagy része is a magyarok közül kerülhetett ki. Ezért a Székelyföldön a magyarok népszámlálási adatai alighanem sokkal inkább megközelítették tényleges számukat, mint a román közigazgatás alatt álló más területeken.

A magyarok tömörülésére viszont jellemző, hogy 1910-ben a szóban forgó területen a magyarok 34%-a városokban lakott, ugyanakkor a németek 28%-a és a románok mindössze 8%-a volt városlakó.[42] Az iparosodás előhaladásával természetesen a különböző anyanyelvű lakosságból mind többen és többen telepedtek a városokba.

A román statisztikák szerint viszont még 1977-ben is a vizsgált területen a magyarok 51%-a volt városlakó, míg a németeknek csak 49%-a és a románok 47%-a.[42] A magyarok tömörülésére jellemző, hogy míg 1910-ben 10 város /név szerint Kolozsvár, Nagyvárad, Marosvásárhely, Szatmárnémeti, Temesvár, Brassó, Arad, Nagybánya, Csíkszereda és Zilah/ lakossága 8%-át tette ki a szóban forgó terület magyar népességének, annak ma már 33%-át alkotják.[43]

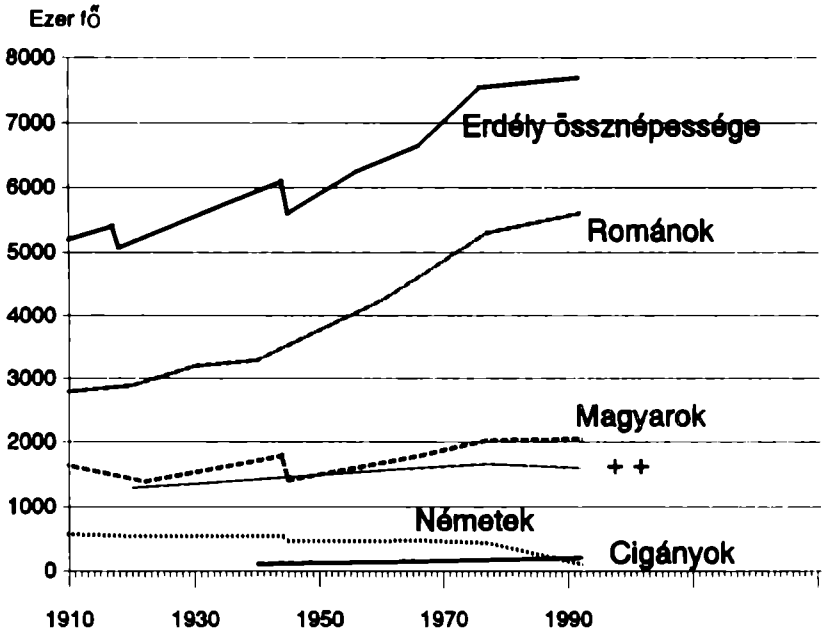
Az első világháború előtt a vidék legnagyobb és leggyorsabban növekvő városa a Körös-parti Párizs, Nagyvárad volt, amely így még Kolozsvárt is megelőzte. Akkoriban Arad Kolozsvárt a magyarok számában még nyomon követte, sőt össznépességében le is hagyta. A trianoni békeszerződés mindezen városok fejlődését lelassította, s Észak-Erdélyben a városok magyar lakosságának fejlődése csak a II. bécsi döntés nyomán vett újabb lendületet. A szovjet front közeledése azonban tömeges menekülést indított meg és a vizsgált tíz város közül hétben az 1941 és 1948 között kialakult 107 378 fős hiány a második világháború nyomán az erdélyi magyarság számában tapasztalható fogyásnak 43-48%-át, tehát majd a felét jelentette.

Kolozsvár azonban a II. világháború után is megtartotta vezető szerepét a magyarság életében, sőt az 1970-es évekig a legnagyobb város volt a Kárpátoknak ezen az oldalán. Az 1948-at követő 38 évben a magyar népesség Kolozsvárott 75%-kal, Nagyváradon 112%-kal, Temesvárott 113%-kal, Szatmárnémetiben pedig 127%-kal - tehát folyamatosan és rohamosan növekedett. Még gyorsabb a székelység gyarapodása Marosvásárhelyen, ahol számuk 1986-ban az 1948. évinek 276%-át érte el. A székelyek városba özönlése ezen kívül Brassó és újabban Csíkszereda felé irányul és ez igazolja, hogy a székely megyék szaporodása a legjelentősebb maradt Erdélyben.[44] Marosvásárhely 61%-ban, Csíkszereda 76%-ban, Nagyvárad 52%-ban még magyar maradt. A 70 ezer lakosú Sepsiszentgyörgyön, a második legnagyobb székely városban a magyar anyanyelvűek részaránya 75%-ra csökkent.

Nézzük meg, hogyan alakult a többi erdélyi nemzetiség sorsa az elmúlt évtizedekben. Közülük a legtragikusabb a németeké, hiszen a szászok az 1141 és 1161 között uralkodó II. Géza király kora óta megszakítás nélkül éltek a Királyföldön és szorgalmukkal, műveltségükkel évszázadokon keresztül nagyban hozzájárultak Erdély virágzásához és jólétéhez. 1910-ben az utóbb román közigazgatás alá került területen 564 789 német anyanyelvű lakos élt[45] és számuk a két világháború közötti időszakban 534 000 és 540 000 között ingadozott. A második világháború következtében létszámuk súlyosan megcsappant, mindazonáltal 1977-ig sikerült azt 370 000 fős szint körül állandósítani. Semmi sem bizonyítja jobban a román vezetés Erdéllyel való visszaélését és ottani pusztítását, mint az a tény, hogy az 1992. évi román népszámlálás szerint Erdély területén már csak 108 933 német nemzetiségűt találtak, tehát még egyötödét sem az 1910-ben ott élőknek. A szászoknak nem maradt más lehetőségük, mint hogy elhagyják a gyarmati viszonyoktól és elnyomástól hajtva ősi, gyönyörű, patinás városaikat.

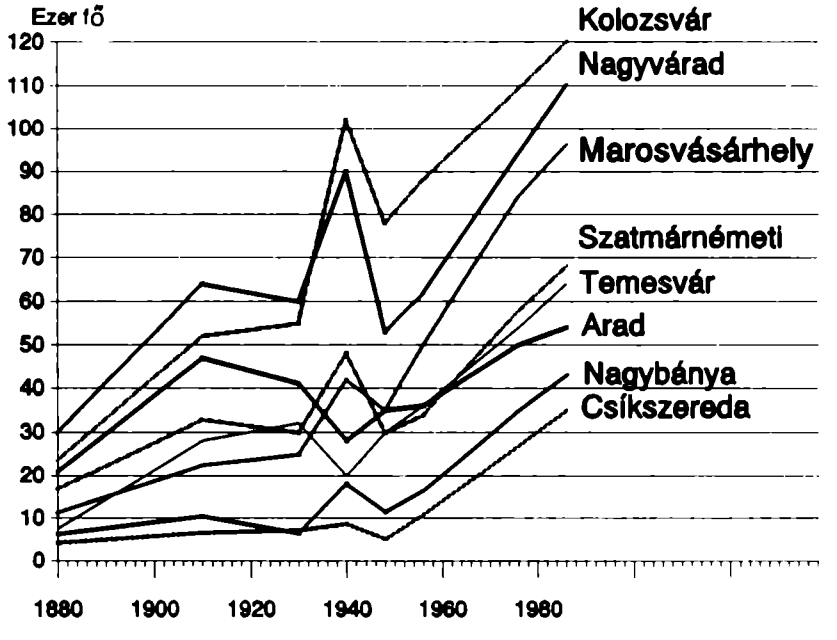
A szlovák és szerb nemzetiségűek se jutottak jobb sorsra a román impérium alatt. Az 1910-es népszámlálás 31 028 szlovák anyanyelvűt talált a szóban forgó területen[45], az 1992-es népszámlálás mindössze 20 422 szlovák nemzetiségűt mutat ki, tehát 66%-át a 82 évvel ezelőttinek. Ugyanezen a területen 52 084 szerb anyanyelvű volt az I. Ferenc József uralkodása alatt tartott utolsó népszámláláskor[45], 1992-ben pedig 26 830 szerb nemzetiségű: tehát a szerbek száma is felére apadt. Az 1992-es statisztika szerint 2824 zsidó nemzetiségű és 2857 izraelita vallású maradt Nagy-Erdélyben, ami 1,65%-át se teszi ki az ugyanott 1910-ben megszámlált 182 630 izraelitának. Így "homogenizálja" a román impérium az egykor sokszínűségével virágzó erdélyi nemzetiségi kultúrákat.

A tárgyilagosság kedvéért el kell ismernünk, hogy ebből a szempontból kivételt találhatunk. A rutének száma az 1910-ben összeírt 21 482-ről[45] két és félszeresére nőtt. Tudnunk kell azonban, hogy a magyar görög katolikusok jelentékeny számát gyakran ruténnek minősítik - ezért ez ennek a nemzetiségnek a statisztikáját jelentősen torzíthatja.



1. ábra
Erdély népessége

+ + Magyarok száma a román statisztika szerint
* E tanulmányban Erdély a trianoni döntés következtében Romániához került területet jelenti



2. ábra
A magyarok száma a fontosabb erdélyi városokban

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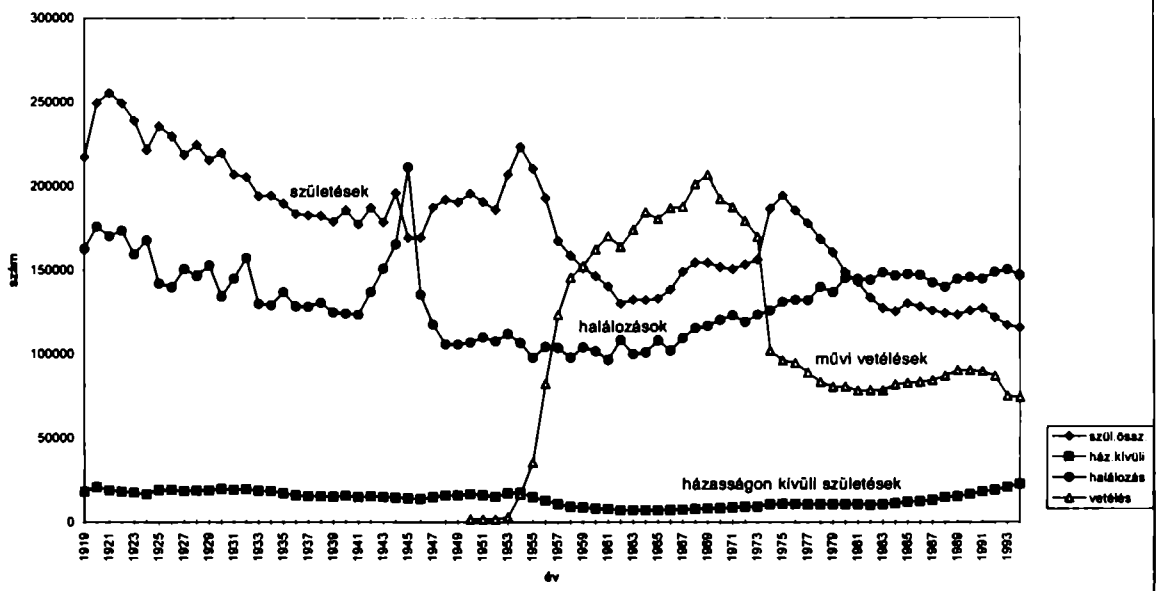
21 Recensamintul populatiei si locuintelor din 15 Martie 1966. Vol. I., Rezultate generale, Populatie, Bucaresti, 1969. 153-154. p.
22 "It is therefore quite likely that the Hungarian population in Transylvania is closer to two million in number, than the 1.6 million recorded in 1966" *P. A. Compton*: Demographic Changes in Transylvania since 1956, A London University Westfield College-ben 1972. április 21-23-i konferencián tartott előadása, 16. p.
23 A 770/1966 és 771/1966 számú dekrétumokat idézi *R. Süle Andrea:* Tények és következtetések a II. világháború utáni román népszámlálások adatai alapján. Magyarságkutatás, A Magyarságkutató Intézet Évkönyve, Budapest, 1988. 124., 142. p. valamint 9. jegyzet.
24 Erdély össznépessége 6 719 555 volt 1966. március 15-én és 7 500 229 1977. január 5-én /lásd *Varga E. Árpád,* i.m., 44. p./ és így az évi átlagos szaporulat 1,004% volt. /A népesség 11,61%-kal volt nagyobb 1977-ben, mint 1966-ban./
25 *Varga E. Árpád:* Az erdélyi magyarság főbb statisztikai adatai ...
26 Recensamintul populatiei si al locuintelor din 5 ianuarie 1977. Vol. I., 39., 59. p. valamint 21. jegyzet. Populatie - structura demografica, Bucuresti, 1980.
27 1977. január 5-én Erdély össznépessége 7 500 229 fő volt, s 7 709 944 fő 1992. január 7-én - az évi átlagos szaporulat mindössze 1,84% volt.
28 *Kende Péter:* Romániai menekültek Magyarországon című tanulmánya 1989-ben jelent meg a Külpolitika 2. számában a 94-101 oldalon. A menekültek számát a Máltai Lovagok Szeretet Szolgálatától igyekeztünk megtudni.
29 *Békési B. Béla-Dálya László-Enyedi Sándor-R. Süle Andrea:* A romániai magyar kisebbség, Külpolitika 1989, 2., 43. p., 3. táblázat
30 Az 1992-es román népszámlálás 108 933 németet mutat ki. Ebből levonva a 36 249 nagy-erdélyi ágostai hitvallású evangélikust - föltételezve azt, hogy a Brassó megyében található hétfalusi csángókat mutatták ki zsinatpresbiteri evangélikusoknak - 72 684 katolikus német marad csak.
31 Szintén az 1992-es román népszámlálás adatai alapján.
32 1910-ben a később román közigazgatás alá került területen 632 599 magyar anyanyelvű római katolikus élt. /*Kovács Alajos:* Erdély népmozgalma vallásfelekezetek szerint, Magyar Statisztikai Szemle, 1929. 1212. p./
33 A trianoni területen 1910-ben 4 785 515, 1941-ben pedig 6 122 583 római katolikus volt /*Thirring Lajos:* Magyarország népessége 1869-1949 között, *Kovacsics József* (szerk.): Magyarország történeti demográfiája, Budapest 1963, 306. p./, 1949-ben pedig 6 240 427 /*Klinger András*: A népesség állampolgársági, nyelvi, etnikai és vallási összetétele c. fejezet, *Szabady Egon* (szerk.): Bevezetés a demográfiába, Budapest, 1964, 163. p./
34 A megjelölt vármegyékben és városokban 1910-ben 315 459 római katolikus és 356 961 református volt /Az 1910. évi népszámlálás, Részletes demográfia, Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények, Új folyam, 61. kötet, Budapest, 1918. 246-277. p./, 1941-ben pedig 405 787 római katolikus és 442 627 református /Fogarasi Zoltán: A népesség anyanyelvi, nemzetiségi és vallási megoszlása törvényhatóságonkint 1941-ben, Magyar Statisztikai Szemle, 1944. 16. p./
35 1910-ben a trianoni területen 1 632 852 reformátust találtak. /*Thirring Lajos:* Magyarország népessége 1869-1949 között, *Kovacsics József* /szerk./:, Magyarország történeti demográfiája, Budapest, 1963. 306. p./ Ugyanott 1949-ben 2 014 707 református élt. /*Klinger András*: A népesség állampolgársági , nyelvi, etnikai és vallási összetétele, Bevezetés a demográfiába, Budapest, 1964. 163. p./
36 *Tomka Miklós:* Vallás és vallásosság, *Andorka Rudolf, Kolosi Tamás, Vukovich György* /szerk./: Társadalmi riport, Budapest, 1990. 550. p., /11. ábra/
37 *Kovács Alajos:* Erdély népmozgalma vallásfelekezetek szerint, Magyar Statisztikai Szemle, 1929, 1212. p. /Továbbá: Magyar Statisztikai Szemle, 1939. 355. p./
38 Anuarul statistic al Romaniei 1939 si 1940, Bucuresti, 1940. 72. p./
39 *Mág Peter:* Az RMDSZ fenntartással kezeli a népszámlálást, Népszabadság, 1992. január 15., 1-3. p.
40 *Kocsis Károly, Kocsisné Hódosi Eszter:* Magyarok a határainkon túl a Kárpát-medencében, Budapest, 1991. 47. p., 14. táblázat
41 *Kocsis Károly:* Erdély anyanyelvi térképe, Budapest, 1986.
42 *Klinger András:* Erdély népessége anyanyelvi összetételének alakulása, Statisztikai Szemle, 1991. október, 830. p.
43 *Kocsis Károly, Kocsisné Hódosi Eszter:* Magyarok a határainkon túl a Kárpát-medencében, Budapest, 1991, 49-50. p., 15. táblázat
44 Románia és Erdély átlagos természetes szaporodási értékét /6,32%; 5,1%/ a magyarok által /is/ lakott területek közül általában a Székelyföld /különösen Csík/ Szatmár és Brassó megyék múlták fölül /6-9,9% évente/ Kocsis Károly, Kocsisné Hódosi Eszter, i.m., 56. p.
/Lásd Dávid Zoltán és Vécsei Károly tanulmányát is. Szerk./
45 *Rónai András:* Erdély népességi viszonyai, Magyar Statisztikai Szemle, 1939. 351., 355. p. /Továbbá: C. A. McCartney: Hungary and her Successors, 1937. 252. p./

Magyarország romlása a demográfiai mutatók tükrében

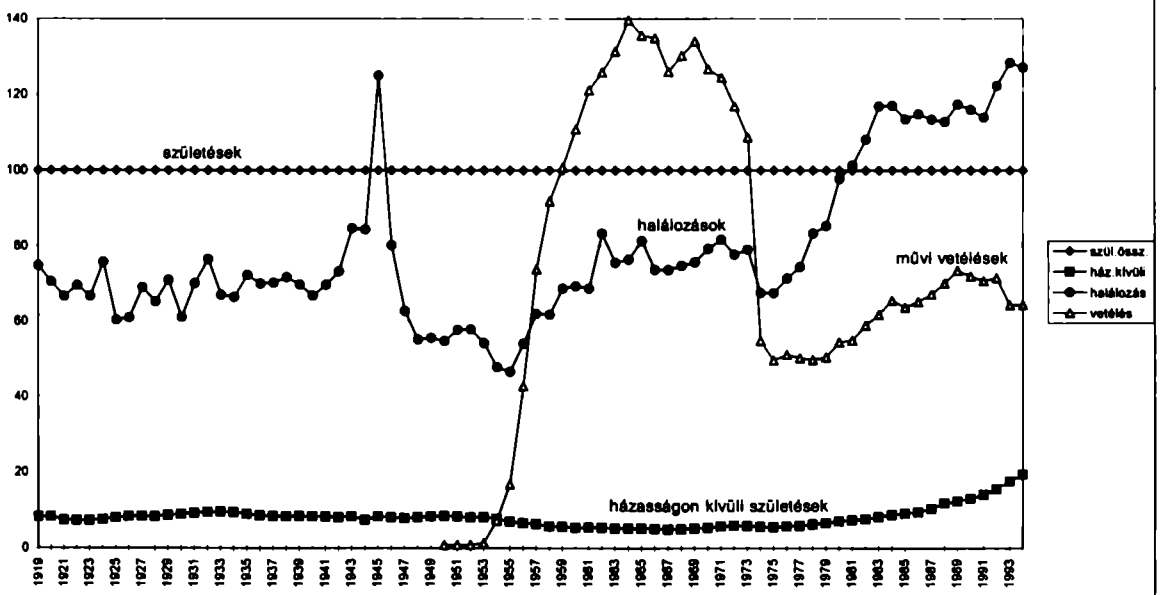
Az országot emésztő kór pusztítja, amelynek súlyosságára és fenyegető veszélyeire hazánk lakossága nem döbbent rá, tehát nem is foghatott hozzá orvoslásához. A rohamos népességfogyásról van szó. A helyzet súlyosságának érzékeltetéséhez kellő távlatból át kell tekintetnünk Magyarország népesedésének alakulását. Vizsgálódásunk alapja az elmúlt hetven év lehet, mert a trianoni ország adatai könnyen összehasonlíthatók. (1. ábra)

A két világháború között a születések száma fokozatosan csökkent ugyan, de ez a csökkenés lépést tartott a javuló közegészségügyi ellátás folytán egyre csökkenő halálozások mértékével. Így a két világháború között a születések száma átlagosan mintegy 30%-kal volt magasabb, mint a halálozásoké. (2. ábra)



Forrás: HUNGARIAN CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE: TIME SERIES OF HISTORICAL STATISTICS 1867–1992. Volume I. POPULATION – VITAL STATISTICS Budapest, 1992. 149. o., 187. o., 151. o. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal: Demográfiai évkönyv 1964. 98. o. 1967. 111. o. 1978. 166. o. 1985. 154. o. 1989. 143. o. 1994. 144. o.

1. ábra. Magyarország népesedése



Forrás: HUNGARIAN CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE: TIME SERIES OF HISTORICAL STATISTICS 1867–1992. Volume I. POPULATION – VITAL STATISTICS Budapest, 1992. 149. o., 187. o., 151. o. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal: Demográfiai évkönyv 1964. 98. o. 1967. 111. o. 1978. 166. o. 1985. 154. o. 1989. 143. o. 1994. 144. o.

2. ábra. Születések mérlege

1945 után a halálozások száma már nem csökkent (legalábbis olyan mértékben mint 1920 és 1940 között), de a leszerelések és a hadifogságból való visszatérések nyomán a születések száma az 1940—42-es évek szintjén látszott megállapodni.

Az úgynevezett Ratkó-korszak csak átmeneti hullámcsúcsot eredményezett 1953—55-ben. 1955-öt követően ugyanis az életszínvonal romlása miatt keletkező társadalmi feszültségek enyhítésére a rendszer, alig valamivel az 1956-os szabadságharc kirobbanása előtt, a társadalmi feszültségek biztonsági szelepeként szabadjára engedte a művi vetéléseket. Az adatok azt mutatják, hogy 1954 és 1977 között, 23 éven keresztül, az élveszületések száma a művi vetélések fordított függvénye volt, vagyis amint emelkedett a szóban forgó beavatkozások száma, úgy apadt a születéseké. Ezért aligha lehet azt mondani, mint ahogy beállítani igyekeztek, hogy a művi vetélések számának növekedése pusztán a korábban eltitkolt vetélések nyilvánossá válásának következménye. A függvényszerű összefüggés valójában azt mutatja, hogy Magyarországon 1954 és 1977 között a művi vetélés a születésszabályozásnak jóformán egyetlen általánosan használt módszerévé vált. Érdemes volna külön tanulmányban vizsgálni az abortusznak a terméketlenséget növelő hatását.

A művi vetélések engedélyezését követő 18 évben, 1973-ig, Magyarország tiszta utánpótlási együtthatója már majd két évtizeden keresztül a népesség utánpótlási szintje alatt maradt *(lásd az 5. ábrát)*. Így a munkaerőutánpótlásban egyre növekvő hiány lépett föl, a marxi munkaérték-elmélet alapján eltájolt közgazdaság pedig munkaigényesnél munkaigényesebb beruházásokat ösztönzött akkor, amikor azok fölött a XX. század második felében már régen eljárt az idő. Nemsokára ugyanis a fiatalabb korosztályok egyre csökkenő létszámukkal nem láthatták már el az új munkaigényes beruházásokat. Ugyanakkor gyakorlatilag az egész termékenykorban levő női népességnek a munkába kényszerítése szükségképpen az újszülöttek számának további apadásához vezetett. Valójában ez a „belső ellentmondás" ásta alá a kommunista rendszert, mert teljesen csődbe vitte hosszú évek összes munkaigényes, tehát gyakorlatilag majdnem minden beruházását magán a rendszeren belül, még akkor is, ha eltekintünk attól, hogy a XX. század végén a munkaigényes beruházások nem állhatják meg a versenyt világviszonylatban. Tulajdonképpen a munkába hajtott családanyákkal a népesség „újratermelése" került válságba. A következő nemzedékeknél a munkaerő válságba került utánpótlását csak úgy lehetett megkísérelni, ha a munkából elvonják a szülőképes korban levő nőket, ezzel azonban csak majdnem két évtizeddel később emelkedhetett volna a munkások száma, a szülési és gyermekneveléi szabadságra ment asszonyok számával viszont szükségképpen tovább csökken a munkáslétszám.

Mindenesetre 1967-ben bevezették a GYES-t, melynek juttatásait 1973-ban tovább növelték. Ezen intézkedések hatásait az alábbiakban részletesebben tanulmányozhatjuk, de az 1. számú ábrán is látható, hogy a születések száma 1967 és 1975 között növekedett. Azután azonban elég gyorsan esni kezdett, és 1982-re már az 1967-es szint alá szállt. Nyilvánvalóan ez indította a hatóságokat 1985-ben a GYED rendszeresítésére, ami megállította a születések számának rohamos zuhanását.

1966-tal viszont a halálozások száma folyamatosan emelkedni kezdett, szöges ellentétben a halálozás Horthy-korszakban tapasztalt csökkenő irányzatával, és ez 1981 óta minden évben magasabb, mint az egyre inkább süllyedő élveszületések száma.

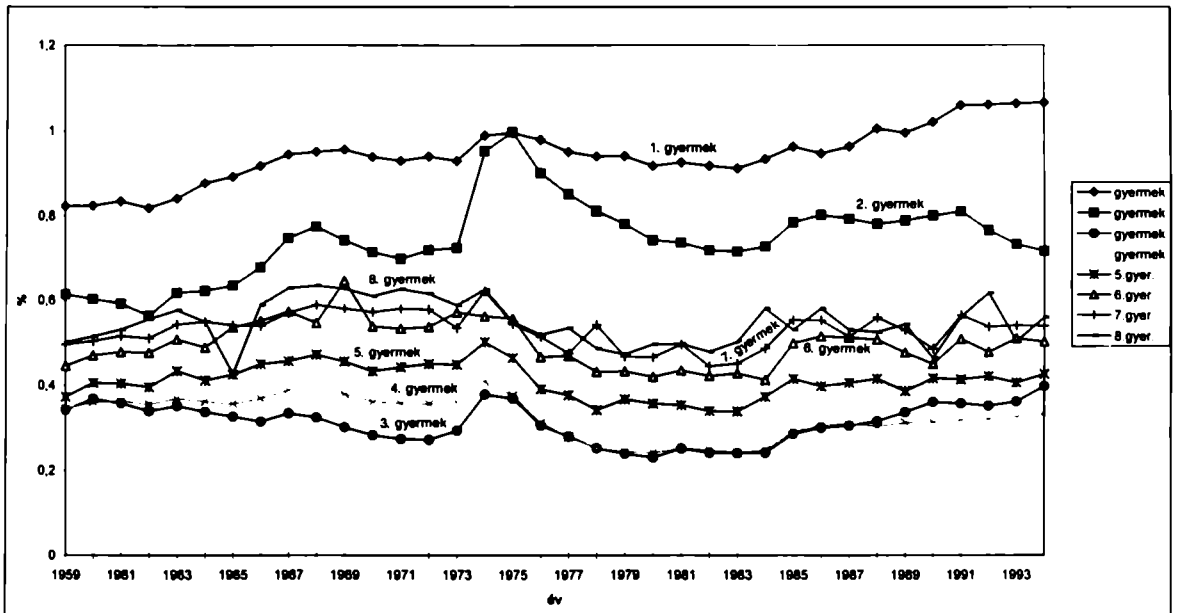
Sajnos az ország lakosságának fogyása egyre nagyobb méreteket öltött. A természetes fogyás ugyanis

1867 fő volt	1981-ben
10759	1982-ben
21385	1983-ben
21350	1984-ben
17414	1985-ben
18885	1986-ban
16761	1987-ben
15746	1988-ban
21391	1989-ben
19981	1990-ben
17606	1991-ben
27057	1992-ben
33211	1993-ben
31291	1994-ben
33377	1995-ben

1996 első felében a természetes fogyás már 22 293 fő, ami 5,7%-kal magasabb, mint a megelőző év első félévében. Ez annyit jelent, hogy 1981 óta 330 374 fővel fogyott az ország népessége, tehát egész megyényi lakossággal, és ez a folyamat egyáltalán nem látszik megállni, hanem inkább fokozódik. Hangsúlyoznunk kell, hogy ez a fogyás még nem a tényleges pusztulást jelzi. Nincs benne a cigányság növekvő lélekszáma. Becsült adatok alapján a cigányság lélkeszáma 1971-ben 320 000 fő volt, amely 1995-re kb. 520 000 főre gyarapodott. A tényleges fogyás tehát 330 000 + 200 000 = = 530 000 fő. A magyarországi magyarok fogyása az utóbbi évtizedekben elérte a félmilliót, a lakosság 5%-át, míg a sokkal nehezebb körülmények között élő cigányság lélekszáma nagymértékben emelkedett. Az ország mind gyorsabban halad a herderi jóslat beteljesülése felé, és jelenleg a legjobb úton van ahhoz, hogy finn-ugor rokonaink, a livek sorsára jusson.

Ilyen mértékű, immár évtizedek óta tartó folyamatos népességsorvadást történelmünk háborús esztendeiben is nehéz találni. A II. világháború alatt 1938 és 1945 között az ország lakossága 301 354 fővel gyarapodott! (Leszámítva az 1945 évi 42 232 főnyi fogyást.) Sajnos, azt kell mondanunk, hogy az ország jobban pusztítja önmagát, mint ellenségeink valaha is pusztították, 1950 óta ugyanis 4 845 922 művi vetélést hajtottak végre, vagyis 1995 január elsején Magyarország népességének 10 245 677 fő helyett 15 091 599 főnek kellett volna lennie.

A magyar népesség pusztulásának folyamatát és a gulyáskommunizmus idején a népességutánpótlás javítására tett intézkedéseknek a hatását legjobban az úgynevezett családnövekedési, illetve gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek alakulásán tanulmányozhatjuk. (3. ábra)



Forrás: Várallyai Csocsán Jenő: Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Keletközép-Európában és Délkelet-Európában. Demográfia, 1993. 2.-3. 264. o.

3. ábra. Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Magyarországon

A gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűség az a hányados, amelynek a nevezője valamely gyermekszámot elért nők összessége, a számlálója pedig a következő gyermekszámot elért nők száma. A gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek ugyanezeket az arányokat csak a házasságban született gyermekekre számolják.

Az első gyermekek gyakoriságát természetesen nem mérhetjük a 0 számú gyermekes anyák számához, és ezért azt értelemszerűen csak az első házasságkötések számához viszonyíthatjuk. Ebből magától értetődően az következik, hogyha a házasságon kívül születettek száma nem elhanyagolható, hanem egyre inkább növekszik, az első gyermek úgynevezett gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűsége nagyobb lesz, mint a házasságok száma (tehát az 1-nél nagyobb lesz), és a házasságon kívül született gyermekek arányával párhuzamosan fog nőni.

A jelen vizsgálatban a gyermekszámnövekedési és a családnövekedési valószínűségeket Louis Henry eljárásával becsültük meg.[1]

A 3. ábrán láthatjuk, hogy az 1967-ben bevezetett, akkor havi 600 forintos GYES-nek volt némi hatása, mert a második és pl. a nyolcadik gyermekek vonalán kisebb párhuzamos hullám jelent meg, és ezt követően a második gyermekek valószínűsége az 1965-ben volt 61%-hoz képest 1973-ban még mindig 73%-os volt.

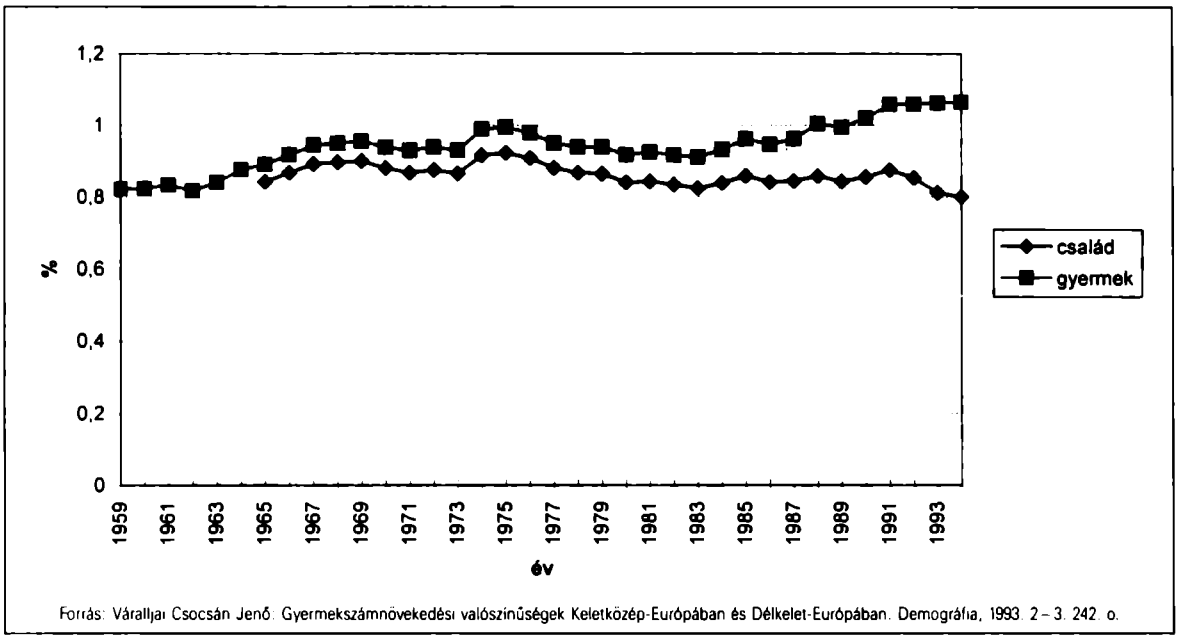
Az 1967. évi GYES hatására jelentkező kisebb hullámban a nyers utánpótlási együttható csak átmenetileg érintette az utánpótlási szintet, a tiszta utánpótlási együttható pedig még 1967-ben is az alatt maradt és azután tovább süllyedt. *(Lásd az 5. ábrát!)* Ezért 1973-ban az addigi GYES-t gyökeresen átalakították, és az számottevően megnövelte a gyermekek gyakoriságát, különösen a második gyermekét, amely az 1973. évi 73%-ról 22%-kal, 95%-ra ugrott 1974-ben, 99%-ot ért el 1975-ben és még 1976-ban is 90% maradt. Ugyanakkor a harmadik gyermek valószínűsége 29%-ról 38%-ra emelkedett, a negyedik gyermeké 36%-ról 41%-ra, az ötödiké pedig 45%-ról 50%-ra. Az első gyermekek esetében az emelkedés 93%-ról 99%-ot ért el.

Az 1973-ban átalakított GYES reálértéke, ahogy a 3. ábra mutatja, az évek folyamán szemmel láthatóan csökkent, mert 1983-ra még a második gyermekek valószínűsége is visszaesett gyakorlatilag arra a szintre, amin az 1973. évi intézkedések bevezetésekor volt. A tiszta utánpótlási együttható pedig, ami 1974 és 1977 között kivételesen az utánpótlási szint fölé emelkedett, ismét egyre inkább az alá csökkent. *(Lásd az 5. ábrát!)*

Ez a mindinkább idültté váló népesedési probléma újabb intézkedések érvénybeléptetésére kényszerítette a rendszert, amely 1985-ben bevezette az (1996-ig érvényben levő) GYED-et.

A 3. ábrán láthatjuk, hogy a GYED-nek sikerült 1984 és 1986 között 7%-kal emelni a második gyermekek, 11%-kal a hatodik, és 6%-kal a hetedik (nagyobbára nyilvánvalóan cigány) gyerekek gyakoriságát. Az ötödik gyermekeknél az emelkedés csak 3%-ot tett ki. Viszont a népesség utánpótlására kulcsfontosságú harmadik gyermekek gyakoriságának irányvonalát látszólag észrevétlenül, de lassan és biztosan az 1984-ben volt 24%-ról 1994-ig 40%-ra emelte.

Az 1965 és 1994 közötti három évtized távlatában vizsgálva a gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűség alakulását, a következőket állapíthatjuk meg: a családnövekedési és gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek között számottevőnek mutatkozó különbségeket csak az első gyermekek esetében találunk. Az első gyermek családnövekedési valószínűsége ugyanis 1965-ben 84%-ot mutatott, 1989-ben is ugyanezen a szinten állt. Közben alig ingadozott, majd 1994-ig 80%-ra esett. A házasságon kívül született gyermekeket is beszámító családnövekedési valószínűségek viszont az 1959-ben volt 82%-ról, és az 1965-ös 89%-ról 1989-ig 99%-ra és 1994-ig 106%-ra növekedtek, vagyis a GYES és a GYED csak a családon kívüli első gyermekek számának az irányvonalát növelte 24%-kal. (4. ábra)



Forrás: Váralljai Csocsán Jenő: Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Keletközép-Európában és Délkelet-Európában. Demográfia, 1993. 2–3. 242. o.

4. ábra. Az első gyermek családnövekedési és gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségeinek az összehasonlítása

A második gyermek valószínűsége 1959 és 1994 között meglehetősen hullámzott: az 1967-es hullámot 1974-ben még nagyobb ingadozás követte, majd 1986-ban kisebb, de elnyújtottabb emelkedés jelentkezett, ami 1991-ben tetőzött. E hullámzás ellenére megállapíthatjuk, hogy a második gyermek valószínűségének irányvonala az 1959-es és 1964-es 62%-ról 1991-ig 81%-ra, vagyis 17%-kal emelkedett.

Igaz ugyan, hogy a népesség utánpótlása szempontjából kulcsfontosságú harmadik gyermek valószínűségét a GYES-nek sikerült 1985 és 1994 között emelkedő tendenciájúvá alakítania, mindazonáltal ennek a szintje az 1959-es 34%-ot a rendszer összeomlásáig, vagyis 1989-ig nem tudta elérni. Tehát az első és a második gyermek gyakoriságaitól eltérően a GYES és a GYED bevezetésével a Kádár-rendszer alatt nem sikerült a magyar népesedés vészes sorsára olyannyira döntő jelentőségű harmadik gyermek valószínűségét számottevően megváltoztatni. A GYED hatására azonban annak irányvonala is megváltozott, de a GYED-et éppen akkor törölték el, amikorra hatása a harmadik gyermekre kifejlődött. Mindezek a tények tehát éles ellentétben állnak azzal, amit 1996. április 22-én az SZDSZ frakcióvezetőhelyettese, Béki Gabriella állított a parlamentben, hogy „egy adott aktuális kormányzatnak... a mozgástere ezekben a folyamatokban igen-igen kicsi"[2], vagy amit ugyanekkor Szabó György népjóléti miniszter mondott, aki szerint ebben „Béki Gabriellának tökéletesen igaza van",[3] s hogy a „kormányok hiába tesznek, hiába cselekednek".[4] Szabó György népjóléti miniszter nem átallotta ugyanakkor hozzátenni, hogy „az egyszerűen nem igaz és nem bizonyítható, hogy a kormányok gyermektámogatási politikája és a szülési kedv között egyenes összefüggés lenne".[5]

Valójában, mint éppen láttuk a GYES és a GYED az első gyermek gyakoriságát 82%-ról 24%-kal 106%-ra emelte, a második gyermek gyakoriságát 62%-ról 17%-kal 81%-ra, és harmadik gyermek gyakoriságát az 1984-es 24%-ról 16%-kal növelte 40%-ra 1996-ig, amikor a GYES-t az éppen idézett hozzászólásokban jelentkező hozzá nem értéssel megszüntették.

Le kell azonban szögeznünk, hogy bármennyire szükséges is volt a GYES és a GYED, nem volt elégséges ahhoz, hogy Magyarország népességének pusztulását megfékezze, s az ország utánpótlási szintjét biztosítsa. A családnövekedési valószínűségek szintjéből ugyanis kitűnik, hogy 1994-ben, amikor még a GYES és GYED érvényben volt, a családok 20%-ában egyetlen gyermek sem született, és az egy gyermekes családoknak 76,8%-ában született csak második gyermek. Ez a valószínűségszámítás szabályai szerint annyit jelent, hogy 20% × 24,2%, vagyis a családok 48%-ában még második gyermek sem született. Ez az állapot nyilvánvalóan lehetetlenné teszi a népességnek még az utánpótlását is, mert két szülőt nem lehet két gyermeknél kevesebbel pótolni.

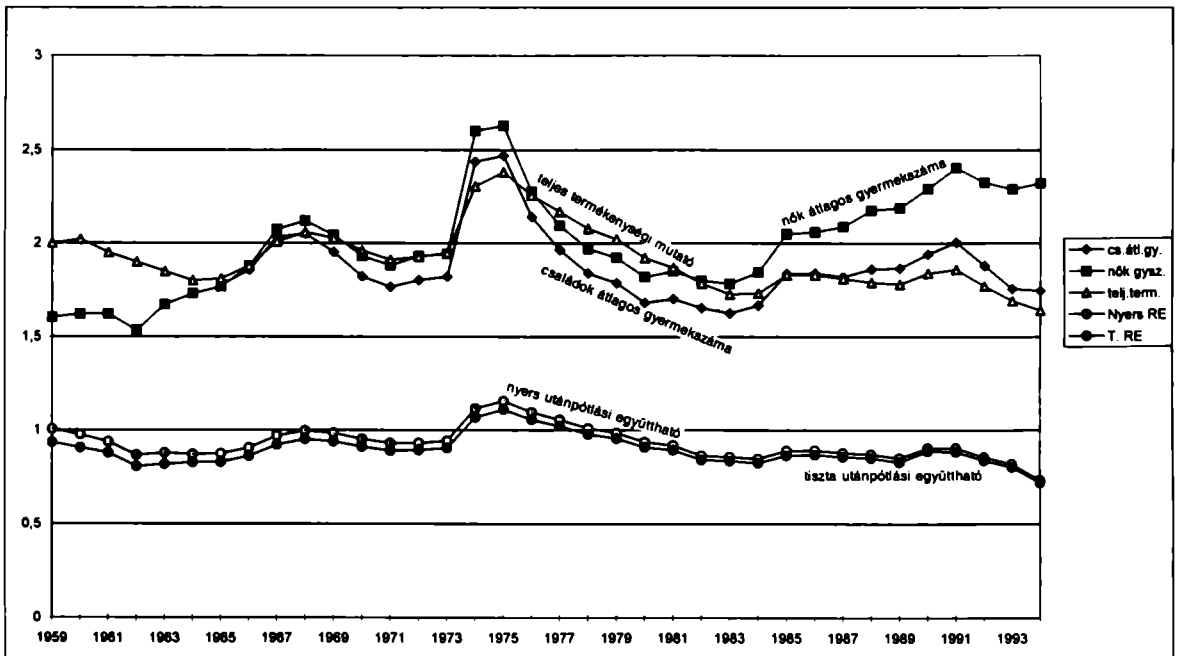
A magyar népességpolitikai és családpolitikai intézkedéseknek tehát oda kell hatniuk és átütő erővel azt kell elérniük, hogy a harmadik gyermekek gyakorisága mielőbb tovább emelkedjék, s változtatniuk kell azon a helyzeten, hogy a családok 20%-a gyermektelen, 48%-ában pedig csak egy gyermek van.

Ahhoz, hogy a magyar népesség katasztrofális fogyása megálljon, hogy a tizenhat éve tartó népességfogyást némiképp pótolni tudjuk, és hogy a társadalombiztosításban az elkövetkező évtizedekben a nyugdíjasok és a munkaképes korúak egyensúlyát valamikor majd elérhessük, éppen a harmadik gyermek gyakoriságát kell számottevően emelni. A valóságban három gyermek eltartása nem okozhat nagyobb gondot jelenleg, mint a két világháború között, amikor az országosan általános volt. Valójában inkább a divat diktálja, hány gyerek van egy családban, amint

az az úgynevezett babyboom-ból kiderült mind Európában, mind Amerikában.

Sajnos, 1991 óta a második gyermek valószínűsége 10%-kal, a családban született első gyermeké pedig 8%-kal esett vissza. Az SZDSZ-MSZP kormányzat megszüntette a Kádár-rendszer által bevezetett GYED-et, aminek nem maradhat el a hatása a gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűség alakulásában, éppen a GYED révén oly nehezen végre emelkedni látszó és a népesség utánpótlásában kulcsfontosságú harmadik gyermekek gyakoriságát illetően. Ez az intézkedés azt mutathatja, hogy a jelenlegi kormányzat még a Kádár-rendszer politikusainál is kevésbé ért a népesedés kérdéséhez, még felelőtlenebbül kezeli ezt a problémát.

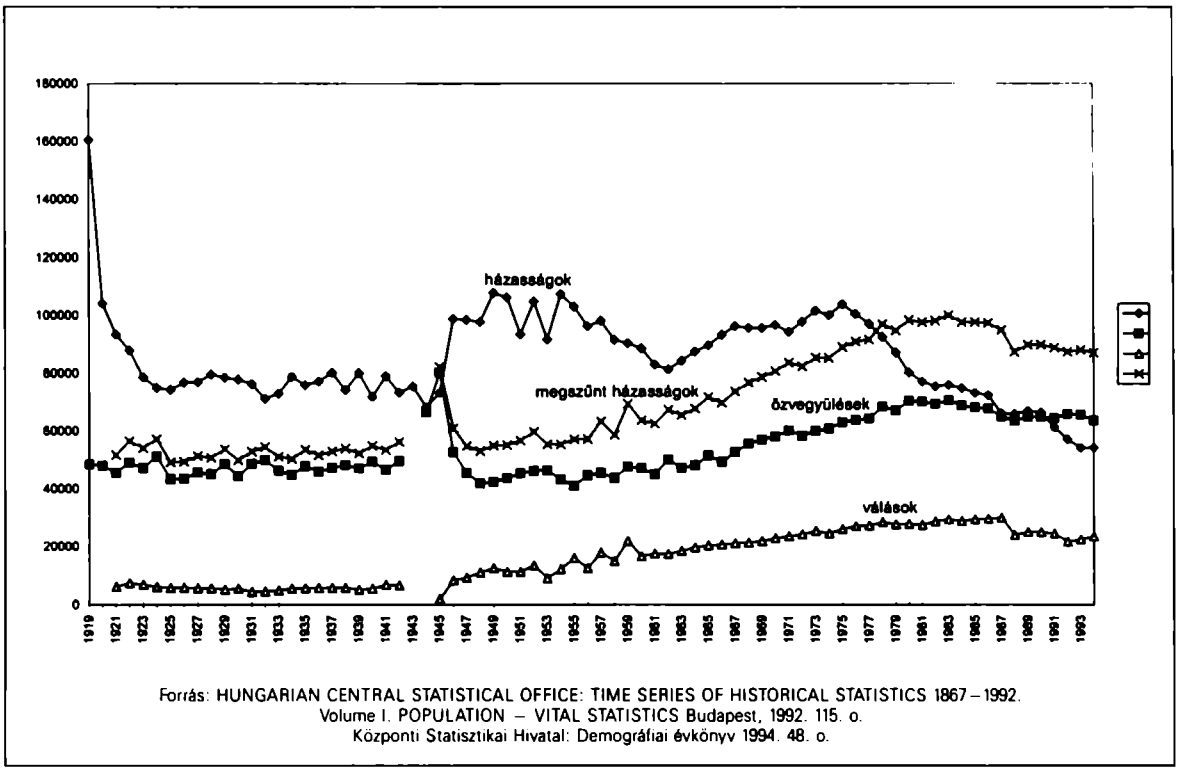
Azok, akik népesedésünk gondjaival foglalkoznak, mind a mai napig pusztán a GYES, illetve a GYED-hez hasonló anyagi ösztönzések révén igyekeztek az ország romlását megakadályozni. Ez a szemlélet valójában a történelmi materializmusból ered. Az anyagelvű világnézet mindenkivel azt igyekszik elhitetni, hogy csak az anyagi értékek számítanak. A gyermekvállalással pedig a családok megfizethetetlen áldozatot hoznak. Gazdaságtörténészek szerint 1930—31-ben a trianoni Magyarországon a népesség havi átlagos jövedelme 44,47 pengőt ért csak el, az ország akkori lakosságának 41,4%-át kitevő (tíz holdnál szegényebb) parasztságé pedig 18,93 pengő alatt maradt havonta.[6] Nyilvánvaló, hogy a Bethlen konszolidációt megelőzően,[7] az ország még nagyobb nyomorral küszködött, Magyarország „hárommillió koldus országa" volt. Ennek ellenére, mint arra a korábbiakban már utaltunk, Magyarország népessége 1920 és 1930 között 698 117 lélekkel, vagyis 8,7%-kal, 1930 és 1941 között pedig 630 965 fővel, vagyis 7,3%-kal növekedett. Ez tehát annyit jelent, hogy hazánk népessége Trianon ellenére 1920 és 1941 között húsz év alatt 1 328 199 személlyel, vagyis az 1920. évi népességnek 16,6%-ával növekedett.



Forrás: Váralljai Csocsán Jenő: Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Keletközép-Európában és Délkelet-Európában. Demográfia, 1993. 2–3. 246. o.
Központi Statisztikai Hivatal: Demográfiai évkönyv 1993. 414. o.
Eugene Csocsán de Váralljai: La population de la Hongrie au XX siecle Revue de l'es't 1974 – No 3. 164. o.

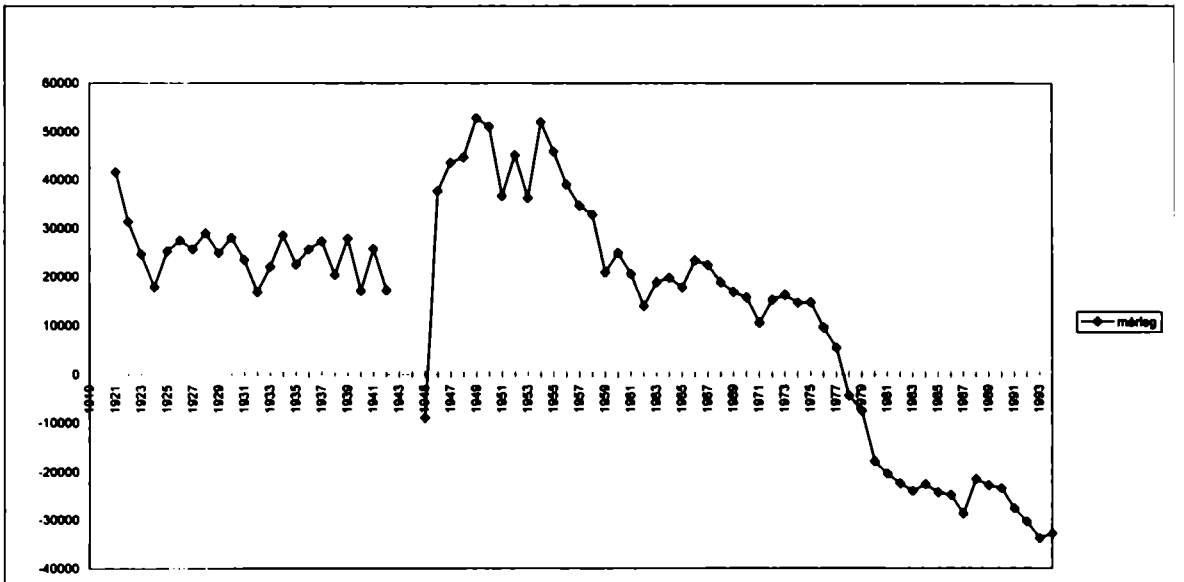
5. ábra. A népesség utánpótlásának főbb mutatói

Ezzel szemben, amíg Kádár János és a Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt húsz milliárd dollárt — tegyük hozzá *kölcsönből* — tékozolt el a tömegek életszínvonalára és elkényeztetésére 1956 és 1990 között, *harmincnégy év* alatt, a népesség pusztán 6,46%-kal nőtt, tehát sokkal kevesebbel, mint Horthy idejében *egy évtized alatt*. Valójában az ország tiszta utánpótlási együtthatója 1959 és 1990 között, az 1974 és 1977 évek kivételével, 31 éven keresztül az utánpótlási szintet sem érte el. A gulyáskommunizmus és a „Horthy fasizmus" előbbi összehasonlításából nyilvánvaló kell, hogy legyen: a gazdasági tényezők önmagukban egyáltalán nem kizárólagos jelentőségűek a népesség vitalitásának biztosításában, ahhoz a XX. században (vagy akár a XXI. században) sem elég az anyagelvű világnézet és a hedonizmus. Az a társadalom, amely szerint a művi vetélés különleges és csodálatos vívmány, vagyis alapvető érték, pusztulásra van ítélve, és el is pusztul, ha ki nem józanodik. Az anyagelvű világnézetből eredendően következő élvezethajszolás helyett csak a keresztény áldozatvállalás biztosíthatja a magyarság fennmaradását.



Forrás: HUNGARIAN CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE: TIME SERIES OF HISTORICAL STATISTICS 1867–1992. Volume I. POPULATION – VITAL STATISTICS Budapest, 1992. 115. o. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal: Demográfiai évkönyv 1994. 48. o.

6. ábra. A házasságok mérlege



Forrás: HUNGARIAN CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE: TIME SERIES OF HISTORICAL STATISTICS 1867–1992. Volume I. POPULATION – VITAL STATISTICS Budapest, 1992. 115. o. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal: Demográfiai évkönyv 1994. 48. o.

7. ábra. A házasságkötések számának változása

A magyar társadalom végzetesen fölbomlóban van. Az 1925 és 1943 közötti években a magyar családok száma évente átlagosan 24 798-cal, vagyis megközelítőleg 25 000 családdal gyarapodott. Ez a szám az 1946 és 1958 közötti évek átlagában 42 499-re emelkedett, majd 1959-ben 20 881-re esett és attól fogva 1975-ig tovább csökkent 14 221-re.

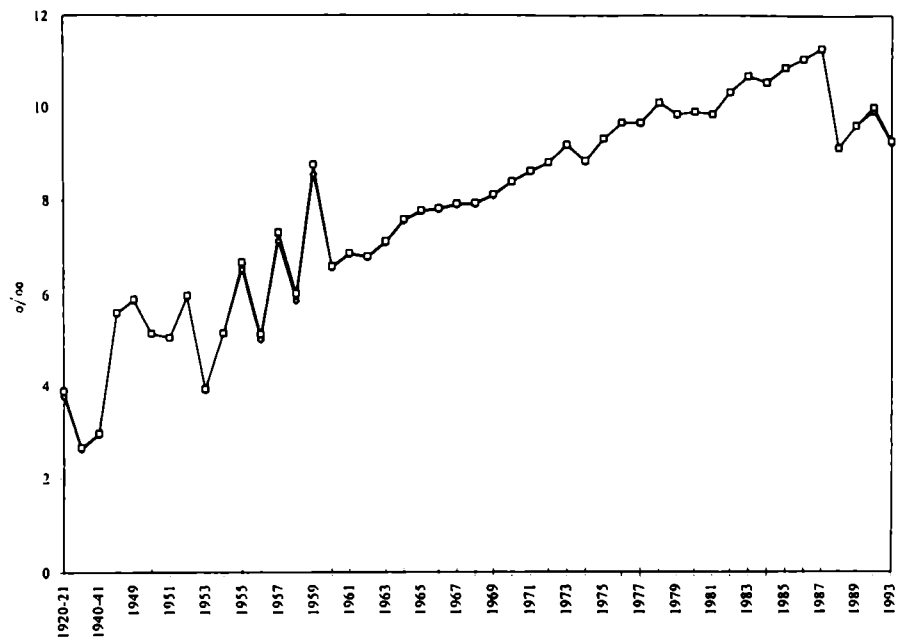
1975 óta azonban a családok számának gyarapodása rohamosan fogyni kezdett és 1977 óta, tehát immár 20 éven keresztül több házasság szűnik meg, mint amennyit kötnek. Ez a hiány 1980-ban elérte a 17 890-et és azóta évente több, mint 20 000-rel csökken a házasságok száma. Ez a hiány 1981-től 1993-ig már 251 657-et ért el. Ennek súlyosságát a jelenlegi békeévekben semmi sem domborítja ki jobban, mint az, hogy még a második világháború alatt is csak egyetlen évben, 1945-ben, apadt a házasságok száma és ez a csökkenés akkor sem érte el a tízezres számot. Sajnos, 1990 óta a házasságok fölbomlása egyre gyakoribb. 1993-ban már 33 910-zel fogyott a házasságok száma. 1977—1993-ig 357 051-gyel csökkent a magyar

családok száma. A 6. ábrán szemmel látható, hogy a *magyar társadalom alapjában és sejtjeiben: a családban bomlik fel* és zilálódik szét.

E folyamat súlyosságát felmérhetjük, ha meggondoljuk, hogy családképződés nélkül aligha lehet biztosítani a népesség megtartását. Családok kialakulása nélkül a férfiakból és a nőkből álló népesség utánpótlását nem lehet egyedülálló anyák révén biztosítani. A hiányzó gyermekáldásból következik a társadalom elöregedése. Családképződés nélkül nem lehet a nyugdíjasok növekvő számának ellátásához a szükséges munkaerő utánpótlását megoldani.

A családképződés abbamaradása a társadalombiztosítás egyensúlyozhatatlanságán kívül egészen alapvető gazdasági bénulással is veszélyeztetheti az ország gazdasági életét. A családképződés szükségképpen takarékossággal jár. Az egyedülálló nem érzi érdekének a fiatal nemzedék jövőjének biztosítását, minden jövedelmét magára költheti. Ezért a társadalomban a takarékosság szükségképpen abbamarad, ami lehetetlenné teszi a beruházásokat és ezért a gazdasági fejlődést. A takarékosság abbamaradása gyorsítja a drágulást, mert a költekezés úgynevezett sokszorosító hatását semmi sem fékezi (vö. Paul A. Samuelson: Economics pl. New York 1961. 266—269. o.). Nem csoda, hogy a jelenlegi magyar társadalomban nem sikerül az inflációt megfékezni.

A magyar házasságok negatív mérlegének kialakulását illetően több tényezőt kell megvizsgálni.



Forrás: HUNGARIAN CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE: TIME SERIES OF HISTORICAL STATISTICS 1867–1992, Budapest, 1992. 141–142. o.

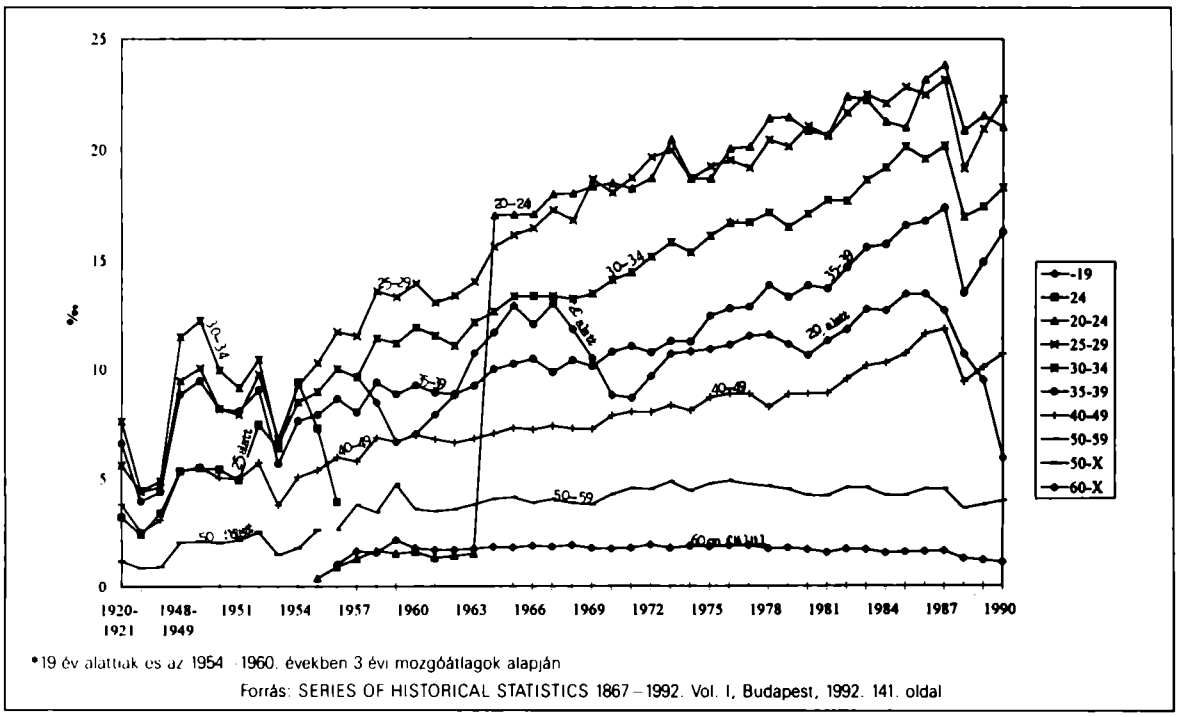
8. ábra. Tisztított válási arányszámok 1000 házasságban előre számítva

Nyilvánvalóan az egyik legfontosabb tényező a *válások gyakoriságának* megsokszorozódása. 1940—41-ben 1000 házasságban előre csak három válás jutott, 1987-ben pedig már tizenegy. Igaz ugyan, hogy az utóbbi négy évben ez a gyakoriság némileg mérséklődött, de 1993-ban is még 9,5 válás jutott 1000 házasra. Mindez annyit jelent, hogy amint arra Dr. Klinger András már 1992-ben rámutatott: 1990-ben a magyarországi házasságok 30%-a válásban végződött, és így ebben országunk jelentősen meghaladja nemcsak minden szomszédunkat, hanem az európai államok igen jelentős részét.[8]

Az 1993. évi adatokat az 1956. éviekkel összehasonlítva a kor szerinti válási arányszámokból kitűnik, hogy a válások a 35—39 éves korcsoportban váltak leggyakoribbakká, mert ebben a korcsoportban a férfiaknál ez 234%-kal, az asszonyoknál pedig 254%-kal nőtt. Magas volt még a válások gyakoriságának a növekedése az asszonyok 30—34 éves csoportjában, ahol ugyanezen idő alatt 238%-ot ért el. A vizsgált időszakban a válások gyakoriságának emelkedése meghaladta a kétszerest a 20—29 és a 40—49 éves korosztály esetében. *(9—10. ábra).*

Magyarországon a házasságok mérlegének 1977 óta fokozódó hiányát jelentős mértékben növeli, hogy *hazánk halandósági viszonyai* a legrosszabbak Európában, és ennek következtében az özvegyülések révén megszűnő házasságok száma 1965 óta szintén emelkedett, sőt 1989 óta az özvegyülések száma meghaladta az új házasságok számát, melynél 1993-ban már 10%-kal nagyobb volt. Ez világosan látható a 6. ábrán.

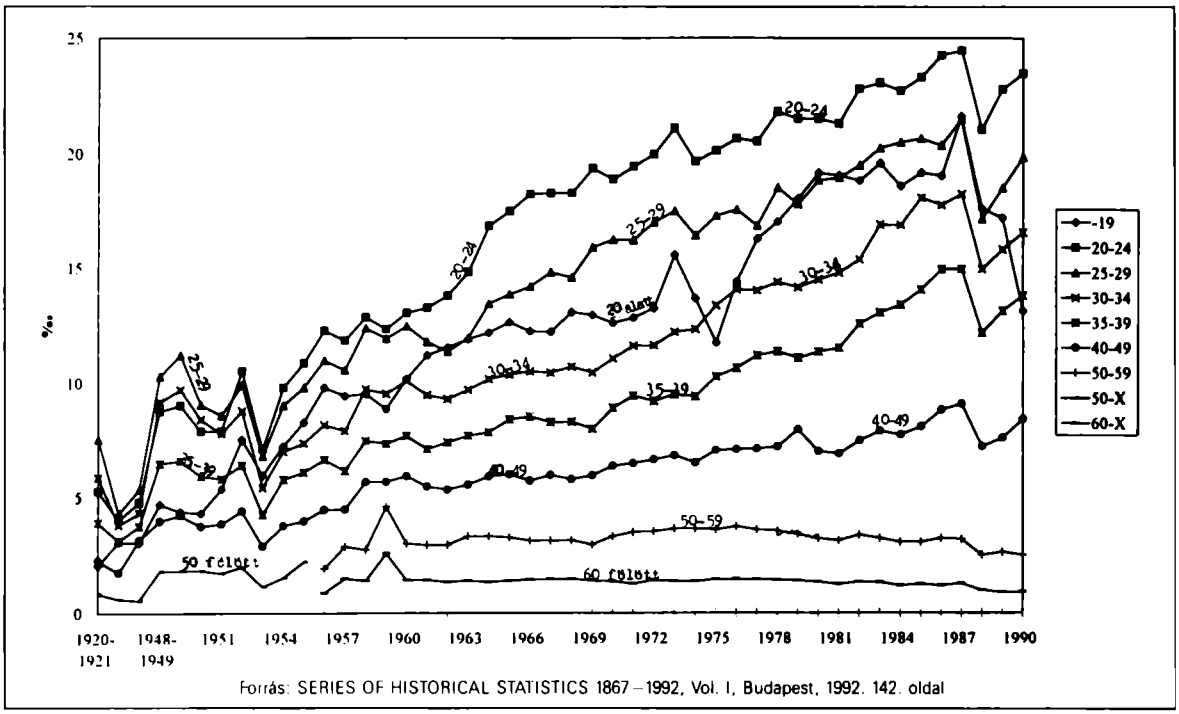
A legalapvetőbb tényező azonban az, hogy 1974 óta a *házasságok száma minden évben esett*, és így az új házasságkötések csökkenő száma mind kevésbé pótolhatja a válások és az özvegyülések miatt megszűnő házasságok egyre növekvő számát. Sajnos, a házasságkötések számának csökkenése egyre fokozódik: 1960-ban 88 566 esküvőt tartottak; 1990-ben csak 66 405-öt és 1995-ben már csak 53 463-at. 1996 első felében pedig 14,5%-kal kevesebb házasságot kötöttek, mint a megelőző évben. *(11—12. ábra).*



*19 év alattiak és az 1954–1960. években 3 évi mozgóátlagok alapján

Forrás: SERIES OF HISTORICAL STATISTICS 1867–1992. Vol. I, Budapest, 1992. 141. oldal

9. ábra. 1000 házas férfira jutó válások korcsoportok szerint



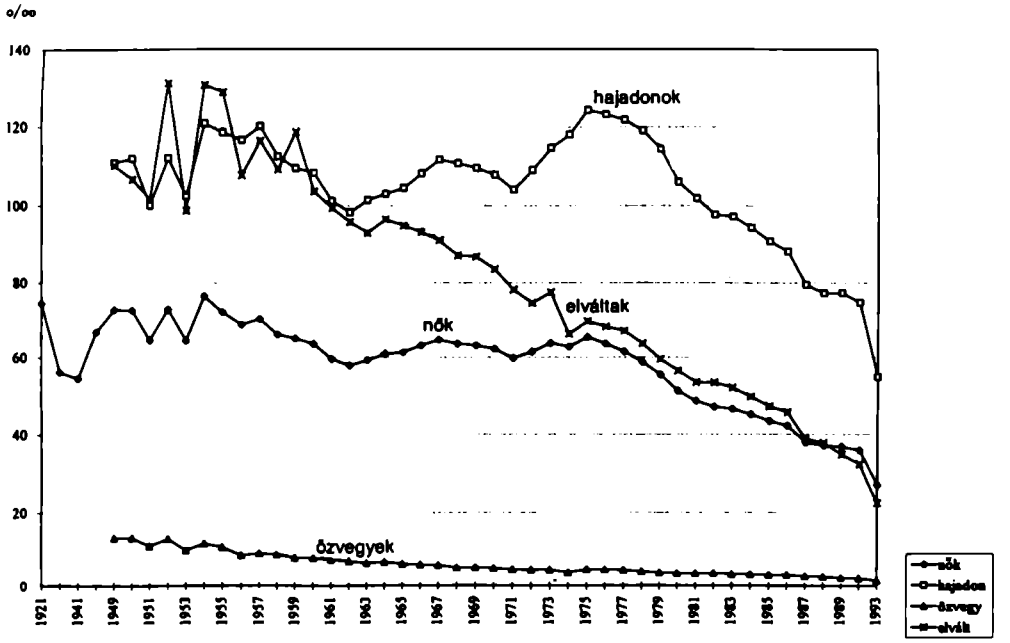
Forrás: SERIES OF HISTORICAL STATISTICS 1867–1992, Vol. I, Budapest, 1992. 142. oldal

10. ábra. 1000 férjezett nőre jutó válások korcsoportok szerint

1975-ben a 15 éven felüli hajadonok házasságkötési arányszáma 125‰ volt, ami 57‰-re, tehát több, mint a felére süllyedt 1993-ig. A 15 éven felüli nőtlenek ugyanezen mutatója pedig ugyanabban az időszakban 90‰-ről 45‰-re esett. Ennél semmi sem mutathatja jobban, hogy a magyar társadalomban a családképződés megszűnőben van, azaz a társadalom fölbomló sejtjeit az egyre csökkenő sejtképződés képtelen pótolni. Ezt jelzi, hogy az elvált nők újraházasodási ezreléke az 1955-ben volt 130‰-ről 1993-ig 30‰-re, az elvált férfiaké 300‰-ről 45‰-re, az özvegy férfiaké pedig 50‰-ről 5‰-re apadt.

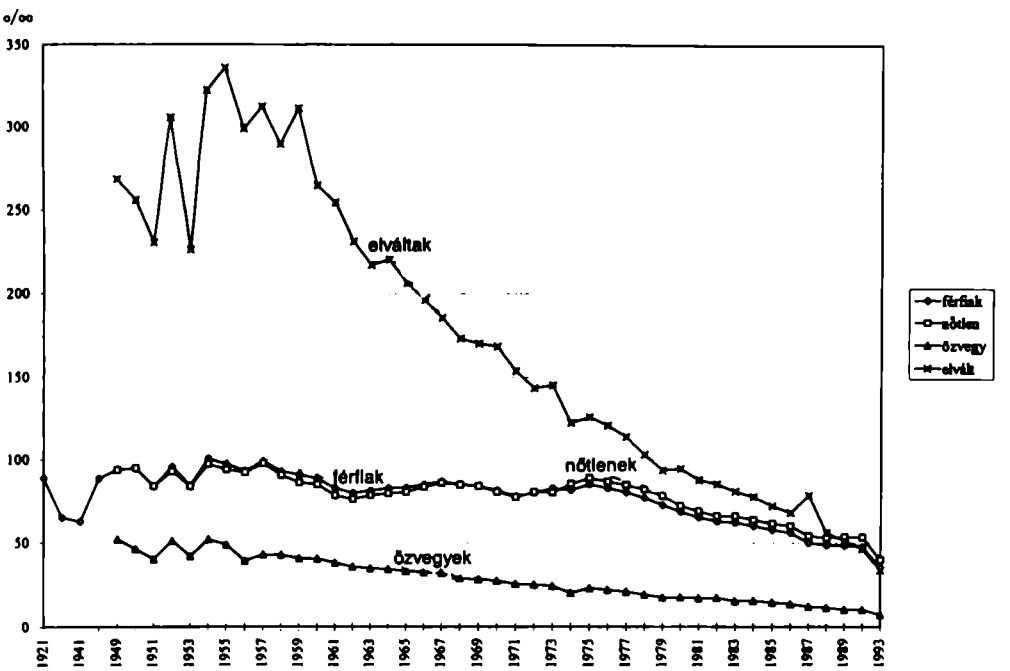
Közismert, hogy a magyar népet Európában a kereszténység tartotta meg. A kommunizmus mindent megtett a kereszténységnek és különösen a keresztény családeszmének a kiirtására. Az eredmény nem maradt el: uralkodóvá vált az anyagelvű világnézet, a házasságkötéssel nem jár felelősségvállalás, a házasság kiment a divatból, a társadalom a családok felbomlásának lázában ég.

A magyarság csak úgy maradhat meg, ha visszatér a keresztény családeszményhez, a keresztény világnézet erkölcseihez, és vállalja a gyermekneveléssel járó áldozatot.



Forrás: HUNGARIAN CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE: TIME SERIES OF HISTORICAL STATISTICS 1867–1992, Budapest, 1992., 126–129. oldal

11. ábra. Tisztított házasságkötési női arányszám 1000 15 év feletti és megfelelő családi állapotú nőre számítva



Forrás: HUNGARIAN CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE: TIME SERIES OF HISTORICAL STATISTICS 1867–1992, Budapest, 1992. 122–125. oldal

12. ábra. Tisztított házasságkötési férfi arányszám 1000 15 év feletti és megfelelő családi állapotú férfire számítva

EGYZETEK

1. Lásd Váralljai Csocsán Jenő: Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Keletközép-Európában és Délkelet-Európában, Demográfia 1993. II. kötet 3. szám 238., 239. és 271. oldalak.

2. Az Országgyűlés tavaszi ülésszakának 25. ülésnapja 1996. április 22-én hétfőn, 19087. oszlop

3. Ugyanott

4. Ugyanott 19088. oszlop

5. Ugyanott

6. Lásd pl. Andorka Rudolf: Bevezetés a szociológiába, Budapest 1992. 94. oldal.

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Váralljai Csocsán Jenő

GYERMEKSZÁMNÖVEKEDÉSI VALÓSZÍNŰSÉGEK KELET-KÖZÉP-EURÓPÁBAN ÉS DÉLKELET-EURÓPÁBAN[1]

VÁRALLJAI CSOCSÁN JENŐ

1. Módszertani megfigyelések

A gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek kutatása igen átható és élénk, jóformán színes képét adja a vizsgált ország termékenysége alakulásának.

A gyermekszánövekedési valószínűség az a hányados, amelynek a nevezője a szóban forgó népességben azoknak a nőknek a száma, akik valamely szülési sorrendet elértek, s aminek a számlálója azoknak a nőknek a száma, akik a következő szülési rendet érték el az Egyesült Nemzetek "Soknyelvű Demográfiai Szótára" szerint /1/. Ennek a mutatónak az a nyilvánvaló jelentősége, hogy a különböző nagyságú családok további növekedésének a valószínűségét jelzi.

A tulajdonképpeni gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek közvetlen számítása az előbbi meghatározásnak megfelelően egyszerű, de megkívánja a születéseknek a szülési sorrenden belül az előző szüléstől eltelt idő szerinti osztályozását. Ezekből a számokból a szülések közötti időtartamok előfordulásának valószínűségét kaphatjuk meg minden egyes évtávolságra és ezeknek összege adja a gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűséget a vizsgált naptári évben /2/.

A születéseket azonban a szülési sorrenden belül az előző szüléstől eltelt időtartam szerint csak nagyon ritkán osztályozzák, és ezért a kitűnő francia népességtudós *Louis Henry* közvetett számítási eljárást dolgozott ki a gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek számítására olyan súlyok bevetésével, amelyek a szülések közötti időtartamokat becslik /3/. *Roland Pressat* professzornak a párizsi egyetem számára kiadott tankönyvében vizsgált esetekben a különbség a tényleges adatokon alapuló közvetlen számítás és *Louis Henry* közvetett eljárásának eredménye között nem éri el az 1%-ot /2/. Ezen megbízhatósága miatt *Louis Henry* közvetett eljárásának használata széleskörűen elfogadott az irodalomban /4/ s tekintettel arra, hogy a vizsgált területre nem adták ki az adatokat, hogy a közvetlen számításokat elvégezzék, a *következőkben csak Louis Henry eljárását követhetjük*. Az elérhető adatok meglevő osztályozása nem teszi lehetővé azt sem, hogy a termékenységet itt ebből a szempont-

[1] Szerkesztőségünk ritkán járul hozzá olyan tanulmány közléséhez, melyet a lektorok csak alapvető átdolgozás mellett javasolnak közlésre. Most mégis ezt tettük, annak ellenére, hogy a közleményben felhasznált módszerek némelyike (például az a_0 valószínűség becslése, a becslés demográfiai hátterének értelmezése) kisebb—nagyobb mértékben mindig torzító, nagyobb arányú házasságon kívüli termékenység esetén pedig abszurd (lásd az 1,0-nál nagyobb "valószínűségek") eredményeket ad, melyek függetlenek a kohorsz-termékenység időzítésétől. Miután pedig az a_0 szorzótényezőként szerepel az átlagos gyermekszámban, ez a becslési módszer (értelmezés) irreális gyermekszám-átlagokat ad.

Azért adjuk mégis közre a tanulmányt, mert fontos témát tárgyal és a szerző tiszteletre méltó anyaggyűjtést, adatfeldolgozást végzett hozzá.

ból az évjáratokat végigkövetve tanulmányozzuk, és így a népesedést a *naptári évek sorának keresztmetszetében fogjuk vizsgálni*.

Az általánosan bevett és főként *Louis Henry* munkája nyomán elfogadott jelölésrendszer szerint a_0 jelzi az első gyermek születésének a valószínűségét, a_1 a másodikét, a_2 a harmadikét; és ugyanennek megfelelően jelöljük a magasabb gyermekszám születési valószínűségeket is /5/.

Louis Henry a szülések közötti időtartamok súlyát először a francia közszolgálati alkalmazottak 1907-ben fölvett részletes vizsgálata alapján dolgozta ki, utóbb azonban kiadta a páratlan számozású súlyok értékét az egész francia lakosságot felölelő, 1959-ben készült felvételből való országos adatok szerint /6/. Természetesen a francia adatok mind 1907-ben, mind pedig 1959-ben születésszabályozást gyakorló népességet tükröznek, s ezért *Louis Henry* Kárpátalja 1930-ból származó statisztikája alapján számította ki a súlyokat olyan országok vizsgálatára, ahol a születésszabályozás előfordulása ritka /7/.

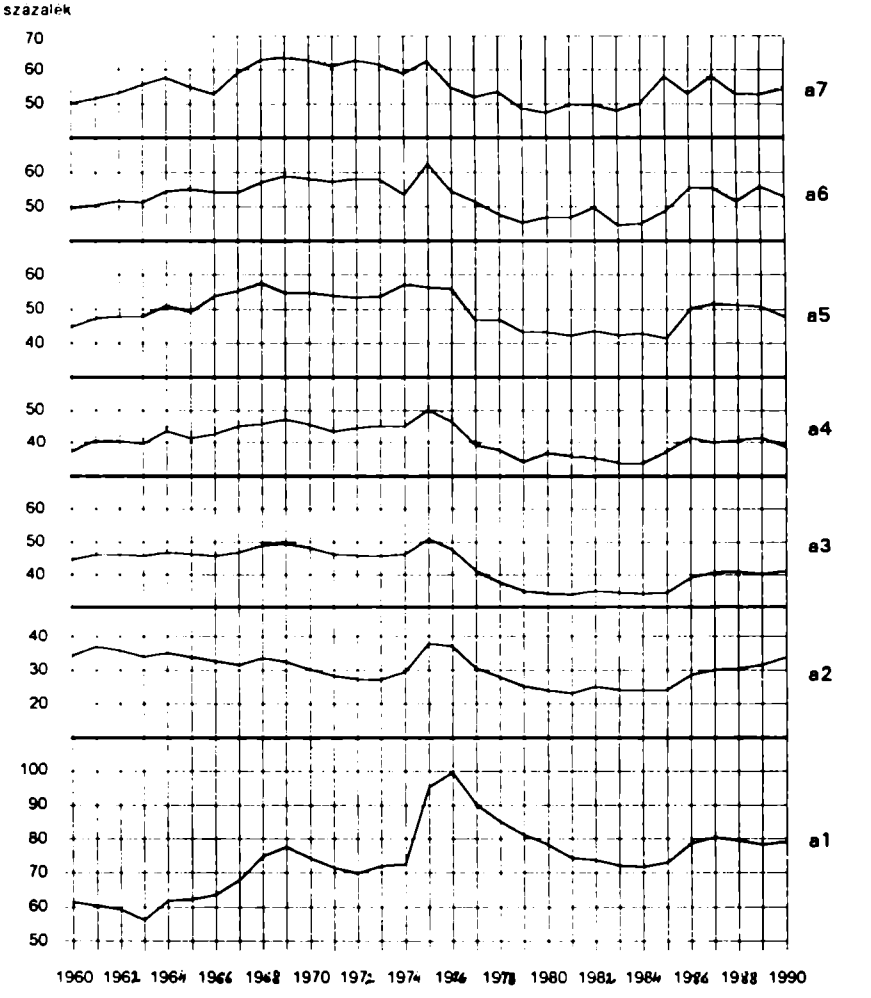
Vizsgálataink szempontjából alapvető jelentőségű, hogy a gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségekben alig vehető észre az eltérés, ha azokat *Louis Henry* 1907-ből eredő, vagy ha az 1959-ből származó súlyozása szerint számítjuk, mint azt az I.1 ábrából is láthatjuk. Az 1959-es országos adatokból számított páratlan számozású súlyok tehát teljes mértékben igazolják *Louis Henrynek* az 1907-es fölvételen alapuló súlyozását. Az 1907-es páros számozású súlyokkal végzett számítások eredménye viszont ugyanilyen jelentős mértékben megegyezik, ha a számításainkhoz az 1959-ből hiányzó páros számozású súlyokat arányos közbeiktatással (intercalatioval) pótoljuk az 1959-ből való páratlan számozású súlyokból /6/. Így tehát a két súlyrendszer egymást kölcsönösen igazolja.

Jellemzően még ott is, ahol a szóban forgó eltérések a legnagyobbak, az úgynevezett a_4 esetében, vagyis az ötödik szülések valószínűségénél, azok általában 2—3%-nál kisebbek, és hasonlóan kis, statisztikailag aligha számottevő különbség lép föl néha akkor, amikor a gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek hirtelen megváltoznak.

Az itt következő tanulmány ténylegesen *Louis Henry* 1959-es közleményében található súlyok alapján végzett számításokon alapul.

Másik jelentős módszertani kérdés adódik abból, hogy *Louis Henry* számításait először Franciaországra végezte el /3/, utóbb pedig Ausztráliára is kiadta /v.ö.: 7/, s mindkét országban a születési sorrend szerinti statisztika csak a törvényes születésekre terjed ki. Közép-Európában ugyanezt a gyakorlatot találjuk Nyugat-Németországban és Ausztriában, ezenkívül Olaszországban is. Kelet-Közép-Európában és Délkelet-Európában azonban a szóban forgó statisztikák általában minden megkülönböztetés nélkül fölölelik az összes születést és így ezekben az országokban többnyire nem tudjuk szétválasztani az újszülötteket a kérdéses szempontból. Rá kell viszont mutatni arra, hogy *Biraben* már 1961-ben használta *Henry* 1907-ből származó súlyrendszerét az Egyesült Államok gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségeinek a számítására /9/, pedig az ottani idevonatkozó kimutatásokból sem vonhatjuk le a házasságon kívül születetteket.

Szerencsére a korábban vasfüggöny mögött volt két országban, mégpedig Magyarországon és Kelet-Németországban a szülési sorrend szerinti statisztikát összegyűjtötték és kiadták mindkét ismérv szerint; ott tehát az egyik táblázat az összes születést osztályozza így, a másik pedig csak a házasságon belül születetteket. Ez lehetővé teszi, hogy megvizsgáljuk a különbséget, ami a két adat típus között ezen tanulmány szemszögéből adódik.



— gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Henry 1959-es súlyrendszerével számolva

gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Henry 1907-es súlyrendszerével számolva

I.1 Louis Henry 1907-ből és 1959-ből való súlyrendszerének összehasonlítása a gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek számításánál Magyarország

Az összehasonlításból kitűnik, amint azt az I.2 ábra mutatja, hogy az eltérések az így végzett két számítás között valójában nem voltak számottevőek a magasabb, vagyis az a_2—a_7 jelű gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségekben. Magyarországon ez a különbözet mindössze 0,9 és 3,9% között váltakozott 1965-ben, és 0 valamint 3,8% között 1989-ben. 1962-ben Kelet-Németországban hasonlóképpen az eltérések pusztán 0,3 és 3,0% között ingadoztak, és 1987-ben is 1,1 és 5,6% között állottak /10/.

Ezzel szemben az első gyermek valószínűségei közötti különbség Magyarországon ugyanezen idő alatt 4,9%-ról 15,1%-ra tehát háromszorosára nőtt, Kelet-Németországban pedig 5,7%-ról 36,7%-ra, vagyis majd hat és félszeresére emelkedett.

További nehézségnek tűnhet, hogy az a_0, melyet az alacsonyabb sorszámú gyermekek hiányában csak az első házasságkötésekhez viszonyíthatunk, a házasságon kívüli születésekre vonatkozóan, azok éppen említett szaporodásával, a száz százaléknál magasabb értéket mutat.

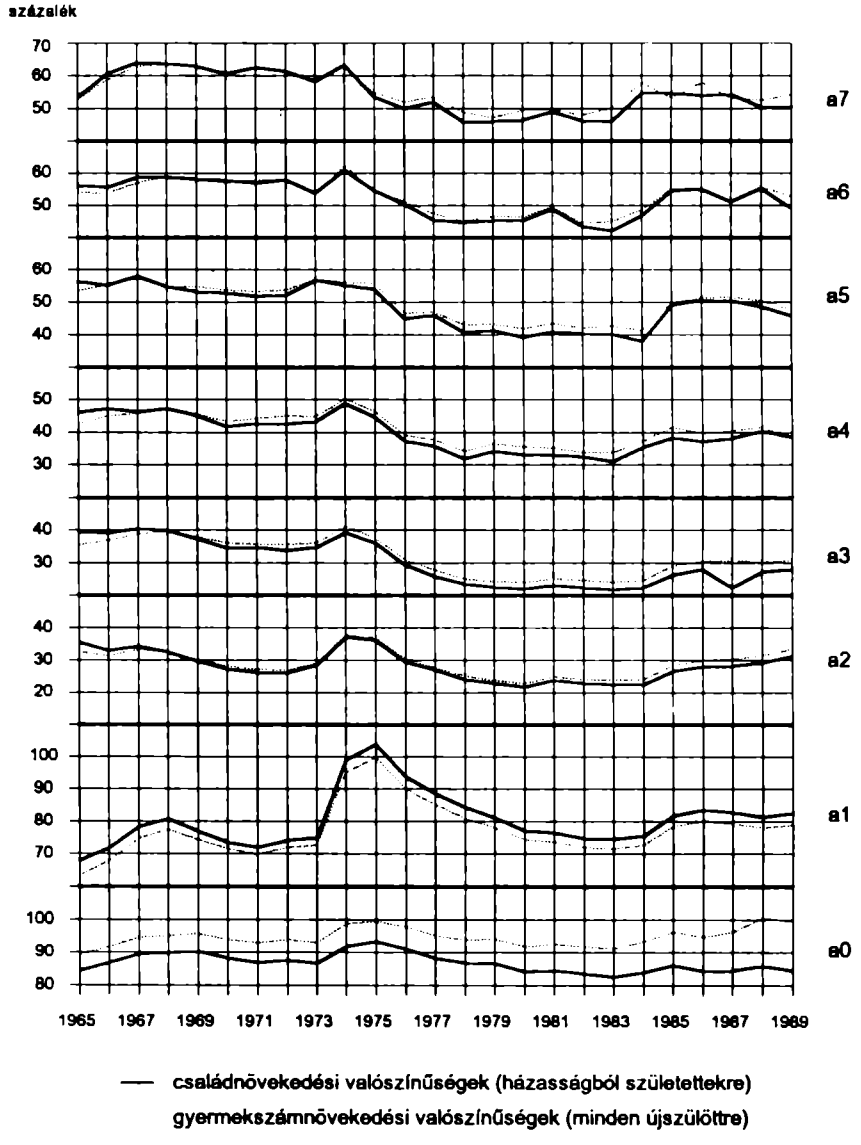
Ennek a kérdésnek a megoldása végett az átlagos gyermekszám kérdéskörének a megvizsgálására kell térnünk.

A valószínűség szabályai szerint, ha az első gyermek valószínűségét megszorozzuk az első utáni második gyermek valószínűségével, a kérdéses területen való második gyermekek számát nyerjük. Nyilvánvaló hasonló eljárást követve számíthatjuk ki az eredményeket a magasabb születési sorszámokra, és mindezeknek az eredményeknek az összege adja a családok átlagos gyermekszámát, ha a jelenlegi gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek érvényesülnek az anyák élettartamán keresztül.

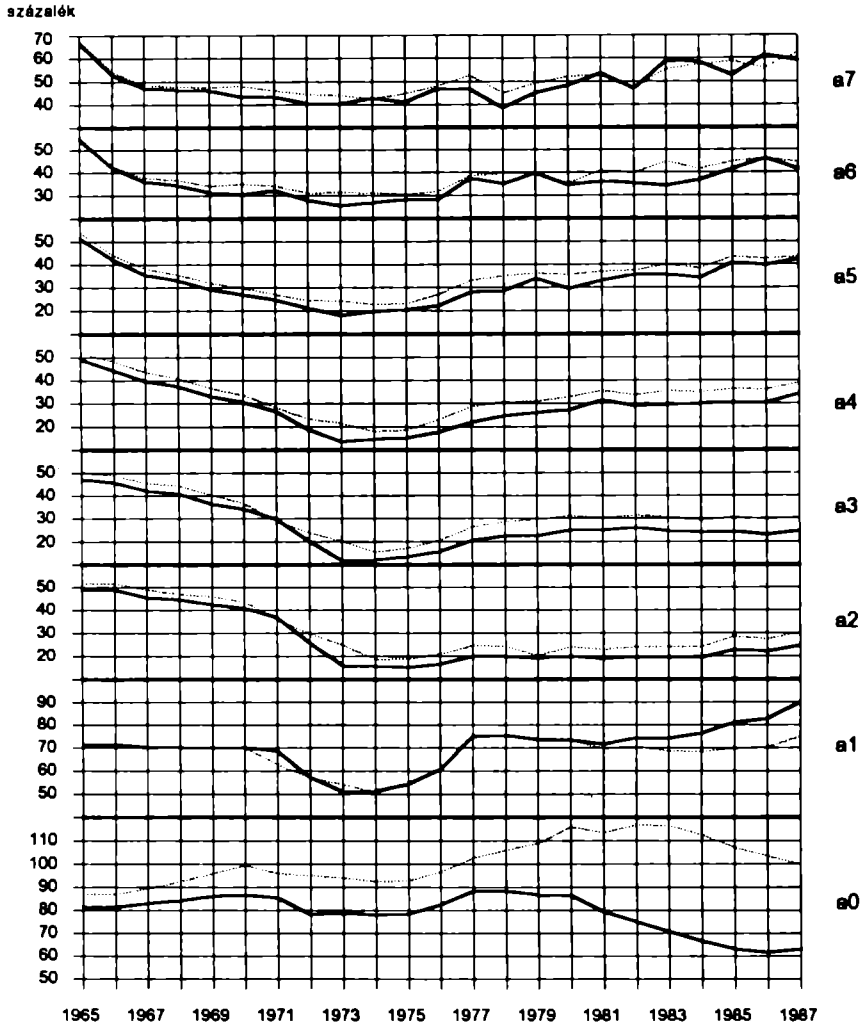
A szóban forgó mérőszámot maga *Louis Henry* vezette be, mint amely összefoglalja a családnövekedési valószínűségek alakulását a házasságon belül bármely évben a vizsgált területen a következő egyenlet szerint, amely a *családok átlagos gyermekszámát adja*:

$$\bar{e} = a_0 + a_0a_1 + a_0a_1a_2 + \ldots + a_0a_1a_2 \ldots a_n + \ldots \quad /11/.$$

Magától értetődik, hogy a fönti egyenletbe a házasságból születettek családnövekedési valószínűségei helyébe az összes születettet (tehát a házasságon kívülieket is) felölelő gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségeket is írhatjuk, és az úgy nyert eredményt a továbbiakban a *nők átlagos gyermekszámának* fogjuk nevezni.



I.2.a. A gyermekszámnövekedési és családnövekedési valószínűségek összehasonlítása Magyarország



I.2.b. A gyermekszámnövekedési és családnövekedési valószínűségek összehasonlítása Kelet-Németország

A gyermekszámnövekedési és családnövekedési valószínűségek összehasonlítása

			a_0	a_1	a_2	a_3	a_4	a_5	a_6	a_7	Átlagos gyermekszám
Magyarország	1965	Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek	0,892	0,635	0,326	0,356	0,425	0,536	0,541	0,527	1,767
		Családnövekedési valószínűségek	0,843	0,678	0,355	0,395	0,460	0,564	0,563	0,536	1,777
		Különbség	0,049	—0,043	—0,029	—0,039	—0,035	—0,028	—0,022	—0,009	—0,010
	1989	Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek	0,995	0,789	0,336	0,311	0,386	0,477	0,529	0,543	2,187
		Családnövekedési valószínűségek	0,844	0,827	0,314	0,281	0,386	0,459	0,493	0,506	1,867
		Különbség	0,151	—0,038	0,022	0,030	—	0,018	0,036	0,037	0,245
Kelet-Németország	1962	Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek	0,852	0,694	0,535	0,516	0,527	0,571	0,623	0,610	2,119
		Családnövekedési valószínűségek	0,795	0,724	0,514	0,493	0,510	0,561	0,620	0,607	1,981
		Különbség	0,057	—0,030	0,021	0,023	0,017	0,010	0,003	0,003	0,138
	1987	Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek	0,997	0,751	0,301	0,303	0,388	0,433	0,445	0,525	2,086
		Családnövekedési valósznűségek	0,630	0,899	0,246	0,247	0,340	0,422	0,415	0,488	1,389
		Különbség	0,367	—0,148	0,055	0,056	0,048	0,011	0,030	0,037	0,697

A nők átlagos gyermekszámát és a családok átlagos gyermekszámát a teljes termékenységi mutatóval (total fertility) összehasonlítva az I.3 számú ábrán láthatjuk, hogy Magyarországon az 1965 és 1989 között vizsgálható 25 év közül tizenhatban, vagyis általában 1984 előtt, a teljes termékenységi mutató viszonylag szorosan követte a nők átlagos gyermekszámát, amit 11 évben meg is haladott, de ahhoz mindenképpen közelebb állt, mint az annál mindig alacsonyabb családok átlagos gyermekszámához. Kelet-Németországban ez még világosabb lehet, mert az 1968 és 1985 között vizsgálható 16 év közül 13-ban a teljes termékenységi mutató közelebb állt a nők átlagos gyermekszámához, mint a családok átlagos gyermekszámához.

Ebből nyilvánvaló, hogy az ország tényleges termékenységi szintjét, amint azt a teljes termékenységi mutató is tükrözte, csak a házasságon kívül születettek hozzászámításával közelíthetjük meg, s egyáltalán nem szorítkozhatunk pusztán a házasságból születettekre. Tekintettel arra, hogy mint az az I.2 számú ábrából is kitűnt, a különbség a két átlagos gyermekszám között főként az a_0 értékében való eltéréstől ered, ténylegesen az I.3 számú ábra azt is jelzi, hogy a teljes termékenységi mutató és az ország tényleges termékenységi szintjét nem közelíthetjük meg, ha az a_0 számításánál nem vesszük tekintetbe a házasságon kívül születetteket is, mert a nők átlagos gyermekszáma azt beszámítja.

Azt, hogy a házasságon kívül születettek számának megfelelőleg az ország termékenységi mutatóját a házasságon kívül születettek fölé kell emelni, kitűnik például *Alfred Sauvy* munkájából, mert az a törvényes gyermekekből számított teljes termékenységi mutatót szintén megemelte a törvénytelen gyermekek arányának megfelelően /12/.

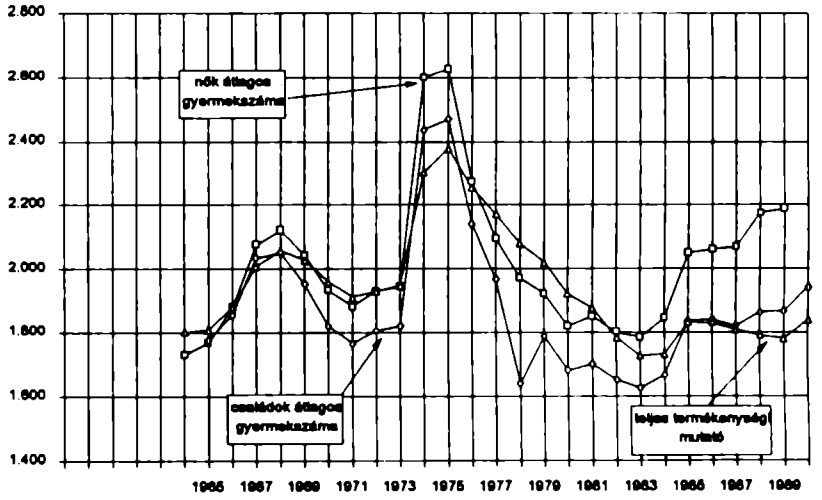
Ugyanez következik az átlagszámítás logikájából, amint az a következőkből világos lehet:

1. alattvaló	vagyona	2000	font	1. alattvaló	vagyona	2000	font
2. alattvaló	vagyona	2000	font	2. alattvaló	vagyona	2000	font
3. alattvaló	vagyona	2000	font	3. alattvaló	vagyona	2000	font
4. alattvaló	vagyona	2000	font	4. alattvaló	vagyona	2000	font
5. alattvaló	vagyona	2000	font	5. alattvaló	vagyona	2000	font
1. bevándorlott	vagyona	0	font	1. bevándorlott	vagyona	200	font
2. bevándorlott	vagyona	0	font	2. bevándorlott	vagyona	200	font
3. bevándorlott	vagyona	0	font	3. bevándorlott	vagyona	200	font
4. bevándorlott	vagyona	0	font	4. bevándorlott	vagyona	200	font
5. bevándorlott	vagyona	0	font	5. bevándorlott	vagyona	200	font
Országos átlag		1000	font	Országos átlag		1100	font

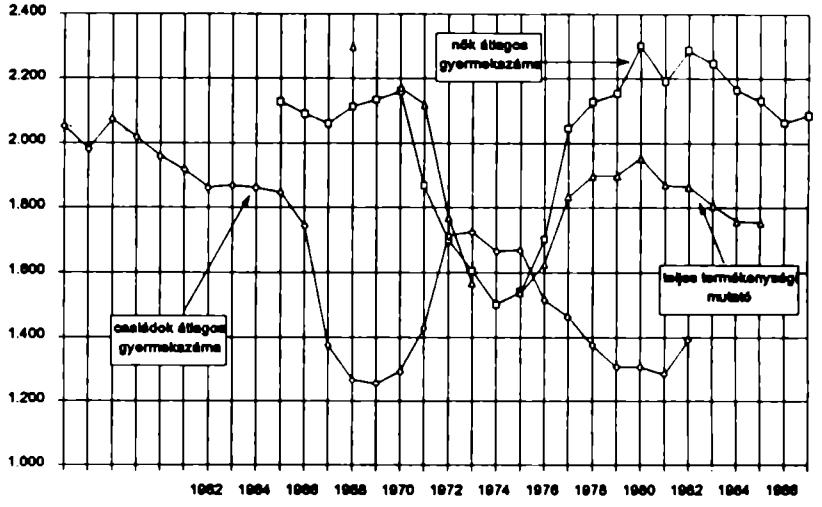
Hasonlóképpen, ha a házasságra nem lépő nőknek gyermeke születik, s ha kisebb gyakorisággal is, mint a házas népességben, de növekvőben van, az országos átlagnak arányosan emelkednie kell.

El kell ismerni viszont, hogy az I.3 számú ábrákon a nők átlagos gyermekszáma nem mindig közelíti meg, vagy esik egybe a teljes termékenységi mutatóval. Ezzel kapcsolatban figyelembe kell vennünk, hogy *Roland Pressat* már évekkel ezelőtt rámutatott, hogy a családnövekedési valószínűségekből számított családok átlagos gyermekszáma is huzamosan eltérhet a házasságtartam szerinti arányszámokból számított teljes termékenységi mutatótól, s azt hol meghaladja, hol pedig alatta marad

/13/, mert ezek a mutatók a termékenységet más-más oldalról közelíti meg, és annak változására nem egyformán érzékenyek.



Magyarország



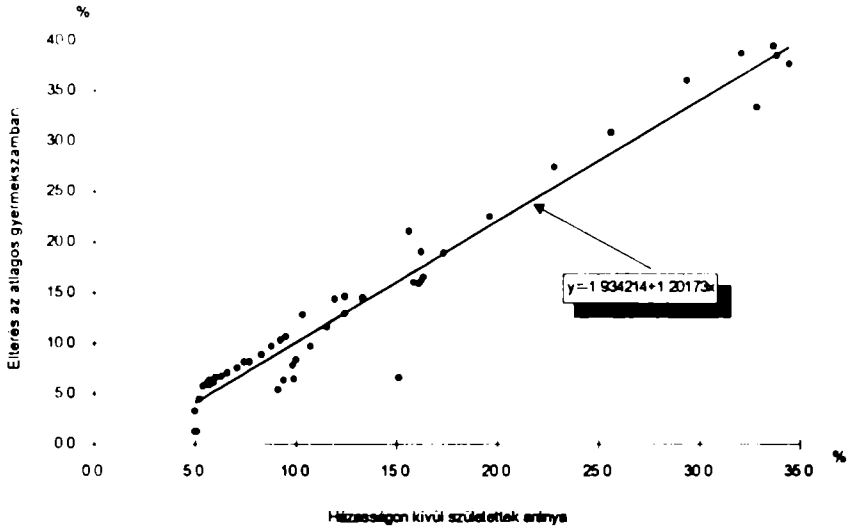
Kelet-Németország

I.3 Az átlagos gyermekszám vizsgálata

Az különben könnyen érthető, hogy a föntiekben már meghatározott *nők átlagos gyermekszáma* magasabb a teljes termékenységi mutatónál. Az első gyermek megszületésével ugyanis a magasabb gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek számításából szükségképpen kimaradnak a meddő nők, s ugyanígy a további gyermekek számítása során is kiszűrődnek az időközben meddővé vált asszonyok. Ezért a *nők átlagos gyermekszámának* számításánál a nevezőkben sokkal kisebb arányban találunk terméketlen nőket, mint a *teljes termékenységi mutató* számításánál, mert annál minden egyes nevezőben az összes számbajöhető meddő nő beszámít. A művi vetélések sokszoros megismétlése következtében egyre növekvő számú meddő asszonyok ezért a *teljes termékenységi mutatót* mind Kelet-Németországban, mind pedig különösen Magyarországon szükségképpen mindinkább a *nők átlagos gyermekszáma* alá nyomják. Ugyanezért a teljes termékenységi mutató ennek következtében ilyen körülmények között nem jelezheti, hogy a termékenyen maradt nők szaporasága mennyire emelkedett.

Az I.4 ábrából kitűnik, hogy a nők átlagos gyermekszáma és a családok átlagos gyermekszáma között az I.3 számú ábrán is látható eltérés meglehetősen híven tükrözi a házasságon kívül születettek arányát a szóban forgó években, s az ezen két változónak megfelelő pontok igen szorosan ugyanazon egyenes körül helyezkednek el, nemcsak Magyarországon, de Kelet-Németországban is. Ennek az egyenesnek az egyenlete

Eltérés az átlagos gyermekszámban (a nők átlagos gyermekszámának %-ban)	=	−1,943214	+	1,201732 A házasságon kívül születettek aránya %-ban
(standard tévedése)		(0,597530)		(0,037877)



I.4 Az átlagos gyermekszámban való eltérés és a házasságon kívül születettek arányának összefüggése

Az összefüggés meglepően szoros, mert a korrelációs együttható négyzete 95,45%, és a kiigazított korrelációs együttható négyzete is 95,35%, vagyis a házasságon kívül születettek aránya a két átlagos gyermekszám eltérésének 95%-át megmagyarázza. A házasságon kívül születettek aránya tehát egyenes és szoros arányban áll a nők átlagos gyermekszámának a családok átlagos gyermekszámától való eltérésével, és annak emelkedése megkívánja ezen eltérés növekedését is. Ez az oka és magyarázata a nők átlagos gyermekszáma megfelelő növekedésének. Az azonban nem adhatna a fönti korrelációnak megfelelő magas értéket, hacsak az a_0 szintje nem haladná meg a száz százalékot a házasságon kívüli születések mind nagyobb mérvű elszaporodásával. A fönti összefüggés szorossága és magas szignifikancia szintje /14/ tehát igazolja és bizonyítja a szóban forgó a_0 értékek, valamint a termékenyen maradt nők átlagos gyermekszámának helyességét akkor is, amikor a meddő nők elszaporodása a teljes termékenységi mutató arányát befolyásolja.

A vizsgált összefüggés szorossága azért is meglepő, mert mint már említettük, *Louis Henry* becslésének súlyrendszerét eredetileg csak a házasságból születettek családnövekedési valószínűségeinek a számítására szánta, de a fönti korreláció csak azt mutathatja, hogy jó megközelítést ad a házasságon kívül születetteket is fölölelő gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek számítására is.

A megelőző következtetéseket megerősíti, ha a házasságból született első gyermek születésének valószínűségét igyekszünk megbecsülni azokban az országokban, ahol eszerint az ismérv szerint nem osztályozzák a születéseket a születési sorrend szerinti kimutatásban.

Kelet-Németország és Magyarország gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségeinek vizsgálatából kitűnt, hogy míg a magasabb születési sorszámok esetében az összes születésekből számított eredmények eléggé megközelítik a házasságból származókét, az első gyermekekre vonatkozó arányszámokban számottevő eltérések jelentkeztek (I.2 ábra).

Ezért azokban az országokban, melyekben nem találhatjuk meg a házasságból született gyermekek születési sorrend szerinti statisztikáját más módon kell megbecsülnünk a házasságból született első gyermekek születési valószínűségét.

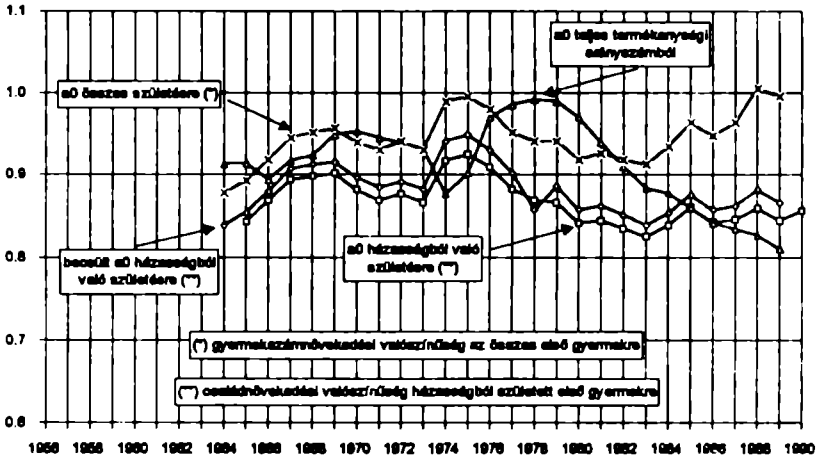
A családok átlagos gyermekszáma egyenletének megfordításával ugyanis az a_0, az első gyermek születésének valószínűsége kiemelhető a következőképpen:

$$a_0 = \ell/(1 + a_1 + a_1a_2 + a_1a_2a_3 + a_1a_2a_3a_4 + a_1a_2a_3a_4a_5 + a_1a_2a_3a_4a_5a_6 + \ldots)$$

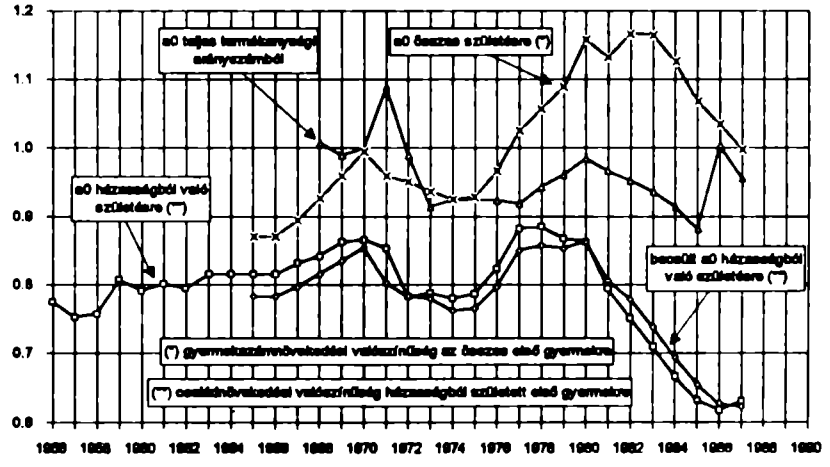
Az I.5 ábra mutatja, hogyha az a_0-t a megelőző egyenletbe helyettesített teljes termékenységi mutatóból számítjuk, az korántsem a házasságból születettek tényleges a_0 értékeit közelíti meg, hanem többnyire annál sokkal magasabban, az összes születésre számított a_0 szintje körül helyezkedik el. Ennél semmi sem bizonyíthatja jobban, hogy az ország tényleges átlagos gyermekszám számításánál nem szorítkozhatunk a házasságból születettekre, hanem azokon felül be kell számítanunk a házasságon kívül születetteket is, mert a teljes termékenységi mutatóból számított valószínűségek is inkább azt közelítették meg. Természetes viszont, hogy amint a meddő nők aránya valamely országban szaporodik, a teljes termékenységi mutató mind kevésbé tükrözi a termékeny nők termékenységét és az eltérés mind nagyobbá válik.

Az I.5 ábra ezenkívül azt is mutatja, hogy a teljes termékenységből számított a_0 hullámzása egyáltalán nem tükrözi sem a házasságból született első gyermekeknek születési valószínűségének alakulását, sem pedig az összes születésekre számított a_0 lefolyásának a görbéjét. Tehát a teljes termékenységi mutatóból kiindulva egyáltalán

nem becsülhetjük meg az a_0 értékét, legkevésbé pedig az a_0 értéket a házasságból született gyermekekre, amitől különösen eltér.



Magyarország



Kelet-Németország

I.5 Az első gyermek valószínűségének számítása

Az I.4 ábrán található összefüggés magas korrelációja viszont azt is jelenti, hogy ugyanazon egyenlet használatával a *nők átlagos gyermekszámából* a házasságon kívül születettek arányának levonásával megbecsülhetjük a *családok átlagos gyermekszámát* azokban az országokban, ahol a házasságból születetteket nem osztályozzák születési sorszám szerint. Az így *becsült családok átlagos gyermekszámát* azután magától értetődően behelyettesíthetjük az $\bar{e}$ helyére az a_0 becslésére használt egyenletbe. Az I.5 ábrából kitűnik, hogy az ilyeténképpen becsült a_0 értéke Magyarországon és Kelet-Németországban igen jelentősen, általában 2—3%-ra megközelíti az a_0 valószínűségének tényleges szintjét (éles ellentétben a teljes termékenységi arányszámból kiinduló kísérlettel). Így tehát ezzel a becslési eljárással megközelíthetjük a valós a_0 valószínűségeket olyan országokban is, ahol ezek a házasságból születettekre nem számíthatók. Ezért ezt az eljárást kell alkalmaznunk a következőkben vizsgálatra kerülő országok túlnyomó részében.

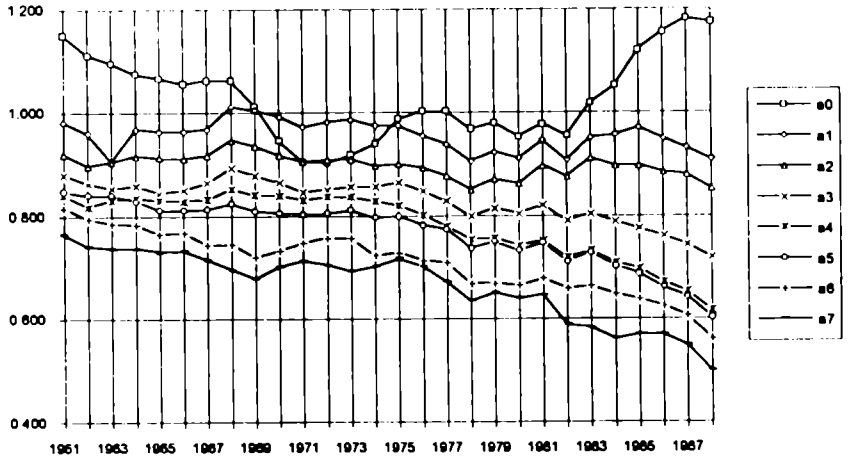
2. *A családnövekedési valószínűségek alakulásának főbb típusai a vizsgált területen*

a) Az albán típus

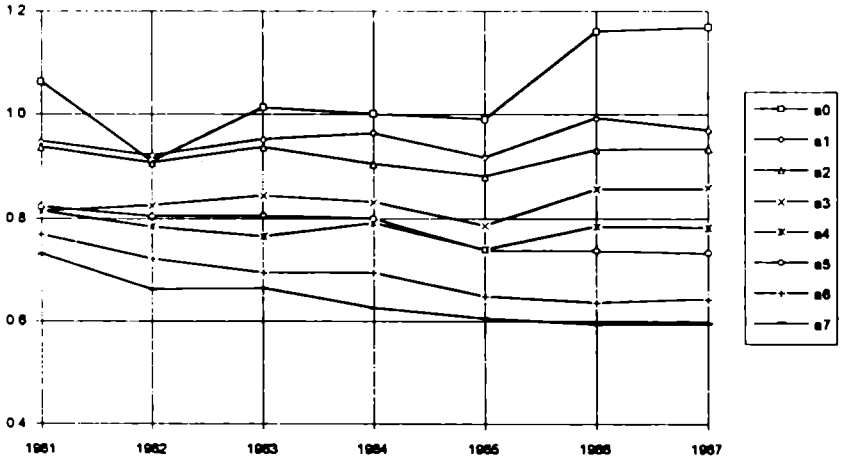
A kosovoi tartomány gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségeinek a képe párját ritkítja a XX. században az európai szárazföldön. 1960-ban még az összes vizsgált valószínűség 80% fölött állt, és a szülési rend növekedésével az értékük csökkenése még nem sokkal haladta meg a termékenységnek az anyák korával járó fogyatkozását.

Megfigyelhetjük azonban, hogy Kosovoban minden egyes gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűség süllyedő tendenciát mutatott, az a_3 93%-ról 76%-ra esett 1960 és 1987 közöttt, és az a_7, a nyolcadik szülés valószínűsége ugyanakkor 81%-ról 58%-ra, tehát még gyorsabban csökkent. Mindazonáltal a kosovoi valószínűségek süllyedése igen lassú tendenciát mutat európai viszonylatban éppen 1987-ig; s az abban is sajátságos maradt, hogy azok, még a magasabb szülési rendekben is, szárazföldünkön viszonylag igen magas szintjüket megtartották. 1988—89-ben azonban az értékek hirtelen esni kezdtek az a_3 két év alatt 9%-kal, az a_7 16%-kal csökkent.

Az albán többségű Kosovo gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségei valójában csak a szomszédos Albániáéra hasonlítanak. Albániát illetőleg azonban a vonatkozó számításokat pusztán az 1961—1967-es évekre végezhetjük el, az Egyesült Nemzetek Demográfiai Évkönyveiben kiadott évsorok hiányos volta miatt. Mindenesetre akkoriban legalábbis a születések valószínűsége alacsonyabb volt Albániában, mint Kosovoban: az a_7 1961-ben 73%-ot mutatott 75,5%-kal szemben és 1967-ben 59,5%-ot 75% ellen.



II.1 Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Kosovoban



II.2 Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Albániában

b) Az adriai típus

A Kosovoval szomszédos Macedóniában a gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek az albán típustól meglehetősen eltérő ábrát adnak. Itt ugyanis a harmadik és magasabb szülések valószínűségi értéke elkülönül az első kettőtől és egyetlen nyalábot alkotva esik az 1960-as 56—71%-ról 31—35%-ra 1989-ben. Tulajdonképpen ugyanilyen képet mutat a termékenység alakulása Boszniában is, ahol azonban a nyaláb még szorosabbra fonott maradt különösen 1985-ig és a harmadik és magasabb szülések gyakoriságának esése még rohamosabb, mert az 1960-ban volt 66—74%-ról 26—41%-ra apadt.

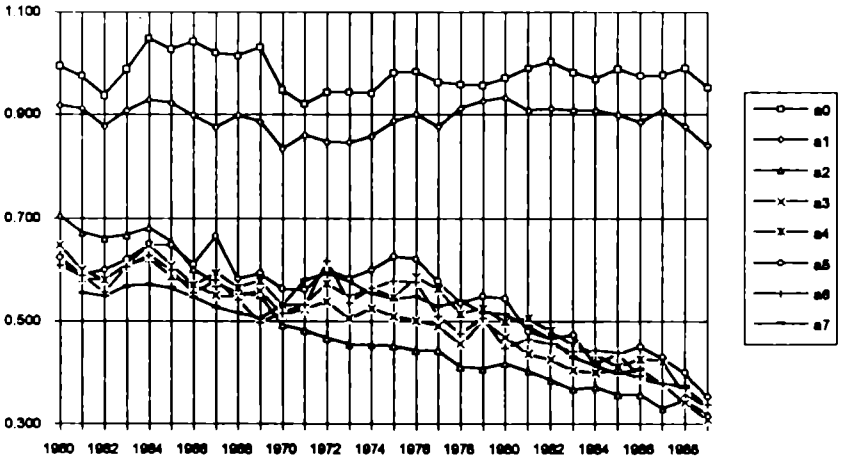
Montenegróban a szóban forgó típusnak egy változatával találkozunk, mert ott a szorosabb értelemben vett nyalábot csak a negyedik és további szülések valószínűségei alkotják, amelyek 58—68%-ról 32—40%-ra csökkentek 1961 és 1988 között. A harmadik szülések valószínűsége viszont az országban általában 10%-kal állt magasabban az ottani nyalábnál.

Az Adriai-tenger másik oldalán, Olaszországban is a harmadik és magasabb szülések valószínűségei (az a_2—a_7) szintén nyalábot képezve szálltak le az 1964. évi 55—62%-os szintről az 1979. évi 26—33%-osra. Így tehát a szóban forgó típus az Adria mindkét partján megjelent és ezért nevezzük azt adriai típusnak. Hasonlóképpen Olaszország szomszédjában, Ausztriában az a_3, a_4, a_5, a_6 és a_7 értékeit egyetlen csomóba kötve találjuk egész 1961-től 1990-ig terjedő időszakban, amíg azok 59—65%-ról 29—32%-ra apadtak. (Ausztria egyébként az egyetlen olyan állam a vizsgált területen, amelyben az a_1 ténylegesen és következetesen az a_0 fölött állt. Nagyon sajátosnak látszik azonban, hogy az a_0 az 1961-beli 80%-ról 1988-ig 63%-ra csökkenhetett, és hogy különösen 1968 és 1983 között az a_1 hullámzása tulajdonképpen az a_0-t tükrözi, ami aligha jelzi a születésszabályozás hiányát /15/.)

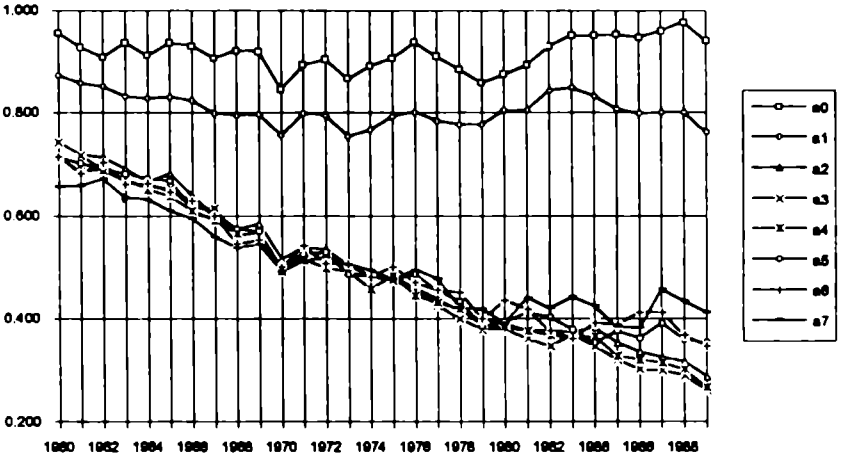
* * *

Ennél a csoportnál kell megemlítenünk Lengyelországot, ahol az a_5—a_6 vonalai (sőt 1971-től kezdve az a_7-é is) szintén nyalábba gyűltek, jóllehet ez a nyaláb gyakorlatilag teljesen vízszintesen feküdt s a megelőzőleg említett országokkal ellentétben valójában nem tüntettük föl süllyedő tendenciáját legalábbis 1982-ig. Ugyanakkor az általuk jelzett 41—50%-os gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Lengyelországban bizonyos fokig meglepően alacsonynak tűnhetnek.

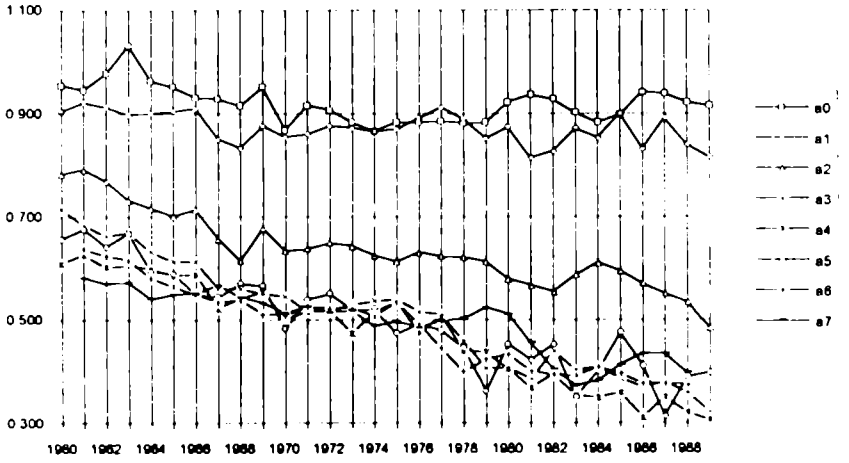
Végül az adriai típus változatának tekinthetjük Szlovénia termékenységét is, ámbár ott a nyaláb szintén vízszintesen maradt 1966—67-ig, sőt 41—47%-os szinttel akkoriban a legalacsonyabbak közé tartozott. A következő években viszont a továbbsüllyedő magasabb szülési valószínűségek Szlovéniában már nem maradtak szorosan kötött nyalábban, hanem inkább lazán oldódó kévét alkottak. Szlovéniában azonban mindezt meglehetősen ellensúlyozta, hogy az első s bizonyos fokig a második szülések valószínűségének irányzata kifejezetten emelkedőben volt tulajdonképpen az egész vizsgált időszakon keresztül. Az első gyermekek aránya nyilvánvalóan a házasságon kívüli születések egyre fokozódó gyakorisága miatt emelkedhetett a házasságok szintjéhez képest 100% fölé 1975 óta, hogy 124%-ot érjen el 1988-ban, és 122%-ot 1989-ben. Az első gyermek családnövekedési valószínűségeinek becslése mutatja, hogy Szlovéniában 1975-ig a megfelelő gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűséget szorosan tükrözve, az alatt 9—10%-kal párhuzamosan haladt, azonban attól fogva az eltérés fokozatosan, de állandóan nőtt és 1989-ben már 32%-ra emelkedett.



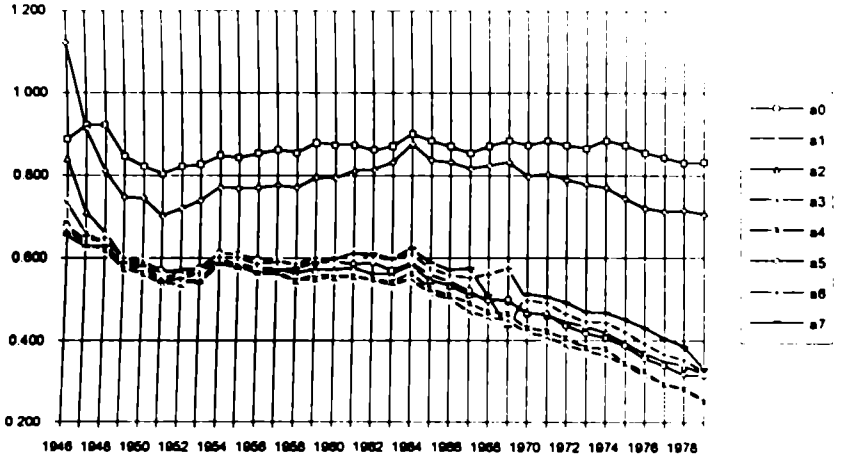
II.3 Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Macedóniában



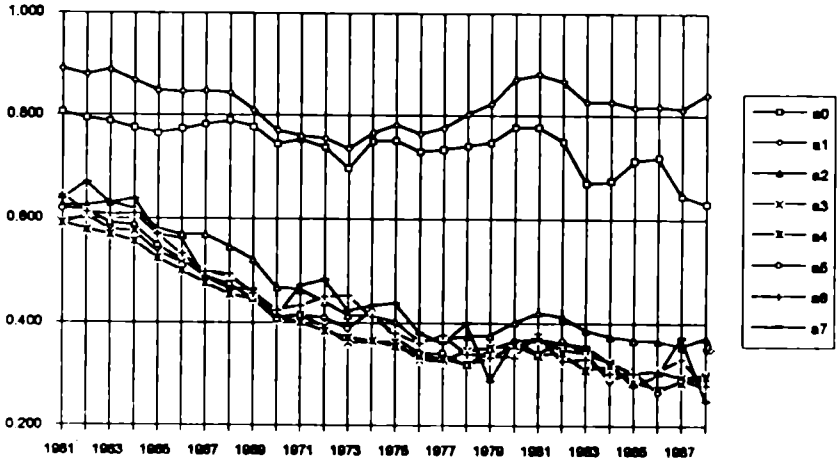
II.4 Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Boszniában



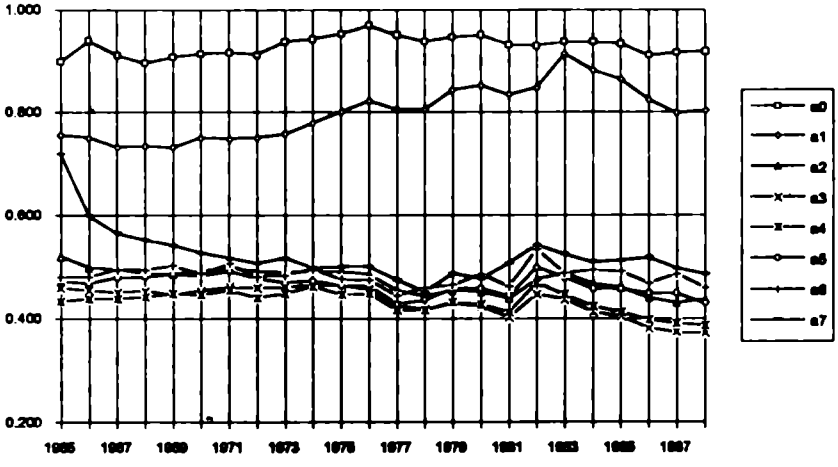
II.5 Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Montenegróban



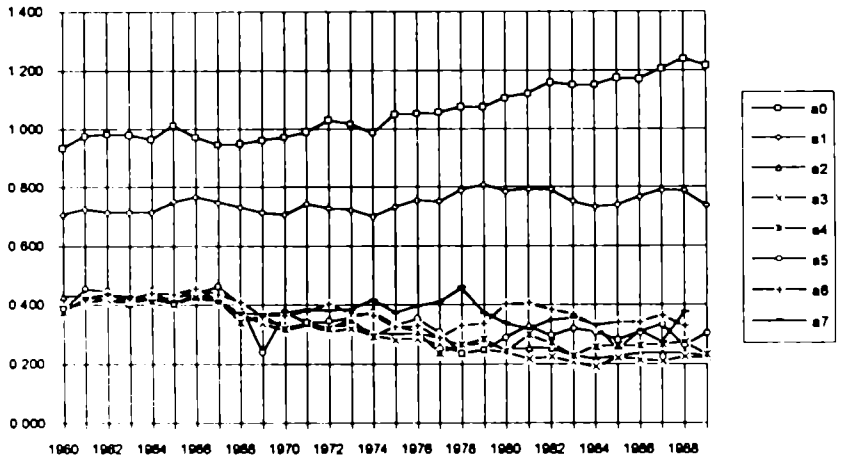
II.6 Családnövekedési valószínűségek Olaszországban



II. 7 Családnövekedési valószínűségek Ausztriában



II. 8 Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Lengyelországban



II.9 Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Szlovéniában

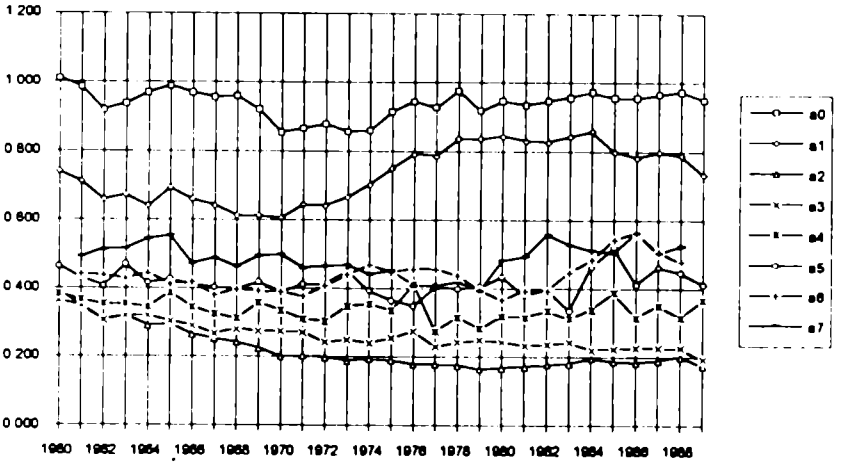
c) A vajdasági típus

A termékenység szerkezete a Vajdaságban teljesen eltérő volt az előzőekben vizsgált országokétól. Első sajátságként azt kell megemlítenünk, hogy az a_2, vagyis a harmadik szülésnek a valószínűsége lett a legalacsonyabb gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűség, ami a Bácskában és a Bánságban már 1970-nél a 20% alá esett. Ugyanakkor és másodszor a magasabb szülési valószínűségek az a_2 fölött egymás után emelkedő sora valójában fordított sorrendet alkot a születésszabályozás nélküli társadalmakban és az albán példákban is megfigyelhető termékenységhez képest. Harmadszor pedig éles ellentétben az adriai típusban található nyalábbal, a különböző gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek meglehetősen megkülönböztetett szinten különülnek el. Következésképpen és negyedszer a szóban forgó valószínűségek jóformán az egész értékmezőt mintegy behálózzák.

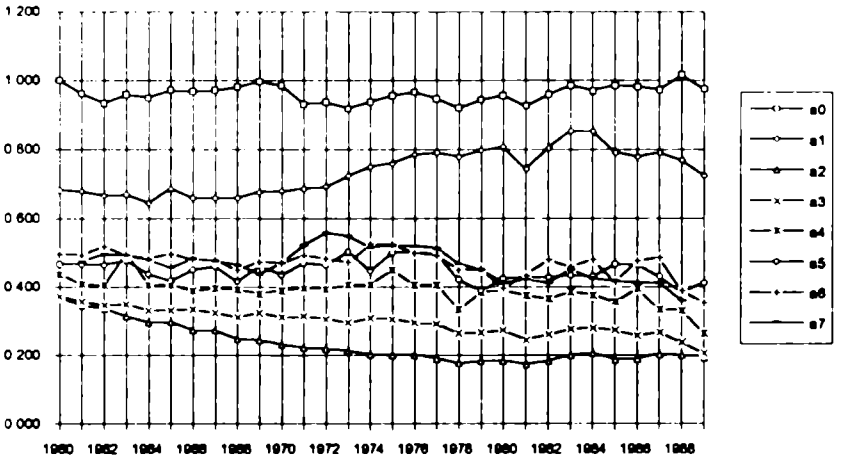
A szerb termékenységnek az alakulása szorosan követte az éppen leírt mind a négy sajátságot, a vajdasági mintától az eltérés mindössze abban állt, hogy az a_2 némileg lassabban, csak négy évvel később, 1974-ben érte el a 20%-os szintet.

A horvát gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek képe arra mutat, hogy az elég lassan átalakulóban volt az 1960—61-ben még érvényesülő adriai nyaláb típusból a vajdasági típus felé, az azonban Horvátországban 1989-ig még nem fejlődött ki teljesen, hiszen többek között addig az a_2 sem nem különült el, sem nem vált a legalacsonyabb valószínűséggé és még el se érte a 20% vonalát.

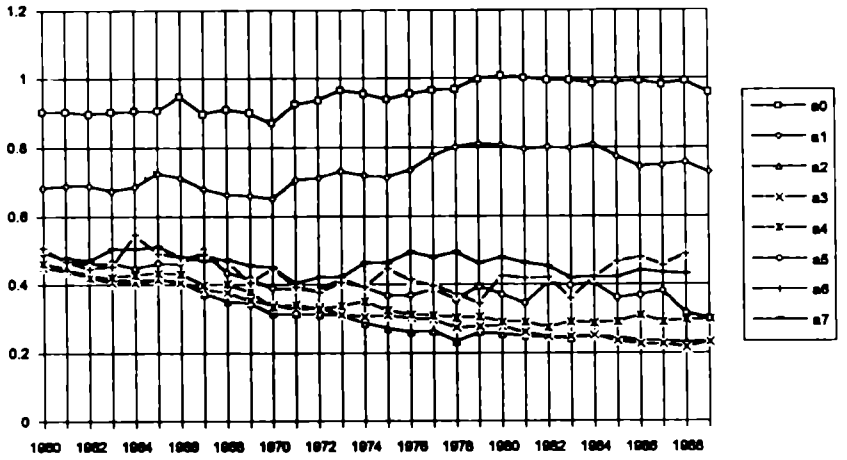
Görögország termékenységét a vajdasági típus horvátországi változatával lehet összehasonlítani, ámbár ott az a_3 foglalta el a legalacsonyabb gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűség szerepét az a_2 helyett.



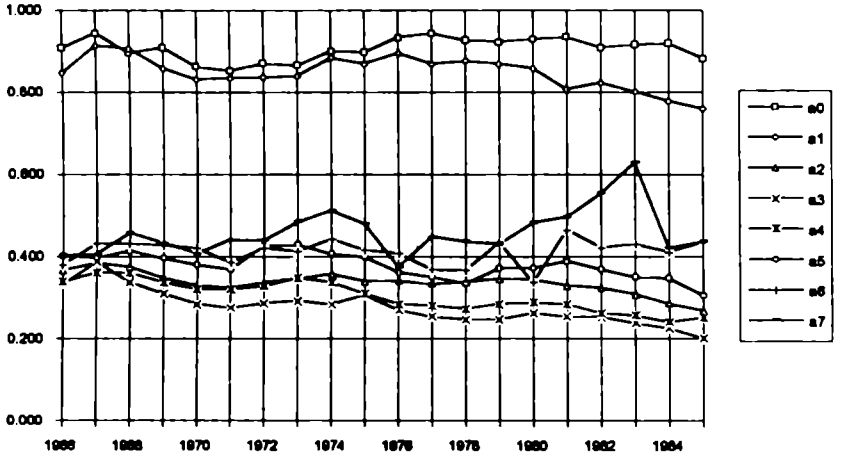
II.10 Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek a Vajdaságban



II.11 Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Szerbiában



II.12 Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Horvátországban



II.13 Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Görögországban

* * *

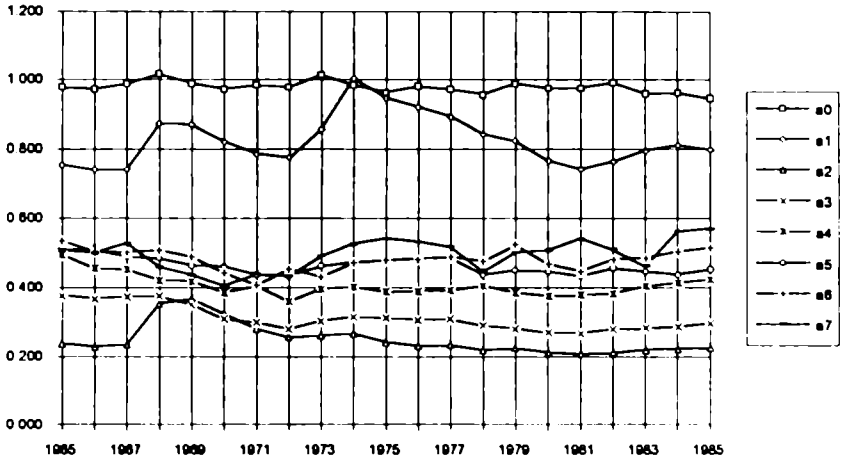
Magyarországon és Bulgáriában is az a_2 alkotja a legalacsonyabb gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűséget és ezután minkét országban a szülések gyakorisága emelkedik a gyermekek számával, de a különböző valószínűségek színvonala meglehetősen elkülönül és meginf behálózzák az egész értékmezőt, tehát mind a négy ismérvben megegyeznek a vajdasági típussal. Attól azonban ezeknek az országoknak a termékenységét az különbözteti meg, hogy a különböző születési rendek vonalain párhuzamosan és többé-kevésbé igen hasonló dudorok jelentek meg. Így például Bulgáriában az a_1 kitüremlését az 1967 és 1972 közötti években a 80% színvonala körül eléggé hűségesen tükrözi az a_2 kitüremlése pontosan ugyanazokban az években a 30% színvonal körül.

Igaz ugyan, hogy az a következő és még nagyobb 1974. évi hulláma nem látszik tükröződni magában Bulgáriában a magasabb szülési rendek görbéin. Viszont az a_1 legnagyobb hulláma Magyarországon is éppen 1974-ben fejlődött ki, és ott is eltartott 1981-ig, amíg elnyugodott, mint Bulgáriában. Hazánkban viszont az a_1 hulláma visszaverődött a magasabb gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségeken, sőt az a_2, a_3 és az a_4 1974-es hullámhegye nem kis mértékben hasonló formában fejlődött ki. Azt is megfigyelhetjük, hogy Magyarországon már az a_1 1968. évi hulláma is tükröződött némileg az éppen említett másik három görbén, az 1984—85-ben kialakult kitüremlést pedig még sokkal hasonlóbban tükrözik a magasabb születési rendek gyakoriságai.

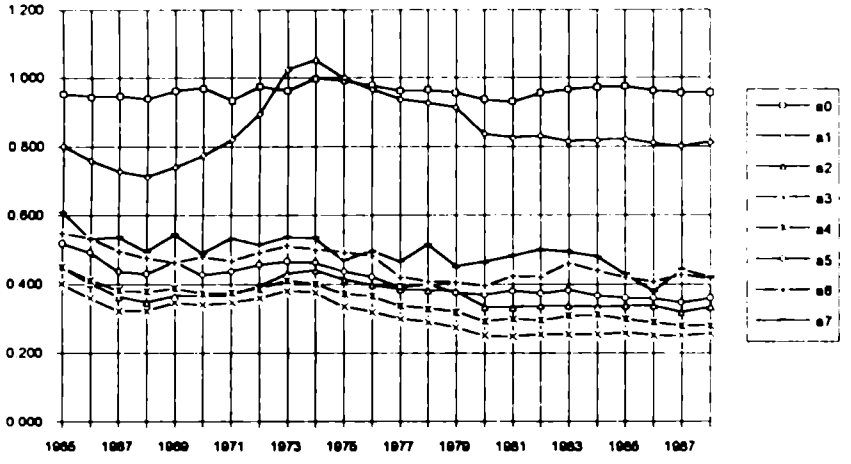
Az a_1 1974. évi s a megelőzőkben már említett nagy hulláma Csehszlovákiában is megjelent és ott eltartott 1980-ig, de kilengése sokkal nagyobb volt Csehországban, mint a Felvidéken. Az 1974. évi hullám a csehszlovákiai magasabb gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségekben is érezhető volt, meglehetősen tompított mértékben. Viszont ugyanabban az országban jóformán az összes ilyen görbe megközelítőleg azonos föllendülést mutat 1962 és 1965 között.

A fontiekben leírt, egyidőben megjelenő párhuzamos, illetve némileg eltolódottan visszaverődő hullámok egyedül az említett, korábban vasfüggöny mögött volt államokban jelentek meg. Nyilvánvaló, hogy pusztán a szóban forgó országokban végrehajtásra került népesedéspolitika különböző átmeneti érvényesülését jelezhetik csak, mert megjelenésüket a születések számának fokozására tett intézkedések előzték meg. A népességpolitika alakulása azonban aligha választható el a hatalmon levő körök politika nézeteitől.

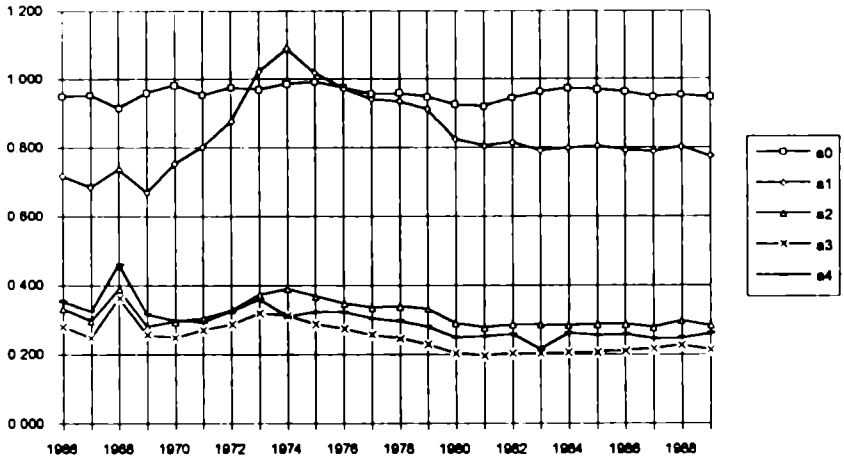
Marx munkaérték-elméletétől /16/ alapjában eltájolt marxista hatóságok a kommunista hatalomátvételt követően erősen munkaigényes iparosításba kezdtek, s amellett következetesen kitartottak. Az 1956-os magyar szabadságharc kapcsán azonban a társadalmi feszültség és a gazdasági nehézségek enyhítésére szabadjára engedték a művi vetéléseket /17/. Ennek eredményeképpen a születések számának az esése elkerülhetetlenül alapvető "belső ellentmondásokra" vezetett a marxista közgazdaságban, amikre azonban semmiféle utalás sem volt a dialektikus materializmus hosszú sorozatainak köteteiben. Nemsokára ugyanis a fiatalabb korosztályok egyre csökkenő létszáma nem láthatta többé el a már fölállított munkaigényes beruházásokat. Ugyanakkor gyakorlatilag az egész termékenykorban levő női népességnek a munkába kényszerítése szükségképpen az újszülöttek számának további apadására vezetett. Valójában ez a "belső ellentmondás" ásta alá a bolsevista rendszert, mert teljesen csődbe vitte a hosszú éveknek összes munkaigényes, és ezért gyakorlatilag majd minden beruházását magán a rendszeren belül, még akkor is, ha eltekintenénk attól, hogy a XX. század végén a munkaigényes beruházások nem állhatják meg a versenyt világviszonylatban.



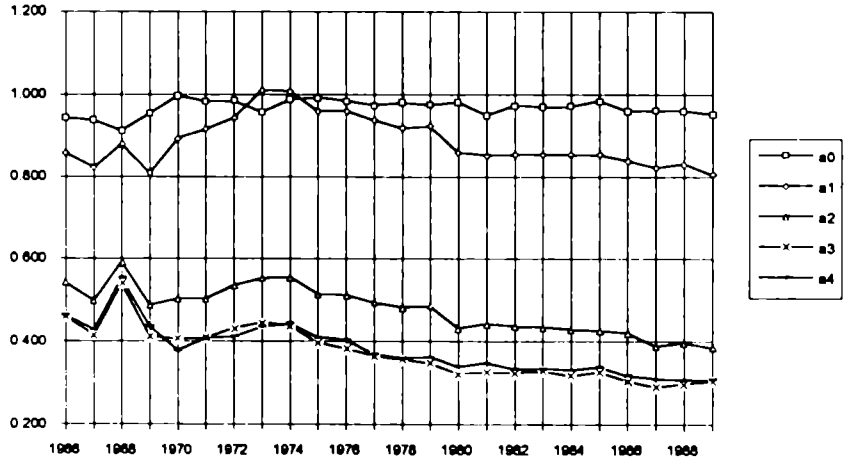
II.14 Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Bulgáriában



II.15 Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Csehszlovákiában



II.16 Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Cseh- és Morvaországban



II.17 Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Szlovákiában

Az említett körülmények elkerülhetetlenül a termékenység növelésére törekvő erőfeszítésekre vezettek a szóban forgó országokban, a követett népesedési politikáknak azonban csak korlátolt volt a sikere, és aligha óvta meg a rendszert az összeomlástól. Ténylegesen ezeknek a népesedési rendelkezéseknek a bevezetése nem járt ellenhatás nélkül. A munkaerő számát a születések csak hosszú idő, majd két évtized lejártával növelhetik csak, viszont a szülések nagymérvű növelését pusztán a női munkaerő nagymérvű azonnali csökkentésével lehetett volna elérni a vizsgált társadalmi rendben, amelynek a működéséhez az utánpótlás máris hiányzott.

Bulgária és Csehszlovákia mellékelt ábráiból világosan kitűnik, hogy az ottani hatóságok által a születések számának növelésére tett erőfeszítéseknek csak átmeneti eredménye volt. Bulgáriában az a_1 vonala növekvő kilengésű hullámokat mutat, amelyek az 1960-as évek elején a 80%-os szint körül ingadoztak, de az 1985—89 években pont ugyanazon a 80%-ot mutató érték körül nyugodtak meg, tehát semmiféle maradandó változást nem hoztak. Sőt ugyanabban az országban az a_2 az 1959-ben volt 30%-ról 1989-ig 20%-ra esett, az a_3 pedig 38%-ról 26%-ra.

A csehszlovák népesedési intézkedések éppen ennyire hatástalanok voltak a termékenység irányvonalának növelésére, az ottani a_1 79%-nál volt 1961-ben, hogy nagy ívű hullámzás után a 80% szintjére térjen vissza 1981 után, amit aligha lehet lényeges változásnak tekinteni. 1961 és 1989 között a csehszlovák a_2 44%-ról 32%-ra, az a_3 37%-ról 25—27%-ra apadt, és ezért az ottani munkaerő utánpótlás kilátásai éppen nem javultak. Ezt megerősíti az is, ha a cseh és szlovák adatokat elkülönítetten vizsgáljuk. Igaz ugyan, hogy az a_1, a_2, a_3 és az a_4 mindig jól érezhetően magasabb volt Szlovákiában, s ami különösen jelentős a harmadik gyermek arányát jelző a_2 még 1989-ben is 10,2%-kal állt ott a csehországi fölött (a negyedik gyermek arányát jelző a_3 pedig 9,2%-kal).

Mindazonáltal a vizsgált intézkedések a szlovákiai termékenység irányzatát sem emelték maradandóan, sőt a két ország közötti különbségek 1966 és 1987 között sokszor számottevően is csökkentek, ami természetesen annyit jelent, hogy ugyanakkor a felvidéki születések gyakorisága még rohamosabban fogyott, mint a cseheké.

Ebben az összefüggésben a magyar családvédelmi politika bizonyos fokú hatásossága kivételt alkotott. Három évvel a magyar szabadságharc után, 1959-ben hazánkban az első gyermek születésének valószínűsége 82% volt, s azt követően a másodiké 62%, vagyis csak a családok felében lehetett két gyermeket várni. Ez az arány a következő három évben csak romlott, mert 1961-ben negyvenhat százalékra esett. Ezt a természeti szerencsétlenséggel könnyen vetekvő társadalmi csapást számottevően enyhítette a gyermeket váró anyáknak bevezetett juttatások és szabadságok rendszere. Az a_0 ugyanis Magyarországon 1962 és 1988 között megközelítően 19%-kal nőtt (amit azonban jóformán teljesen a házasságon kívüli születések elszaporodása biztosított), s legalább ugyanakkora volt az a_1 irányvonalának az emelkedése akármilyen nagymérvű hullámzást észlelhetünk a szóban forgó irányvonal körül.

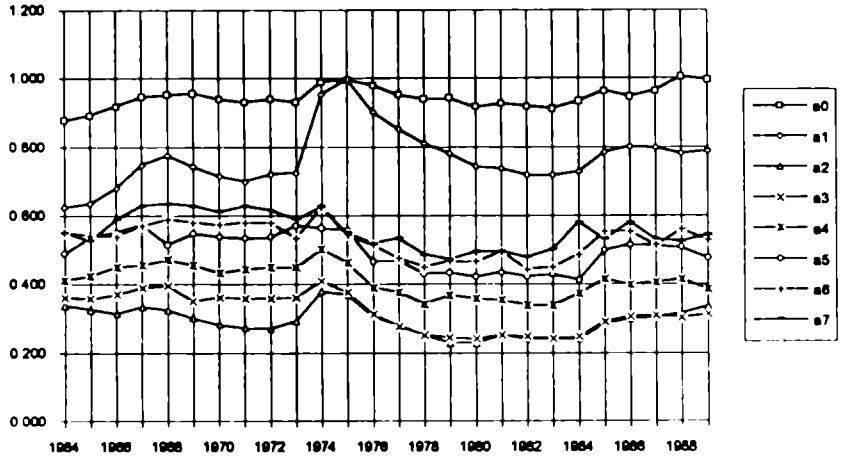
Mindezeknek az eredményeknek az elismerése ellenére rá kell mutatni azonban arra, hogy a magyar a_1-nek 1989-ben volt 79%-os színvonala egyrészt azt jelenti, hogy annak az (ezerkilencszáz) hetvenes években még magasabban várható irányzata abbamaradt. Másrészt az a_1-nek 1989-es értéke azt jelenti, hogy a párok 21%-a még mindig "kimarad" a következő nemzedék építéséből, sőt ez az arány a házasságot kötött családoknál ugyanakkor 30%-ra emelkedett, *márpedig az egykés családok nem pótolhatják a szülők számát.*

Ennek a súlyosságát természetesen csak fokozza, hogy a magyar népesedéspolitikai rendelkezések egyáltalán nem növelték a magasabb családnövekedési valószínűségeket. Valójában a leglényegesebb lenne a harmadik gyermek gyakoriságát fokozni, ha a magyar népesség fogyását meg akarnánk állítani, mert máskülönben nem gondoskodhatunk az idő előtt fiatalon, vagy akár meglett korban elhaltak, és még kevésbé a kiöregedő évfolyamok utánpótlásáról. Az a_2 azonban Magyarországon jóformán változatlanul a legkisebb családnövekedési valószínűség maradt 1987-ig, sőt az az 1960-ban volt 37%-hoz képest csak 31,5%-ot mutatott 1988-ban és 33,6%-ot 1989-ben. *A magyar családvédelmi intézkedések tehát a Kádár-rendszerben egyáltalán nem javították a legszámottevőbb gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségnek, az a_2-nek, végzetesen alacsony irányvonalát.*

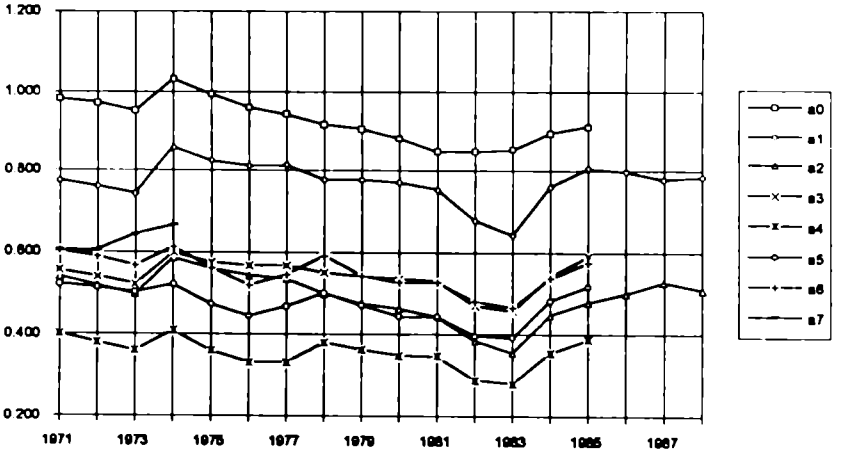
Ellentétben az a_3-mal, amelynek hazai alakulását erősen az ottani a_2-höz hasonlíthatjuk, a jelenlegi Magyarország területén megfigyelhető a_5, a_6 és a_7 családnövekedési valószínűségek általában magasabbak voltak, mint a Vajdaságban, Horvátországban, Szlovéniában, Ausztriában, Csehszlovákiában és Ukrajnában, tehát a környező országok egész sorában /18/. Aligha kétséges, hogy ezek a hatodik, hetedik és nyolcadik gyermek születését jelző gyakoriságok valójában a cigány családaink termékenységét tükrözik. Megfigyelhetjük viszont, hogy a szóban forgó a_7, a_6, a_5 (sőt már az a_4) irányzata alapjában vízszintes maradt a vizsgált három évtizeden keresztül; azt tehát a népesedéspolitikai rendelkezések, az elképzelésekkel ellentétben, nem változtatták meg.

Szemben a magyar családvédelmi rendelkezésekkel, amelyek gazdasági ösztönzés és társadalmi juttatások révén igyekeztek a termékenységet növelni, a román népesedéspolitika főként jogi kényszerrel, és az egész női népesség jóformán paranoid fölülvizsgálásával kísérelte meg a születések számát emelni. Ennek az eljárásnak a lehetősége a bolsevizmus totalitárius rendszeréből eredt, de a vasfüggöny mögötti országok között is páratlan maradt, és aligha volt eredményesebb a születések csökkenő irányzatának a megváltoztatására, mint a magyar, vagy a többi marxista államok erőfeszítése. Az a_0 ugyanis 1976 után Romániában ténylegesen alacsonyabb volt, nemcsak mint Magyarországon, de a többi szóban forgó országban is; az a_1 ugyanott a legalacsonyabbak közé tartozott /19/. Következésképpen a román lakosságnak még nagyobb aránya maradt ki a népesség utánpótlásából, mint a többi ilyen államban. Csupán a román a_2 és a_3 állt általában magasabban, mint másutt a KGST területén, de az utóbbi születési rendeknek az irányzata Romániában éppúgy süllyedőben volt, mint ugyanott az összes többié.

1985 után Romániában a gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségeket csak a második és harmadik gyermekre (a_1 és a_2) lehet kiszámítnai, mert a többi születési sorrendre vonatkozó évsorok hiányosak, és ahol megvannak a kiadott adatok között nagy egyenetlenségek jelentkeznek, például az 5. és 6. gyermek esetében, ha például az 1985. évet összevetjük az 1988. évvel. Mindenesetre a román a_1 és a_2 értékei az utóbbi években arra vallanak, hogy az 1983 és 1985 között tapasztalható emelkedés valójában nem tudta a gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségeket az 1974. évben Romániában észlelt szintre visszaemelni. *Vasile Ghetau* tanulmányából /20/ viszont az is kiderül, hogy az 1974-et megelőző 1966—1971 években (amikorra a román gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségeket még nem tudjuk kiszámítani) ugyanezek az értékek még magasabb szintről süllyedtek. *Ceausescu 1966. évben bevezetett népesedéspolitikai rendelkezései tehát ténylegesen nem érték el céljukat, mert a születések csökkenő irányzatát alapjában nem tudták maradandóan megváltoztatni.*



II.18 Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Magyarországon



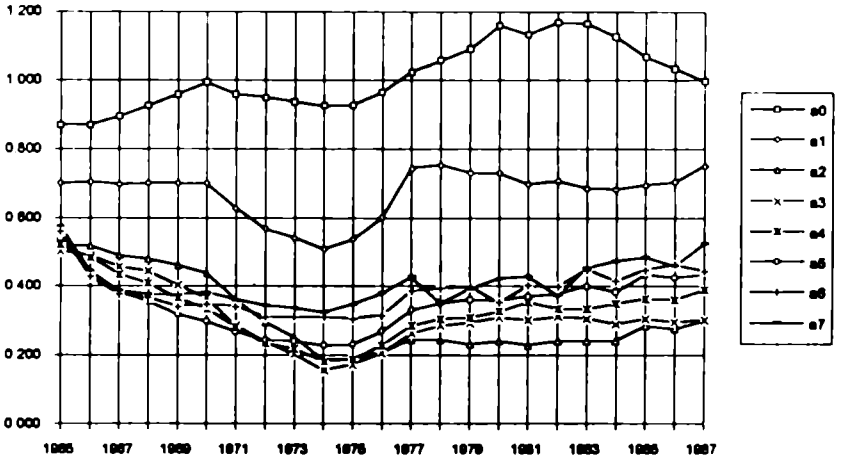
II.19 Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Romániában

A gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek alakulása a korábbi Kelet-Németországban szinte figyelemre méltó, két szempontból is. Először, mert az ottani termékenység képe mintegy átmentet mutat a föntiekben megkülönböztetett "adriai típusból" a "vajdasági típusba". Megközelítőleg ugyanis 1972 körülig a keletnémet magasabb szülési sorrendek értékei többé-kevésbé egy nyalábban estek. Azután azonban, hogy a legalsó szintjüket érték el 1974-ben, az a_1 lett a legalacsonyabb gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűség a DDR-ben (és az is maradt egészen 1988-ig) viszont a magasabb szülési sorrendekre vonatkozó értékek vonalai többnyire fölcserélődve emelkedő sorrendben kerültek egymás fölé, mint azt a Vajdaságban is megfigyelhettük.

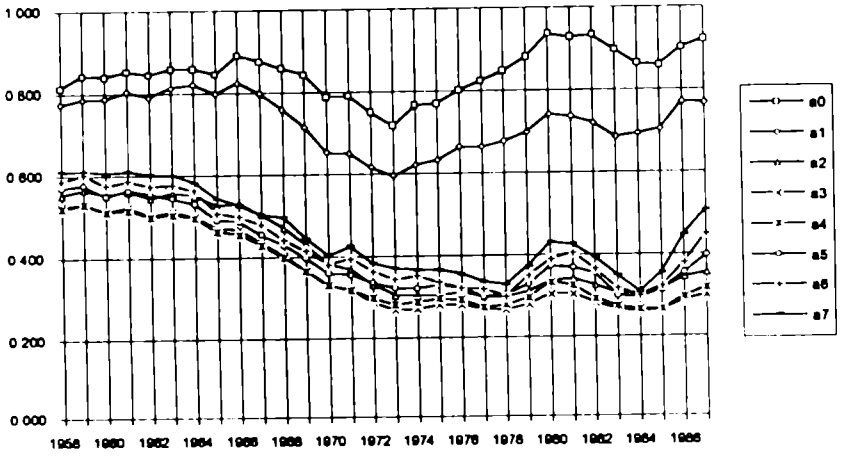
Másodszor pedig meglepőnek tűnik, hogy Kelet-Németországban, amelyet ideológiailag a legigazhitűbb marxista államnak lehetett tekinteni, s amely német pontossággal követte *Karl Marx* németül írott sorait, a legcsekélyebb jele sincs azoknak az egyidejű erőfeszítéseknek, amelyekkel a KGST kormányok igyekeztek országuk termékenységét növelni az 1973—74 években, vagy már korábban 1968-ban. Valójában a vasfüggöny mögötti országokban általában az 1973—74 években észlelhető növekedés a termékenységben nemcsak hogy hiányzott a DDR-ben, hanem éppen abban az időszakban érték el a keletnémet gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek legmélyebb süllyedésüket pontosan 1974-ben, a mintegy öt évig tartó hullámvölgyben. Azoknak a képe tehát ilyen szempontból teljesen elüt a varsói szerződés többi tagjától.

Másrészt éppenúgy, ahogy a boszniai, vagy a montenegróbeli gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek alakulása az olaszországit tükrözte az Adria másik oldalán, a keletnémet gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek többé-kevésbé a nyugatnémetországiakat követték az első öt szülés esetében, az a_1 kivételével. A magasabb szülési sorrendeknél nyugatnémet hullámok kelet-németországi visszaverődése kevésbé éles, de az azokból származók az összes újszülötteknek csak igen kis hányadát, talán öt százalékát alkották a két Németországban. Ezért azok nem változtathatták meg alapjában a német termékenység képét.

Ugyanerre az eredményre jutunk, ha az egy nőre jutó átlagos gyermekszámot számítjuk a gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségekből.



II.20 Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Kelet-Németországban



II.21 Családnövekedési valószínűségek Nyugat-Németországban

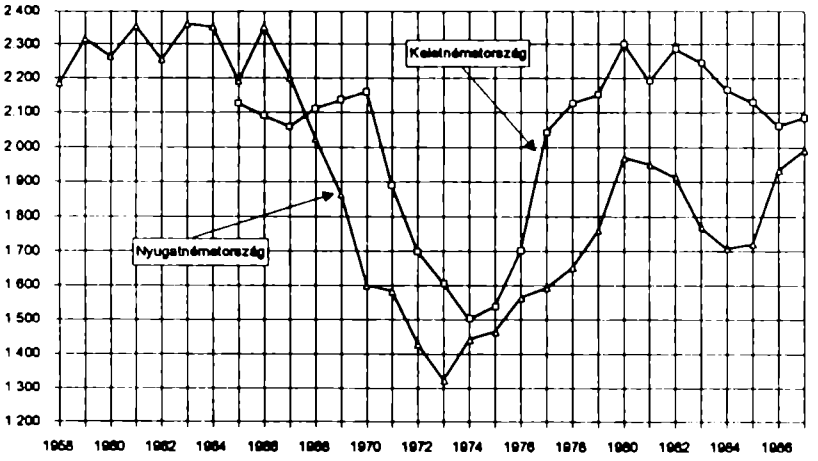
3. A nők átlagos gyermekszáma Kelet-Közép-Európában és Délkelet-Európában

A módszertani részben már láttuk, hogy a nők átlagos gyermekszámát a következő egyenlet szerint számítjuk:

$$\bar{e} = a_0 + a_0a_1 + a_0a_1a_2 + \ldots + a_0a_1a_2 \ldots a_n + \ldots \quad /21/.$$

Ezen egyenleten alapuló számításokból megint kitűnik, hogy az 1974—1975 években a vasfüggöny mögötti államokban a nők átlagos gyermekszáma is többnyire csúcsértéket ért el, így Romániában, Csehszlovákiában, Magyarországon és Bulgáriában. Ezzel éles ellentétben viszont ugyanezen számítások eredményei azt mutatják, hogy ugyanezen évek körül a szóban forgó átlagos gyermekszám Kelet-Németországban hullámvölgyet képezett és annak mélypontja pontosan 1975-ben volt. Így tehát a keletnémet termékenység alakulását nem lehet a vasfüggöny mögött érvényesülő állapotokból levezetni.

1970 és 1974 között viszont a nők átlagos gyermekszámának esése Kelet-Németországban feltűnően szorosan követte a családok átlagos gyermekszámának alakulását Nyugat-Németországban két-két és fél év távolságban (lásd a III.1 ábrát). Éppen ennyire jelentős, hogy amikor a vizsgált mutató emelkedni kezdett a Szövetségi Köztársaságban 1973 és 1974 közt, ugyanez történt a DDR-ben a következő évben, és azután az emelkedő irányvonaluk folytatódott mindkét Németországban pontosan 1980-ig. Az utóbbi évben mind a két német $\bar{e}$ értéke esni kezdett többé-kevésbé ugyanabba az irányba. Mindebből világos lehet, hogy a keletnémet termékenység alakulása sokkal inkább tükrözte a nyugat-németországit, mint a vasfüggöny mögött volt országokét.



III.1 Az átlagos gyermekszám összehasonlítása a két Németországban

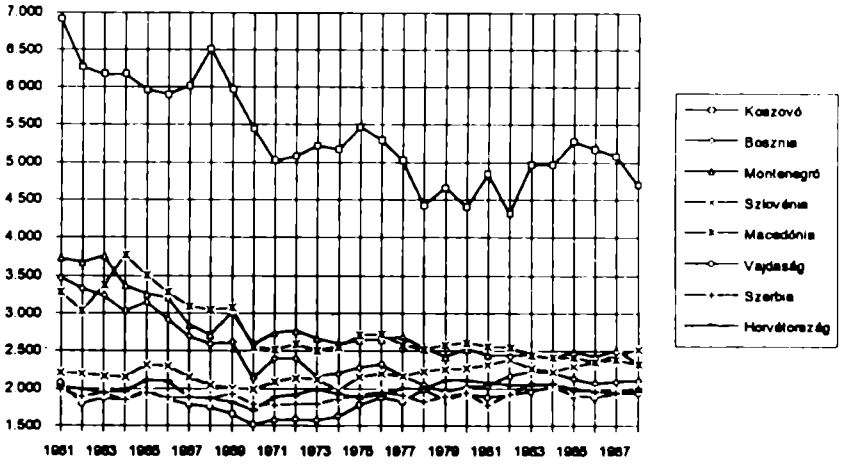
A következő nemzedék csak akkor lehet a jelenlegivel azonos létszámú, ha a most élőnek elegendő sarja támad. Az ehhez szükséges gyermekek száma az elmúlt évszázadok magas halandósága, és igen magas csecsemő- és gyermekhalandóságamiatt ugyancsak nagy volt. Az azonban a fejlett európai országok közegészségi viszonyai között is átlagosan legalább 2,1 gyermek maradt, mert a két szülőn kívül utánpótlásról kell gondoskodni azon személyek helyett, akik a termékenykor vége előtt manapság is elhalnak /22/.

A III.3 ábra mutatja, hogy a vizsgált országok közül csak Lengyelországban maradt a nők átlagos gyermekszáma biztosan és következetesen, s viszonylag pusztán igen csekély kilengéssel a szóban forgó 2,1 mércéje fölött. Igaz ugyan, hogy az egész Jugoszláviára számított ilyen átlag vonala ugyanolyan sajátságokat látszik mutatni, mint a lengyeleké, a valóságban azonban a jugoszláv szövetség egészére vonatkozó közös eredmények igen nagy eltéréseket rejtenek, melyek között négy fő változatot különböztethetünk meg (III.2 ábra). Kosovo tartományban ugyanis a nők átlagos gyermekszáma 5 körül ingadozott 1988-ig, lényegében ugyanazon a szinten, mint Albániában 1961 és 1967 között, vagyis azokban az években, amelyekre vonatkozólag Tirana ilyen adatokat közölt.

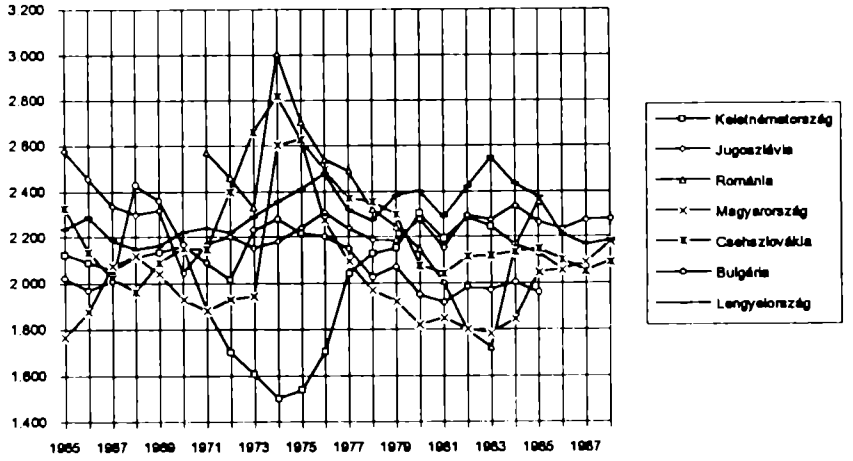
Ezzel szemben Jugoszlávia legnagyobb államaiban: Szerbiában, Horvátországban és a Vajdaságban a vizsgált *e* már 2,1 gyermek alá esett 1962 előtt, s az alatt a szint alatt maradt az egész vizsgált időszakban 1988-ig, legfeljebb egy-két átmeneti év kivételével.

A harmadik változathoz tartozó Macedóniában a nők átlagos gyermekszáma 1960-ban 3,567-et mutatott, és az ugyanakkor 3,699 volt Montenegróban és 3,7 Boszniában. Ehhez a harmadik változathoz tartozó országokban azonban ez a szám majdnem folytonosan esett 1970-ig, amikor az 2,547 volt Macedóniában, 2,589 Montenegróban és 2,1 Boszniában. Ezt követőleg az *ℓ* színvonala többé-kevésbé állandósult Macedóniában és Montenegróban az utánpótlási szint fölött, de Boszniában az kettő alá süllyedt 1979-ben és így az utóbbi ország tulajdonképpen Szerbia csoportjához csatlakozott.

Negyedik változatként említhetjük Szlovéniát, ahol az *ℓ* egy-két év kivételével általában 2,1 fölött maradt, sőt 1978-tól kezdve lassan, de biztosan emelkedni kezdett, hogy 2,519 értékét érje el 1988-ban.



III.2 A nők átlagos gyermekszáma a délszláv államokban



III.3 A nők átlagos gyermekszáma a vasfüggöny mögött volt országokban

A marxista hatóságok ismételt kísérleteinek, amikkel a termékenységet számottevően az utánpótlási szint fölé igyekeztek emelni, szemmel láthatóan nem volt maradandó hatása, és így alapjában eredménytelenek maradtak. Csehszlovákiában a nők átlagos gyermekszámában 1963-ban megjelenő hullám már 1967-re elapadt és az 1972-ben kifejlődni kezdő még nagyobb fellendülés szintén eltűnt 1980-ra. Igaz ugyan, hogy ezután a szóban forgó mutató Csehszlovákia egészében állandósulni látszott éppen 2,1 értékű szinten, ezt azonban csak annak lehetett köszönni, hogy Szlovákiában a születések magasabb gyakorisága kiegyenlítette a Csehországban mutatkozó újszülöttek hiányát a két ország átlagában.

Bulgáriában az *ě* föllendülés 1968-ban mindössze két évig tartott és 1973-ban legfeljebb négy évig, de még kisebb volt, mint Csehszlovákiában és 1978 és 1985 között a száma következetesen a 2,1 gyermek szintje alatt maradt.

Ceaucescu népesedéspolitikájának teljes kudarcát és csődjét semmi sem ábrázolhatja jobban, mint az a tény, hogy az *ě* mutatója Romániában az 1974-ben volt megközelítőleg 3 gyermekről minden kényszer és nőgyógyászati fölülvizsgálás ellenére 1983-ig megközelítőleg 1,735-ra esett le, s a későbbi évekre kiszámítható gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek egyáltalán nem mutatnak arra, hogy Romániában a későbbi években a nők átlagos gyermekszáma ismét elérte volna az 1974. évi szintet.

Ezzel szemben Magyarországon a nők átlagos gyermekszáma emelkedő jellegűnek mutatkozott: az 1962-ben észlelt 1,533 szintre ugyanis többé már nem süllyedt vissza. A magyar családvédelem hatását legjobban talán az tükrözi, hogy ellentétben a szomszédos Ausztriával, ahol a családok átlagos gyermekszáma az 1981-ben volt 1,907-ről 1988-ig 1,438-re apadt (s 1990-ben is csak 1,895-et ért el),

hazánkban az 1983-beli 1,624 gyermekről 1990-ben 1,942 nagyságúra növekedett, a nők átlagos gyermekszáma pedig 1,783-ről 1983-ban 1989-ig 2,187-re emelkedett. Hangsúlyozni kell, hogy a magyar családvédelmi intézkedések ezen eredményeit csak a nők és családok átlagos gyermekszámából ismerhetjük meg, mert a teljes termékenységi mutatóban azt elpalástolja a meddő nők növekvő száma.

Mindezek az eredmények azonban nem kendőzhetik el azt a tényt, hogy az 1959-től 1988-ig eltelt 30 esztendőből csak egy-két évig haladta meg az átlagos gyermekszám Magyarországon az utánpótlási szintet 1968-ban, 1974—1976-ban és 1988-ban /23/, sőt a tiszta utánpótlási együttható (az NRR) azt pusztán 1974—1977-ig értel el. Tehát amíg a többi vasfüggöny mögött volt állam csak alig és ideiglenesen tudta a vizsgált *ē* értékét a 2,1 mércéje körüli szintről magasabbra emelni, addig a gulyáskommunizmus viszont magát a 2,1 szintjét is csak alig és átmenetileg tudta elérni. *Kádár* három évtizedes bitorlása huzamosabb és végzetesebb nyomot hagyott a magyar népesedés alakulásán, mint a megelőző világháborúk.

JEGYZETEK

/1/ La population des femmes ayant eu au moins $n + 1$ enfents, parmi celles qui en ont au moins n, mesure ce qu'on appelle la probabilité d'agrandissement des familles de n enfants. Commission du dictionnaire démographique de l'Union internationale pour l'étude scientifique de la population: Dictionnaire démographique multilingue, volume francais. (Publications du Service de la population, Bureau des affaires sociales, Nations Unies, Departement des affaires economiques et sociales, ST/SOA/Ser. A, Études démographiques N° 29) New York 1958, 58. oldal, 634.4 szám.

Az angol nyelvű kiadás azt kívánná, hogy az így vizsgált népességnek a termékenysége befejezett legyen: the parity-progression ratio which is the fraction whose denominator is the number of women of parity n in a population whose fertility is complete and whose numerator is the number of women of parity $n + 1$ in the same population. Demographic Dictionary Committee of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population: Multilingual Demographic Dictionary. English Section. (Pulications of the Population Branch, Bureau of Social Affaires, ST/SOA/Ser. A, Population Studies, No 29) New York 1958, 41. oldal, 634.4 szám.

/2/

Két módszer a harmadik gyermek születési valószínűségének számítására (Franciaországban a házasságból születettekre vonatkozóan)

Év	Második születések	Közvetett eljárás			Közvetlen eljárás			
		Súlyok	("súlyozott tényezők")		1965		1966	
			$d = b \times c$ 1965 (%o-ben)	$e = b \times c$ (de egy évvel előbbre mozdítva) %o-ben 1966	Harmadik születések az előző szülés éve szerint	$g = f/b$ %o-ben	Harmadik születések az előző szülések éve szerint	$i = h/b$ %o-ben
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)
1966	219 801			4,4			2 313	*10,5*
1965	216 312	*2*	4,3	34,6	2 315	*10,7*	25 085	*116,0*
1964	216 483	*16*	34,6	71,4	26 025	*120,2*	31 985	*147,7*
1963	211 985	*33*	70 0	40,3	32 743	*154,5*	20 432	*96,4*
1962	204 698	*19*	38,9	22,5	19 833	*96,9*	12 851	*62,8*
1961	206 302	*11*	22,7	14,4	12 884	*62,5*	8 903	*43,2*
1960	199 507	*7*	14,0	8,0	8 891	*44,6*	6 117	*30,7*
1959	202 016	*4*	8,1	6,1	6 174	*30,6*	4 404	*21,8*
1958	198 016	*3*	5,9	4,0	4 376	*22,1*	3 200	*16,2*
1957	205 418	*2*	4,1	4,1	3 221	*15,7*	2 284	*11,1*
1956	199 791	*2*	4,0	2,0	2 323	*11,6*	1 574	*7,9*
1955	198 777	*1*	2,0		1 669	*8,4*	1 163	*5,9*
1954	202 865				1 206	*5,9*	866	*4,3*
1953	204 152				827	*4,1*	585	*2,9*
1952	212 309				600	*2,8*	436	*2,1*
1951	218 059				429	*2,0*	278	*1,3*
1950	235 382				305	*1,3*	203	*0,9*
1949	240 646				204	*0,8*	105	*0,4*
1948	219 381				97	*0,4*	59	*0,3*
1947	195 911				50	*0,3*	27	*0,1*
1946	210 717				33	*0,2*		
1945	151 391				18	*0,1*		
1944	149 529						(28)	*0,2*
1943	135 088				(17)	*0,1*		
Összesen			208,6	211,8	124 240	595,8	122 898	582,7
a_2 (%o)			$\frac{124240}{208600}$ = *595%o*	$\frac{122898}{211800}$ = *580%o*		*596%o*		*583%o*

Forrás: *Roland Pressat*: L'analyse démographique, Paris 1969, 194. oldal.

/3/ *Louis Henry*: Fécondité des mariages — nouvelle méthode de mesure. Travaux et documents de l'Institut national d'études démographiques, cahier n° 16, Paris 1953.

/4/ Ebből a szempontból a következő munkákat idézhetjük:
Jean Noel Biraben: Evolution récente de la fécondité des mariages dans les pays occidentaux. Population 1961, január-március 49—70. oldal.
Rolland Pressat: L'analyse démographique, Paris 1969, 192—196. oldal.
Rolland Pressat: Demographic Analyisis, London 1972, 218—242. oldal.
France Marchal, Odile Rabut: Evolution récente de la fécondité en Europe occidentale, Population, 1972, július-október, 838—874. oldal.
Maire Ni Bhrolchain: Period parity progression ratios and birth intervals in England and in Wales, 1941—1971: a synthetic life table analysis. CPS Research Paper, No 85—4 (University of London. London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, Centre for Population Studies) London 1985.

/5/ *Roland Pressat*: L'analyse demographique, Paris 1969, 193, 196. oldal.
A magyar népességtudományi irodalomban ez a jelölésrendszer már legalábbis 1964 óta használatos: *Theiss Ede*: A reprodukciós és termékenységi modellek továbbfejlesztése. *Szabady Egon* (szerkesztő): Bevezetés a demográfiába, Budapest, 1964, 497, 579—580. oldal.

/6/ *L(ouis) H(enry)*: Un nouveau tableau statistique: les naissance suivant le rang et l'année de naissance de l'enfant précédent. Population, 1961, július-szeptember, 515. oldal.
Ebben a közleményben *Louis Henry* csak az a_1, a_3, a_5 és a_7 számításához való súlyokat közli az 1959. évi felvétel alapján, vagyis amelyekkel a második, negyedik, hatodik és nyolcadik gyermekre vonatkozó gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségeket számíthatjuk. Így a köztük levő (valójában páratlan számú) születéseket illetőleg súlyként csak a szülési sorrendben előttük és utánuk levő adatok átlagát lehet pusztán használni. Meglepő, hogy (mint látni fogjuk) az így nyert átlagsúlyokkal végzett számítások alig adnak számottevő eltérést a valóságos megfigyelésen alapuló súlyok használatával elért eredményekhez képest.

/7/ "... thus, in the case of populations practicing birth control, the French or Bohemian series will be preferable to those from Slovakia or Subcarpathian Russia, where the practice is rare."
Louis Henry: Fertility according to size of family: application to Australia. (Publications of the Population Branch, Bureau of Social Affairs, United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, ST/SOA/Ser. N, Population Bulletin of the United Nations, No. 4, December 1954) 4. oldal (vesd össze a 10. oldallal).

/8/ Megjegyezhetjük, hogyha az eltérések az 1959-es felvételen alapuló súlyokkal végzett számítások és *Louis Henry* kárpátaljai súlyainak használatával való eredmények között kissé nagyobbak is, mint amiket az 1907-es súlyrendszer alkalmazása esetén nyerünk (különösen az a_4 értékeknél), mindazáltal mind a háromfajta eredménynek a vonala meglepően közel fut egymáshoz.

/9/ *Jean Noel Biraben*: Evolution récente de la fécondité des mariages dans les pays occidentaux. Population 1961, január-március, 49—70. oldal.

/10/ Az I.2.a ábrából kitűnik, hogy Magyarországon magasabb, a_2—a_7 jelzésű valószínűségek esetében eleinte az 1965-öt követő években a családnövekedési

valószínűség némileg a gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűség fölé helyezkedett el, de elég hamarosan ez a helyzet megfordult.

Az I.2 ábrákon azt is megfigyelhetjük, hogy a második gyermekre vonatkozó a_1 a többi valószínűségtől eltérően mind Kelet-Németországban, mind pedig Magyarországon mindig magasabb értéket mutat a házasságból születettekre, mint a házasságon kívül születetteket is felölelő összes születésre számítva.

/11/ *Louis Henry*: Fertility according to size of family, op. cit. 16. oldal. *Theiss Ede* az "*e*" jele helyett "*G*" betűt használta *Szabady Egon* (szerkesztő): Bevezetés a demográfiába (Budapest 1964) című munka 497. (és 580.) oldalán.

/12/ *Alfred Sauvy*: General Theory of Population, London 1969, 359. oldal.

/13/ *Rolland Pressat*: Demographic Analyis, London 1972, 240. oldal.

/14/ A korrelációra vonatkozó "*F*" értéke 1006.57, ami 49 megfigyelés, és így 48 szabadság-fok (degree of freedom) esetében 1 tízezrelékes biztonsági szintet ad (vagyis 10 000 eset közül csak egyszer fordulna elő véletlenül).

A független változó 1,202 együtthatójának "*t*" értéke 31.726, ami szintén 1 tízezrelékes biztonsági szintet mutat.

Az *y* tengelyen levő metszéspontnak —1,943-nál levő szintjére a "*t*" értéke —3.255, ami 2 ezrelékes szintet nyújt, vagyis 500 eset közül egyszer esne meg véletlenül.

/15/ Első gyermeke csak annak a nőnek lehet, aki addig nem volt terméketlen. Ezért a második gyermek valószínűségének a számításába csak termékeny nők léphetnek be, ellentétben az első gyermek valószínűségének számításával, amelyet minden első házasságra lépett asszonyhoz viszonyítunk. Ezért születés-szabályozás hiányában az a_1-nek, a második gyermek valószínűségének nagyobbnak kell lennie, mint az első gyermekének, az a_0-nak.

"Dans le même example, on remarquera que a_1 est toujours supérieur à a_0. C'est que a_1 est mesuré chez les couples qui ont déjà accédé à la dimension 1 de famille, c'est-à-dire dans un ensemble d'où sont éliminés les couples stériles de tout temps; a_1 ne se ressent donc plus, en l'absence de limitation volontaire des naissances, que de la stérilité acquise par les couples depuis la naissance du premier enfant." *Roland Pressat*: L'analyse démographique, második kiadás, Paris 1969, 193. oldal.

/16/ "Es ist nur das Quantum gesellschaftlich nothwendiger Arbeit oder die zur Herstellung eines gebrauchwerks gezellschaflich nothwendige Arbeitzeit, welche seine Werthgrösse betimmt ... Der Werth einer Waare verhält sich zum Werth jeder andern Waare wie die zur Produktion der einem nothwendingen Arbeitzeit zu den für die Production der andren nothwendigen Arbeitzeit." "Als Werthe sind alle Waaren nur bestimmte Masse festgronnerner Arbeitzeit" *Karl Heinrich Marx*: Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oeconomie, Hamburg 1867, 5. oldal. Ezt a meghatározást tehát már a könyv első fejezete megadja, azonban valójában az egész könyv nagyrésze tulajdonképpen ezt a fogalmat részletezi. A népesedést a 23. fejezet érinti (a hetedik részben), ahol az Uebervoelkerung a tőkés társadalmi rend következménye: "Mit der durch sie selbst producierten Akkumulation des Kapitals produciert die Arbeiterbevölkerung also in wachsenden Umfang die Mittel ihrer eignen relativen Ueberzähligmachung. Es ist dies ein der kapitalistischen Produktionweise eigenthumliches Populationgesetz wie in der That jede besondre historisch gültigen Populationgesetze hat." op. cit. 617—618. oldal.

Marx munkaérték-elméletét számosan kritizálták, Így:
Eugen von Boehm-Bawerk: *Karl Marx* and the Close of his system, London 1898.
Michael von Tugan-Baranovsky: Theoretischen Grundlagen des Marxismus, Lipcse 1905.
Vilfredo Maraquese Pareto: Manual of Political Economy (translated by *Ann Schwier*) London 1972, III. fejezet 226. pont (177—170. oldal); VII. fejezet 117. pont (319. oldal); VIII. fejezet 25. pont (329. oldal).
Horace (William Brindley) Joseph: The Labour Theory of Value in *Karl Marx*, London 1923.

/17/ A társadalmi elégedetlenség viharfelhői gyülekezésének mintegy előérzetében a művi vetéléseket még 1956 júniusában engedélyezte az akkor még hatalmon levő sztalinista rendszer Magyarországon. Ez ugyan nem állította meg a szabadságharc kirobbanását, de a következő években a számuk többszörösére nőtt és a *Kádár* rendszer legfontosabb biztonsági szelepévé vált, ami állandóan szélesre nyitva működött. Lásd: *Eugene Csocsán de Várallja*: La population de la Hongrie au XXe siècle: le mouvement naturel de la population. Revue de l'Est, (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) 5. kötet 3. szám (1974. július) 143. oldal; 150. oldal Diagramme I.10, 151. oldal; 173. oldal, Tableau I.8.

/18/ Az a_5, a_6 és az a_7 csak Romániában volt magasabb hazánknál a Magyarországgal határos országok közül. Erdélyre és Szlovákiában a magasabb születési rendekre vonatkozó adatokat nem közlik, és ezért a Kárpát-medence minden részét ilyen szempontból nem hasonlíthatjuk össze.
Meg kell még említnei, hogy a Szovjetunió egész területét számítva sokkal magasabb a_5, a_6 és a_7 értékeket nyerünk, mint Ukrajnában és Magyarországon, az ázsiai területek magas termékenysége miatt legalábbis 1973-ban és 1974-ben, az egyetlen két évben, melyekre a családnövekedési valószínűségek kiszámíthatók az Egyesült Nemzetek Demográfiai Évkönyvében megjelent adatokból a szóban forgó országokra.
A Jugoszlávia egész területét számításba vevő a_5, a_6 és a_7 szintén magasabb szintet mutat, mint pusztán Szlovéniát, Horvátországot, a Vajdaságot (és Magyarországot) mutatók, mert a kosovoi adatok beszámítása igen megemeli Jugoszlávia egészének az eredményeit.

/19/ Különösképpen a román a_4 ellentétben az ottani a_2-vel és a_3-mal, szintén a vasfüggöny mögötti legalacsonyabb családnövekedési valószínűségek közé tartozott (mint a román a_1 és a_0).

/20/ *Vasile Ghetau*: Evolution de fécondité en Roumanie. Une approche longitudinale. Population 1983 (38. évfolyam) 2. szám 250. oldal.

/21/ *Louis Henry*: Fertility according to size of family, op. cit. 16 oldal. *Theiss Ede* az "*ℓ*" jele helyett a "*G*" betűt használta *Szabady Egon*: Bevezetés a demográfiába, Budapest 1963, munka 497. (és 580.) oldalán.

/22/ A népesség utánpótlásának különböző mutatóit leginkább talán *Alfred Sauvy*: General Theory of Population, London 1969 című könyv 359. oldalán levő ábrán lehet összehasonlítani.
A United Nations (Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, Statistical Office): Demographic Yearbook 1986, 22. táblájában (Selected derived measures of natality 1967—1985, 548—572. oldal) viszont a következő adatokat találjuk:

Ország	Év	Teljes termékenységi arányszám[1]	Tiszta utánpótlási együttható[2]	Oldalszám a Yearbook-ban
Kelet-Németország	1971	2.120	1.006	565
Csehszlovákia	1971	2.127	1.004	564
	1982	2.097	1.001	
Skócia	1973	2.135	1.001	569
Dánia	1968	2.129	1.000	564

[1]Total fertility rate.
[2]Net Reproduction Rate (NRR).

Ez világosan mutatja, hogy még modern európai viszonyok között is a népesség azonos szinten való utánpótlása nem érhető el, hacsak a családok átlagos gyermekszáma nem éri el a 2,1 sarjat. Ezért az európai parlamentnek Strasbourgban 1986. október 22-én tartott ülésén a szóban forgó 2,1 gyermekszámot használták az utánpótlás mércéjéül. (*Derek Brown*: Fears on fall in Europe's birth rate. Guardian, 23rd October 1986, 8. oldal).

/23/ A föntiekben már láthattuk ugyanis, hogy Magyarországon az a_0-val ellentétben az a_1 emelkedése heves hullámzása miatt korántsem volt olyan egyértelmű. Az 1988-ban ténylegesen 0,781-re esett az előző évi 0,793-ról. Az utóbbi esés viszont aligha ígérhette a következő és leglényegesebb családnövekedési valószínűségnek, az a_2-nek a további emelkedését, s annak alászálló irányzatát a magyar népesedéspolitika alapjában nem tudta megváltoztatni, hiszen az 1988-ban még az 1959. évi szintet sem érte el.

FORRÁSKÉNT a következő évkönyvek vonatkozó évfolyamait haszáltuk:

United Nations Demographic Yearbooks New York (részben kiegészítve még kiadatlan adatokkal, amelyeket a "Demographic Yearbook database"-ben tárolnak, s amelyeket szívesek voltak rendelkezésünkre bocsátani).
Központi Statisztikai Hivatal: Demográfiai évkönyv, Budapest.
Savezni Zavod za Statistiku: Demografska Statistika, Belgrád.
Österreichischen Statistischen Zentralamt: Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich, Bécs.
Statistisches Bundesamt: Statistisches Jahrbuch, Stuttgart.
Staalichen Zentralverwaltung für Statistik: Statistisches Jahrbuch der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Berlin.
Fererální Statistický Úřad: Statistická ročenka, Prága.

Tárgyszavak:

Termékenység
Népesedéspolitika

GYERMEKSZÁMNÖVEKEDÉSI VALÓSZÍNŰSÉGEK 1989 ELŐTT ÉS UTÁN

VÁRALLJAI CSOCSÁN JENŐ

a) Módszertani megfigyelések

A *gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűség* az a hányados, aminek a nevezője a szóban forgó népességben azoknak a nőknek a száma, akik valamely születési sorrendet elérték, s aminek a számlálója azoknak a nőknek a száma, akik a következő születési sorrendet érték el[1], az Egyesült Nemzetek „Soknyelvű Demográfiai Szótára" francia kötete szerint[2]. Ezt a hányadost a francia kötet tulajdonképpen *családnövekedési valószínűségnek* „probablité d'agrandissement des familles"-nak nevezi *Louis Henry* nyomán. Ezt az elnevezést már *Theiss Ede* használta a *Szabady Egon* szerkesztésében megjelent „Bevezetés a demográfiába" című kötetben, 1963-ban. Ugyanő ugyanott bevezette a gyermekszám-növekedési valószínűség kifejezést nyilvánvalóan a házasságon kívül született gyermekeket beszámító mutatók megjelölésére[3].

Rá kell azonban mutatni arra, hogy az említett szótárnak az angol kötete ugyanezt a fogalmat „parity progression ratio"-nak[4] nevezi, vagyis *születési sorrendek következési arányának*, ami sokkal szerencsésebb kifejezés. Az első

[1] Tehát arról van szó, hogy például a kétgyermekes nőknek milyen arányban születik harmadik gyerme.

[2] „La population des femmes ayant eu au moins n+1 enfants, parmi celles qui en ont au moins n, mesure ce qu'on appelle la probabilité d'agrandissement des familles de n enfents"

Commission du dictionnaire démographique de l'Union internationale pour l'étude scientifique de la population:

Dictionnaire démographique multilingue, volume français (Publiction du service de la population, Bureau des affaires économiques et sociales, ST/SOA/Ser. A, Études démographiques N 29) New York 1958, 58. oldal, 636.4 szám

[3] *Theiss Ede*: A családok gyermekszámának figyelembevétele a termékenységi modellekben. in: *Szabady Egon* (szerk.): Bevezetés a demográfiába, Budapest 1964, 496-497. oldal.

[4] „The parity progression ratio is the fraction, whose denominator is the number of women of parity n in a population whose fertility is complete and whose numerator is the number of women of parity n + 1 in the same population."

Demographic Dictionary Committee of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population: Multilingual Demographic Dictionary. English Section. (Publications of the Population Branch, Bureau of Social Affairs, ST/SOA/Ser. A, Population Studies, N 29) New York 1958, 41. oldal 636.4 szám.

születéseket ugyanis nyilvánvalóan nem lehet a nulladik születésekhez mérni, hanem csak az első házasságkötésekhez. Természetesen amennyiben a házasságon kívüli születések bizonyos fokon felül jelentősebben megszaporodnak, az első születések összes száma szükségképpen nagyobb lesz az első házasságkötések számánál, és így az arányuk is túlhaladja a száz százalékot, amit a szoros értelemben vett valószínűség valójában nem haladhat meg. A születések rendjét jelentősen megzavaró események, így nagy háborúk során is eltolódhat a születések bekövetkezésének naptára, és ilyenkor a számítások eredményeként ezek az arányok egynél nagyobb értéket mutathatnak. Ennek ellenére a Központi Statisztikai Hivatal kiadásában 1996-ban megjelent „Demográfia" kézikönyv változatlanul a *családnövekedési valószínűség* kifejezést használja[5].

A szóban forgó mutatót kétféleképpen számolhatjuk, amint a következő táblázat mutatja.

Két módszer a harmadik gyermek születési valószínűségeinek számítására (Franciaországban a házasságból születettekre vonatkozóan)

A *közvetlen eljárásnál* a számításra kerülő születési sorrendben előforduló születéseket az előző születés után eltelt idő szerint bontjuk szét, és az így nyert számokat elosztjuk a megelőző születési sorrendben születettek teljes számával a megfelelő évben, amikor a megelőző születés történt. Ezeket az osztási hányadosokat ezrelékben kifejezve összegezzük, és ezen összegezés eredménye adja a szóban forgó születési sorrend következésének arányát a vizsgált évben, vagyis amit a magyar irodalomban eddig gyermekszám-növekedési valószínűségnek neveztek, illetve családnövekedési valószínűségnek, ha csak a házasságban születetteket vesszük számba.

Nem mindenütt osztályozzák a születéseket a születési sorrend és a megelőző születésekhez mért idő szerint, s még ott is, ahol ezt megteszik, az első születéseket ritkán mérik az első házasságtól eltelt idő szerint. Ezért a *Louis Henry* által kidolgozott *közvetett eljárás* súlyokat használ, amelyekkel a megelőző sorrendű összes születéseket megszorozva a számba jövő évjáratokban – és a szorzatokat összeadva – mintegy a várható születések mértékét nyerjük a szóban forgó születési sorrendben. Az így nyert összeggel kell a ténylegesen észlelt születések számát a kérdéses születési sorrendben elosztani a vizsgált évben.

Louis Henry különböző súlyrendszereket dolgozott ki Malthusianus és születést nem korlátozó népességek számára, amelyek megtalálhatók a

[5] *Klinger András* et alii: Demográfia, Budapest 1996, 185. oldal.

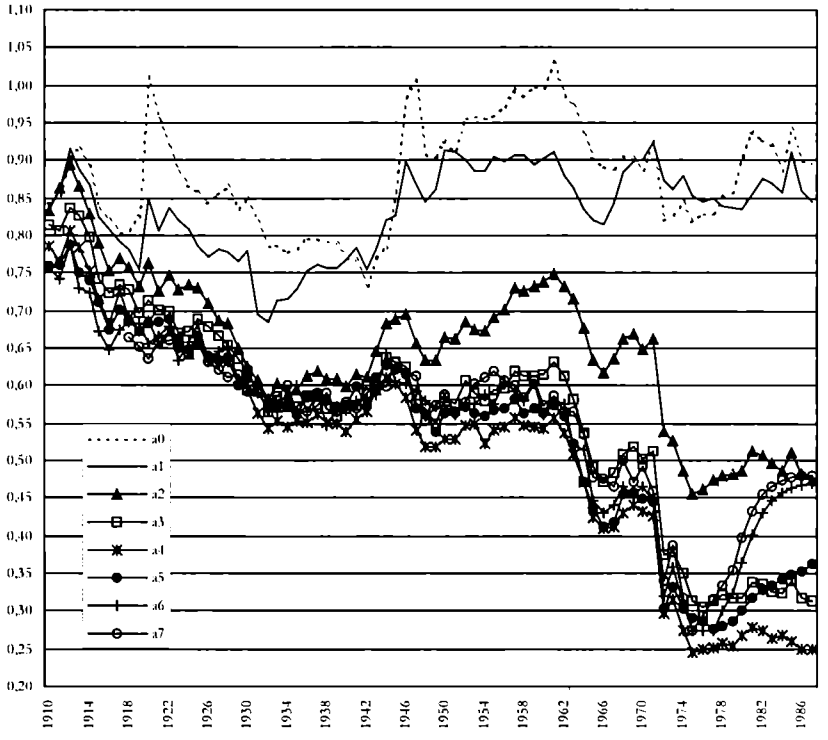
Két módszer a harmadik gyermek születési valószínűségének számítására (Franciaországban a házasságból születettekre vonatkozóan)

Év	Második születések	Közvetett eljárás			Közvetlen eljárás			
			("súlyozott átlagok")		1965		1966	
		Súlyok	$d = b \times c$ 1965 (‰-ben)	$e = b \times c$ (de egy évvel előbbre mozdítva) ‰-ben 1966	Harmadik születések az előző szülés éve szerint	$g = f/b$ ‰-ben	Harmadik születések az előző szülések éve szerint	$i = h/b$ ‰-ben
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)
1966	219 801			4,4			2 313	*10,5*
1965	216 312	*2*	4,3	34,6	2 315	*10,7*	25 085	*116,0*
1964	216 483	*16*	34,6	71,4	26 025	*120,2*	31 985	*147,7*
1963	211 985	*33*	70 0	40,3	32 743	*154,5*	20 432	*96,4*
1962	204 698	*19*	38,9	22,5	19 833	*96,9*	12 851	*62,8*
1961	206 302	*11*	22,7	14,4	12 884	*62,5*	8 903	*43,2*
1960	199 507	*7*	14,0	8,0	8 891	*44,6*	6 117	*30,7*
1959	202 016	*4*	8,1	6,1	6 174	*30,6*	4 404	*21,8*
1958	198 016	*3*	5,9	4,0	4 376	*22,1*	3 200	*16,2*
1957	205 418	*2*	4,1	4,1	3 221	*15,7*	2 284	*11,1*
1956	199 791	*2*	4,0	2,0	2 323	*11,6*	1 574	*7,9*
1955	198 777	*1*	2,0		1 669	*8,4*	1 163	*5,9*
1954	202 865				1 206	*5,9*	866	*4,3*
1953	204 152				827	*4,1*	585	*2,9*
1952	212 309				600	*2,8*	436	*2,1*
1951	218 059				429	*2,0*	278	*1,3*
1950	235 382				305	*1,3*	203	*0,9*
1949	240 646				204	*0,8*	105	*0,4*
1948	219 381				97	*0,4*	59	*0,3*
1947	195 911				50	*0,3*	27	*0,1*
1946	210 717				33	*0,2*		
1945	151 391				18	*0,1*		
1944	149 529						(28)	*0,2*
1943	135 088				(17)	*0,1*		
Összesen			208,6	211,8	124 240	595,8	122 898	582,7
			$\frac{124240}{208600}$ =	$\frac{122898}{211800}$ =				
a_2 (‰)			= *595‰*	= *580‰*		*596‰*		*583‰*

Forrás: *Roland Pressat*: L'analyse démographique, Paris 1969, 194. oldal.

Population Bulletin of the United Nation-ben kiadott tanulmányában[6], majd pedig a Population folyóiratban megjelent közleményében[7]. Rámutattunk már azonban arra, hogy *Henry* különböző súlyrendszereivel végzett számítások általában nem mutatnak számottevően eltérő eredményeket .

Louis Henry a legrégebbre visszanyúló családnövekedési valószínűség sorokat Ausztráliára tudta kiszámítani. Az alacsony népsűrűségű Ausztrália ugyanis már korán igen részletesen vizsgálta az ország termékenységét és abban az



I. Családnövekedési valószínűségek Ausztráliában, 1910–1987
Probabilities of family enlargements in Australia, 191–1987

[6] *Louis Henry*: Fertility according to Size of Family: Application to Australia (Publications of the Population Branch, Bureau of Affaires, United Nation, Department of Economic and Social Affaires, ST/SOA/ Ser. N/4, Population Bulletin of the United Nations, N 4, December 1954, 10. oldal.

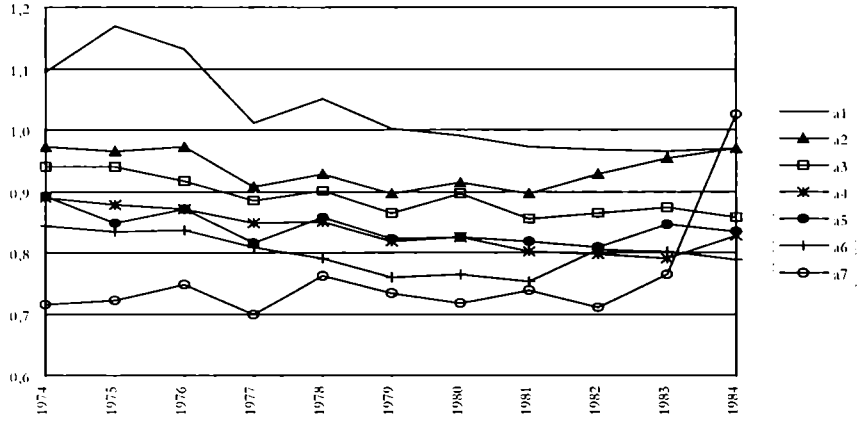
[7] *L(ouis) H(enry)*: Un nouveau tableau statistique: les naissances suivant, le rang et l'année de naissance de l'enfant précédent. Population, 1961, július-szeptember, 515. oldal.

Váralljai Csocsán Jenő: Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Kelet-Közép-Európában és Délkelet-Európában, Demográfia, 1993, 2–3 szám, 239–240. oldal.

országban, illetve szárazföldön már 1910-től napjainkig megszakítás nélkül számíthatjuk a családnövekedési valószínűségeket. Ezeket éppen említett tanulmányában *Henry* 1949-ig adta ki. További alakulásukat az Egyesült Nemzetek Demográfiai évkönyveiben megjelent adatok alapján dolgozhatjuk ki. Ezekben a kötetekben utoljára az 1987. évi tartalmaz erre vonatkozó adatokat.

Az I. ábrán láthatjuk, hogy a *Louis Henry* által bevezetett jelölés szerint az „a_0" jelzi az első gyermek arányát a menyasszonyok első házasságkötéséhez viszonyítva, amit ezen az ábrázoláson a szaggatott vonal jelez. A második gyermek valószínűségét *Henry* „a_1"-gyel jelölte és annak alakulását ábránkon a sima fekete vonal mutatja. Azt mondhatjuk tehát, hogy a jelölés tulajdonképpen arra utal, hogy az első gyermek után a családnövekedésnek mi lenne a valószínűsége az adott társadalomban. Ennek megfelelően „a_2"-vel jelöljük a családnövekedés szempontjából a kulcsfontosságú harmadik gyermek valószínűségét, amit ebben a vizsgálatban a háromszögekkel jelölt görbe ábrázol. Természetesen a magasabb születési sorrendek esetében az „a" betűk indexében megjelölt számok mindig következő magasabb sorrendű gyermek valószínűségét jelzi, vagyis például az üres karikás vonal, az „a_7" a nyolcadik gyermekét.

Nézzük meg Kuvait családnövekedési valószínűségeit, amelyek mind, még az a_7 is, viszonylag magasan, 70% fölött fekszenek a vizsgált időszakban, és a születési sorrend emelkedésével egymás alá kerülnek de viszonylag kis különb-



II. Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Kuvaitban, 1974–1984
Parity progression ratios in Kuwait, 1974–1984

Louis Henry: Fertility according to Size of Family: Application to Australia (Publications of the Population Branch, Bureau of Affaires, United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affaires, ST/SOA/ Ser. N/4, Population Bulletin of the United Nations, N 4, December 1954, 8-20. oldal.

séggel. Ez arra vall, hogy ott a születéseket úgyszólván csak a termékenység természetes csökkenése korlátozza, hiszen nyilvánvaló, hogy a gyermekek számának az emelkedésével az anya kora is emelkedik, és azzal a termékenység is csökken (II. ábra).

b) Születési sorrend következési arányok Magyarországon 1989 előtt

Magyarországon a gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek sorrendje valójában a kuvaitinak a fordítottja: majd mindig az a_2, a harmadik gyermek görbéje fekszik az ábrán legalul, és a fölött a kuvaitihez képest fordított sorrendben helyezkednek el a magasabb születési sorrendek görbéi.

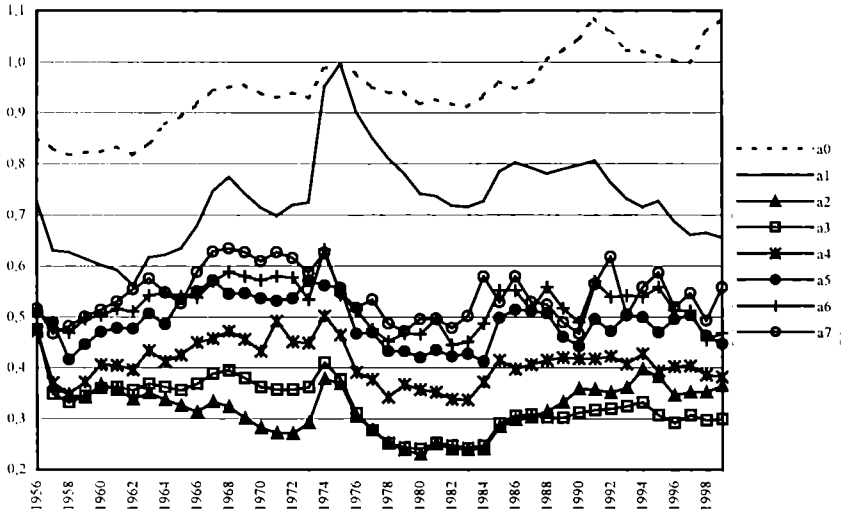
Magyarországon a gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségeket *Henry* módszerével 1956-tól számíthatjuk megszakítás nélkül napjainkig a kiadott adatokból[10], tehát immár 42 éven keresztül[11]. III. ábránk mutatja, hogy a művi vetélések 1956. évben történt szabaddá tétele után a szóban forgó mutatók hazánkban mélypontjukat a hatvanas évek elején érték el, ténylegesen általában 1962-ben. 1962-ben az első gyermek valószínűsége 81,8, a másodiké 56,3, és a harmadiké 33,9 százalék volt. Ez természetesen annyit jelentett, hogy az asszonyok 81,3 százalékának 56,3 százaléka, vagyis magyarul 46,1 százalékánál volt várható a második gyermek és csak 15,6%-ában a harmadik. Az ország népesség utánpótlása tehát nyilvánvalóan katasztrofális szakadékhoz érkezett.

A Kádár-rendszer tíz évig csak szemlélte a nemzet pusztulását, akkor azonban, ha tíz évi késéssel is, de 1967-ben megpróbálkozott a 600 forintos GYES bevezetésével. A III. ábrából kitűnik, hogy ennek az intézkedésnek volt némi hatása, elsősorban a második gyermekek gyakoriságában. Ez ugyanis az 1964-ben volt 62,3%-ról 1968-ben 77,5%-ra emelkedett, és 1973-ban még mindig 72,5%-ot mutatott. A többi gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűség vonalán a GYES bevezetése nyomán sokkal kisebb eredményt találunk, a hullám görbéje általában mindössze némileg emelte meg a gyakoriságot.

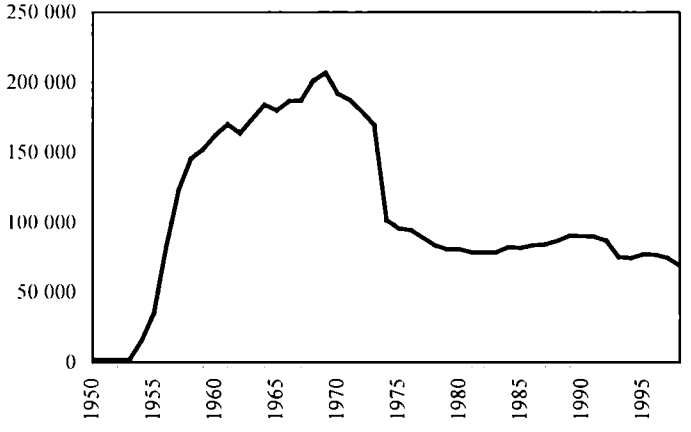
[10] (*Dr. András Klinger* et alii: Time Series of Historical Statistics 1867–1992, (published by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office) Budapest 1992, 162–166. oldal (élveszületések születési sorrend szerint); 116 oldal (házasodó hajadonok).

[11] *Theiss Ede* már tudta számítani az első hat gyermek jelzett értelemben vett valószínűségét 1956-ra és 1960-ra is. Az utóbbi számokból megállapítható, hogy *Theiss* az első gyermek valószínűségét nem az első házasságokhoz mérte, hanem az összes házasságokhoz, és így az arra vonatkozó számítása 13,4%-kal alacsonyabb eredményt mutat. *Theiss* eredményeiből azonban az is kitűnik, hogy 1956 és 1960 között a szóban forgó valószínűségek mind jelentősen estek az a_0 14%-kal, az a_1 és az a_2 majdnem 12%-kal (11,7 és 11,8%-kal) és a_3 10,3%-kal. Op. cit. 497. oldal.

Így a tiszta utánpótlási együttható szintje 1973-ig változatlanul egy, tehát az utánpótlási szint alatt maradt. Valójában még az akkoriban legmagasabb pontján, 1968-ban is csak 0,954-et ért el.



*III. Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Magyarországon, 1956–1999**
Parity progression ratios in Hungary, 1956–1999



IV. Művi vetélések száma Magyarországon, 1950–1998
Induced abortion in Hungary, 1950–1998

* 1951–54: kerekített adatok.

Ezért végül is 1974-gyel kezdődőleg a művi vetéléseket erősen megszorították, miközben a GYES-t és a családi pótlékot pedig átalakították. Mindezeknek a hatását világosan láthatjuk a gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek alakulásán. 1973-at követően ugyanis világosan megkülönböztethető és nemcsak határozottan kifejlődött, de többé-kevésbé párhuzamos hullám jelent meg gyakorlatilag az összes születési sorrend megfelelő görbéin és ezt csak a GYES átalakítása okozhatta.

A második gyermek valószínűsége az 1973. évi 72,5%-ról 22,8%-kal 95,3%-ra ugrott 1974-ben, 98,9%-ot ért el 1975-ben és még 1976-ban is 90,1% maradt. 1973-ról 1974-re a harmadik gyermek valószínűsége 29,3%-ról 37,9%-ra emelkedett, a negyedik gyermeké 36,2%-ról 41,0%-ra, az ötödik gyermeké pedig 44,9%-ról 50,2%-ra. Az első gyermekek esetében (a_0) is tapasztalunk emelkedést, mert az 93,0%-ról 98,9%-ra növekedett az 1973–1974. években.

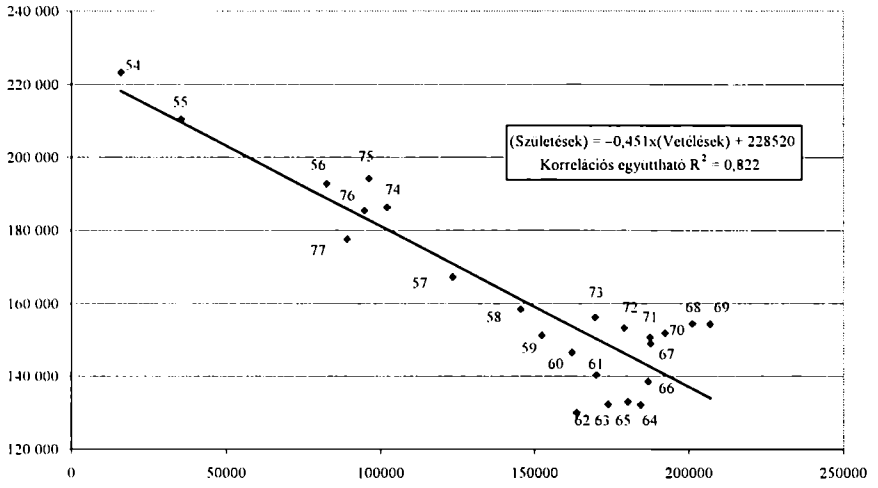
Tény azonban az, hogy amint az az ábrából kitűnik, a szóban forgó 1973-at követő párhuzamos hullámok két-három év múltán elültek, azonban ezt nem tulajdoníthatjuk annak, hogy 1973-ban a Ratkó-korszak bébi-hullámában született leányok léptek 1973 körül a gyermekáldás korába, mert a vizsgált hullámban a három, négy és nagyobb gyermekszámú anyák is részt vettek, akik nyilvánvalóan nem születhettek az 1952–1955. esztendőkben. Az is meglehetősen különös kellene hogy legyen, hogy a Ratkó-hullám hatásának visszaverődése kizárólag az első születésekre korlátozódott volna, és egyáltalán semmi nyoma sincs annak, hogy ez a magasabb születési rendeken megfelelő idő elteltével át ne gyűrűződött volna, ennek ugyanis semmi jele sincs egyáltalán semmilyen formában sem.

Nyilvánvalónak látszik, hogy az 1977 utáni születéscsökkenés magyarázatát abban kell keresni, hogy abban az időben terjedt el a születésszabályozó pirula használata. 1954 és 1977 között ugyanis a születések száma úgy csökkent, ahogy a művi vetélések száma emelkedett: ezen 23 év alatt a kettő között a kiigazított korrelációs együttható értéke 82,2%-ot mutatott.[12] 1978-cal azonban ez a korreláció megszűnt, és ezért a születéseknek 1974–1977-es időszakhoz képest későbbi alacsony szintjét csak a születésszabályozási pirula elterjedése okozhatta (IV/a. ábra).

[12] A lineáris regresszió részletei az alábbiak:

(születések száma)	=	228520	– 0,451	(művi vetélések száma)
t		34,26	–10,368	

Az összefüggés igen szignifikáns, mert az F mutató értéke 107,49, amikor a szabadságfokok $n_1 = 1$ és $n_2 = 22$.



IV/a. A születések és a művi vetélések számának összefüggése 1954 és 1977 között
Relationship between number of births and induced abortions in the period of 1954–1977

Az egyes gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek irányvonala viszont ezután nem alakult egyformán, vagyis a GYES 1973. évi átalakítása hosszabb távon nem egyformán hatott a különböző családnagyságokra. Az a_0, vagyis az első gyermek valószínűsége 1982-re 91,8%-ra esett vissza, tehát az 1966. évi szintre, az a_1 tehát a második gyermek valószínűsége pedig 71,7%-ot mutatott, tehát magasabban állt, mint 1966-ban, amikor 67,9%-ot ért el. Ezzel szemben a magasabb születési sorrendek értékei 1982-re mind alacsonyabb szintre süllyedtek, mint 1966-ban voltak. Különösen az a_2, a harmadik gyermek gyakorisága süllyedt mélyre, 1956 és 1999 között a legmélyebbre, és egyre inkább tovább süllyedő irányvonalat mutatott. 1962-ben még a két gyermekkel rendelkező családok 33,9%-ában volt várható harmadik gyermek, a szóban forgó arány 1982-re 24,1%-ra csökkent. Ez tehát annyit jelentett, hogy a nők 92%-ának volt várhatóan egy, (a 92% hetvenkét százalékának) vagyis 65,8%-ának két, s mindössze 15,8%-ának három gyermeke. Könnyen érthető, hogy 1982-ben a tiszta utánpótlási együttható 0,843-at mutatott, vagyis idülten az utánpótlási szint alatt maradt.

Ezek a körülmények vezettek 1985-ben az 1996-ig érvényben maradt GYED bevezetésére. A GYED hatása is világosan kitűnik a gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek alakulásából. Láthatjuk, hogy 1984-ről 1986-ra minden egyes vizsgált érték magasabb szintre ugrott. Az

a_0 1,3%-kal
a_1 7,4%-kal
a_2 5,8%-kal
a_3 5,9%-kal
a_4 2,5%-kal
a_5 10,2%-kal
a_6 6,5%-kal

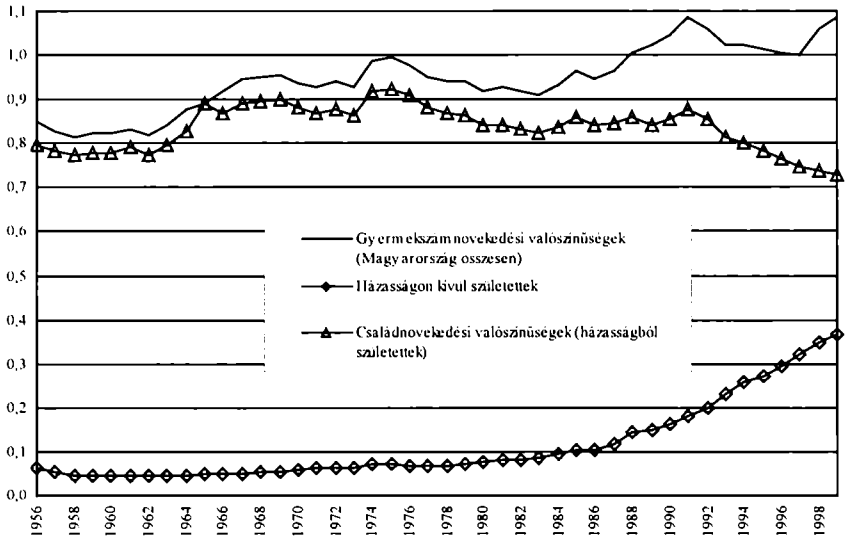
emelkedett. Jóllehet ezek az emelkedések csak kisebb mérvűek voltak, mint az 1974-ben jelentkezők, de azokkal ellentétben sokkal maradandóbb jellegűekké váltak, az általuk bevezetett szintet általában 1989-ig tartották. A legjelentősebbnek azonban azt kell tartanunk, hogy az a_2 az 1984-ben volt 22,4%-ról lassan, de biztosan 1994-ig, a családi adókedvezmények, majd a GYED eltörléséig 39,8%-ra emelkedett. Ennek a jelentőségét a termékenység alakulása szempontjából nem lehet eléggé hangsúlyozni, mert a népesség utánpótlását aligha lehet biztosítani, különösen hazánk jelenlegi népesedési helyzetében, amíg a harmadik gyermekek gyakoriságát jelentősen magasabb szintre nem emeljük. Az a_2 azonban az ideig, a GYES-t megelőző 25 évben végzetesen süllyedő irányvonalat mutatott és alapvető változásra érzéketlennek mutatkozott.

A gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek alakulását 1989 előtti időre összefoglalva rá kell mutatni arra, hogy az első gyermek valószínűsége az 1962. évi mélypontjáról, 81,8%-ról 1989-ig 99,5%-ra (vagyis 17,7%-kal) emelkedett, és jóllehet a második gyermek valószínűsége igen élénk hullámzást mutatott, annak irányvonala ugyanezen időszakban 56,3%-ról 78,9%-ra nőtt, vagyis 22,6%-kal gyarapodott. Ezért a GYES és a GYED bevezetése mérlegeként el kell könyvelnünk, hogy az átmeneti, múló hatások ellenére alapjában hozzájárult a népesség-utánpótlás katasztrofális helyzetének némi enyhítéséhez. A harmadik gyermek görbéje, az a_2 is emelkedni kezdett, az azonban az emelkedés lassú volta miatt 1989-ben még csak 33,6%-ig növekedett, tehát valójában még nem érte el az 1962. évi 33,9%-os szintjét sem.

A probléma azonban az volt, hogyha a GYES és a GYED hozzá is járult az utánpótlás hiányának csökkentéséhez, nem volt elégséges az utánpótlás szintjének biztosításához, hiszen a tiszta utánpótlási együttható még 1989-ben is 0,831-et mutatott, vagyis egy alatt állt, mint 1957 óta minden évben, kivéve az 1974–1977. esztendőket.

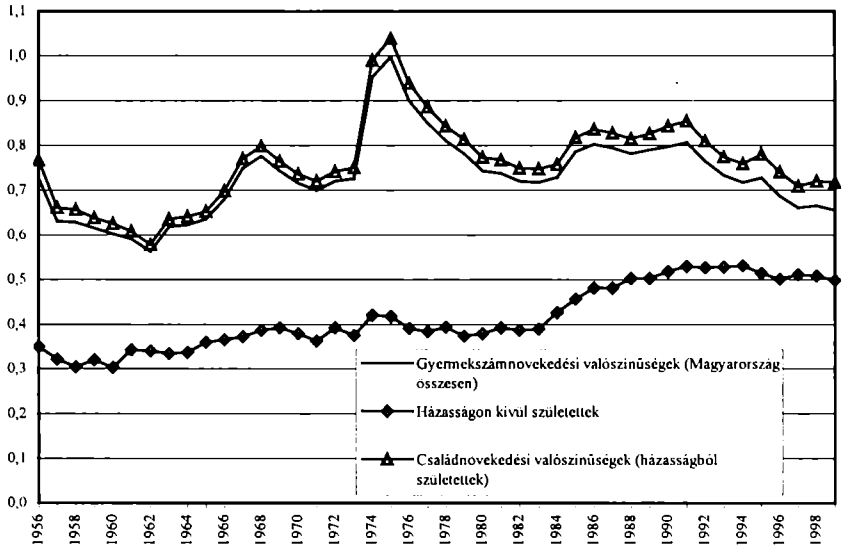
További probléma rejlett abban, hogy az a_0, az *első* gyermek görbéjének emelkedése valójában csak a gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségekben jelentkezett és a házasságban születettek családnövekedési valószínűségei között

az a_0 tulajdonképpen az 1975. évi 92,4%-os csúcspontja óta általában csökkenő tendenciát mutatott és 1989-re 84,4%-ra esett vissza, tehát az egész népességre számított a_0 emelkedése ebben az időben legnagyobb részt a házasságon kívül született gyermekek arányának egyre fokozódó növekedéséből származott.



V. Az első gyermekek következésének arányai az első házasságokhoz viszonyítva (a_0) Magyarországon, 1956–1999
Parity progression ratio compared to first marriages (a_0) in Hungary, 1956–1999

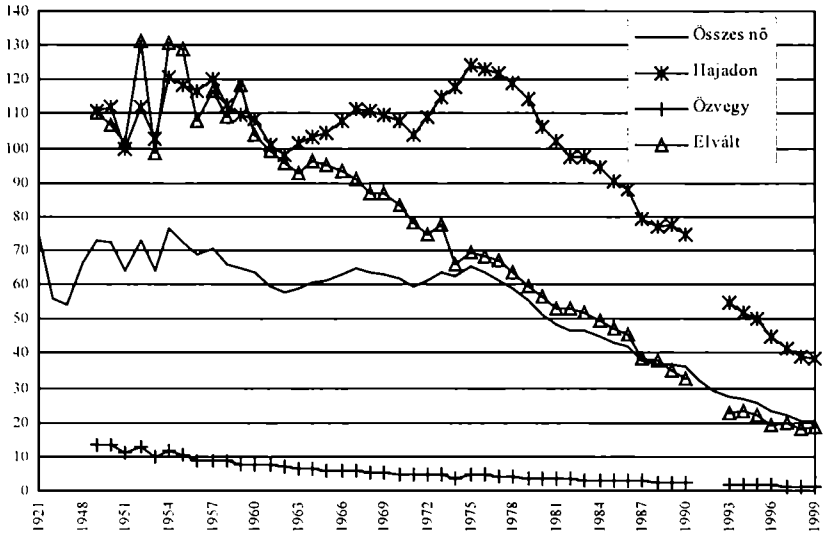
A házasságon kívül született első gyermekek arányának növekedése azonban nem tudja helyrehozni a házasságban lévők termékenységének az utánpótlási szinttől való nagymérvű lemaradását. Evégből különösen célszerű összehasonlítani a *második* gyermekek születésének valószínűségét az első gyermek után mind a házasságban, mind a házasságon kívül, mind pedig a népességben általában.



VI. A második gyermek következésének arányai az első gyermek után (a_1)
Magyarországon, 1956–1999
Parity progression ratio of the second child after the first (a_1)
in Hungary, 1956–1999

A VI. ábrán láthatjuk. hogy a házasságon kívül születettek között az a_1 sokkal alacsonyabb szinten maradt, mint a házasságban levőknél. 1959-ben a házasságon kívül született gyermekek között az első gyermekeknek 32,0%-ában született második gyermek és ez az arány még 1982-ben is csak 38,8%-ot ért el. Igaz ugyan, hogy a GYED nyomán ez az arány növekedett, de még 1989-ben is mindössze a házasságon kívül született gyermekek felének született testvére. Ez szükségképen annyit jelent, hogy ezen asszonyok több mint fele az első gyermek után kimarad a népesség utánpótlásából.

Ennek a jelentőségét a népesség utánpótlása szempontjából az domborítja ki, hogy a hajadonoknak mind kisebb aránya köt házasságot.



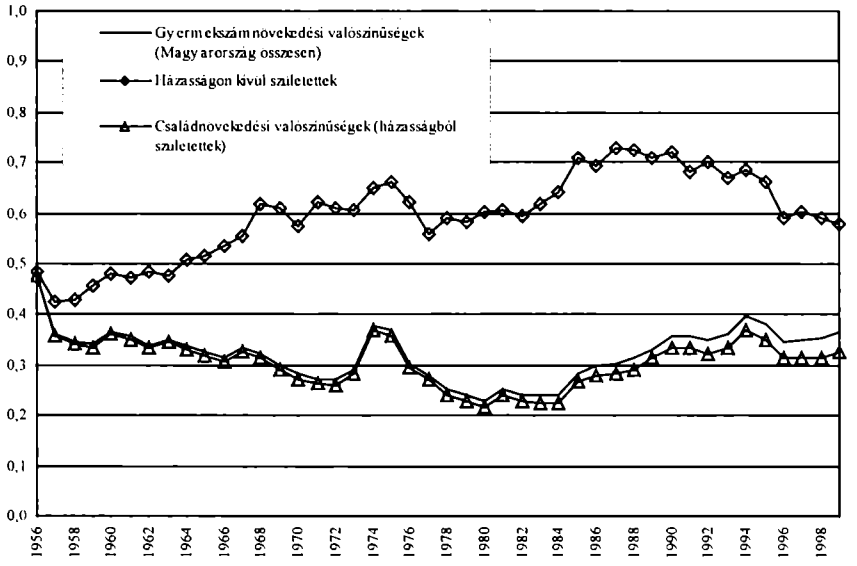
VII. Tisztított házasságkötési arányszámok 1000 15 éven felüli megfelelő családi állapotú nőre számítva
Pure marriage rates calculated for 1000 females aged over 15 years of the same marital status

1975-ben 1000 hajadon közül 124,2 ment férjhez, 1989-ben[13] 77,3, 1999-ben[14] pedig 38,2. Ilyen módon tehát a népesség utánpótlásának a mikéntjének működése mindinkább megbénul, és lehetetlenné válik. Azt már Mária Terézia királynő és kormánya is tudta, hogy a népesség utánpótlásához kellő számú házasság szükséges és ezért tudakolta a parochusoktól a házasságok alakulásának a számát.

A házasságon kívül születettek a_1-jének rendkívül alacsony szintje egyúttal az össznépesség a_1-nek a szintjét is a házasságban lévőkének a szintje alá nyomta. Ez a szintkülönbség 2,9%-ot tett ki 1959-ben és 3,7%-ot 1989-ben. A szóban forgó jelenség azért említésre méltó, mert Magyarországon a születési sorrendek további következési arányában az említett mutatók viszonya ennek éppen a fordítottja volt a vizsgálható években.

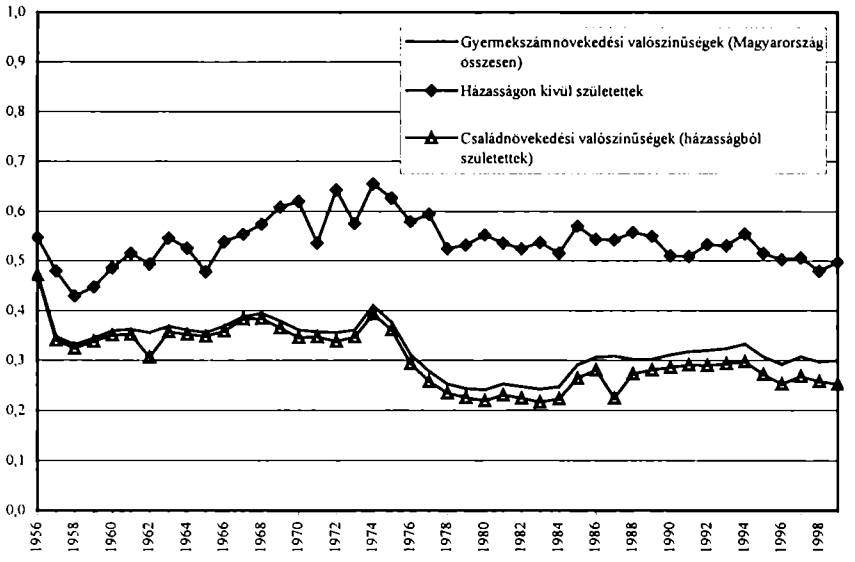
[13] *Klinger András* et alii: Time Series of Historical Statistics 1867–1992, (Hungarian Central Statistical Office) Budapest 1992, 127. oldal.

[14] Központi Statisztikai Hivatal: Demográfiai Évkönyv 1999, Budapest 2000, 43. oldal.



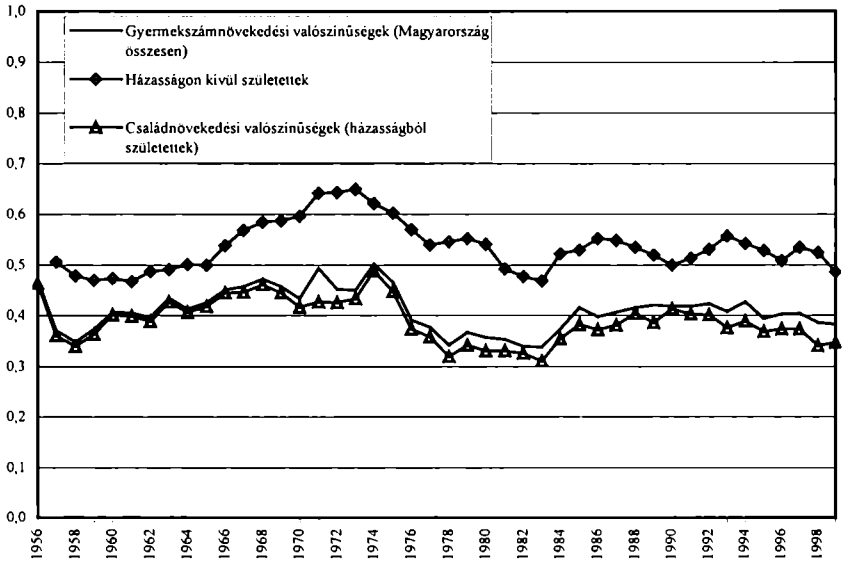
VIII. A harmadik gyermek következésének arányai a második gyermek után (a_2) Magyarországon, 1956–1999
Parity progression ratio of the third child after the second child (a_2) in Hungary, 1956–1999

Eléggé meglepő, hogy a házasságon kívül született *harmadik* gyermekek születési sorrend következési aránya élesen eltérő módon alakult, mint a házasságban élők megfelelő valószínűségei. 1958 és 1972 között a szóban forgó két mutató irányvonala homlokegyenest ellenkező irányt mutatott. A házasságban lévőké csökkent, a házasságon kívülieké emelkedett, így majdhogynem tükörképet alkottak. 1956-ban a kettő között egy százaléknyi eltérés sem volt, ez 1958-ra már 8,6%-ra növekedett, hogy 1972-ben 34,9%-ot érjen el. Ez a különbség azután 1983 és 1989 között alig változott, sőt mindkét évben 39,5%-ot tett ki. Ez az eltérő alakulás és nagy különbség arra mutat, hogy az érintett eredmények valójában két különböző népességből származnak. Megerősíteni látszik ezt a megfontolást, ha a negyedik gyermekek valószínűségeit is megvizsgáljuk.



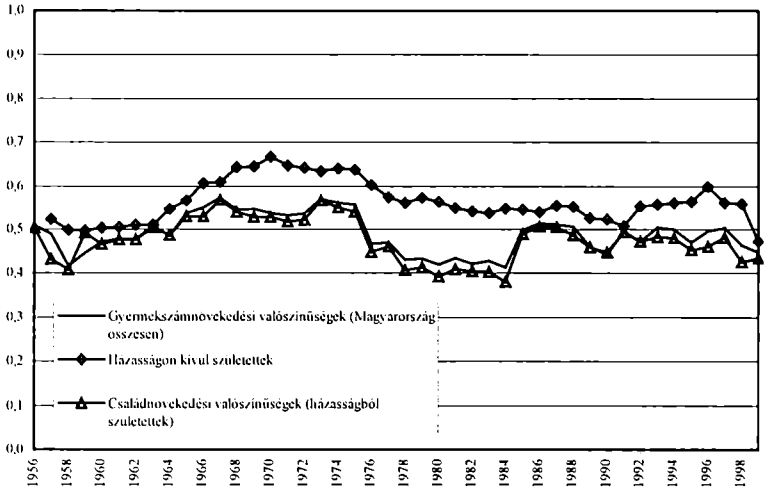
IX. A negyedik gyermek következésének arányai a harmadik gyermek után
Parity progression ratio of the fourth child after the third child (a_3)
in Hungary, 1956–1999

Az 1956-ot követő esés után 1958-ban a vizsgált két mutató eltérése a *negyedik* gyermekek esetében 10,5% volt, és ezt követően a házasságból születettek esetében csak alig észlelhetően emelkedett irányvonalában (tehát nem csökkent, mint a harmadik gyermekeknél), a házasságon kívül világra jött negyedik gyermekek valószínűsége azonban az 1958-ban volt 43,0%-ról 57,6%-ra emelkedett 1973-ra, amikor a vizsgált eltérés már 21,8%-ot ért el. Az akkori népesedéspolitikai intézkedések következtében kialakult hullámot követő esés során a két szóban forgó arány eltérése 1978-ig már 28,9%-ra növekedett. A GYED jobban megemelte a házasságból született 4. gyermekek gyakoriságát, de a házasságon kívüli negyedik gyermekek születési sorrend következési aránya még 1989-ben is 26,9%-kal állt az előbbiek fölött.

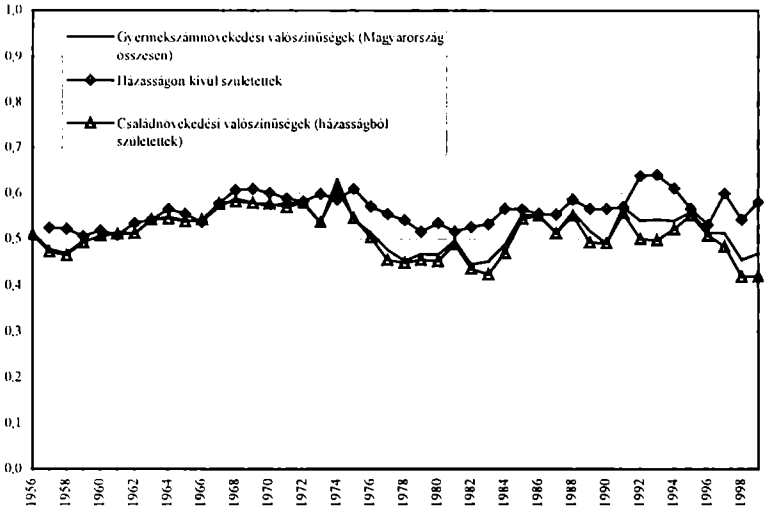


X. Az ötödik gyermekek következésének arányai a negyedik gyermekek után (a_4) Magyarországon, 1956–1999
Parity progression ratio of the fifth child after the fourth child (a_4) in Hungary, 1956–1999

Láthatjuk, hogy az *ötödik* gyermekek valószínűségeinek görbéi az alacsonyabb számúakétól eltérően többé-kevésbé párhuzamosan alakultak, bár a házasságon kívülieké ez esetben változóan mintegy 11–21%-kal magasabban helyezkedett el. A hatodik, hetedik és nyolcadik gyermekek következésénél az utóbbi különbség is jóformán elenyészik (XI–XIII. ábra). Ez tekintettel arra, hogy jelenleg hazánkban az utóbbi családnagyságok sajnos leginkább csak a cigány népesség között gyakoriak, arra mutat, hogy a házasságon kívüli gyermekek számottevően magasabb a_2, a_3 és a_4 értékei szintén abban a népességben alakultak ki, hiszen a vallásos nagycsaládosok legnagyobb része házasságban él és a házasságon kívül született ivadékaik száma elenyésző lehet.

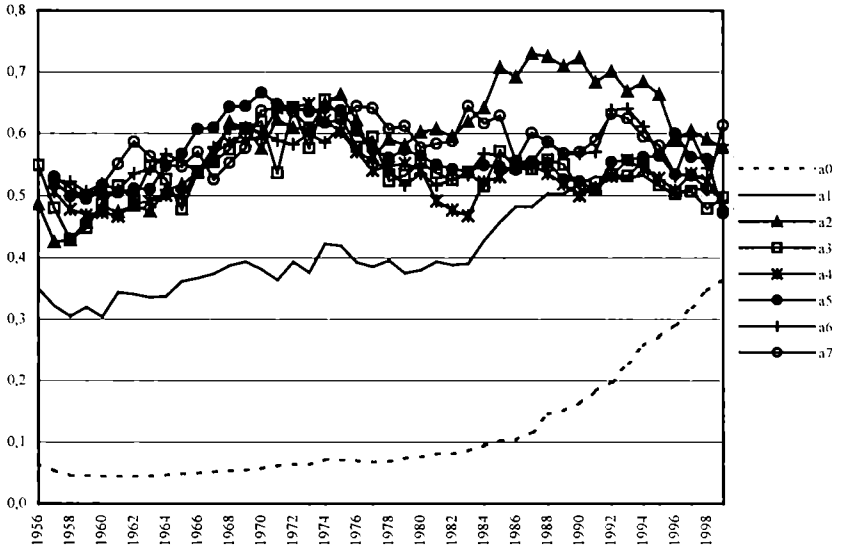


XI. A hatodik gyermekek következésének arányai az ötödik gyermek után (a_5) Magyarországon, 1956–1999
Parity progression ratio of the sixth child after the fifth child (a_5) in Hungary, 1956–1999



XII. A hetedik gyermekek következésének arányai a hatodik gyermek után (a_6) Magyarországon, 1956–1999
Parity progression ratio of the seventh child after the sixth child (a_6) in Hungary, 1956–1999

Összefoglalásképen vizsgáljuk meg előbb a házasságon kívül született gyermekek születési sorrend követési arányait egymással összevetve, amit a XIII. ábra mutat.



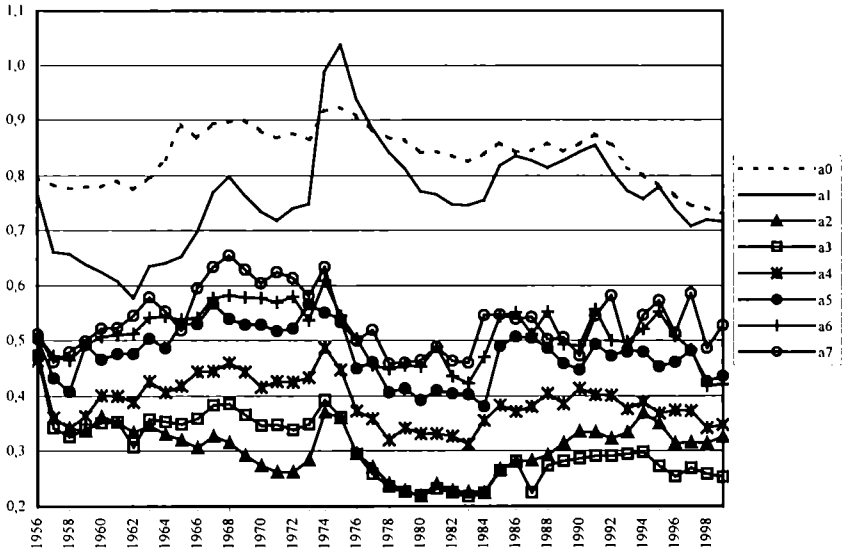
XIII. A házasságon kívül született gyermekek születési sorrend követési arányai Magyarországon, 1956–1999
Parity progression ratios of the children born out of wedlock in Hungary, 1956–1999

A XIII. ábrán az a_4, a_5, a_6 és a_7 valószínűségek vonalán a véletlen hullámzásokat 3 éves mozgó átlagolással enyhítettük. Az első házasságkötésekhez viszonyítva a házasságon kívüli *első* születések aránya lassan emelkedett 1983-ig. 1983-tól 1989-ig azonban növekedésük fölgyorsult s 8,7%-ról 15,1%-ra nőtt. A házasságon kívül született első gyermekek utáni *második* gyermekek valószínűsége, az a_1 az 1960. évi 30,4%-ról 1975-re 41,9%-ra (többé-kevésbé) egyenes vonalban növekedett. 1977-től 1983-ig azonban megközelítőleg azonos szinten maradt 38–39% körül. A GYED bevezetése nyomán 1983 és 1989 között a valószínűségük 39,0%-ról 50,3%-ra ugrott.

A házasságon kívül született *harmadik* gyermekek valószínűségének, az a_2-nek a görbéje meglehetősen párhuzamosan követte a második gyermekekét, az a_1-et, de 17–25 százalékkal magasabban, s arra a GYED bevezetése szintén hasonlóan hatott. A magasabb születési sorrendű házasságon kívül született gyermekek valószínűségei egy nyalábot alkottak az a_2 görbéjével 1960 és 1975

között. 1977 után azonban a_2 kiemelkedett ebből a nyalábból, és az abban maradó a_3, a_4, a_5, a_6, a_7 értékeinek irányvonala igen enyhén alig észrevehetően lefelé ereszkedtek.

A házasságon kívül születettek születési sorrend következési arányainak az alakulása tehát teljesen eltérő képet mutat, mint a gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségeké, amit a III. ábrán láthattunk. Az utóbbitól a házasságban születettek családnövekedési valószínűségei alapjában csak az *első* gyermekek valószínűségét ábrázoló a_0 görbéjében térnek el. A magasabb születési sorrendekben ugyanis a vizsgált eltérések csak néhány százalékot mutattak, mint azt az VI–XII. ábrán láthattuk, ahol a gyermekszámnövekedési és családnövekedési valószínűségek görbéinek lefutása általában eléggé hasonló és így azok hasonló összképet adnak, mint az a III. és a XIV. ábra összehasonlításából kitűnik.



XIV. Családnövekedési valószínűségek Magyarországon, 1956-1999
Probabilitioes of family enlagrements in Hungary, 1956-1999

c) Születési sorrend követési arányok Magyarországon 1989 után

Magyarországon az első és a második gyermek családnövekedési valószínűsége már 1991-ben megtört. Az a_0 1991-től 1999-ig 13,8%-kal esett 73,8%-ra, olyan mélyre, amilyen mélyen még sohasem állt. Ugyanezen kilenc év alatt a

családnövekedési a_1 13,9%-kal 71,6%-ra süllyedt, a gyermekszámnövekedési a_1 pedig 15%-ot zuhant 65,6%-ra, tehát visszahullott ugyanolyan katasztrofális szintre, mint a GYES és a GYED bevezetése előtt állt, s ami miatt a Kádár-rendszer azok bevezetésére kényszerült. A harmadik gyermek gyermekszám növekedési valószínűsége, az a_2, mint láttuk, a GYES bevezetése óta lassan és nagy nehezen elérte a 40%-ot (39,8%-ot) 1994-ben, amikor a reálbér és a családi pótlék reálértéke igen gyorsan esett és a *Horn*-kormány alatt eltörölték a családi adókedvezményeket, majd 1996-ban a GYED-et is. Ezzel az a_2 növekedése megtört. Az azóta eltelt rövid néhány évben a gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek között az a_2 már 3,3%-kal csökkent. A GYED eltörlésére családnövekedési valószínűségek még érzékenyebben reagáltak, és a harmadik gyermekeké 4,4%-kal apadt. A negyedik sorrendben a GYED eltörlésének pontosan ugyanolyan hatásai voltak. A magasabb születési sorrendekben a szülési gyakoriságok sokkal kevésbé csökkentek. Az a_4 és az a_5 értékében a csökkenés egyharmadát sem éri el az a_1 csökkenésének.

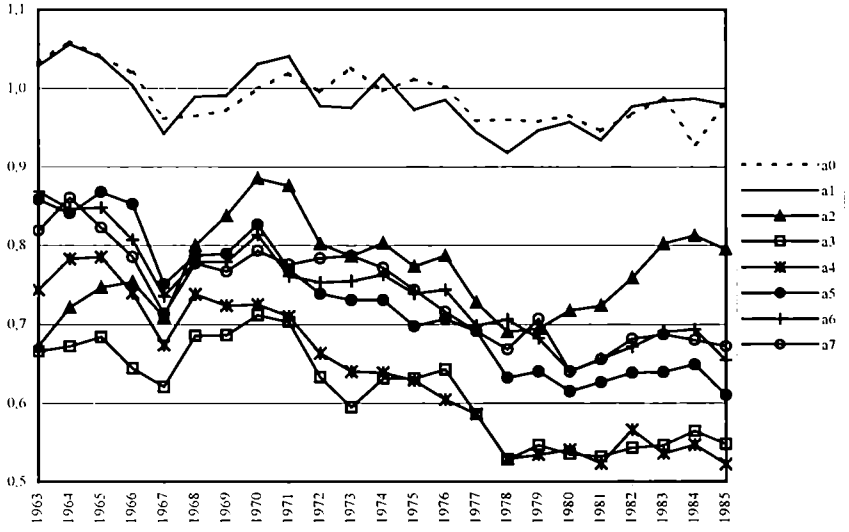
Ez annyit jelent, hogy a rendszerváltás nyomán elsősorban csak a kis család nagyságú magyar népességnek az utánpótlása feneklett meg, az átlagosan sokkal nagyobb családnagyságú cigány kisebbség szaporodása majdnem úgy folyik, mintha mi sem történt volna, ami kitűnik a falusi beiskolázási arányokból is. Ez annyit is jelent, hogy az 1989 utáni rövid hét évnek sikerült a Kádár-rendszer 24 éves népesedési erőfeszítéseinek egyébként is gyenge és elégtelen eredményeit elsöpörni, mert azoknak elsősorban az első, a második és harmadik gyermekek gyakoriságát sikerült kedvezően befolyásolniuk.

Az országnak szembe kell nézni a népességcsökkenés egyre vészesebb örvényének kihívásával. 1999-ben a családok egy negyedében nem várható az első gyermek sem, megközelítően a felében (47,3%-ában) nem valószínű a második és csak 17,1%-ban várható a harmadik. A magyar népesség utánpótlását mindaddig nem lehet biztosítani, amíg ezeket a mutatókat alapvetően meg nem változtatjuk. A magyar népességpolitikai és családpolitikai erőfeszítéseknek tehát elsősorban oda kell hatniuk, és átütő erővel azt kell elérniük, hogy az első és a második gyermekek valószínűsége elérje az utánpótlási szintet. Hiába szaporítjuk a nagy családokat, ha az ország kipusztul, mert a családok felében nincs két gyermek. Az immár világháborús veszteségeket messze túlszárnyaló népességcsökkenés pótlása viszont egyáltalán nem biztosítható a harmadik gyermekek gyakoriságának igen jelentős növelése nélkül, amit a családtámogató adókedvezmények és a GYED-nek a megszüntetése teljesen megbénított.

A gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek megelőző vizsgálatából kitűnt, hogy ellentétben azzal a fölfogással, hogy ebben a kérdésben „a kormányok

hiába tesznek, és hiába cselekednek"[15], a GYES és a GYED bevezetésének igenis volt hatása a születések növekedésére, ha az nem is volt elegendő.

Magyarországról áttérve Izraelre, a jelenlegi népesség túlnyomó része Izraelben az európai országokból, Amerikából és a FÁK államok területéről vándorolt a Szentföldre, tehát hagyományosan alacsony szaporodású országokból. Izraelben azonban mind az *első*, mind pedig a *második* gyermekek valószínűsége évtizedeken keresztül 95% fölött maradt; a *harmadik* gyermekek valószínűsége pedig 80% körül ingadozott. Ez a termékenységi szint azonban nem az Izraelben élő arab lakosság miatt ilyen magas, mert a szóban forgó a_0, a_1, a_2 értéke az Izraelben élő zsidó lakosság körében ugyanolyan magasan állt[16].

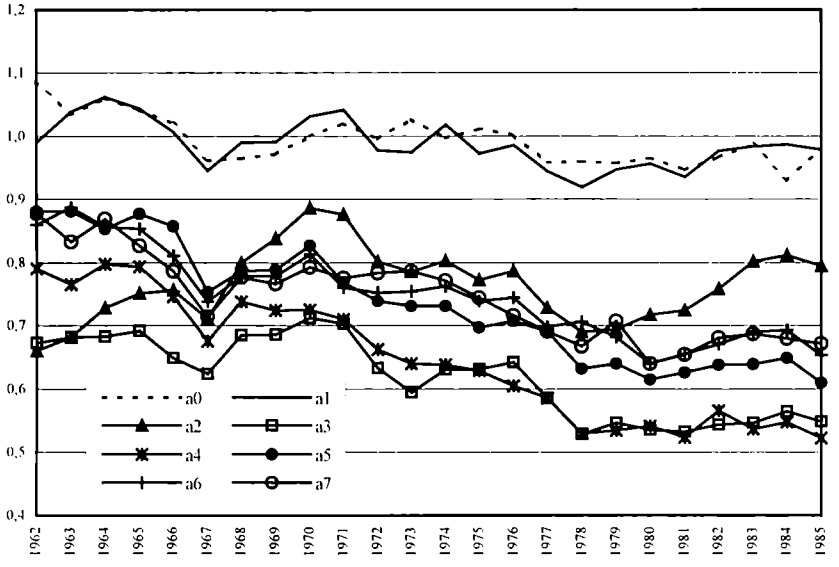


XV. Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek Izraelben, 1963–1985
Parity progression ratios in Israel, 1963–1985

[15] *Szabó György* népjóléti miniszter szavai a parlamentben az Országgyűlés tavaszi ülésszakának 25. ülésnapján az Országgyűlési Napló szerint 1996. április 22-én hétfőn 19087. oszlop.

[16] A 95% körüli értékek szintje olyan magas, hogy ebből a szempontból nem lehet számottevő eltérés az askenázi és szefárd népesség között, mert egyik népességnek sem lehet sem két első, sem két második gyermeke, hogy a másik népességcsoport esetleg föltételezett lényegesen alacsonyabb értékét az átlagos 95%-ra emelje. Jelentős mértékben ugyanez vonatkozik a 80%-os szintre is.

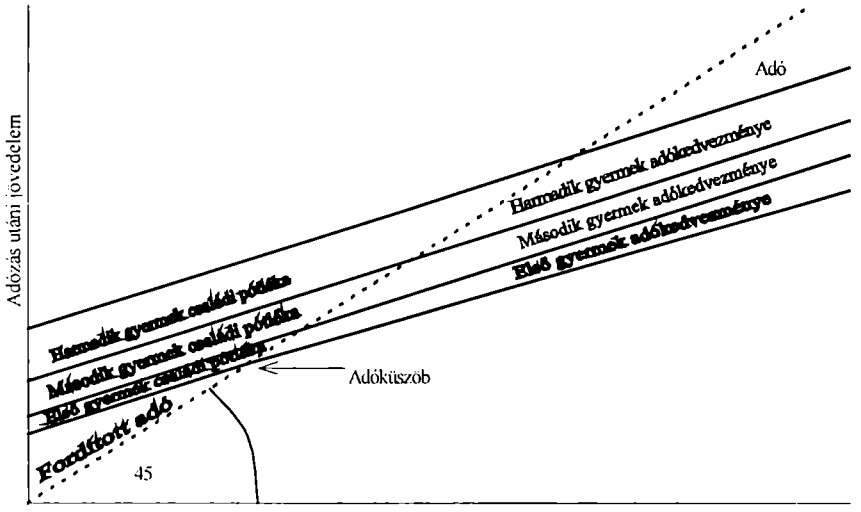
Egyébként is Izraelben a kellő számú gyermekkel rendelkező családoknak juttatott számottevő lakáskedvezményekben mind az askenázi, mind a szefárd népesség részesül és annak aligha van más hatása a lakástalan askenáziakra vagy szefárdokra.



XVI. Az Izraelben élő zsidó lakosság gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségei 1962–1985
Parity progression ratios of the Jew population living in Israel 1962–1985

Ezekből az arányokból nyilvánvaló kell, hogy legyen, hogy korábban alacsony termékenységű európai népességekben is biztosítani lehet, hogy legalább az első három gyermek gyakorisága elérje az utánpótlási szinthez szükségest. Ezért meg kellene vizsgálni azokat a tényezőket, amelyek Izraelben a kívánt szintet biztosítják[17]. Azok elérése nélkül azonban a magyar népesség utánpótlását sehol a Kárpát-medencében nem biztosíthatjuk, és ezért minden erőfeszítést elsősorban ezekre a születési sorrendekre kell összpontosítanunk.

[17] Ezek között a kellő számú gyermekkel rendelkező családoknak Izraelben juttatott számottevő lakáskedvezményeket.



XVII. A fordított jövedelemadózás rendszere
The system of the negative income taxation

Ebből a szempontból meg kellene fontolni az úgynevezett negatív vagy más néven fordított adózás rendszerét. A fordított adózást rendszerét úgy ábrázolhatjuk, hogy a vízszintes tengellyel az adózás előtti jövedelmet jelöljük, a függőlegessel az adózás utáni jövedelmet. Az adózás általában csak egy bizonyos jövedelem fölött lép föl általában. Az ennek megfelelően érinti az adózás vonala a 45 fokos átlós vonal egy bizonyos pontját, és a fölött az adózás szintjére csökkenti a jövedelmeket. A szokásos adózás ez alatt a pont alatt érintetlenül hagyja a jövedelmeket; viszont a fordított adózás ennek megfelelő a szintre emelhetné.

A fordított adózást ki lehetne dolgozni olyan formában, hogy az arra serkentse a párokat, hogy mindegyikben meglegyen legalább két gyermek után a harmadik is, hiszen sokgyermekes családok tapasztalata szerint a harmadik gyermek már nem ró sokkal nagyobb terhet a családra. A fordított adózás módosításával, – többek között –, a föl nem bomlott házasságban élő két és három gyermekes családok adókedvezményének megfelelő szintre lehetne hozni az annál kisebb jövedelműeket. A fordított adózás hatékonysága azért jelentős, mert az adókedvezményeket kiterjeszti azokra a családokra is, amelyek nem fizetnek adót és az adókedvezményben másként nem részesülhetnek, hiszen a családok jövedelme éppen a családok keletkezésekor, a legtermékenyebb korban, szokott a legalacsonyabb lenni.

Harmadik gyermekek gyakoriságának jelentős emelkedése nélkül azonban a társadalombiztosításban a nyugdíjasok és munkaképes korúak egyensúlyát aligha lehet helyreállítani. Ezért a kormányzatnak arra kellene törekednie, hogy

a három gyermekkel rendelkezők megfelelőbb nyugdíjhoz jussanak, mint a gyermektelenek és az egykések.

Tanulmányozni kellene továbbá az angol lakásépítő szövetkezetek történetét, hogy kedvező lakásépítési hitelpolitikával a családalapítási kedvet és a családépítést vészteljes mélységéből kiemelhessük.

Tisztában kell lennünk azonban azzal, hogy a gyermekvállalás és a népességcsökkenés nemcsak anyagi tényezőktől függ. 1920 és 1941 között hazánk népessége évente átlagosan 7,72‰-kel gyarapodott, 1956 és 1990 között viszont pusztán 1,61‰-kel, tehát 4,79-szer lassabban. Nyilvánvaló azonban, hogy két világháború között az egy főre jutó nemzeti jövedelem nem volt 4,79-szer nagyobb, mint a rendszerváltás előtti 34 évben. *Colin Clark* már ismételten hivatkozott *Arsène Dumont* megfigyelésére, hogy az igazán vallásos kisebbségek termékenyebbek, mint a tőlük eltérő népességek[18]. Korrelációszámítások azt mutatták, hogy a Szent Korona országaiban a születési arányszámokban 1910–11-ben jelentkező eltérések 67-84%-át vallási tényezők magyarázták[19]. A tízparancsolat alapján a történeti egyházak elítélik a művi vetélést. A gyermekvállalás áldozatvállalás is, amit a vallásosok készségesebben fogadnak el. A házasságkötés vallási jelentőségét nemcsak a keresztény vallás hangsúlyozza, demográfiai hatását pedig láthattuk. A történelem azt tanítja, hogy a magyarságot a kereszténység fölvétele őrizte meg a Kárpát-medencében. A kereszténység megtartása fogja csak ott megtartani.

Tárgyszó:

Termékenység

PARITY PROGRESSION RATIOS BEFORE AND AFTER 1989

Summary

It has been pointed out in the methodological introduction, that the English term „parity progression ratio" is a better suited expression, than the French „probabilité d'agrandissement de la famille", because in the absence of the 0th child, the first children's frequency could be compared only with the number of first marriages, and with the increase of the children born out of wedlock, the proportion in question could produce figures larger than one, while in mathematics properly speaking probability can not reach a value above one.

The study points out that in Kuwait (Figure II.) in the absence of family limitation all the values of the parity progression ratios stayed above 70%, and the results for the higher birth

[18] *Colin Clark*: Population and Land Use, London 1968, 184., 222. és 228. oldal.

[19] *Eugene Csocsán de Várallja*: Le mouvement naturel de la population, Revue de l'Est, 1974 (vol. 5), n° 3, 137–138.

orders occupy places in slightly lower positions after each other, because in the course of the children's births the women become older, and their fertility decreases naturally.

In Hungary the parity progression ratios (Figure III.) starting with the third child display an inverse order compared with the picture found in Kuwait. The parity progression ratio of Hungary can be calculated without interruption since 1956. In that year in order to reduce social and economic tensions the communist authorities legalized abortions. As a result by 1962 the parity progression ratio of the first child (a_0) has fallen to 81.8%, of the second child (a_1) to 56.3% and of the third (a_2) to 33.9%.

After 1956, under the *Kádár* regime, first the GYES was introduced, giving an income of 600 Hungarian forints to the child-bearing mothers for three years[20]. This measure increased the frequency of the second child from 62.3% in 1964 to 77.5% in 1968, but on the other parity progression ratios it had an even more limited effect. However, the measures introduced in 1974 (higher allowances and a restriction of the legal possibility of induced abortions) seem to have produced spectacular results as the parity progression ratio of the second child (a_1) jumped from 72.5% to 95.3% in 1974, from 29.3 to 37.9% in the case of the third child (a_2), from 36.7% to 41.0 in the case of the fourth child (a_3), and from 44.9% to 50.2% in the case of the fifth child (a_4). The net reproduction rate also rose above the reproduction level of one between 1974–1977, for the first and only time in Hungary after 1957.

The effects of the 1974 population policy programme, however, lasted only for three years, and the net reproduction rate has fallen below replacement level by 1978, and ever since. Meanwhile the fertility wave of 1974–1977 can not be explained by the fact, that the girls of the baby boom born in the "Ratkó period" of 1952–1955 reached child bearing age that time, because the mothers of three, four and five children also participated in the fertility wave in question, and they manifestly could not have been born between 1952–1955. It has to be pointed out, that taking into account the time intervals, there is no reverberation on the higher birth orders at all of the fact, that the girls born in the "Ratkó period" came into child bearing in 1974–1977. There is a negative correlation between the number of induced abortions and the number of births between 1954 and 1977. During these 23 years the corrected correlation efficient between these two factors in question was 82.2%. After 1978 this correlation disappeared, and this can be explained only by the spread of the contraceptive pill taking into account the low levels of births after 1978 compared with the years 1974–1977.

In 1985, in order to increase the insufficient number of births, the authorities changed the first year of the GYES into a more generous scheme of parental leave, the GYED, which provided 65–75% of the mother's income from employment for the first year after the child's birth. (In 1987 the lengths of GYED became two years.)

The introduction of the GYED had much less dramatic results, than the increase of the GYES in 1974, but the effects were more permanent and the levels of the parity progression ratios reached in 1986 remained at least until 1989. The most significant was however, that the a_2 began to increase slowly, but securely from 22.4% in 1984 to 39.4% in 1994.

Summarizing the effect of the introduction of the GYES and of the GYED, it can be pointed out, the parity progression ratio of the first child (a_0) increased from 81.8% in 1962 to 99.5% in 1989, and the trend of the second child's parity progression ratio (a_1) from 56.3% to 78.9% during the same period, though we could observe very heavy waves on the latter's trend. The value of the a_2, mentioned in the proceeding paragraph, has reached only

[20] It was close to one third of the monthly average earning that time (the *Eds.*)

33.6% by 1989, less than the 33.9% in 1962. Therefore both the GYES and GYED reduced the population crisis of Hungary, but they were not enough to eliminate the crisis entirely.

A further problem stems from the fact, that the growth in the a_0 (Figure V.) can be observed only on the parity progression ratios comprising all the children, but in the family enlargements the a_0 decreased from 92.4% in 1975 to 84.4% in 1989, while the difference between the two has been constituted by the growing proportion of children born out of wedlock. Meanwhile the increase of the children born out of wedlock can not make up for the shortcomings of the married people's replacement levels. Namely the parity progression ratio of the second child (Figure VI.) born out of wedlock after the first such infant (the a_1) was only 50% in 1989, that is to say merely the half of such children will have a brother or sister, which also means, that the half of such mothers drop out of the reproduction.

The significance of this observation is underlined by the fact (Figure VII.), that while in 1975 124 spinsters got married out of 1000, only 77 in 1989, and the same measure shrank to 38 by 1999. This shows, that the mechanism of the population replacement in Hungary became paralysed.

Between 1958 and 1972 the parity progression ratios of the third child (a_2, Figure VIII.) decreased in the case of married women and increased in the case of unmarried. This seems to reveal, that these results originate from two different populations. The differences were also large in the case of the fourth child (a_3, Figure IX.), but they appeared to be smaller in the case of the fifth offspring (a_4) and tended to disappear in the even higher birth orders (Figures X–XII.). This seems to indicate, that these out of wedlock births occurred in the gypsy populations as they are the roma families, where most of the births in the higher birth orders happen, as the other religious large family have very few children born out of wedlock.

The picture of the parity progression ratios for the children born out of wedlock shows a completely different shape (Figure XIII.), than the image of the same ratios calculated for all the children (Figure III.). On the figure of the children born out of wedlock the line for the second child (a_1) and for the third (a_2) run more or less parallel, but the curve of the third such child was about 17–25% higher, than of the second one, and they increased more or less similarly following the introduction of the GYED. The lines of the higher birth orders in this diagram constitute one bunch including the curve of the third child (the a_2) between 1960 and 1975, but after 1977 the a_2 rose from this bunch, while the trend of those lines, which remained in the bunch, very slowly, almost imperceptibly sunk.

Turning to the families after 1991 (Figure XIV.), the parity progression ratio of the first child (a_0) decreased by 13.8% to 73.6% by 1999, and of the second child (a_1) by 13.9% to 77,6% falling to such catastrophically low levels, at which they used to stay before the introductions of the GYES and GYED. The increase of the parity progression ratio of the third child (a_2) was broken by 1995, when the tax concessions for children and the GYED were cancelled under the *Horn* government.

The 73.6% parity progression ratio of the first child in a family (a_0) combined with the 71.6% parity progression ratio for the second child (a_1) means, that only in (71.6 percent of the 73.6 percent resulting in) 47.3% of the families can we expected two offsprings, and (following the same kind of calculations) merely in 17.1% of the families a third child. The efforts of the Hungarian population and family policies must concentrate on the substantial increase of the children in these first three birth orders in order, that replacement level of Hungary's population could be secured. Vainly are the large families increased, if the country gets depopulated, because even the second child is missing in half of the families.

Our investigation of the experience with the GYES and the GYED, just as the regulation of induced abortion shows, that various government measures do have effect on the number of births. The parity progression ratios of Israel (Figure XV.) and especially of the Jews in

Israel (Figure XVI.) demonstrates, that even in populations, which traditionally used to have low fertility, it can be obtained, that the frequency of the first three children would reach replacement levels. The factors, which secure such fertility in Israel should be studied.

The introduction of the inverse or negative income taxation (Figure XVII.) would extend the family tax concessions to the low income families who could not receive these benefits otherwise, especially at the start of the families, when they are most fertile.

The balance between pensioners and working age population cannot be secured without significant increase of the third children in Hungary. Therefore the pensioners with three children should get more proper pension, than those, who have only a single child, or who are childless.

The history of the housing associations in Britain should be also investigated in order to increase the propensity for family formation through advantageous credit policy promoting home building programs.

Finally it should be realized, that fertility has a religious dimension as well, and has not only and exclusively economic factors behind. Between 1920 and 1941 during twenty years the population of Hungary increased by more than four times higher than between 1956 and 1990. However, the standard of living showed obviously not so much difference in these periods.

Váralljai Csocsány Jenő:

A népszaporulat a nemzeti lét elsődleges feltétele

Elhangzott a Báthory-Brassai Konferencián 2012. július 7-én az Óbudai Egyetem dísztermében 15:00-15:30

(Az elhangzott előadás szerkesztett változata)

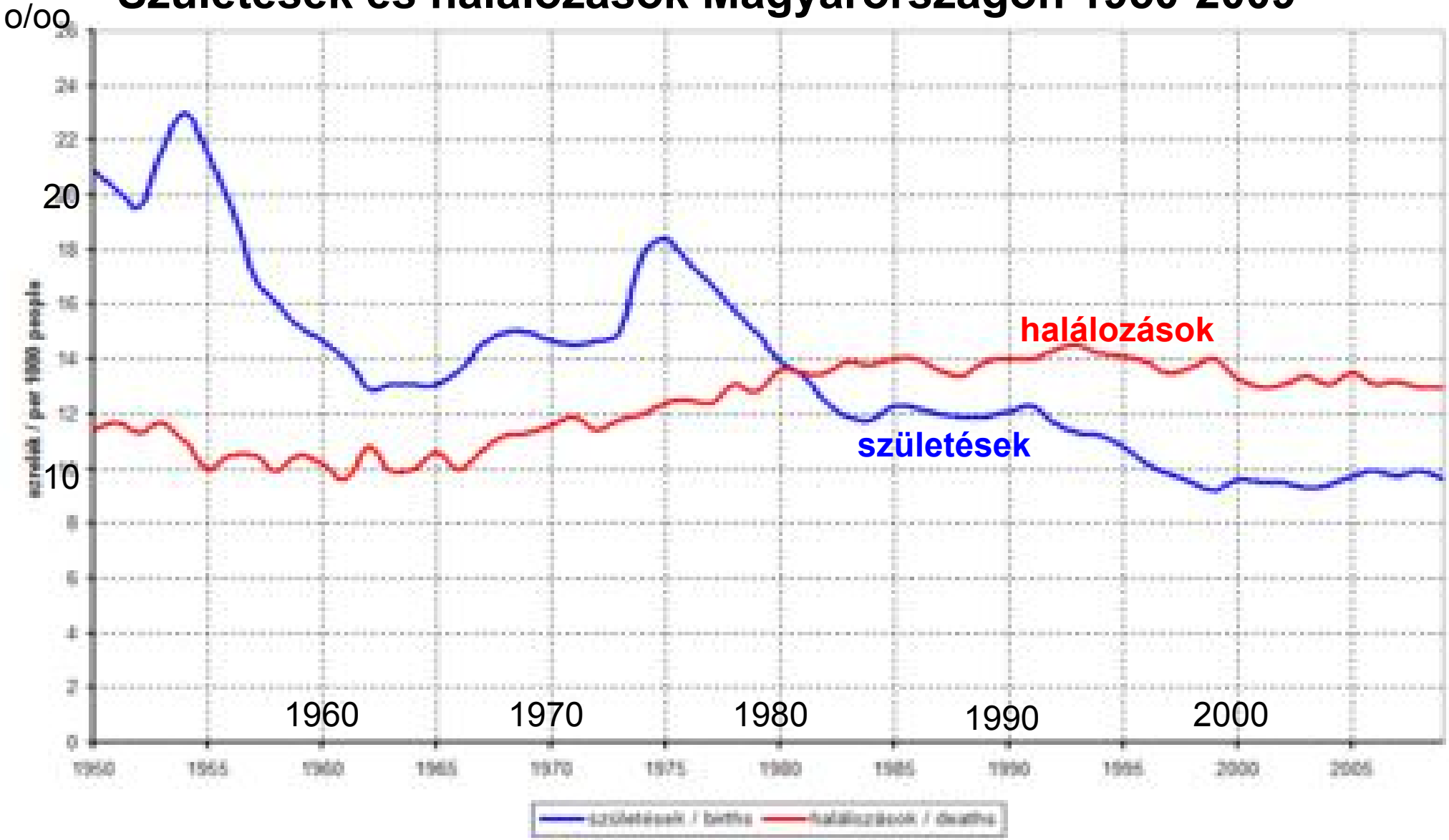
2.A népesség pusztulása

2.Gyermekszám növekedési valószínűségek vizsgálatának tanúsága

3.A népesség utánpótlása

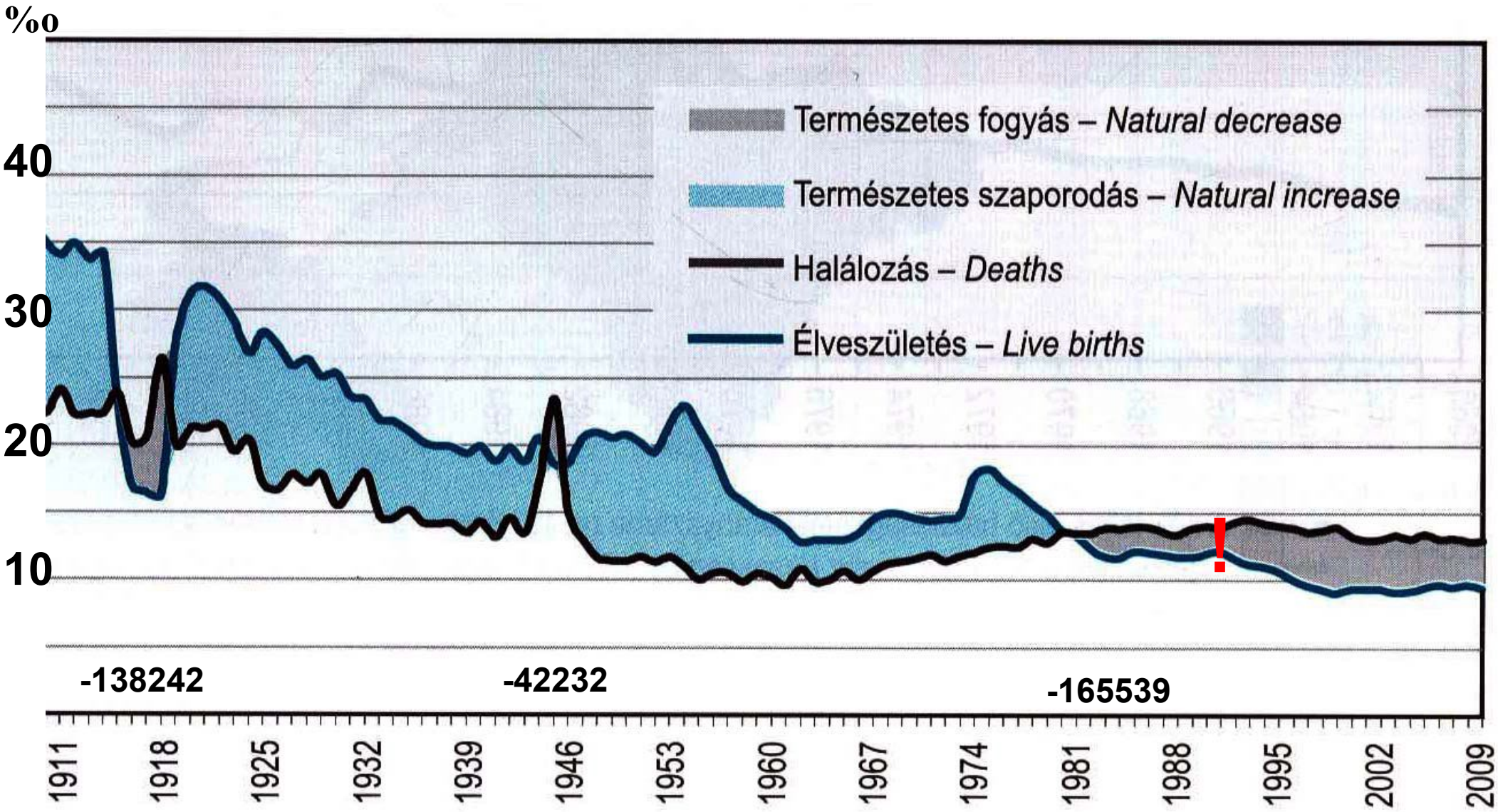
1. A népesség pusztulása

Születések és halálozások Magyarországon 1950-2009



1981 óta a halálozások Magyarországon mindig fölülmúlják a születések számát

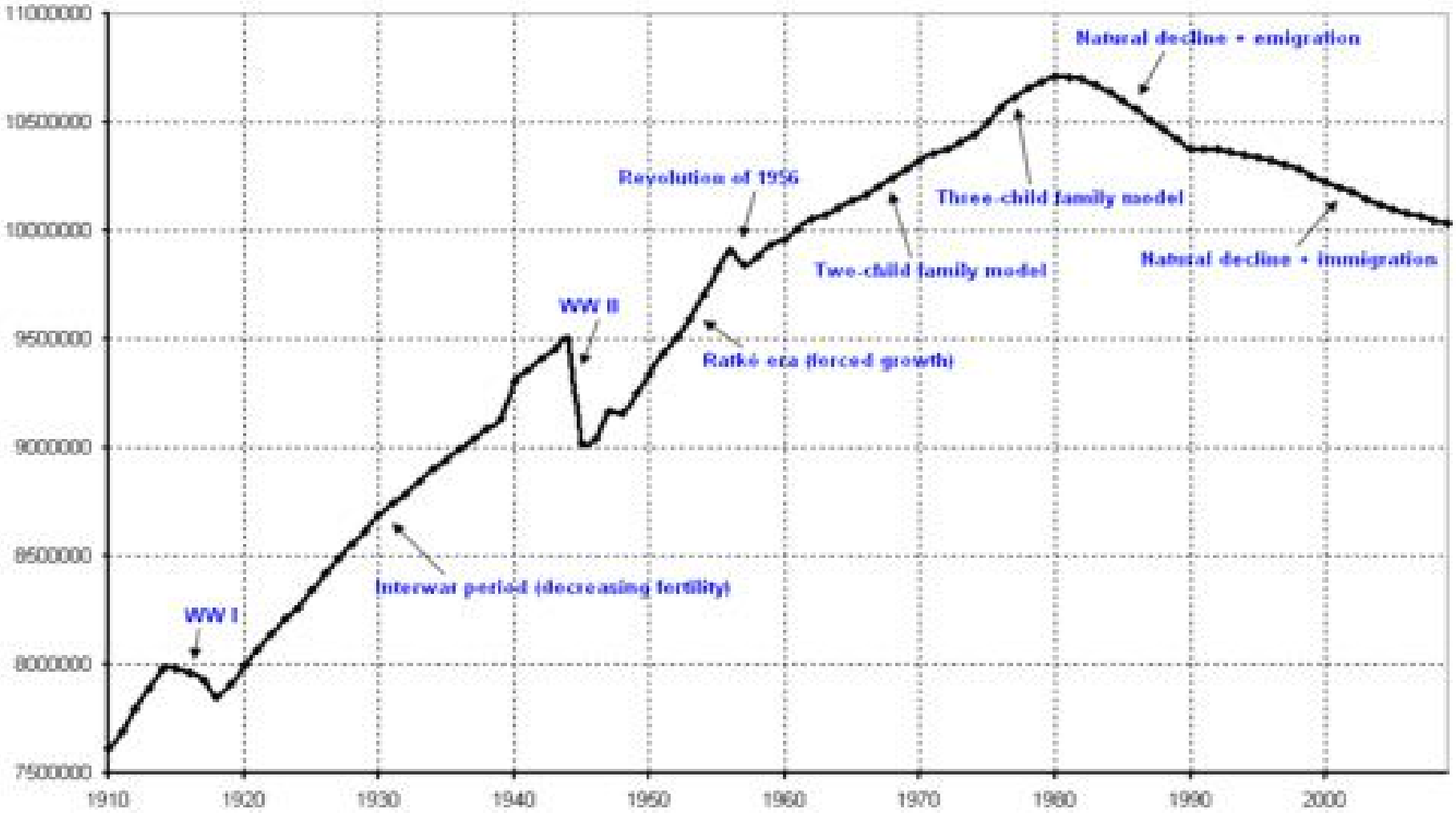
Forrás: hu.wikipedia.org/.../**Népesség**fogyás_**Magyarországon**



Pusztán az 1980-1990 közötti népességfogyás a világháborúkéval vetekszik

forrás: KSH Demografiai Évkönyv 2009, Grafikonok, XIX.oldal,G.5

Magyarország trianoni területének népessége 1910-2009



Népességünk száma 1980 óta ténylegesen állandóan fogy

forrás: hu.wikipedia.org/.../**Magyarország_népessége**

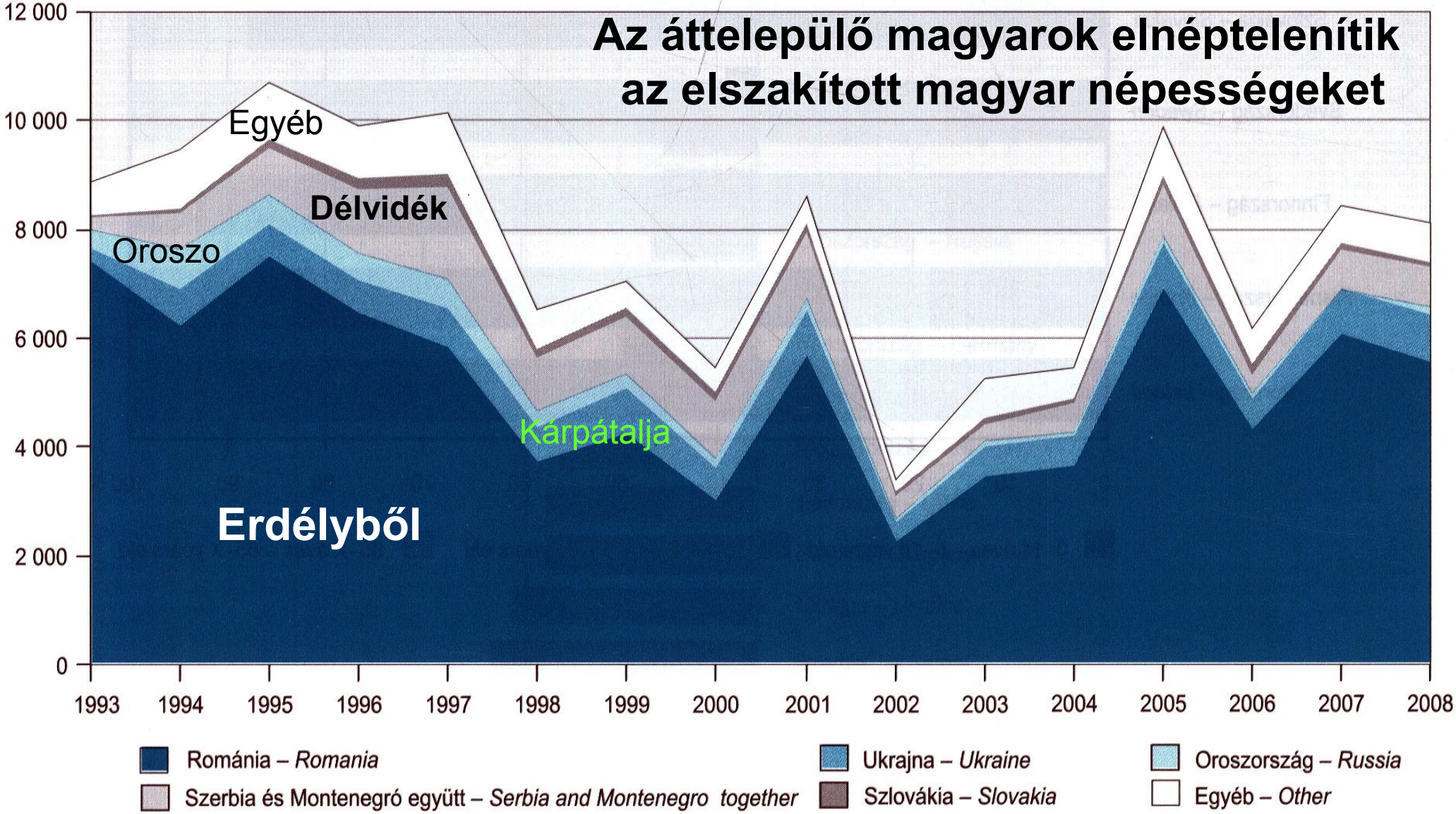
2011 áprilisában az ország becsült népessége 9 972 000 fő volt.)

A népességfogyás Magyarországon
a Központi Statisztikai Hivatal (KSH) adatai szerint
1981-2009 között 737 000 fő volt.

Az 1988 és 2009 közti időszakban 363 504 fő volt
az ország vándorlási nyeresége,
ami álcázta a népesség valódi fogyását.

Így az azóta bevándorolt, főként határon túli magyarok nélkül
a csökkenés meghaladná az 1 000 000 főt.[2][3][4][5]
de ennek a folyamatnak az eredményeként
a határontúli magyar népesség egyre fogy
és politikai jelentősége egyre csökken
s veszélyeztetni fogja a parlamentbe
jutásuk küszöbét

G.42. A magyar állampolgárságot kapott személyek száma születési ország szerint
People naturalized in Hungary by country of birth

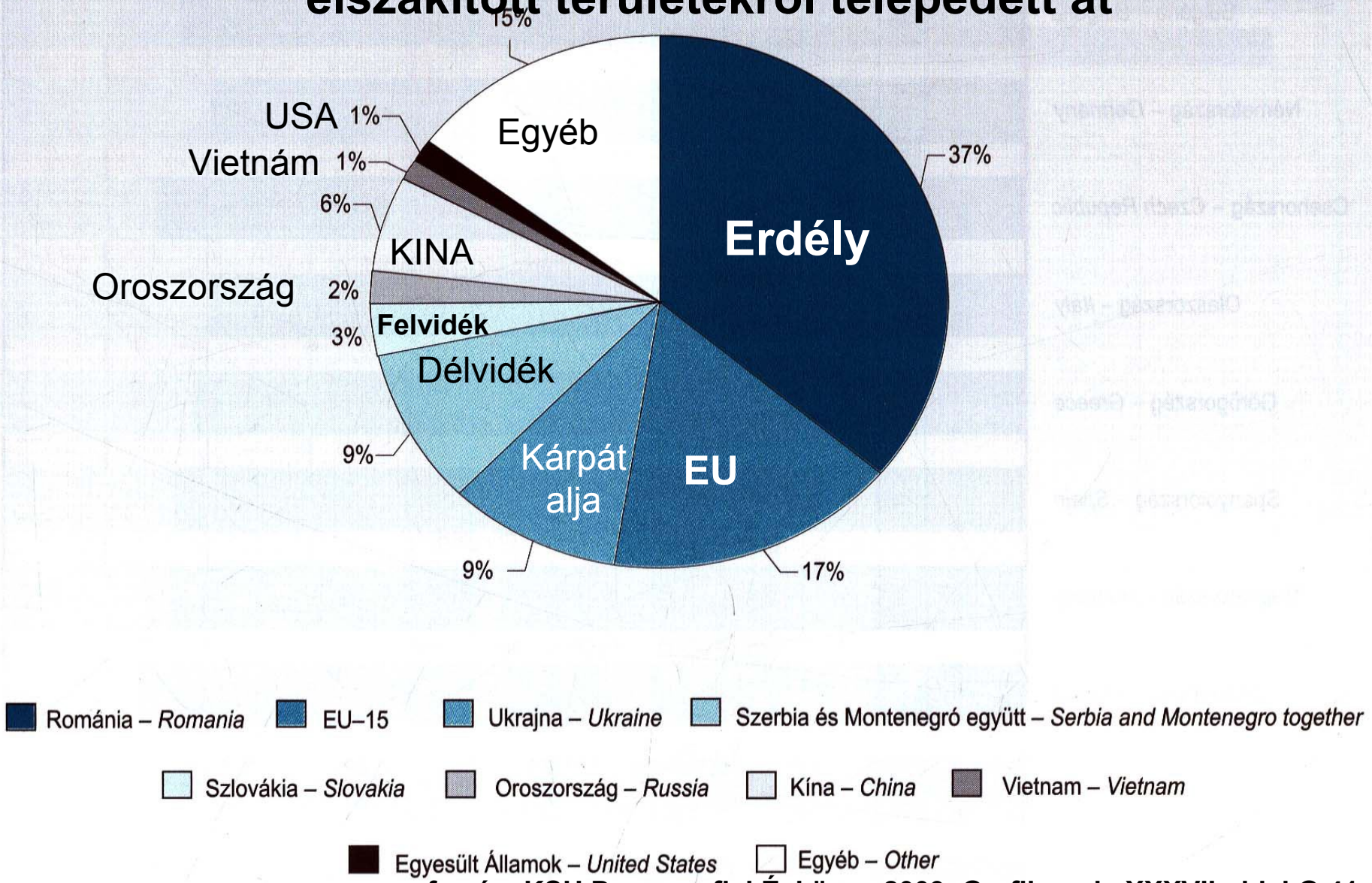


forrás: KSH Demografiai Évkönyv 2009, Grafikonok, XXXVII.oldal,G.42

G.41. A Magyarországon tartózkodó külföldi állampolgárok az állampolgárság országa szerint, 2010. január 1

Foreign citizens residing in Hungary by country of citizenship, 1 January 2010

Jelenleg is az itt élő külföldi állampolgárok nagyrésze az elszakított területekről telepedett át



forrás: KSH Demografiai Évkönyv 2009, Grafikonok, XXXVII.oldal,G.41

2.Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek vizsgálatának tanúsága

A népességfogyás mikéntjét és a népesedés utánpótlásának összefüggéseit leginkább a gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségekből követhetjük. Ezek híven tükrözik a termékenység tényezőinek változásait, és színes képet adnak a népesedés alakulásáról

A gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek fogalmát legkönnyebben a közvetlen számításának módszeréből érthetjük meg.

A közvetlen módszer azonban olyan részletesen kiadott adatokat tételez föl, amelyet az országok ritkán tesznek közzé, ezért a francia demográfus, Louis Henry közvetett súlyozásos módszert dolgozott ki.

Ezt a két eljárást hasonlítja össze Roland Pressat táblázata

Roland Pressat: L'analyse démographique
Paris 1969, 194. oldal

Demográfia 2000, 2-3. 281. oldal

Két módszer a harmadik gyermek születési valószínűségének számítására (Franciaországban a házasságból születettekre vonatkozóan)

Év	Második születések	Közvetett eljárás			Közvetlen eljárás			
			("súlyozott átlagok")		1965		1966	
		Súlyok	$d = b \times c$ 1965 (‰-ben)	$e = b \times c$ (de egy évvel előbbre mozdítva) ‰-ben 1966	Harmadik születések az előző születés éve szerint	$g = f/b$ ‰-ben	Harmadik születések az előző születések éve szerint	$i = h/b$ ‰-ben
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)
1966	219 801			4,4			2 313	*10,5*
1965	216 312	*2*	4,3	34,6	2 315	*10,7*	25 085	*116,0*
1964	216 483	*16*	34,6	71,4	26 025	*120,2*	31 985	*147,7*
1963	211 985	*33*	70 0	40,3	32 743	*154,5*	20 432	*96,4*
1962	204 698	*19*	38,9	22,5	19 833	*96,9*	12 851	*62,8*
1961	206 302	*11*	22,7	14,4	12 884	*62,5*	8 903	*43,2*
1960	199 507	*7*	14,0	8,0	8 891	*44,6*	6 117	*30,7*
1959	202 016	*4*	8,1	6,1	6 174	*30,6*	4 404	*21,8*
1958	198 016	*3*	5,9	4,0	4 376	*22,1*	3 200	*16,2*
1957	205 418	*2*	4,1	4,1	3 221	*15,7*	2 284	*11,1*
1956	199 791	*2*	4,0	2,0	2 323	*11,6*	1 574	*7,9*
1955	198 777	*1*	2,0		1 669	*8,4*	1 163	*5,9*
1954	202 865				1 206	*5,9*	866	*4,3*
1953	204 152				827	*4,1*	585	*2,9*
1952	212 309				600	*2,8*	436	*2,1*
1951	218 059				429	*2,0*	278	*1,3*
1950	235 382				305	*1,3*	203	*0,9*
1949	240 646				204	*0,8*	105	*0,4*
1948	219 381				97	*0,4*	59	*0,3*
1947	195 911				50	*0,3*	27	*0,1*
1946	210 717				33	*0,2*		
1945	151 391				18	*0,1*		
1944	149 529						(28)	*0,2*
1943	135 088				(17)	*0,1*		
Összesen			208,6	211,8	124 240	595,8	122 898	582,7
			$\frac{124240}{208600}$ =	$\frac{122898}{211800}$ =				
a_2 (‰)			= *595‰*	= *580‰*		*596‰*		*583‰*

Két módszer a harmadik gyermek születési valószínűségének számítására (Franciaországban a házasságból születettekre vonatkozóan)

Év | 2. szüle-tések | súlyok | Közvetett (súlyozott) eljárás | Közvetlen eljárás

Év	Második születések	Súlyok	Közvetett eljárás ("súlyozott átlagok") $d = b \times c$ 1965 (%o-ben)	$e = b \times c$ (de egy évvel előbbre mozdítva) %o-ben 1966	Közvetlen eljárás 1965: Harmadik születések az előző szülés éve szerint	1965: $g = f/b$ %o-ben	1966: Harmadik születések az előző szülés-tések éve szerint	1966: $i = h/b$ %o-ben
a	b	c	d=bxc	e	f	g=f/b	h	i=h/b
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)
1966	219 801			4,4			2 313	*10,5*
1965	216 312	*2*	4,3	34,6	2 315	*10,7*	25 085	*116,0*
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1959	202 016	*4*	8,1	6,1	6 174	*30,6*	4 404	*21,8*
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1957	205 418	*2*	4,1	4,1	3 221	*15,7*	2 284	*11,1*
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1955	198 777	*1*	2,0		1 669	*8,4*	1 163	*5,9*
1954	202 865				1 206	*5,9*	866	*4,3*
1953	204 152				827	*4,1*	585	*2,9*
1952	212 309				600	*2,8*	436	*2,1*
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1948	219 381				97	*0,4*	59	*0,3*
1947	195 911				50	*0,3*	27	*0,1*
1946	210 717				33	*0,2*		
1945	151 391				18	*0,1*		
1944	149 529						(28)	*0,2*
1943	135 088				(17)	*0,1*		
Összesen			208,6	211,8	124 240	595,8	122 898	582,7
			$\frac{124240}{208600}$ =	$\frac{122898}{211800}$ =				
a_2 (%o)			= *595%o*	= *580%o*		*596%o*		*583%o*

Két módszer a harmadik gyermek születési valószínűségének számítására (Franciaországban a házasságból születettekre vonatkozóan)

Év	Második születések	Közvetett eljárás			Közvetlen eljárás			
			("súlyozott átlagok")		1965		1966	
		Súlyok	$d = b \times c$ 1965 (‰-ben)	$e = b \times c$ (de egy évvel előbbre mozdítva) ‰-ben 1966	Harmadik születések az előző születés éve szerint	$g = f/b$ ‰-ben	Harmadik születések az előző születések éve szerint	$i = h/b$ ‰-ben
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)
1966	219 801			4,4			2 313	*10,5*
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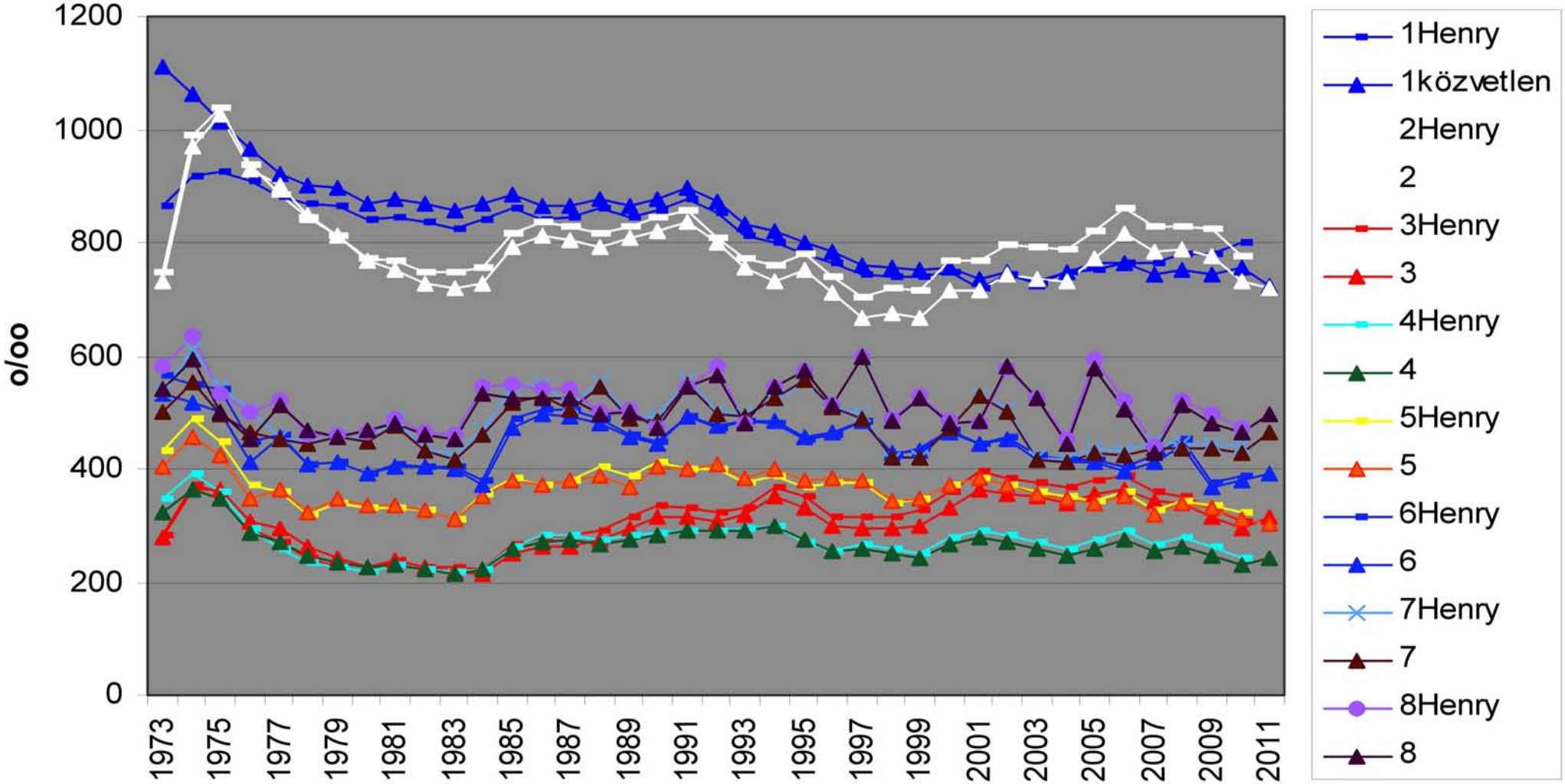
1949	240 646				204	*0,8*	105	*0,4*
1948	219 381				97	*0,4*	59	*0,3*
1947	195 911				50	*0,3*	27	*0,1*
1946	210 717				33	*0,2*		
1945	151 391				18	*0,1*		
1944	149 529						(28)	*0,2*
1943	135 088				(17)	*0,1*		
Összesen			208,6	211,8	124 240	595,8	122 898	582,7
			$\frac{124240}{208600}$ =	$\frac{122898}{211800}$ =				
a_2 (‰)			= *595‰*	= *580‰*		*596‰*		*583‰*

59.5 % **58.0 %** **59.6 %** **58.3 %**

Magyarországon ilyen összehasonlításokat már 1973 és 2011 között minden évben végezhetünk, s azokból kiderül, hogy mind a házasságból születettek, mind pedig az összes születések vizsgálatánál nincs számottevő különbség a Henry-féle súlyozással nyert becslések és a közvetlen teljes körű számítások végeredménye között.

Tehát a Henry-féle súlyozással végzett becslések is megbízható eredményeket nyújtanak a szóban forgó vizsgálatokra.

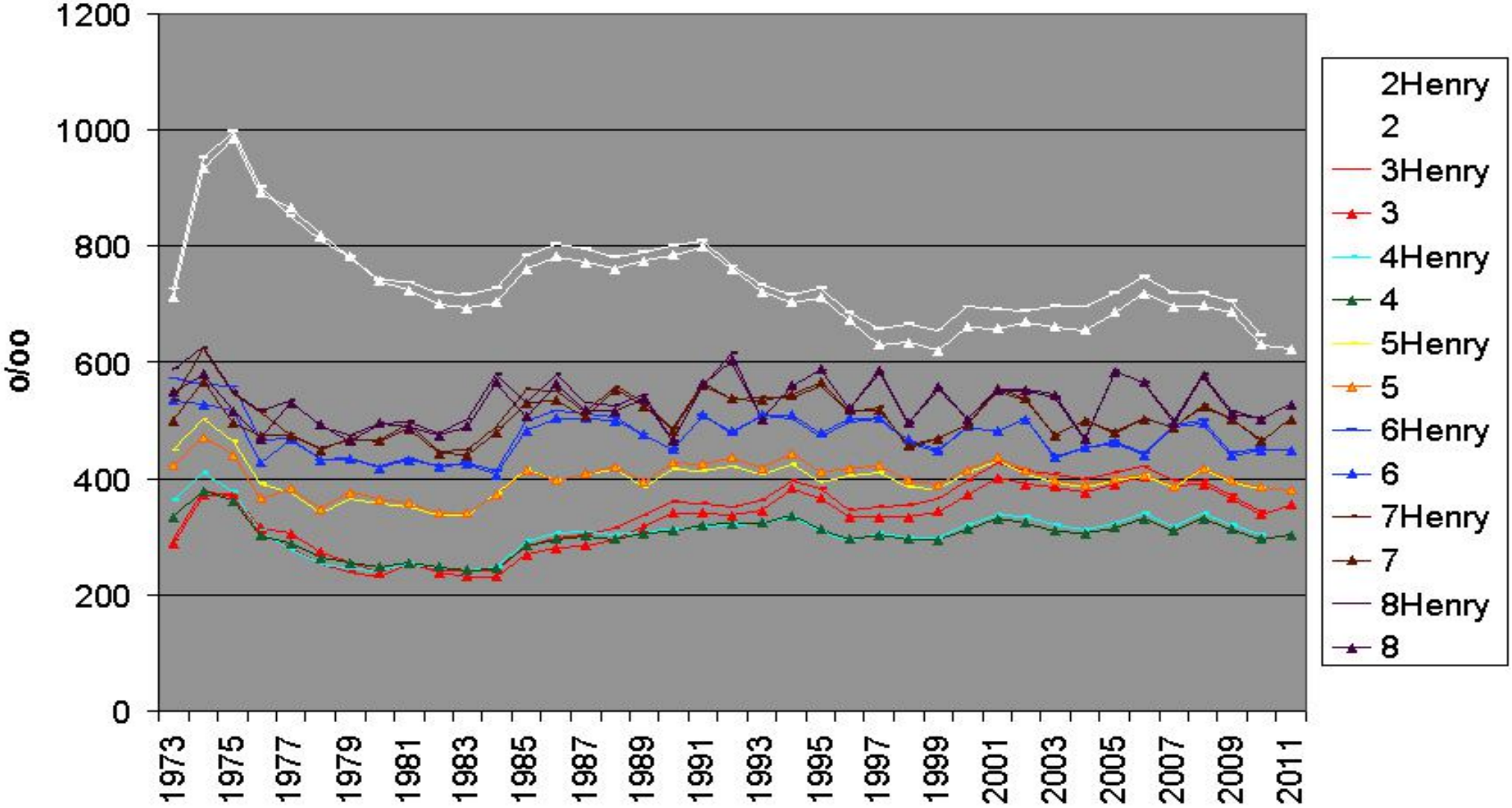
Henry & közvetlen számítás összehasonlítása a házasságból születettek valószínűségei értékeinél



A házasságból születettek esetében nincs számottevő különbség, ha az értékeket akár Henry súlyozásával becsüljük, akár közvetlenül számítjuk,

Henry & közvetlen számítás összehasonlítása az összes született valószínűségi értékeinél,

ahol szintén nincs számottevő különbség a két eljárás eredményei között:



A házasságon kívül születettek vizsgálatánál azonban

a 2. születéseknél 1990 után,

a 3. születeséknél már 1977-től, de különösen 1990 után

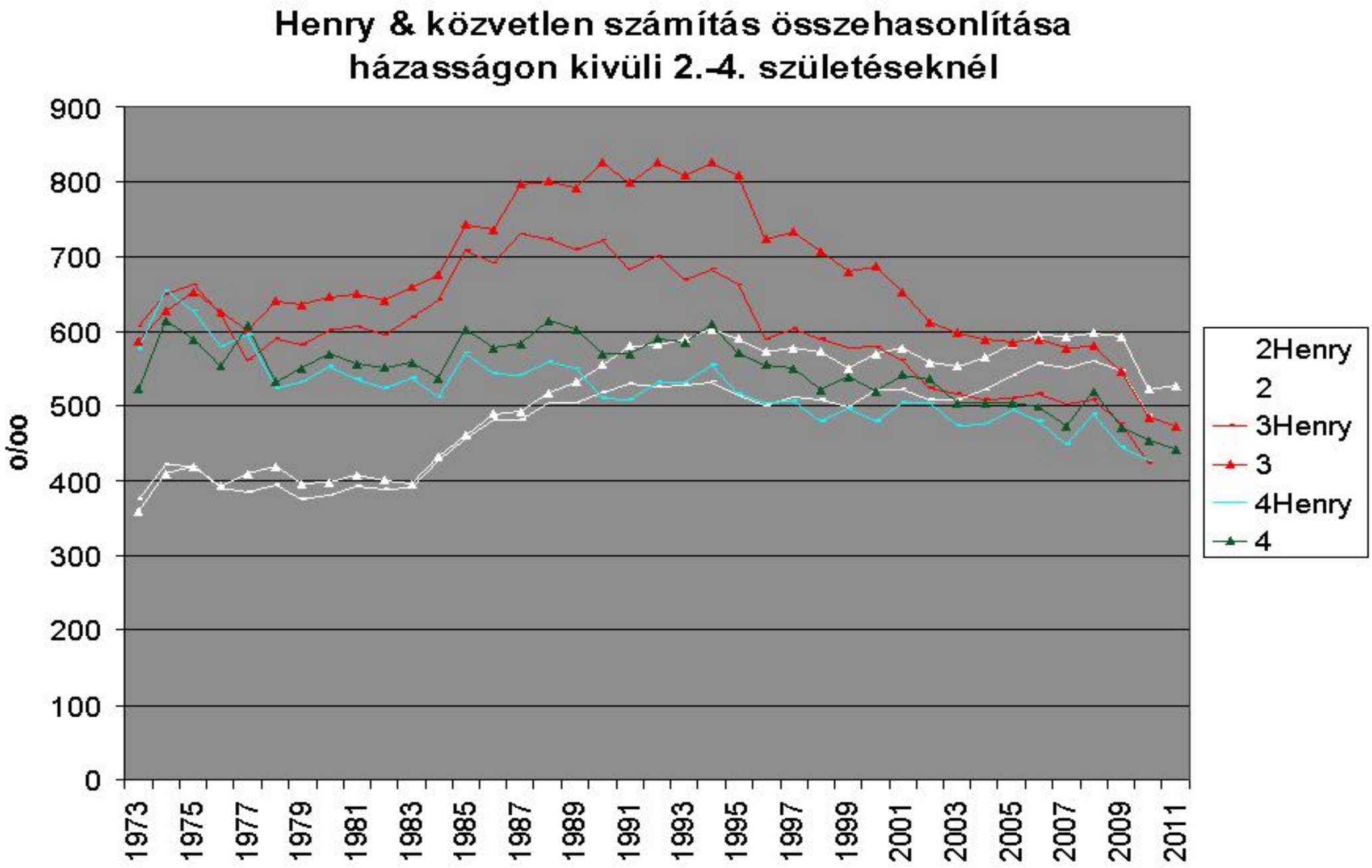
a 4. születéseknél 1987 és 1997 között

a Henry-féle súlyozásos becslés alábecsüli

a születések valószínűségét.

Louis Henry súlyozása az „enlargissement de la famille”
a családok megnagyobbodásának,
és nem a családokon kívüli születések vizsgálatára készült.

Ennek ellenére
az 6.és annál magasabb születési sorrendekben
gyakorlatilag ismét nincs eltérés a két eredmény között


Henry & közvetlen számítás összehasonlítása
házasságon kivüli 2.-4. születéseknél
o/oo
900
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
1973
1975
1977
1979
1981
1983
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2001
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2007
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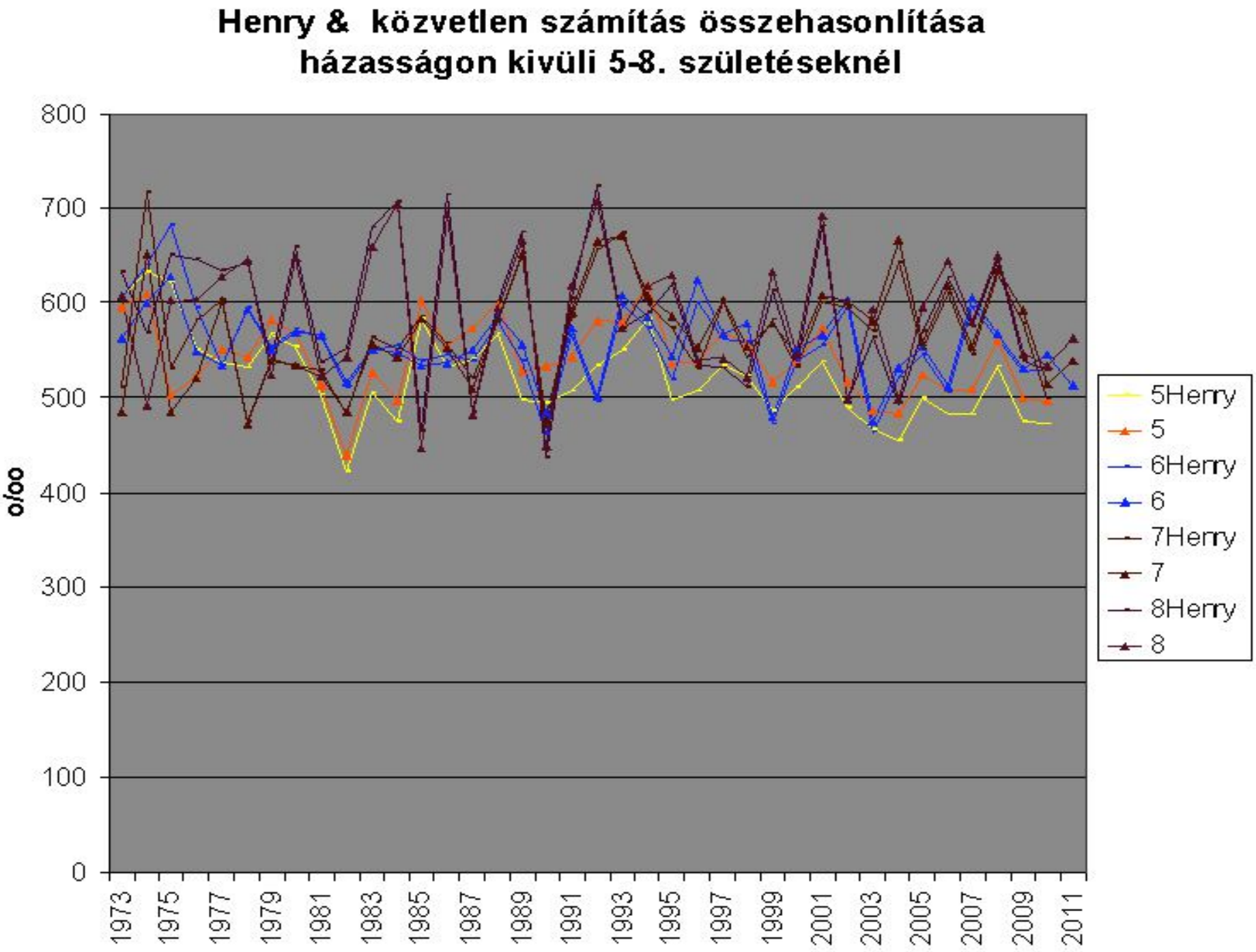
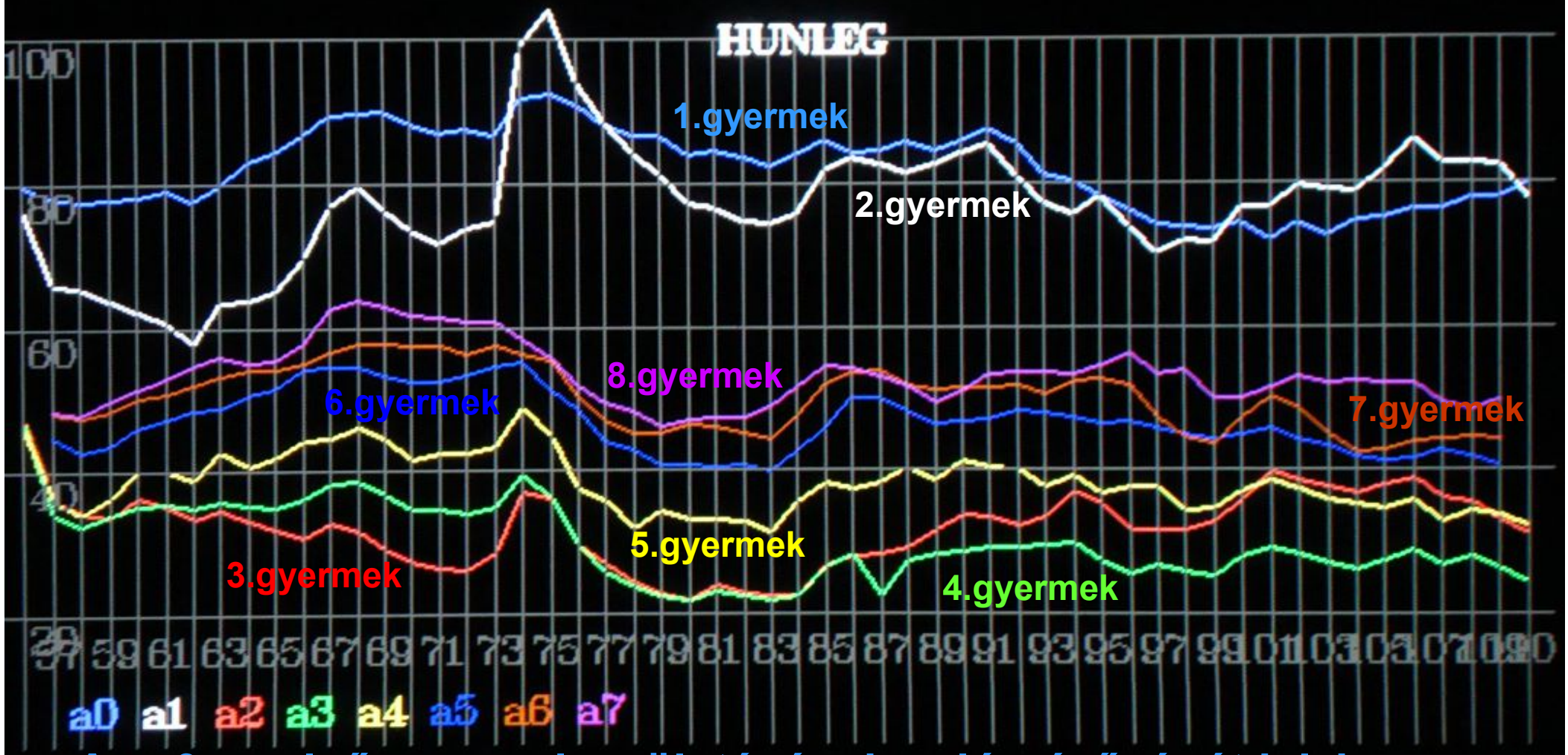
2011
2Henry
2
3Henry
3
4Henry
4


Henry & közvetlen számítás összehasonlítása
házasságon kivüli 5-8. születéseknél
o/oo
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
1973
1975
1977
1979
1981
1983
1985
1987
1989
1991
1993
1995
1997
1999
2001
2003
2005
2007
2009
2011
5Henry
5
6Henry
6
7Henry
7
8Henry
8

A születések eredhetnek házasságból, és házasságon kívül.

A házasságokban történő gyermekszám növekedési valószínűségeket családnövekedési valószínűségeknek nevezzük.

Családnövekedési valószínűségek Magyarországon Louis Henry súlyozott eljárásával számolva



Az a0 ez első gyermek születésének valószínűségét jelzi

az a1 a második gyermekét, az a2 a harmadikét,

az a3 a negyedikét és így tovább

Magyarországon 1956-ban szabaddá tették a művi vetéléseket s ezt követően a születések valószínűsége esősen esni kezdett

Mélypontjukat általában 1962-ben érték el, amikor

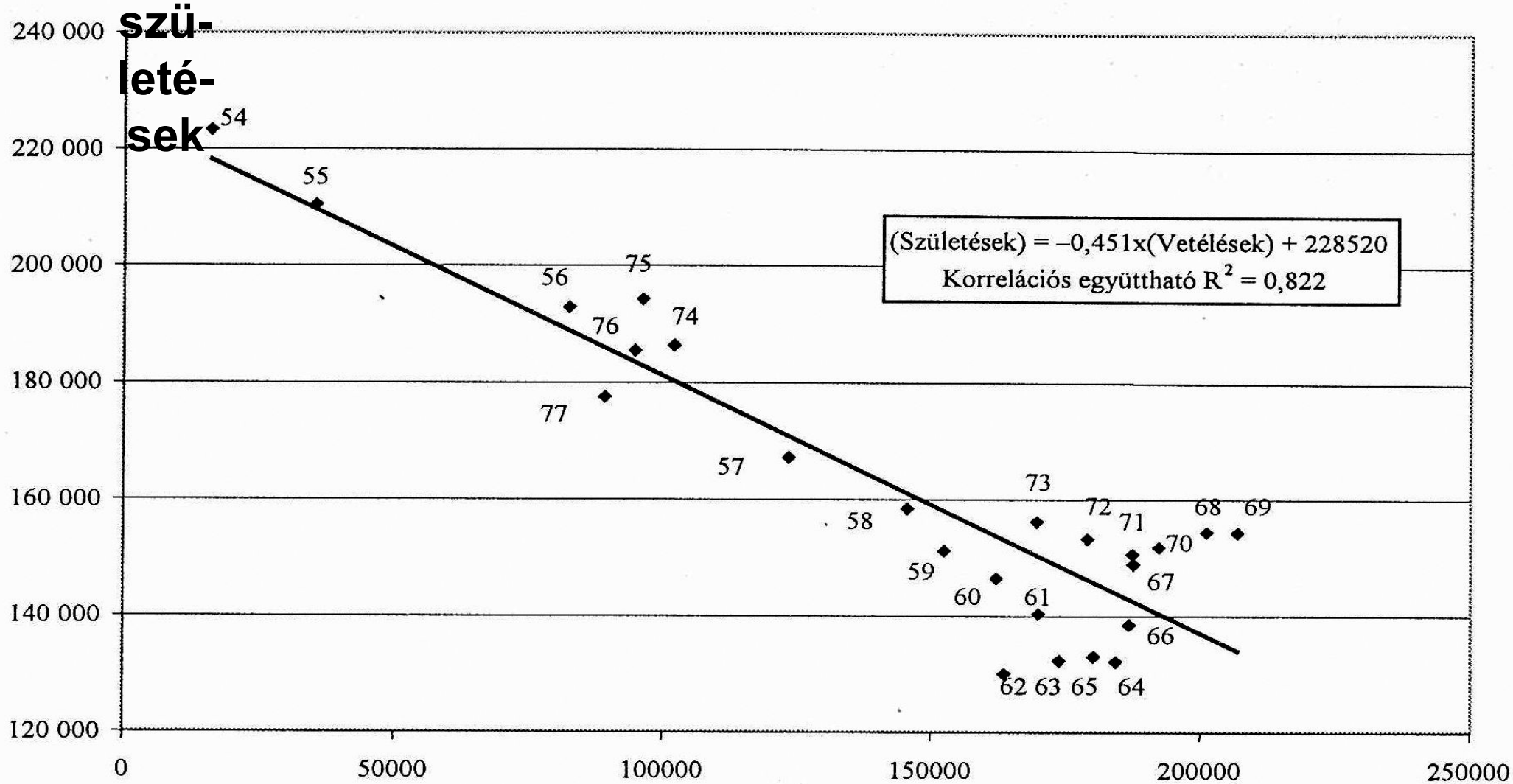
az 1. gyermek valószínűsége 79,2 %

a 2. második gyermek valószínűsége 60,8 %

a 3. harmadik gyermeké pedig 35,2 %-ra sülyedt

1962 után azonban az 1. és 2. gyermek valószínűsége emelkedni kezdett. Ezzel kapcsolatban már 2000-ben kimutattuk,hogy 1954-1977-ig a születések számát a a vetélések száma 82,2 %-ban határozta meg, mert a korrelá-ciós együttható R^2 = 0,822, mégpedig a következő egyenlet szerint:

$$(\text{születések}) = -0{,}451(\text{vetélések}) + 228520$$



Forrás: Váralljai Csocsán Jenő:
Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek 1989 elött és után,
Demográfia 2000, 2-3 szám, 286.oldal

művi vetélések

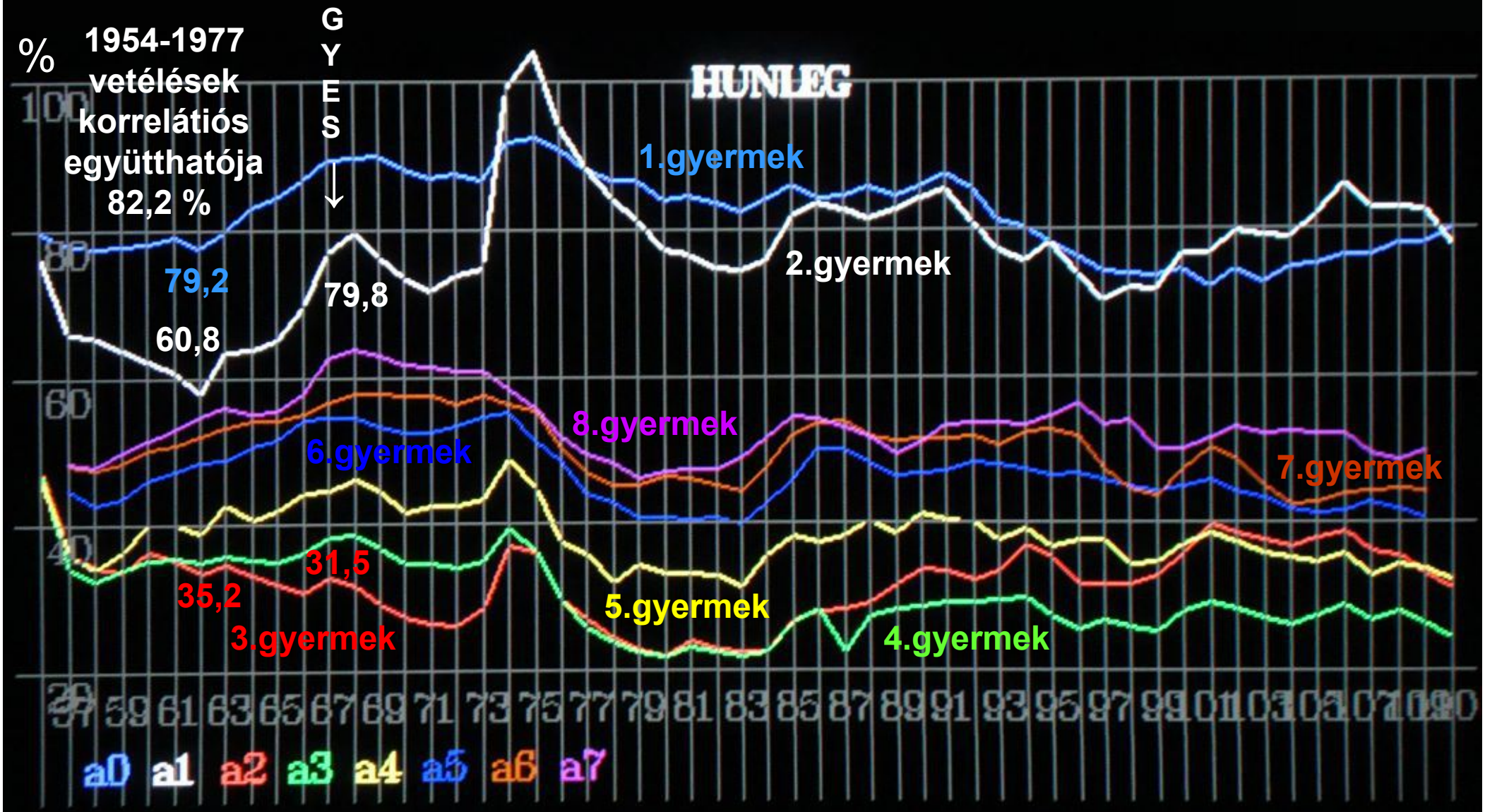
Ezért az 1.és 2.születések emelkedése 1962 után azt jelentette, hogy a 1962-t követően csökkentek a vetélések az 1. és 2. terhességek esetében

Magyarországon a teljes termékenységi mutató a vetélések szabadra engedése után már 1959-ben az utánpótlási szint alá esett

A Kádár rendszer tíz évig tétlenül nézte a népesség pusztulá-sát, végül rájöhetett, hogy a munkaigényes beruházások ellátá-sához munkások kellenének majd, s végül 1967-ben megpró-bálkozott a 600 forintos GYES bevezetésével.

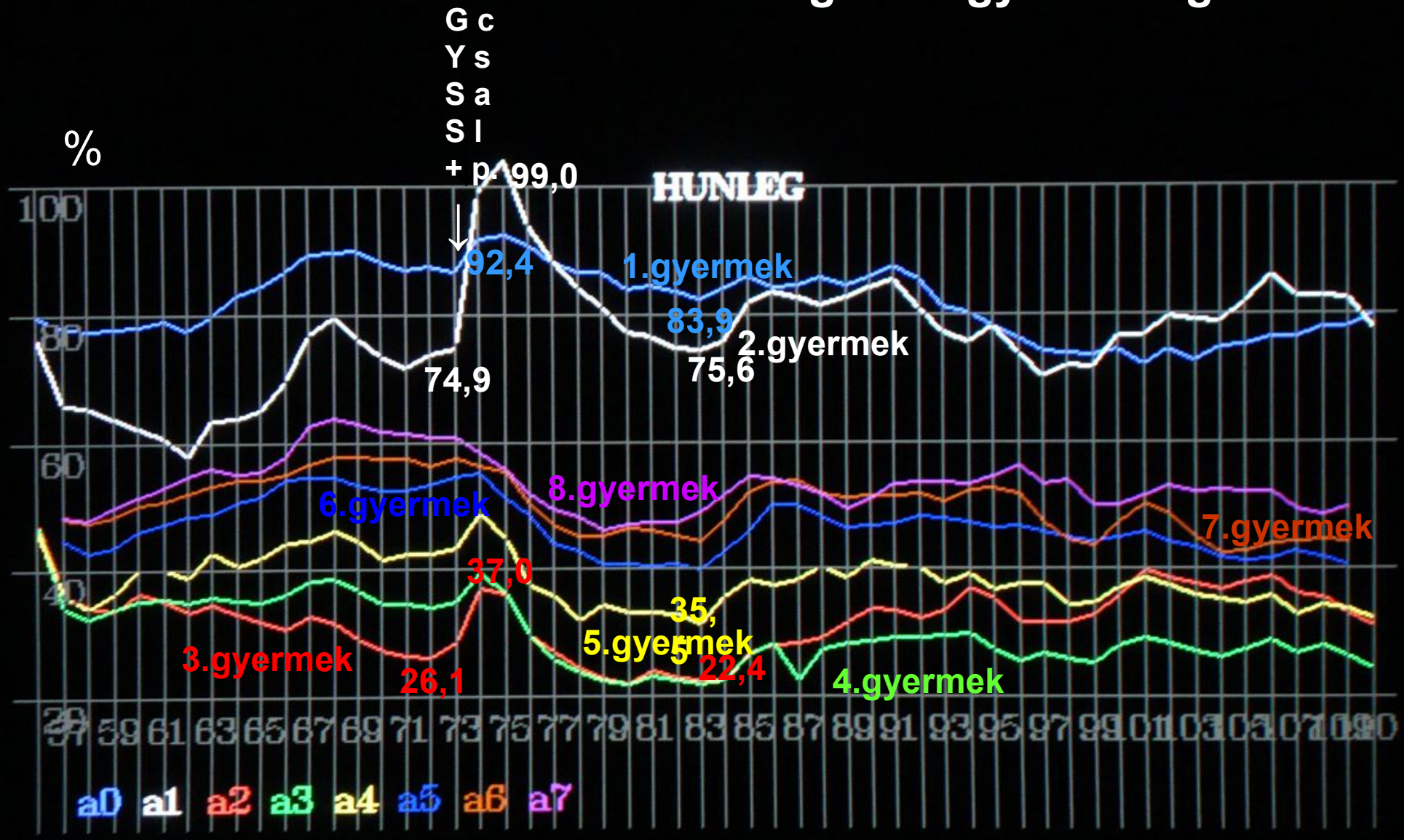
Ennek hatása leginkább a 2.gyermek gyakoriságán érezhető, de az így keletkező keletkező hullám már 1973-ra elült, és a tiszta termékenységi mutatónak se sikerült az utánpótlási szintre emelkednie, de egy évre, 1968-ben átmenetileg alulról megközelítette.

Családnövekedési valószínűségek Magyarországon



Ezért 1974-ben a művi vetéléseket megszigorították, a GYES-t és a családi pótlékot átalakították. Ennek következtében a szü-letések valószínűsége 1974-ben az a_2-a_5 mutatók érezhetően fölszöktek, legjelentősebben a második születéseké 24,1%-kal, a harmadiké 10,9%-kal. Sokan a születések 1974 évi emelkedését azzal igyekeznek magyarázni,hogy az egyszerűen 20 évvel követte a Ratkó-korszakban bekövetkezett babyboom-ot, és így akkor a Ratkó-korszakban született éppen termékeny-korba került leányok szükségképen megemelték a születések számát.A családnövekedési valószínűségek azonban kíszürik a Ratkó-korszaknak szóbanforgó hatását, mert azt mutatják,hogy az adott évben ezer (vagy 100) nőre mennyi születés jutott, és így kiküszöböli a kohorszok tényleges létszámának hatását. Másrészt az 1974-ben bevezetett rendelkezések következtében a 2.-5. születési rendben ugrott mega születések valószínűsége, és így a Ratkó korszaknál jóval korábban született asszonyok termékenysége is megugrott. Tehát a családnövekedési való-színűségek az 1973-ban tett intézkedéseknek és nem a Ratkó-korszaknak a hatását mutatják.

Családnövekedési valószínűségek Magyarországon



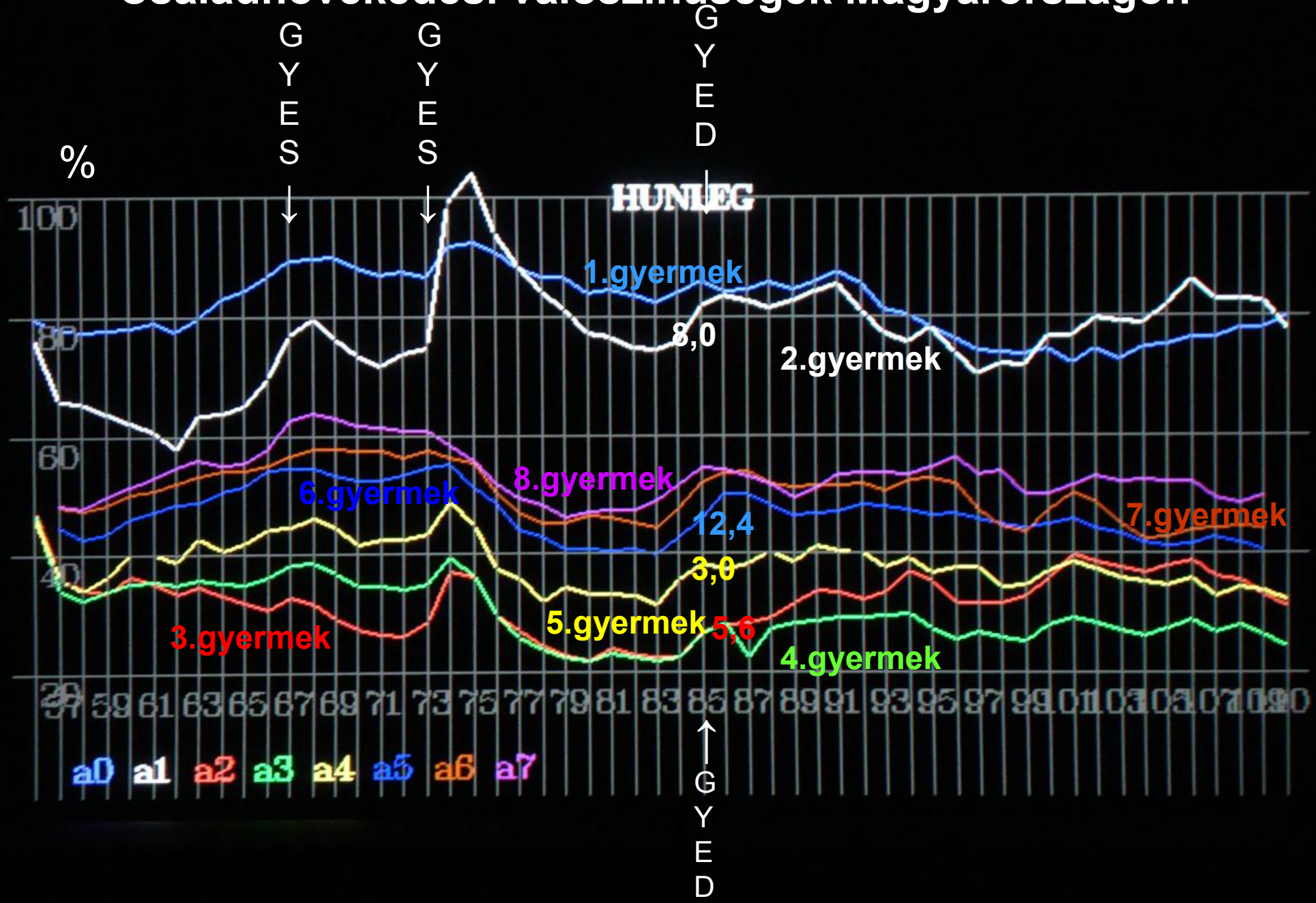
Az is kítűnik azonban, hogy az 1974-ben megemelkedett születési gyakoriságok a magasabb születési sorrendekben hamarabb, az 1. és 2. születések esetében pedig 1982-re elapadtak. Ezért 1985-ben a hatóságok bevezették a GYED-et amely gyakorlatilag 1996-ig érvényben maradt. A GYED hatása is világosan kítűnik a családnövekedési valószínűségek alakulásából.

1984-ról 1986-ra a családnövekedési valószínűségek

1. gyermekre(a_0)	**83,9%-ról**	**84,2%-ra**	**0,3%-kal**
2. gyermekre(a_1)	**75,6%-ról**	**83,6%-ra**	**8,0%-kal**
3. gyermekre(a_2)	**22,4%-ról**	**28,0%-ra**	**5,6%-kal**
4. gyermekre(a_3)	**22,3%-ról**	**28,1%-ra**	**5,8 %-kal**
5. gyermekre(a_4)	**34,9%-ról**	**37,9%-ra**	**3,0%-kal**
6. gyermekre(a_5)	**38,1%-ról**	**50,5%-ra**	**12,4%-kal**
7. gyermekre(a_6)	**47,0%-ról**	**51,2%-ra**	**4,2%-kal emekedett.**

Jóllehet ezek az emelkedések csak kisebb mérvűek voltak,mint az 1974-ben jelentkezők, de azokkal ellentétben azoknál sokkal maradandóbb jellegűeknek bizonyultak, s az általuk bevezetett szintet 1989-ig tartották.

Családnövekedési valószínűségek Magyarországon



Összefoglalva hosszabb távon megállapíthatjuk, hogy a gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek

1962. évi mélypontról 1990-ig az

1. gyermekre várható a_0 77,5%-ról 85,6%-ra 8,1%-kal

2. gyermekre várható a_1 57,8%-ról 84,3 %-ra 26,5%-kal

emelkedtek.

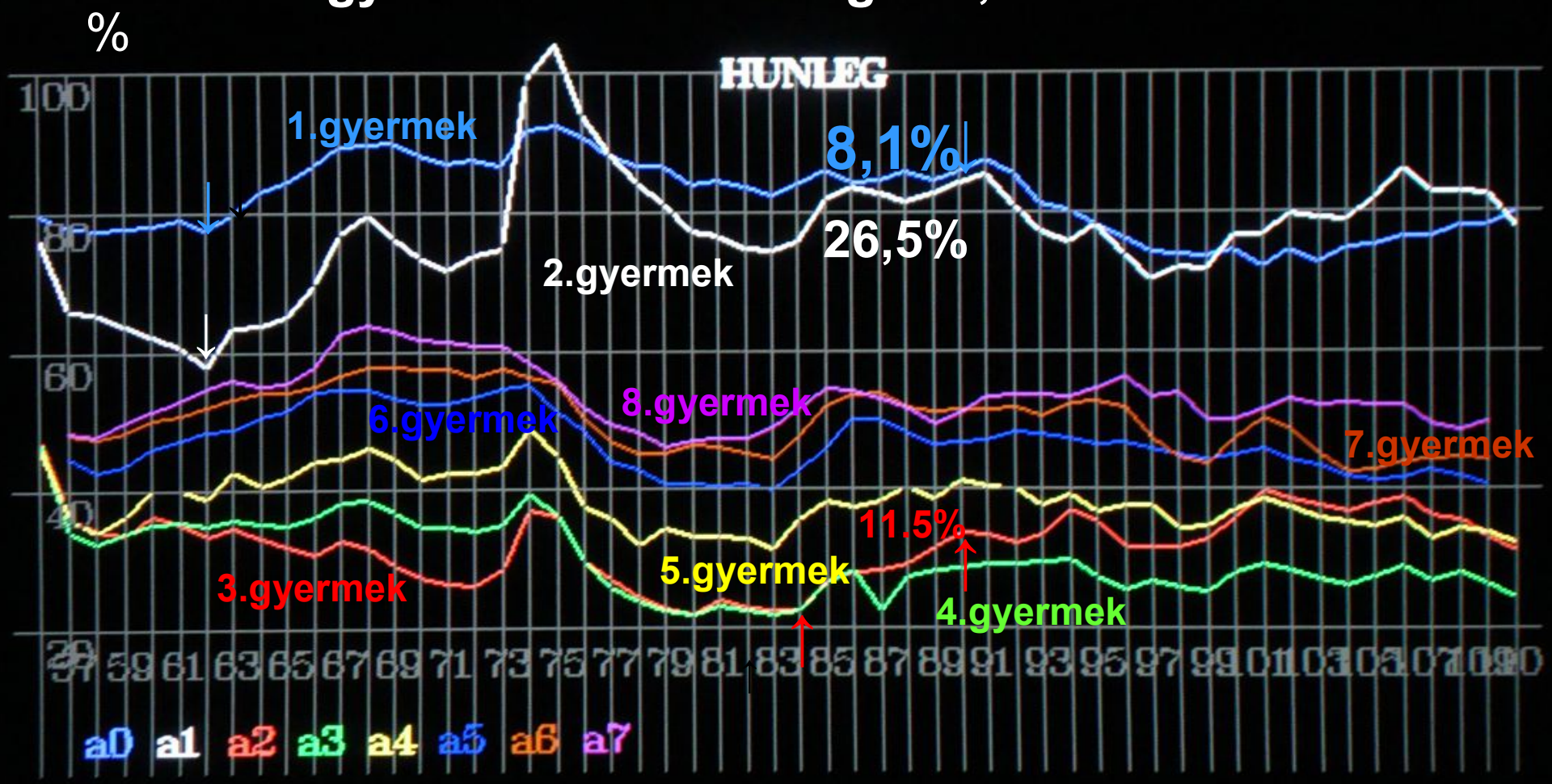
Igen jelentősnek kell azonban tartanunk, hogy az a_2, a harmadik gyermek valószínűsége az 1983-ben volt 22,4 %-ról, lassan de tartósan emelkedni kezdett 1990-ig már 33,5%-ra 11,5%-kal nőtt, (s éppen meghaladta az 1962-es 33.3%-os szintet).

Emelkedése viszont kitartóan folytatódott 1994-ig, amikor már 36,9 %-ot mutatott. A magyar népesség utánpótlása szempontjából ugyanis éppen a harmadik gyermekek gyakoriságának emelkedése a legérzékenyebb és talán a leginkább számotvető.

1962-1990-ig

az 1. gyermek valószínűsége 8,1 %-kal

a 2. gyermek valószínűsége 26,5 %-kal emelkedett



1984-1990-ig a 3. gyermek valószínűsége 11,5 % nőtt

2000-re elérte a 40 %-ot

Az úgynevezett rendszerváltás nyomán azonban 1991-tól 1997-ig a családnövekedési valószínűségek az

1. gyermekre (a_0) 87,6%-ról 74,3 %-ra 13,3 %-kal, az

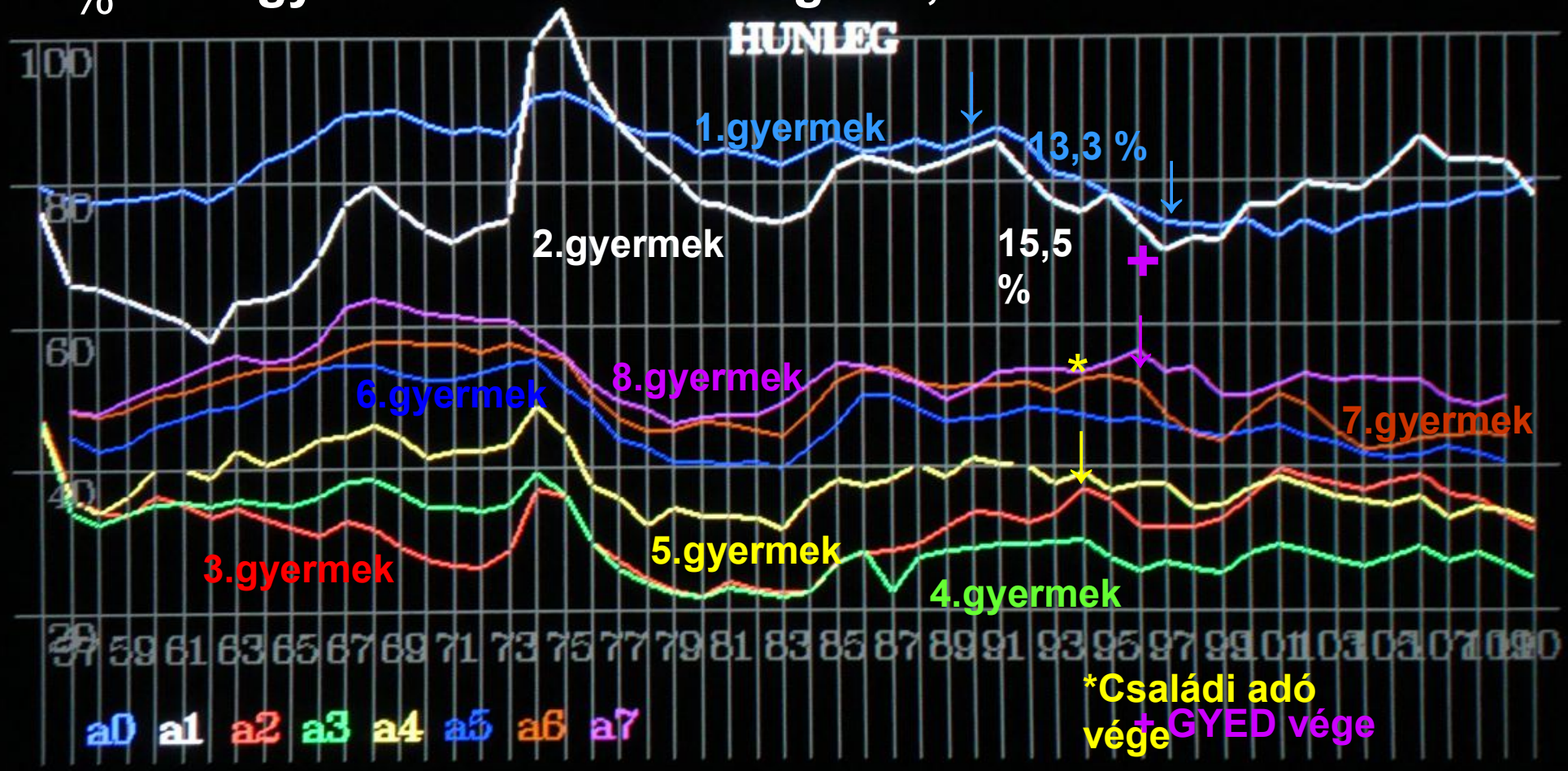
2. gyermekre (a_1) 85,5%-ról 70,3 %-ra 15,5%-kal estek, amivel elsöpörték a GYES és a GYED korábban elért leglényegesebb főbb eredményeit.

1994-tól fogva, amikor a Horn kormány eltörölte a családi adókedvezményeket, már az a_2 és az a_3 is esni kezdett, sőt 1996-től, amikor a GYED-et eltörölték, az a_6 és az a_7 is, melyek 1985-től fogva tartották szintjüket. Mindez tovább erősítette az alacsonyabb születési sorrendekben is a gyermekszületések csökkenését.

1991-1997 között

az 1. gyermek valószínűsége 13,3 %-kel esett

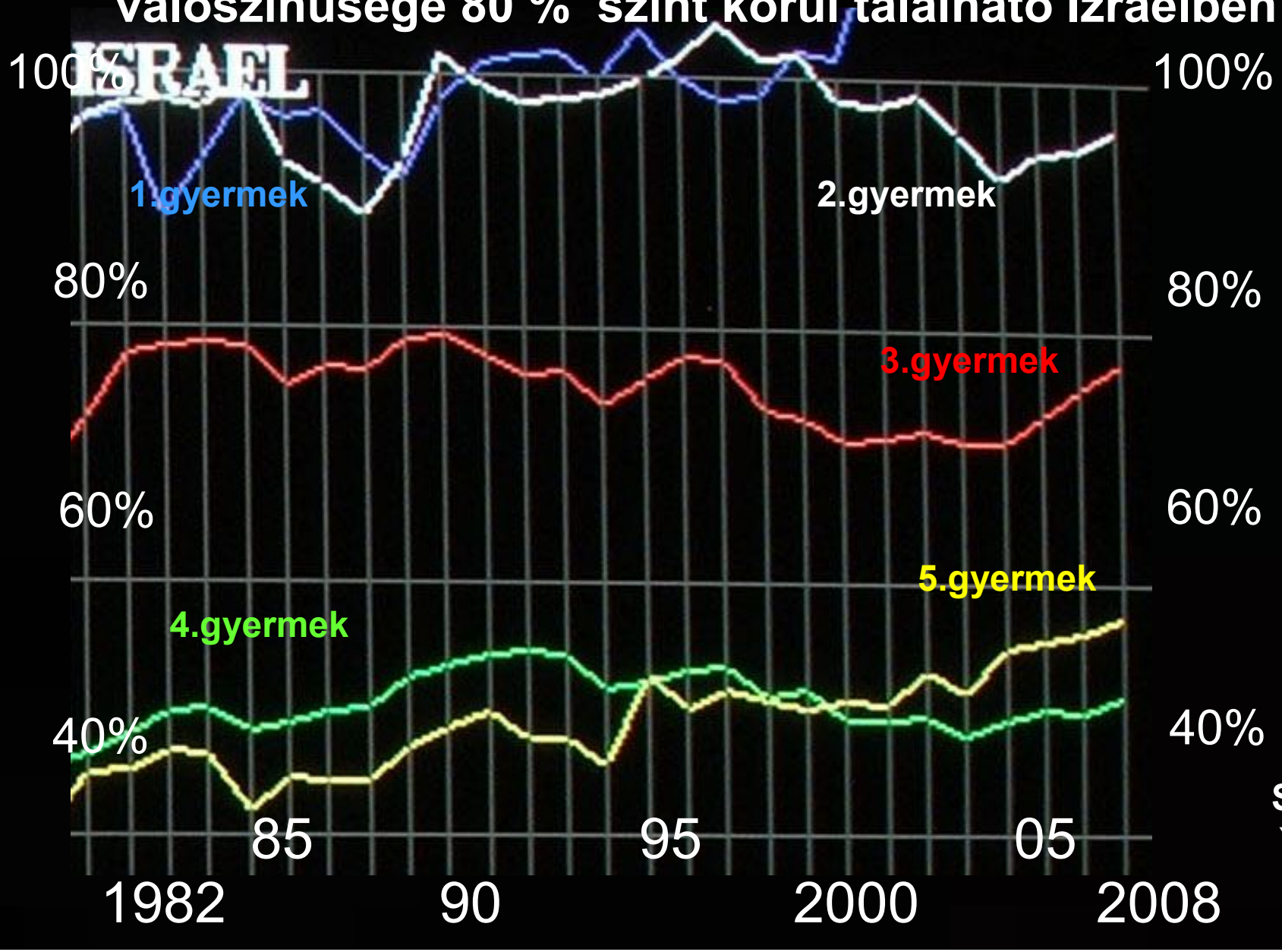
% a 2. gyermek vakószínűsége 15,5 %-kal



A családnövekedési valószínűségek ezen szóbanforgó változásai éppúgy, mint azok emelkedése a GYES és a GYED bevezetése nyomán kézzelfoghatóan cáfolják azt a balvélemény t,hogy a népesedés előmozdítása végett a „kormányok hiába tesznek, és hiába cselekednek”, amint azt Szabó György mondta 1996 ápr. 22-én Országgyűlési Napló 19087. oszlopa szerint, de azt is, hogy „semmilyen állami szigor nem volt még képes egy nemzetet rábírni önmaga jókedvű bővített újratermelésére” vagy hogy a megfelelő szociális ellátástól nem függne a népesedés, mint Friss Róbert írta 2012 jún 14-én a Népszabadság 11. oldalán.

Figyeljük meg, hogy Magyarországon az 1. és 2 gyermek valószínűsége 80% szint körül a 3-5 gyermek valószínűsége 40 % alatt ingadozik

Ezzel szemben a zsidó első és második gyermekek valószínűsége 100 %, a zsidó harmadik gyermekek valószínűsége 80 % szint körül található Izraelben

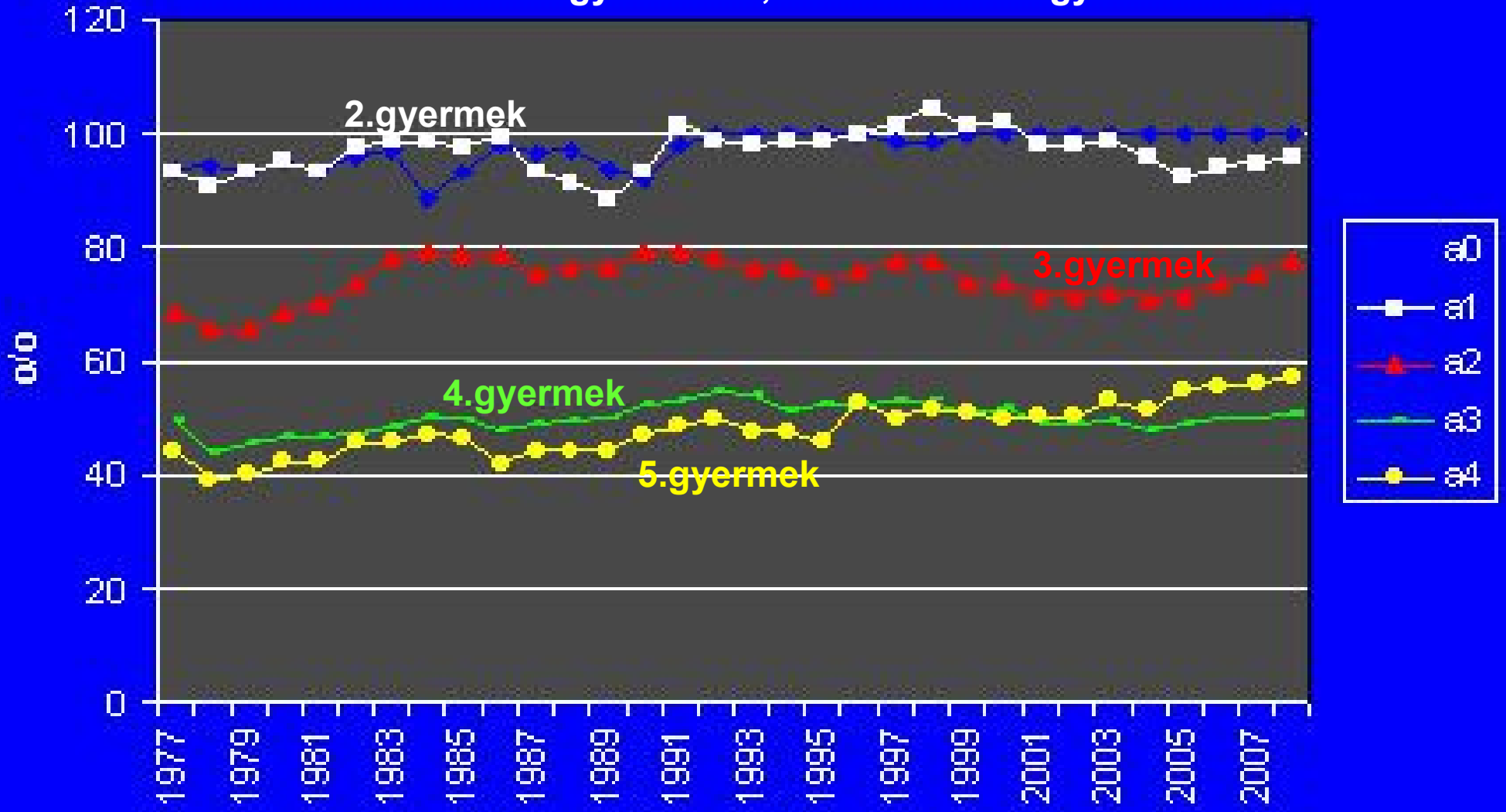


Statistical Yearbook of Israel alapján

Gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségek

az izreali zsidók között Izraelben

100% körül található az 1. és 2. gyermekek, 80 % körül a 3. gyermekek esetében



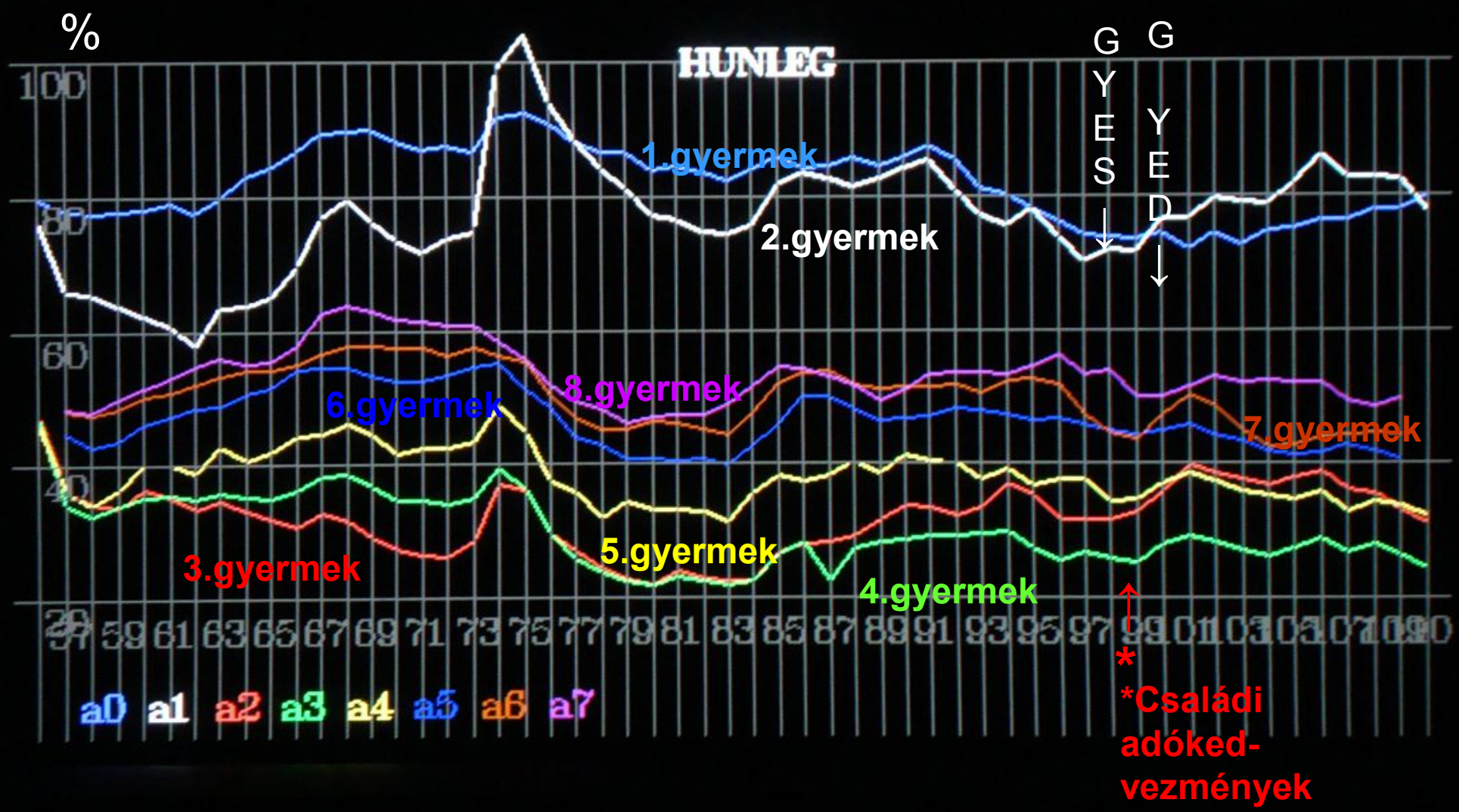
A családnövekedési valószínűségek katasztófálisan alacsony szintjének további veszélyes csökkenése 1990-t követően csak 1998-ban szűnt meg, amikor az Orbán kormány a GYES-t újra bevezette, majd 2000 jan 1-én a GYED-et is.

Közben pedig 1999 jan-1-én a családi adókedvezmények léptek életbe. Ezek hatását a családnövekedési valószínűségek világosa tükrözik, mert mind az a_1 és az az a_2, mind pedig a magasabb születési sorrendek mutatói: az az a_3 a_4 a_5 a_7 is 2001-ig emel-kedni kezdett.

Ezt az igéretes emelkedést azonban rövidre vágta a kormányváltás 2002-ben, amitől fogva az a_3-a_7 mutatók lassan, majd pedig 2006-tól fogva még meredekebben megint esni kezdtek gyakorlatilag minden gyermek valószínűség esetében, és esésük 2010-ig nem állt meg.

.

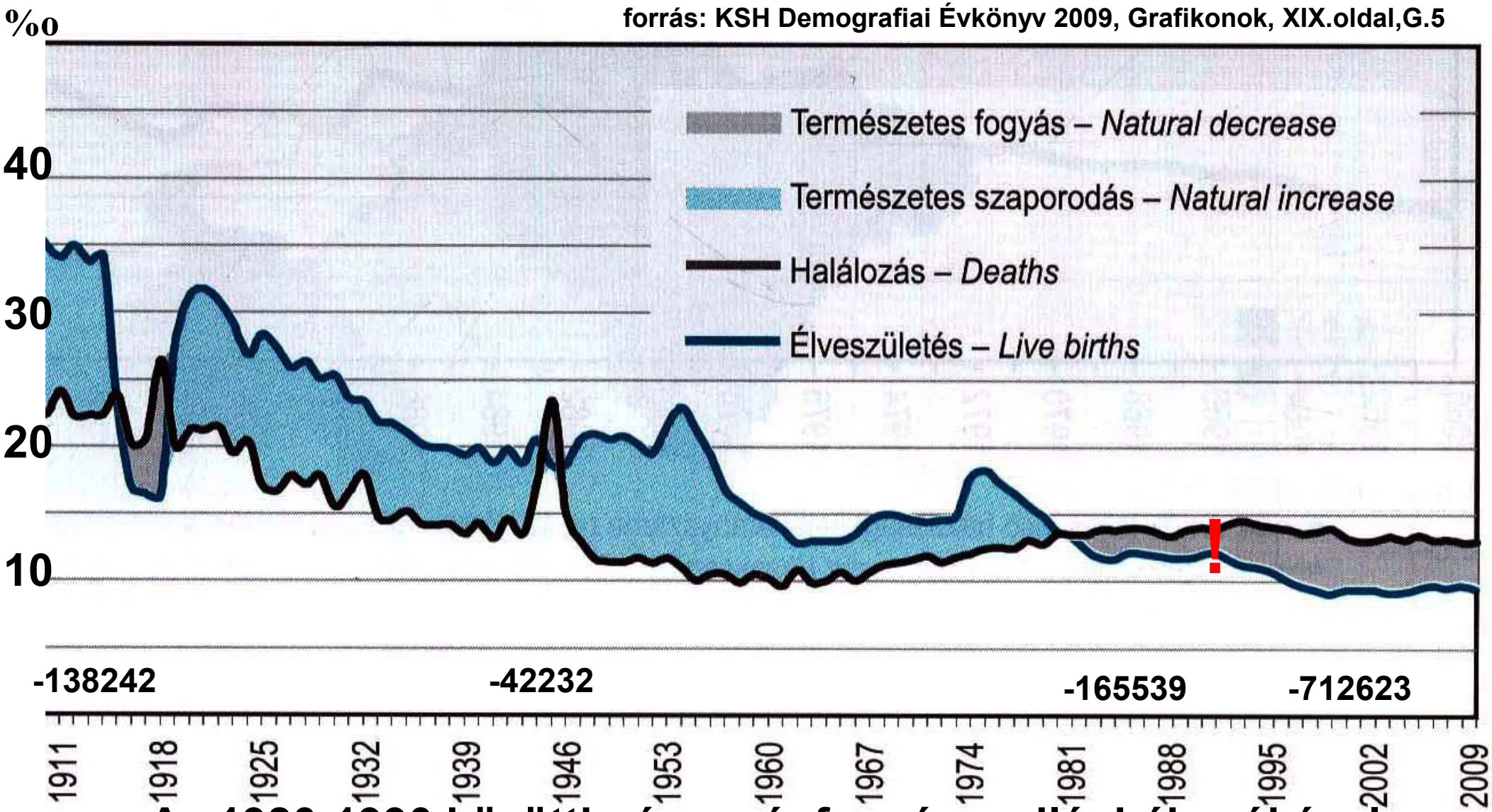
Családnövekedési valószínűségek Magyarországon



Összefoglalva **az eddig mondottakat, a népesség fogyása mutatja, hogy míg a Kádár rendszer csapása a magyar népességre vetekedett a világháborúkkal, de az 1990 utáni időszak még katasztrofálisabb volt a magyar népesedésre,**

s annak rontását még az 1998-2002-ig tartó kedvezőbb népesedéspolitika az éveinek rövidsége miatt nem enyhíthette kellőleg.

forrás: KSH Demografiai Évkönyv 2009, Grafikonok, XIX.oldal,G.5



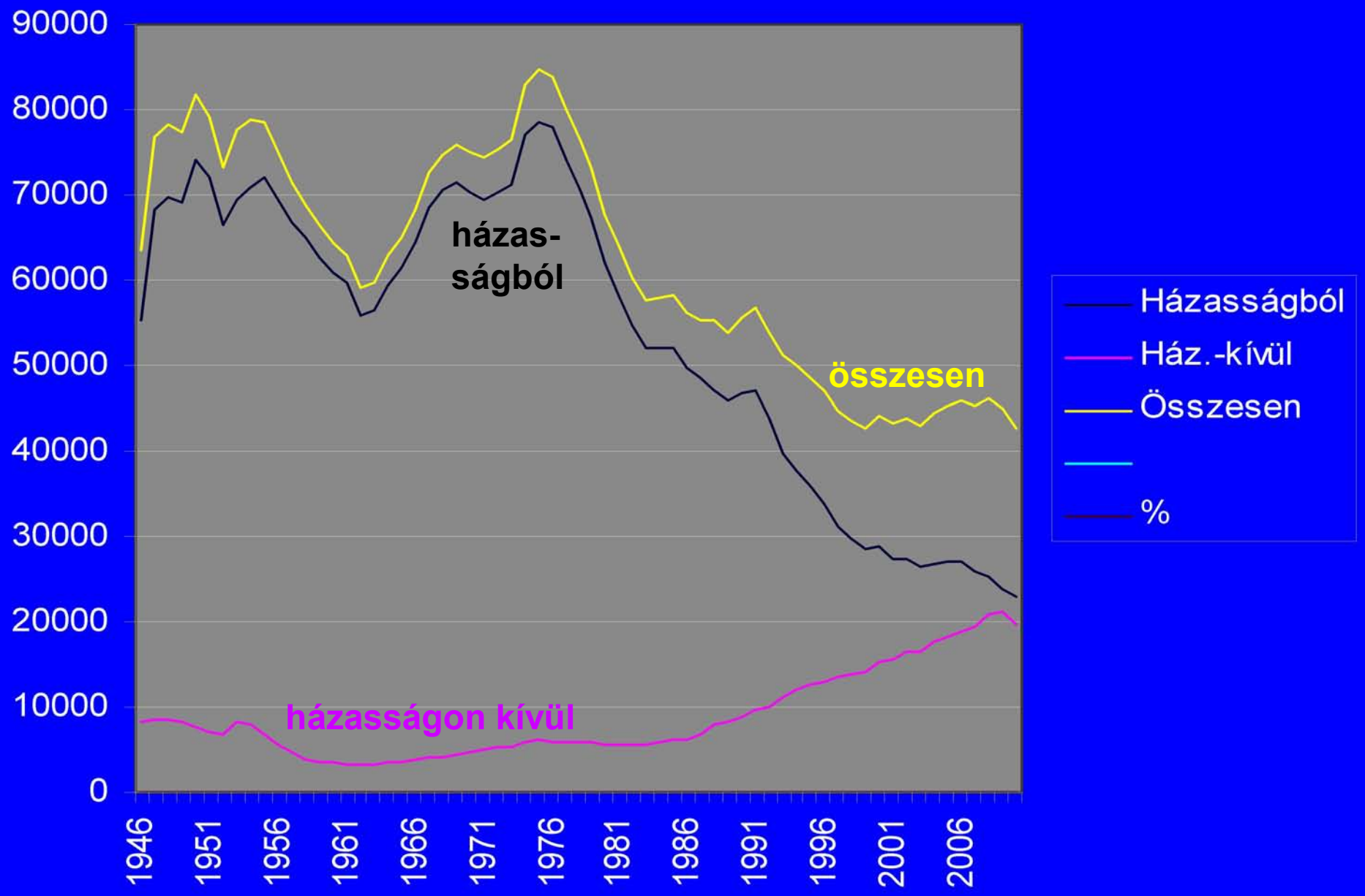
Az 1980-1990 közötti népességfogyás a világháborúkéval vetekedett, de a népesség pusztulás 1990 után négyszeresen fölülmúlja az 1980-80 közöttit!

1915-1918 között a természetes fogyás	138242	83,5%
1945-ben a természetes fogyás	42232	25,5%
1981-1990 között a természetes fogyás	165539	100%
1991-2000 között a természetes fogyás	351625	212.4%
2001-2010 között a természetes fogyás	399014	241.0%
	712623	430,5%
1981-2010 között a természetes fogyás	878816	

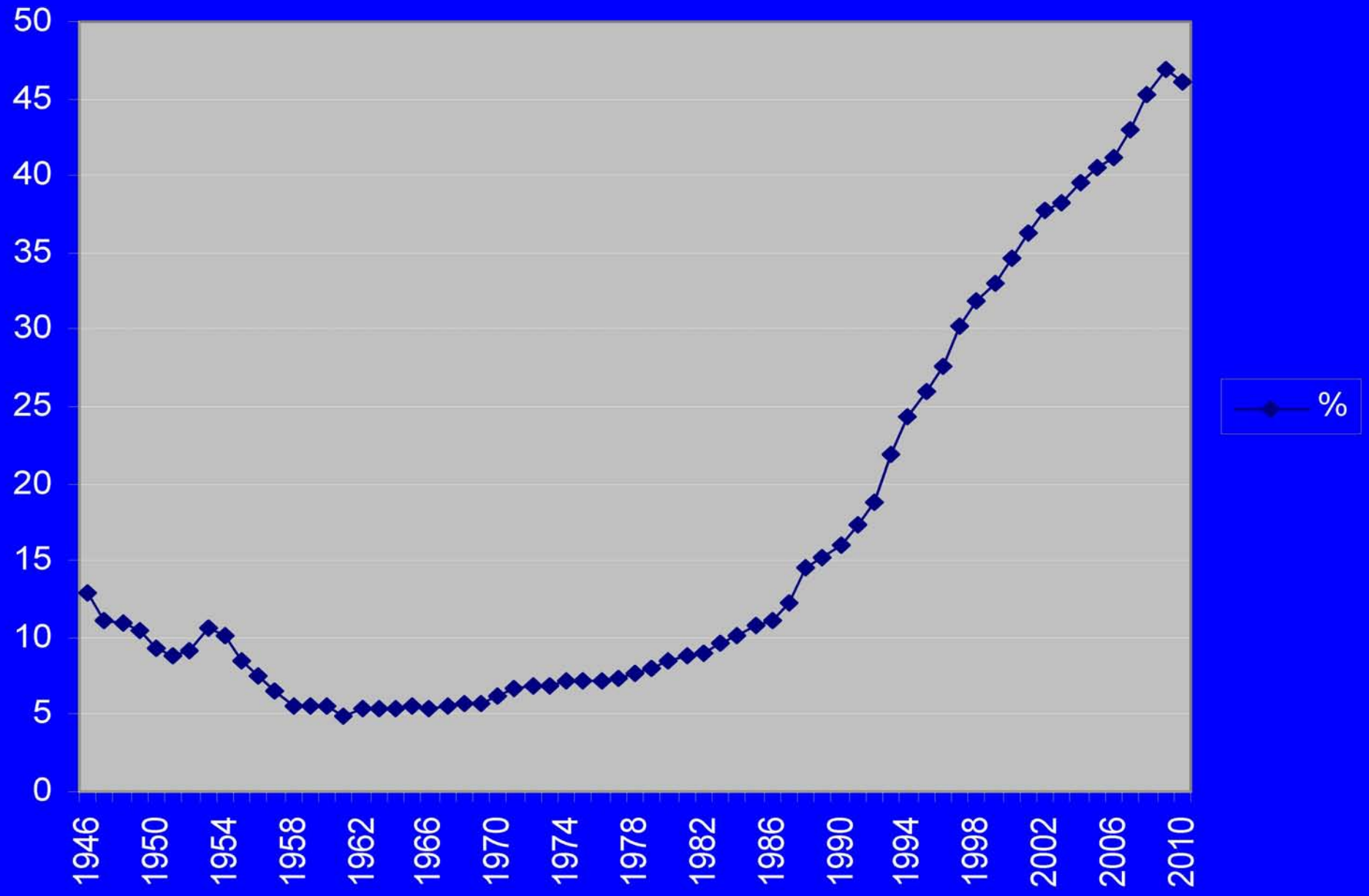
Ezen a vizsgálódásokból kitűnik egyrészt, hogy a magyar népesedés egyre-másra ugyanabba az örvénybe csúszik vissza, de másrészt az is, hogy hathatós népesedési politikával onnan el lehet, és el is kell távolítani, viszont a hathatós népesedési politika a népesedés természetéből folyóan nem fejtheti ki hatását, ha rövid időszak után megszakítják, és abbamarad.

Itt ki kell térnünk arra, hogy eddig lényegében a családnövekedési valószínűségeket vizsgáltuk, de az utóbbi évtizedekben az első gyermekek mind nagyobb része házasságon kívül születik.

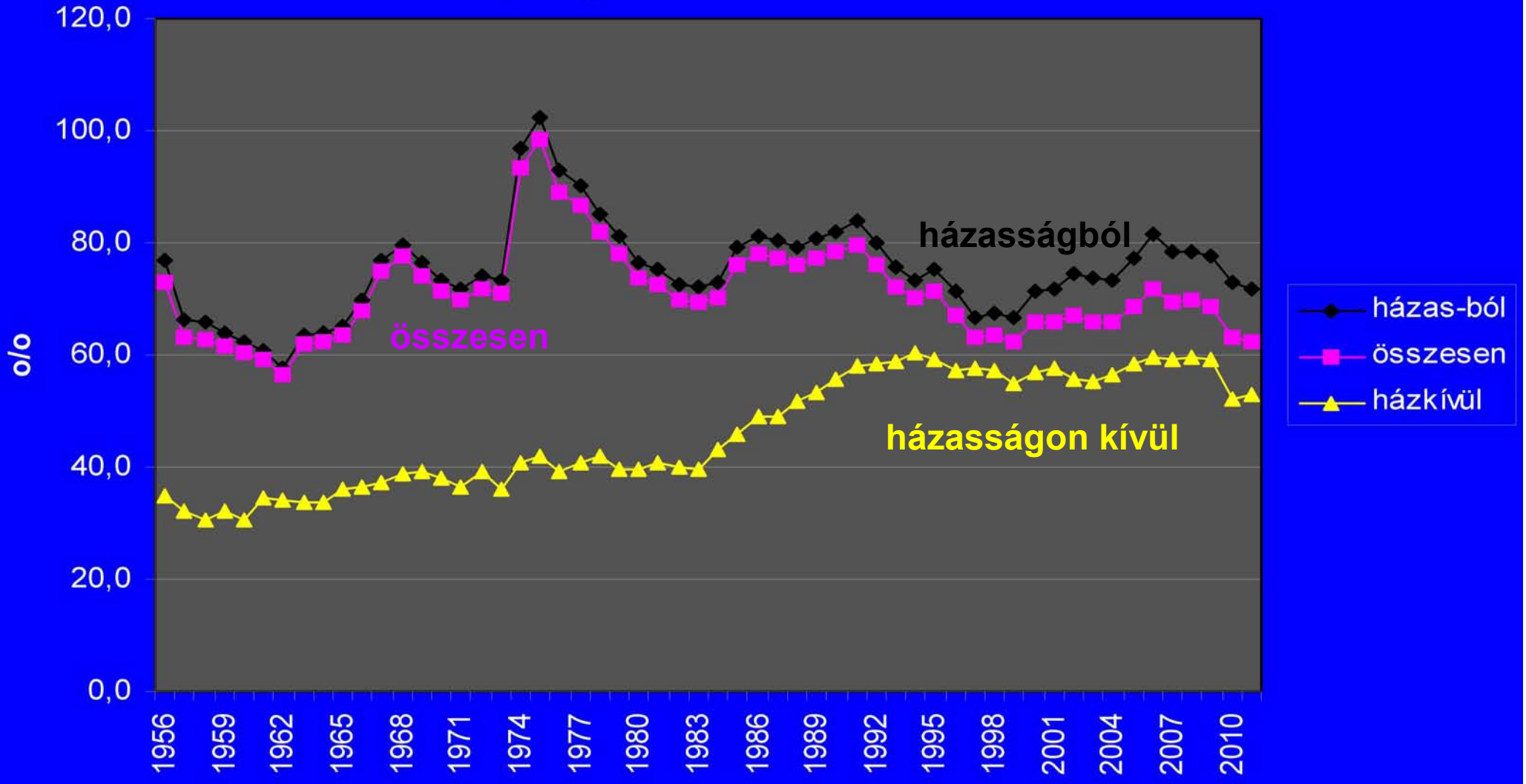
Első születések



Házasságon kívüli 1. születések %-a

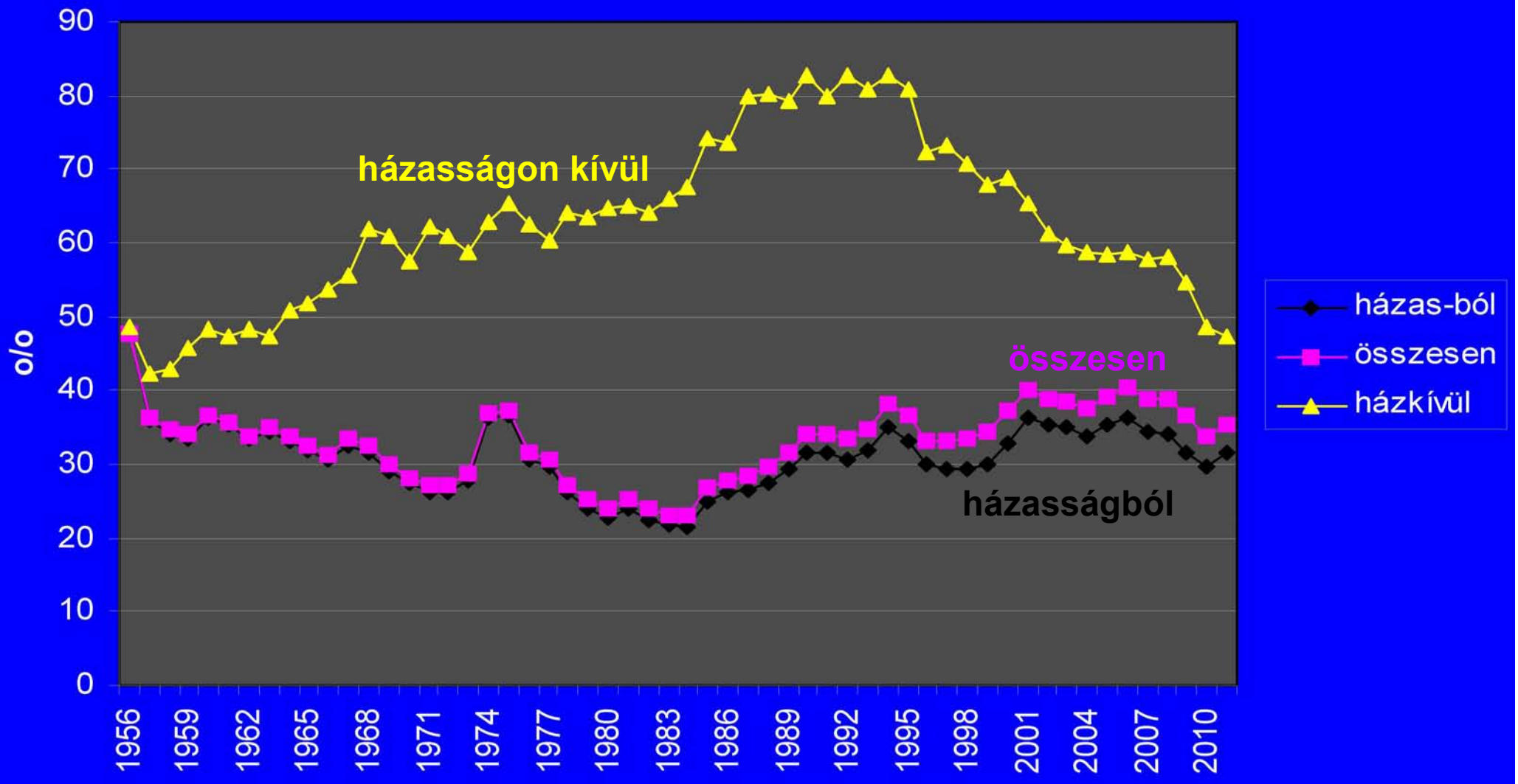


2. születések valószínűsége
(1956-72 Henry súlyokkal, 1973-2011 közvetlen számítás)



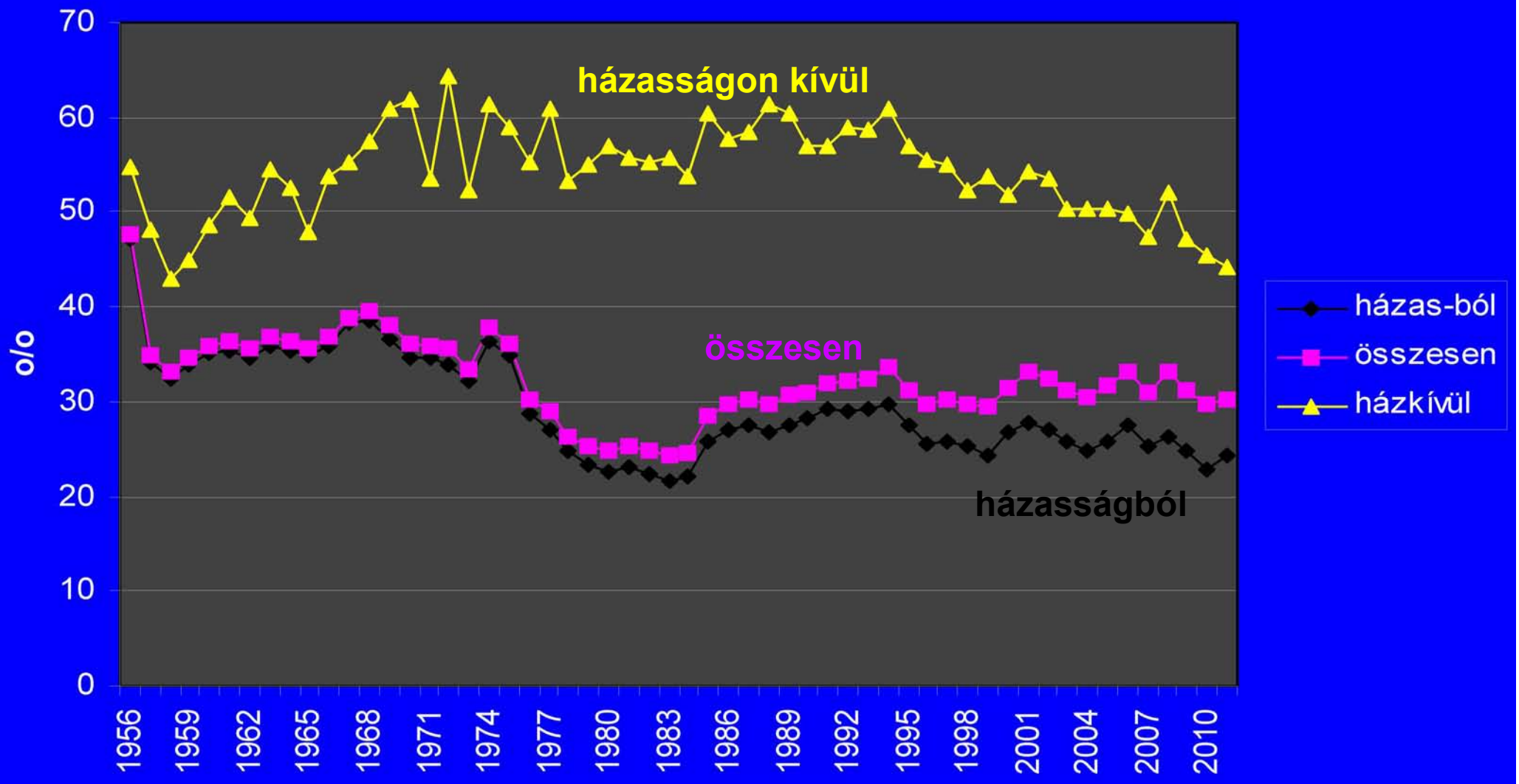
házasságból 80% szintnél , a házasságon kívül születetteknél 40%-60 % mozog.
A házasságon kívül született első gyermekek majd felének nem születik testvére

3. születések valószínűsége
1956-72 Henry sűlyokkal 1973-2011 közvetlen számítás



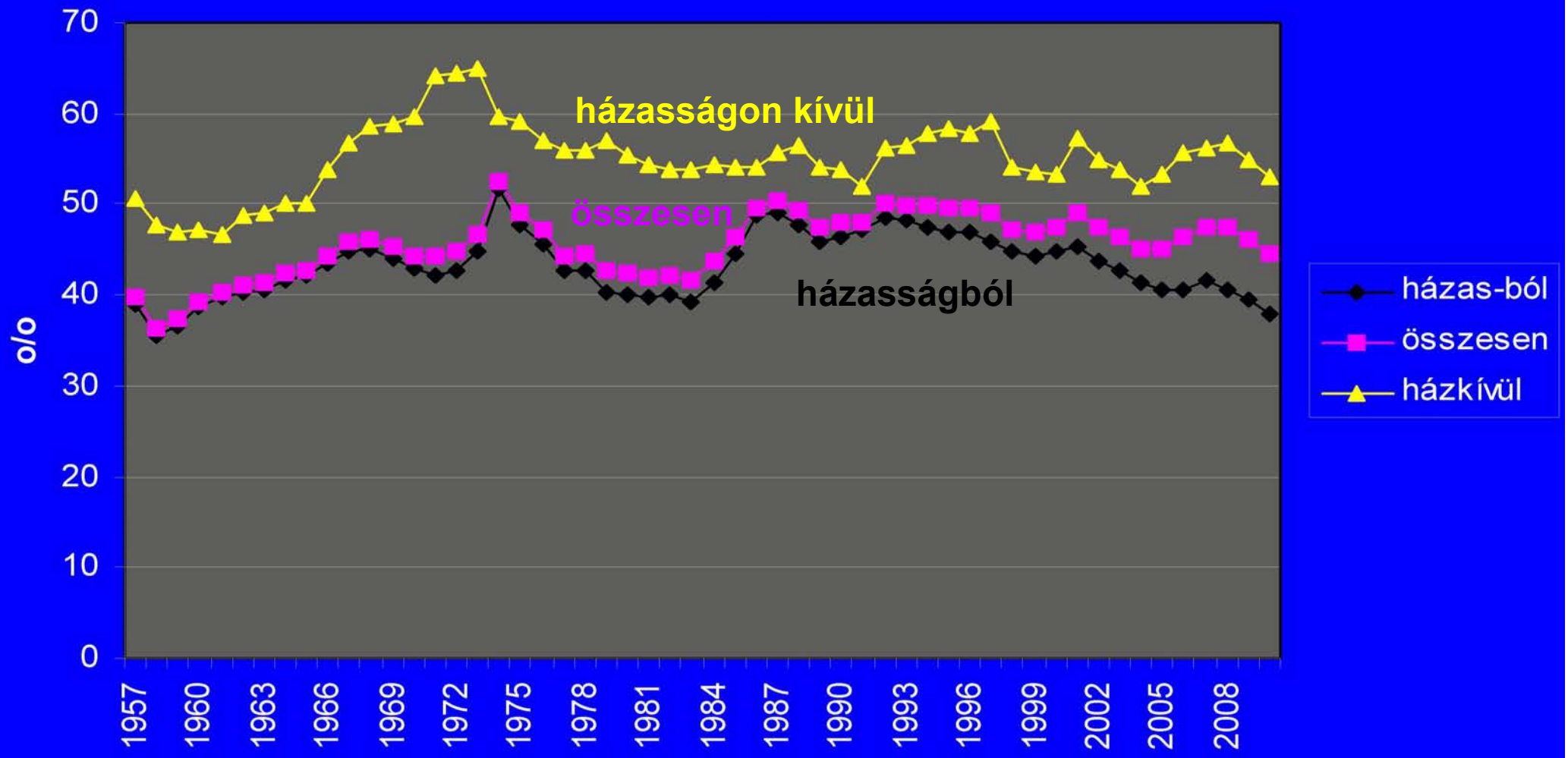
A harmadik születéseknél ez az arány megfordul

4.gyermek valószínűsége
1956-1972 Henry súlyokkal, 1973-2011 közvetlenszámítás

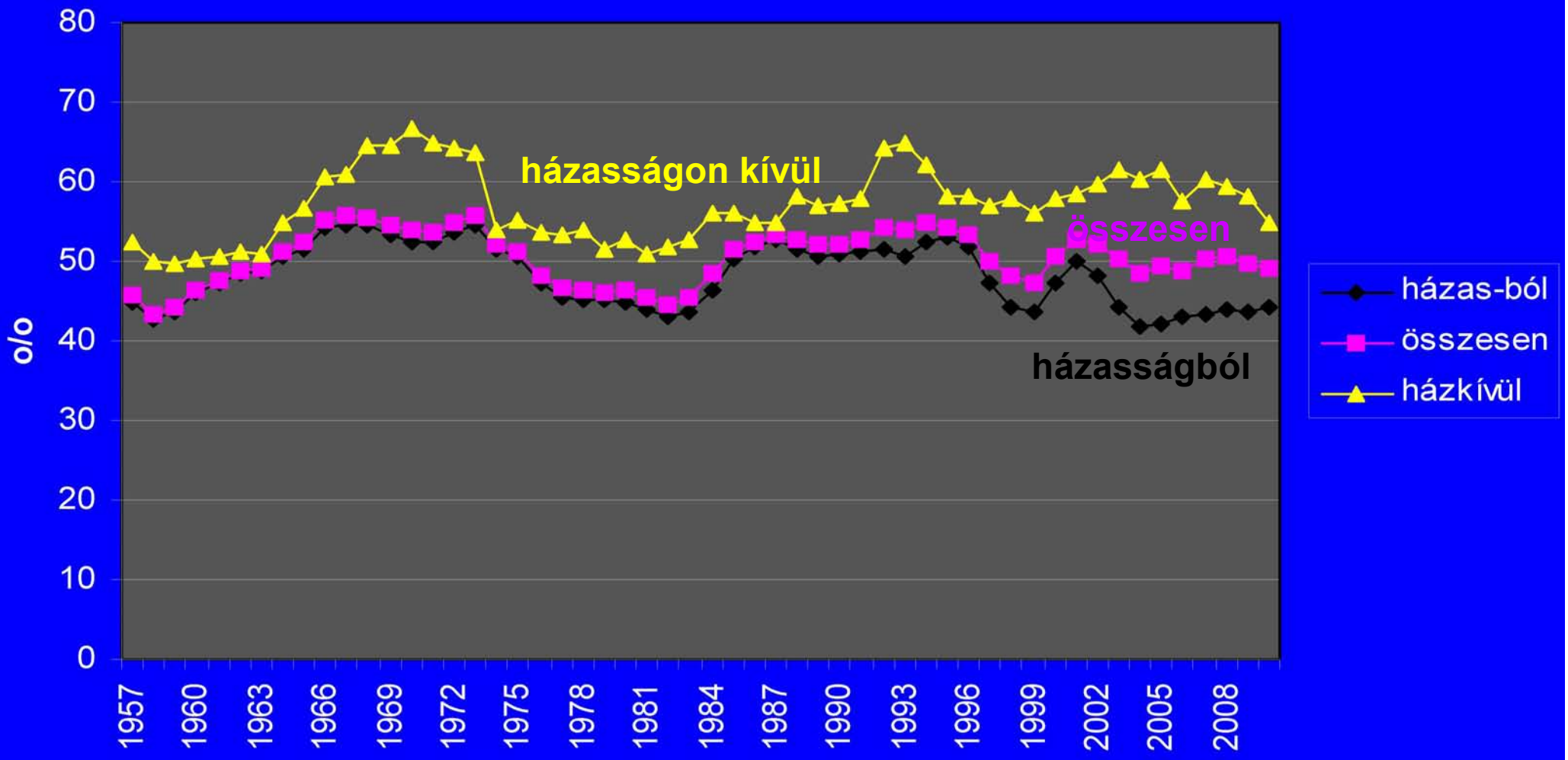


A magasabb születési rendekben a házasságon kivüli és házasságból való születések gyakorisága közötti különbség viszont egyre csökken

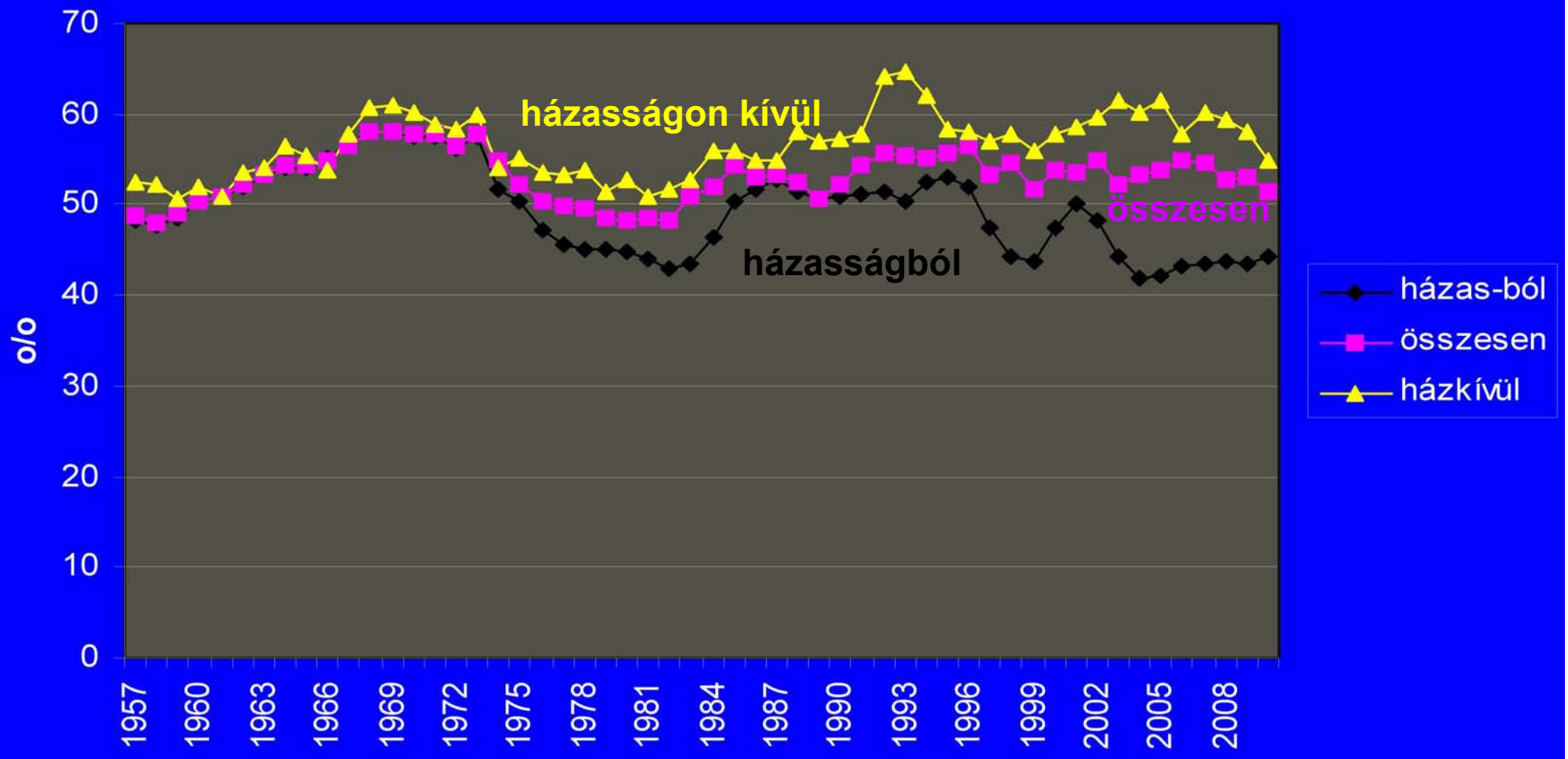
5. születések valószínűsége
3 éves átlagok, 1957-1973 Henry súlyok
1974-2010 közvetlen számításból



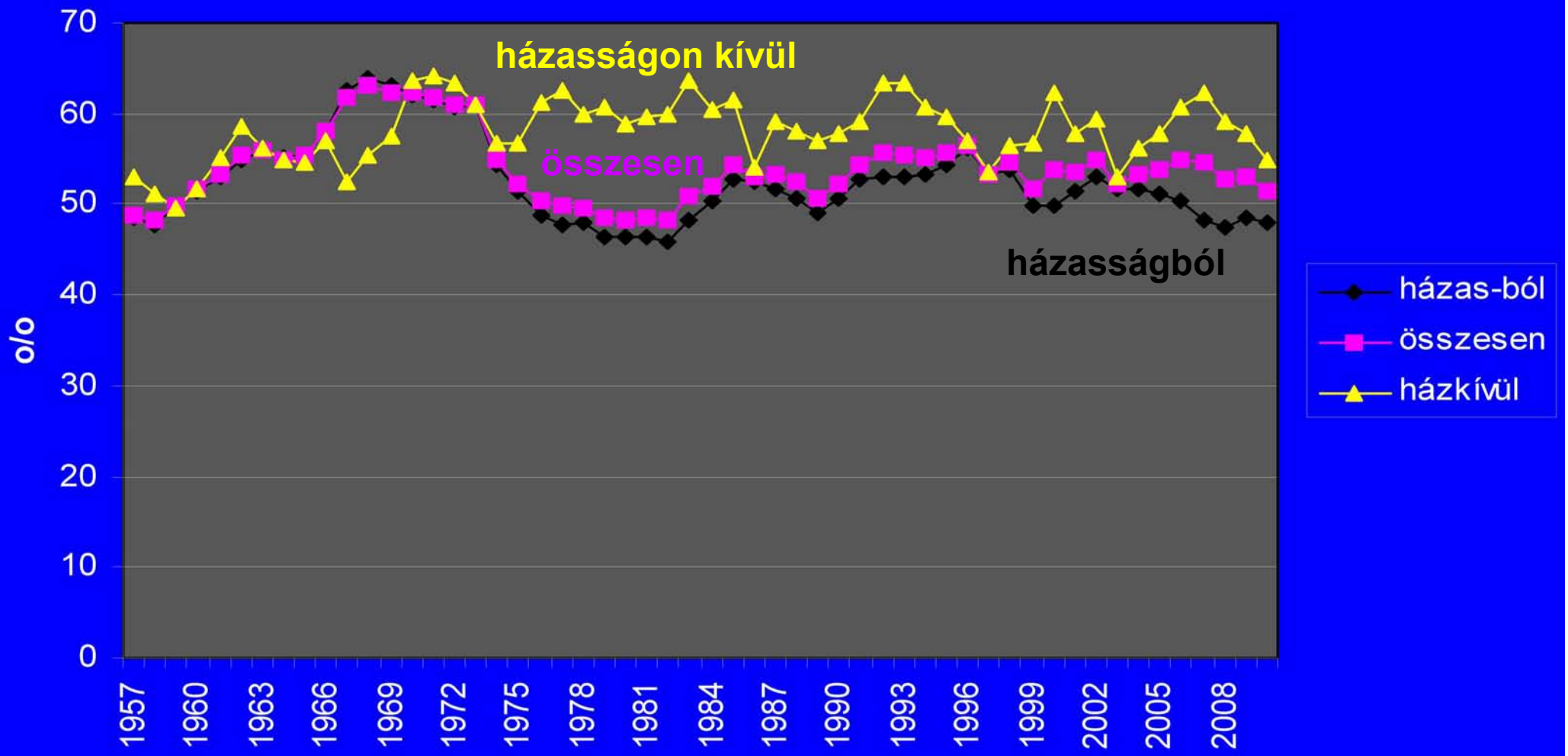
6. születések valószínűsége
3 éves átlagok, 1957-73 Henry súlyok, 1974-2010 közvetlen számítás



7. születések valószínűsége
3 éves átlagok 1957-73 Henry súlyok
1974-2010 közvetlen számítás

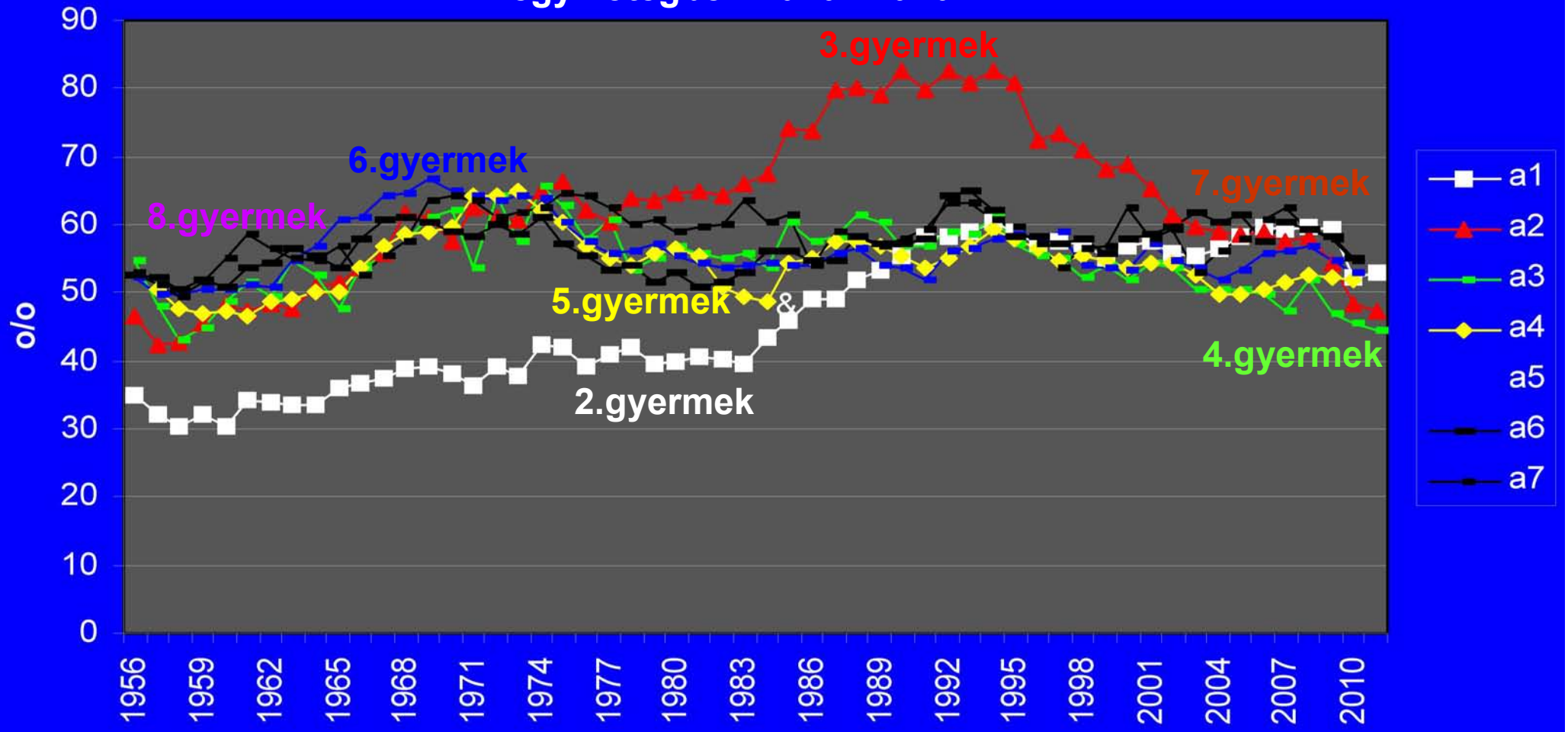


8. születések valószínűsége
3 éves átlagok, 1957-73 Henry súlyok
1974-2010 közvetlen számítás



Házasságon kívüli születések valószínűségei Magyarországon (1956-1976 Henry súlyok, 1977-2011 közvetlen számításból a4-a7: 3 éves mozgó átlagok)

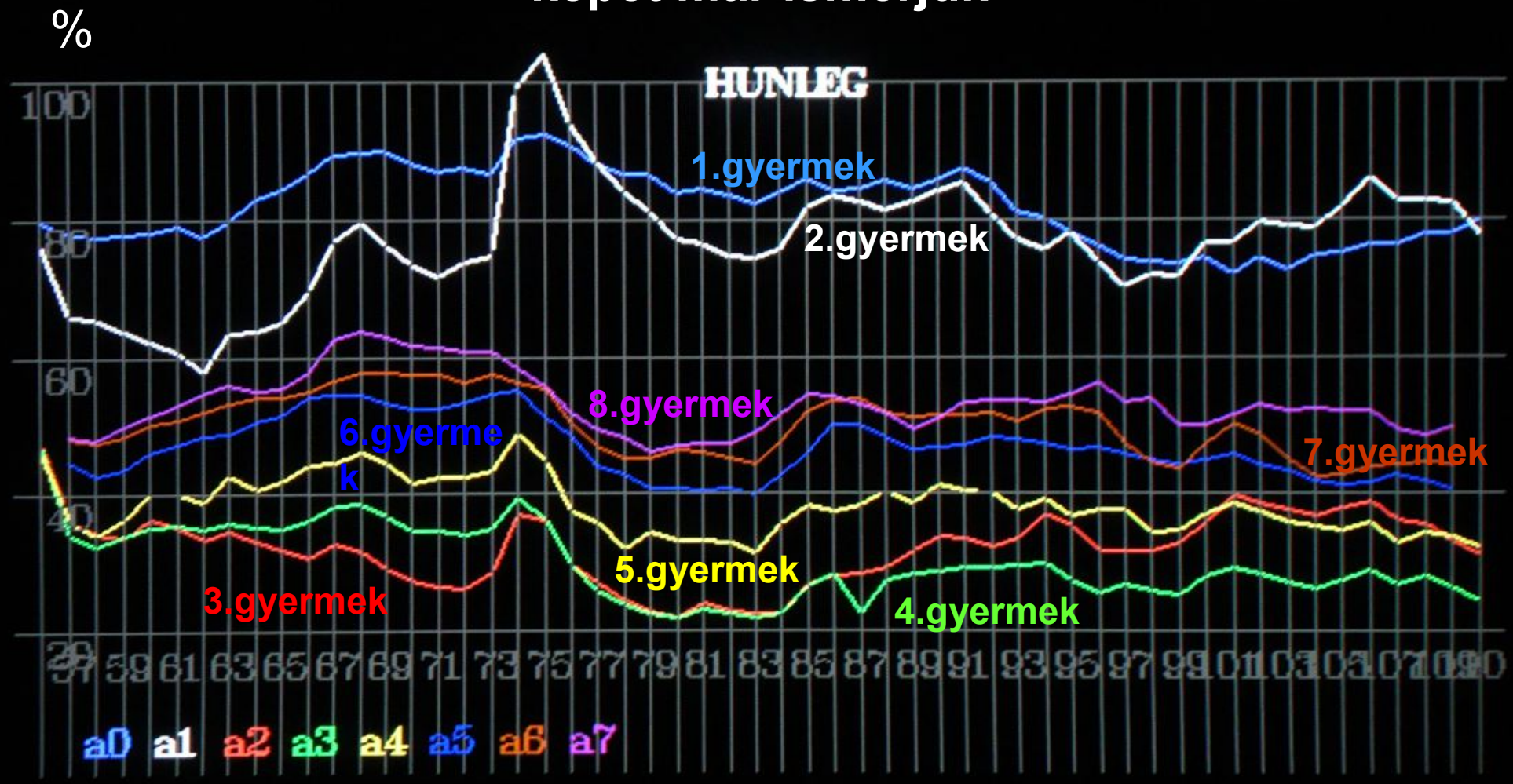
egy kötegben hullámzanak



A GYED bevezetésével a 2. gyermek valószínűsége is a kötegbe emelkedett, de a 3. gyermeké ugyanakkor onnan kiemelkedett és csak 1994-ben tért oda vissza.

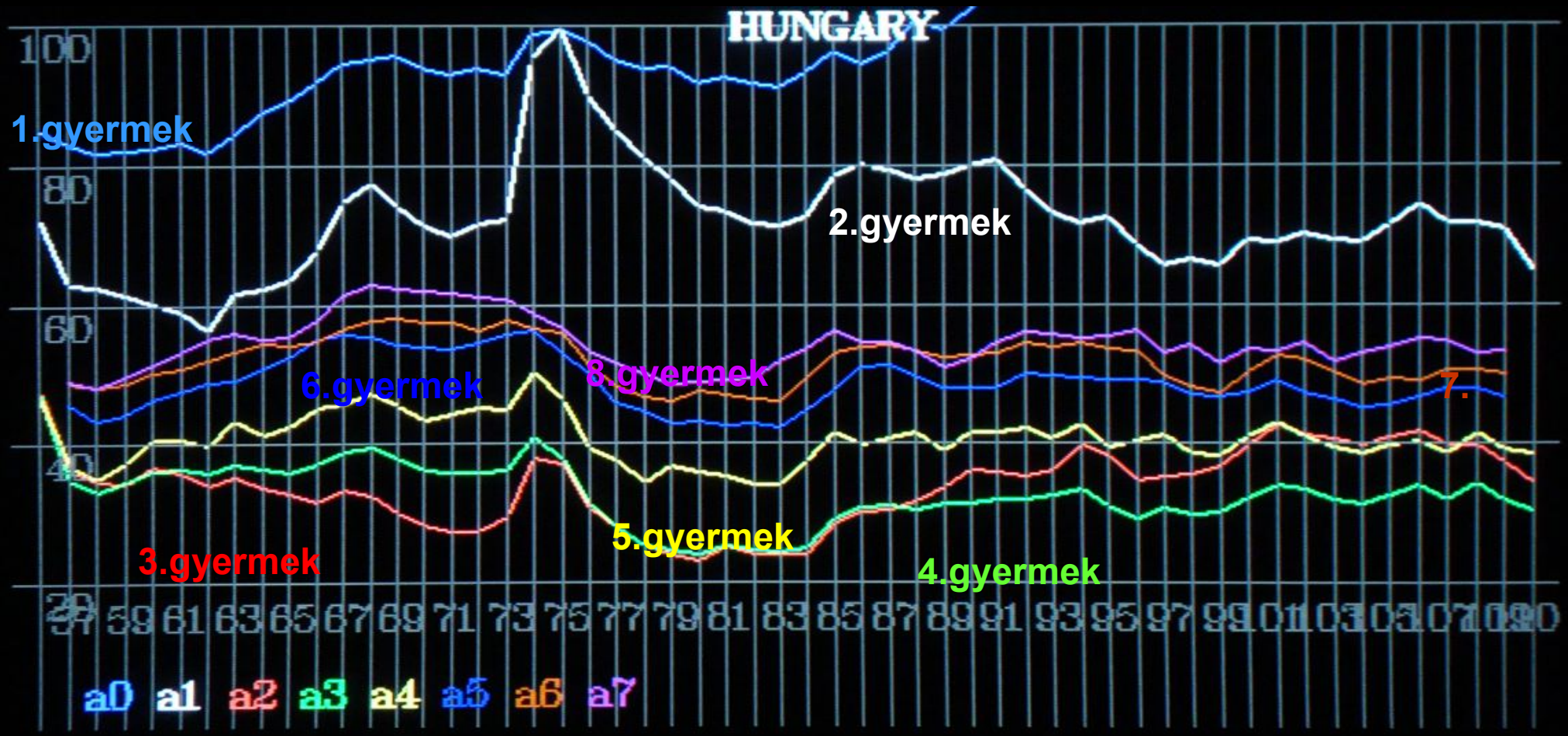
Tekintettel arra, hogy a vallásos nagycsaládosok gyermekei aligha születnek házasságon kívül, de a magasabb születési sorrendekben a házasságon kívül születettek gyakoriságai lényegében egy köteget alkotnak arra mutat, hogy az ebben a kötegben foglaltak más népességből, föltehetően a cigányságból eredtek.

Magyarországon a családnövekedési valószínűségek képét már ismerjük



Az összes gyermek gyermekszámnövekedési valószínűségeinek képe a családnövekedési valószínűségek alakulását tükrözi, mert az 1. gyermek után aránylag kevés a házasságon kívül született

%



3. A népesség utánpótlása

Azt, hogy a gyakorlatban a családnövekedési valószínűségek mit jelentenek, a következő számításból tűnik ki:

2010-ben

az első gyermek valószínűsége a_0= 80 %

a második gyermek valószínűsége a_1= 77,5 %

a harmadik gyermek valószínűsége a_2= 30,8 %

Ez annyit jelent, hogy a családoknak

80%-ban született első gyermek, mert a_0=80%

62%-ban született második gyermek mert 0.80x0.77=0.62

19%-ban született harmadik gyermek,mert 0.80x0.775x0,308=19

vagyis a családok 20 %-ban egy gyermek sincs,
s majdnem 40 százalékában nincs 2. gyermek.

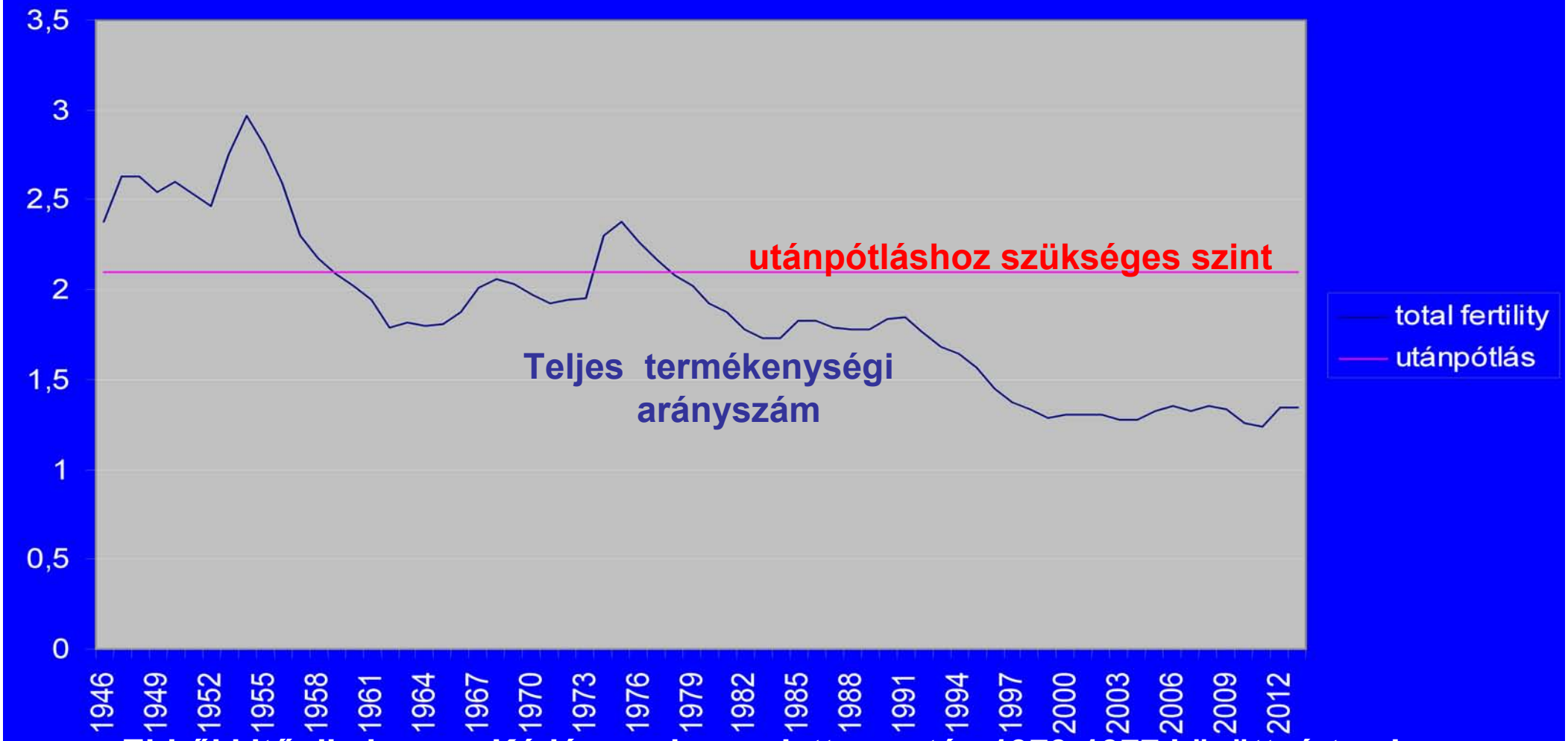
Ezek a számítások azt is mutatják, hogy valójában a család növekedéséből hogyan alakul a népesedés utánpótlása, amit a teljes termékenységi mutatóval is mérhetünk:

A teljes termékenységi arányszám=

$$= \sum_{x=15}^{X=49} \text{korszerinti születési arányszámok}_x$$

ahol x=anya életkora

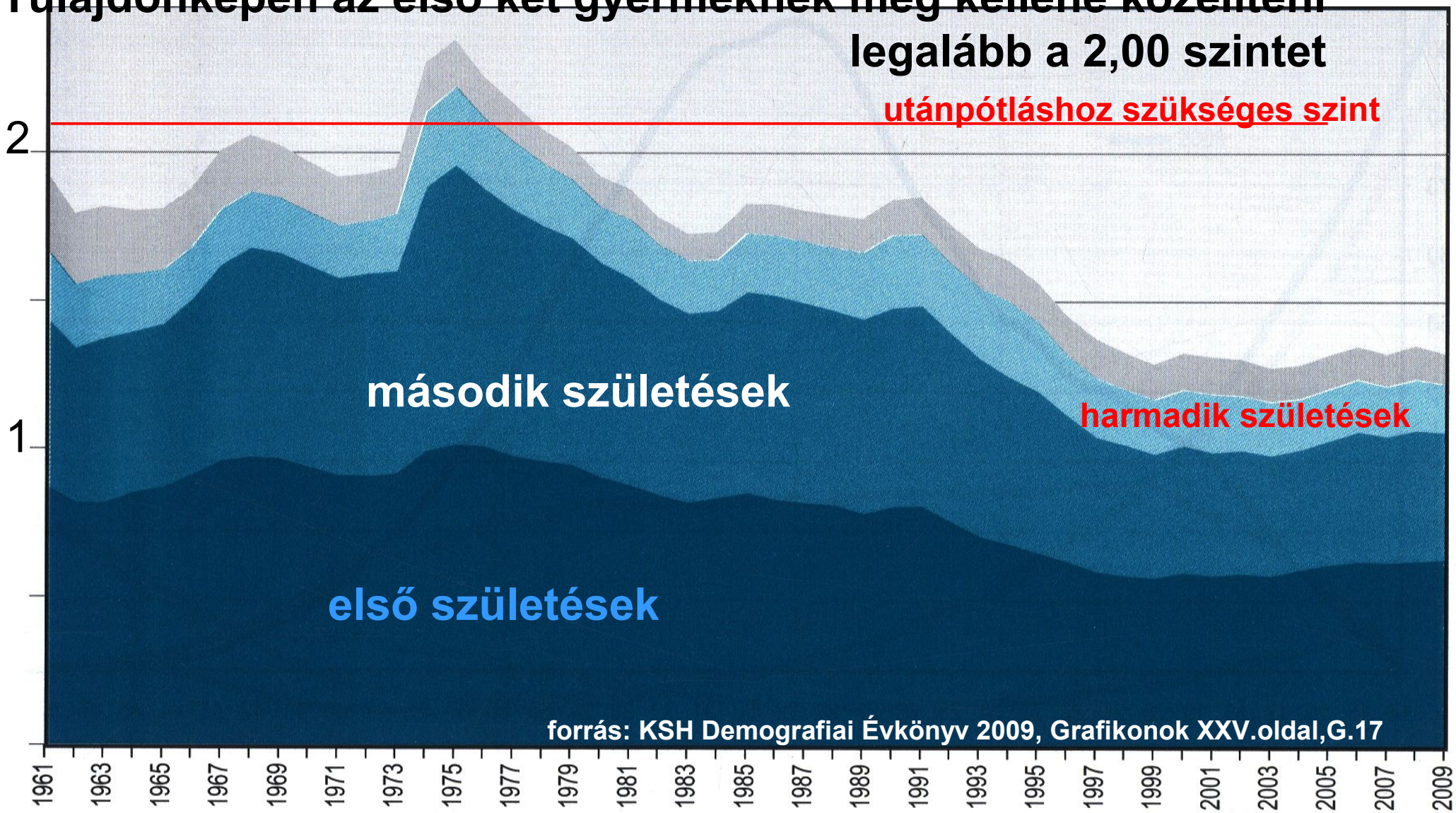
Teljes termékenységi arányszám Magyarországon



Ebből kitűnik, hogy a Kádár rendszer alatt pusztán 1973-1977 között érte el a népesedés az utánpótlás szintjét,a GYES csak megállította annak esését. 1990 után azonban a népesedés csökkenésének mértéke 1997-ig fokozódott További süllyedését 1998-ban az Orbán kormánynak sikerült megállítani.

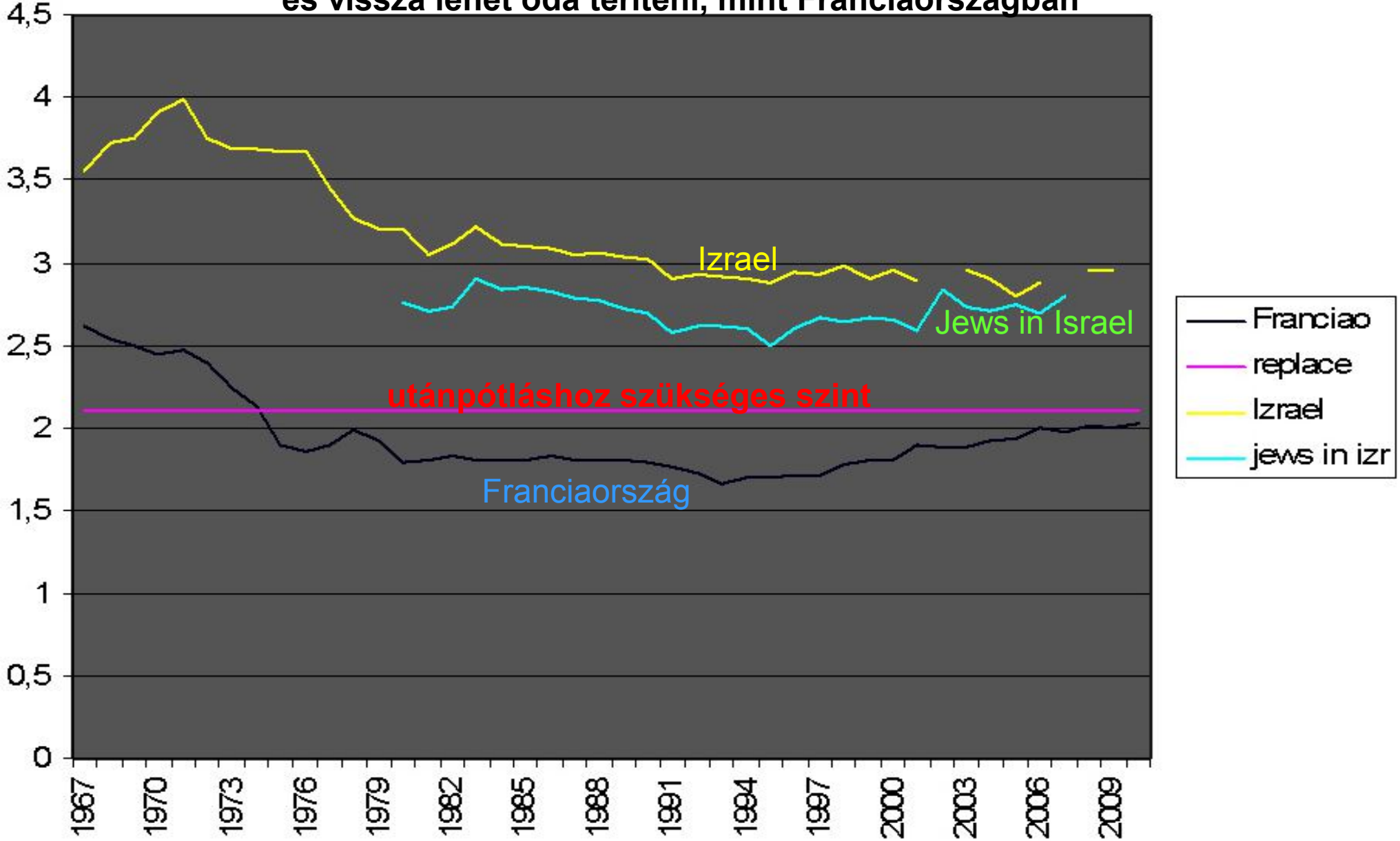
Teljes termékenységi arányszám születési sorrend szerint

Tulajdonképen az első két gyermeknek meg kellene közelíteni legalább a 2,00 szintet

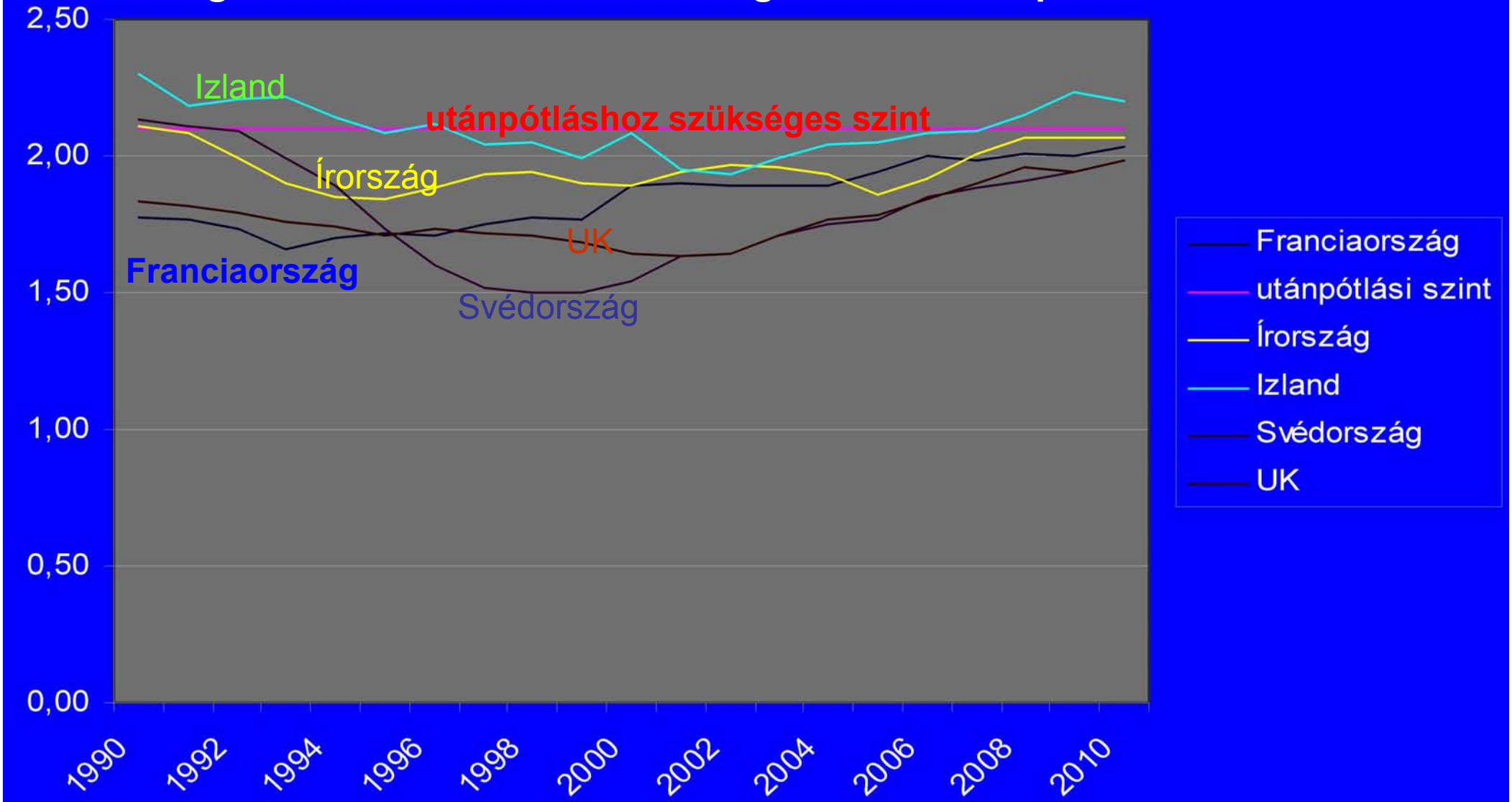


Ezen ábrából kitűnik, hogy mennyire szükségesek lennének hazánkban a harmadik születések az utánpótlás biztosításához

Teljes termékenységi arányszárot
az utánpótlási szint fölött lehet tartani, mint Izraelben
és vissza lehet oda térníteni, mint Franciaországban



Teljes termékenységi arányszám ot olyan kis európai országoknak, mint Izland és Írország, sikerült utámpótlási szintnél tartani



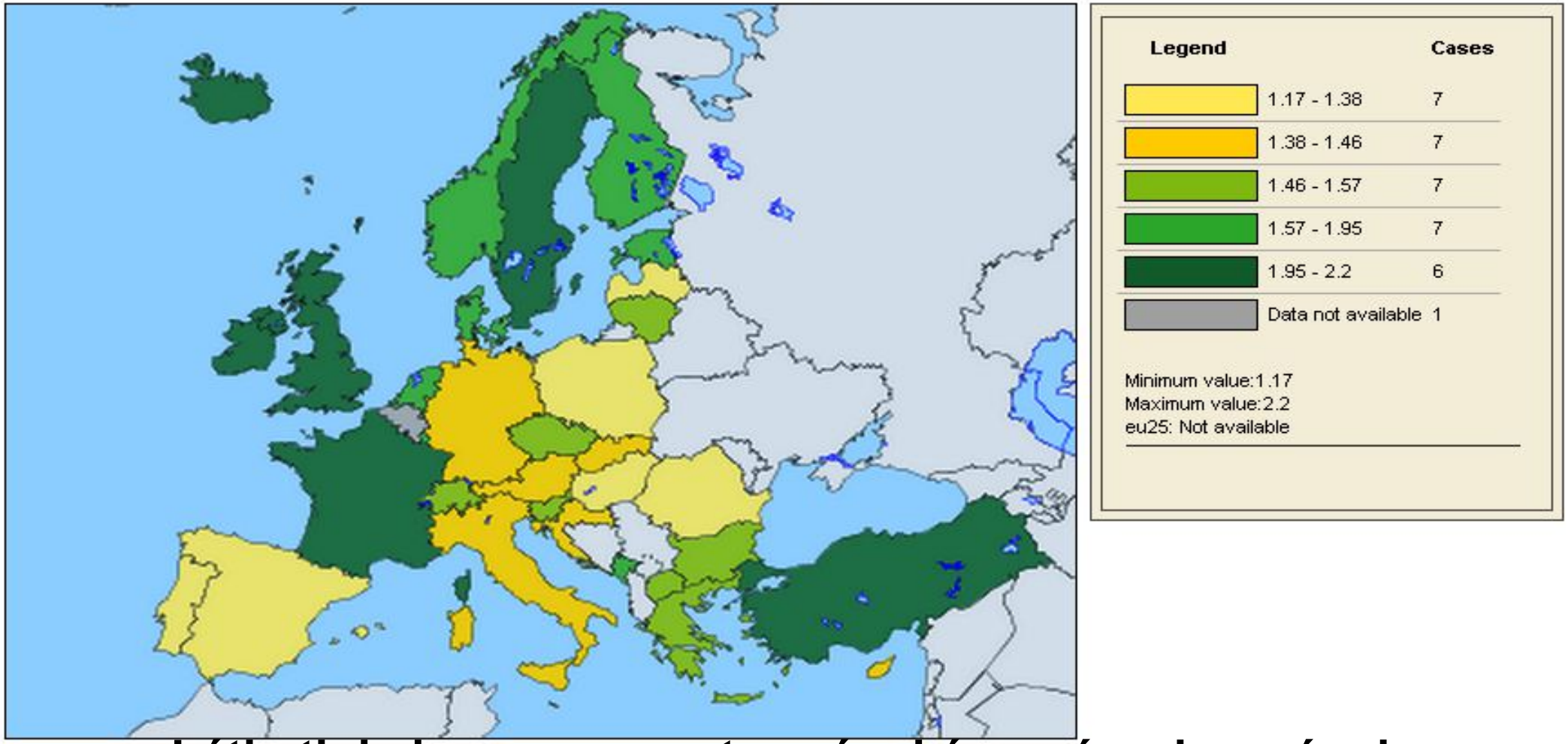
Franciaország, az Egyesült Királyság és Svédország pedig oda visszavitte.

Teljes termékenységi arányszámok Európában

Total fertility rate
Number of children per woman

Eurographic Association Code: tsdde220

The mean number of children that would be born alive to a woman during her lifetime if ... more



Láthatjuk, hogy a nyugat-európai és az észak-európai államoknak sikerült visszatérni az utánpótlási szintre, vagy legalábbis megközelíteni azt

Forrás: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/statostic/search database
Total fertility rate (tsdde220) EuroGraphics for the administrative boundaries

Az éppen 80 éve meghalt gr Klebelsberg Kuno tanyasi iskoláinak falképét az elbolzsevizált történészek a mai napig elmeszelve tartják az Országos Levéltárban. Ma már azonban a falusi iskolákban nemcsak magyar viseletet, de magyar gyermeket is alig lelünk.

Dudits Andor:
„Tanyai iskolák”
Országos Levéltár
Érszegi Géza:Archivum Regni, Bp. 2000, 75. oldal

A bolzsevizmus a magyar falut fölszámolta:
ma már nincs magyar viselet, nincs magyar tánc és ének.
Antall József fölmentette Andrásfalvy Bertalant
a kultusztárca vezetésétől, mert az agymosott
rendszerváltók irtóztak attól, hogy magyar gatyába
kell majd járniuk. Táncház helyett lett Sziget és heavy metal,
a magyar rádióban népzeneként afrikai zenével növelik
a magyar kulturát és öntudatot.
A magyar táj újjáélesztését meg sem kísérelték,
a magyar viselet politikailag nem „correct”
A magyar falu kihalása megpecsételődött.
A falukon a vénasszonyokon kívül csak cigánygyerekeket
találni az iskolákban

Nincsen magyar parasztság
akiknek a gazdaságaik művelésére
emberkézre volt szükségük.
A magyar falut ujjá kell éleszteni, mintahogy az
évszázadokon keresztül a népesedés forrása volt.

A valóban vallásos családoknak az országos átlag 1,34
2012-3 évi szintjénél sokkal magasabb a gyermekszáma:
A lelkészek családjának átlagos gyermekszáma

a Dunántúli Református Egyházkerületben	2,56 [1*]
a Dunamelléki Ref. Egyházkerületben (18 év alatt)	2,54 [2§]
a Tiszáninneni Ref. Egyházkerületben (25 év alatt)	2,34 [3+]
a Tiszántúli Ref Egyházkerületben (összes)	2,189 [4#]
Északi Evangélikus Egyházkerületben	2,37 [5]
Nyugati Evangélikus Egyházkerületben	2,20 [6]
Déli Evangélikus Egyházkerületben	2,35 [7¤]
a hajdudorogi gör.kat. egyházmegyében	2,83 [8]
a miskolci gör.kat. adminisztratúrában(18 alatt)	3,11 [9]
a r.kat. Egyetemi Templom Don Bosco Énekkara	2,54 [10**]
a klotildligeti ferences harmadrend	4,40 [11++]

[1]*Farkas Gergely 2012 júl 3; 14:58 júl 30 9:24 [2]§ Kardos Ábel számítása 2012 júl 5 8:45
[3+] Dr Domokos Zoltánné 2012 júl 3 12:07 351:150 [4#] Buzásné Kiss Orsolya (510:234) 2012 júl 13
[5]Σ275:116=2,37; Horváth-Hegyi Áron 2012 aug 2. 13:31,14:23;[6]Adámi János aug 8 220:100)
[7] Jó Angelika2010 aug22 12:28 [8]Hajdudorogon165papi csal.ban467gyermek(gorogkatolikus.hu)
[9] Miskolcon Kaulics László 2012 jul19 212:68 (gorkat.hu:11 papi családban 39=3,54)

[10]**Bakonyi Péter 2012 júl 15 (89:35) [11] ++ Kauser Tiborné 2012 júl 15 (88:20)

[10]** Don Bosco énekkar:

7 gyermek	1 család
5 gyermek	4 család
4 gyermek	4 család
3 gyermek	9 család
2 gyermek	6 család
1 gyermek	7 család*
0 gyermek	4 család

*egy gyermek ezek közül örökbefogadott.

Bakonyi Péter 2012 júl 15

[11]++ Klotildligeti ferences harmadrend

7 gyermek	1 család
6 gyermek	2 család
5 gyermek	9 család
4 gyermek	2 család
3 gyermek	4 család
2 gyemek	2 család
1 gyermek	0 család

Kauser Tibor
2012 júl 26 12:38

[7]¤Déli Evangélikus egyházkerület lelkészei

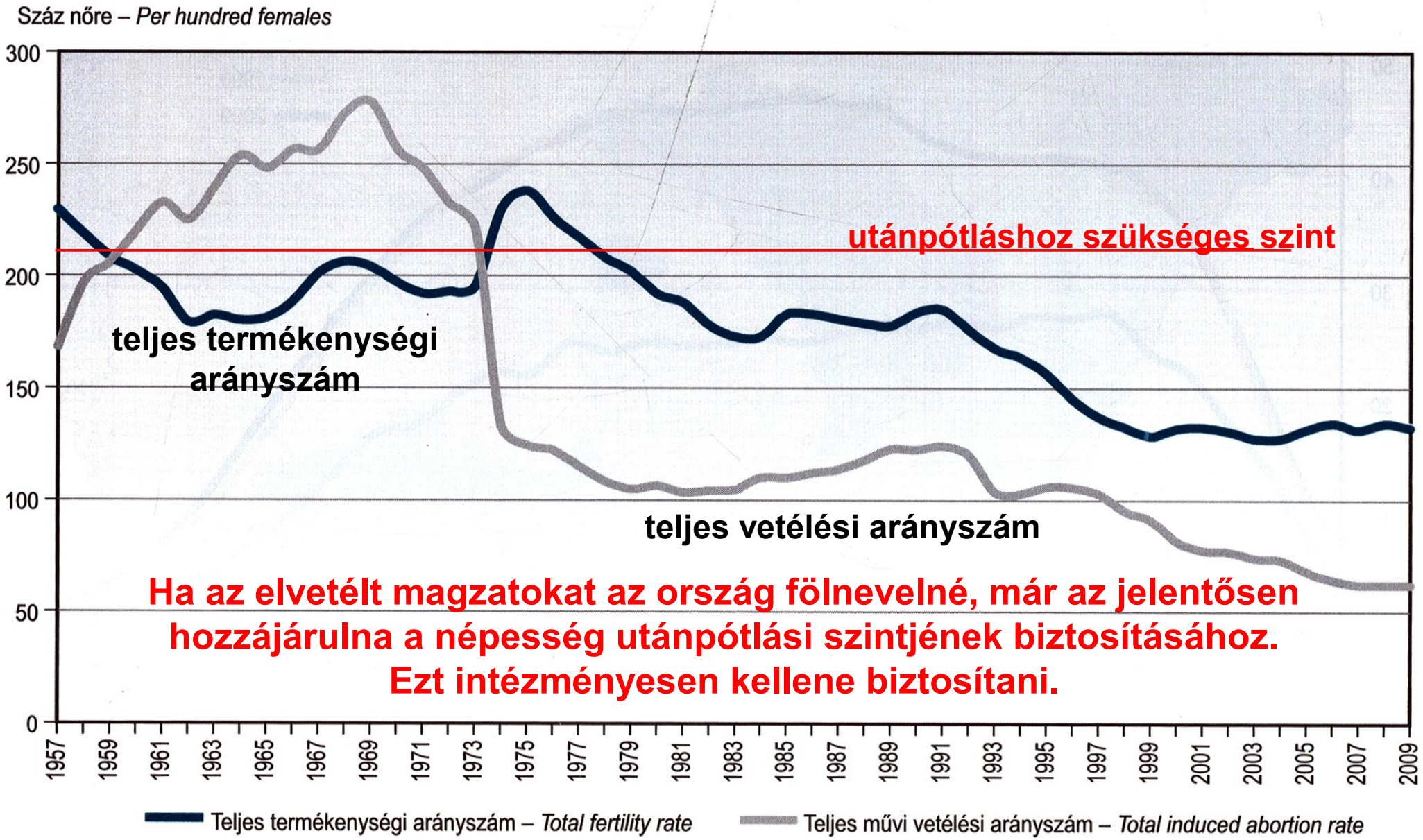
5 gyermek	1 család
4 gyermek	19 család
3 gyermek	14 család
2 gyemek	30család
1 gyermek	14 család
0 gyermek	6 család

egyedülálló 14 lelkész

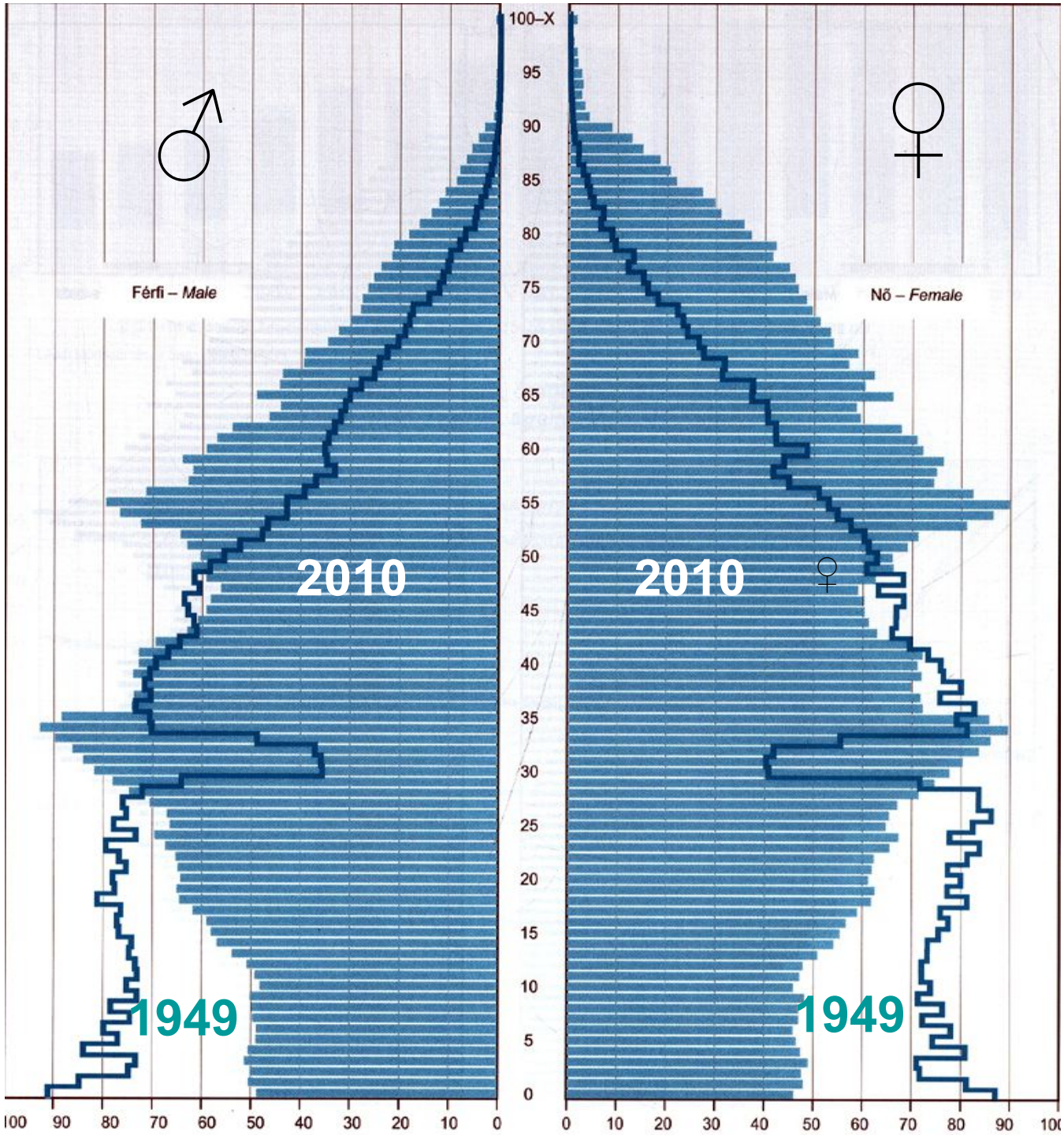
Jó Angelika
2010 aug22 12:28

MIndebből kitűnik, hogy a népesség utánpótlásának a biztosításához emelni kellene a vallásosságot, s minimumként a hitoktatást országossá kellene tenni

G.18. Teljes termékenységi arányszám és teljes művi vetélési arányszám
Total fertility rate and total induced abortion rate



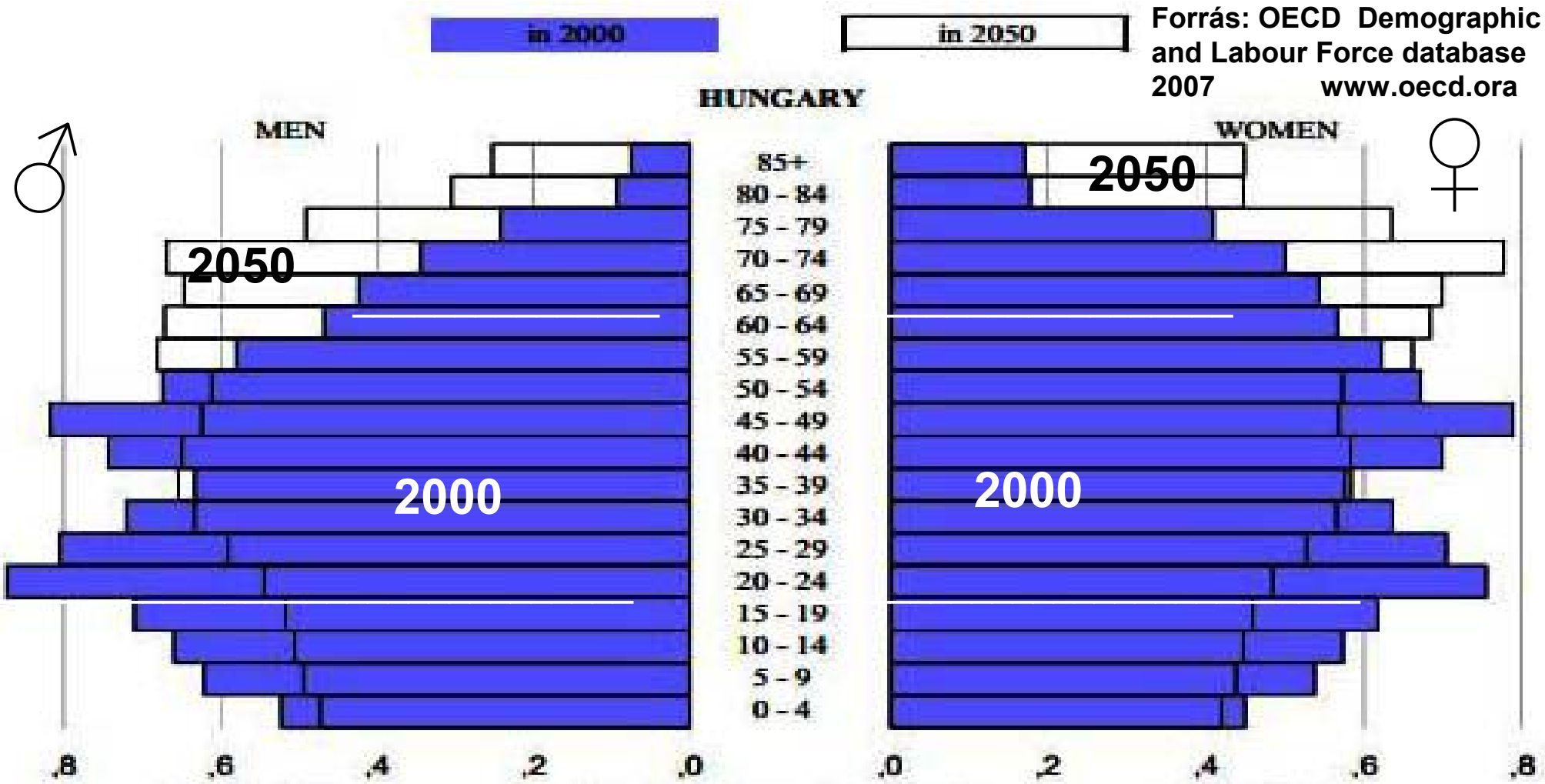
forrás: KSH Demografiai Évkönyv 2009, Grafikonok XV.oldal G.18



Magyarország 1949-es és 2010-es korfájának összehasonlításából láthatjuk, hogy a nyugdíjasok aránya egyre emelkedik,

az eltartásukra váró az ifjabb korosztályok nagysága pedig egyre fogy.

forrás: KSH Demográfiai Évkönyv 2009, Grafikonok XVII.oldal G.1



Forrás: OECD Demographic and Labour Force database 2007 www.oecd.ora

AZ OECD összehasonlítja eben az ábrában a 2000 évi és a várható 2050.évi korfánkat

A nyugdíjasok egyre emelkedő arányával szemben tehát a munkaképes korúak aránya mindinkább csak csökken.

nyugdíjas korú	=	**65 fölött**	**2000-ben:**	**24%**
munkaképes korú		**20-64**	**2050-ben :**	**50%**

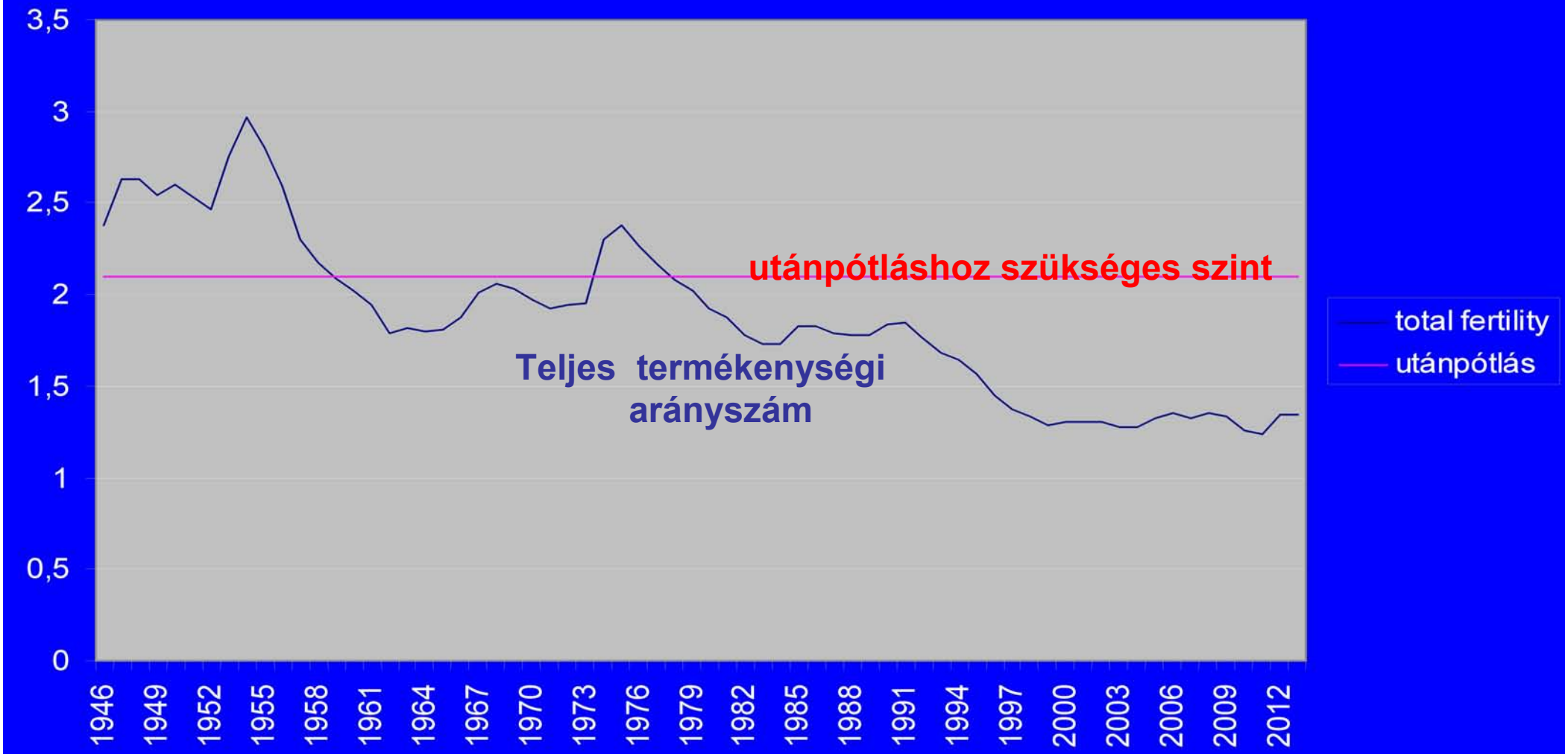
Ezen megfontolásokból a Demográfia 2 0 0 0. évi 2-3. számának 300-301. oldalán már hangsúlyoztuk: „Harmadik gyermek gyakoriságának jelentős emelkedése nélkül azonban a társadalombiztosításnak a nyugdíjasok és a munkaképes korúak egyensúlyát aligha lehet helyreállítani. Ezért a kormányzatnak arra kellene törekedni, hogy a három gyermekkel rendelkezők megfelelőbb nyugdíjhoz jussanak, mint a gyermektelenek és az egykések.”

Azóta számos helyen részletesen kifejtettük, -többek között a miniszterelnöknek, s a Közgazdasági Társaságban-, hogy az egyes személyek majdani nyugdíjának nagyságát a megszületett és örökbefogadott -*és természetesen kitanított* – gyermekeik számától kell függővé tenni, mert a gyermek-teleneket a nagycsaládosok gyermekeinek kell majd eltar-taniok.Az államháztartás fizetési mérlegének állandó romlása jelentős mértékben abból ered,hogy egyre több nyugdíjast egy-re kevesebb munkaképes korúnak kell eltartania. A javasolt a megoldással viszont nem terheljük a jelenlegi és a közvetlenül következő évek fizetési mérlegét.

Természetesen figyelembe kell venni,hogy vannak olyanok, akiknek nem születhet természetes gyermeke, de azok is örökbe fogadhatnak apátlan, illetve anyátlan gyermekeket, akiknek a nevelése szintén gondoskodásra vár.

Másrészt azt is hangsúlyozni kell, hogy a társadalombiztosítást csak terhelik a tanulatlan és ki nem tanított egyedek, akik pusztán a munkanélküliek táborát, s azok eltartását növelhetik. Ezért az ilyen tanulatlan személyek szaporításának gondatlanságáért, és a társadalombiztosításra rótt terheiért a társadalom biztosítás aligha jutalmazhatja a felelősöket.

Teljes termékenységi arányszám Magyarországon



Sajnos azt kell mondanunk,hogy jóllehet 1998-ban az 1. Orbán kormány megállí-totta a teljes termékenység további süllyedését, a 2. Orbán kormány minden dícsé-retes erőfeszítése ellenére se tudta annak szintjét számottevően emelni.

Ez fokozottabban arra mutat, alapvetően szükség van arra, hogy a társadalmat a nyugdíj rendszer alapvető átrendezésével fölrázzuk, de arra is, hogy a népesség megértse, hogy amint egyedül a kereszténység tudta a magyarságot 1000 éven át itt a Kárpátmedencében megtartani, csak az őszinte keresztény családok termékenysége fogja tudni a jövőjét biztosítani.

ABHANDLUNGEN

EUGENE CSOCSÁN DE VÁRALLJA, OXFORD

The Turin Shroud and Hungary

- *The Turin Shroud and Hungary*
- *List of Pictures with supplementary explanations*
- *Appendix I: Description of the Turin Shroud*
- *Appendix II: Epitaph of William de St. Omer, the Duke of Macsó*
- *Bibliography*

The Turin Shroud and Hungary

In his detailed survey of the history of the Shroud now in Turin, Ian Wilson reached the conclusion that it was in the possession of the Templars, before it appeared on the estates of Geoffrey de Charny in the 1350s,[1] and that it was in fact identical with the Edessa Mandylion brought to Constantinople in 944.[2] Nevertheless, a certain historical gap remained in his account after the IVth Crusade in 1204, when Ian Wilson lost the trace of the Shroud and the time, when it could have been assumed to have been in the possession of the Templars at the end of the XIIIth Century.[3]

In the meantime Ian Wilson's identification of the Edessa Mandylion with the Shroud was questioned by Averil Cameron in her inaugural lecture on the 29th of April 1980.[4] Averil Cameron, however, has not investigated the evidence of the Byzantine coins, while on the other hand, Dr. Alan D. Whanger and Mary Whanger of Duke University claimed that they have found 63 points of congruence between the Turin Shroud and a gold coin of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II

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[1] WILSON pp. 155-166.

[2] Ibidem, pp. 92-103.

[3] Ibidem, p. 151.

[4] See Clifford Longley's article in the TIMES 30th April 1980 and Ian Wilson's reply in the TIMES 5th May 1980. Averil Cameron's lecture: The Sceptic and the Shroud published CAMERON 1981, no. V, pp. 2-27.

already from his first reign (A.D. 685-694),[5] therefore much before the age of Constantine Porphyrogenetos (see pictures 1a, 1b).

It should be pointed out, however, that the image of the head on the Byzantine coin in question and on the Byzantine coins in general is approximatively 10 millimetre,[6] and 63 points of congruences between them and any other image could hardly be found without a certain degree of exaggeration, however important the Vignon markings could be for these investigations.[7]

More decisive, however, is the fact that on the mentioned gold solidus of Emperor Justinian II, especially on the undamaged items (see picture 1b) - and *measuring the length of the nose compared with the distance between the eyes* -, the nose of Christ is markedly shorter and the angle of his eyebrows is different from that observable on the Shroud.[8] Therefore, there is a discrepancy in the main features of the two representations, which can be easily distinguished even on the small coins (see pictures 1-2, 12) not only by the numismatists, but also by the diemakers as well.

Similar discrepancies in the mentioned main features can be observed between the Turin Shroud and all the subsequent Byzantine coin issues, on which the face of Christ has appeared up to the time, when Emperor Constatine VII Porphyrogenetos established his sole authority in the Empire by removing the Lakapenoi usurpers on the 27th of January 945[9] (see pictures 2-4a, 12).

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[5] WHANGER; WHANGER. A printed report of their lecture by Jack Adams appeared in the «Durham Morning Herald» on the 28th of January 1982.

[6] BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume II, Part 2, Table XXXVII, coins 7a-10.

[7] The main difference in Dr. Whanger's comparison stems from the 7 points of congruences found by him on Justinian II's coin (and missing on the other pictures investigated in his study) in the area of the neck, but that area does not seem to be significant in this respect.

[8] On the Turin Shroud the length of the nose is approximatively 1.4 times larger than the distance of the eyes, while these two distances seem to be equal as they appear on Justinian II's coin used by Dr. Whanger. However, on Dr. Whanger's coin the tip of the nose is missing, and on the undamaged issue reproduced by Breckenridge the length of Christ's nose is only 0.8 of the eyes' distance. (BRECKENRIDGE Table V, no. 30).

It also should be noted that both on the coin investigated by Dr. Whanger, and on the one published by Breckenridge Christ's eyebrows are slanting downwards starting already at the the nose, in which these coins differ fundamentally from the image on the Turin Shroud.

[9] Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume II, Part 2, Plates XXXVII, XLIII; Volume III, Part 1, Plate XXVIII; Volume III, Part 2, Plates XXX-XXXVI. As it was pointed out by Professor Grierson, the head of the enthroned Christ figures on these bezants is «abnormally large» (ibidem, Volume III, Part 1, p. 155, of.: p. 154) and because of this the main proportions of Christ's head on these coins are significant.

It is true that a more semitic-looking Christ type on the coins of Michael III has a long nose reaching usually the 1.4:1 proportion of the Shroud (Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 1, Table XXVIII 3.1-3.6). However, the very markedly arched eyebrows of this face clearly distinguish this type from the Face on the Shroud.

As the other type of Christ's face on the coins of Michael III is virtually identical with the

Immediately afterwards and, therefore, just following the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion on the 15th of August 944 A.D. a completely new image of Christ appeared on the bezants, (see pictures 4b-5c, 12). On these coins Christ's nose became as elongated as on the Shroud, the angle of is eyebrows changed to match the Shroud eyebrows, and the slightly differing angle of each moustache seems to mirror that on the Shroud. In addition the Christ image took on just as impressionistic a character as on the Shroud in marked contrast with the sharp plasticity of Constantine Porphyrogenetos' earlier coins.[10]

Meanwhile, the remarkable similarity between these coins in question and the Turin Shroud inevitably reveals that the Turin Shroud was the Edessa Mandylion brought to Constantinople in 944 A.D.

The fact that this long-nosed Christ type first appeared on the Byzantine coinage following the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion cannot indicate anything else, but that it reflects the Edessa Mandylion, because its arrival was intimately connected with Constantine Porphyrogenetos' rule as an independent monarch, and because the pains and efforts sustained by the Byzantines in obtaining this acheiropoietos image,[11] it could not have left the iconography of Christ on the Byzantine coinage uneffected. At the same time among all the representations of Christ on Constantine VII's coins, only this long-nosed Christ image could not be traced back to earlier representations of Christ.[12]

Christ image on the solidi of the first reign of Justinian II, only the just mentioned long-nosed Christ on the coins of Michael III could be based on the Brasen-House image set up by Michael III at the main entrance of the Imperial Palace complex from the city of Constantinople.

It should be observed, indeed that the mosaic image of Christ Chalkon in the Kahrie Djami in Constantinople has similar long nose and similar arched eyebrows and likewise it has a small mouth as well, although its appearance is slightly more idealized. - cf.: TALBOT RICE 1959, p. 60, Plate XXXI.

10 BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 2, Plate XXXVII, 15.9-15.33 cf.: Plate XXXVI. 13 a.1, 13 b.2. The coin 13 a.1 is in mint condition, while the other (13 b.2) was obviously used quite a lot. Nonetheless they show a marked plasticity in contrast with the linear and more two dimensional design of coins 15.9 - 15.33.

11 WILSON pp. 131, 126-129.

12 On the basis of Professor Philip Grierson's Catalogue, we may distinguish three types of Christ's representation on Constantine Porphyrogenetos' coins after he removed the Lakapenoi from power and the coronation of his son Romanos II in the short period of 27th January and 6th April 945, which might reflect the fact, that the Emperor was an artist himself. These three types are marked with letters a, b, and c in the paragraphs below (while letters d, e and f refer to coins which originated after the end of March 945 according to the numismatists).

- a: A slightly modified enlargement of Christ's head from the lyre-backed throne type enthroned Christ used on the solidi issued between 931 and 944 (BELLINGER; GRIERSON op. cit., Volume III, Part 2, Plate XXXVI, no 12, cf.: 10.1, 10.2).

- b: The young Emmanuel type Christ (ibidem, 13 a.2, 13 b.1, 13 b.2). See our Picture 4 1.

The same conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that the long-nosed

- c: The first long-nosed Christ on the coins of the Makedonian dynasty (ibidem 13 a.1 in mint condition, 13 a.3 more used but virtually identical with the previous one). As the proportion of the nose to the distance of the eyes on this coin is approximatively 1.3:1, it is very close to the Turin Shroud's proportion 1.4:1; the curvature of the eyebrows somewhat approximates the eyebrows on the Shroud, just as the assymetry of the moustaches. Therefore this coin seems to have been the first bezant, which was influenced by the Turin Shroud as it was issued between the 27th of January and 6th of April 945, soon after the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion on the 15th August 944 (see picture 4 b).

- d: On the 6th of April 945 Constantine made his son Romanos II crowned and securing this way the succession of the legitimate Makedonian line. According to Timothy E. Greogory this coronation was commemorated by the issue of a solidus with the enthroned Christ sitting on the lyre-backed throne identical with representation appearing on Constantine coins in the Lakapenoi period in the years 931-944 (GREGORY p. 113, Plate XX, no 10. BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 2, Plate XXXVII 14.1).

- e: As the coronation of Romanos II took place on Easter day profoundly connected with the venertion of the Shroud in the Byzantine liturgy (as indicated below in notes 95, 69, 64 and 108), subsequently most of the coins issued under the joint rule of Constantine VII and his son Romanos II show the Turin type long-nosed Christ. On these bezants Christ's eyebrows and his assymetric moustaches match the image on the Shroud and the portrayal of Jesus took a rather impressionistic character, like the image on the Turin Shroud, in striking contrast with the markedly three dimensional and finely chiseled plasticity of the earlier coins issued (see pictures 4b, 7a). Therefore these coins were heavily influenced by the presence of the Turin Shroud in Constantinople after the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion and as explained in the text these images on the coins emphasized that the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion restored the power of the legitim Makedonian dynasty (BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume II, Part 2, Plate XXXVII 15.9-15.33. Measured in the distance of the eyes the length of Christ's nose is 1.3 on coin 15.9, 1.4 on coin 15.23, 1.27 on coin 15.28 and 1.4 on coin 15.33. By comparison the corresponding figure is 1.4 on the Turin Shroud. See pictures 5a-5c).

- f: Professor Grierson does not accept the authenticity of the coins with shorter noses of Christ from the period after the coronation of Romanos II in 945 following the legitim Makedonian dynasty's restauration to the power and following the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion (see: ibidem, p. 593, footnote and Plate XXXVII, F.1, F.2). The solidus with the fine but short-nosed Christ appearing on Plate LIII no. 14 in WROTH Vol. II, p. 465, no. 14, is also missing from his catalogue, because as it was explained by him he does not consider that coin as authentic (private communication, see picture 3e).

It should however be emphasized, that Professor Grierson does not reject the authenticity of these coins because of the shortness of Christ's nose on them, but because of completely different numismatic considerations, but as a result in his catalogue almost all the coins of Constantine VII and Romanos II joint reign between 945-959 and therefore in the period following immediately the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion actually show a long-nosed Christ, just as long-nosed as the Turin Shroud.

Christ seems to have almost completely disappeared from the Byzantine coins after Constantine Porphyrogenetos' death.[13] because it again indicates that this image was intimately connected with his rule and by consequence with the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion.

Numismatists are convinced that a coin of Emperor Leo VI reflects the Blachernai Virgin, because this has been specified later on the silver coins of Constantine IX, Theodora and Michael VI.[14] The numismatists also agree that the enthroned Christ on the bezants of the makedonian dynasty corresponds to the mosaic image above the imperial throne in the Chrysotriklinos (see picture 3a), though they are ill at ease in explaining his gesture.[15] It is obvious, however, that the reason of this particular gesture is the Byzantine benediction, in which the fingers form minuscle type χ, ρ letters (see picture 3b),[16] but they cannot be read

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[13] Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Vol. III, Part 2, Plates XXXVII-LXX.

On the Byzantine coins after Constantine Porphyrogenetos the longest nosed Christ image probably appears on the bezants of Nicephorus Phocas (ibidem, Plate XLI, for example 2.1) but even on his coins the proportion of the nose to the distance of eyes is 1:1, quite far from the 1.4:1 proportion on Constantine Porphyrogenetos coins in question and from the same proportion on the Turin Shroud. It could be pointed out that the proportion in question is also only 1:1 on the coin with the portrait of Emperor Romanos II, the son of Constantine Porphyrogenetos (ibidem, Plate XL, 1,2).

[14] Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Vol. III, Part 1, p. 171; Vol. III, Part 2, Plate XXXIV.1, Plate LIX.8, Plate LXII. Theodora 3, Michael 3.

[15] Christ's «right hand is raised outward in a curiously clumsy gesture of benediction» - Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON pp. 152-153; , pp. 152-153; BRECKENRIDGE 1959 p. 56 (note 47, cf.: pp. 52-55); BRECKENRIDGE 1980-81.

[16] Although according to the explanation of Dionysios of Furna the fingers of Christ's blessing hand indicate the Greek letters IC XC (EPMHNEIA pp. 186-187, no. 448) and it seems to explain the position of Christ's fingers on the mosaic above the main entrance of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, these letters formed by the fingers could be read only if the hand is turned directly towards the spectator, as on the just mentioned mosaic (TALBOT RICE 1959 Picture 93; cf.: Plate XXVI at p. 49). It is obvious, however, that for example on the «Zoe panel» in the Hagia Sophia the forefinger of Jesus is bent and his little finger is straight, therefore his forefinger can not indicate the letter I and his little finger can not indicate the letter C as it was suggested by Dionysios of Furna (TALBOT RICE 1959, Plate XIII at p. 30). Meanwhile on the images, on which Jesus turns his right towards the right, he turns into the completely wrong direction to read the letters given by Dionysios of Furna, who therefore can not give the explanation of Christ's gesture on the mosaic of the Chrysotriclinos and on the coins, which reflect that image (see picture 3b).

The same gesture, however, makes the χρ letters readable, if the letter χ is formed by the forefinger and the middle finger and if the thumb and the ringfinger constitutes the ring and the little finger the stemm of the letter ρ, which is actually the position of Christ's fingers on the Zoe panel in the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Incidentally this is the traditional explanation of the Byzantine blessing in the Byzantine Church in Hungary.

unless the hand is turned towards the right, just as on the Byzantine solidi in question, as it seems to be sufficiently clear on an early coin of Emperor Leo VI.[17] The letters X and P, of course, constituted the Byzantine imperial standard, the labarum[18] and therefore the enthroned Christ revealing in his blessing the letters and above the imperial throne emphasized the deep harmony between the heavenly and the Byzantine realms.

It should be stressed, however, that by the time of the Makedonean renaissance the Byzantine coins not only reflected certain types of the Byzantine iconography in general, but they have succeeded in representing exceptionally convincing real portraits[19] possibly the only time between antiquity and the European renaissance. In particular, the features of Emperor Leo VI the Wise on his gold coin - with the Blachernai Virgin on the other side -,[20] unmistakably return on the ivory carving, which is in Berlin-Dahlem[21] and on his votive crown, now in the Treasury of Saint Marc in Venice[22] (see pictures 6a-6c).

By comparison, the bezants of his son clearly show that the nose of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos was markedly longer, than the nose of his father,[23] and this also distinguishes and identifies him on the mosaic above the main entrance of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople[24] (see pictures 7a-7b) excluding the possibility that it could represent his father, Leo the Wise.[25]

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17 Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Vol. III, Part 2, Plate XXXIV, 2,3

18 The «XP» clearly appears on the labarum hold by Emperor Constantinus II on his coin (see GRABAR 1967, p. 161, picutre 169). The «XP» monogram also appears on the East-Roman Emperors' shield for example on the coins of Theodosius (A.D. 379-395) and of Honorius (A.D. 393-423) (KENT; PAINTER p. 172, no. 502, p. 174 no. 553) as well as on the mosaic of Justinian (A.D. 527-565) in Ravenna (see GRABAR 1953, p. 62).

19 Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Vol. III, Part 1, pp. 155-174.

20 GREGORY Plate XX, 13, Picture 6b; Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Vol. III, Part 2 Plate XXXIV, 1a, 1b 2.

21 GRABAR 1936 Plate XXIV, 1 after p. 296.

22 WESSEL picture 12a, 12b at p. 57.

23 Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Vol. III, Part 2, Plate XXXVI, 13.a.1. This particular coin seems to be far superior to the other existing coins with the portrait of Constantine Porphyrogenetos as it seems to be in mint condition. Constantine Porphyrogenetos probably inherited his long nose from Zoe Carbounopsina, because the Emperor Alexander, the brother of Leo V was also short nosed: the lenght of his nose is only 0.67 if measured in the distance of his eyes according to his mosaic in the Hagia Sophia.

24 GRABAR 1953, p. 92, cf.: p. 91.

25 This has been already suggested by Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Vol. III, Part I, p. 156, and partly by TALBOT RICE, 1959, p. 312, no. 93.

Our conclusion based on the analysis of the proportions of the represented persons' faces (cf. pictures 6-7), according to which the monarch represented above the main entrance door of the Hagia Sophiais not Emperor Leo VI the Wise, is demonstrated also by Leo's conflict with the

Therefore, at least at the time of the Makedonean renaissance, the Byzantine coinage succeeded in reflecting at least the proportions of the main features of the faces represented. This must have been particularly the case, when Constantine Porphyrogenetos became the sole ruler of the Byzantine Empire, because as an artist in his own right, according to Theophanes Continuatus,[26] he himself corrected the works of painters, sculptors and silversmiths.[27]

It should be added that just after 944 Constantine Porphyrogenetos enlarged

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patriarchs of Constantinople. Namely it is unbelievable, that Leo VI, who was prevented from entering the Hagia Sophia and the very same doors by Patriarch Nicholaos Mysticos in 906-907, could have put his image above the same doors in mosaic, or even if he had succeeded in doing so, it had not been removed from there, when the same Nicholas Mysticos was restored following the death of Leo the Wise. It is well known, that the image of Emperor Romanis III Argyros was removed from the Zoe panel in the Hagia Sophia for much less reason: because he died. (Even the interim patriarch installed by Leo VI would not let Leo into the church, but only as a public penitent and the walls of the Byzantine churches are decorated by the images of saints and not by the portraits of sinners (see OIKONOMIDES especially pp. 164-166). According to Oikonomides the image of Leo VI had been placed above the main entrance of the Hagia Sophia after his death, around 920 A.D. (ibidem pp. 170-172), but it is also obvious that the Emperor there represented is the donor (cf. for example Theodoros Metochites' picture in the Church of Saint Saviour in Chora also called Charie Djami) and this excludes the possibility that Leo the Wise could have been represented as a donor on the mosaic in question many years after his death. This Emperor figure above the main door of the Hagia Sophia can not represent Romanos Lakapenos, because he is not accompanied by any other ruler-figure while Romanos Lakapenos always shared the power with other persons, unlike Constantine VII in 945. On the other hand the Emperor Constantine on the ivory carving in Moscow (see TALBOT RICE 1959, picture 96 = our picutre 7d) hardly represents Constantine Porphyrogenetos, because unlike to his portraits on the coins and on the mosaic in the Hagia Sophia on the ivory carving in Moscow the line of the eyebrows is broken and the nose is shorter and peculiarly hooked. Furthermore the Christ figure on the Moscow ivory seems to be much more elongated than for example the figures on the Limburg reliquiary made in Constantine Porphyrogenetos' court and this elongation of the figures was the peculiarity of the XIth Century Byzantine art as it appears already on the Monomachos crown in Budapest. As a matter of fact the peculiar hooked nose and the broken line of the eyebrow on the Moscow ivory identifies the Emperor in question with Constantine VIII as shown by his gold coin in mint condition in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Vol. III, Part 2, Plate LVI, 1.2, 2.1) and this inevitably dates the ivory to the year 1025, when Constantine VIII became independent ruler.

26 THEOPHANES Continuatus, p. 450, lines 12-20.

27 Constantine VII «was, I believe, more thoroughly versed in the art of painting than anyone before him or after him. He often corrected those who labored at it and appeared to be an excellent teacher[...]. He corrected stone carvers and builders, workers in gold leaf, silver-smiths and iron-smiths and in every case he showed his excellence [...].» (see Theophanes Continuatus translated by Cyril Mango, in: MANGO p. 208; he refers also to Luitprand and Sigebertus Gemblacensis).

the head of Christ significantly on most of his bezants with the exception of a very few by representing only the upper part of the body, instead of the earlier entire enthroned figure.[28] This obviously facilitated the more proper portrayal of the proportions of Christ's face on the coins, as it enlarged it to the same size as the most accomplished portraits showing the emperor himself or his father on the same coinage. If, therefore, a new Christ image on the bezants of Constantine VII matches the proportions of the Face on the Turin Shroud, it provides highly significant historical evidence, and it can hardly signify anything else, but that the Turin Shroud was the Edessa Mandylion, as it is also implied by the picture of the Skylitzes manuscript in Madrid[29] (see pictures 5a-5c).

Namely, before the invention of the photography, even among the various representations of the Turin Shroud as such and other related images including the Veronica icons, there are very few with the main proportions of the head so similar to the face on the Turin Shroud, as Christ's head on the coins of Constantine VII in question.[30] This exceptional corespondence between these bezants appearing just after the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion at Constantinople inevitably indicates, that the Turin Shroud was the Edessa Mandylion.

It would be indeed unbelievable that Constantine with his very encyclopaedic mind[31] had not made the Edessa Mandylion reflected on his coinage after it was brought with so much effort and pain to Constantinople and because of its signifisance for his reign.[32] However, the only new Christ type appearing on these coins after the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion is the one which matches the proportins of the Turin Shroud, which again can only confirm their identity. It is also remarkable that just as Constantine has connected the restauration of the legitimate Macedon dynasty with the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion at Constantinople[33] the

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28 Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Vol. II, Part 2, Plates XXXVI-XXXVII.

29 On the picture of the Madrid manuscript of Skylitzes illustrating the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenetos the Edessa of Mandylion is unquestionably a large folded sheet and not a small towel (SKYLITZES Matritensis, p. 333, folio 131a; cf.: p. 138).

30 On the VIth Century silver vase found in Edessa and now in the Louvre the length of the nose is 1.33 compared with the distance of the eyes (see WILSON picture after p. 82). On the Templars' picture found at Templecombe the proportion in question is 1.44:1 (see ibidem, picture after p. 146). These two representations seem to be the only ones among all the non-photographic representations connected with the Shroud in Ian Wilson's quoted book, which approximate the corresponding 1.4:1 proportion of the Turin Shroud.

31 Constantine Porphyrogenetos has directed the compilation of several surviving encyclopaedic works (see BREHIER pp. 154-155).

32 The Byzantines have sent an army under John Curcuas deep into enemy territor to besiege Edessa in 943 and only through this military operation and prolonged negotiations could they obtain the Edessa Mandylion (see WILSON pp. 125-129).

33 According to Constantine Porphyrogenetos' own account, when the Edessa Mandylion arrived at Constantinople on the 15th of August 944, and when he still had to share his throne with the

impressionistic Shroud-type Christ immages appear on the issues, which show Constantine Porphyrogenetos with his son after the coronation of Romanos II on the 6th of April 945, which secured the legitimate succession of the Makedonian dynasty after the removal of the Lakapenoi usurpers.[34]

In this connection it also should be mentioned, that following the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion, Constantine Porphyrogenetos has successfully converted Gyula, the Hungarian Duke of Transylvania,[35] and the Russian mission led by Princess Olga of Kiev,[36] who both visited him in Constantinople. From Gyula's conversion in Constantinople originates the Byzantine Church among the Hungarians,[37] and Gyula christened by Constantine as Stephen, was the grandfather of King Saint Stephen,[38] who became the apostle of Hungary. After Princess Olga's return to Russia, Christianity spread very rapidly among the Russians and the «acheiropoietos» image remained deeply imprinted on the Russian soul for the coming centuries.[39]

Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos' successful missionary activities, therefore, were intimately connected with the previous arrival and the presence of the Edessa Mandylion in Constantinople.

It was mentioned above, that the Turin Shroud type face of Christ has almost completely disappeared from the Byzantine coins after the death of Constantine

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Lakapenoi usurpers, a possessed man became cured and started to shout: «Constantinople, take the glory and joy and you Constantine Porphyrogenetos your throne». By the following 27th of January, (less than six months) Constantine indeed obtained the throne by removing the Lakapenoi, something he was unable to do for the previous 25 years.

Τέλος τάδε οἱονεὶ ἀπεφοίβαζεν. Ἀπόλαβε, λέγων, ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις δόξαν καὶ χαρὰν καὶ σὺ, Κωνσταντῖνε Πορφυρογέννητε, τὴν βασιλείαν σου. Καὶ τούτων ῥηθέντων ἰάθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος (CONSTANTINE VII Narratio, col. 448-449).

34 Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Vol. III, Part 2, Plate XXXVII, 15.9-15.33; cf.: BELLINGER p. 164 concerning the date of the coronation of Romanos II. The Christ image on Bellinger's example (Plate XXXV. no. 2) is not short-nosed anymore (1.2:1) but it is not «impressionistic» in the sense used by us here in this context.

35 CEDRENUS Vol. II, p. 328, lines 3-22; SCYLITZES p. 239, lines 59-76; cf.: MORAVCSIK 1970, pp. 104-107.

Wer-Bulcs might have arrived for the peace negotiations of 943 in Constantinople or just after them, before the Shroud was brought to Constantinople, and this might explain the difference between his conversion and the conversion of Gyula. Cf. also: SKYLITZES picutres 338-340 (folios 134verso-135recto).

36 CEDRENUS Vol. II, p. 329, lines 1-5; SCYLITZES p. 240, lines 77-81.

37 CSOCSÁN DE VÁRALLJA.

38 MORAVCSIK 1970, p. 111.

39 This is well demonstrated even by the battle standard of Ivan the Terrible preserved in the Kremlin and by the flags used by the Russian troops in the First World War, quite apart from the innumberable Russian icons (see WILSON, pictures after pp. 146 and 82).

Porphyrogenetos, because apparently all the subsequent issues show Christ with short-nose, at least in the Dumbarton Oaks catalogue. The reason for this might have originated in the tradition already referred to, that the Byzantine solidi reflect the Christ image of the Chrysotriclinos, which was designed with Pheidias-type (see picture 3d) proportions according to Beckenridge. In reality, however, the disappearance of the long-nosed Christ representations from the Byzantine coinage might have been less universal and at least partly might stem from the distortion of the numismatic classifications which rely on the pellets, dashes and other small modifications of Christ's halo, but which completely neglect the differences in the main features of his face, including the proportion of the nose to the eyes.

There is a nomisma in the Historical Museum at Heraklion in Crete[40] (see picture 8b) which reflects not only the proportions, but even the contour of Christ's nose on the Turin Shroud. This bezant was issued by the grandsons of Constantine Porphyrogenetos decades after his death: by Emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII between 976 and 1025. Its extremely close resemblance to the Turin Shroud again presupposes, that the Shroud remained in Constantinople and continued to influence the Byzantine iconography in which the Pheidias type short-nosed Christ face seems to have disappeared after the Macedonean dynasty as it was replaced always more and more by longer-nosed Christ face approaching the proportions of the Turin Shroud.[41]

These preliminary conclusions are important, because we know from Nicholas Mesarites that the burial Shroud of Christ was in the Church of the Theotokos

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[40] It was reproduced in the catalogue BYZANTINE ART A EUROPEAN ART picture no. 677 (cf.: p. 313, no. 677, 5-19). In the collection of the Historical Museum in Heraclion the coin in question is numbered 2131. The length of Christ's nose on this coin is 1.39 length of the distance of the eyes.

[41] The Pantocrator above the interior main entrance of the church Hosios Lucas usually dated in the decades following 1000 still reflects the Pheidian proportions because the nose is shorter than the distance of the eyes, and the nose of the Christ figure of the Zoe panel (in the gallery of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and originating from about 1030) is approximatively the same length as the distance of the eyes (TALBOT RICE 1963, picture 90 on p. 104).

However the nose of the Christ figure on the Anastasis mosaic in Chios from about 1040 might be slightly longer (GRABAR 1953, p. 108. On this mosaic however Christ's face is in half profile, and its proportions cannot be compared with the other face representations).

The nose of Christ is clearly longer than the distance of his eyes on the Deeses mosaic in the gallery of the Hagia Sophia (the proportion seems to be 1.18:1, see TALBOT RICE 1963, picture 202 on p. 221) and on the icon from Mytilene (see BYZANTINE ART A EUROPEAN ART picture no. 200, cf.: p. 254, no. 200). This icon is now in the Church of St. Therapon in Mytilene. Earlier it was in the Monastery of the Archangels, Kato Tritos in Mytilene. The proportion of the nose to the distance of the eyes is 1.41:1. Similar icons are in the Pantocrator Monastery on Mount Athos and in the Eremitage (ibidem, no. 200-201) and the «Christ of Pity» image in the Monastery of Tartana (ibidem, no. 167, p. 236) can be also compared.

at the Pharos in 1201.[42] As the name implies, the Pharos Chapel was in the vicinity of the lighthouse of Constantinople, which was at the same time the centre of the Byzantine telegraph system,[43] by which the Emperor gave command to the troops. Thus this lighthouse was also in the vicinity of the Chrysotriclinos,[44] the main throne room of the Byzantine Emperors, which had a plan similar to the San Vitale in Ravenna according to Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos,[45] and in its main apse above the throne was the «Rex regnantium» image of Christ enthroned, which so often appeared on the bezants. The same palace complex also included the Bukoleon harbour of the Imperial fleet.[46]

It is sufficiently clear in the account of the sack of Constantinople in 1204, written by the eyewitness Geoffroy de Villehardouin that for all practical purposes the most senior person in the imperial palace complex which included the Pharos Chapel, and which he called Bukoleon Palace, was the Empress Mary-Margaret from the Árpád dinasty, before it was occupied by Boniface Marquis de Montferrat, the Commander of the Crusaders' army on the 12th of April 1204.[47] De Villehardouin also noticed that Mary-Margaret was «a very beautiful lady», and this has been also recorded by Georgios Akropolites and Nicetas Choniates.[48] Accord-

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42 Published by HEISENBERG p. 30, lines 25-28, p. 32 lines 13-14.

43 JANIN 1969, p. 235. It should be noted, however, that the Pharos Chapel of the Virgin was flanked «on the right» (therefore apparently towards the South) by the small chapel of Saint Demetrios and «on the left» (therefore towards the North) by the oratory of Saint Elias (see MIRANDA p. 106).

44 See JANIN 1969, p. 235; CONSTANTINE VII De ceremoniis, pp. 290-292 has been interpreted in this way by MIRANDA p. 87.

45 CONSTANTINE VII De ceremoniis, p. 580 line 16 (cf.: VOGT pp. 8-9).

46 MIRANDA pp. 108-111 (see also his reconstruction attached to the volume: Le grand palais des empereurs Byzantins au Xe siècle. Reconstruction hypothétique par Salvador Miranda 1966).

47 VILLEHARDOUIN Chapter 12, p. 92. It is very significant that Geoffroy de Villehardouin, like his Western contemporary Pope Innocent III called the Pharos Chapel of the Virgin «ecclesia Buccae Leonis» (see JANIN 1969, p. 233).

It is true that de Villehardouin mentioned «Empress Agnes, sister of the King of France» before «Empress Marie, sister of the King of Hungary» at this place, but we should realise that de Villehardouin was a Frenchman and that Agnes had never been an empress in reality, bacuase both of her fiances, Emperor Alexios II and Andronikos I were killed while she was only 11 years old in 1183 (see BRÉHIER p. 283), and 21 years before the IVth Crusade. By contrast Mary-Margaret was actually the Empress between 1185 and 1195 and she was restored by the Crusaders in 1203.

On the date of 12th April 1204 see BRÉHIER p. 299.

48 VILLEHARDOUIN Chapter 10, p. 75, p. 229. Mary-Margaret «was a very beautiful woman according to those, who have seen her» (ἡ καὶ ὡραιαν πάνυ τῷ εἴδει οἱ κατιδόντες ἔφασκον εἶναι. AKROPOLITES p. 14, line 22 p. 15, line 1).

Mary-Margaret's beauty was also praised by Nicetas Choniates (see MORAVCSIK 1970, p. 94; MORAVCSIK 1923, pp. 79-86).

ing to Wertner's calculation,[49] she was about 29 years old at that time, and she was widowed in February 1204, when Emperor Isaak Angelos died in prison.[50] It could not have been long before Boniface de Montferrat, who controlled the entire imperial palace complex at the Bukoleon harbour,[51] proposed to Mary Margaret,[52] as they were married on the 15th of May in the same year.[53]

Mary-Margaret's father was King Béla III of Hungary,[54] who in turn was reared by Emperor Manuel (I) Comnenos as heir apparent in Byzantium,[55] and her mother was Agnes-Anne de Chatillon, a princess of Antioch.[56] She was only about ten years old, when she was married to the Byzantine Emperor Isaac II Angelos in 1185.[57] She suffered Isaac's overthrow and blinding during the palace revolution of 1195. She was imprisoned with him, but they were restored by the Crusaders in 1203 and overthrown again in the following year.

After the marriage of Mary-Margaret and Boniface de Montferrat in the course of the division of the former Byzantine territories between the Crusader leaders, Boniface became King of Thessalonica, a region chosen by him, according to de Villehardouin, partly because of its proximity to the domains of Mary-Margaret's brother,[58] Andrew II of the Árpád dynasty of Hungary. Having spent nineteen years of her life at Constantinople's imperial palace, Mary-Margaret would of course have known its treasures better than any Crusader. Since it was her husband Boniface, who took command of the palace complex at Bukoleon (systematically despoiling it, as implied by de Villehardouin),[59] Mary-Margaret would

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49 WERTNER 1903, p. 593.

50 Ibidem, p. 594; VILLEHARDOUIN p. 84; BRÉHIER p. 299.

51 VILLEHARDOUIN p. 92.

52 According to the Révai Nagy Lexikon (Volume XIII, Budapest 1915, p. 396) Mary-Margaret was proposed to by Boniface de Montferrat on the 13th of April 1204. However, according to the study quoted by the article in question (WERTNER 1892, p. 395) that was the day, when the Marquis de Montferrat took control of the Bukoleon Palace.

53 VILLEHARDOUIN p. 96.

54 MORAVCSIK 1970, genealogical table after p. 147.

55 King Béla III was born in 1148. He lived in the court of Emperor Manuel Comnenos betwen 1163 and 1173, when he became the King of Hungary. Before the birth of Manuel's only son, Alexios in 1169, Béla was engaged to Manuel's daughter Mary, and at that time he was proclaimed Byzantine heir apparent (see MORAVCSIK 1970, PP 89-90; KINNAMOS pp. 214-215; CHONIATES pp. 147, 179-180, 219-221)

56 MORAVCSIK 1970 genealogical table after page 147; CHONIATES p. 220.

57 WERTNER 1903, p. 593; CHONIATES p. 481, lines 17-21.

58 «The marquis, seeing him so ready and willing to keep his word, asked him, whether, in exchange for those lands, he would grant him the kingdom of Salonika, because it lay near the territory of the King of Hungary, whose sister he had married.» (VILLEHARDOUIN p. 97).

59 «The Marquis de Montferrat rode straight along the shore to the palace of Bucoleon. As soon as he arrived there, the place was surrendered to him, on condition, that the lives of all the people in it

have had every incentive and facility to take the Mandylion/Shroud with her to Thessalonica, with or without her husband's knowledge, who in any case was bound to oblige her during their engagement. It is indeed remarkable that while in 1201 Nicholas Mesarites noted that the Shroud was in the Pharos Chapel at that time, after the departure of Mary-Margaret from the «Bukoleon Palace» the Crusaders could not find the Shroud anymore, as was pointed out by Robert de Clari.[60]

In fact there are two significant clues that Margaret had the Shroud with her during her reign in Thessalonica. The first is that although Thessalonica's Church of the Virgin had been built in the fifth century, following the rule of Mary-Margaret in Thessalonica, this church was renamed the «Church of the Acheiropoietos»:[61] *acheiropoietos* («not made by hands») a Greek name given to the Mandylion, with no obvious reference to the Virgin.

Mary-Margaret undeniably took a strong interest in this church, holding the courts of justice there, according to Demetrios Chomatianos.[62] Interestingly this same church has another, as yet unexplained, name associated with it: *Katafyge*,[63] a Greek word occuring in the Psalm 18 passage recited by the Byzantine rite clergy, when they kiss the liturgical *aer* before the Creed.[64] In the usual liturgies

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should be spared [...]. Words fail me, when it comes to describing *the treasures found in that palace*, for there was such store of precious things *that one could not possibly count them* [...].

The Marquis de Montferrat and Henri de Flandre each garrisoned the castle surrendered to him, and set guard over the treasure.» (VILLEHARDOUIN p. 92).

60 «[...] the syndoine in which Our Lord had been wrapped, which stood up straight every Friday so that the features of Our Lord could be plainly seen there. And no one either Greek or Frank ever knew what became of this syndoine after the city was taken [...].» (CLARI p. 112).

The words used by de Clari show that he obtained his information in 1203, according to which at that time the Shroud was in the church of Saint Mary of Blachernae. Unless de Clari had confused the churches of Saint Mary of Blachernae with the church of Saint Mary of the Pharos, this implies that Empress Mary-Margaret took the Shroud with her to the Blachernai Palace on the restauration of her blinded consort from the Chapel of the Pharos, and it remained with her afterwards.

According to de Clari (p. 113) the Marquis de Montferrat vacated the «Bukoleon Palace» before the election of the Latin Emperor on the 9th of May 1204 (therefore, before his marriage on the 15th of May). It follows from our conclusions that Mary-Margaret must have taken the Shroud with her at that time.

61 It was in the XIVth Century that the name of the «Theotokos» was finally changed into «Acheiropoietos» according to JANIN 1975, p. 375, footnote 6 (cf.: p. 370).

62 PITRA column 454.

63 JANIN 1975, p. 377. The oldest known reference to this expression as well comes from a period following Mary-Margaret's stay in Thessalonica, namely from the XIVth Century, and the scholars are just as puzzled by it (cf.: CABROL DACL, column 654).

64 [...] ἀγαπήσω σε Κύριε ἡ ἰσχύς μου στερέωμά μου καὶ καταφυγή μου. The Greek text

however, the aer symbolizes the *epitaphios*, the veil directly representing Christ's shroud used on Good Friday and at Easter time.[65] Today the mentioned Church in

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stopped here still in the XVIth Century, see SWAINSON pp. 127, 158.

The text stops at the corresponding word in the Old Slavonic liturgical translations as well, which demonstrates again that originally the passage used stopped at the word καταφυγή μου.

The just quoted Greek passage constitutes the first verses of Psalm 18, and these are the words recited by the Byzantine rite priests, while they are kissing the aer, the cover of the chalice three times just before the Creed.

It is obvious, however that the passage quoted in Greek inevitably hints at the verses of the same Psalm just following, which refer to the burial Shroud of Christ, as well as to the earthquake following the death of Jesus mentioned by Matthew 27_{51}.

Occasionally there are only very slight differences in the wording of this Psalm between the SEPTUAGINTA pp. 100 f used by the Byzantine Church and the modern translations based on the Massoretic Hebrew text, but these do not effect the fundamental meaning of the passage quoted:

1. I love Thee, O Lord, my strength.

2. The Lord is my rock and my fortress and deliverer, my God, my rock, in whom I take refuge, my shield, and the horn of my salvation, my stronghold.

3. I call upon the Lord, who is worthy to be praised, and I am saved from my enemies.

4. *The cords of death encompassed me*, the torrents of perdition assailed me;

5. the cords of Sheol entangled me, the snares of death confronted me.

6. In my distress I called upon the Lord; to my God I cried for help. From his temple he heard my voice, and my cry to him reached his ears.

7. *Then the earth reeled and rocked; the foundations also of the mountains trembled and quaked, because he was angry*. (The numbering of the psalms and also the numbering of the verses differ in the Greek and in the Western usage).

Therefore the context of the Words used by the Byzantine priests while kissing the aer taken from the 18 (17)[th] Psalm gives the real reason and the meaning of the entire rite of the kissing of the aer. At the same time these words also demonstrate that the aer is symbolic of Christ's Shroud and that the expression «Katafyge» has been deeply connected with the veneration of the Shroud.

[65] The procession carrying the bread and the wine to the altar is called the «Great Entrance» in the Byzantine liturgy. During this procession the Greek priests carry the aer on their shoulders precisely in the same way as the epitaphios is carried at the Good Friday entombment ceremony, at least in those churches, where the epitaphios had been made in the original form from textile. It was indeed explained already by St. Germanos I, the Patriarch of Constantinople, who died around 730 A.D., that the Great Entrance corresponds to the burial of Christ «wrapped in clean shroud» (TAFT p. 55; cf.: BOULANGER p. 341). This is the reason of the recital of the Good Friday hymn by the priest on arrival at the altar, because while placing the bread and the wine on the altar the priest says: «Taking your most pure body from the rood, the pious Joseph wrapped it in a shroud with ointments and placed it into a new grave». (See SWAINSON p. 124, where the footnote shows that in some manuscripts there are further verses referring to the tomb of Christ, and the fact that they belonged to the ancient practice is shown by their Old Slavonic translations. It follows from these liturgical texts that the interpretation of the Great Entrance as the Palm Sunday entry of Jesus into Jerusalem

Thessalonica carries the name «Holy Friday»: 'Αγία Παρασκευή church, a throw-back from its old Turkish name «Eski Cuma Cami» (literally «Ancient Friday Mosque»),[66] which appears to refer to the Friday venerations of the Shroud already observed by Robert de Clari in Constantinople in 1203.[67] It is also highly relevant that the attribute of Saint Parasceve is precisely the image named «King of Glory»,[68] as its significance will be explained immediately below. As far as this Church of the Virgin in Thessalonica is concerned, the only plausible explanation of the various names which it obtained subsequently, could be the fact that Mary-Margaret guarded the Shroud in that building, to which these names refer.

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by CABASILAS p. 65 is purely a metaphor).

The previous conclusions also imply that the aer is symbolic of the epitaphios and by consequence it is symbolic of Christ's shroud. They also imply that the πλάκες πνευματικαί the «spiritual pictures» (see DUCELLIER p. 37; WILSON tenth page after p. 82) must have served as aers; that is to say that the «Veronica images» originally served as aers (chalice covers) in the East, and the aers used to be painted with the «Veronica» image of Christ.

This is the reason that the Orthodox priests prostrate before the altar just at the end of the Great Entrance after the bread and the wine has been covered by the aer, (ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης προσκυνοῦσι τρίς SWAINSON p. 125) as these prostrations can refer only to Christ's image on the Shroud as represented by the aer, as the prostrations in question precede the consecration of the bread and wine considerably.

This is also the reason that the Cherubicon hymn sung during the Great Entrance states, that we receive the King of All: ὡς τὸν Βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων ὑποδεξόμενοι, that is to say in the form as He is on the Shroud, because before the consecration this Cherubicon hymn can refer only to the Shroud represented by the aer (cf.: SWAINSON p. 121 footnote (c) and p. 129).

It should be noted that according to Georgios Cedrenos the Cherubic hymn was introduced by Emperor Justin II (565-578 A.D. ἐτυπώθη δὲ φάλλεσθαι καὶ ὁ χερουβικὸς ὕμνος, CEDRENUS Vol. I, p. 685, lines 3-4) and this is confirmed by the Easter homily of Eutychus patriarch of Constantinople (553-656, 577-582), who has objected that such reverence was given to the unconsecrated species (PATRALOGIA columns 2400-2401) implying in this way that this was a new custom.

Nonetheless the Cherubic hymn has spread into the entire Byzantine world, and such a change suggests that it was induced by the discovery of the Edessa Mandylion somewhat earlier, as it must have taken time that this custom could spread from Edessa east of the Eufrates to Constantinople west of the Bosporus.

66 CABROL DACL column 651; JANIN 1975, p. 377.

67 «Among the rest there was another of the churches, which they called My Lady Saint Mary of Blachernae, where was kept the sydoine in which Our Lord had been wrapped which stood upright every Friday, so that the features of Our Lord could be plainly seen there. And no one, either Greek or Frank, ever knew what became of this sydoine after the city was taken.» (CLARI p. 112).

68 TALBOT RICE; GUNNIS; TALBOT RICE Plate XLV, pictures 130-133; PAPAGEORGIOU pp. 38 (32), 59 (52).

There may be a second clue, that the Shroud was in Thessalonica during Mary-Margaret's reign, as it was claimed: that the fresco shown on picutre 9 has been preserved apparently in the region of Thessalonica.[69] It seems to originate from around Mary-Margaret's time in Thessalonica or possibly somewhat later, and it shows the body of Jesus rising from the tomb. This type of representation is known in the West as Christ of Pity or humility, but ancient Greek mosaics preserved in the Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome and in the Monastery of Tartana in Eurytania in Greece preserved its original Greek name Βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης.[70] This expression «King of Glory» has been taken from the prayer of the

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[69] This photograph was taken before 1979 in a church of Thessalonica according to its photographer, Mrs. Beth Abraham of St. Paul's Lodge, Salisbury Road, Great Yarmouth in England. In her description the wall-painting is in the northern side chapel of the Prothesis, and it is above the altar of the Proskomedia. (This information is based on Ian Wilson's letters dated in Bristol, on the 30th of January 1979 and on the 27th of February 1979). It was impossible to locate the whereabouts of the church with the wall-painting more precisely by the time this study had to be sent to the press. However it isn't any more visible. Nonetheless it should be observed, that on this same wall-painting shown on picture 9, the representation of the chest has been formed by darkened stripes of the ribs and by an overextended epigastic region with a markedly assymetric outline. These peculiarities of this wall-painting in question do not seem to return on later paintings in the same combination, but they are also shared by the paintings of Christ's Baptism in the Church of Panagia Mavriotissa on Lake Kastoria, which has been dated by Manolis Chatzidakis to the XIIIth Century. (PELEKANIDES; CHATZIDAKIS pp.80-81; cf. p.79 picture 13). It also should be noticed, that in the later versions of the representation, known in the West as «Imago pietatis», Christ's hands are not joined anymore over the abdomen, but became raised in various forms. On the painting shown on picture 9 however, the hands are still in a similar position as they appear on the Turin Shroud. This indicates, that it was painted at an early stage of the development of this iconographic type.

[70] On the iconography see BERTELLI pp. 40-55, pictures VII. 1-8 after p. 284. Bertelli, however, failed to recognize that the attribute on the reverse side of the Santa Croce mosaic (being precisely the Image of Pity) identifies the saint as Saint Parasceve. The mosaic of Tartana is reproduced in WEITZMAN 1968 picture 48, cf.: p. LXXXIII.

Hans Belting calls the same type of image as «Man of Sorrows», but he does not specify its liturgical use (p. 4). As it is clear from Robert de Clari's description (see notes 67, 60) that the Shroud venerated by the Byzantines on Fridays was hanged perpendicularly, it is obvious that the iconographic type in question mirrors this veneration which in turn corresponds to the Good Friday Byzantine veneration of the cross. Secondly all the known Byzantine examples of this type of icon have the inscription BACILEYC THC ΔΟΞΗC, which must have been the proper name of this iconographic representation and this necessarily demonstrates its connection with the Great Entrance of the Byzantine everyday liturgy (see note 74). Thirdly the same type of icon is in liturgical use at the service of the Bridegroom, (for example in Athens' cathedral) the Byzantine rite matins of the three first days of the Holy Week, usually anticipated on the previous evenings. During this service while the Hymn of the Bridegroom is sung, the image of the BACILEYC THC

Cherubic hymn,[71] which in turn is strongly connected with the Good Friday epitaphios ceremony. The fresco just mentioned in Thessalonica, however, differs from most of the represenations in this type that the proportions of Jesus' face on it are very close to those on the Shroud, and the hands are crossed in identical manner as on the Turin Shroud. This seems to imply that these features were based on observations made in Thessalonica, because such close resemblances are quite exceptional, and as such they indicate that the Shroud was in Thessalonica in the related period or just preceding it.

Boniface and Mary-Margaret had scarcely celebrated the third anniversary of their marriage, when King Boniface was killed in a skirmish with the Bulgarians. As a consequence Mary-Margaret became the sole ruler of the Kingdom of Thessalonica in the name of her son King Demetrios de Montferrat.[72] Subsequently she married another «Frank», Nicholas de St. Omer,[73] from the same family as the Princes of Galilee[74] and from the same family as Geoffrey de St. Omer, one of the two main founders of the Order of Knights Templar.[75]

ΔΟΞΗC is carried through the entire congregation, because this picture symbolizes the epitaphios and therefore the Shroud, as during the Holy Week the Bridegroom is coming and from his side-wound his Bride, the Church will be born on Good Friday, just as Eva was born from the side of Adam.

Unfortunately Belting assumes, that the Byzantine «aer» and the «epitaphios» differ only in their name, but refer to the same liturgical object (pp. 3, 14) and that the «epitaphios» as such was used to cover the offertory after the Great Entrance (ibidem). This is hardly conceivable because of its very large size, which distinguishes it from the smaller «aer». Belting mentions that the epitaphios is used on Holy Saturday (p. 15) but he does not notice it that the epitaphios is used already on Good Friday, when it is placed in the tomb, and that after the epitaphios was carried by the priest in the Resurrection procession on the night of Easter, it is placed as a kind of altar cover over the altar, where it remains during the entire Eastertide. Therefore in that period the offertory is placed *above* the epitaphios. It was indeed explained already by St. Germanos I, the Patriarch of Constantinople, (who died around 730 A.D.) that the «eiliton», the cover placed on the altar and opened just before the Great Entrance, corresponds to the Shroud of Christ. (TAFT p. 55).

It should be acknowledged however, that although the «epitaphios» is not identical with the «aer», in the liturgical practice the «aer» does symbolize the «epitaphios», and therefore the Shroud of Christ, or at least the acheiropoietos image on the Shroud, because the aer is carried in the same way by the celebrating priest in every liturgy (for example in Athens' cathedral) as the epitaphios is carried on Holy Saturday and because it is also demonstrated by the texts of the hymn and psalm recited by the priest quoted above in notes 64-65, which facts however were not noticed by Belting.

See TAFT p. 55.

71 SWAINSON p. 122.

72 WERTNER 1892, pp. 392, 396-405.

73 WERTNER 1903, pp. 602-605.

74 RUNCIMAN Vol. II, the third pedigree at p. 533.

75 WILCKE page 9 with sources in the footnote; LUNDGREEN pp. 48, 51.

After a rule of eighteen years, however, in 1222 Mary-Margaret lost control in Thessalonica, thereupon moving to the Duchy of Sirmium, a part of Hungary that time, and a territory given to her by her bother Andrew of Hungary. According to the Hungarian historian Mór Wertner, this was in fact no more, than Mary-Margaret's due, the area south of the river Sava having been part of her dowry at the time of her marriage to Emperor Isaac II Angelos in 1185.[76] Although Mary-Margaret is mentioned in historical records of 1229,[77] she must have died by 1233, but the exact date of her death is unknown.[78] One event we do know something about, however, is that in 1242 her son William de St. Omer, who became Duke of Macsó inheriting her mother's territories south of the river Sava,[79] together with other members of the Hungarian royal family took refuge in the Templars' castle of Clissa, close to Spalato on the Dalmatian coast, at the time of the Tartar invasion of Hungary.[80] William has died during these events on the 21st of April 1242, and his epitaph was originally in the Cathedral of Trau on an island in the neighbourhood, where he was buried.

One passage from this is strangely evocative of the Shroud. It reads:

«[...] qualia Ecclesie tulit ornamenta
ex Imperialibus pannis vestimenta,
patent intuentibus lucem et supernam
eius postulent requiem eternam.»[81]

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76 WERTNER 1903, p. 595; MORAVCSIK 1970, p. 93 (cf.: p. 94).

77 In the letter of Pope Gregory IXth dated 3rd March 1229 (see FEJÉR CD, pp. 157-158).

78 In a letter to King Andrew II written in 1233, the Duke of Sirmium is named as «Gyletus» (FEJÉR CD, p. 366) and not Mary-Margaret any more. According to WERTNER this «Gyletus»was in fact Calo-Johannes Angelus, the son of Mary-Margaret, to whom Sirmium belonged as stated in the letter of King Béla IV written two years later in 1235 (FEJÉR CD, Tom. quartus, Vol. I, p. 27; cf.: WERTNER 1903, pp. 594-595).

79 WERTNER 1903, pp. 607-609.

80 The fact that the Royal Family was in the castle of Clissa before the arrival of the Tartars there is best demonstrated by the epitaph of the King's daughters, who died in Clissa on the 13th of March 1242. The epitaph has been preserved by LUCIO 1666, p. 473.

The date of their death has been preserved by an other inscription in the cathedral of Spalato over their tomb, which has been reproduced also by JACKSON p. 71, cf.: pp. 75-76; SZILÁGYI p. 497.

According to his own epitaph, William de Saint Omer followed the King into Dalmatia:

«Quartam Bellam prosequens eius consobrinum,
Ad mare pervenerat usque Dalmatinum,
Ubi ad comercia vite celsioris
Mortis solvit debitum [...].»

81 This epitaph, too, was preserved by LUCIO 1673, p. 43. The date of William's death was recorded in the same epitaph:

«Aprilis vigesima die iam transacta,
Qua Gulielmi spiritus reddidit ad astra [...].»

Investigating the terms used in this text, it becames clear that apart from the Shroud, it is difficult to think of any other sheet (pannis),[82] which could give light from above (lucem supernam) and intercede for William de St. Omer's eternal rest (requiem eternam). The inscription therefore indicates that the Shroud was in William's possession, when he died, having been brought, as the inscription states from the Imperial treasures in Constantinople,[83] which could only have been done

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Concerning this epitaph Lucio has remarked: «[...] morì in Trau Guglielmo nipote del Rè e fù sepulto nella Catedrale avanti l'Altar maggiore, sopra la sepoltura del quale via era l'inscrittione: mà quando fù lastricata di nuovo la Chiesa, e postavi la piana grande di marmo, che hora si vede fù trascurato di farui intagliare l'iscrittione, della quale trovarsi varie copie, et era del sequenti tenore [...].»

It should be noted that the Cathedral of Trau was built in the years 1180-1250, therefore in a period, when the city of Trau was under direct Hungarian rule (JACKSON pp. 102-103).

82 Concerning these textiles LUCIO 1673, p. 43, remarked: «[...] ma di quelli panni Imperiali, che fa mentione restassero alla Chiesa, ne è testimonio un richissimo Piuiale di panno riccio supra riccio d'oro, che solevano usare gl'Imperatori, che si vede nella Catedrale, e si conosce essere stato d'altra sorte di vestito, che di verij pezzi guiditiosamente riuniti con gionta d'una lista di panno d'oro, e capuccio riccamata à oro fattone il piu ricco che sia in Provincia [...].»

It should be pointed out, however, that these vestments, even if they had belonged to an Emperor, could not have given light from above to anyone, nor could they give eternal rest to the Duke of Macsó, and being secular vestments, could not have been really described as Ecclesiae ornamenta; «the ornaments of the Church». Furthermore the fact that they were still in the XVIIth Century in the Cathedral of Trau, shows that they have not been distributed to the poor, contrary to the epitaph according to which

«Nam cuncta que moriens ita vir legavit
Dispergens pauperibus prorsus erogavit
Qualia Ecclesie tulit ornamenta [...].»

Therefore even if the textiles seen by Lucio had belonged to the Duke of Macsó, there must have been a much more important textile, to which the epitaph referred and only the Shroud could correspond to its specifications.

It has to be taken into consideration that Lucio wrote 430 years after the event and could not realize the full meaning of the epitaph in the absence of the Shroud. In any case the cap mentioned by Lucio among these textiles was decorated with the figure of Saint Martin, a very Western saint and it was actually made in the XVth Century. Therefore it could not have been the gift of William de St. Omer and it hardly originated in Byzantium (see BANFI pp. 269-279; RÉVAY p. 606).

83 «Iacet sub hoc lapide Nobilis Gulielmus
Iacet heros inclitus operit quem tellus
Nepos Belle tertij Regis Ungarorum
Margarite genitus Domine Grecorum
Dicti Regis filie Grecis Dominatrix
Constantinopoleos sceptris Imperatrix
[...]

by William's mother, Mary-Margaret. Indeed it seems to be inconceivable that William fleeing from the Tartars for his life several hundreds of miles on horseback could have taken any other sheet as the vital item with him.

In this context it also should be noticed that according to the quoted Trau inscription, the Shroud was in the possession of the Duke of Macsó, which he could have included into his will «nam cuncta quae moriens ita vir legavit [...]», while William was the youngest known son of Mary-Margaret. This might appear strange in the modern Western legal system, but according to the ancient Hungarian inheritance laws, it was precisely the youngest son,[84] like William de St. Omer, who inherited the parents' house and by consequence its content.

Meanwhile the Trau inscription is not the only item of evidence that the Shroud was with Mary-Margaret, when she moved her court from Thessalonica to Sirmium. Preserved in the Cathedral in Laon, France, is an early XIIIth Century icon of the Mandylion usually called the «Holy Face of Laon».[85] The face on this

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Qualia Ecclesie tulit ornamenta
Ex imperialibus pannis vestimenta [...].»
LUCIO 1673, p. 43.

[84] This legal practice is testified in the confirmation of the will of Count Nicholaus de genere Chak, the brother of Ugrinus the Archbishop of Esztergom, by King Andrew II issued in 1231. It is stated on this document: «Iterum habeo alia predia: que mihi Archiepiscopus Vgrinus, qui me filio habebat dimisit: quorum nomina sunt hec: primum predium ad sanctam crucem, ubi domum edificauerat; cuius terra communis erit omnibus filiis meis, quos nunc habeo, vel habebo: quia locus est specialis, quod vulgo dicitur Wduorhel [= place of the court] sed edificia vel cetera necessaria, que super ea sunt, vt mos est in Hungaria, iunior habebit [...].» FEJÉR CD, Tom. tertius, Vol. II, p. 228.

This legal practice prevailing in Hungary was later incorporated into the codification of the Hungarian customary law by Stephen Werbőczy (Stephanus de Werbewcz de Kerepes):«[...] inter filios eorundem dominorum et nobilium fratres scilicet carnales aequaliter dividatur; et quot sunt fratres tot sequestratur partes. Domus autem paterna filio juniori deputatur ad residendum et habitandum: Ita tamen ut caeteris quoque filiis seu fratribus de communi proventu huius modi bonorum et iuriium possessionarium aliae domus, illi paternae similis in loco communi (ubi videlicet quilibet voluerit) extruantur et aedificentur habitandae [...].» (WERBŐCZY Pars I, Titulus 40).

[85] In the years 1247-1249 Jacques Pantaleon was papal legate in Silesia, Polonia and Prussia (ENCYCLOPEDIA column 907) and as such he was bound to cross Hungary on his way from Italy. The icon of Laon was sent by Jacques Pantaleon (later Pope Urban IV in the years 1261-1264) to the convent of the Cistercian nuns in Montreuil-les-Dames in 1249 (see GRABAR 1935, pp. 7-10; TALBOT RICE; TALBOT RICE p. 55, picture 41).

According to a pamphlet published by Susanne Martinet the icon of Laon had been in an orthodox monastery in Bari, before it was sent to Montreuil-les-Dames. Bari of course in that period belonged to the Kingdom of Two Sicilies, and William de Saint Omer did spend a period of his life at the court of Emperor Frederic II in Southern Italy. He had estates there; for example, Marigliano in the region of Aversa, which was given to him, or perhaps already earlier, to his brother King Demetrios de Montferrat by Frederic II (see WERTNER 1903, pp. 607, 609). Such a connection could

icon has an uncanny resemblance to that on the Shroud (see picture 10).[86] In this respect it is also highly relevant that contrary to the contemporary Byzantine practice using at least green and yellow tints, virtually the entire Holy Face of Laon consist of brown colour, just as the image on the Shroud of Turin.

Perhaps the most intriguing features of the icon in Laon is its inscription:

OBRAZ G[O]SP[O]D[I]N' NAUBRUSE

This inscription in Church Slavonic written with Cyrillic letters provides the strongest indication that the icon was painted, while the Shroud was at Sirmium, becaue it was there at the Byzantine monastery of Szávaszentdemeter, that Hungarian, Greek and Slavonic monks had a joint community living in separate mansions, (a fact which we know from a letter of Pope Clement VI).[87] Painted at any other place where the Shroud could have been, the inscription would have been either in Greek or in Latin or in Glagolitic.

Curiously out of the three words used in the inscription two are also used in Hungarian. The meaning of the first word is image, and it is still used in Hungarian as in «ábrázol» = to portray, or in «ábra» = figure; «ábrázat» = face.[88] The last word of the inscription is specially significant, bacuase it appears just at Jn 20₇ as Christ's burial cloth in the Gospels of the Bulgarians,[89] who have lost their Ural-Altaic language, and it was also used by the Ottoman Turks as well. The cor-

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explain the presence of the Laon icon in Southern Italy, if it was there. It is more likely, however, that Jacques Pantaleon has found this icon while travelling as papal legate in East-Central Europe in the years 1247-49.

[86] The length of the nose from the eyebrows is 1.3 of the distance of the eyes on the Holy Face of Laon, which is not significantly different from the proportions on the Turin Shroud where the corresponding proportion is approximatively 1.4:1.

[87] «[...] Nuper quidem ad notitiam apostolatus nostri pervenit, quod in confinibus Regni Ungarie iuxta Scismaticos Rasie versus Greciam in diocesi Colocensi quoddam Monasterium sancti Demetrii nuncupatum, in quo ex primaria institutione ipsius Greci, Ungari et Sclavi servire debebant, et cuilibet nationum huiusmodi fuerunt inibi distincte ac disposite mansiones, et ibi ponebatur Abbas Grecus per Patriarcham Grecorum: qui abbas non obediebat in Regno Ungarie alicui prelatorum, sed solum Patriarche predicto [...].» (Pope Clement VI in 1344. See THEINER pp. 667-668).

The fact that this Abbey was known commonly as Száva Szent Demeter is shown by George Szerémi (Georgius Sirmiensis), who incorporated this term in this form «Zaua zent Demeter» into his Latin text (SZERÉMI chapter XXXI, p. 107, cf.: chapter CCCIV, p. 115).

György Györffy has shown that the Abbey of Szávaszentdemeter was in communion with the Pope in Rome at least from arround 1216 until the fall of the Latin Empire of Constantinople in 1261 (GYÖRFFY Szávaszentdemeter, pp. 30, 73). This explains well, how the icon of Laon arrived at Rome and got into the possession of Jacques Pantaleon, who was in papal service at that time, because as it was shown by György Györffy, the Popes used to be in correspondence with the monastery and confirmed the monastery's possessions and privileges.

[88] ORSZÁGH p. 3; BENKÓ p. 90.

[89] Jn 20₇; see DOGRAMADZHIEVA; RAYKOV p. 438; ZHIVKOVA Tablica LXII, picture 357 (268).

responding term in other Slavonic Gospels is soudarion.[90]

This difference in the terms used again pinpoints Szávaszentdemeter as the place where the «Holy Face of Laon» was painted. Namely the Banat of Macsó alongside the river Sava up to the river Drina at the time of the Hungarian Conquest in 896 belonged to the Bulgarian Empire,[91] and in the period of the Árpád dynasty it was still inhabited by Bulgarians. This is very clear from the Hungarian medieval chronicles preserved in the Képes Krónika (Illuminated Chronicle formerly in Vienna), which states that in 1071 (the Hungarian) «rex autem et dux imposuerunt crimen traditionis Albe Bulgarice [...]. Inde castra moventes descenderunt in directo Nandorfeivar [...]. Exiit autem edictum a rege et duce, ut universus exercitus Hungarorum transiret fluvium Zauam in Bulgariam.» Therefore, by crossing the river Sava, from Sirmium in Hungary the army already entered Bulgaria. «Greci autem et Bulgari navigantes in celonibus suis per ingenia sufflabant ignes sulphureos in naves Hungarorum et eas in ipsis aquis incendebant. Victi sunt autem ignivomi Greci ab Ungaris pre multitudine navium, quibus flumen operuerant. Fugientibus autem Grecis ac Bulgaris transierunt Hungari et terminos Bulgariorum occupaverunt.»[92]

This record therefore clearly indicates that the right bank of the river Sava was inhabited by Bulgarians in the period of the Árpád dynasty,[93] and this is the reason, that the inscription on the Holy Face of Laon is in Bulgarian form, because the Abbey of Szávaszentdemeter, where it was painted, was just across the river at an important crossing point of the Sava.

Meanwhile «abrosz» in Hungarian means tablecloth,[94] and it is highly relevant, that precisely the epitaphios is used as the tablecloth over the altar-table by the Byzantine church during the entire Easter season.[95]

The term soudarion in the other Slavonic Gospels was clearly taken from the original Greek σουδάριον in Saint John's gospel. Saint John used two words referring to burial clothes of Jesus, namely τὸ ὀθόνιον and τὸ σουδάριον.

However in 19$_{40}$ Saint John has clearly stated that the ὀθόνια were used to bind the buried, and significantly he uses this word in plural, which shows that

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90 ALTBAUER Volume I, Tablica CCCCIII, p. 403.

91 TREHARNE; FULLARD p. 9: «Europe c. 900 A.D.»

92 SRH pp. 369 (line 18) - 370 (line 13). As the following lines of the Chronicle go on to describe the siege of Belgrad called «Bulgarian White Castle» (Nándorfehérvár) in Hungarian, these lines mean that the territory on the Southern side of the river Sava was the land of the Bulgarians, as there was the region occupied by the Hungarian army before the capture of that Bulgarian city.

Incidentally the following passage referring to the same area repeatedly mentions Bulgarians and Greeks there, but not a single Serb.

93 GYÖRFFY Tanulmányok, pp. 64, 131.

94 ORSZÁGH p. 3; BENKŐ p. 92 («abrosz», like «ábráz» can be documented from surviving Hungarian records since 1372).

95 MELLES; SZÁNTAY-SZÉMÁN; KOZMA p. 143, cf.: p. 145.

they could have been only small pieces. On the other hand in Jn 20_7 he distinguishes the ὀθόνια clearly from σουδάριον, which covered the head of Jesus at the burial and which was so large that it has to be folded to be placed in one place. It obviously follows from this that the σουδάριον could not have been a small towel.

This also follows from the way the Greeks represented the resurrection of Lazarus. Namely according to Jn 11_{44} Lazarus was buried bandaged by κειρίαις, and his face was wrapped by the σουδάριον. In the corresponding Byzantine representations, however, the same linen seems to cover both the face and the entire body of Lazarus below the bandages spanning the whole length of the Byzantine period from the San Appollinare Nuovo in Ravenna dated by art historians around 520[96] to the painting in the Pantanassa in Mistra executed in 1428.[97] Therefore, according to the Greeks' understanding, the σουδάριον mentioned by chapters 11, 19 and 20 of Saint John was large enough to cover the entire human body.

According to Saint John, Jesus was not bandaged by αἱ κειρίαι, but by τὰ ὀθόνια, which may mean that Jesus was not bandaged in the same way, as Lazarus, but on the Reliquiary of Bessarion now in Venice the buried Christ is shown bandaged just as Lazarus is on the paintings of the Catacomb and in the Byzantine iconography.[98] Meanwhile the same expression τὰ ὀθόνια appears not only in the text of Saint John, but also at least in some variants in the text of Sainte Luke 24_{12} among the synoptics as well; and here again the word appears in plural. Therefore it follows from this, that ἡ σινδών mentioned by Saint Luke in 23_{53} has to differ from his ὀθόνια in 24_{12} and it could only correspond to Saint John's τὸ σουδάριον, (which is in singular, like the σινδών), as Saint John has mentioned only these two types of textiles at the burial of Christ, and Saint John was an eyewitness both of his entombment and of the empty tomb.

It is therefore more remarkable that precisely Saint John used the expression sudarium for the shroud, bacause - as it was pointed out by Ian Wilson -, the person, who was buried into the Turin Shroud, was not washed before the entombment,[99] and the proper meaning of the sudarium is something used to mop up perspiration,[100] in this case the perspiration ensuing death.

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96 TALBOT RICE 1968, pp. 156-157.

97 TALBOT RICE 1963, p. 261, picture 243. In the Catacomb of Jordani on the Via Salaria the sheet used to constitute the hood, which covered Lazar's head already in the IVth century (BOURGUET picture 44).

98 WEITZMANN 1968, picture 76, p. LXXXV. The Reliquary originally belonged to an Eirene «sister of a Palaiologos Emperor» thought to be Michael IX, which would date the reliquiary about 1295-1320, but the covering icon might be later.

99 WILSON p. 40.

100 «[...] sudarium a sudo [...] linteum, quo sudor faciei detergetur et nares purgantur [...].» FORCELLINUS p. 727.

Therefore the vernacular translations, which made 'napkin' out of the σουδάριον completely distorted its size, and it is better approximated by the Hungarian term «abrosz» = tablecloth, as far as its size is concerned.

The reason that the synoptics have not used the term το σουδάριον, but ἡ σινδών, might not be only that they were not eyewitnesses, but also because they might have tried to gloss it over that Jesus was not washed before his burial, as required by the Jewish laws, probably because of the shortage of time at the incoming Sabbath and because Providence wanted to preserve Jesus' image.

In any case the identity of the word UBRUSE in the inscription of the Laon icon and the Hungarian term «abrosz» shows that the Laon icon was based on a large sheet of linen, and as according to the linguists this Hungarian term was borrowed from the Slavonic, it also demonstrates that originally, before the Hungarian borrowing, it was a large sheet in Slavonic as well, just as the Turin Shroud.

The fact that in the period, when the Laon icon was painted, the term «sudarium» was used to indicate the large burial shroud of Christ is well demonstrated by the letter of the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Balduin II to King Saint Louis IX of France dated June 1247. This mentions a part of the sudarium, into which the body of Jesus was wrapped in the tomb: «partem sudarii, quo involutum fuit corpus eius in sepulchro.»[101]

Therefore, the inscription on the icon of Laon can be best translated as «the image of the Lord on the sudarium-shroud». By consequence this inscription also shows that the Shroud was there, where the picture was painted, and we have already seen it above that because of the alphabet used in the inscription in question, it could have been executed only at Sirmium, where Mary-Margaret of the Árpád dynasty resided after 1222.

It also follows from the above considerations that the Holy Face of Laon was painted between 1222, when Empress Mary-Margaret moved to Sirmium, and 1242, when the Shroud was brought to Clissa by her son the Duke of Macsó.

This time interval cannot be shortened by the establishment of the Latin bishopric of Sirmium in 1229 into the period of 1222-1229, because the Latin bishops of this see which was set up on the initiative of Ugrin the Archbishop of Kalocsa to spread the Latin rite in the Duchy of both Sirmiums (on both sides of the Sava), had to reside on the northern border of their territory at Kő (the modern Bánmonostor), and could not move to the capital of the Duchy, namely the city of Sirmium until after the Tartar incursion in 1247, when Pope Innocent IV authorized them to take up residence either in the monastery of Saint Gregory or in the Abbey of Saint Demeter.[102]

It seems remarkable that just two years after this document the Holy Face of Laon was sent by Jacques Pantaleon, the papal legate of Innocent IV in East-Cen-

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[101] RIANT Vol. II, p. 134.

[102] GYÖRFFY Szávaszentdemeter, p. 72.

tral Europe in 1247-1249 to the nuns of Montreuil in 1249 and that eventually the Latin bishops of Sirmium have not moved to Szávaszentdemeter, but they chose the Church of Saint Ireneus (Szent Ernye) as their cathedral and they resided in the castle on the island of the Sava at Sirmium.[103]

Jacques Pantaleon even later as Pope Urban IV was deeply interested in the union with the Byzantine Churches and his intervention as a papal legate might have saved Szávaszentdemeter from the takeover by the latin bishops of Sirmium. Apparently in return he obtained the Holy Face of Laon from the Byzantine monks of Szávaszentdemeter.

We might also observe that just as according to the testimony of Demetrios Chomatianos Empress Mary-Margaret chose the Byzantine-rite bishops to be her judges, while she ruled in Thessalonica, according to Pope Gregory IX she used as the main church in Sirmium as well the one, which followed the Greek rite «quae Graecorum ritum tenet».[104]

These observations firstly indicate the reason, why the latin rite bishops of Sirmium could not move their see to that city, where Mary-Margaret resided. Secondly they also explain that the inscription of the Holy Face of Laon was not written in Latin and that the establishment of the Latin bishopric of Sirmium in 1229 could not have any bearing on the date of this icon, as the bishopric could not have exerted any significant Latin influence in the city, into which the bishops were unable to move. Thirdly, the same observations might also account for the fact that the rites, by which the Templars venerated the Shroud before their dissolution, were virtually identical with the Good Friday service of the Byzantine Church,[105] because if Mary-Margaret kept the Shroud both in Thessalonica and at

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103 Ibidem, p. 72f.

104 «[...] Venerabilis frater noster Colocensis Archiepiscopus in nostra fecit praesentia recitari, quod dilecta in Christo filia, nobilis mulier, soror illustris Regis Vngariae, aquisiuit quamdam terram, quae appellatur vlterior Sirmia, ratione cuiusdam partis Hungariae, quae citerior Sirmia nuncupatur; ac ad nutum et dispositionem praefatae sororis regitur terra praedicta, adeo quod quidam de Clericis Archiepiscopo ipsi subiectis, per eam in maiori Ecclesia, quam terrae illius homines e p i s c o p a l e m appellant, prouisor est deputatus ad tempus, donec de ipsa, quae Graecorum ritum tenet, et nondum sedi Apostolicae obediuit, prout disponendum fuerit, disponamus [...].» The letter of Pope Gregory IX dated in Perugia on the 3rd of March 1229 (FEJÉR CD, Tom. tertius, Vol. II, pp. 157-158). According to Fejér the church mentioned in this passage was the church of Saint Ireneus (ibidem in the footnote).

105 The Templars prostrated before their image in the Byzantine manner according to the testimony of Radulphus de Gysi (Raoul de Gizy). See MICHELET Vol. II, p. 364.

On Good Friday the Greek Church erects a cross in the midle of the church below the dome with an image of Christ on it, which is later removed in the ceremony corresponding to the entombment and brought to the altar. Previously, however, the entire congregation prostrates before this image precisely as the Templars did in their rites.

According to Robert de Clari the «sydoine» was hung perpendicularly on the Friday, when

Sirmium in a church left in the care of the Byzantine clergy, it implies that she too was impressed by the beauty of the Byzantine Good Friday service of the Shroud-epitaphios, and it was Mary-Margaret, who brought this cult with the Shroud to the West.

The third evidence that the Shroud was brought to Hungary by Empress Mary-Margaret is the Pray codex written between 1192 and 1195,[106] and famous because it contains practically the oldest known record of a continuous Hungarian text,[107] and as it happens, the oldest such Finno-Ugrian text as well. There are no pictures in this manuscript except five drawings referring to the Passion and the Resurrection of Christ, all on folios XXVII and XXVIII.[108] The drawings themselves are preceded by an inscription datable to the years 1203-1216,[109] and this implies that the pages occupied by the pictures now used to be empty at that date, and that these drawings in question must have originated in the following years.

Referring to the picture on folio XXVII^{verso} Ian Wilson observed that the «attitude of the hands in the Christ figure suggests that the Shroud's full length image was known by this period»,[110] as on the earlier representations of the Mandylion only Christ's face alone was portrayed. Furthermore, the proportion of the length of the nose compared with the apparent distance of the eyes on this drawing of the Pray codex is 1.4:1, therefore it is among the very few images, which match the true proportions of the Shroud properly. Finally, the picture of the Pray codex seems to be completely unique in the European Christian art, at least at this early date, because it portrays Christ without any loin cloth, and in this it can reflect only the Turin Shroud (see picture 11).[111]

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he observed its veneration by the Greeks, he in fact might have witnessed the Byzantine Good Friday service, which was simply copied and adopted by the Templars, when the Shroud passed into their possession. These Byzantine rites, however, must have been unknown and very suspicious, if not very dangerous, in the eyes of the Latin clergy, who considered the Byzantines openly Schismatic and implicitly Heretic as well. This can explain well the Templars' secrecy in these rites and even their eventual downfall.

106 Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Codex «Nyelvemlékek 1.»

This codex was written after 1192, because it already mentions the canonisation of King Saint Ladislaus (László), and it was finished before 1195, because it does not refer to the death of King Béla III (see RADÓ pp. 40-41).

107 National Széchényi Library, Codex «Nyelvemlékek 1.», folio 136^{recto} (see RADÓ p. 75).

108 RADÓ p. 40. All five pictures have been reproduced in colour by BERKOVITS Plates I-IV.

109 Confering the inscriptions on folio XXVI and on folio 144, Radó concluded that the codex in question was in the Abbey of Saint Giles in Somogyvár between 1203 and 1216, after that it was writen originally in a Benedictine Abbey dedicated to Saint John the Baptist.

An other inscription on folio 10^{recto} indicates, that by 1228 the same codex was transferred to the Benedictine Curch of Deáki on the river Vág (see RADÓ pp. 42-43).

110 WILSON the picture before page 83.

111 Significantly even the epitaphios-embroideries have a loin cloth on all the pictures reproduced in

In the mentioned peculiarities the drawing of the Pray codex mirrors the Shroud so exceptionally well and so closely that it could not have been executed without its close examination, and by consequence without the Shroud's presence in Hungary.

All historians agree that as the result of the Tartar invasion and even after their withdrawal, the land of Hungary was in a very poor state, with widespread famine because agriculture was effectively halted during the years 1241-42 by the Tartars' presence.[112] The Hungarian royal family was as badly off as anyone. King Béla IV has inherited a bankrupt treasury,[113] and after fleeing from the battle of Mohi in 1241, he was obliged to ransom his own person, when he was detained by the Duke of Austria,[114] just as Richard the Lionhearted was detained before him.

Arguably it was in such straightened circumstances that, as indicated by the Trau epitaph, the widow of William de St. Omer distributed to the poor, whatever she could obtain for the Shroud, (possibly by pawning it):

«Nam cuncta que moriens ita vir legavit
Dispergens pauperibus prorsus erogavit
Qualia ecclesiae tulit ornamenta[...].»[115]

The crucial question, of course, is to whom the Shroud was given or pawned by the Saint Omers.

As Ian Wilson has already shown, the Shroud must have been in the possession of the Templars, and this assumption is very strongly corroborated by the testimony of the Templar Hugo de Pairaud,[116] it seems to be obvious that it was at this point in time that the Order of the Temple acquired the Shroud, because after the Tartars' withdrawal in April 1242 the Hungarian royal family returned to the Templars' castle of Clissa,[117] where they had resided already before the Tartar's

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JOHNSTONE.

112 THOMAS SPALATENSIS p. 595, lines 10-22; ROGERIUS pp. 586 (line 23) - 588 (line 18); MARCZALI pp. 501-502 quoting further sources: HÓMAN;SZEKFŰ p. 556.

113 MARCZALI pp. 444, 373-393; HÓMAN;SZEKFŰ pp. 517-519, 475-477, 504-505; FEJÉR CD, Tom. quartus, Vol. II, pp. 466-504.

114 ROGERIUS pp. 574 (line 28) - 575 (line 30). This passage shows that Béla had to pay 7000-10000 markas, gold and silver vessels and three border counties to Austria, virtually the same area, that the Austrians took again in similar circumstances in 1920.

115 LUCIO 1673, p. 43.

116 WILSON pp. 153-166. In fact at the Inquisition of 1307 Hugo de Pairaud declaired that the Templar «head» at Montpellier «had four legs, two in front and two in back». (Dixit quod dictum caput habebat quattuor pedes, duos ante ex parte faciei et duos retro. See MICHELET Vol II, p. 363). This is the precise description of the image on the Turin Shroud.

117 Clissa was given to the Templars by King Andrew II after he arrived at Spalato on the 23rd of August 1217 on his way to the Holy Land during his crusade (THOMAS SPALATENSIS p. 578, lines 23-26).

arrival. According to the Archdeacon Thomas of Spalato, Queen Mary Lascaris and the royal child(ren) remained there until September 1242.[118] It is also obvious that in the given circumstances after the devastation of Hungary by the Tartars, only the international financial resources of the Templars could provide the help needed by the poor and the needy including the royal family itself. It also should be taken into consideration that the family de Saint Omer was very closely linked to the Order ot the Temple from its very foundations, as one of the two main founders was Geoffrey de St. Omer. The uncle of Empress Mary-Margaret's consort, Otto de St. Omer, too, was a Knight Templar.[119] This very intimate connection between the St. Omers and the Templars must have also contributed to the fact, that eventually it was the order of the Knights Templar, who obtained the possession of the Shroud from the St. Omers.[120]

Finally it must not be forgotten that Clissa was but one of the Templars' castles along the coast of the Adriatic, another being at Aurana or Vrana,[121] yet another at Segnia or Zengg (Senj)[122] in Croatia, a town that at that time served as Hungary's main port. The significance of these castles of the Knights Templar was indicated by Dante, who was born 23 years after the death of the Duke of

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In 1255 the Templars exchanged Clissa for the city of Sebenico (see PESTY pp. 48-49; DUJNOVIĆ p. 119).

118 «[...] regina autem cum regio puero in Clisse castro remansit, fuitque ibi usque ad mensem Septembris [...].» (THOMAS SPALATENSIS p. 595 lines 7-8).

119 WERTNER 1903, p. 606.

120 It would be conceivable that the Shroud had been left as a surety against a loan given by the Templars to the Hungarian Royal family, however, the terms used in the epitaph of William de Saint Omer seem to imply this

«Nam cuncta quae moriens ita vir legavit,
Dispergens pauperibus prorsus erogavit
Qualia Ecclesiae tulit ornamenta
Ex imperialibus pannis vestimenta.»

(LUCIO 1673, p. 43).

121 Aurana, in Hungarian often Auránia, or Vrana in Croatian was already the Templars' castle in 1169 (PESTY p. 74). In 1203 the Templars of Aurana lent money to Bernard, the Archbishop of Spalato for the fight to free Zara from the Venetians (THOMAS SPALATENSIS p. 577, line 9) using money, that King Imre (Emery) deposited with them. This shows that the Templars in Aurana acted as a bank, but this also implies that the Templars were not involved in the IVth Crusade, which took Zara from the King of Hungary.

122 Segnia or Zengg with a county «Puschke» was in the Templars' possession until 1269, when they exchanged it for the castle and the county of Dubicza, a strategic castle on the river Una and close to the river Sava at the very centre of Medieval Croatia (PESTY pp. 50, 75).

This change follows the year 1265, the earliest date, when the Shroud might have been moved to Montpellier by the Templars. King Béla IV might have taken Segnia, the main port of Hungary from them because of this.

Macsó. In Dante's XXXIst canto of the Paradiso Saint Bernard, the spiritual father of the Knights Templar, remarks: «like one, that comes perhaps from Croatia, to see our Veronica, and whose old hunger is never satisfied, but says within himself, as long as it is shown: 'My Lord Jesus, very God, was this then your true semblance?'»[123]

These lines of Dante can be best understood, if we realize that the Templars must have removed the Shroud from the shores of the Adriatic,[124] because it was at Montpellier certainly before 1307, but perhaps already by 1270s. Therefore by 1317-1321, when Dante wrote the Paradiso, the Croats could not see the true Face on the Shroud anymore, as they became accustomed, while it was in Croatia for decades. Because of this their desire to see it became an old and unsatisfied hunger, which the various Veronica pictures could not really satisfy either. By consequence the above quoted lines of Dante indicate it indirectly that the Shroud was earlier in Croatia.

It seems to be highly relevant and corroborating our previous conclusions that apparently a fragment of the Shroud or a fragment belonging to the Shroud

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123 «[...] però ch' i'sono il suo fedel Bernardo.'
103 Qual è colui, che forse fi Croazia
viene a veder la Veronica nostra
che per l'antica fame non sen sazia
106 ma dice nel pensier, fin che si mostra:
'Signor mio Gesù Cristo, Dio verace,
or fu sì fatta la sembianza vostra?'»
Dante: Paradiso, Canto XXXI (DANTE p. 450).

124 One of the reasons that the Templars removed the Shroud from Hungary might have been the insecurity caused by the struggles for the Hungarian throne after the extinction of the main line of the Árpád dynasty in 1301. However the conditions were already disturbed under the rule of King Ladislaus IV the Cuman during the years 1272-1290, and the Anjous of Naples have disputed the right to the throne of his successor, Andrew III. These uncertainties in Hungary might have induced the Templars to move the Shroud to Montpellier.

It should also be noticed that a side-line of the Árpád dynasty used to live near Amiens in France, but by the time the question of the Hungarian succession developed, they apparently left the French territory and the branch known as the Crouy family moved near to Savoy (see WERTNER 1914, pp. 26-42, 55-62, 109-127; cf.: NAGY pp. 49-54). They might have been easily established there and supported in their efforts to succeed in the Hungarian succession by the very Templars, as it is most unlikely that the Templars could have supported the Angevin claims of the Capetings in Naples on the Hungarian throne, while their Capeting cousins in France embarked on the final destruction of their Order. Perhaps Philip le Beau has turned against the Templars, because they could not support his cousin's (Charles Robert's) succession in Hungary, as they knew that the male line of the Árpáds had not become extinct. It should be realized that the Temple kept one of the most important archives in Hungary, to which, for example, one of the originals of the 1222 Golden Bull, the Hungarian Magna Charta, had to be deposited.

actually remained in Dalmatia, because a small part of this was offered to King Sigismund by the Rector of Ragusa on the King's return from the battle of Nicopolis on the 26th of December 1396: «Sotto il 26 Dec. fu parte di dar al Re del pannicello in casu quo velit extoto in forma qua exponit Dominus Rector», according to the extracts from the minutes of the Ragusan Senat.[125]

It is remarkable that his record used the expression «pannicello», which is virtually the same term as used by the epitaph of the Duke of Macsó: «pannis» but in diminutive form, as indeed only small fractions of the Turin Shroud could have remained by 1396 in Dalmatia, although this «pannicello» in question might have been the remain of the ὀθόνια, by which the Shroud was bandaged according to Jn 19_{40} and Jn 20_{7} and which also appear on Cardinal Bessarion's Reliquiary in Venice.

It is at least just as remarkable that there seems to have been only one known «Imago pietatis» representing the entire body of Christ covered with bloody scourging-wounds[126] just as on the Turin Shroud. Moreover it was painted in Trau (see picutre 14) according to art historians, therefore precisely in the place, where William de Saint Omer, the Duke of Macsó was buried, and this painting has been preserved in Curzola (Korcula) on the eponymous Dalmatian island ever since.[127] It should be realized that the representation of the scourging marks on Christ's body are exceptional, that they are missing from virtually all the pictures of the crucifixion and even from Michelangelo's Pietas.

It is perhaps even more astonishing that on the painting in Curzola in question the sixteen donors worshipping the King of Glory, who very significantly appears just as long-nosed as the Image on the Turin Shroud, are all dressed in the white hooded habit of the Templars[128] marked with the red cross known from the Templars' authentic seals,[129] and from the crosses worn by the Templars, as it

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125 ENGEL p. 229

126 There is no sign of the scourging marks on the «Imago pietatis» representations shown for example by WEITZMANN 1968 picture no. 48, 63, 167; or by PIGNATTI Tavolas III, V, VI, XIV, XVII, XX, XXI.

127 This «Imago pietatis» constituted the central panel of the Polyptych of all Saints' Church in Curzola (see PRIJATELJ pictures 17, 15).

This painting was painted by (Magistro) Blaxio pictori de Tragurio, therefore by Magister Blasius Georgii de Tragurio (the artist, who painted a flag for King Sigismund in 1419) in the years 1438-1439 in Trau according to GAMULIN 1971 pp. 137-138 No XIX (cf.: pp. 29, 137).

128 Saint Bernard «[...] thought of Hugues (de Payens)'s new brethren as military Cistercians. Significantly, brother-knights wore a white hooded habit in the cloister, like Cistercian choir monks, while lesser brethren wore brown, as did Cistercian lay brothers [...].» (SEWARD p. 22).

The form of the old Cistercian habit was well preserved on the paintings showing the vision of Saint Bernard by Filippino Lippi and by Perugino (see MURRAY on pp. 228-229.)

129 The Templars' seal in the Archives Nationales in Paris has been reproduced in NEUBECKER p. 66. The cross worn by the Templars can be seen on the frescoes of the Templars' chapel in Cressac

di N. S. La parte sequente fui poi di offrigli del detto panicello

was already shown above that the worship of the Imago pietatis was a peculiar devotion of the Templars. Therefore this painting in the Church of All Saints in Curzola demonstrates it most forcefully that the Templars' devotion to the Shroud of Christ remained very strong in Dalmatia, just as it has been observed by Dante.

List of pictures with supplementary explanations

1 a

1 b

1 c

2

3 a

3 c

3 b

3 f

(Charente) dating from circa 1170-1180 (see BOASE p. 85).

The fact, that the Templars' cross on their habit was red is mentioned by SEWARD p. 23, however the illustration given by him there was published by HELYOT in 1714-1721, four hundred years after the Templars have been abolished.

It should be noticed, however, that the cross of the Order of the Knights of Christ, in which from the Order of the Knights Templar survived in Portugal, is a slightly modified and embelished form of the Templars' cross, and it is also red, as it can be seen on the emblem of the Portugese airforce and on the coat-of-arms of the Brasilian Empire.

The donors of the Polyptych in Curzola were the members of the Confraternity of All Saints, which was established in 1301 (FORETIĆ p. 114), therefore years before the Templars were abolished.

(There is apparently no reproduction available of the Knight Templar portrayed at the top of the "Heraldic Window" in York Minster.)

3 d

3 e

3 g

4 a

4 b

5 a

5 b

5 c

6 b

6 a

6 c

7 a

7 b

7 d

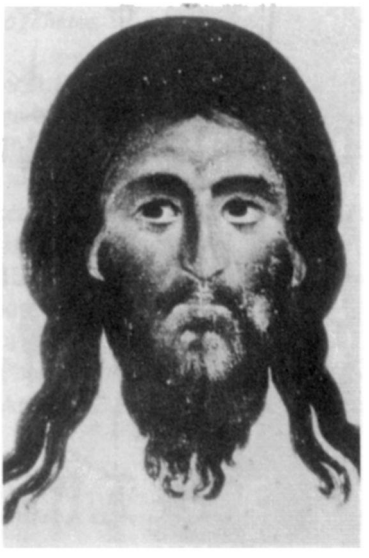
7 c

8 a

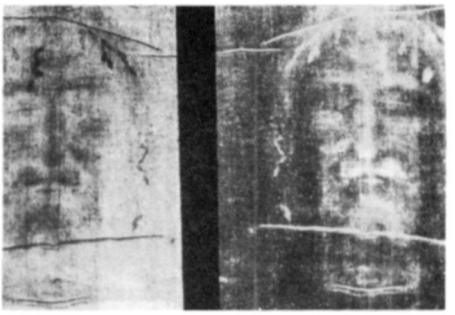
8 b

9

10



11



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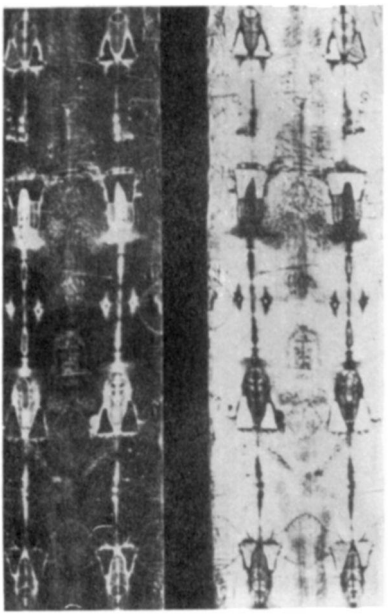

14

(Some pictures were unfortunately developed the wrong way. We desisted from correcting them, because of time shortage and because in this case only the proportions are relevant.)

Supplementary explanations

1a - 8b: The iconographic types of Christ's face on byzantine coins.

1. Before iconoclasm.

a - Solidus of Justinian II from his first reign, 692-695. See notes 5, 7, 9, 12a.

b - The same issue as it appears on the undamaged piece [0.8 : 1][130] (diameter of original 19 mm, see note 8).

c - Solidus of Justinian II from his second reign, 705 [1:1] (diameter of original 20 mm, see BRECKENRIDGE 1959, picture 38). The introduction of this Syrian type image indicates that Justinian and his court still tried to find the real image of Christ in the East and did not attribute overall importance to the image of Christ appearing on the coins of his first reign.

2. After the fall of the iconoclasm.

Solidus of Michael III from 856-867 [1.5:1]. The eyebrows rise, reaching the highest point at the nose, unlike the Turin Shroud. (Diameter of original 20 mm, see BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 1, Plate XXVIII 3.3 and note 9).

3. Under the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos in association with the Lakapenoi.

a - Solidus of Constantine VII in the years 914-931 showing Christ enthroned in the Chrysotriklinos (see GREGORY 1974, Plate XIX, 1. Its diameter is 21 mm according BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 2, Plate XXXVI, 2.2, p. 542).

b - Solidus of Leo VI, 908-919, on which the letters χρ formed by Christ's fingers can be better recognized then on the otherwise virtually identical representations (see BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 2, Plate XXXIV 2.3, its diameter is 21 mm according to p. 513. See notes 14, 16, 17).

c - Enlargement of Christ's head from the coin 3.a [0.8 : 1]. See note 12 - f.

d - Zeus head from Mylasia in Caria based on Pheidias proportions [0.9 : 1] (46 cm high. Now in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, E.L. Pierce Fund 04.12; see BRECKENRIDGE, 1959, picture 37).

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130 The proportions in squared brackets give the length of the nose as expressed in the distance of the eyes. See note 8.

e - Solidus of Constantine VII probably from 945, which seems to reflect exceptionally well the appearance of the Pheidian type head [0.9 : 1] (plaster cast made by the British Museum 21 mm; see WROTH 1908, Volume 2, Plate LIII, 14 and p. 465). This coin does not belong to this period, but it might show a better picture of Christ's head in the Chrysotriklinos, as it seems to originate from a highly accomplished period of Constantine Porphyrogenetos' coins in 945. It could have marked the enthronement of Constantine's son Romanos in the Chrysotriklinos in that year, if it is genuine. The photograph of the plaster cast, however, reveals Christ's thumb on the Gospel, following in this the Byzantine iconography of the Pantocrator properly, and on this account its authenticity cannot be rejected.

f - Solidus of Constantine VII in the years 931-944 (see GREGORY 1974, Plate XIX, 2. Its diameter is 21 mm according to BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 2, Plate XXXVI, 10.1, p. 549).

g - Enlargement of Christ's head from coin 3.f [1.02 : 1.00] (ibidem).

4. Under Constantine VII in 945 after the removal of the Lakapenoi.

This period is marked by the first appearence of the «Pantocrator» image on the Byzantine coins. The representation of the Pantocrator usually occupied the central dome of the later Byzantine churches, and on this type of representation only the upper part of Christ's body appears while his left hand holds the Gospel and his blessing right hand is approcimately at «8 o'clock position» just close to the circular frame of the picture. This change in the iconography just in 945 certainly reflects a renewed interest in the facial features of Christ's image, as it enlarges the face considerably in comparison with the enthroned representation of Christ shown on the earlier Macedonian coinage. Corresponding, however, to Constantine Porphyrogenetos' encyclopaedic and artistic interests, his coins show at least three different types in the representation of Christ within this short period. One seems to be closer to the proportions appearing on the coin 3.f. Different new types appear on the following coins (see also note 12):

a - Solidus of Constantine VII from 945, showing the Emmanuel type Christ (BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 2, Plate XXXVI, 13a.2, diameter 21 mm according to p. 551. See note 12-b).

b - Solidus of Constantine VII from 945 showing the first long-nosed type Christ on the Macedonian coins [1.3 : 1] (ibidem 13a.1, diameter 21 mm according to p. 551).

5. Under Constantine VII following the coronation of his son Romanos II (7th April 945)

a - Solidus of Constantine VII, 945-959, [1.3 : 1] (BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 2, Plate XXXVII, 15.9, diameter 20 mm. See notes 10, 12 - d, 12 - e, 34).

b - Solidus of Constantine VII, 945-959, [1.4 : 1] (ibidem, 15.23, diameter 19 mm. See note 12 - c).

c - Solidus of Constantine VII, 945-959, [1.27 : 1] (ibidem, 15.28, diameter 20 mm).

6. a - Ivory coronation plaque of Leo VI the Wise from 886 [1.18 : 1]. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Skulpturensammlung, 10 x 9,5 cm. See note 21.

b - Solidus of Leo VI from the years 886-908 [1.25-1.14 : 1] (see GREGORY 1974, Plate XX. 13. The diameter of the corresponding coin is 20 mm according to BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 2, p. 512. See note 20).

c - Votive crown of Leo VI [1 : 1]. Venice, Treasury of Saint Marc. The diameter of this enamel is 3.5 mm. See notes 22 and 25.

7. a - Solidus of Constantine VII from 945, [1.4 : 1] (BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 2, Plate XXXVI.13.1, diameter 21 mm according to p. 551. See note 25).

b - Detail of the mosaic above the central or royal entrance gate of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (Grabar, 1953, p. 92, the entire mosaic is 2.10 m high, and 4.70 m wide. See note 25).

c - Histamenon of Constantine VIII from 1025-1028 [1.1 : 1] (BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 2, Plate LVI.2.1, diameter 25 mm. See note 25).

d - Detail of the ivory coronation plaque in Moscow, probably Constantine VIII. (The picture of the entire plaque: TALBOT RICE 1959 picture 96. Its size is 18.6 x 9.5 cm. See note 25).

8. After the death of Constantine VII. The long-nosed Christ image disappeared from the known Byzantine coins in general.

a - Histamenon of Emperor Basil II from the years 1005-1025 showing the typical short-nosed Christ appearing on Byzantine coins in general after the death of Constantine Porphyrogenetos [0.7 : 1].

b - This histamenon of Basil II from the years 989-1001 in the Historical Museum in Heraklion in Crete (no. 2131), however, reflects the proportions of the Face on the Turin Shroud exceptionally well [1.4 : 1]. See note 40.

9. The Fresco in Thessalonica representing the King of Glory Βασιλεὺς τῆς δόζης.

10. The Holy Face of Laon [1.25 : 1], icon of 44 x 40 cm. Laon, Cathedral.

11. The Entombment of Christ in the Pray Codex (National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Magyar Nyelvemlékek [Monuments of the Hungarian Language]. No 1, folio XXVII^{verso} [1.4 : 1] identical with the Turin Shroud, just as the position of the hands and the absence of the loin cloth, what is unparallelled in

the previous Christian art. See notes 106-109.

12. *The Holy Face of the Turin Shroud.*

13. *The Turin Shroud.* See Appendix I.

14. *Imago pietatis showing the King of Glory*, 45 x 47 cm (incorporated into a polyptych of 173 x 165 cm), painted by «Magistro Blaxio pictore de Tragurio» also called Magister Blasius Georgii de Tragurio in 1438-1439. All Saints' Church in Curzola (Korčula). See notes 127-128.

Appendix I: Description of the Turin Shroud

The Turin Shroud is a 4.36 m x 1.10 m large sheet of linen[131] made of a single piece except for an 8-9 cm wide stripe, which runs alongside almost the entire left edge of the sheet.[132] The sheet contains the imprint of the body of a man, who was 178-181 cm high,[133] and who must have been buried in it after his death, as the marks on the sheet show that the same person was crucified by nailings into his hands and feet. The Shroud also reveals that the victim was previously heavily scourged, crowned with thorns and finally his chest perforated on the right between the fifth and the sixth ribs, but his legs were not broken.[134] Therefore the Turin Shroud closely mirrors Jesus' sufferings in the Gospels (Jn 20_{25}, Mt 27_{26-29}, Mk 15_{17}, Jn $19_{34(31-37)}$).

The sheet contains not only the frontal, but also the dorsal image of the victim, whose legs therefore appear twice on the Shroud, once on the front side and once on the rear side. On the dorsal image the scourgings are especially heavy. They cover virtually the entire body. The rear-side picture also indicates

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131 Gambaro p. 837.

According to Wilson p. 9 the Turin Shroud is 14 feet 3 inches long and 3 feet 7 inches wide, which would correspond to 4.34 m and to 1.09 m respectively.

132 According to Ian Wilson (ibidem) this stripe is 3 1/2 inches wide, which would correspond to 8.89 cm. However, calculating from the photographs appearing at his page 50, the size of this stripe is usually less than 8 cm.

133 According to Prof. Angiolo Gambaro p. 837 the man buried in the Shroud was 178 cm. According to Wilson p. 21 summarizing more recent medical research, he was 181 cm high (approximatively 5 feet 11 inches).

134 See photographs at page 50 in Wilson; cf.: his pp. 36-37.

that the victim wore a pigtail in a contemporary Jewish fashion,[135] as the Greek Orthodox priests in Greece continue this custom in imitation of Christ.

It is remarkable, that all these and other crucially important details are still distinguishable on the Turin Shroud, because the impact of a fire, which occured on the 4th of December 1532,[136] and which caused larger holes at eight places on the linen, where it was folded, has not destroyed the imprinted image, except at the edges of the shoulders. Meanwhile, the process by which the image was imprinted on the sheet has never been satisfactorily explained.

In this context it is very important that the provenance of the Shroud can be fully documented back to the 1350's, when it was first shown publicly at Lirey. At that time it was in the possession of Jeanne de Vergy, the widow of Geoffrey de Charny (I), as it can be demonstrated by a pilgrim's medallion found in the Seine at the Pont au Change and preserved in the Musée de Cluny.[137] This is highly relevant, because this necessarily predates the Shroud into a period, when anatomy was completely unknown, and it was only more than a hundred years later, that Leonardo da Vinci started anatomical investigations. Nonetheless, the Turin Shroud very clearly shows that the nails of the crucifixion were inserted into the wrists and not into the palms,[138] a fact that the entire Christian art has forgotten until it was realized by the anatomical investigations in the 1930's that the crucifixion by nailing cannot be carried out otherwise, because the flesh of the palms would tear, as it is not strong enough to carry the weight of the body.[139]

After Constantine the Great abolished the penalty of crucifixion, this crucial anatomical detail was completely forgotten, as it is demonstrated by fifteen centuries of European painting and sculpture. Therefore, the correctness of this anatomical detail, as indeed the anatomical consistency of the entire imprinted image of the Turin Shroud, with all its anatomical details demonstrates that it could not have been forged by an artist before the development of anatomy following the renaissance. It is also remarkable that unlike other man-made

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135 Ibidem and also pp. 32, 199. It should be mentioned that Christ wears similar hair-style just on the Anastasis mosaic in Chios where his face is turned at about 45° making the rear-side of his head appear partially. It is remarkable, that the mosaics of Chios were executed by imperial patronage under the reign of Emperor Constantine Monomachos, therefore after a sufficiently long period, while the Edessa Mandylion was already in Constantinople and its representation could have been studied there in detail.

136 Ibidem, p. 191.

137 Ibidem, p. 168, pictures after p. 146. This pilgrim's medallion shows both the frontal and the dorsal image as imprinted on the Shroud and in this way it identifies it unquestionably. Furthermore, it also displays the coats-of-arms of both, Jean de Vergy and her husband, Geoffrey de Charny. The significance of these representations on the medallion was not recognized for many decades after it was found in the Seine.

138 Ibidem, pictures before p. 51.

139 Ibidem, pp. 26-27, 34-36.

pictures including photographs, the image imprinted on the Shroud produces a consistent three dimensional portrait if processed properly through a computer.[140] It should also be mentioned, that Dr. Max Fei, a Swiss criminologist has found Palestinian and Anatolian pollens in significant numbers in the dust samples taken from the Turin Shroud on the 4th October 1974.[141] These Palestinian and Anatolian pollens could not have been on the Shroud, if it was forged in France in the XIVth Century, and they necessarily indicate the places where the Shroud was before it was taken to France.

In October 1980 Peter Freeland, a Fellow of the Institute of Biology has observed that the victim buried into the Turin Shroud was circumcised,[142] as indeed it was recorded in the Gospel, that Jesus was circumcised according to the custom of the Jews (Lc 2_{11}). This again excludes the possibility that it could have been made in the Middle Ages, when it was unconceivable to make such representations in the portrayal of Christ.[143] It has to be added that this fact can be observed only on the photographic negatives of the Shroud, as it cannot be really distinguished on the Shroud itself. This again demonstrates that it could not have been designed intentionally by an artist, because previous to the second half of the XIXth Century no one could envisage and calculate the invention of photography and even less the various steps or stages required by the photographic procedure.

Because of the same reasons and, as a matter of fact, for all the previous centuries until Secundo Pia had photographed the Turin Shroud for the first time on the 25th of May 1898, it was not realized that the image imprinted into the Shroud in fact corresponds to a photographic negative,[144] and it is the photographic negative of this imprint on the Shroud showing a much more sublime face, which gives the much more real appearance of the person buried into the Shroud.

One of the main differences between these two versions of the image is that the face on the photographic negatives seems to be older than it appears on the Shroud itself. In this connection it should be remembered that Christ was born before King Herod the Great died in the spring of 4 B.C.[145] and according to Mt 2_2 the magi saw the star of the newborn King of the Jews around the time when Jesus was born. This seems to have happened in the year 7 B.C., when Saturn and

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140 Ibidem, pp. 198-199.

141 Ibidem, pp. 60-64.

142 FREELAND p. 1.

143 Even in late Antiquity such representations were very rare and very discreet as on the Baptism of Christ in the Arian Baptistry in Ravenna dated to the end of the Vth Century. (See VON MATT p. 47, picture 18. The same mosaic was dated to A.D. 520 by TALBOT RICE 1968, p. 155). After late Antiquity such representations seem to have completely disappeared.

144 WILSON p. 14. Apparently the best photographs of the Turin Shroud were taken by Commander Guiseppe Enrie in 1931. See ibidem, pp. 15, 49.

145 FINEGAN point 389; KEPPLERUS p. 80.

Jupiter were in conjunction and appeared as a single star in the sign of Pisces on three occasions: in May, on the 15th of September and on the 4th of December. Furthermore, for the entire period between the end of April and the end of December in that year these two planets remained in close proximity of less than 3°, in fact, with the exception of July and August, they stayed within the range of 2°, and always in the constellation of Pisces.[146] Apparently Saturn was considered to have been the protector of the Jews, Jupiter the star of the kings and the Pisces the sign of Palestine.[147] In any case the messianic prophecy of Balaam foretold the appearance of a star (Num 24_{17}), and in Kapharnaum, where Jesus taught, the ancient synagogue has been decorated by a five and by a six pointed star. Furthermore, in antiquity the center of several Palestinian synagogues was decorated with the mosaic of the zodiac.[148]

The date of 7 B.C. as the year of Christ's birth is also implied by the census ordered by the governor of Syria and mentioned by Saint Luke in connection with the nativity of Jesus (Lc 2_{1-3}), because this census was actually ordered by Sentius Saturnius, who was the governor of Syria in the years 9-6 B.C.[149]

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146 TUCKERMAN p. 330.

147 See PRENTICE p. 1. According to KEPPLERUS p. 135 the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn signified a new Era.

148 SHANKS p. 68, 67, 61. The latest rebuilding of the synagogue in Kapharnaum is variously dated from the IInd to the Vth Century (ibidem, p. 70-72), however, the stars must reflect much older tradition as some of them are in completely different styles. Zodiacs were found in the synagogues of Beth Alpha, Hammath Tiberias, Na'aran and in two more places (ibidem, pp. 112-114, 125-130, 149). Therefore, they represent a tradition, which could be explained only by Balaam's messianic prophecy (Num 24_{17}), even if these mosaics have been rightly dated to the IVth-Vth Century.

149 «Sed et census constat actos sub Augusto nunc in Judaea per Sentium Saturninum, apud quos genus eius inquirere potuisset», TERTULLIANUS p. 362. In the footnotes on p. 363 Evans has marked, that Sentius Saturninus was the legat of Syria in the years 9-6 B.C.

Meanwhile Saturninus has not been mentioned anywhere in the Bible, therefore Tertullian must have learned about his census from other sources. Publius Sulpicius Quirinius mentioned by Lc 2_2 did not become the governor of Syria before 6 A.D. according to Iosephus Flavius, nonetheless he was in the region fighting the Homonachensi of Cilicia in the years 9-6. B.C. (cf.: TACITUS III. 48; STRABO XIII. 6,3)

Though it would be possible to think that the star mentioned by Mt 2_2 was the appearance of Halley's comet in 11 B.C. (see SCHOVE p. 132; PINGRÉ pp. 280-281),

but the Roman census was taken at fourteen years' intervals (see BARCLAY p. 20)

because of this the appearance of Halley's comet could not have been associated with a census taking in Syria, as it should not have started until 9 B.C. By consequence it could not have indicated the birth of Christ, which was connected with a census taking.

Furthermore, the appearance of Halley's comet could have been noticed by anyone because of its magnificent large tail, as indeed it was noticed and recorded both in Rome and in China. However, according to Mt 2_7 and Mt 2_{16}, Herodes had to inquire the time of the appearance of the

Finally the 2000-year-old records of the Babylonian observatory of Sippar deciphered by P. Schnabel in 1925 show that the three conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter in the sign of Pisces were forecast for the year 7 B.C. and they also reveal that they were considered of considerable consequence in the Near East at that time.[150] In the meantime the comparison of Lc 23_{45}, Jn 19_{31} and Act 2_{20} seems to indicate that there was an eclipse of the Moon on the day Christ died, and the only lunar eclipse visible during Passover in Jerusalem while Pontius Pilate was the governor of Judea occured on the 3rd of April 33 A.D.[151] According to Dr. Richard Stephenson's calculations, it became visible at (approximately) 6.20 p.m. in Jerusalem, while about one fifth of the Moon's disc «turned into blood» in the words used by Act 2_{20} as the result of the Earth's shadow, lasting for half an hour.[152]

These considerations imply that Jesus Christ was 40 years old, when he died[153] and this could be reconciled with the reversed image of the Turin Shroud as appearing on the photographic negative, taking into considertion the enormous and inhuman sufferings on the cross and that the Shroud itself is not a photograph, however extraordinary the imprint on the sheet is. In fact, the impression that the Face on the reversed image might seem to be older is mainly caused by the hair and the beard, which on a negative is bound to appear in white, creating an illusion of old age.[154]

The above considerations would also imply that the Turin Shroud ought to be dated at 33 A.D. This dating should be confirmed by radio carbon dating, which could not have been carried out earlier, because it would have required the

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star of Bethlehem from the magi, which clearly demonstrates that it could not have been Halley's comet noticed by anybody, but only «a» star, which could be observed only by star watchers, astronomers who in those days did not differ from astrologers.

150 FINEGAN point 389.

151 OPPOLZER p. 344.

152 See STEPHENSON p. 4.

153 The above chronology could be reconciled with Lc 3_1 and 3_{23} according to which Christ was approximatively «quasi» thirty years old in the fifteenth year of Emperor Tiberius, assuming that Saint Luke has not counted these years from the death of Augustus, but from the time Tiberius became joint emperor, because in 26 A.D. Christ was 33 years old accepting our calculations.

It is obvious from the context, that it was an ironic overstatement by the Jews, when they said to Jesus that «you are not yet fifty years old» (Jn 8_{57}). However, as it was already explained by Saint Ireneus, this question in itself shows that by that time (in his last year) Christ passed his fortieth birthday, because otherwise he would have been told «you are not yet forty years old» (IRENEUS II.XXII. 6; in fact according to St. Ireneus, Christ was well in his forties by that time, but that cannot be reconciled with Lc 3_1 and 3_{23}).

154 This also applies to the apparently computer-processed coloured picture, which appeared on the front-cover of the Radio Times issued for the week 7-13 April 1979, as the hair and the beard remained white on that picture as well.

destruction of too large portion of the Shroud. More recently newer methods of radio carbon dating requiring only minute samples have been developed, but their calibration is not yet sufficiently reliable.

Appendix II: Epitaph of William de Saint Omer, the Duke of Macsó[155]

Jacet sub lapide Nobilis Gulielmus
    Jacet heros inclitus operit quem tellus
Nepos Belle tertij Regis Vngarorum
    Margarite genitus Domine Grecorum
Dicti Regis filie Grecis Dominatrix,
    Constantinopoleos sceptris Imperatrix
Arcente denique Barbaro perverso
    Infinitis Tartaris Marte sub aduerso
Quartam Bellam prosequens eivs Consobrinum
    Ad mare pervenerat usque Dalmatinum
Vbi ad comercia vite celsioris
    Mortis solvit debitum Iussu Creatoris
Anni Christi fluxerant Millecum ducentis
    Quadraginta duo plus computo legentis
Aprilis vigesima die iam transacta
    Qua Gulielmi spiritus reddidit ad astra
Heu accedit inclita Sposa Margarita
    Sanctum gerens spiritum Moribus et vita
Nam cuncta que moriens ita Vir legauit
    Dispergens pauperibus prorsus erogauit
Qualia Ecclesie tulit ornamenta
    Ex Imperialibus pannis vestimenta
Patent intuentibus lucem et supernam
    Eius postulent requiem eternam

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Eugene Csocsán de Várallja:

THE HUNGARIAN MONARCHY AND THE EUROPEAN RENAISSANCE.

(Summary)

Chapter **I**. ***The Statues of Buda Castle and the Fore Wind of the Renaissance.***

Between 16th February and 1st June in 1974 László Zolnay has found approximately 55 statue fragments in the precinct of the royal castle of Buda in the immediate neighbourhood of so called „Fresh Palace" built by King Emperor Sigismund. 22 metres from the place at which the mentioned fragments were found a fragment of Sigismund's crest decorated by (golden) lime tree leaves[1] was discovered from the same limestone. The limestone of these statues was quarried at Budafok, (at that time called Promontor,) 9 km South of the Royal Castle of Buda and not far from the Danube on which the stones could be easily transported. The traces of burning and soot on these fragments and the fact that originally they were scattered at least 22 meters apart must show, that these statues were broken at the explosion of the Fresh Palace on the 19th May 1578, when thunder-clap ignited the gunpowder kept in the Fresh Palace by the Turks.[2]

One of the larger fragments with more or less intact face was termed „***knight, eyes painted, with capuccio*** (that is with hooded hat)[3]" by László Zolnay. It has not been recognised however so far, that the features of this person are identical with portrait of Sigismund is attributed to Pisanello in the Catalogue of Kunsthistorische Museum in Vienna.[4] The statue shows, that Sigismund „had a fortunate appearance…beautiful body, which augustly mirrored his majesty…nature could not enhance his good looks…"[5] exactly as he was characterised by Bonfini, whose quoted description might be based just on this statue. Sigismund's already mentioned crest belonging to the same statuary confirms this statue's identification, just as the location of the find at the place of the Fresh Palace built by Sigismund. This representation of Sigismund displays an extremely slight and fine smile, which is perhaps not more, than his soul's presence in the likeness, which compared with the

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[1] Zolnay László, Marosi Ernő: A budavári szoborlelet, Budapest 1989, picture 78 after page 80.
This fragment is preserved in the Budapest Historical Museum, but it has no inventory number.
[2] Balogh Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Budapest 1966. Volume I., page 49.
[3] Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 75-1-51.
[4] inventory number 2630, parchment on wood, 64 cm x 49 cm circa 1433. See: Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien: Führer durch die Sammlungen, Vienna 1988, page 236.
[5] Antonii Bonfini Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades, edited by I. Fogel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász in the series: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum", Tomus III. Leipzig,1936, page 73.

archaic smile of Sigismund's father in the cathedral of Prague, shows the difference caused by the arrival of the early quattrocento at Buda, just as the ***happy smiling angel's face.***[6]

The historian Gyula Schönherr knew, that „on the famous altarpiece of Cologne on the right of the Virgin Sigismund impersonates the first of the three kings. He just, as his court, is represented in the court dress of their time on this painting."[7] The fact, that King Sigismund impersonated the king whose peculiar fur cup is kept by one of his courtier on the Cologne altarpiece has been emphasised by the great Hungarian art historian, Lajos Vayer too.[8] This observation is significant, because the features of person keepings the bejewelled headgear of Sigismund correspond to head found at the royal castle of Buda and named ***„shouting male's head"*** [9]by László Zolnay. This person could be only Sigismund's right hand man, and brother-in-law: Nicholas de Gara de genere Dorozsma, the Palatine of Hungary because of his role on the Cologne altarpiece. The features of the person on Nicholas de Gara's right are mirrored by the head found at Buda and termed as ***„archaic head II"*** [10]by László Zolnay . The place occupied by him on the Cologne altarpiece next to Nicholas de Gara and the monarch just as his age reveals, that he is the father-in-law of both the King/Emperor as well as of the Palatine of Hungary, and therefore he is Hermann de Cilly, the Banus of Slavonia at the time.

In the years 1425-27 Masolino painted in Hungary,[11] and later he created a fresco for Branda Cardinal Castiglione in Castiglione Olona, showing a younger gentleman with characteristic moustache. The youngest king on the Cologne altarpiece has identical features with the same moustache, who is identified by John de Hunyad's representation on folio 132^{recto} of the of Johannes de Thwrocz's Chronicle printed in Bruno in 1488, which also identifies him with Zolnay's ***„I.Heroic head*** (of a man)***"***[12]. It has been recognised already earlier by János Eisler that the statue designated ***„knightly figure in a coat of arm with dress-belt"***[13]by Zolnay in fact represents Albert von Habsburg, the son-in-law of Sigismund (and later King of Hungary). It should be added, that he seems to be dressed in the chivalric dress of the Order of the Dragon, Sigismund's chivalric order. It is surprising however that his features resemble very closely on a photograph King Charles IV's son, Otto made when he was around forty.

It has been recognised by László Zolnay, that the head of a ***„Charming maid"***,[14] which might have never been hidden in the earth, but found apparently in the neighbourhood of the Chapel in the Royal Castle, also belongs to the same statuary. It was explained by Lajos Vayer that on his frescoes in the Sacrament Chapel of San Clemente in Rome, Masolino has repeatedly represented Emperor Sigismund.[15] On the same frescoes Masolino has also depicted the „Charming Maid" both en face[16] and en profile.[17] This could mean only that she was Sigismund's daughter Elisabeth of Luxemburg, while she was a girl, when the these frescoes were painted.

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[6] Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 75-1-49; height 14 cm.
[7] Pór Antal és Schönherr Gyula: Az Anjou ház és örökösei, in: Szilágyi Sándor: A magyar nemzet története, Volume III, Budapest 1895, pages 585. and 663.
[8] Vayer Lajos: Masolino és Róma, Budapest 1962, pages 154, 156 and black and white picture 188; cf. : page 148.
[9] Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 75-1-45.
[10] Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 75-1-41.
[11] Luciano Berti (introduced by Paolo Volponi): L'opera completa di Masaccio, Milan 1968, page 83.
[12] Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 75-1-55.
[13] Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 75-1-22.
[14] Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 51.325.
[15] Vayer, op. cit., pages 119, 132, 138.
[16] Vayer, op. cit., coloured picture between page 176 and 177; black and white picture 24
[17] Vayer, op.cit., coloured picture between pages 208 and 209.black and white picture 21.

The young optimist looking person wearing felt hat[18] is identified as King Sigismund's young Treasurer-in-Chief by folio 103 in the Matthias Gradual.[19] Therefore he can be only Michael Ország de Gwth from the clan Gut-Keled.

Finally it ought to be pointed out, that the face and even the melancholy countenance of the ***bishop***[20] among the statues of Buda castle resembles the face and melancholy countenance of a figure named ***"Knight with capuccio"*** [21]by Zolnay[22] in the same statuary. This seems to show, that the bishop was George de Pálócz, the Primate of Hungary, while the other statue shows the features of his brother, Mathew de Pálócz, the Chief Judge of the country (országbíró in Hungarian). Zolnay's ***„II. Heroic head"***[23] corresponds to Philippo Scholari (or Pipo de Ozora)'s head-structure and goatee beard on his portraits by Andrea del Castagno[24] and by Cristofano dell'Altissimo in the Uffizi.[25] His identity seems to be strengthened by Ernő Marosi's observation, that this head was paired[26] by the representation of Nicholas de Gara mentioned above, Sigismund other right hand man.
The appearance of Albert von Habsburg among the statues of Buda dates them after 1421, while the representation of Philippo Scholari among them places them before 1426.

Chapter **II.** ***Ianus Pannonius and the Fine Arts of the Renaissance***

a) The representations of Ianus Pannonius and Mantegna.

On the title page of the ***Plautus corvina*** in Vienna[27] the portait of Johannes Vitéz de Zredna is identified by his coat-of-arms. It was recognized by Vilmos Fraknói that fair haired and long necked youth offering this codex to Bishop Vitéz is in fact his nephew Ianus Pannonius. It is the merit of Jolán Balogh, that she always and consistently maintained this identification through her long carrier. The same identification is confirmed by the remark of Johannes Zsámboki (Sambucus), that Ianus had a long neck, and by Ianus Pannonius himself describing in his 20th elegy titled „Valedicit Musis", that he was fair haired.

The features of Ianus Pannonius on the Plautus corvina help to identify him on Mantegna's paintings. According to Ianus 1st elegy titled „Laus Andrea Mantegnae, Pictoris

[18] Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 75-1-51.
[19] National Széchenyi Library, OSZK Clmae 414, folio 103recto.
[20] Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 75-1-16.
[21] Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number75-1-51.
[22] Zolnay László, Szakál Ernő: A budavári szoborlelet, Budapest 1976, picture 43.
[23] Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 75-1-44
[24] Vayer, op.cit., black and white picture 117.
[25] Vayer, op.cit., black and white picture 123.
[26] Zolnay László, Marosi Ernő: A budavári szoborlelet, Budapest 1989, page 150, „45. Férfifej, megkötött kendővel".

[27] Österreichische National Bibliothek ŐNB, Cod. Lat. 111.

Patavini A MCCCLVIII" Mantegna has painted a picture inspired by Appeles, on which Ianus, and his friend, Galeotto Marzio appear, like Alexander the Great and his friend and they might get into each other's chest: alter in alterius possit esse in sinu. This text shows, that this representation must have been a diptych at least with two wings, because only this could provide an opportunity for them to get into each other's chest. Otherwise they were either already painted in such a way that they were already there, and could not get there, or they could not get into such a position in any way.

For the time being the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and the Academy in Venice each preserve a Mantegna painting of the same size. The painting in Venice shows ***Saint George,***[28] the one in Vienna ***Saint Sebastian,***[29] who both used to be soldiers as Alexander the Great in his friend, and both these paintings display that kind of perspective, which could be found on Appeles' painting in the Artemis' temple in Ephesus, on which the thunder appeared to strike out of the picture, just as Saint George's lance and the dragon's head in the painting in Venice, and the arrows from Saint Sebastian's body on the mentioned painting in Vienna. Moreover the structure of head as well as features of Saint Sebastian correspond to Galeotto on his medallion for example in the Hungarian National Museum,[30] just as in the Missal of Johannes Vitéz the younger.[31] The various townscapes from Verona in the background of this painting also refer to Galeotto, as Ianus and Galeotto studied in the Verona school of Guarino. Meanwhile the structure Saint George's head as well as his features of on the painting in Venice corresponds to Ianus Pannonius on the Plautrus corvina in Vienna. It cannot by hazard, that Paul Kristeller saw the incarnation of the renaissance in the youth represented in Saint George on Mantegna's masterwork. It must be added, that the frame and the garland painted by Mantegna aboveSaint George places it in time close to the San Zeno altarpiece in Verona painted in 1457-59, and according to Ianus Pannonius' title the painting on which he himself appeared was made just in 1458! It has been explained by Tibor Kardos already many years ago, that Mantegna's painting mentioned in Ianus' elegy must have been painted in two copies according to the customs prevailing at that time.The painted frame and the garland on the painting of Saint George shows, that it was made for a different version, than the picture in Vienna, on which these details are missing.

It has been recorded by Giorgio Vasari that in the ***Ovetari Chapel*** of the Eremitani Church in Padua Mantegna has included the figure of a certain Hungarian bishop in the composition.[32] There seems to be an agreement among the researchers in general, that this bishop was in fact Ianus Pannonius. Fortunately that part of the frescoes of the Ovetari Chapel, which is in question and painted in 1451, survived the air raid of the IInd World War, as it was removed for restoration at the time. Jolán Balogh thought, that Ianus appeared as dark haired youth wearing trousers with white and red legs. These trousers however show, that this person is a member of the Gonzaga family, the ruling dynasty of Mantua, as this is clear from Mantegna's frescoes in the Camera degli Sponsi there. In addition the dark hair of the figure in the Ovetari Chapel excludes, that he could be the fair-haired Ianus Pannonius. Meanwhile three persons appear in a window on the best conserved upper part of the composition, and the fair haired head among them might be identified with Ianus Pannonius, while the other is obviously Galetto Marzio, his best friend from their school in Verona, while the profile of the third person is unmistakably shows the steep forehead of their schoolmaster, the famous humanist Guarino of Verona. Their mutual appearance in the same window

[28] Venice, Academia, inventory number 98,"Tavola" 66 x 32 cm.
[29] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inventory number 301; wood68 cm x 30 cm.
[30] inventory number Münzsammlung 1/33-4.
[31] Vatican Library, Ottobon 501.
[32] "He also portrayed the knight Borromeo and a certain Hungarian bishop.)he bishop was a mad eccentric who used to wander about the streets of Rome begging all day, and lie down to sleep like an animal at night. .
Giorgio Vasari : The Lives of the Artist, translated by George Bull, Ha mmondsworth 1965, 1975, page 243.

reinforces their identification. Ianus has immortalised the memory, learning and achievements of Guarino in one of his best panegyrics, in which he also mentions Galeotto Marzio and states, that he was born where the river Drava flows into the Danube: Danubio mixturus nomen et undas (lines 486-488). This place was the town Drazad according Ianus' relation, Primate Nicholas Oláh.[33] Drazad is clearly marked on the map of Lazarus in the corresponding „Baranya triangle". Therefore Ianus was justly called Pannonius writing about the Pannonian almond-tree.

The manuscript ***Codex Barberini 4423*** in the Vatican Library has preserved a drawing of Mantegna's painting representing King Matthias Corvinus mounted and striking his sword during the Hungarian coronation ceremony on the 29th March 1464. This panting used to be on the main square of Rome called Campo dei Fiori, where Via del Pellegrino reached it. On this fresco Mantegna painted the two tablets in the blue sky, which seem to have been painted in gold like the one, also with Latin inscription on the walls of the Camera degli Sposi in Mantua. It has not been recognised so far, that the inscriptions, which used to be in Rome, are in fact written in the elegant distiches by Ianus Pannonius. He was sent as an envoy by King Matthias Corvinus to Pope Paul IInd in order to obtain the charter of the University of Pozsony (Universitas Istropolitana) in 1465. It is the most likely, that Mantegna was commissioned by his friend Ianus Pannonius to paint this fresco, which seems to have been painted it in the first part of 1468, when Mantegna's whereabouts was unknown so far. Namely Mantegna must have been impressed by the various classical townscapes of Rome, which appear on the walls of the Camera degli Sponsi painted immediately afterwards, and also because in addition to the golden table with Latin inscription, apparently King Matthias' white horse as well reappears in Mantua, where it was recorded expressly, that the white horse on the fresco was a Hungarian horse.[34]

b) Ianus Pannonius and the works of art made for King Matthias Corvinus.

The two reliefs on the tomb of John de Hunyad in Gyulafehérvár have been dated to 1464-66 by Jolán Balogh during her entire distinguished carrier, even in the catalogue of the exhibition organized in Schallaburg in 1982,[35] as well as in her work published in 1485.[36] Nonetheless Mrs. Ritoók née Ágnes Szalay should like to place the construction of this tomb into 1533 on the base of an inscription preserved in a sketchbook of Verantius or Antal Verancsics de Sebenigo.[37] It has not been realised by her, that the armour with reinforced breastplate in the form of more or less inverted „V" ending pointedly around the middle of the chest worn at least by two warriors at the right end of the battle scene among these reliefs was used in the period of the time of King Matthias Corvinus. This can be seen for example on the picture of his father John de Hunyad in the Chronicle of John de Thwrocz published in 1488 in Bruno, or on the Bautzen monument of King Matthias. This type of reinforced breastplate

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[33] Iani Pannonii Poëmata, pars prima; Iani Pannonii opusculorum pars altera. Traiecti ad Rhenum 1784, ed. Count Samuel Teleki, Volume II,pages 153-154, footnote 3..: Tóth, István: Janus Pannonius genealógiája in: Kardos, Tibor, V. Kovács Sándor:Janus Pannonius tanulmányok, Pécs 1975, page 67.

[34] Ronald Lightbrown: Mantegna, Oxford 1986, page 415, no 20.
Luigi Coletti)and ettore Camasca)La Camera degli Sposi del Mantegna a Mantua, Milan 1959, page 56.

[35] Dr. Johannes Gründler et alii: Schallaburg'82, Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn, catalogue of exhibition 8th May-1st November 1982, pages 166-167 no 53.

[36] Balogh, Jolán: Mátyás király és a művészet, Budapest 1985, pages 213-216.

[37] Ritoókné Szalay Ágnes:Hunyadi János (+ 1456) gyulafehérvéri síremlékének domborművei in: Jávor Anna et aliiÉ Történelen-kép, Budapest 2000, pages 297-299 no IV-16.

seems to have been used even on the Castelfranco altarpiece by Giorgione around 1505,[38] but it went out of use already when the same warrior saint was copied on a small painting now in the National Gallery in London.[39] *It was completely obsolete by 1533*,[40] as it is obvious
1)from the armours represented on Albrecht Dürer de Aytós paintings from 1502-1504[41]
2) and on his woodcuts from 1512-1518,[42]
3) from the funeral monument of Gaston de Foix by Bambaia made in the years 1515-1521,[43]
4) from the armours of King Henry VIIIth from 1512[44] and 1515,[45]
5) from the armour believed to be that of Kunz Schott von Helligen Burggraf von Rothenberg, made in Nuremberg around 1500,[46]
6) from the armour of Elector Otto Heinrich, Count Palatine on the Rhine around 1520,[47]
7) or from Carpaccio's Knight in a Landscape from around 1520[48]
8) from the armour of Johann Friedrich, Elector of Saxony dated 1530,[49]
9) or from the armour formerly said to be of King Louis IInd from his childhood, but which is dated now exactly from 1533 as made for the Krakow court of King Sigismund by Jörg Seusenhofer in Innsbruck by the Hungarian National Museum.[50] King Sigismund however was first the brother-in-law, and later the father-in-law of King John de Szapolya, who must have known the current fashion in Krakow. Therefore these reliefs on the tomb of John de Hunyad with the completely out-of-date armours in the time of King John de Szapolya could not be dated from his period.

Moreover these reliefs in question *lack completely the depth of the third dimension* used in the reliefsof the in the time of the dynasty de Szapolya shown by the tomb of John Sigismund and the tomb of Queen Isabel, but which appeared already on the fragment of Nagyvázsony from around 1500, as well as on the cavalry combat in the Augsburg edition of John de Thwroc in 1488, and on the „Marti fautori" medallion from 1485. As a matter of fact the primitive representation of the third dimension on the tomb of John de Hunyad resembles rather the entrance relief the of Pilgrimage Church in Mariazell made in the earlier part of the XVth Century still lacking any influence of the renaissance. Therefore it is completely unbelievable, that the side reliefs of John de Hunyad's tomb could have been made after King Matthias' death in 1490 and they must date before medallion „Marti Fautori" made around 1485.

The date of 1533 found by Verantius obviously could not have been on the panels with the reliefs on side of the tomb, as they date from a different period with out-of-date armour, moreover with completely out of date lack of third dimension, and for the simple reason that

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[38] Stefano Yuffi: Giorgione, Milan 1991, page 34.
[39] 39 cm x 27 cm, showing a knight in shining armour, also known as San Liberale in the National Gallery in London. (Inventory number NG 269).
[40] Claud Blair: European Armour, London 1958, pages 218-223.
[41] Saint George from 1502-1504 and Saint Eustach from 1504 on the Paumgartner Altarpiece now in Munich. See Angela Ottino Della Chiesa introduced by Giorgio Zampa: L'opera completa di Dürer, Milan 1968, page 102 pictures XXIIA, XXIIB and XXVI.
[42] See „Friedrich der 3° der Andechtig" Dr Willy Kurt: The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer, New York 1963, Picture 280, the woodcut originates from years 1512-1518 see page 33-34.
„ Austrian Saints" op. cit., picture 293; this woodcut originates 1517, see pages 34-35.
[43] John Pope-Hennessy: Italian Renaissance Sculpture, Oxford, 1986, page 327,picture 119 before page 243
[44] Armours of Henry VIII, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, Crown copyright 1977,
London 1977, „ISBN 0 11670447 0" [Dd 289388 k200 11/ 77], pages 6-7.
[45] op. cit., pages 10-11
[46] Claud Blair: European Armour, London 1958, picture 39 after page120.
[47] Vesey Norman: Arms and Armour, London 1964, 1967, page 59.
[48] Vesey Norman: Arms and Armour, London 1964, 1967, page 58.
[49] Claud Blair: European Armour, London 1958, picture 40 after page120.
[50] Kovács Tibor (ed.): A Magyar Nemzeti Muzeum történeti kiállításának vezetője, 2 XI-XVII. század, Budapest 1996, page 50, picture 42.

length of the reliefs on the sides do not match the length of the upper side with the later effigy.

These considerations are important, because the Epitaph of John de Hunyad written by Ianus Pannonius (poem n° 267) gives the key to understand the composition of these two relievers. Namely in this Epitaph Ianus expressly mentions triumphal procession, and the procession appearing in one of these reliefs corresponds precisely to ***the triumphal procession held in Buda on the 2nd February 1444***[51] as described by Bonfini.[52] The same Epitaph by Ianus also celebrates ***John de Hunyad's victory over Mehmed the Conqueror at Nándorfehérvár or Belgrade in 1456***. This corresponds to the other relief, as one of the riders carrying the standard did not mount his charger but sits on its side. This person can be only Saint John Capistrano a central figure of the defence of Nándorfehérvár, later known as Belgrade in 1456. Moreover the commandant-in-chief on right end of this relief (seen from our side) has a very long ostrich feather crest just like John de Hunyad in the Augsburg edition of John de Thwrocz's Chronicle, and even the comet, which appeared during the siege in 1456 seems to have been marked on the composition.

The ***woodcuts of four battle scenes*** return several times in the just mentioned Augsburg edition of John de Thwrocz's Chronicle. One of these woodcuts appears already at the history of the Huns, but the enemy fighting the Hungarian flag on this picture undisputedly carries the red flag of Moldova charged with golden bull's head. Moldova however was established only in 1359, therefore this woodcut in question cannot illustrate the story of the Huns, about which the text speaks at this point. Ianus Pannonius' poem however mentions, that the Moldavian flags gained in the battle of Moldvabánya (Baia in Moldavia) in 1467 were hanged in the Virgin's Church in Buda in his epigram titled „De signis, quae Moldavis erepta in templo Beatae Mariae Virginis Budae suspendebatur" (n° 370)

The fact that the woodcut in question represents this ***battle of Moldvabánya*** becomes clear from a description by a schoolmate of Ianus named Ludovicus Carbo. Carbo states, that in the royal palace in Buda a painting showed as the Count of the Széklers, John de Darócz got a bad wound on his face in the mentioned battle of Moldvabánya. Therefore he joined the fiercest battle, after which he was found dead. It cannot be by chance, that just in the middle of the woodcut in question showing the enemy's flag of Moldova appears a single fallen Hungarian warrior with bad cut on his left face. The second type of woodcuts in the Augsburg edition of John de Thwrocz seem to be connected with the same incident, because in that fight of foot soldiers a warrior gets a wound exactly on his face, therefore it obviously shows ***the wounding of John de Darócz*** on the 15th December 1467.

It can be observed, that always the Hungarians appear on the left side of all the woodcuts in the Augsburg edition of John de Thwrocz as in heraldry it is in fact the right side. On the third of these battle-scenes on this „Hungarian" side the main figure is wounded by a lance at his right armpits, but an other knight in armour defends him against attack by sword while an archer prepares to shoot his arrow. As the fair haired head of the main figure of the composition is identical with King Matthias Corvinus in the same edition, this woodcut as well represents the same battle of Moldvabánya, but at a different stage, when ***King Matthias was wounded*** by a lance at his arm, while he was defended against sword attacks by Nicholas

[51] Fraknói Vilmos: A Hunyadiak és a Jagellók kora (1440-1526) in: Szilágyi Sándor (ed.): A magyar nemzet története, Volume IV. Budapet 1896, page 36.

[52] Antonii Bonfini Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades, edited by I. Fogel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász in the series: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum", Decadis III. Liber VI. 65-67., Tomus III. Leipzig 1936, page 137.

Bánffy de Alsólendva of the clan Buzad-Hahót,[53] and according to Bonfini he was wounded by an arrow on his back.[54]

These observations must imply that the woodcuts in the Augsburg edition of John de Thwrocz's Chronicle were based on the historical paintings in the royal palace in Buda, and this is their significance, because reappearing at repeatedly at various points in the book, they can not illustrate the text, with which they have no connection.

On the fourth type of woodcuts in the Augsburg edition the bearded Hungarian king's head is strikingly similar to King (W)ladislas Ist of Hungary, (who was Ladislas IIIrd of Poland) in the same publication. This corresponds to the scenery of the picture, on which a lake can be seen between the battlefield and the city in the background, just as in ***the battle of Varna*** on the 10th November 1444. The woodcuts seem to distinguish John de Hunyad with his maze marking his rank as Voivode of Transylvania and the fallen Turk is obviously Pasha Karadsha the commander of the Anatolian forces. There is an epigram about this battle well representing the thinking of King Matthias' court about that event of history, which is so striking, that it could have been written only by Ianus Pannonius.

The travellers visiting the royal castle of Buda during the Turkish occupation described that the throne room's vault was decorated by ***the picture of the sky at the birth time of King Matthias the Just,*** when apparently the Libra was at the zenith, while the ***picture of the sky at Matthias election for the Bohemian throne*** decorated the royal library. The travellers also recorded the distiches in Latin marking these horoscopes. They are so elegant, that they reveal the pen of Ianus, that time resident poet at the court. These astrological decorations at the same time are connected with the neoplatonism of King Matthias" court and reflected by Ianus Pannonius' thinking in his elegy „Ad animam suam." The constellations of the sky and the picture of the planets on the mentioned wall paintings seem to be mirrored to some extent on the celestial sphere made for the King's astronomer, Martin Bylicza de Olkusz in Buda in 1480, and on the lower renaissance stand of King Matthias' Calvary. On mentioned celestial sphere Hercules, and on the Calvary the planet Jupiter do not appear in Olympic dresslessness, but in armour worn by John de Hunyad on his representation at Gyulafehérvár and in John de Thwrocz's Chronicle.

c)Ianus Pannonius and King Matthias Corvinus' repersentations.

In contrast to the monogram of King Wladislas IInd „WR" (that is Wladislaus Rex), King Matthias' monogram is „MA" on most of his corvina manuscripts, for example on the Didymus corvina in the Pierpont-Morgan Library in New York (Morgan MS 496) painted by Gherardo and Monte Giovanni in 14587 in Florence. This abbreviation is actually explained by the 78th letter of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (later Pope Pius IInd) written to Primate Dennis Széchy de Felsőlindva of the clan Balogh-Semjén in 1445, in which he explains, that the Hungarian monarch is in fact Archirex.[55] It follows from this, that the ***medallion in the***

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[53] King Mathias Corvinus' document issued on the 17th May 1469, Hungarian Archives: Országos Levéltár, OL, Dl 16853.

[54] Antonius Bonfini: Rerum Hungaricarum Decades, edited by Johannes Sambucus (János Zsámboky) , Frankfurt am Main, 1541, page 548;
Antonii Bonfinii Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades. Decas IV, Liber I, n° 225.
Edited in: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum" by I. Fogel, B. Iványi, L Juhász. Tomus IV. 1941, page 17.

[55] „merito quidam non tantum regem, sed archiregem Ungariam habere dixerint"Aneae Sylvii Piccolomini Senensis, qui post adeptum pontificatum Pius nominis secundus appellatus est opera quae extant omnia, Basel 1571, page 557, letter LXXVIII.

British Museum with the monogram MAR shows the portrait of a young King Matthias Corvinus, while the on its reverse a Cupid appears riding a dragon and keeping the dragon's eyes shut by one of his hands and his tail by the other. This dragon seems to refer to the Hungarian chivalric Order of the Dragon and to Matthias' birth horoscope. In addition Beatrix de Aragonia's family wore a dragon on their crest. Therefore Cupid keeping the dragon's eyes closed can refer only the marriage of Matthias and Beatrix in 1476, when Matthias was 33.

The battle scene on the reverse of the so-called ***„Marti fautori" medallion*** has not been identified so far. In this whirling battle three flags appear. Among them on the lower left a crescent can be identified on most specimens. On the flag on the top of medallion in the centre the bars of the Hungarian Árpád dynasty on a rhomboid shield can be distinguished but only on the items preserved in Paris and Washington. The medallion in Washington shows, that heraldic device of the flag on the lower right is a sword held by an arm, which is the ancient heraldic device of the Széklers. These flags therefore identify the participants as Andrew Lackfi the Count of the Széklers fighting the Tartar Othlam Khan in 1345, when the appearence of King Saint Laszló (Ladislas) on mighty horse terrified the Tartars in the battle of 1345. Immediately following this battle the Hungarian kings introduced the figure of King Saint László on their coins for centuries, and the event has been sung by Ianus Pannonius in one of his most beautiful elegy saying farewell to Warad (Abiens valere iubet sanctos reges, Waradini. (n° 23)) The significance of this battle on the reverse of King Matthias medallion stems from the fact, that Matthias when young was knighted by his father, John de Hunyad with Andrew Lackfi's sword at Nándorfehérvár in 1454.[56]

The knighthood of St Ladislas is celebrated again on the reverse of smaller medallion of Matthias Corvinus apparently showing King Saint László at the battle of Kerlés of 1068. The ***„Caesare victo" is the only medallion*** showing King Matthias en face showing the striking will of the glorious military commander, about whom Ianus Pannonius wrote in his poem „Ad Matthiam regem"(no 372). In contrast on the ***monument of Bautzen*** from 1486 Matthias contemplates entranced the divine ideas from the cave in Plato's Politeia (Republic), just as Ianus Pannonius wrote in his panegyric of Guarino:

Oppida nam fueri Plato si felicia dixit,
Purpura cum sapiat, vel cum sapientia regnet:
Diuinum hic quiddam tunc duxit iure futurum,
Si rector doctam moderetur doctior aulam (lines 415-418).

He returned to the same idea in his panegyric of Ludovico Gonzaga:

Legimus Acteum quondam cecinisse Platonem
Hanc fore felicem prae cunctis urbibus urbem,
Principe quam docto facilis fortune beasset
Vel doctos adamente viros (lines 68-71).

I has to be pointed out, that King Matthias was represented thinking: cogitabundus on his statue in the royal court of Buda as well according to Bonfini.[57] Namely only by thinking

[56] Ignaz Aurelius Fessler: Geschichte dr Ungarn und ihrer Landsassen, Volume IV, Leipzig 1816, page 804; Count József Teleki: A Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon, Volume II, Pest 1852-54, page 345; Fügedi, Erik: Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek, Budapest 1981, page 419.

[57] Antonii Bonfinii Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades. Decas IV, Liber VII, n° 96. Edited in: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum" by I. Fogel, B. Iványi, L Juhász. Tomus IV. 1941, page 136.

can we contemplate the platonics ideas in Plato's Politeia, which was read by King Matthias Corvinus according to the testimony of his librarian, Naldo Naldius.[58]

Chapter **III.** ***The Matthias Gradual.***

The origin of this manuscript preserved in the National Széchenyi Library with the shelf mark Clmae 414, is perhaps the most disputed among the Corvinian manuscripts. According to Elemér Varjú[59] and Ilona Berkovits[60] it was prepared in the French royal court, it was attributed to Flemish artist by André de Hevesy[61] and Erzsébet Soltész,[62] while its place of origin was placed to Buda by Edith Hoffmann[63] and Kilián Szigeti O.F.M.[64]

It will be however useful to remember, that in the Limbourg brothers masterpiece, in the Très Riches Heures de duc de Berry made in 1415-16 very many miniatures show the commissioner duc de Berry himself, the members of his court, his castles and his estates. Similarly it was recognised already in the XIXth Century, that in the copy of Bellifortis by Conrad Kyeser made for King Emperor Sigismund in 1414-15 (preserved in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences[65]) Sigismund himself impersonates the Sun, Queen-Empress Barbara impersonates the Venus;[66] and this seems to imply, that the other planets were impersonated by other members of their court.

a) Queen Beatrix and her relations in the Gradual

Therefore it can not surprising, that on ***folio 19*** of the Matthias Gradual Mercy is impersonated by Queen Beatrix of Hungary, as it appears from her portrait by Francesco Laurana belonging to the Frick Collection exhibited at Princeton University.

The profile of King David on ***folio 149*** is identical with the profile King Matthias on the leather binding of the Erlangen Bible (Erlangen Universitätsbibliothek Ms 6).[67] The church appearing on ***folio 50*** is identical with the church of Saint Sigismund at the entrance of the Royal Castle in Buda as shown on the woodcut of Buda in Hartmann Schedel's Weltchronik.[68] Schedel's incunabulum was published in Nuremberg in 1493, but the picture shows the highest tower of the Virgin's Church in construction, which reveals that the drawing originated from the year 1470, when this so called Matthias tower was built. The miniature of folio 50 in question depictsa religious procession led by Bishop John Filipec de

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[58] "…cum legisses apud Platonem scriptum divinitus: felices illas Respublicas fore quarum Principem, aut ipsi philosopharentur, aut eos, qui Philosophi nomen consecuti essent, unice diligerent…" Naldo Naldius: De laudibus Augustae Bibliothecae libri quatuor ad Mathiam Corvinum Pannoniae regem serenissimum, edited by Ábel, Jenő: Irodalomtörténeti emlékek. II. Budapest 1890, page 262..

[59] Varjó, Elemér: Két Corvin-kázirat, Ma gyar könyvszemle, 1908, pages 5-20.

[60] Ilona Berkovits: Illuminates Manuscripts from the Library of Matthias Corvinus, Budapest 1963, pages 68 and 80.

[61] André de Hevesy: La bibliothèque du roi Matthias Corvinus, Paris 1923 pages 32-33, 78, n° 105.

[62] Soltész Zoltánné: A Mátyás Graduale, Budapest 1980, page 44.

[63] Hoffmann, Edit: Régi magyar bibliofilek, Budapest 1929, pages 68 and 99.

[64] Szigeti, Kilián: Adalékok a Mátyás Graduale eredetének kérdéséhez, Magyar könyvszemle 1968, pages 327-332.
Sziget, Kilián: A budai hajdani várkápolna zenei élete a XIV.-XVI. században, Magyar zene, 1968, pages 402-428.

[65] MTAK Latin Codex 2° 14

[66] cf.: Sándor Szilágyi (ed.): A magyar nemzet története, Volume III., Budapest 1896, pages 580-581, 532-533, 645-646; Szentpéteri József et alii (ed.): Magyar kódex , Volume II., Budapest 1999, page 38

[67] See Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi: Bibliotheca Corviniana, Shannon 1969, page 111.

[68] Hartmann Schedel: Welchronik, Nürnberg 1493, folio 139; the drawing of Buda however seems to have originated in 1470, as the tower of the Virgin's Church in Buda is in construction on the picture)

Priusz, Chancellor of Hungary and with King Matthias, Queen Beatrix, Duke Joannes Corvinus, Antonio Bonfini among the participants, but the holy water is sprinkled by a 10 years old boy, who can not be anybody else, but Ippolito d'Este, the Primate of Hungary and the nephew of the Queen. The very fact that on this miniature the holy water is not spread by the Bishop leading the procession, but by a 10 years old boy, shows, that the miniatures in this Gradual picture the life of the Hungarian court at the time, because such a ceremonial eccentricity could occur only at the court of Matthias Corvinus.

Folio 30 pictures just the christening of Ippolito d'Este with the members of his parent's family and presumably showing the absent godparents as well. On ***folio 111*** among the persons around the cross Queen Beatrix' brothers, the Duke of Capua can be recognised from his medallions,[69] the Duke of Calabria from his representation preserved in the British Museum,[70] as well as Diomedes Caraffa, his father's most faithful statesman from a miniature on his work titled „De institutione vivendi" dedicated to Queen Beatrix.[71] In later years, namely in 1494-1495 the Duke of Calabria became King Alfonso IInd of Naples, in the years 1495-1496 Duke of Capua became King Ferrante IInd, and in the years 1496-1501 the Duke of Taranto, also shown on folio 111, became King Frederico.

b) King Matthias' court in the Gradual.

On ***folio 69*** we can see the procession of Corpus Christi Day amongst the flowering lime trees in the royal court of Buda. This procession is led by Thomas Bakócz de Erdőd, Bishop of Győr and the Secretary of the King as shown by his face in the Codex Ransanus[72] and on his medallion for example in the Hungarian National Museum.[73]

The letter of the Apostolic Nuncio, Angelus Pecchinoli Bishop of Orte dated 25th June 1489 records,[74] that on the Corpus Christi Day on the 18th June 1489 the procession was lead by the young Bishop of Győr, while the King sat on a high tribune in Buda, as he was not well. The miniature on this folio 69 shows the tapestries covering the royal tribune and therefore this miniature is the only contemporary picture of the royal tapestries in the court of Matthias Corvinus.

On ***folio 41*** the choir consisting of only 11 members and wearing civilian clothing must constitute the Queen's choir because of their number and garments.[75] Their chapel in the hillside reminds the royal chapel at the Palace of Visegrád, but their musical notes clearly show, that they are singing in four parts, testifying the polyphony prevailing at the court of Matthias Corvinus. The feature of the choir leader corresponds to the gold medallion of Pietro Bono de Bursellis in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.[76] He arrived recently just in 1488 to the court in Buda, therefore not much before the miniatures of the Matthias Gradual were painted.

Folio 188 shows the firmament with the various celestial bodies, which obviously means, that the person appearing in the hat of the professors of the University of Pozsony (Universitas Istropolitana) is the royal astronomer of King Matthias Martin Bylicza de

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[69] Francis George Hill: A Corpus of Italian Medals, London 1930, Plate 54, medallion 335-336.
[70] See Marion Johnson: The Borgias, London 1981, pages 100 and 226.
[71] Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, G.G.III. 170. 1654, folio 4^{recto}.
[72] National Széchenyi Library OSZK Clmae. 249.See the reproduction in Domanovszky, Sándor: Magyar művelődéstörténet, Volume II., Budapest [1939],page 411.
[73] Hungarian National Museum, inventory number 17/880.
[74] Augustinus Theiner: Vetera Monumenta Hungariam sacram illustrantia, Roma 1859-60, Volume II., page 527.
[75] Balogh, Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Budapest 1966, Volume I., page 687.
[76] Francis George Hill: A Corpus of Italian Medals,
London 1930, No416 (Plate 79) In the Ashmolean Museum exhibition number 169.

Olkusz. It seems to be, that on ***folio 184*** Queen Beatrix is bowing to her passion for the theatre.[77]

On ***folio 115*** the contemporary main actors of the European foreign policy: Pope Innocent VIIIth,[78] Emperor Frederic IIIrd,[79] Sultan Bajazid IInd [80] and King Matthias Corvinus constitute a circle, while we can recognise their followers and even Prince Djem, the Turkish Pretender.[81] At the bottom of the picture three ecclesiastical persons appear. The monk in the centre in white habit belongs to the only Hungarian religious order of Saint Paul the First Hermit. King Matthias and his mother was a tertiary member of this religious order.[82] The fact that this monk appear on this miniature and even at a central place on the composition excludes the possibility that the manuscript could have been illuminated in France or in the Netherlands, because there were no monasteries of this order in those countries, but mainly in Hungary and in Poland.[83] The friar praying the rosary is a Franciscan according to Kilián Szigeti, while a Dominican nun reads a book. This seems to be very significant, because a very large part of the medieval Hungarian manuscripts written in Hungarian were written just in the Dominican nunnery on the island below Buda castle, where the Hungarian books found in the Queen's library by Pierre Choque, the herald of Queen Anne de Bretagne[84] must have been written by the Dominican nuns. King Matthias tried to advance the canonisation of their most famous member Blessed Margaret of the Árpád dynasty,[85]and the Dominican nun appearing on folio 26 of the Matthias Gradual is strikingly similar to (that time) Blessed Margaret's contemporary woodcut.[86]

c) John de Hunyad in the Gradual.

On ***folio 90*** we can identify the features of John de Hunyad from on the woodcut published in of John de Thwocz's Chronicle published the Bruno edition in 1488[87] and his face on the Cologne altarpiece .On this miniature two families sitting at two tables are eating honeycomb. The two mothers resemble each other and they are wearing identical hat-creations worn only by members of the royal family in the Matthias Gradual, for example Queen Beatrix herself on folio 3, and her sister, Eleonora Duches of Ferrara on folio 30. All these seem to imply that they are the two sister Szilágyi de Horogszeg, one of whom married John de Hunyad, the other John Geréb de Vingart, and the small blond child the only person looking out of the picture at us, is obviously the little Matthias de Hunyad in the care of his

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[77]Antonii Bonfini Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades, edited by I. Fógel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász in the series: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum", Decadis IV. Liber VII. n° 86,
Edited in: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum" by I. Fógel, B. Iványi, L Juhász.
Tomus IV. 1941, page 135.

[78] See: Sergio Ortolani: Il Pollaiuolo, Milan 1948, page 176

[79] See Grand Larousse Encyclopedique, Volume V, Paris 1962, page 257.

[80] The identity of Bajazid IInd follows from his headgear and from the the fact, that Prince Djem stands next to him.

[81] André de Hevesy: Portraits of the Borgias – Cesare. The Burlington Magazine, Volume LXI., n° 352-357., July-December 1932, page 70, B

[82] Balogh, op. cit.,Volume I, pages 666, 167-168, 195 footnote 1.

[83] Dr [Aranyos-Gyéresi] Gyéressy Béla Ágoston: O.S.P.PE. Documenta Artis Paulinorum, Volume III. Budapest 1978, pages 325-326: Kisbán, Emil: A magyar Pálosrend története, Volume I., 1938, pages 64-71, 328-331.

[84] Pierre Choque: Discours des ceremonies du marriage d'Anna de Foix, de la Maison de France, in the edition of Le Roux de Lincy: Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartres, year 21, volume II, series 5, Paris 1861, page 438.

[85] Fraknói, Vilmos: Mátyás király levelei, Volume I., Budapest 1893, page 57.

[86] Esztergom Library of the Cathedral, see Domanovszky Sándor: Magyxar művelődéstörténet, Volume II, Budapest [1939], picture at page 404.

[87] folio 132^{recto}.

nurse Elisabeth. There are 20 very carefully painted beehives on the miniature, 10 in line with the little Matthias. They must indicate the origin of King Matthias' beehive emblems.

The miniature on ***folio 10*** is the most artistic miniature in the codex, and his painter could compete with the greatest European painters of the time. He represented successfully the focus of linear perspective, the colour perspective and body shortening while the atmosphere of the picture seems to have anticipated the impressionism five hundred years later. The Governor John de Hunyad is distinguished by plenty of black egret feathers on his golden headgear, just as on folio 90 mentioned above. The miniature on folio 10 represents the most important allies and diplomatic links of Governor John de Hunyad in Europe. A central figure of the composition is a very successful portrayal of the „grand duc du ponant." Philip the Good's identity on the miniature is unmistakably obvious from his statue, which used to belong to the King of Würtemberg in 1907.[88] His identity is confirmed further by his black robes and black headgear, as black was the first official colour of Burgundian court dresses.[89] The profile of the head behind him identical with Scanderbeg's representation on Martinus Barlettus work published in Frankfurt am Main in 1578,[90] and his turban seems to confirm his identity. The Pope on the composition is Callixtus III,[91] who ordered the bells to be rung at noon for John de Hunyad's victory against Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror in 1456, and who annuled the condemnation of Joan d'Arc at the request of Charles VIIth (also on the miniature) to bring him into the alliance against the Turks.

There is a well at the lower part of the miniature from which water is drawn by Anthony Count de
La-Roche-en-Ardennes,[92] Knight of the Golden Fleece, who occupied Ceuta, the only conquest of the crusades, which has been never lost. The water of wisdom taken from the well is drunk only by Skanberbeg and by the young Matthias de Hunyad on the miniature. This seems to imply, that King Matthias' well emblem indicates the water of wisdom, which leads to the efficacious defence of the Christendom. The person with curly chestnut hair on the left of the composition must be László (Ladislas) de Hunyad according to Bonfini[93] and according to Georgius Szerémi[94] as well.

Folio 17 of the Matthias Gradual represents the destruction of the pharaoh's army into the Red Sea. Instead of the sea however the picture shows the river Drava running into the Danube and on right side instead of stone desert of the Sinai we find a city below a fortress just like Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade) in 1456.[95] As a matter of fact on the picture the pharaoh's army is drawn into the S(z)ava instead of the sea. Therefore this miniature illustrating verses 20-21 from the 10th chapter in the Book of Wisdom, celebrates the Lord's triumphant hand in John de Hunyad's victory in 1456 at Nándorfehérvár. In this celebration participates the

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[88] Baron H. Kervyn de Lettenhove: Le toison d'or, Bruxelles 1907, page 2.
[89] Otto Cartellieri: The Court of Burgundy, London 1929, pages 142, 141, 140.
[90] Marinus Barlettus: De vita et res gestis Scenderbegi, …Francofurti ad Moenum, 1578, volume II, folio 22
[91] Marion Johnson: The Borgias, London 1981, page 26;
George Francis Hill: A Corpus of Italian Medals, London 1930, medallion 737.
[92] Richard Vaughan: Charles the Bold, London 1973, pages 235 473.
[93] Antonii Bonfini Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades, edited by I. Fógel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász in the series: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum", Decadis III. Liber VIII. n° 255-256., Tomus III. Leipzig 1936, page 197.
[94] Georgii Sirmiensis Epistola de perdicione (sic) regni Hvngarorum, Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Második Osztály(Divisio II.), Írók(Scriptores), Volume I, Pest 1857, page 7.
[95] On the miniature a small river joins a big one and at their meeting a fortress rises on the right side of the small river just as at Belgrade. There are at least ten distinguishing features on the miniature of folio 17 which correspond to Nándorfehérvár(=Belgrade). See the inverse of picture by Wolffgang Resch Formschneider from 1522
in: Szilágyi, Sándor, (ed.): A magyar nemzet története, Volume IV, Budapest 1896, picture between pages 430-431., and the woodcut of Siebmacher in: Rózsa, György: Régi magyar csataképek, Budapest 1959,I. picture.

kneeling King Matthias wearing the Holy Crown, as he was knighted by his father just at Nándorfehérvár in 1454,[96] and his identity is defined by his shield as the Grand Master of the Hungarian chivalric Order of the Dragon appearing on the left side of the composition.

d) King-Emperor Sigismund in the Gradual.

It was recognised already by Ilona Berkovits that the illumination on the foreside of ***folio 7*** in the codex was inspired by the royal resort of Visegrád. The group migrating into Canaan of Visegrád is led by King Sigismund identified by his profile on Pisanello's drawing in the Louvre with the number 2479, as well as by his profile on the Cologne altarpiece. A black ibex in the background of the picture indicates the coat-of arms given to the family of King Matthias' mother, the Szilágyi de Horogszeg and the entire clan of Garázda de Mechynche by King Sigismund on the 24th Ferbruary 1409.

The head of King Sigismund on the foreside of ***folio 58*** in the manuscript can be recognised form the drawing of the procession in Bale (Basel) by the School of Rogier van der Wayden preserved in the British Museum[97] and on the representation of raising the County of Klev into Princedom in Ulrich von R(e)ichent(h)al's manuscript in St. Petersburg.[98] There is a green stove in the background of this miniature showing the shape to restore the stoves from the similar green stove tiles found in Sigismund's castle in Tata.[99]

The King in captivity on ***folio 76*** corresponds to Sigismund representation of Ulrich von R(e)ichent(h) al's Augsburg edition.[100] This is the reason that silhouette of the peak in the background shows peak Szársomlyó at Nagyharsány,[101] where Sigismund was kept in custody by Nicolas de Gara IInd of the clan Dorozsma in the castle of Siklós, and where they eventually became brothers-in-law marrying two sisters de Cilly.

Folio 103recto of the codex shows the court of King David, but in a form of a contemporary royal court it was pointed out by Erzsébet Soltész.[102] On this miniature however the small round windows correspond to the windows of the Fresh Palace in Buda on the woodcut of Erhard Schön from 1541-42, when the Fresh Palace was still intact.[103] The view of Dominicus Custos shows a staircase as well just at this side of the building,[104] where on the miniature on folio 103 in question stars appear in the windows. To these observations Bonfini's description has to be added: in medio [atria] veteri porticu circumventa, quam duplici coronant ambulacra, quorum supremum novoque palatio prepositum, qua ad summa triclinia conscenditur, duodecim signiferi orbis sideribus insigne non sine admiratione suspicitur;[105] that is to say,,in the middle [Hall] surrounded by an old colonnade, above which

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[96] Ignaz Aurelius Fessler: Geschichte dr Ungarn und ihrer Landsassen, Volume IV, Leipzig 1816, page 804; Count József Teleki: A Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon, Volume II, Pest 1852-54, page 345; Fügedi, Erik: Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek, Budapest 1981, page 419.

[97] Bertalan Kéry: Kaiser Sigismund, Ikonographie, Vienna 1972, picture 79 and 80

[98] "Societé Imperiale Archéologique Russe (M. Brosset et alii, ed.,): Concilium Constantiense MCDXIV-MCDXVIII, Saintpetersbourg 1874.

[99] cf.: Pál Voigt, Imre Holl: Old Hungarian Stove Tiles, Budapest 1963, pictures 16-17, pages 11, 14 and 17.

[100] Kéry, op. cit., pictures 79 and 80.

[101] See Rohbock-Rohring 's steel engraving from 1860 in Gerő, László (ed.): Várépítészetünk, Budapest 1975, page 237, picture 169.

[102] Soltész, Zoltánné (Erzsébet): A Mátyás Gradule, Budapest 1980, page 102.

[103] See: Balogh, Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Budapest 1966, Volume II., picture 14. on page 19; or Domanovszky, Sándor: Magyar művelődéstörténet, Volume III, Budapest [1940], picture at page 228.

[104] See: Gerő, László: A helyreállított budai vár, Budapest 1980, page 24.

[105] Antonii Bonfini Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades, edited by I. Fógel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász in the series: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum", Decadis IV. Liber VII. nº 95, Edited in: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum" by I. Fógel, B. Iványi, L Juhász. Tomus IV. 1941, page 136.

two other porticoes were built to the Fresh Palace, and at the uppermost, as it leads to the highest hall(s), the celestial globe's twelve constellations are strongly admired.

The words [atria] in brackets are our correction instead of the published „aria". The spelling of these two words in the medieval handwriting is very easily confused. On the other hand Bonfini could translate the name of Fresh Palace only by palatium novum into classical Latin, while five sentences later he actually uses the expression Sigismundi atria.

Gáspár Heltai explained, that Bonfini's text survived only in various truncated copies already by his time, from which they tried to restore the original.[106] Heltai however gives the following sentence in Hungarian, which is missing from the versions in Latin in the corresponding place: (King Matthias) „built three broad and very beautiful cloisters around the palaces of King Sigismund."[107] This actually corresponds to Bonfini's surviving text, but placed in a different context: veteri porticu circumventa, quam duplici coronant ambulacra,[108] which means that in fact there were porticoes on three levels around Sigismund's Fresh Palace, which was the only „palace" built by Sigismund. It has to be added, that the various views made of the royal castle of Buda in the XV-XVIIth century reveal, that all the other buildings in Buda castle had only two levels, only the Fresh Palace of Sigismund had three stores, as it is clear for example from the drawings by N. L. de Hallart from 1686,[109] and from the woodcut published by Schedel in 1493, which clearly shows, that the colonnades around the Fresh Palace were not built with Gothic ogive arches, but with protorenaissance arcs.[110] Obviously it was the protorenaissance colonnade surrounding the Fresh Palace, which made Pedro Tafur to report in 1439, that Sigismund built a great hall, like the Sala della Raggione in Padua,[111] which was built just in this form. According to Bonfini and Heltai the second and the third porticoes above Sigismund's colonnade were completed by King Matthias. Actually the building of just such porticoes appear in the Averulinus manuscript translated by Bonfini into Latin for King Matthias in his court and decorated exactly on the spot in Buda castle in 1489,[112] which indicates that the building of such porticoes was the most important architectural activity at the time in the Royal Castle of Buda.

It seems to follow from the above said, and as indicated on the miniature of folio 103: the windows in the Western wall of upper throne hall in the Fresh Palace were filled with stained glass of the zodiac and the planets as the constellations of the zodiac appear in the Western rose-window of the Notre Dame in Paris.[113] The central window above the throne in Buda might have been occupied by the Sun, as Sigismund impersonated the Sun in Conrad

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[106] Heltai, Gáspár: Chronica az Magyaroknac dolgairol, Kolozsvár 1575, introduction after the title page.

[107] "Három széles és igen szép körengeket épütette a Zsigmond császár palotái környül és megékesité azokat széles és csodálatos gradicsokkal és menyzetekkel."
See Balogh, Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Budapest 1966, Volume I., page 40., second column, second (third) paragraph.

[108] Antonii Bonfini Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades, edited by I. Fógel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász in the series: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum", Decadis IV. Liber VII. n° 95,
Edited in: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum" by I. Fógel, B. Iványi, L Juhász.
Tomus IV. 1941, page 136.

[109] See: Balogh, Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Budapest 1966 Volume II on pages 26-31, pictures 23-28; picture 33. on page 34 shows that the two stories buildings had colonnades only on the ground floor on their side turning to the main courtyard of Buda castle.

[110] See: Balogh, Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Budapest 1966, Volume II., picture 13. on page 18.

[111] "una grant sala fecha a la maniera de aquella de Padua" quoted by Kropf, Lajos: Régi utazások Magyarországon, Századok 1907, page 928.

[112] the date of 1489 is given on folio 95^{recto}, Biblioteca Marciana, MS 2796, folio 5^{recto};
see Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi: Bibliotheca Corviniana, Shannon 1969, page 271.

[113] Concerning the plan of the Western rose window of the Notre Dame in Paris see: Painton Cowen: Rose Windows, San Francisco, 1979, page 134; the western rose window was originally planned in the XIIIth Century according to Catherine Brisac: A Thousand Years of Stained Glass, London 1986, page 50.

Kyeser's Bellifortis,[114] and according to the charters of nobility issued by Sigismund the rights and privileges of nobility emanate from the light of the royal throne as the rays from the Sun.[115] Even the tent of King Louis IInd was distinguished by the picture of the Sun in 1526 according to a Turkish miniature.[116]

The figures on the miniature of folio 103 investigated in general are much less individualised as on the other miniatures in the manuscript. Nonetheless the very grey haired monarch sitting on the throne of the Fresh Palace could indicate only King-Emperor Sigismund, as the other Hungarian kings, who could sit in the Fresh Palace never got grey hair. Obviously the first banneret lord of the country, the Primate of Hungary (George de Pálócz) with mitre on his head reads him the gospel carrying the Lord symbolically as the cherubs in Ezekiel's vision,[117] and this gives the key to understand the picture. Namely the miniature illustrates the words of the Psalms: „The Lord is my illumination and my salvation"($\Psi 26_1$)[118]. Meanwhile among the „smaller banneret lords" of the unwritten Hungarian constitution the Dapifer-in-Chief and the Cup-bearer-in-Chief serve the monarch sitting on his throne. In the last government of the old Sigismund the Janitor-in-chief was László (Ladislas) de Tamás and the Constable-in-Chief Lawrence de Hédervára both from the clan Héder. The Constable-in Chief's face seem to be more individualised resembling Saint Gereon in the Cologne altarpiece, as Lawrence de Hédervára became the Palatine of Hungary between 1437-1447.

The most individualised is probably the youngest person on the miniature of folio 103 sitting behind a table covered with gold and silver coins. He is obviously the Treasurer-in-Chief, a post occupied by the famous young gentleman, Michael Ország de Gwth of the clan Gut-Keled, who, when asked playing soldiers in his childhood by Sigismund „whom do you serve?" -replied: „The country."[119] Incidentally his face is not only the most individualised on folio 103, but also the only one, who shed clear shadow on the picture. Moreover his face is identical with one of the youngest heads[120] among the statues found in the royal castle of Buda by László Zolnay in 1974. Zolnay named this statue „head of man in felt hat"[121] and he wears almost identical hat on folio 103 investigated. He seems to have been distinguished in such a manner on this miniature prepared in the court of King Matthias, because Michael Ország became the Palatine for 26 years from 1458 till his death in 1484, therefore starting almost from the beginning of his rule, and remaining during most of the reign of King Matthias Corvinus.

e) The significance of folio 3, the title page of the Gradual

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[114] Bellifortis by Conrad Kyeser made for King Emperor Sigismund in 1414-15 (preserved in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTAK Latin Codex 2° 14); cf.: Sándor Szilágyi (ed.): A magyar nemzet története, Volume III., Budapest 1896, pages 580-581, 532-533, 645-646.

[115] Sigismund 's charter issued on the 29th Martch 1418 (Hungarian National Archive, Ol Dl 85682), and his charter issued on the 12th March 1431 (Hungarian National Archive, Ol Dl 57168)
See D. Radocsay: Gothische Wappenbilder auf ungarischen Adelsbriefen, Acta historiae artium, Volume V., 1958, pages 326 and 353, 333 and 354.

[116] Süleymanname, Topkapi Seraglio, inventory number 1517, folio 200^{recto}, see Géza Fejér: Turkish Miniatures, Budapest 1978, coloured picture X, showing the war council of Louis IInd's war council in 1526. the miniature itself was painted in 1557-58.

[117] Ezekiel 1, 4-12

[118] Psalm 26, 1.

[119] Ioanni Dubravii Olumvzensis epicopi Historia Boiemica, Bale(Basel) 1575, Liber XXV. page 238.;
Cf.: Fügedi Erik: "Uram királyom", Budapest 1974, page 161.

[120] Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 75-1-59.
Zolnay László, Marosi Ernő: A budavári szoborlelet, Budapest 1989, picture 94 before page 81;
page 154, n° 61.

[121] Zolnay László, Szakál Ernő: A budavári gótikus szoborlelet, Budapest 1976, page 51, picture 27.

The foreside of ***folio 3*** could be considered the title page of the Matthias Gradual, and it is almost completely covered with decoration. In the upper part of the great miniature in a very striking place an irregular labyrinth of a very complicated castle appears. This labyrinth is so complicated that it is virtually impossible to think that the artist could have invented it by pure chance, when he emphasised the intricacy of this labyrinth by the trees regularly planted below it on the composition. The fact, that this castle labyrinth was not invented by the artist, but he tried to picture an existing fortress is shown by on other miniature on folio 86^{recto} in the same Matthias Gradual. Namely there on folio 86^{recto} an obviously much less accomplished, and therefore completely different artist portrayed the same labyrinthine castle in the background.

On the more refined representation of this castle on title page of folio 3^{recto} it is obvious, that

1) on one side of this castle there is a large surface of water and on the opposite side a long defence corridor is running on the top of the ramparts, just as on the Western side of the royal castle of Buda;
2) This defence corridor on the top of the ramparts has a side wing joining it in rectangular angle on that wall, which closes the so-called "court of the New World" in Buda.
3) At the southern end of the long defence corridor a mace-tower appears, just as in Buda.
4) At the northern end of the long wall there is a quadrangular entrance tower exactly as in Buda;
5) and this entrance tower partly covers the Fresh Palace, again as at Buda castle, if seen from a north-west-northerly direction.
6) According to the investigated miniature on folio 3^{recto} arcades run on each floor on the northern side of the Fresh palace, just as on the Eastern side shown by the woodcut published on folio 139 in Schedel's Worldchronik in 1493.
7) A hexagonal staircase rises out of the rectangular block on the so called "Unfinished Tower (or Csonkatorony)" of Sigismund just as on Wilhelm Dillich's copperplates
8) At the northeastern corner of the castle represented on folio 3 there is a thick tower-bastion just around the place, where Karakash pasha's tower rises in Buda to this day. László Gerevich has pointed it out already in 1955, that Karakash pasha only rebuilt a medieval structure already existing before. Therefore it corresponds to this structure on the miniature of folio 3
9) The highest tower on the investigated miniature appears to be cylindrical with high and thin early Gothic windows, exactly as the upper floors of Duke Stephen the Angry's donjon on Erhard Schön's woodcut from 1541-42. This tower seems to appear just behind the Fresh Palace on the investigated miniature, but this corresponds to sensual delusion, which makes the high buildings and peaks to appear much nearer if their bottom is hidden by something before them.
10) The enumerated nine buildings on the miniature appear at approximately correct angles if seen from the tower of Saint Sigismund's Church north of the Royal Castle in Buda.

Concerning the representation of this castle on the miniature György Rózsa's observation has to be taken into consideration, that even in the XVIIth-XVIIIth century „few views were taken from a real existing viewpoint, as a view is conceived nowdays…In most cases the subjects were represented in such a form, as it could not be seen by a human eye. The elements of real perspective and that of a slanting bird's eye view got mixed…."[122]

[122] Rózsa György: Régi magyar csataképek, Budapest 1959, page 2.

Therefore no landscape paintings in the modern sense could be searched or found in the Matthias Gradual decorated around 1489. Nevertheless it can not be by pure chance that all the ten enumerated peculiarity of the castle on folio 3^{recto} correspond to the royal castle of Buda at the time of Matthias Corvinus, when at the bottom of the page displays the shields of King Matthias Corvinus and his Queen Beatrix of Aragon, because the miniaturist could not invented just a so irregular and intricate labyrinth of buildings as the Royal Castle of Buda used to be, and taking into consideration the customs of the miniaturists working for the members of the European royal families since the Limbourg brothers. The view of the Royal Castle of Buda seen from the North from the city of Buda on folio 3 in question is important also, because it shows, that by 1489 the Fresh Palace was built like the Sala de la Raggione in Padua according to Pedro Tafur,[123] giving the impression of a quattrocento building surrounded by colonnades on three levels. It has to be pointed out, that the Royal Castle of Buda was built at narrow the Southern end of the old walled city of Buda. Therefore the picture of the royal residence was given by the Fresh Palace hiding most of the other building of the compound for the inhabitants of Buda. They called it Fresh Palace, which meant Modern Palace at the time, because it was a renaissance building. An echo of the Fresh Palace of Buda is the Villa Belvedere in Prague started for Queen Anne Jagello in 1538, who was raised in Buda, just as the arcades of town hall of Lőcse built in 1549-1615.

These conclusions are not altered by the fact, that on the left of the miniature in the foreground a large gothic tower appears on the Northeast corner of the castle, which is missing on the old views of Buda, and no trace of it was found in the excavations so far. This gothic tower however does not seem to originate in the poetic licence of the miniaturist, because it was recorded by István Szamosközy, that in Buda „there was a tower next to the Palace of Sigismund (=Fresh Palace), which was named „Tower of Shields(=Coat-of-Arms)". An enormous quantity of gunpowder was stored in it (by the Turks). At midnight (on the 19th May 1578) it was struck by a thunder. The tower and the palaces next to it were all blown up."

Below the castle the miniature shows the Resurrection of Christ. The features of the Roman soldier at the lower left corner below the sarcophagus correspond to King Matthias' portrait on the Bautzen memorial. His rank seems to be indicated by his „pelerine," because King Sigismund wears such a pelerine on the drawing of the procession in Bale (Basel) by the School of Rogier van der Wayden preserved in the British Museum,[124] where neither Emperor Sigismund wore crown, just as King Matthias' crown is missing in the investigated composition. Matthias however is identified by his shield as the Grand Master of the Hungarian Royal Chivalric Order of the Dragon, just as on folio 17 of the Mastthias Gradual mentioned above, and on folio 166^{verso} in the Philostratus corvina.[125] His identity is confirmed also by his place on the picture, which is the usual place of the Hungarian monarchs on the representations of the period, „on the heraldic right", for example in the Augsburg edition of John de Thwrócz's Chronicle, as it was discussed already above. The King's identity seems to be indicated by also by the fact, that his lance sheds strongest shadow on the miniature, which means that the strongest light has fallen on him.

Christ's sarcophagus and its cover defines the X form structure of the miniature's composition. Continuing the line of the sarcophagus at the opposite end Christ meets Mary

[123] "una grant sala fecha a la maniera de aquella de Padua" quoted by Kropf, Lajos: Régi utazások Magyarországon, Századok 1907, page 928.
[124] see Bertalan Kéry: Kaiser Sigismund, Vienna 1972, picture 79 and 80.
[125] OSZK Clmae 417 folio 166^{verso}.

Magdalene after his resurrection with the feature of Queen Beatrix on folio 8 of Corvina Bible in Brussels.

In contrast to the King and the Queen both noticing the resurrection of the Lord, the Roman soldier in the lower right corner of the miniature sleeps. Curiously his helmet is decorated with egret feathers showing that in fact he is a Hungarian lord,[126] and his visible features return on the red marble tombstone of Stephen de Szapolya, Count of Szepes in Szepeshely,[127] and the governor of Austria at the time, when the Matthias Gradual was decorated. It seems to follow from the composition, that his consort, Hedvig Princess of Teschen, is the leader of the oint-bearing women at the opposite end of the open sarcophagus' cover. The other sleeping soldier seems to be impersonated by Imre (Amery) de Szapolya Palatine of Hungary in the years 1486-87.

As at the lower end of the sarcophagus we find King Matthias, the features of the person just at the opposite end of it correspond to King-Emperor Sigismund's portrait, which used to be attributed to Pisanello in Vienna, and his appearance on the Calvary by Thomas de Coloswar now in the Christian Museum in Esztergom.[128]

Christ keeps his flag just before the King-Emperor, because King Sigismund himself wrote in the charter of the Hungarian Chivalric Order of the Dragon issued on the 12th December 1408 „Jesus Christ has sanctified the flag of the life-giving cross by his suffering and he screwed the head of the twisting dragon back by the force of that cross…which was carried by him after his resurrection to knock down the locks of Hell…(and) Saint George the martyr knocked down the dragon to the ground taking his life."[129] Therefore the miniature on folio 3recto investigated represents, that the knighthood of the Chivalric Order of the Dragon originated in the mystery of Resurrection, as these knights „fought under the banner of Saint George " still carried by the risen Saviour on the miniature, while the chapel of their chapter was in the castle shown at the top of the miniature.

The composition of the miniature investigated is in close relation to the picture of the Battle of Kerlés on the title page of the Augsburg edition of John de Thwrocz's Chronicle in the representation of space, in the reappearance of the main figure repeatedly on the picture, and in the re-echoing blue-red colour harmonies. Meanwhile the master of miniature on folio 3 has created very interesting and refined tension in the perspective by placing the pole of Christ's banner in the foreground on the place of the fourth tree of the background, and because Christ's right hand rises out of the picture as on Mantegna's paintings following this „perspective of Apelles" in that way, that we can place our fingers into Christ's wounds.

The wide border decoration on folio 3 of the Matthias Gradual is also in a very close relation of the border decoration of manuscript MR 354 in the Treasury of Zagreb cathedral, in which the miniature shows just the fight of Saint George with the dragon in the air. Among the smaller miniatures inserted into the wide border on folio 3, the one appearing on the right in the lower half shows a bedchamber with the resurrection of Dorcas. The windows with the sitting places on two sides in the wall in this sleeping room

[126] Vat. Lat 8541, folio 84recto, picture „XVIII: quomodo fuit obitus ipsius"
Levárdy Ferenc (ed.): Anjou-Magyar Legendarium, Budapest 1973, XLIV Szent László király 136..
[127] Dr. Johannes Gründler et alii: Schallaburg'82, Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn, catalogue of exhibition 8th May-1st November 1982, colour picture 19 after page126.
[128] Christian Museum of Esztergom, inventory number 54.3
[129] Baranyai Béla: Zsigmond király u. n. Sárkány-rendje Századok 1926, 575. oldal.

match surprisingly the similar windows found in the Queen's bedchamber by the excavation in Buda.

f) The origin of the dynasty de Hunyad.

Finally it has to be pointed out, that out of the 47 miniatures of the Matthias Gradual only three shows (or refers to) John de Hunyad,[130] the father of King Matthias, but there are at least six,[131] but possibly nine,[132] which represent King Sigismund, and in the Matthias Gradual Sigismund is represented always very sympathetically, very often impersonating king David. This focuses the attention at the sources according to which the family de Hunyad descended from King Sigismund. This was already remarked by John Liszt de Köpcsény, at the margin of that copy of Bonfini's Decades, which was preserved in the library of the Archbishopric of Esztergom, as it was pointed out already by Bálint Hóman.[133] John Liszt must have been well informed in this respect, as he was the brother-in law of Primate Nicholas Oláh (1493-1568), whose grandmother Maria, was a sister of John de Hunyad.[134]

Secondly even better informed must have been Count de Cilly, who maintained, that John de Hunyad's father was King-Emperor Sigismund according to Bonfini.[135] Most likely this Count was Ulrich (circa 1406-1456), whose father was the brother-in-law of King Sigismund as well as the brother-in-low of Nicholas de Gara the Palatine of Hungary between 1402-1433. Therefore King Sigismund practically belonged to his family, and he must have been very well informed about these family matters, while John de Hunyad was his contemporary and a very well known personality.

Thirdly George Szerémi (Georgius Sirmiensisi), who stayed in the service of Duke John Corvinus (1473-1504), the grandson of John de Hunyad for many years, knew well, that László (Ladislas) de Hunyad, (Matthias' brother) was the grandchild of Sigismund.[136]

Fourthly Gáspár Heltai (circa 1520-1575) writing in Kolosvar, where King Matthias was born, clearly stated: „I must write about the origin of John de Hunyad, not according to the writing of master Bonfinius, but according to the true history, which we heard from those, who served John de Hunyad and surrounded him in many battles."[137] According to Heltai the widowed Hungarian king encamped his army at the brook Strigy above Déva. There he met a girl born in the noble family Morzsinai, who conceived from Sigismund, before he crossed into Walachy and lead his army to (Little) Nicopolis at the left bank of the Danube. After the fight there the King returned to the Stigy, when he gave a ring to this lass from clan Mozsinai.[138] According the itinerary of King Sigismund compiled by Pál Engel this could happen only at the end of 1394, when King Sigismund led his army through the valley of the Maros, and reached Small Nicopolis in July 1395. Following the

[130] OSZK Clmae. 414, folio 10^{recto}, folio 17^{verso,} folio 90^{recto}.
[131] OSZK Clmae. 414, folio 3^{recto}, folio 7^{recto}, folio 58^{recto}, folio 76^{verso}, folio 103^{recto}, folio 107^{recto}.
[132] in addition to the previous six miniatures see folio 72^{recto} folio 86^{recto} and folio 193^{verso}.
[133] Hóman Bálint, Szekfű Gyula:Magyar történet, II. kötet, Budapest 1936, page 432
[134] Nagy Iván: Magyarország családai czímerekkel, Volume V., Pest 1859, page 189; Volume VII, Pest 1860, page 144;Volume Viii, Pest 1861, page 214.
[135] Decades III, Liber IX, 293-294
[136] Georgii Sirmiensis Epistola de perdicione (sic) regni Hvngarorum, Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Második Osztály(Divisio II.), Írók(Scriptores), Volume 1, Pest 1857, (Capitulum XVII), page 44.
[137] Heltai, Gaspar: Chronica az Magyaroknac dolgairol, Kolozsvár 1575, folio 80^{verso}.
[138] Heltai, op. cit, folio 81^{recto}- 81^{verso}.

fight there Sigismund returned to Karánsebes reaching the area of the Strigy around September 1395.[139]

Fifthly King Matthias displayed the coat-of arms of the Luxembourgs[140] among his shields for example on his second Bohemian royal seal from 1486,[141] while he used only the coats of arms of those countries, which were actually ruled by him. Matthias however never exercised any power in the Duchy of Luxembourg. Therefore the shield of Luxembourg could only indicate his family line, as indeed in 1488 it appears in exactly the same position as the lion of Beszterce, thertefore as a shield showing genealogical descent in the Augsburg edition of John de Thwrócz's Chronicle (folio 1^{verso}).

Sixthly the crest of King Matthias consisting of the golden lime-tree leaves on black eagle feathers of the Luxembourgs appears above his usual shield in the Haly Aberdiam corvina now in Vienna.[142] It could not be objected, that it would have been difficult to repaint this crest, as the shield below was repainted for Matthias, because the crest of the family de Hunyad consisted of golden eagle feathers and nothing could have been easier, then to cover the black eagle feathers with gold, in which the gold lime-tree leaves would have disappeared.

Seventhly the shield of the family de Hunyad as Counts of Beszterce displays a red lion on white (silver) field, which shows the illegitimate descent from the Luxembourg dynasty heraldically in a very discreet manner. Moreover the crowned lion of Beszterce on the King Matthias' throne tapestry[143] is identical with the shield of the de Ligny line of the Luxembourgs.[144]

Eighthly the origin of John de Hunyad is shown by his comet like rise and the enormous estates given to him by Sigismund.[145]

Ninthly István Müller and Baron Gyula Forster de Pusztakér have recognised already in the XIXth Century, that the wall paintings in the castle of Vajdahunyad show the descent of John de Hunyad from Sigismund.[146]

Tenthly the opinion of István Möller and br Gyula Forster is justified completely by a saddle with bone carvings, which used to be kept in the imperial collections in Vienna.[147]

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[139] King Sigismund was in Szeged in October 1394 and moving alongside the river Maros crossed the Capathians into Neamti in Moldva in January 1395. He was in the area of Small Nikopolis in July and August 1395 and reached Karánsebes through Szörény and Orsova. (Engel Pál: Az utazó király - Zsigmond király itinerárium, in: Művészet Zsigmond király korában 1387-1437, pages 72-73, n° 31.) Sigismund was in Széphely in the neighbourhood of Karánsebes again in November 1397 (Engel, op. cit., page74), and returned to Karánsebes thirdly in June 1411 (Engel op.cit., pages 76-77, n° 20).

[140] silver four bars azure lion rampant gule.

[141] OL (=Hungarian Natonal Archive) DL 19109 issued 23rd January 1486. See: Bologh, Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Budapest 1966, Volume II, picture 437 on page 302.

[142] ÖNB., Cod. Lat. 2271 folio 1^{recto}.

[143] Hungarian National Museum inventory number 1960/190,
see: Dr. Johannes Gründler et alii: Schallaburg'82, Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn, catalogue of exhibition 8th May-1st November 1982, cover of the volume and coloured picture 74 after page 128. Cf.: page 457-458, n° 451.

[144]"d'arg au lion de gu. la queue en sautoir arm lamp. cour d'or Luxembourg)" P. Adam-Even: L'Armorial universel du Heraut Gelre, Archives Heraldiques Suisses, Annuaire 1961, page 73, coat-of arms n° 327.

[145] John de Hunyad " had 28 castles, 57 towns, more than thousand villages and his estates amounted approximately to 4,200000acres…..The estates of (John) de Hunyad far exceeded the fortune all the other magnates including even the families de Marót and de Gara." Hóman Bálint, Szekfű Gyula: Magyar történet, Budapest 1936, pages 433-434.

[146] Möller, István: A vajdahunyadi vár építési korszakai, in: Báró [pusztakéri] Forster Gyula: (ed.): Magyarország műemlékei, Volume III., Budapest 1913, pages 90-95; cf.: coloured table VIII.

On these bone carvings the story with the ring appearing in Vajdahunyad frescoes reappears at least three times. Firstly the gentleman gives a ring as a token of love to girl,[148] secondly the lady return to the court with her child and the ring,[149] and thirdly a bird finds the ring.[150] In addition among the figure carved into this saddle we find Saint Margaret leading the dragon and Saint George both mentioned in the charter of the Order of the Dragon in 1408,[151] this saddle is marked also with dragon of King-Emperor Sigismund's Dragon Order[152] as well as by the „S" monogram of Sigismund[153] just as by his one-headed eagle of Brandenburg.[154] Moreover in one of the most hidden place there is a letter „e" rising out of a heart,[155] corresponding to the sources, that the mother of John de Hunyad was named Elisabeth Morzsinay de Karánsebes.[156] According to Alexander Cortesius writing in 1487-1488 the lady involved with the raven of the Hunyad was Elisa.[157] The name of John de Hunyad's mother is Elisabeth according to a manuscript of the Hofbibliothek with the number MS 8677(olim Histor. Prof 341-3) [158] and according to Bishop Carolus Franciscus Palma.[159] Her family name Morzsinai was recorded by Gaspár Heltai in 1575[160] and Count Joseph Teleki de Szék pointed out, that the family Morzsinay

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[147] See Julius von Schlosser: Elfenbeisättel des ausgehenden Mittelalters., Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, Volume XV.,Vienna 1894, pages 261-263, and 294

[148] Schlosser, op. cit. Tafel XXVII. on the rear of the saddle.

[149] Schlosser, op. cit., Tafel XXVIII, second person below the pommel

[150] Schlosser, op. cit., Tafel XXVIII, it might look like a pelican, but for the pelican there ought to be sevaral young birds in the nest, while on this saddle there is only one, which looks line rathjer the ring of the family de Hunyad. As on the saddle there are two other representations of the ring of the family de Hunyad, this representation as well have to show the same ring third time.

[151] Baranyai Béla: Zsigmond király u. n. Sárkány-rendje Századok 1926, 575. oldal.

[152] Schlosser, op. cit. Tafel XXVII. around the pommel

[153] Schlosser, op. cit. Tafel XXVIII further below the pommel.

[154] Schlosser, op. cit. Tafel XXVII. at the pommel.

[155] Schlosser, op. cit. page 263 and fig, 2 on page 261.

[156] Nagy Iván: Magyarország családjai czímerekkel, Volume V, Pest 1859, page 188; and Volume III, Pest 1858, page 173.

[157] Alexander Cortesius: De laudibus bellicis Regis Matthiae edited by Joseph Fógel, Leipzig 1934, page 4 line 98. Original manuscript in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek 85. 1. l. Aug. 2°.
It is however not clear if this Elisa was the mother or the grandmother of King Matthias in Cortesius' text.

[158] gr. Teleki, József: A Hunyadiak kora Volume I., Pest 1852, page 34.

[159] The mother of John de Hunyad was "Elisabeth de Marzina Nob. Transilvana". Carolus Franciscus Palma, episcopus Colophonensis: Notitia rerum Hungaricarum, editio III., pars II., Pest 1785, family tree at page 317.

[160] The name Morzsinai has been recorded by Heltai, Gaspar: Chronica az Magyaroknac dolgairol, Kolozsvár 1575, folio 81^{recto}.- 81^{verso}.
According to the papal nuncio Angelo
Pecchinoli's report dated 30th January 1489 King Matthias Corvinus himself stated, that Prince Djem "ille mihi iure sanguinis est coniunctus, nam soror avie mee casu a turchis rapta nupsit avo istius turchi ex qua postea isti nati sunt…." (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. Marc. Lat. X 175 (=3622) folio 133^{recto}).
This means, that the sister of King Matthias' grandmother married Sultan Murad IInd.
However as the Morzsinay family lived in the area of Karánsebes, it is possible that a member of their family could have been captured by the Turks, when she moved near to the frontier.
Bonfini however claims, that the family of John de Hunyad's mother had Greek origin and imperial blood: Mater vero a Grecis edita e veteri et imperatori sanguine promanasse credita est. Nonnulli in Theodosii hanc genus referre audent.
(Antonii Bonfini Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades, edited by I. Fógel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász in the series: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum", Decadis III. Liber IV. n° 257-258, Tomus III. Leipzig 1936, page 95.)
According to the manuscript in the Hofbibliothek with the number MS 8677(olim Histor. Prof 341-3) in Vienna John de Hunyad's mother was Elisabeth Palaeloga. (gr Teleki, József: A Hunyadiak kora, Volume I., Pest 1852, page 34.)
This Greek origin however might in fact mean only, that the Morzsinay family belonged to the Greek Church.

had estates in Karánsebes, where they were related with the distinguished families in the XVIth Century.[161]

This saddle in Vienna is important also, because a monkey is carved into the story of the ring,[162] and on the wall paintings of Vajdahunyad there was also a monkey[163] so far unexplained. On the other hand this is the reason that a monkey appears on the Breviary corvina in the Vatican Library,[164] in the Priscianus corvina in Wolfenbüttel,[165] in the Porphyrio Pomponius corvina in Milan[166] and on the manuscript of Bonfini's Symposion written for Queen Beatrix.[167] This is the reason that we find monkeys on the bar before the throne in the Throne Hall of the Fresh Palace on folio 103 of the Matthias Gradual. Therefore the monkey was a similar emblem of the dynasty de Hunyad, as the ermine of the dynasty Aragon.

Bonfini knew about the descent of John de Hunyad from King Sigismund, but he rejected it saying, in that case the spendthrift Sigismund, not having other male issue, would have given not only estates but (the) kingdom as well to John de Hunyad.[168] This is simply not true, because touching the live-giving cross Sigismund swore on the foundation charter of the Chivalric Order of the Dragon according to which his legitimate daughter had precedence in the succession to the throne before anybody else.[169] Curiously Bonfini does not know a word about this Order of the Dragon.[170] Meanwhile we must not forget, that according to Bonfini himself he started to write his chapters dealing with the Hungarian history after A.D. 996 with the support of King Wladislav II.nd [171] This means, that he completed most of his work, Decades, already as a historian of King Wladislav. John de Hunyad's descent from King Sigismund however was contrary to Wladislav's vital interests, as it threatened his claims to the Hungarian throne, because it showed Johannes Corvinus', his rival's the right to the throne, if already King Matthias obtained the same throne by virtue of the same kind of descent and customary law. Namely the system of customarylaw prevailed in Hungary in the time demonstrated even by the title of Wladislav IInd's chief lawyer's Stephen Werbewcz de Kerepes's legal masterwork: Opus Tripartitum Juris Consuetudinarii Inclyti Regni Hunariae finished in 1514, published in Vienna in 1517.

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[161] gr. Teleki, József: A Hunyadiak kora, Volume I., Pest 1852, page 43.
[162] Schlosser, op. cit. Tafel XXVII. between pages 262-263 and first paragraph on page 262.
[163] Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia írásban és képben, (Hungarian section), Volume III, Budapest 1888, page 107; Balogh, Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Budapest 1966, volume II. page 314, picture 459, page 311 pictures 454, 455.
[164] Cod. Urb. Lat. 112 folio 7^{verso}
[165] Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod 10 Aug. 4°. folio 4^{recto}.
[166] Biblioteca Trivulziana, Cod No. 818, folio 2^{recto}.
[167] Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár, Clmae 421, folio 1^{recto}.
[168] Decades III, Liber IX, 298.
[169] Baranyai Béla: Zsigmond király u. n. Sárkányrendje, Századok 1926, pages 582-584,688-689, 580.
[170] Bonfini: Rerum hungaricarum Decades, Tomus IV., Pars II. ediderunt Margareta et Petrus Kulcsár, Budapest 1976, containg the detailed index of Bonfini's work. There is not a single reference to the Order of Drgan either on page 197 at the word "draco" nor on page 290 at the word "ordo".
[171] Decades, Foreword to Decas II.

Chapter **IV.** ***Leonardo da Vinci and the Royal Court of Buda***

On folios 14^{verso}-15^{recto} of the Codex Urbino in the Vatican Library, therefore not far from the beginning of Leonardo's „Trattato delle pittura," Leonardo himself describes,[172] that on a birthday of King Matthias the king was presented with a poem by a poet, and "with a portrait of his beloved lady" by „a" painter. On this occasion discussion started between the king, the poet and the painter according to Leonardo.

In this discussion King Matthias quotes from Plato's Timaios, that the „soul is composed of harmony"[173] while „harmony can not be generated otherwise than when the proportions of the form are seen and heard instantaneously." Therefore according to Matthias painting stands above poetry, because the various parts of a painting appear at once „with the divine beauty of this face before …. me giving me such delight with their divine proportions." In fact the entire way of arguing by King Matthias reflects Plato's Timaios, and it also corresponds to Plotinos' teaching in the Enneades according to which the beauty transpire mainly in sight: TÕ kalÕn œsti m\en ™n Ôyei ple‹ston, œsti d/™n ¢koa‹j kat£ te lÒgwn sunqšseij.[174]

This story of Leonardo mirrors the court of Matthias Corvinus surprisingly well, as similar stories were recorded from the Corvinian court by Galeotto Marzio. Secondly Galetto himself described a similar event, when members of the royal household brought their works to the monarch at New Year.[175] Thirdly the Ambassador of Milan at Buda, Maffeo Treviglio also reported to the Duke of Milan on the 13th April 1485, that „His Majesty" (King Matthias) „enjoys the beautiful paintings very much"[176] just as Leonardo wrote it. Finally and mainly it is the prevailing Platonic philosophy in King Matthias' reasoning, what is astonishingly authentic in Leonardo's desciption.

It was explained already by József Huszti, that the Platonic philosophy prevailed in the court of King Matthias.[177] Naldo Naldius recorded, that King Matthias studied Plato's Politeia (Republic). The 'Enne£dej codex in Greek written in Crete in 1465 from King Matthias' Library has been preseved in Munich.[178] Ianus Pannonius translated Plotinos' Enneades in Matthias court[179] and he certainly finished at least the trtanslation of the first book quoted

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[172] Quotations in English in this chapter are from the translation the Trattato della pittura by Martin Kemp (ed.): Leonardo on Painting, New Haven and London 1989, pages 24-26.
[173] Plato: Timaios 47, in the translation of R. G. Bury, London 1961, page 108.
[174] Enneades I. 6(1), lásd Plotinos, A. H. Amstrong kiadásában, Volume I., London 1966,page 232.
[175] Galeottus Martius Narniensis: De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Matthiae ad ducem Johannem eius filium liber. in the edition of Ladislaus Juhász, Peipzig 1934, pages 22-23
[176] Nagy Iván, br Nyáry Albert: Magyar diplomácziai emlékek, Volume III., Budapest 1877, page 44.
[177] József Huszti: Tendenze Platonizzanti alla corte di Matthia Corvino. Giornale critico della Filosofia Italiana, XI., (1930) pages 1-37 and 135-236.
[178] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. Graec 449.
[179] József Huszti: Tendenze Platonizzanti alla corte de Mattia Corvino. Giornale critico della Filosofia Italiana, Volume XI., 1930, pages 35-36.

here, when he died in 1472. The Timaios in Latin translation by Marsilio Ficino, and thought to be printed around 1484-85,[180] was also recorded in Matthias' Corvinian Library, just as Marsilius Ficinus' Enneades translation.[181] It was explained in our chapter on Ianus Pannonius, that King Matthias contemporary statue in Bautzen represents precisely the Politeia's ruler in contemplation of the Platonic ideas, and in this the portrait in Bautzen reflected the King's effigy in the royal court of Buda, where Matthias represented similarly „cogitabundus".[182]

The fact that this description of Leonardo reflects King Matthias court so astonishingly well, and that according to his story the painter gave the beloved lady's portrait to the King, is hardly by chance, because the Virgin's fair hair and features in Leonardo 's ***Annunciation in the Uffizi***[183] matches Queen Beatrix's features on the Didymus corvina now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York,[184] and on the Breviarium corvina in the Vatican Library,[185] as well as her description by Bonfini, according to whom Beatrix had "spacious forehead, high eyebrows, embossed brows, ….proportionate nose, shapely mouse."[186] Meanwhile the features of Beatrix of Aragon could appear on the Annunciation in the Uffizi only, if it was the young Leonardo, who was sent from Verocchio's workshop working already for the rozal court of Buda to Naples, to paint the prospective brides Namely Matthias had to choose between the sisters, Eleonora and Beatrix of Aragon. The King chose the beautiful Beatrix, as he could not know, that only Eleonora could have secure the survival of his dynasty.

The contract signed on the 25th April 1485 for chapel of the Immaculate Conception in the Church of San Francesco in Milan prescribed, that the altarpiece has to show Our Lady with her son and two angels as well as two prophets.[187] By contrast ***the Madonna of the Rocks in the Louvre*** shows only one angel, and the two prophets are completely missing. Moreover and in sharp contrast with the prescriptions of the contract we find the child Saint John the Baptist on the composition. Therefore the Madonna of the Rocks in Paris[188] cannot be painted originally for the Immaculate Conception's altar in question.

On the other hand the Duke of Milan Ludovico il Moro has written the following to Maffeo da Treviglio, to his ambassador in Buda in his letter dated 13th April 1483: „as we were informed, that His Majesty" (King Matthias) „enjoys the beautiful paintings very much, especially if they have a certain religious inspiration, and finding a best painter, and seeing his

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Ritoók Zsigmond: Janus Pannonius görög versfordítsai in: Kardos Tibor, V. Kovács Tibor: Janus Pannonius tanulmányok, Budapest 1975, page 407.

[180] Csaba Csapodi: The Corvinian Library, Budapest 1973, pages 318-319, no 506.

[181] Csapodi, op. cit., page324, no 519-520, and page 332, no 543.

[182] Antonii Bonfinii Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades. Decas IV, Liber VII, n° 96.
Edited in: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum" by I. Fógel, B. Iványi, L Juhász.
Tomus IV. Budapest 1941, page 136.

[183] Uffizi inventory number 1618.

[184] Morgan MS 496, folio 2recto. See Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi: Bibliotheca Corviniana, Shannon 1969, page 195.

[185] Cod. Urb. Lat. 112 folio 6recto. Lásd Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi: Bibliotheca Corviniana, Shannon 1969, page 239..

[186] Antonii Bonfinii Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades. Decas IV, Liber IV, n° 58.
Edited in: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum" by I. Fógel, B. Iványi, L Juhász.
Tomus IV. Budapest 1941, page 69.

[187] la tavole centrale, centinata doveva contenere la Madonnna col Bambino contornata da un gruppo di angeli e da due profeti (probabilmente Isaia e David)
Angela Ottinodella Chiesa (introduced byMario Pomilio): L'opera completa di Leonardo pittore, Milan 1967, 1978, page 96, third column, n° 15.

[188] Louvre , inventory number 777.

works we do not know any of his rival, we have ordered to him to paint such a beautiful, excellent and devout picture of Our Lady as he can, not sparing the expenses. Presently he is working on this, and he is not making any other work until this is finished. After that we shall order to give this to His Majesty mentioned earlier."[189]

It is obvious that the best painter, who could not be matched by anyone, could not be anybody else, but Leonardo staying at the court of Milan, who remained matchless ever since, and it is also obvious, that the representation of the Virgin in question could be only the Madonna of the Rocks in Paris, which was painted by Leonardo precisely in the years 1483-1486, when he did not paint anything else according to Ludovico il Moro, but such a beautiful, excellent and devout picture of Our Lady, as the Madonna of the Rocks in Paris, as not even Leonardo himself have painted such a beautiful, excellent and devout picture another time.

It is well known that Leonardo struggled with his masterpieces for years, and concentrating on them he left other works undone: he has not finished the Battle of Anghiari in three years between 1504-1506, he painted the Last Supper for two years in Milan in 1495-1497. This in itself shows, that the Madonna of the Rocks painted in the years 1483-85 he could have painted for the court of Buda as according to Ludovico il Moro he in those years did not paint anything else. This destination appears also from the head of the angel on the painting, which corresponds to the features of Queen Beatrix's niece, Isabella d'Este on Titian's portrait based on Francesco Francia's painting, if we take into consideration that Isabella was only 9-11 years old in 1483-85, therefore much younger, than on Titian's representation. According to the letter of Cesar Valentini the Ambassador of Ferrara dated on the 30th October 1486 Isabella stayed at the Hungarian court of her aunt.[190] Meanwhile the face of the young Saint John the Baptist is unmistakably identical with the profile Isabella's brother Alfonso, the crown prince of Ferrara on his medallion made in 1477 in the British Museum.[191] The features of the Virgin however remind the face of Eleonora de Aragonia, Beatrix's sister (and the mother of Isabella and Alfonso) for example on the miniature of folio 30recto in the Matthias Gradual.[192]

In this connection it is quite significant and confirms our conclusion, that Queen Beatrix sent a letter to the fathers of the children Hercules d'Este Duke of Ferrara from Pozsony on the 4th August 1486, saying, that the Ambassador of Ferrara will write about this more completely, but we write only because your sons, who were painted after life are very pleasing, and they pleased His Majesty my Lord, the King, who can not be satisfied by their view saying, that… His Highness Hippolito is much more beautiful, than the first born, His Highness Don Alfonso…."[193] It follows from this, that the Little Jesus on the Madonna of the Rocks was impersonated by the infant Hippolito d'Este. Meanwhile the same letter of Beatrix proves that as well, that the Duke of Milan sent the first version of the Madonna of the Rocks to the Hungarian court, because otherwise there was no reason to paint and dispatch the portraits of little children abroad, whose appearance changes rapidly from year to year as they grow. The fact recorded by Cesar Valentini, Ambassador of Ferrara, namely that King Matthias kissed the small Ippolito d'Este on the picture before his entire court, and made all the lords present at the court do the same, is explained by the composition of the Madonna of

[189] Nagy Iván, br Nyáry Albert: Magyar diplomácziai emlékek, Volume III., Budapest 1877, page 44.
[190] Nagy Iván, br Nyáry Albert: Magyar diplomácziai emlékek, Volume III., Budapest 1877, page 201.
[191] George Francis Hill: A Corpus of Italian Medals, London 1930, Table 24, medallion numbered 118.
[192] National Széchenyi Library OSZK Clmae. 414, folio 30recto.
[193] Nagy Iván, br Nyáry Albert: Magyar diplomácziai emlékek, Volume III., Budapest 1877, page155.

the Rocks, in which the small Hippolyto d'Este personifies the Little Jesus, and that is the reason, why his picture was kissed by the court. In this way this message of Cesar Valenti too confirms, that the first version of Madonna of the Rocks was sent to the court of Hungary. This also explains, why were made two versions of the altarpiece of the Chapel of the Immaculate Conception in the Church of San Francesco in Milan, which was not explained satisfactorily before, bacause the first version had to be sent to the King of Hungary on the order of the Duke of Milan and an other altarpiece was needed in his place in the chapel of immaculate Conception of the Church of San Francesco Grande in Milan

In the British royal collection of Windsor ***Leonardo's famous and enigmatic drawing is preserved with the number 12496***. Its enigma has not been deciphered sofar. This drawing however shows a globe displaying clearly the Adriatic sea and the Balkans, and from these it is clear, that the eagle in the focus of the picture stands justly at Litvania on this globe. It must be obvious from this, that this crowned white eagle is the eagle of the Jagellons. The ship on this drawing is steered exactly towards the just mentioned Jagellonian eagle by a wolf. It is well known however, that the ancient coat-of arms of the Hungarian nabobs de Szapolya was precisely the wolf and therefore the picture's composition shows, that Hungary's ship was steered to Jagellonian waters by the Palatine Stephen de Szapolya as a result of the Wladislav IInd's election in 1490. This makes it obvious therefore, that even in 1490 Leonardo followed Hungary's destiny with attention, when Leonardo's old acquaintance Queen Beatrix, was seemingly married by Wladislav IInd. Wladislav however wanted only to obtain the castles controlled by the Queen through a simulated marriage ceremony, and he succeeded to annul it eventually, but through a lawsuit lasting ten years until 3rd April 1501.

The Madonna of the Rocks might have been brought into the French court, when Wladislav obtained new bride from King Louis XIIth in 1502, as it could not have pleased Wladislav to pray before an altarpiece, which must have reminded him of his marriage swindle. The Madonna of the Rocks however can not be documented in the French royal collections before 1625, and it is possible, that Queen Mary of Hungary brought it with her, when she escaped from Buda in 1526, and it fallen into King Henry IInd's hands, when the French spoilt Queen Mary's castles in the Low Countries in 1554.

Queen Beatrix of Hungary died on 12th September 1508 in Castel Capuano in Naples. It is surprising however, that on Leonardo's painting ***Virgin and Child and Saint Anne in the Louvre***[194] Saint Anne's features are astonishingly similar and in fact correspond to the portrait statue of Beatrix de Aragon by Laurana now in Princeton. According to art historians this painting showing Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child was painted by Leonardo around 1510-1511, which implies that Isabella d'Este wanted to commemorate her beloved aunt in this form, because the profile of Virgin sitting on the lap of Saint Anne is identical with Isabella d'Este's profile on Giancristoforo Romano's medallion in the Victoria & Albert Museum.[195]

It ought to be pointed out, that Laurana's ***Diva Beatrix Aragonia*** in Princeton mirrors perfectly that certain divine serenity of the countenance and cheerfulness „divina quaedam serenitas vultus et hilaritas" by which Bonfini characterised Queen Beatrix in his Syposion,[196] and in this serenity and cheerfulness originates the Leonardesque smile, which was born on Beatrix's lips.

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[194] Inventory number 776.
[195] Inventory number 232-1910.
[196] Antonius de Boinfinis: Symposion de virginitate et pudicitia coniugali, Bale 1572, page 3.

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We know from Vasari's account, that Verocchio made a relief of Alexander the Great and of Darius for King Matthias Corvinus.[197] This relief of Darius is known from a drawing of Leonardonow in tn the British Museum.[198] The head of Verocchio's David in Florence[199] is unmistakably shows Ippolito d'Este's profile and his structure of head, demonstrated by the paintings of Mantegna and of Giovanni Bellini.

Mantegna painted the Parnassus for the studiolo of Isabella d'Este in 1497. On this Isabella appears as a singing Muse, and Ippolito d'Este the Primate of Hungary as Mercury wearing the Cardinals red hat decorated by the wings of Mercury just as he descended from his Pegasus.[200] On the Feast of Gods by Giovanni Bellini Ippolito d'Este was painted again as Mercury in 1514 in Ferrara in the picture ordered by Ippolito's elder brother Alfonso d'Este.[201]

Ippolito d'Este was celebrated by Baladassare Castiglione in his work Il Cortegiano as a person, who was born with all the excellences of the body as well as of the soul as a favour of nature and of the stars.[202] Ippolito d'Este represented quite a few times on the superb miniatures[203] of King Matthias Corvinus famous library, the Corvina. It was in the court of Ippolito d'Este, that Ariosto wrote his masterwork, the Orlando furioso, which celebrates the Grand Matthias Corvinus.[204] This epos written in the court of Ippolito d'Este became the inspiration of many splendid paintings of the European art for centuries.[205]

Ippolito d'Este was brought up and trained by King Matthias Corvinus to be a successful military commander, who defeated even the Venetian navy.[206] If he remained the Primate of Hungary, he would have led personally the crusade of 1514 against the Turks, and in that case it had not degenerated into peasants rebellion. After the death of King Wladislav

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[197] Giorgio Vasari: The Lives of the Artists, Penguin 1965, 1975, pages 233-234

[198] Balogh, Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában Budapest 1966 Volume Ii picture410, 414, Volume I, pages 513-516
Leonardo's drawing is 2857cm x 20.7 cm, cf. A. E. Popham: Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci, London 1946, 1952, pages 121,picture 129

[199] Bargello, Florence. See G. Passavant: Verocchio London 1969, pictures 20, 21.

[200] Paris, the Louvre, Niny Caravaglia, introduced by Andrew Martindale: The Complete Paintings of Mantegna, London 1971, page 117 and picture 91.

[201] Washington, The National Gallery no 597. See Terizio Pignatti, introduced by Renato Ghiotto:L'opra completa diGiovanni Bellini Milan1969,Tav LXIV, page 109, no 207.John Walker.The National Gallery Washington,London1964, page 145

[202] Baldesare Castiglione. Il libro del Cortegiano a cura di Bruno Maier, Torino 1964, pages 104-105

[203]Modena, Biblioteca Estense Cod. Lat. 432 (Thomas Aquinas corvina) folio 6^{recto}
Bruxelles Bibliothèque Royale Ms 9008 (Missale Romanum), folio 8^{verso}
Budapest National Széchenyi Library, OSZK Clmae 424, (Mathias Graduale), folio 50^{recto}
Venice, Biblioteca nationale di San Marco, MS 4034, (Martianus Capella corvina), folio 1^{verso}
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod.Lat 653,(Augustinus corvina), folio 1^{recto}
Wolfenbüttel,Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod 43, Aug 2° (Fontius corvina), folio 1^{recto}.

[204] Ariosto: Orlando furioso, song XLVI. stanzas 86-88
(a cura di Emilio Bigi, Milan1982, volume II., pages 1927-1928)

[205] for exaple :
Jacques Blanchard : Angelica and Medoro from around 1630, now in New York, Metripolitan Museum of Art;
Ingres : Ruggero rescues Angelica from 1819, National Gallery, London
cf.: A. Pigler: Barockthemen ….2. enlarged edition, Volume II, Budapest 1974, pages 463-464 registering 60 paintings of Angelica and Medoro from the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries.

[206]Conte Pompeo Litta : Celebri famiglie Italiani, Milan 1819-1899, Fasciculus XXVI,Tavola XII.
Luigi Simeoni in: Enciclopedia Italiana, Volume XIV, Rome 1932, page 397.

II in 1516 Ippolito d'Este as the Bishop of Eger again participated in the Hungarian diet[207] and on his last trip he visited Hungary's border castles and fortresses, especially Belgrade, to prepare them against the expected Turkish attacks[208]. Ippolito d'Este died in Ferrara in 1520[209] and in 1521 Belgrade was occupied by the Turks.

Chapter **VI**. ***Albrecht Dürer de Ajtós and the Hungarian Royal Court.***

a) Castle yards

Dürer's watercolour titled ***„Castle yard with clouds"*** has been preserved in the Albertina.[210] Concerning this picture it has been explained by Walter Koschatzky, „The result of complicated attempts at reconstruction and of all the efforts to settle the question of buildings portrayed was that no very convincing proof emerged…."[211]

On the left side of this picture we find a defence corridor running on the top of the ramparts, covered by rose coloured tiled roof in sections intercepted by projections covered with blue coloured roof, exactly as the defence corridor built by King-Emperor Sigismund on the ramparts of Buda castle is coloured on the woodcut of Buda castle in Schedel's Weltchronik kept in Munich, which used to be Hartmann Schedl"s own copy.[212]

On this „Castle yard with clouds" in front of us in the middle we find a corridor connecting the defence corridor on our left with the castle buildings on our right. Behind this connecting corridor a bulky building rises but only to moderate height. This bulky building stands in the continuation of the other castle buildings on our right, but also jumps ahead towards the defence corridor on our left. These peculiarities match completely the representation of King Sigismund's „Unfinished Tower(=Csonkatorony)" at his western defence corridor in Buda castle as shown on Wening's the copperplate based on Hallart very precise drawing made in 1684-86.[213] Around the top of this bulky building in question Dürer represented small side-towerlets just as Wilhelm Dillich's copperplates from 1600,[214] and as it is shown on the other view, which was reprinted in Zolnay's book.[215]

It follows from these observations, that the buildings on the right side of the watercolour in question constituted the Western wings of the royal palaces in Buda, concerning to which Bonfini wrote „on the western side aged buildings still not restored": ad occasum vetustum opus nondum restauratum[216], precisely as shown by Dürer's picture. The identification of the „Castle yard with clouds" with Buda castle is confirmed by the metal

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[207] Caelii Calcagnini in funere Hippolyti Cardinalis Estensis oratio. Orationes funebres in morte Pontificum, imperatorum Regum, Principum… Hanoviae 10613, pages 264-265
[208] ibidem
[209] Conte Pompeo Litta : Celebri famiglie Italiani, Milan 1819-1899, Fasciculus XXVI,Tavola XII.

[210] Albertina, Inventory number 3058
[211] Walter Koschatzky: Albrecht Dürer The Landscape Watercolours, London1973, N°. 6
[212] Munich, Cim 187, folio 138^{verso}-139^{recto}. cf.: Adrian Wilson: The making of the Nuremberg Chronicle, Amsterdam 1976 page 206.
[213] Balogh Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, volume II., Budapest 1966, picture 26.
[214] Balogh, op. cit., volume II., page24, pictures 19 and 20.
[215] Zolnay László: Az elátkozott Buda,. Buda aranykora, Budapest 1982, page 349.
[216] Antonii Bonfinii Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades. Decas IV, Liber VII, n° 95.
Edited in: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum" by I. Fógel, B. Iványi, L Juhász. Tomus IV. Budapest 1941, page 136.

globes decorating the pinnacles on the roofs, which was still recorded in Buda castle by Evlia Chelebi in 1663,[217] although according to Hieronymo de Zara many of them were plundered by Suleyman the Magnificent in 1526.[218]

Panofsky dated Dürer's „Castleyard with clouds" to 1490.[219] This corresponds to the fact that in place of the aged buildings on the right of the picture in question Wladislav IInd built a renaissance building, as this could be the building, where a red marble lintel was found with the inscription „Vladislai hoc magnificum opus M.V.II" (sic) by Salomon Schweiger in 1577,[220] and by Reinhold Lubenau in 1587[221] as well as a room painted with the sky at the time of the Hungarian coronation of Wladislav.[222] These renaissance buildings of Wladislav IInd appear on the western wing of Buda castle in Michael Wening's copperplate based on de Hallart drawing from 1686[223] in the place of the aged buildings painted by Dürer in 1490.

The Albertina in Vienna has an other watercolour by Dürer titled ***„Castle yard without clouds".***[224] On the left side of this „Castle yard without clouds" obviously the same type aged building covered by pink coloured tiles and with the same type of staircases covered by the same type pinnacled blue roof with metal globes on the pinnacles as seen on the right side of „Castle yard with clouds." These staircases and the buildings are so similar, that they must belong to the same castle, but the windows of the buildings and openings on the roofs show that they are not really picturing the same courtyard. The most likely site of the „Castle yard without clouds" is the Eastern wing of Buda castle with the Western end of the Chapel of Saint John the Almsgiver on our right and the observatory tower in front of us in the middle.

These two pictures by Dürer were dated to 1490 by Panovsky,[225] and according to Koschatzky they show, that Dürer " had not yet completely mastered perspective…"[226] All these observations must mean, that at the beginning of his wandering years Albrecht Dürer de Aytós visited Hungary. It was obvious that Dürer's father migrating from Hungary to Nürnberg has sent his son to home because in 1490 the most advanced renaissance court north of the Alpes was the court of Hungary. Moreover the family Dürer remained in mutual contacts with their relations staying still in Gyula, and they were also in close contact with the Hallers von Hallerstein, who maintained good relations with King Matthias, who knighted Ruprecht Haller and took into his protection Wilhelm Haller of Nürnberg. Meanwhile the young Albrecht Dürer painted a Madonna for the Haller family, just as a views of Kalchreuth, the family estate of the Hallers and twice the Hallers' meadow in Nürnberg.

During his wandering years Dürer „peragrata Germania",[227] but when he started the Hungarian court still stayed at Vienna, that is to say just inside „Germany". His journey before 1492 has remained unknown before now, but his watercolour of Prunn near Regensburg show, that he started towards Hungary, and probably implies, that he travelled by

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[217] Evlia Cselebi magyarországi utazásai. Kiadta Karácson Imre. Volume I., (Török-magyar kori emlékek, II. osztály, Volume III.), Budapest 1904, page 241.
[218] Óváry L(ipót): A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történeti Bizottságának oklevélmásolatai. II. Budapest 1894, page 6, document 10.
[219] Koschatzky, op. cit. no 5.
[220] und aber über einer Thür: Vladislai hoc magnificum opus Anno MVII (sic) (Salamon Schweigger:Ein newe ReissBeschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem, Nörnberg 1639, page 22.ö
[221] Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau, herausgegeben von W. Sahm, Mitteilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek zu Königsberg i. Pr. 1914, page 85.
[222] Schweigger, op. cit.,pages 21-22.
[223] Balogh Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, volume II., Budapest 1966, picture 28.
[224] Albertina, Inventory number 3057.
[225] Koschatzky No. 5.
[226] Koschatzky No. 6.
[227] Angela Ottino Della Chiesa introduced by Giorgio Zampa: L'opera completa di Dürer, Milan 1968, page 83 fifth column .

ship towards Hungary, possibly on a ship also used by the Hallers. On 11th April 1490, when Albrecht Dürer started his journey, they could have known in Nürnberg, that King Matthias already died on the 6th April 1490.

b) Duke Johannes Corvinus, Duke of Lipto and Oppeln

Namely the fact, that from the face of ***Duke Johannes Corvinus*** deep sorrow emanates on his portrait now in Munich[228] although he is painted as a bridegroom wearing his bridal wreath, could show only that his picture was maid after his father death, because otherwise it can not be understood, why is he so sorrowful, when his father lavished on him with everything while he was alive, and no bridegroom used to be sad. This sorrow accompanied with the facts, that Albrecht Dürer de Aytos has painted the royal castle of Buda in 1490, when still controlled by Duke Johannes Corvinus, and that the main seat of the estates of Duke Johannes Corvinus was precisely Gyula, from where the Dürers de Aytós emigrated into Nürnberg, but where they close relations still lived in 1490 inevitably shows, that the portrait of the Prince in Munich was painted by Albrecht Dürer. This is revealed by the setting of the head within picture's space, typical of Dürer, as well as by the dark background like on his father's portrait also painted in 1490, and most of all Johannes Corvinus electrically charged huge „mane", just like the hair of Albrecht Dürer himself on his self-portrait dated in 1498.[229] Italian painters have never painted such electrically charged tresses. Dürer's brush also betrayed by Joannes Corvinus' gentle eyes whose expression and sorrow shows, that only one of the largest painters could have painted them, as Dürer could express the represented persons characters just through the power of his eyes. Concerning this point it is enough to compare the glance of Johannes Corvinus with the look of Friedrich the Wise in Berlin-Dahlem[230] or with the Gentleman's countenance in the Prado in Madrid.[231]

The carefully represented goldsmith objects, the crown, the cross and the pendant with the raven also betrays, that the portrait was painted by Dürer trained as a goldsmith, just as the crowns of Charlemagne[232] and of Emperor Sigismund[233] painted later around 1512-13, and now in Nuremberg. These carefully represented goldsmith objects on Duke Johannes Corvinus' portrait were obviously brought by Dürer from their goldsmith workshop at home, and that is the reason that they got so much emphasised on the painting.

In this connection a digression has to be made concerning the so-called ***Matthias Calvary***, which was in the possession of just Duke Johannes Corvinus exactly in 1490. The lower renaissance part of this Calvary was thought to be the work of North Italian artist by Jolán Balogh, and the masterpiece of Antonio Palaiuolo by Dr. Zoltán Nagy.The lower renaissance vase-like stand however appears as typical decorations in the corvinian manuscripts volumes of Regiomontanus[234] and Philostratus[235] both decorated in the royal castle in Buda and there are even dolphins on the stand represented in the Regiomontanus

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[228] Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, inventory number 12441.
[229] Madrid Prado inventory number 2179
[230] Berlin-Dahlem, inventory number 557C.
[231] Madrid Prado inventory number 2180.
[232] Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inventory number 78. Lime wood, 188 cm x 87,6 cm.
[233] Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inventory number 79. Lime wood, 187.7 cm x 85.5 cm.
[234] Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 44, folio l^{recto}.
[235] National Széchenyi Library OSZK Clmae. 417, folio 1^{verso}.

manuscript. The form of the shields of coats-of-arms held by the sphinxes at the bottom of this stand is very similar to the similarly enamelled shields on the Augustinus corvina, now in the National Széchenyi Library.[236] Moreover the representation of the planets on this stand is just like the constellations on the celestial globe of Martin Bylica de Olkusz made in Buda in 1480. Especially the idea to dress Jupiter into Gothic armour[237] on the Matthias Calvary is a peculiarity, which returns for example in the armour-clad Heracles (Hercules)[238] among the constellations in Bylica's celestial globe. The dressing of antique personalities into late gothic armour seems to have been the peculiarity of the court in Buda, because the Italians would leave them in Olympic dresslessness.

It has to be pointed out however, that the three persons on the top of the so called Gothic part of the Calvary was made by a very great artist, who succeeded to display his enormous talent in these Calvary figures. It is a fact, that among them the figure of Saint John the evangelist mirrors Dürer's woodcut representing Saint Francis of Assisi,[239] while the head of the Saviour reflects the Entombment from the series of the Great Passion,[240] while Virgin's figure is almost identical with her portrayal on Dürer's woodcuts in the Missal of Eichstätt[241] and in his Presentation[242]. In this context it has to be remembered, that Albrecht Dürer de Aytos the Elder himself, the goldsmith, keeps in his hand just such a small statue as the figures of the Matthias Calvary, as the sign of his own craft on his self-portrait from 1486 in the Albertina.[243]

Duke Johannes Corvinus' portrait as a bridegroom in Munich incidentally reveals, that he is the young ***member of the dynasty de Hunyad on the relief portrait preserved*** in Milan having a date of 1471 carved on its back,[244] which remained from the previous use of the marble, and showing that it could not show the young Matthias Corvinus. As a matter of fact the nose in the profile of this relief also excludes the possibility, that it could have represented King Matthias when young, but the relief profile matches exactly that of Johannes Corvinus. His identity also explains, why has remained this relief of the young Duke of Oppeln and Liptó in Milan, because he engaged Bianca Maria Sforza, the sister of Ludovico il Moro on the 25th November 1487,[245] and his likeness must have been sent to Milan on that occasion.

c)Terence

Dürer's 131 woodcuts illustrating Terence's comedies were known only from XIXth Century impressions until the new edition appeared in 1926 from the blocks preserved in Bale.[246] Some of the players on these woodcuts, for example Aeschinus in the Adelphoi[247] are dressed as Ippolito d'Este in the corvina Missal now in Brussels,[248] or Duke Saint Emery

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[236] OSZK Cod. Lat. 121. See Balogh, Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Volume II., page 404, picture 570.
[237] Cséfalvay Pál: Az Esztergomi Bazilika, Kincstár és Vármúzeum, Budapest 1992, page 33.
[238] Zofia Ameisenowa: The Globe of Martin Bylica of Olkusz, Wrocklaw etc., 1959, Figure 10 after page 60.
[239] Dr Willy Kurth: The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer, New York 1963, picture 195 from 1502.
[240] Kurth, op. cit., picture 127 from the years 1497-1500.
[241] Kurth, op.cit., picture 302 from 1516.
[242] Kurth, op.cit., picture 186 from 1502.
[243] Marcel Brion: Dürer, London 1960, 1964, page 23.
[244] Jávor Anna et alii, (ed.): Történelem-Kép, Budapest 200, page 41, picture 7..
[245] Jolán Balogh: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Volume I., Budapest 1966, page 527.
[246] See: Erich Römer: Dürers Ledige Wanderjahre. Jahrbuch der Preusseischen Kunstsammlungen 1926.
[247] See Römer, op.cit., Tafel 28 after page 119.
[248] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Ms 9008 folio 8verso.

in John de Thwrcz's Augsburg edition of 1488.[249] Others, like Pamphilus in the Maid of Andros, wear slashed sleeves,[250] like the figures on Giorgione's Bravo (Claudius Luscius attacks Celius Plotinus).[251] There are however some, who have Hungarian clothing. Suno in the Maid of Andros has braiding on his dress[252] like Nicholas de Gara de genere Dorozsma on folio 76 of the Matthias Gradual. Syrus' round cap with feather and his entire dress[253] in Heauton timoroumenos is identical with Cardinal Ippolito Medici's Hungarian attire on Titian's portrait in the Palazzo Pitti.[254] Phaedria wears egret feather in an aigrette,[255] just as the Hungarian lords wear egret feathers already in scenes showing Saint Ladislas' (László's) coronation[256] and death[257] in his story in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary painted around 1328-1333.[258]

Even more significant is, that according to Dürer's woodcuts Antipho in Phormio[259] was played by Ippolito d'Este, Primate of Hungary as shown by his miniature in the Thomas Aquinas corvina.[260] Queen Beatrix acted Bacchis in the comedy Hecyra (Mother-in-Law)[261] as she is identified repeatedly by Laurana's portrait of Beatrix of Aragon in the woodcuts, where Thais in the comedy Eunuchus[262] was similarly played by Queen Beatrix, as it is obvious from her mask kept in Chambery.

All these observations must mean that in the years 1490-1492 the young Albrecht Dürer de Aytós could obtain his inspiration for his Terence woodcuts only at the Esztergom court of Queen Beatrix and Ippolito d'Este, because it is unlikely, that anywhere else they would have played Terence's comedies in Hungary in those years. King Wladislaw IInd is better known about the dissipating the manuscript from the Corvina library rather than being interested in classical literature. On the other hand Bonfini has recorded, that Queen Beatrix enjoyed herself exceedingly in actors and performers: adiecti quoque histriones et mimi, quibus regina nimium indulsit.[263] According to a letter written to Albert de Sánkfalva by "Udis" King Matthias tolerated the spending on players, performers and musicians to such extents, that the money spent on them exceeded the Queen's dowry more than ten times: tantum in histriones, mimos et cytharedoes …nummorum profusionem toleravit, ut hos sumptus et allatam dotem id ex decuplo superavit.[264] Queen Beatrix therefore was „exceedingly"' interested in the theatre, and she could speak Latin already from her childhood. Dubravius praised the elegance of her Latin.[265] She in fact replied easily just in

[249] Johannes de Twrocz: Chronica Hungarorum Ausburg 1488, folio 35^{recto}.
[250] Römer, op.cit., Tafel 4. after page 136.
[251] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inventory number 64.
[252] Römer, op. cit Tafel 5.
[253] Römer, op. cit., Tafel 18.
[254] Florence, Palazzo Pitti, inventory number 201.
[255] Römer op. cit., Tafel 10.
[256] Vat. lat. 8541, folio 80^{recto} IInd scene.
[257] Vat. lat. 8541, folio 84^{recto} XVIIIth scene.
[258] Levárdi Ferenc:Magyar-Anjou Legendarium, Budapest 1973, pages 41-43.
[259] Römer, op. cit., Tafel 32.
[260] Thomas Aquinas' Commentary in the first book of Liber sentatiarum by Petrus Lombardus.
Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Cod. Lat. 432, folio 6^{recto}.
[261] Römer, op. cit., Tafel 39.
[262] Römer, op. cit., Tafel 10.
[263] Antonii Bonfinii Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades. Decas IV, Liber VII, n° 86.
Edited in: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum" by I. Fógel, B. Iványi, L Juhász.
Tomus IV. Budapest 1941, page 135.
[264] Abel, E(ugenius), Hegedűs St(ephanus): Analecta nova ad historiam renascentium in Hungaria litterarum spectantia, Budapest 1903, page 457.
[265] Iohanni Dubravii….Historia Boiemica, 1602, page 256.

Latin, in Hungarian and in German.[266] As a matter of fact the Matthias Gradual shows, that Queen Beatrix acted in plays already in the court of King Matthias.[267]

Meanwhile there was a copy of Terence's comedies not only in the Corvinian Library in Buda, but also in the Library of Primate John Vitéz in Esztergom.[268] Therefore Queen Beatrix living in her nephew's the castle of Esztergom could enjoy herself not only by reading in John Vitéz's Library, but also playing Terence's comedies as well according to the testimony of Albrecht Dürer.

d) Hungary's reappearences in the carrier of Dürer de Aytos.

It has to be pointed out, that in Dürer's woodcut series titled "Ritter von Turn," published in Bale in 1493 on the XXIVth picture, showing ***„King Jehu causes his wife to be beheaded on account of her infidelity,"*** the profile of the crowned queen is identical with Beatrix profile on her relief now exhibited in the Royal Castle in Buda.[269] The identity of these two profiles is so clear that this in itself seem to show, that Dürer met Queen Beatrix. The subject of the woodcut however might indicate, that the young Albrecht Dürer born on 21st May 1471 in fact sympathised with his contemporary Duke Johannes Corvinus born on 2nd April 1473. Besides the Duke was the landlord of Gyula and had a German mother like him and both spoke German. On the other hand Beatrix completely undermined the Duke's claim to the throne against the last wishes of her consort, King Matthias, and against the expectations of her relation, the Duke of Milan, Ludovico Sforza il Moro.

The middle aged king on Dürer's ***Adoration of the Magi*** painted in 1504 in Venice and now in the Uffizi,[270] the King seems to wear the Hungarian Order of the Dragon with dragons doubled[271] as shown chain of the Dragon Order worn by Stephan Bathory de Ecsed of the clan Gut-Keled országbíró (Chief Justice) on his tombstone in Nyirbátor from 1493,[272] on the baronial coat-of arms of the family Drágffy de Béltek from 1507,[273] on the coat of arms of the family Kanizsay de genere Osl.[274] On the baronial coat–of-arms of the Török de Enying [275] the dragon's head also look heraldically to the left, which is clearly recognisable on Dürer's Adoration just as the backbone of the curved dragon. A year after the Adoration in 1505, Dürer painted a portrait of ***George Thurzó de Bethlenfalva***, the husband of Ann Fugger from Augsburg as it appears from the investigations in the following chapter.

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[266] Iacobus Philippus Forestus Bergomensis: De claris selectisque mulieribus, Ferrara 1497 folio 3^{recto}; Berzeviczy Albert: Beatrix királyné, Budapest 1908, pages 69, 86.

[267] National Széchenyi Library, OSZK Clmae. 424, folio 184^{recto} shows her impersonating the people's changeability (mutatio populi) apparently in a mystery play, while folio 119^{verso} shows her playing Mercy (Micericordia).

[268] Csaba Csapodi: The Corvinian Library, Budapest 1973, page 365, n°625, note.

[269] Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum (Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest), Inventory number 6712.

[270] Florence, Uffizi, inventory number1434.

[271] Peter Strieder: Dürer: Complete Paintings, London etc. 1980, page 61.

[272] See: Dr. Johannes Gründler et alii: Schallaburg'82, Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn, catalogue of exhibition 8th May-1st November 1982, page 583, Kat.Nr.654c

[273] See Géza Cserghető de Nagy-Tacskánd: Der Adel von Ungarn sammt den Nebenländern der St. Stephans-Krone (J. Siebmacher's Allgemeine und universelle Wappenbuch, Band 4, Abteilung 15, Nürnberg 1893 (1885-1993), pages 143-144, Tafel 113.

[274] Nyulásziné Straub Éva: Öt évszázad címerei, Budapest 1987,Tábla XLIV.

[275] op. cit., XXXIV. Tábla.

At the Congress of Vienna in 1515 Albert Dürer made excellent portraits of the old ***King Wladislav IInd and his children: King Louis IInd and Duchess Anne*** on a woodcut.[276] The armour of Saint Florian on Dürer's woodcut ***„Austrian Saints"*** from 1515-1518[277] is practically identical with Saint Ladislas' armour on a woodcut of the ***Hungarian Saints***,[278] and the noses of the figures represented on these two woodcuts are also quite close.

In contrast to Hans Burgkmair's woodcut showing Hungarian lords from 1516-18 Albrecht Dürer de Aytos represented first the Hungarian folkloric dress in his drawing ***„Hungarian trophy"*** [279] in 1518. Dürer also made drawing for ***decoration of a Hungarian saddle*** in 1515-1517,[280] while the firm of his uncle László Dürer de Aytos had to make Hungarian saddles in Gyula.[281]

Chapter **VII.** ***The Unicorn-hunt tapestries and Queen Anne de Kendal.***

The Medieval Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of New York is kept in the Cloisters, and among its masterpieces the „Unicorn-Hunt" tapestries might belong to its most splendid treasures. This 3,68 meters high series presently consist of seven pieces and from its total length 23,2 meters have remained to our times.

The heraldic signs on the series have not been successfully identified, and as a consequence the meaning of the monograms on the tapestries and the original destination of the series have not been identified so far.

On the castle of the ***VI.th tapestry*** however we find a red flag, and its charge is strikingly similar to the crownless and „impressionistic" looking Jagellonian eagle on the gold dollar (thaler) of King Wladislav IInd of Hungary issued in 1506.[282] It is true; that this eagle is presently black on the tapestry, but black is the Jagellonean eagle on the representation of Wladislav's brother's coronation in Erasmus Ciotek's Pontifical.[283] These originally silver eagles seem to have oxidised in the course of centuries as for example the silver unicorn on the shield of archbishop Nicholas Oláh has became black.[284] Namely Western heraldry does not allow the use of colours on colours: the application of black charge on a red field, though in Hungary the black raven of the dynasty de Hunyad appears on a blue field. This shows, that in the Hungarian heraldry the principle forbidding the use of colour on colour has not prevailed. Meanwhile we have to observe that on the same castle of VI.th tapestry in addition to the red flag with the black eagle two other pennants flutter, one indicating the red and white

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[276] Dr Willy Kurth: The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer, New York 1963, picture 289.
[277] op. cit. picture 293.
[278] This was first published in the Burlington Magazine, XIVth volume, Oct. 1908-March 1909, page 303. The only known issue of this woodcut is now in the Hungarian National Museum, Történelmi Képcsarnok, inventory number11207
[279] Viennna Albertina inventory number 3156, D 128.
[280] New York Pierpont Morgan Library See Charles W. Talbot (ed.): Dürer in America, Washington 1971, pages 80-81. (XXIV)
[281] „The second son, Laszló, became a bridle maker" Francis Russell: The World of Dürer 1471-1528, 1967, 1972, page 38.
„The second son László joined a harness-maker's establishment and stayed there for the rest of his life." Marcel Brion: Dürer, London 1960, 1964, page 16.
Meanwhile the bridle-makers and the harnass-makers belonged to the same craft as the saddlers.

[282] This gold dollar was struck in Körmöcbánya and its diameter is 44 mm. See Huszár, Lajos: The art of coinage in Hungary, Budapest 1963, picture 41.
[283] Edmund A. Bowles: Musikleben in 15. Jahrhundert (Musikgeschichte in Bildern. Band III., Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, published by Werner Bachmann), Leipzig 1977, page 23.
[284] Nyulásziné, Éva Straub: Öt évszázad címerei, Budapest 1987, page 74 (Table LVIII), and page131.

bars of the Hungary,[285] the second pennant is red, the two showing the Hungarian and Bohemian kingdoms of Wladislaw IInd.

The above reading of the heraldic designs showing that the castle on the tapestry belongs to Wladislav IInd of Hungary is made unquestionable by the profile of the central figure in the foreground of the rising perspective is identical with Wladislav's profile in his own Prayer book in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.[286] Incidentally on the copperplates showing the royal resort of Visegrád by Zimmerman and by Dilich several similar arches next to each other appear on the bank of the Danube[287] like the series of arches at the entrance of the castle on the tapestry, which probably served as entrances to docks for the royal barges and men-of-war.

On the investigated VIth tapestry Wladislav IInd looks a very beautiful lady fixedly and with fascination, and their glances meet mutually. In fact out of the 24 heads woven masterfully into the fabric only this pair has been represented sharply in profile. It is obvious that this beautiful lady cannot be anybody else, but Anne de Foix-Kendal,[288] and this series of Unicorn-hunt tapestries were made for their marriage. This is shown by the fact that her monogram AE appears on most of the intact tapestries five times, as it is the abbreviation of her French name, Anne. In addition the E also refers to Evreux, used in Hungary as Anne's heraldic device for example on the coat-of-arms of Kassa issued on the 8th December 1502.[289] Moreover the letter E has been woven into the fabric reversed, which in this way could be considered even W indicating her bridegroom's initial. These two initials on each and every case in the tapestries are connected by a rope which symbolised marriage bond[290] and marital fidelity in the period, but in the case of Anne de Foix-Kendal must have referred to the Order of the Cordelier as well, the chivalric order of Anne de Bretagne,[291] whose lady-in-waiting used to be Anne de Foix-Kendal. Pierre Choque has also recorded, that sign of the Order of the Cordelier was displayed at the ceremonies of Anne's marriage at Székesfehérváron on the 29th September 1502,[292] and that at the marriage of Anne her monograms were fixed with golden ropes,[293] precisely as on all the tapestries in the series.

Anne de Foix-Kendal is identified also by the black crosses appearing in gold field displayed by flags on the IIIrd and VIth tapestries, as the black cross on gold field was the

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[285] The red and argent bars, (blazoned "Barry of eight, gules and argent, or sometimes Glue, four bars argent"), termed "Hungary-Ancient" in heraldry (John Woodward: A Treatise on Heraldry Volume II., Edinburgh 1892, pages (120) and (665))in fact originally constituted the heraldic emblem of the Árpád dynasty. Strictly speaking the pennant on the VIth tapestry shows red and white perpendicular pallets because of the narrowness of the pennant, which would not allow the technique of tapestry to represent the horizontal bars discernibly.

[286] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. liturg. d 6, folio 49^{recto}.

[287] See Dercsényi, Dezső (ed.): Magyarország műemléki topográfiája, Pest megye műemlékei, Volume II, page 403, picture 525; page 400 picture 523.

[288] Pierre Choque names the Earl of Kendal „conte de Candalle" in his French text. (Pierre Choque….:Discours des cérmonies du mariage d'Anne de Foix, ….Bibliothèque de l'École des chatres, year 21, volume II, page 431.)
In Hungarian Queen Anne de Foix has been always named Candalai Anna based on the French form of her name.

[289] Kassa, State Archive, AMK, Fasc. C-Insignia Nr.4.
See Dr Johannes Gründler et alii: Schallaburg'82, Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn, catalogue of exhibition 8th May 1st-November 1982, picture 48 after page 126; cf.: page 527 n° 570.

[290] Margaret B. Freeman: The Unicorn Tapestries, New York 1976, page 167.

[291] Michael Allen Butler: Twice Queen of France, Folkestone 1972, page 15;
le Roux de Lincy: Vie de la reine Anne de Bretagne, Volume II, Paris 1860, page 11.

[292] Anne de Foix-Kendal was married and crowned at the same time on Thursday, 29th September 1502
see Wenzel, Gusztáv: II. Ulászló magyar király házasélete, Századok 1877, page 756 quoting Pierre Choque:
"Le jeudi ensuyvant XXIX jour du dit mois (septembtre) fut esposée et couronnée la dite dame."
and Marino Sanuto: "di 29 et Cardinal disse la messa (Regina) incorono e fo pranso"

[293] Choque, op. cit., pages 166-167,171.

original coat-of-arms of the family de Grailly,[294] from which the dynasty de Foix originated. Anne de Foix-Kendal identified also by the inscription „AVE REGINA C"on the IVth tapestry, because the throne of the Kingdom of Navarre was occupied between 1483 and 1517 by Queen Catherine de Foix, who was the head of the orphan Anne de Foix-Kendal's family.

This gives the explanation that on the VIth tapestry King Wladislav IInd is met by the royal couple of Navarre, even if the French Queen is focused and emphasised by the gate in which she stands in the background. She is identified by her contemporary medallions,[295] and the tapestry shows her in conversation with her advisers indicating that from the background she pulls the strings. The French King Louis XIIth similarly identified by his contemporary medallion[296] is shown by the tapestry in conversation with King of Spain, apparently persuading Catholic Ferdinand[297] to marry Germaine de Foix woven into the picture[298] next to Anne de Foix-Kendal, but as Wladislav has chosen Anne instead of her cousin she had to find an other partner.

The hunter who spears the unicorn on the VIth tapestry is in fact complete mirror image of King Wladislav in his bearing, and by executing his jobs, because he is his royal alter ego, being the Palatine of Hungary. His typical long nose on the tapestry also characterises him on his tombstone at Tőketerebes.[299] At the same time the killing of the unicorn indicates that in the spring of 1504 Amery de Perény became the Palatine of Hungary by defeating the party following the family de Szapolya. Namely the unicorn was the charge on the coat-of-arms of the family de Szapolya as Counts of Szepes, and the followers of Count of Szepes indicated their allegiance to their leader by displaying unicorn on their shields.[300] In Medieval thinking there was an opposition between the unicorn and the dragon, while the party of the great barons gathered into the chivalric Order of the Dragon, which was also joined for example later by the Primate of Hungary George Szatmári as well.[301] This means that on the ***VIIth tapestry*** the unicorn bound by the dog collar of the Order of the Dragon means the taming the unicorn's party by the forces of the Chivalric Order of the Dragon.

In this respect it is characteristic, that on the ***IVth tapestry*** the hunter, who lets the unicorn to slash the king's greyhound into two, indicating, that he can not be anybody else, but John de Szapolya, Count of Szepes, whose coat-of-arms displayed a unicorn, and as such he must have been on the side of the unicorn. John de Szapolya's identity is shown also by his gold seal.[302] Furthermore his identity is confirmed by the fact, that his companion standing the other side of the unicorn occupied the same central place in the foreground, as King Wladislav IInd on the VIth tapestry. His profile is indeed identical with the profile of Duke

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[294] Henri Jougla de Morenas: Grand Armorial de France, Volume IV., Paris 1939, page 204.

[295] Sir George Francis Hill: A Corpus of Italian Medals, London 1930, Table 120, medallions 711-714,; cf.: pages 181-182

[296] George Francis Hill, loco citato.

[297] See his portrait preserved in the Prado in Madrid and his statue in the Cathedral of Malaga, Enciclopedia Vniversal Ilvstrada Evropoeo-Americana, Volume XXIII., Bilbao etc. pages 834 and 555.

[298] The portrait of Germain de Foix by de Maura must have been based on contemporary representation, see Enciclopedia Vniversal Ilvstrada Evropoeo-Americana, Volume XXV., Bilbao etc. page 1432.

[299] See Szilágyi Sándor (ed.): A magyar nemzet története, Volume IV, Budapest 1896, page 425, cf.: page 679.

[300] See the coat-of arms of the family de Tornallya from 1513 in: Géza Cserghető de Nagy-Tacskánd: Der Adel von Ungarn sammt den Nebenländern der St. Stephans-Krone (J. Siebmacher's Allgemeine und universelle Wappenbuch, Band 4, Abteilung 15, Nürnberg 1893 (1885-1993), pages 676, Tafel 467.

[301] Dr Johannes Gründler et alii: Schallaburg'82, Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn, catalogue of exhibition 8th May-1st November 1982, page 674 n° 827; page 570 n° 639b; page 546 n° 600.
George Szatmári was homo novus, therefore he could not have inherited the Order of the Dragon.

[302] this seal was used on a diploma issued in 1538, but it showed an early beardless representation of John de Szapolya as on the IVth tapestry. See Domanovszky, Sándor (ed.):Magyar művelődéstörténet, Volume III, pages 8 and 663.

Sigismund, Wladislav's younger brother,[303] living in Buda at the time. Their companionship on the tapestry mutually confirms their identity, because Duke Sigismund and John e Szapolya were very close friends for a lifetime. Namely Sigismund married John de Szapolya's sister, Barbara, and later John de Szapolya married a daughter of Sigismund from his second marriage, Isabel. The tapestry characterises them according to the Hungarian proverb, that birds can be known by their feathers, and men by their friends. Later both became kings, and then King Sigismund made King John represented as King David, and himself as King Salomon in his funerary chapel on the Wavel in Krakow.[304] Meanwhile into this IVth tapestry was woven the „Ave Regina C" inscription in praise of Queen Catherine of Navarre, but no queen has been represented on its composition in contrast to the beardless John de Szapolya. This could explain the origin of John de Szapolya's nickname „Queen Catherine" recorded by George Szerémi.[305]

The miniature representing Pierre Choque in his manuscript demonstrates,[306] that the person in the upper left corner of the ***IIIrd tapestry*** is Pierre Choque himself, the Herald of Anne de Bretagne, who accompanied of Anne de Foix-Kendal on the journey into Hungary. The family book of the Fuggers of Augsburg[307] identify the leader of the hunters encircling the unicorn with their spears on the IIIrd tapestry as George Thurzó de Bethlenfalva, who with his father were the favourite main money lenders financing the deficits of King Wladislav's court. George Thurzo's face on this tapestry demonstrates, that he was painted with his blue eyes by Dürer on the portrait preserved now in the Villa Borghese in Rome.[308] The fact that Pierre Choque appears with Hungarian barons on the same representation also demonstrates that these tapestries were made in connection with the marriage of Anne de Foix-Kendal, because that was the only occasion, when Pierre Choque appeared in such company of Hungarian potentates returning soon to the French court. He however recorded the use of Anne's „AA" monograms connected with gold rope (cordelière d'or) as decoration during the travel to these celebrations.[309] The „AA" monograms appear on the dog collars of the Ist tapestry, while on the unicorn-hunt tapestries originally there were at least 35 such monograms of the letters „A (and reversed)E" connected with golden rope modifying Anne's French name to indicate the marriage between Anne and Wladislav.

The young nabob with ostrich feather in his red hat in the ***IInd tapestry's*** centre is identified with Johannes Corvinus, Duke of Liptó and Oppeln, the Banus of Croatia[310] by his portrait in Munich.[311] On this tapestry he appears in much more cheerful, than on hios portrait ten zearsa earlier at the death of his father, and the tapestry succeeded to show his attractive and highly educated personality, who spoke Latin, Greek, German Hungarian, and probably

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[303] See Szilágyi Sándor (ed.): A magyar nemzet története, Volume V, Budapest 1896, page 46; cf.: page 661.

[304] Jan Białostocki: The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe, Oxford 1976, page 39 and picture 107, which shows King Sigismund as Salomon. Białostocki has not realised, that King John de Szapolya wore beard at the end of his life as shown on his woodcut by Erhard Schön around 1540. See Köpeczi, Béla, (chief ed.) Erdély története, Budapest 1987, Volume I., picture 152. after page 432. and Volume III, page 1908, number 152.

[305] Georgii Sirmiensis Epistola de perdicione (sic) regni Hvngarorum, Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Második Osztály (Divisio II.), Írók (Scriptores), Volume I, Pest 1857, page 310.

[306] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 1670, see: Dobosy Tibor: Anna magyar királyné francia kisérője, Budapest 1940, picture at the beginning of chapter I.

[307] See Szilágyi Sándor (ed.): A magyar nemzet története, Volume IV, Budapest 1896, coloured picture at page 474; cf.: page 664.

[308] Galleria Borghese, inventory number 287. See: Paola della Pergola: Galleria Borghese, I dipinti, Vol. II. (Cataloghi dei musei e gallerie d'Italia), picture 231.

[309] Pierre Choque….:Discours des cérmonies du mariage d'Anne de Foix, ….Bibliothèque de l'École des chatres, year 21, volume II, pages 166-167, 171.

[310] Qual il suo titulo è questo, come si ave una letera data a Irapina Johannes Corvinus Oppaviae Lipthomiaeque (recte: Liptoviaeque) dux ac regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Sclavoniae banus. Marino Sanuto:I diarii, 15th September 1500, Volume III. Venice 1880, column 785

[311] Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, inventory number 12441.

Czech as well.[312] Educated in his father's library his high education distinguished him among his peers, and among them he was almost alone in recognising the Turkish menace facing Hungary soon, and he fought seriously and successfully with the Osman forces freeing Jajce in 1501.[313] The young boy with identical face standing diagonally in line with him on the composition is obviously his son Duke Christopher Corvinus demonstrated by their almost identical skull.[314]

It was Duke Iohannes Corvinus as the Banus of Dalmatia Croatia and Slavonia who greeted Queen Anne de Foix-Kendal in the name of the Hungarian administration, when she arrived to Hungarian soil at the port of Segnia on the 23rd August 1502 and organised a big reception for the new Queen in Segnia, where she stayed for a week leaving only on the 31st August.[315] This is the reason that the Duke of Oppeln and Liptó occupies the central position on the IInd tapestry in the series, which celebrates the marriage of Queen Anne

The person next to Duke Iohannes just behind him on the tapestry is obviously his best friend, Duke Lawrence de Újlak stands. He is identified by their closeness on the representation, and by the structure of his long-faced (brachykephal) head shown on his tombstone,[316] and by the inscription on the hunting horn of his vassal KNAZ СИРМ, because he was the Prince of Sirmium (or Szerém), where he resided in his fortress of Újlak. Next to the bugler there is an other hunter on the tapestry also with a hunting horn, who points towards the unicorn pushing his horn into the water. It was believed, that by putting the unicorn's horn into the water, it was purified of poisons.[317] Remarkably there were rumours that both the father and the son of Duke Iohannes Corvinus died of poison.[318]

The English relations of Queen Anne de Foix-Kendal, Edmund and Richard de la Pole are identified on the ***Ist tapestry*** by the heraldic designs on the shield dog-collar worn by second greyhound turning his face backwards and inscribed by Anne's „AA" monogram recorded by Pierre Choque.[319] Namely the first quarter on this shield is „silver, a chief gules, a double tailed lion gold over all," while the second and third quarter „azure three leopard's head gold" are identical of the de la Pole family's quarters as they appear on the stained glass window in the church of Iffley next to Oxford.[320] This stained glass was dated to the beginning of the XVIth Century.[321] Meanwhile the grandmother of Queen Anne de Foix-Kendal was Margaret de la Pole,[322] and therefore Queen Anne was the cousin of Edmund and

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[312] Ábel, Jenő: Irodalomtörténeti emlékek, Volume II., Budapest 1890, pages 279-280.
Kenyeres Ágnes (ed.): Magyar életrajzi lexikon, Volume I., Budapest 1967 page 290.
[313] Hóman Bálint, Szekfű Gyula: Magyar történet, Volume II., Budapest 1936, page 578.
Kenyeres, op. cit., Volume II., Budapest 1969, page 753.
[314] Dr. Balas Anna: Corvin János és Corvin Kristóf csontmaradványainak fényképeiről, Művészettörténeti értesítő, 1977 (year XXVI), number 3-4, page 286.
[315] Pierre Choque, op. cit., pages 423-424.
[316] See Szilágyi Sándor (ed.): A magyar nemzet története, Volume IV, Budapest 1896, page 476; cf.: page 681.
[317] Margaret B. Freeman: The Unicorn Tapestries, New York 1976, pages 19 and 27.
[318] Letter of Stephanus de Cremona dated 12th May 1490 see: Br Albert Nyáry:Magyar diplomácyiai emlékek Mátyás király korából, Volume IV., Budapest 1878, letter 139 on pages 198-199;
cf.: letter 125 on pages 175-176.
Georgii Sirmiensis Epistola de perdicione (sic) regni Hvngarorum, Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Második Osztály (Divisio II.), Írók (Scriptores), Volume I, Pest 1857, pages 27 and 39-44.
[319] Pierre Choque….:Discours des cérmonies du mariage d'Anne deFoix, ….Bibliothèque de l'École des chatres, year 21, volume II, pages 166-167, 171.
[320] E. A. Greening Lamborn: The Glass of the Oxford Diocese 1250-1850, Oxford 1949,
picture 52 and page 134.
Cf.: E. A. Greening Lamborn: „The arms of the Chauser Tomb et Ewelme."
Oxoniensia, Volume V., page 83, number 2.
[321] See. Mary D. Lobel: A History of the County of Oxford. Volume V. Bullingdon Hundred
(Victoria County History of England), London 1957.
[322] Oxford University, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawl. D. 807, folio 12.

Richard de la Pole, who inherited the succession rights of the White Rose kings of England.[323] It was recorded by Marino Sanuto on the 6th October 1506, that Richard de la Pole, the „White Rose" stayed at the court of Buda.[324] Ist tapestry succeeded to show it excellently, that in contrast to Duke Johannes Corvinus, who feel comfortably at home in the hunt taking place apparently in Visegrád, where he was raised, the English relations of Anne de Foix-Kendal arrived wondering and cautiously at the strange court of a strange country.

Concerning the ***origin of the Unicorn-hunt tapestries it*** has to be stated, that this series spins a complete sequence of various events out of heraldic symbols. These representations in fact mirror the world of the Hungarian heraldry, which requires three-dimensional pictures, in which action takes place, as Szabolcs de Vajay explained it.[325] From this respect the „Unicorn-hunt tapestries" differ fundamentally from the contemporary Flemish and French tapestries, which lack agile plots, and in general all are exceedingly crowded, which in itself makes impossible agile actions in contrast with the „Unicorn-hunt tapestries."

In fact the space, action and representation of „Unicorn-hunt tapestries" make us to remember the coats of arms issued at the Hungarian court well representing the heraldic practice already in the first part of the XVIth Century.[326] The nearest relations of the „Unicorn-hunt tapestries" are the wings of the altarpiece from Csíkszentlélek presently in the Hungarian National Gallery, on which the figures occupy the space in the same manner, and move in the same manner, as on the „Unicorn-hunt tapestries," and they wear the same type of clothes.[327] The fortified church in the background of the „Saint Francis' stigmatisation" on one of the left side pictures of the altarpiece from Csíkszentlélek appears just such a way up in the background, as the various palace buildings of Visegrád on the investigated tapestry series.[328] It is hardly by chance, that the altarpiece with wings from Csíkszentlélek was painted in 1510, and it displays the coat-of-arms of Wladislav IInd in addition to the shield of the family Czakó.[329]

It also has to be taken into consideration, that the court of Buda was in permanent shortage of money and in steady financial crisis because of Wladislav's inability, a nd they could not pay for nine hens in the carnival time of 1503.[330] Therefore it is inconceivable, that so many and so splendid tapestries covering at least 120 m^2 (costing at least 9500 ducats)[331] could have been financed, if they had to be ordered and paid from the expensive ateliers in distant Flanders and France. Sanudo recorded on the 20th October 1502, that the kingdom was in lack of money and Wladislav had difficulty in finding 2000 ducats for the defence of the country. Eventually he could raise only 1000 by borrowing.[332]

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[323] Geoffrey Rudolf Elton: Richard de la Pole, in Encycléopaedia Britannica, Volume 18, page 151.
[324] Marino Sanuto: I diarii, Volume VI, Venice 1881, column 438.
[325] Szabolcs de Vajay: L'héraldique hongroise. Archives héraldique Suisse. Ao LXXIV, Annuaire 1960, pahe 4, point III.
[326] See the coat of arms of the family Radák de Magyarbénye issued on the 18th January 1514, Nyulásziné Straub Éva: Öt évszázad címerei, Budapest 1987, Table XXXVIII.,
the coat of arms of the family Bicskey de Bicske issued on the 20th July 1520, op. cit., Table XLVII.,
and the coat of-arms of the family Bakács de Szentgyörgyvölgy issued on the 11th June 1532, op. cit., Table LV.
[327] See Domanovszky, Sándor: Magyar művelődéstörténet, Volume II, Budapest [1939], coloured reproductions at page 389; cf.: page 668.
[328] loco citato;
cf.: Fenyő, I., Genthon I.: A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum szárnyasoltárai, Magyar művészet 1931, page 518.
[329] Dénes Radocsay: Gothic Panel Painting in Hungary, Budapest 1963, page 59.
[330] Hóman Bálint, Szekfű Gyula: Magyar Történet, Volume II, Budapest 1936, page 576.
Wenczel Gusztáv: II. Ulászló magyar és cseh király házasélete. Századok 1877, pages 819-820 and 824.
[331] The weaving of Raffeal's tapestries coasted 1500 ducats each (measuring 441cm x 478 cm ≅ 19 m^2).See Julien Coffinet: Metamorphoses de la tapisserie, Geneve 1977, page 112
[332] Hóman-Szekfű, op. cit Vol. II., pages 575-577;

It was recorded however by the French knight, Bertrandon de la Brocquiere already in 1432, that the ouvrier de haute lice from Arras, Clays Davion tapestry maker worked in the court of Buda.[333] In 1486 King Matthias Corvinus gave forty tapestries woven with pictures to Wladislav, that time still King of Bohemia,[334] and tapestries having the value of forty thousand florins of 1526 to Bartholomew Drágffy de Béltek.[335] Such munificence was hardly possible, unless the tapestry atelier in the court of Buda continued its operation up to and including the time of Wladislav IInd. This tradition of tapestry weaving in the Hungarian court continued in Transylvania, as it is obvious from the Transylvanian regulation of tapestry-making in 1627,[336] from the testimony of Evlia Chelebi in September 1661,[337] from the testimony of Count Ferdinand Marsigli from 1690,[338] from the tapestry used by Prince France Rákoczi IInd,[339] and from the Transylvanian carpet dated D. S. 1724.[340] This Transylvanian tapestry weaving however cannot be conceived by art historians whatever is obvious from the sources.

Finally it has to be pointed out, that on the reverse side of the tapestry the inscription of IInd tapestry in Cyrillic letters „KNAZ СИРМ"[341] shows „IONAS A VIHOA" rendering in Latin letters, into which the artist might have hidden his signature. According to the Hungarian historical etymological dictionary VIHOLA was a Hungarian historical form of VIOLA, the name of the flower.

Chapter **VIII.** ***Giorgione and the royal court of Buda.***

In sharp contrast to the reign of King Matthias Corvinus, the foreign policy King Wladislav IInd of Hungary led by his Chancellor Thomas Bakócz de Erdőd maintained very friendly relations with Venice throughout his reign.[342] In September 1499 Wladislav wrote to the Serenissima stating that he will not marry anybody else, but only as he will be advised by Venice.[343] Marino Sanuto spoke with the painter, who travelled into France in order to paint the future bride of Wladislav on the 14th August 1500 in Venice, and he recorded, that the painter was Italian.[344]

In this connection we ought to survey shortly the system of diplomatic links developed in that period. Thomas Bakócz de Erdőd became Cardinal on the 28th September 1500 with

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"Il regno è in penuria di danari, il thesorier si duol, li danari nostro stagi tanto, e volse farsi servir de ducati 2000, con letere di cambio, per dar a Zuan Corvino; ne trovano 1000 solli": Marino Sanuto: I diarii, Volume IV, Venice 1880, column 415, 20th October 1502;
Nagy Iván: Magyrország családai czímerekkel, Volume XI., Pest 1865, page 203.

[333] Hatvani, Mihály: Brüsszeli Magyar Okmánytár (= Monumenta Hungariae Historica), Volume IV., Pest 1859, page 311.

[334] Thomas Johannes Pessina de Czechorod, epicopus Samandriensis: Mars Moravicus, Prague 1677, page 985.

[335] Tudományos Gyűjtemény 1818, VIII, page 30.

[336] Kampis, Antal: Erdély iparművészetéről in: Asztalos, Sándor: A történeti Erdély, Budapest 2001, page 556.

[337] Kiss Gábor: Erdélyi várak, várkastélyok, Budapest 1990, page 167.

[338] Jankovics, József et alii: Régi erdélyi viseletek, Budapest 1990, page 88: natione Graeca advena.

[339] Buzási Enikő: (ed.): Európa fejedelmi udvaraiban: Mányoki Ádám, Budapest 2003, page 86-87, no 24.

[340] Kampis, Antal: Erdély iparművészetéről in: Asztalos, Sándor: A történeti Erdély,Budapest 2001, picture 27 at page 400 showing a tapestry in the possession of the Hungarian Iparművészeti Museum; page 556 and page 734 „27. tábla".

[341] Margaret B. Freeman: The Unicorn Tapestries, New York 1976, page 194, picture 245.

[342] Hóman, Bálint, Szekfű Gyula: Magyar történet, Volume II., Budapest 1936, pages 582-583 and 596.

[343] "…maridar non vol la reina…ni altra dona, ma torà qurella consejerà la Signoria nostra…"Sanuto, Marino: I diarii, September 1499, Volume II., Venice 1879, column 1369.

[344] Sanuto, Marino: I diarii, Volume III., Venice 1880, column 630.

the help of Venice[345] at the same time, when from Queen Caterina Cornaro's court in Asolo his 18 years old cousin Marco Cornaro as well as Amanien d'Albret, the brother of the King of Navarre[346] were raised to the purple by Alexander VI.th [347] Previously on the 1st May 1499 Charlotte d'Albret from the same dynasty of Navarre was married by Cesare Borgia in Blois,[348] and Cesare Borgia's portrait preserved in Forli was painted by Giorgione[349] from the court in Asolo.[350] In the middle of August 1500 the Hungarian King's envoys had to travel just into Blois,[351] because King Wladislav intended to marry a princess from the dynasty of Navarre. This was the reason, that Hungarian envoys travelling through Venice had to bring an exceptional painter with them in order to paint such portraits of Germaine de Foix and Anna de Foix-Kendal,[352] from which portraits King Wladislav could choose a bride in Buda by the 28th November 1500.[353] This system of diplomatic links gives the clue of the events investigated and confirmation of the following conclusions.

Namely on the IInd tapestry of the Unicorn-hunt tapestries we can see an especially elongated head behind Duke Johannes Corvinus and Duke Lawrence de Újlak. This head appears behind the two dukes and between them, just as Rafael appears in the background of the School of Athens in the Stanza della Segnatura[354] between Bramante and Zoroaster (Pietro Bembo) showing that this person on the Unicorn hunt tapestries as well must be an artist. This face because of his exceptionally elongated head-structure differs completely from the other 62 heads represented on all the seven pieces of the tapestry series. In addition to his elongated head-structure his slightly bent nose, slightly bent eyebrow, dark hair and dark-brown eyes as well as his fleshier and more sensual lower lip identifies him with Giorgione represented on his portraits in Braunschweig[355] and in Budapest.[356] Giorgione's appearance on the unicorn-hunt tapestries showing the participants of Anne de Foix-Kendal's marriage can not mean hardly anything else, but that he was among the participants of her marriage celebrations, and the only reason, that this very young painter from Castelfranco at the beginning of his very short carrier appeared among the participants of this royal marriage in Hungary in 1502, could not be anything else, but that he was the painter sent to paint the portraits of the possible brides.

The appearance of Giorgione on the IInd tapestry is inseparably connected with the fact, that the profile of Anne de Foix –Kendal on the VIth tapestry is identical with the profile of the ***Portrait of a Lady*** by Giorgione belonging to the Norton Simon Museum in California,[357] the purpose and significance of which has been misunderstood by dull and Philistine hypocrisy. Anne de Foix-Kendal's slightly curved forehead fine and only very

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[345] Sanuto, Marino: I diarii, 19th July 1500, Volume III., Venice 1880, columns 567.
and column 596 30th August 1500.
[346] "De Libret frater regis Navarre" Marino Sanuto: I diaii Volume III., Venice 1880, columns 857-858.
[347] Conradus Eubel: Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi, Volume II., (1431-1503), Münster 1901, page 25.
See also Marino Sanuto: I diaii Volume III., Venice 1880, columns 857-858.
[348] Marion Johnson: The Borgias, London 1981, pages 139-140.
In 1484 Jean d'Albret married Catherine de Foix, Queen of Navarre.
See Grand Laroussee encyclopédique en six volumes, VolumeVII, Paris 1963, page 689.
[349] Marion Johnson: The Borgias, London 1981, pages 142 and 226.
[350] Sir Ellis Kirkham Waterhouse: Giorgione (W. A. Cargill memorial lecture in Fine Arts), Glasgow 1974.
[351] "è zonti li oratori stati in Hongaria, con uno orator di quel re per vider la fiola dil conte di Foys neya dil re.."
This information sent by the Venetian envoy from Blois on the 29th September 1500 was recorded by Sanuto ("Sanudo") already on the 9th October. Sanuto, Marino: I diarii, Volume III., Venice 1880, columns 888-890.
[352] the nieces of Queen Catherine of Navarre.
[353] Marino, Sanuto, I diarii, 28th November 1500, Volume III.,Venice 1880, column 1111.
[354] Giorgio Vasari: Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori, Volume IV.,
Florence 1976, page 167.
[355] Braunschweig, Hercog Anton Ulrich Museum, inventory number 454.
[356] Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, inventory number 86.
[357] 31.7 cm x 23.1 cm.

slightly snub nose, identically long maxilla, fleshier lower lip and slightly bent eyebrow on the VIth tapestry is identical with Giorgione's portrait in the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena. It was pointed out by E. Verheyen already in 1968, that the uncovering of Laura's bosom was connected precisely with contracting a marriage,[358] and the picture in Pasadena is much more tactful in this respect, because it represents a future queen. It ought to be realised as well, that Anne de Foix-Kendal was raised in the court of Anne de Bretagne, whose monument in Saint Denis represents her completely naked.[359]

Meanwhile it has to be also noticed, that the profile King Wladislav IInd on the VIth tapestry is identical with Giorgione's portrait in Munich known as ***Young Gentleman with Fur***,[360] which has an inscription on the back already from the end of the XVIth Century: Giorgion De Castel Franco F(ecit)/Maestro De Titiano.[361] The subject of the portrait in Munich is identified by the VIth tapestry in the Cloisters in New York, as the head on both representation has the same fine aquiline nose, backwards strongly bending dark eyebrows and fleshy lower lip. Wladislav IInd is distinguished on both representations also by his long strait and dark hair, just as in his prayer book preserved in Oxford,[362] where his profile shows that he was painted on Giorgione's portrait in Munich. The picture identifies his royal rank by his fur coat, because Emperor Maximilian wears identical fur coat on Dürer's portrait now in Vienna,[363] just as the oldest king on Dürer's Adoration of the Magi in Florence.[364] Giorgione turned the King's head with good intuition to show his face at his advantage. In this way Giorgione's portrait shows, that Wladislav was a beautiful man as noticed by Cesar Valantini, the envoy of Ferrara at the meeting of Iglau on the 11th September 1488,[365] when his good looks elicited Queen Beatrix' sympathy already according to Dubravius.[366] Giorgione's composition turned the King towards a round window. This round window apparently with a star in the glass above him and the small arched door opening on his left represented on the painting in Munich is identical with the round windows with stars on the glass, and the similar small arched door openings in the throne room of the Fresh Palace shown in the Matthias Gradual.[367] This also show, that the person represented is the King of Hungary, as in that throne room was the most important and most representative seat of his power. Incidentally the star in the window is obviously an allusion to Wladislav's star: the Cor Leonis, which occupied the zenith, when Wladislav was born and at the times of his coronations both in Bohemia as well as in Hungary.[368] His recorded inscription in Latin written in the royal castle of Buda stated „Magnanimus princeps diademate gaudet utroque Vladislaus, tollit ad astra caput"[369] similarly indicated, that Wladislav raised his head to the stars just as in the painting in Munich.

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[358] E. Verhayen: Der Sinngehalt von Giorgiones „Laura", Pantheon, 1968, pages 220-224.
[359] Summer Mck. Crosby: L'abbaye Royale de Saint-Denis, Paris 1953, pictures 108-109;
Jean-Francis Noël et Pierre Jahan: Les Gisants, Paris, picture XIX.
[360] 70 cm x 54 cm. Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inventory number 524.
[361] Pietro Zampetti introduced by Cecil Gould: The Complete Paintings of Giorgione, London 1970, page 101, picture 80.
[362] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. liturg. d 6, folio 49^{recto}.
[363] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum inventory number 845.
[364] Florence, Uffizi, inventory number 1434.
[365] Óváry Lipót: A modénai és mantuai kutatásokról, Századok 1889, page 395.
[366] "prospectante e fenetra Beatrice regina, amoremque tacitum ex conspectu novi hospitis forma conspicui hauriente" Johanni Dubravii….Historica Boiemica, Bale 1575, page 293.
[367] National Széchenyi Library, OSZK Clmae. 414, folio 103^{recto}.
[368] Krakkow, Jagellonian Library, MSS 3225.
[369] Salamon Schweiger: Ein newe Reissbeschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem, Nürnberg 1639, page 21-22
W. Sahm(ed.): Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau.(Mitteilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek zu Königsberg i. Pr. IV und V. 1. Teil, Königrsberg i. Pr. 1914, page 85.

However nothing can demonstrate better Wladislav's identity on the Munich portrait than the description of the character of the person represented by Wolf-Dietzer Dube:

„The gentle romantic, indecisive character of this young man is reminiscent of Giorgione: intelligent and dreamy apparently timid and lethargic, yet also capable of energetic action…."[370] No one could characterise knowingly Wladislav's personality better, while it is obvious, that Wolf-Dietzer Dube did not know, whom the portrait represented in the reality. Nonetheless this is perfect intuition into Wladisdlav's personality, and this shows and confirms, that the portrait represents this Hungarian king.

Wladislav IInd also appears as the youngest king on Giorgione's ***Adoration of the Magi*** in the National Gallery in London,[371] where his appearance is almost identical with his representation on Berhard Strigel's painting in Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest.[372] The person in armour in the background of this Adoration, but at the centre of the painting and at the top of the composition's triangle is the highest person on the entire picture. His profile is identical with the youngest scholar on Giorgione's „Three philosophers" in Vienna,[373] whose figure is a self-portrait of Giorgione according to Pietro Zampetti.[374]

The Madonna's model on the left side of this Adoration was most probably Queen Anna de Foix-Kendal, and it seems to follow from the structure of composition, that the finely clad young gentlemen on the opposite place on the right side of the picture was her cousin, Gaston de Foix, the younger brother of Germain de Foix. Namely his head-structure is identical with the head of Gaston de Foix on his effigy by Bambaia now in the Museo Civico in Milan.[375] The head-structure of the same effigy is also identical with the „Shepherd with Flute" in the Royal Collection at Hampton Court.[376]

This actually again confirms the tradition, that Giorgione painted members of the dynasty de Foix.[377] Modern entmythologisierung should like to believe, that there was no connection between the painter of Castelfranco and the hero, who won the battle of Ravenna on the 11th April 1512, when he died, but it only shows the superficiality of this fashion, and their negligence of the various historical details and diplomatic links.

A painting the National Gallery in London is now named as ***„Homage to a poet",***[378] was qualified by Pignatti as a painting belonging to the close circle of Giorgione.[379] This picture used to be known as „King Salomon" earlier, but it was renamed „Homage to a poet"

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[370] Wolf-Dietzer Dube:The Munich Gallery – alte Pinakothek, London 1970, page 165.
[371] 30 cm x 81 cm. London, National Gallery, inventory number NG 1160.
[372] Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, inventory number 7502.
[373] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inventory number 111.
[374] Pietro Zampetti introduced by Cecil Gould: The Complete Paintings of Giorgione, London 1970, page 83, picture in the second column at the bottom the page.
[375] John Pope-Hennessy: Italian Renaissance Sculpture, Oxford 1986, and Plate 119.
[376] 61 cm x 51 cm. Hampton Court, inventory number 101.
Pietro Zampetti, introduced by Cecil Gould: The Complete Paintings of Giorgione, London 1970, page 90, picture 15.
The similarity is less striking in the case of a painting measuring 39 cm x 27 cm, showing a knight in shining armour, also known as San Liberale in the National Gallery in London (inventory number NG 269). It is thought to be identical with the painting believed to represent Gaston de Foix in the collection of Lord Bessborogh until 1801, in 1809 it was bought from Wilde by the Smith collection, in the collection Rogers in 1820, in the National Gallery since 1855. See Luigi Coletti: Tutta la pittura di Giorgione, Milan 1955, page 56, and Tavola 47 after page 86.
[377] See for example Luigi Coletti: Tutta la pitturadi Giorgione, Milan 1955, page56, Tav. 47. mentions a painting of 39 cm x 27 cm.
Pietro Zampetti, introduced by Cecil Gould: The Complete Paintings of Giorgione, London 1970,page 101, n 81 mentions a painting of 18 cm x 14 cm.
[378] 59 cm x 48 cm. London National Gallery, inventory number NG 1173.
[379] "For the time being the attribution must remain a cautionary one, in the close circle of Giorgione and during his lifetime." Terizio Pignatti: Giorgione (Complete edition) London 1971, page 125.

because of the laurel wreath on his head.[380] As a matter of fact precisely this laurel wreath identifies him as Wladislav IInd, because he wanted to imitate his contemporary, predecessor and rival for the throne of Bohemia, King Matthias Corvinus in this. Namely King Mastthias was represented usually with laurel wreath, for example on the Bible of Erlangen[381] and on the medallion „Marti fautori"[382] following the antique emperors' custom. Wladislav was also identified by the black eagle feathers, which seemed to appear on his throne before the paintings restoration some years ago, as black eagle's feathers constitute his crest on the balcony of Prague cathedral.[383] His head on the London painting in question corresponds to his representation on the charter given to the family Pethő de Gerse issued on the 22nd November 1507,[384] and in his Prayer book in Oxford.[385] The picture in London however shows, that according to Dubravius Wladislav grew beard after his consort's death, and his subjects tried to console him in various ways.[386] This is mirrored exactly by the composition in London, where his beard made his face to appear longer, and where a page brings him flowers, a minstrel plays lute, poetry books are placed at the steps of his throne next to the minstrel, and there is his young son as well to console him, just as a peacock, a cheetah and stag from his game park. Therefore the painting could be better called ***„The consolation of Wladislav IInd"***. Namely it is most unlikely, that a poet would keep a cheetah and a game park as well, which used to be more usual in the royal courts. Already in 1413-1415 the Limbourg brothers marked the royal rank of the Three Kings by accompanying them in their journey with cheetahs.[387]

Wladislav IInd is also identified by the appearance of his son Louis IInd as well as by the large age difference between him and his small son on the picture, as Louis IInd was 41 years younger, than his father. The identity of small Louis IInd is shown by his closeness to his father next to his throne, as well as by his dark hair. It is true, that Louis IInd had extremely fair hair on the charter given to the family Pethő de Gerse issued on the 22nd November 1507, when he was one year four months and 20 days old, and on Berhard Strigel's painting in Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest both quoted above. Nonetheless Louis IInd has very dark hair on his grown up portraits, for example on the one brought by his consort into the Low Countries, and now in Brussels,[388] as well as on his picture in the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest.[389] Thisdemonstrates, that the colour of his hair changed, as he grew older, and this

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[380] Pietro Zampetti, introduced by Cecil Gould: The Complete Paintings of Giorgione, London 1970, page 97, picture 44.

[381] leather binding of the Erlangen Bible (Erlangen Universitätsbibliothek Ms 6). See Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi: Bibliotheca Corviniana, Shannon 1969, page 111.

[382] Balogh, Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Budapest 1966, volume II, page 292, picture 420.

[383] Joseph Elm: Praha, Prague 1977, picture 19.

[384] See: Dr. Johannes Gründler et alii: Schallaburg'82, Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn, catalogue of exhibition 8th May-1st November 1982, coloured picture 47 after page 128; cf.: page 527 n° 571.

[385] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. liturg. d 6, folio 15

[386] "Huius adeo reginae decessum cum diutius lugeret, moerorique; insignia vestes pullas deponere, aut barbsam incanam adradere non sustineret, circumstat cum magna consolantium frequentia ex Hungaris, Boiemis Moravis Budam aggregata ex quibus pro se quisque consolatorem agit,alius alio modo atque in hoc omnes conveniunt." Johanni Dubravii….Historica Boiemica, Bale 1575, page 301.

[387] Jean Longnon (introduced by Millard Miess): Les très Riches Heures de Duc de Berry, London 1969, pictures 48 and 49. Jean Longnon already indicated, that the oldest king on these miniatures is Manuel IInd Palaiologos (loco citato), who travelled to Paris in 1400 shown by the Notre Dame and the Sainte Chapelle in the miniatures background. The third youngest king with golden fair hair is obviously Alexios IVth of Trebisond born in 1382 as the Comnenoi of Trebizond were fair haired already Manuel Ist Comnenos (1238-1263) and Alexios IIIrd (1349-1390). See: Gregoire Gagarin: Recueils d'ornement et architecture Byzantines…St. Petersbourg 1897, Table XXV, C. Texier, R. P. Pullan: Byzantine Architecture, London 1864, Plate LXVI and page 202.

[388] Domanovszky, Sándor (ed.) Magyar művelődéstörténet, Volume II, Budapest [1939], page 77; cf.: page 650.

[389] Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, inventory number 77.6; see Dr. Johannes Gründler et alii: Schallaburg'82, Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn, catalogue of exhibition 8th May-1st November 1982,

dates „The consolation of Wladislav IInd" into the years around 1509, which correspond to the date given by Pignatti.[390] Louis IInd's young personality and his dark hair also appear to be the same as on his portrait in the Ambrosiana in Milan investigated below. Curiously just as Wladislav is consoled by poetry on the composition in London, he appointed two poets to be teachers of his small son, Louis IInd.[391]

This painting in London represents excellently Wladislav's lethargy after his consort's death, and when the complete system of his diplomatic alliances started to collapse as fate develops in Greek tragedies, and the masterwork makes perceptible the psychological distance between the King and his forty-one years younger son. Therefore the picture betrays Giorgione's brush.

A painting titled ***„Horoscope"*** destroyed or disappeared from Gemäldegalerie in Dresden.[392] Pietro Zampetti has found that „the subject is somewhat obscure,"[393] but there is a conspicuously represented white eagle occupying a large part of the lower right corner of the painting. This white eagle was represented without crown and had a tail with plant-like decorations. Meanwhile the white eagle of the Hungarian Jegellons is usually crownless and his tail is transformed into plant-like decorations on the gold dollar of Wladislav IInd struck at Körmöcbánya,[394] as well as on his Cassianus[395] and Beda manuscripts [396] and on his Aristoteles incunabulum,[397] perhaps in order to distinguish (or heraldically speaking to differentiate) their eagle from the Polish Jagellons. As the painting destroyed in Dresden in 1945 was painted in the first two decades of the XVIth Century, the 13-14 years old boy [398]playing a prominent part on the composition can not be anybody else, but only Louis IInd, because he was the only person of this age in the entire Jagellon family at the time.[399] This places the date of the picture into 1520. Therefore the infant on the picture is his cousin Sigismund August born on the 1st August 1520 securing the survival of the Jagellon dynasty in Poland. This is confirmed by the profile of the infant's mother, as it is identical with Bona Sforza's appearance on her medallions.[400] The statue of Venus occupies the highest point in the triangle of the composition corresponding to the horoscope of Louis IInd,[401] but the Venus must have occupied an important place at the birth of Sigismund August as well, as he placed

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page 505, n° 523.

[390] Terizio Pignatti: Giorgione (Complete edition) London 1971, pages 124-125, picture A22. (cf.: picture 141).

[391] One of them was the Venetian Hieronymus Balbi, the other Jacob Piso from the Tranylvanian Medgyes. Kenyeres Ágnes (ed.) Magyar életrajzi Lexikon,Volume II, Budapest 1969, page 15.

[392] It was 132 cm x 192 cm. Its inventory number was 186 in Dresden. A copy survived in Pillnitz.

[393] Zampetti, op. cit., page 101, picture 78.

[394] Huszár, Lajos:The Art of Coinage in Hungary, Budapest 1963, picture 41.

[395] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cod. Lat. 2129, folio 1[recto], see Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi: Bibliotheca Corviniana, Shannon 1969, page 205.

[396] Beda Venerabilis, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 175, folio 1[recto], Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi: Bibliotheca Corviniana, Shannon 1969, page 179.

[397] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, H 1660 See Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi: Bibliotheca Corviniana, Shannon 1969, page 217.

[398] The age of the older boy on the Horoscope was estimated to be about 13-14 years by Dr David Baum the head of Paediatrics in Oxford in his letter dated 10th November 1983.

[399] See Jiri Louda, Michael Maclagan: Lines of Succession, London 1981 and Révai Nagy Lexikon, Volume X., Budapest 1914, page 741.

[400] Josef Grabski: Le immagini del re di Polonia Sigismundo I e della famiglia reale sulle serie di medaglie del 1532 di G. M. Mosca detto il Padovano nella collezione gia Estense a Modena. in: Vittore Branca e Sante Graciotti (ed.): Italia, Venezia e Polonia tra medio evo e eta moderna (Civilta Veneziana, Studi 35), Florence 1980, Figura 31 and 26.

[401] Louis IInd was born on the 2nd July 1506 at 11[h] 30' according to Weczel Gusztáv: II. Ulászló király házas élete, Századok 1877, page 836, and Marino Sanuto: I diarii at 14th July 1506, where the text of Sanuto recorded: "et culsi a di hora 13 di zuoba la fece uno fiol masculo con gran letitia".
The position of the Venus could be calcultated from Bryant Tuckerman: Planetary, Lunar and Solar positions A.D. 2 to A. D. 1649…Philadelphia 1964, page 771.

his monument in the Wavel in such a way, that his eyes turn towards the planet Venus.[402] The representation of an event of 1520 on this painting destroyed in Dresden obviously excludes the possibility, that it could have been painted by Giorgione, who died in 1510.

It was however pointed out by art historians, that the features of 13-14 years old Louis IInd on the Horoscope are identical with ***two further portraits***, [403] one, on which he was about 10-11 years old,[404] has been preserved in the ***Ambrosiana in Milan***,[405] the other on which he was about 13-14[406] was brought from Oxford to ***New York***.[407] The attractive personality and the profile especially on the excellent portrait in Milan are identical with the representation of Louis IInd on Dürer's nearly contemporary woodcut from 1515.[408] This confirms our conclusions and excludes the possibility that these excellent portraits could have been painted by Giorgione. The introversion and the feeling of loneliness on the portrait in the Ambrosiana shows it surprisingly well, and with great artistry, that the small Louis IInd was left orphan by the death of Anne de Foix-Kendal. This shows that his portrait must have been painted by a very great Venetian artist of the period, as the Serenissima obviously took care that her godchild, Louis IInd [409] should be portrayed by the best Venetian painter of the period. Because of the Giorgionesque character of the painting this very great Venetian artist could not be anybody else but the young Titian still under the influence of Giorgione.

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[402] Sigismund August raised the effigy of his father in their funerary chapel, and his recumbent statue occupies his father's original place. In this way his eyes turns towards the statue of Venus above the altar.

[403] Terizio Pignatti: Giorgione, the complete edition, London page 150; cf.: page 131.

[404] The age of the boy on the painting in the Ambrosiana was estimeted to be about 10-11 years by Dr David Baum the head of Paediatrics in Oxford in his letter dated 10th November 1983.

[405] 23 cm x 30 cm. Milan, Ambrosiana, inventory number 89. Luigi Coletti: Tutta la pittura di Giorgione, Milan 1955, page 63, Tavola 98.

[406] The age of the boy on the painting brought from Oxford to New York was estimated to be about 13-14 years by Dr David Baum the head of Paediatrics in Oxford in his letter dated 10th November 1983.

[407] 24.1 cm x 20,6 cm New York, Gallery Knoeders, see Terizio Pignatti: Giorgione, Arnoldo Montadori editore, [Milan] 1955, page 135.

[408] Dr Willy Kurth: The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer, New York 1963, picture 289.

[409] Venice was the chief god-parent of Louis IInd according to Wenzel, Gusztáv: II. Ulászló magyar király házasélete, Századok 1877, page 837 quoting Marino Sanuto: I diarii, Volume VI. Venice 1881, column 388. (cf.: columns 291 and 309, which show that Queen Anne de Foix-Kendal had extremely good relations with Venice, where she was enthusiastically received when travelling into Hungary. She was lodged in the Palace of the Dukes of Ferrrara (now Fondaco dei Turchi) and magnificently entertained in the city of lagunas for three weeks between 31st July and 21st August 1502. She embarked at 8.pm. on the 21st August and reached the territory of the Holy Crown of Hungary at Segnia at the 23rd August 1502. Wener, op. cit.,pages 740-749)

VÁRALLJAI CSOCSÁNY JENŐ

Leonardo da Vinci és a magyar királyi udvar

Azt a tényt, hogy Leonardo da Vinci ténylegesen megfordult Mátyás király udvarában, magának Leonardónak saját feljegyzése tanúsítja, a ***„Festészetről való értekezés"***-ében, amelyben leírja Mátyás király válaszát a költőnek, aki „valamely" festővel versenyzett a következőképpen:

„Mátyás király születésnapján" (Kolozsvárott 1443. február 24-én született) „költeményt hozott neki egy költő, amiben az eseményt magasztalta, mondván, hogy a világ javára válik, egy festő pedig szerettének képével ajándékozta meg. A király gyorsan becsukta a költő könyvét, és a képhez fordulva rászögezte szemét nagy csodálattal. Akkor a költő méltatlankodva megjegyezte:

„Oh király, olvassál inkább és olvassál, mert úgy sokkal súlyosabb dolgokon fogsz okulni, mint holmi néma képen."

Mire a király neheztelve, hogy felrótták, hogy néma dolgokat csodált, kijelentette:

„Költő, hallgass, nem tudod, hogy mit beszélsz. Ez a kép nemesebb érzéket szolgál, mint a te munkád, ami jó a vakoknak. Adj nekem valamit, amit láthatok és érinthetek, és ne hibáztasd a választásomat, amikor könyvedet hónom alá tettem, s a festményt mindkét kezemmel szemem elé tartom, hogy élvezzem; mert a kezem magától a nemesebb érzéseket választotta s nem a hallás érzékét.

Nekem magamnak az a véleményem – folytatta Mátyás király Leonardo szerint –, hogy a festő tudománya messze a költőé fölött van, mert az érzék, amit szolgál, nemesebb. Tudod-e, hogy a lélek összhangból áll, s összhang csak úgy jön létre, ha a dolgok arányait egyszerre látjuk vagy halljuk. S nem látod, hogy a te tudományodban az aránylatosság nem áll elő egyidejűleg, hanem az egyik rész a másik után keletkezik sorjában, s a következő nem jön létre, amíg az előző meg nem szűnik. Ezen megfontolás miatt a te találmányod meglehetősen alacsonyabb rendű, mint a festőé, egyszerűen hiányzik belőle az arányok összhangja. Az nem elégíti ki úgy a hallgató vagy szemlélő elméjét, mint a szép alak arányai, amelyek az előttem lévő arc isteni szépségét alkotják. Amint ezek mind egyidejűleg kapcsolódnak, isteni arányukkal olyan nagy gyönyört adnak nekem, hogy úgy vélem, hogy nincs a földön más emberi mű, ami nagyobb gyönyört fakaszthatna.

Senki sem olyan értelmetlen, hogy ha választhat, hogy örök sötétségben maradjon, vagy elveszti hallását, ne mondaná azonnal, hogy inkább elveszti a hallását meg szaglását is, minthogy vak legyen. Ez azért van, mert aki elveszti szeme világát, az elveszti a világ szépségét minden teremtmény alakjával, míg a süketség

ben, s ezt a görög nyelvű kéziratot még 1465-ben másolták,[19] tehát jóval azelőtt, hogy Leonardo találkozott volna Mátyással. Valójában a kézirat minden valószínűség szerint eredetileg Janus Pannoniusé volt, mert Vespasiano da Bisticci éppen 1465-ben jegyezte föl, hogy Janus Pannonius pontosan Plotinoszt fordította.[20] Így Mátyás király az Enneadesnek az első könyvét nagyon jól ismerhette, mert annak fordítása biztosan el kellett hogy készüljön még abban az időben, míg Janus a budai udvarban működött. Ezért Leonardo előbb említett története csak a budai udvar közvetlen megfigyelésén alapulhatott. Az a tény, hogy benne Mátyás király éppen Plátót idézi, mutatja, hogy Leonardo ezen följegyzése is olyan átható megfigyelésen alapult, mint bonctani vagy növényi rajzai. Egyébként abban az esetben is, ha ezt a szóban forgó történetet pusztán és teljesen Leonardo találta volna ki, ami a föntiek alapján igen valószínűtlen, az, hogy Mátyás király szájába adta, mutatja, hogy egészen sajátos és bensőséges kapcsolata volt a magyar uralkodóval. A történetben ugyanis Mátyás király éppen Leonardo mesterségét dicséri, s ha Leonardónak nem lett volna Mátyás királlyal kapcsolata, nem került volna Mátyás király a könyvébe, s nem jelenhetett volna meg a könyvében olyan rokonszenvesen. Egyáltalán miért említette volna máskülönben Leonardo Mátyás királyt?

Ebből és az idézett történetből szükségképpen következik, hogy Leonardo da Vinci éppen festészete miatt állt Mátyás királlyal bensőséges kapcsolatban. Az a festő, akinek festményét Mátyás, születésnapján a kezében tartotta és olyannyira dicsérte, sem lehetett senki más, mint maga Leonardo. Máskülönben ugyanis a történet nem tükrözné oly jól a budai királyi udvart, ha Leonardo nem járt volna ott. Azt még nehezebb elhinni, hogy Budán Leonardo jelenlétében más valakinek lett volna oly dicséretes festménye.

A párizsi Sziklás Madonna azonban 198 cm magas és 123 cm széles, és ezért semmiképpen sem lehetett az a festmény, melyet Mátyás király a kezében tartott Leonardo elbeszélése szerint. Itt elsősorban *a firenzei Uffiziben őrzött „Angyali Üdvözlet"*[21]

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tehát jóval azután érhetett Budára, hogy Leonardo odalátogatott. (Csaba Csapodi: The Corvinian Library, Budapest, 1973, 324. oldal 520. számú mű)}

19 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. greec 449; cf.: Csapodi, op. cit. 332. oldal, 543. számú mű.

20 József Huszti: Tendenze Platonizzanti alla corte di Mattia Corvino. Giornale Critico della Filosofia Italiana, XI. kötet, 1930, 35–36. oldal. Csapodi Csaba: Janus Pannonius könyvei és pécsi könyvtára, in: Kardos Tibor és V. Kovács Sándor: Janus Pannonius, Budapest 1975, 206. oldal
Csaba Csapodi: The Corvinian Library, Budapest 1973, 41–42, 45. oldal (136. jegyzet).

21 della Chiesa, op,. cit. XI. színes táblakép (cf.: VIII-XV. szines táblakép és 88–89. oldal 2. szám)

1475-ből való Madonnájára kell utalnunk. Annak fejalkata, megjelenése és még hajviselete is Beatrix ifjúkori, 1476-ból profiljának felel meg a bécsi Regiomontanus corvinában, amit Francisco Rosselli festett[22] Az Angyali Üdvözlet Madonnájának arcvonásai és arckifejezése szintén megegyezni látszik Beatrix királynénak 1487-ben készült ábrázolásával a New York-i Pierpont Morgan könyvtár Didymus corvináján Gherardo és Monte di Giovanni miniatúráján[23], ha figyelembe vesszük, hogy közben tizenegy év telt el s az alatt a királyné arcvonásai is módosultak, teltebbek is lettek.

A firenzei Uffiziben őrzött Angyali Üdvözlet és a Szűz Máriát megszemélyesítő Beatrix arcvonásai viszont megegyeznek Bonfini leírásával, aki szerint Beatrixnak „nemes homloka, magasra ívelt szemöldöke és telt halántéka volt": cui speciosa fons, elata supercilia saginata tempora.[24]

Hozzátehetjük még, hogy a szóban forgó „Angyali Üdvözlet" Madonnájának szőke hajfürtjei is megegyeznek az 1476. évi feljegyzés azon megállapításával, hogy Beatrix hajfürtjei szőkék voltak, legalábbis akkor.[25] Angela Ottino della Chiesa azon

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22 Bécs Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 44 folio 1 recto képét lásd: Csapodi, Csapodi – Gárdonyi, op. cit. 291. oldal, valamint a (6. oldalon levő) címlapon.

A miniatórát ma joggal Francesco Rossellinek tulajdonítják. Lásd Pócs Dániel: „Urbino Firenze Róma...' in Hunyadi Mátyás király, Budapest 2008, 147.oldal

23 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Morgan MS 496, folio 2 recto képét lásd: Csapodi, Csapodi – Gárdonyi, op. cit. 195. oldal

24 Antonii Bonfini Asculani: Rerum Hungaricarum Decades. Tomus IV. Budapest 1941 (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum) 69. oldal (Decas IV. Liber IV. 58. szám); cf.:Bonfini: Mátyás király, fordította Geréb László (Kardos Tibor jegyzeteivel) Budapest 1959, 211. oldal

25 A Szépség: „Szőke fürtjeit, kellemes nyílt homlokát, tekintetét, mely a paradicsom tükre, s a szerelem fényét lövelli, fejedelmi orrát, szemöldökét, arczának hajnalpiros rózsáit, hófehér fogát mutató száját, melynek minden mondása édes zene, fehér nyakát és keblét, egész lényét, melyben oly állandó a kellem és az okosság, hogy boldog mindenki, aki szolgálhat neki".

Berzeviczy Albert fordítása a „Farse allegoriche" című darabból „Beatrix királyné" című, Budapesten 1908-ban kiadott könyvében, amelynek a címlapjánál lévő szobrán is szőkék Beatrix királyné hajfürtjei. Ez a szobor legalábbis akkor a bécsi gyűjteményben volt. Az idézett szöveg a 139–140. oldalon található, amely az eredeti olasz szöveget is idézi:

„Mira le trezze bionde et quello ameno
Fronte bello et sereno che dimonstra

megfigyelésénél pedig, hogy a kérdéses Madonna szép arcának hideg a kifejezése, túlságosan merev a nyaka és fönnen tartja kis fejét,[26] semmi sem jelezheti jobban, hogy ezt a Madonnát éppen olyan rátarti királyi hercegnő személyesítette meg, mint amilyen éppen Aragóniai Beatrix volt. Mindebből elkerülhetetlenül következik, hogy az említett Madonnát valóban Aragóniai Beatrix személyesítette meg.

Mármost, a művészettörténészek szerint ezt az Uffizi-beli „Angyali Üdvözlet"-et az ifjú Leonardo da Vinci 1472 és 1475 között festette.[27] Csak ez lehet annak magyarázata, hogy a „Festészetről való értekezés"-ének előbb idézett szövegében Leonardo a király „szerettének" és nem hitvesének képéről beszélt. Mátyás király ugyanis éppen 1474. szeptember 5-én jegyezte el Beatrixet, de menyegzőjét csak két évvel később, 1476. szeptember 15-én tartotta meg Nápolyban, ahol dengeleghi Pongrácz János erdélyi vajda képviselte, majd pedig az év december 22-én Budán.[28]

Az is magától értetődik, hogy a királyi udvarnak akkor általános szokása szerint Mátyás király Budán képet kapott arájáról, s minden bizonnyal nem is egyet.

Leonardo előbb idézett szövegéből viszont az következik, hogy mint sokat igérő ifjú festőt, őt küldték Firenzéből Nápolyba, ahol Mátyás király szoros kapcsolatot tartott fönn éppen Verocchióval, akinél lakott és tanult, hogy a menyasszony arcképét megfesse. Ezt a képet adta át azután 1475. (vagy esetleg 1476.)

Tanta belleza vostra, mira il viso
Specchio del paradiso che riluce
De una amerosa luce et mira quello
Naso regale et bello, et quelle ciglie
Con le guarantie vermiglie et amerose
Ad guisa de doe rose nel'aurora,
Mira la boccha ancora e i bianchi denti
Che fan si dolci accenti, che par sia
Soave melodia in ogni suo decto
Mira la gola el pecto bianche giante
Il comoparer constante in ogni cosa,
Prudente et gratiosa, che beato
Qualuncha e destinato al tuo servitio"

Berzeviczy szerint ennek a darabnak XV. századbeli kézirata Münchenben volt, s azt Franco Torrana adta ki „Studi di storia letteraria Napoletana" címmel Livornóban 1884-ben a 292–298. oldalon (Lásd Berzeviczy Albert: Beatrix királyné, Budapest 1908, 140. oldal)

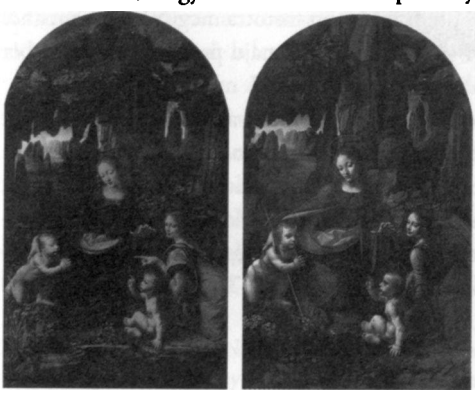
26 „Quanto alla Madonna, sono state messe in evidenza la fredda espressione del bellissimo volto e la eccessiva rigidita del collo e la piccola testa eretta..." della Chiesa, op. cit. 89. oldal, első hasáb (2. számú kép).

27 della Chiesa, op. cit. 88. oldal negyedik hasáb 2. számú kép.

28 Kenyeres Ágnes: Magyar életrajzi lexikon, I. kötet, Budapest 1967, 152. oldal.

február 24-én Budán Mátyás királynak, az uralkodónak oly nagy gyönyörűséget szerezve. Nyilvánvaló az is, hogy ezen sikerének hatása alatt festette a Firenzében lévő „Angyali Üdvözlet" Szűz Máriáját Beatrix arcának mintájára. Máskülönben semmi magyarázata sem lehet, hogyan került az 1475-ben 18 éves nápolyi hercegnő korának megfelelő ábrázolása Leonardónak az évben, vagy a körül, Firenzében festett képére.

Leonardo da Vinci egyik leghíresebb műve a ***Sziklás Madonna.*** A művészettörténészek azonban valójában mind a mai napig nem tudják megmagyarázni először is azt, hogy miért készült két példány e műből, közülük az egyik, melyet az 1483–1486 évre kelteznek a párizsi Louvre-ban, a másik pedig, amelynek keletkezését 1503–1506-ra teszik, a National Gallery-ben, Londonban van. Másodszor és főként pedig azt nem tudják megmagyarázni, hogy ha a Sziklás Madonna párizsi példányát Leonardo az 1483–1486. években befejezte, amiben pedig mindenki egyetért, miért nem került az sohasem oda, ahová megrendelték, a milánói San Francesco Grande-templom Szeplőtelen Fogantatás-kápolnájába, jóllehet az eredetileg megállapodott tiszteletdíjat (800 császári lírát, vagyis 200 aranydukátot), a szerződésnek megfelelően, még 1485-ben kifizették. Harmadszor az is megmagyarázatlan maradt, hogy ha az eredeti Sziklás Madonna most is megvan Párizsban, miért nem volt a helyén húsz évvel később sem. Végül negyedszer pedig a helyére miért készült második, éspedig egy gyengébb változat 1506-ban.[29]



A választ ezekre a kérdésekre a milánói herceg, Ludovico il Moro budai követének, Maffeo da Treviglionak 1485. április 13-án küldött levele adja meg, melyben a következőket írta:

„Minthogy úgy értesültünk, hogy Őfelsége (Mátyás király) nagyon élvezi a szép festményeket, különösen ha van bizonyos vallásos ihletésük, találván most egy igen jó (uno optimo) festőt, akinek lángeszű műveit látván, párját nem is-

29 Lásd: Angela Ottini della Chiesa (Mario Pomilio bevezetésével): L'opera completa di Leonardo pittore, Milano 1967, 1978, 94. oldal (15. számú kép) elsősorban a második hasáb, de ugyanezeket a kérdéseket részletesen vizsgálja a 15. és a 16. képet tárgyaló szöveg a 93–96. oldalon, valamint a 84. és 85. oldalon is.

merjük, (ezért) elrendeltük ugyanennek a festőnek, hogy a Miasszonyunknak olyan szép, kitűnő és ájtatos képmását fesse meg, amilyet csak tud, nem kímélvén semmi költséget. Ő jelenleg ezen munkálkodik, s nem készít semmi más munkát, amíg ezzel el nem készül. Azt azután megparancsoljuk, hogy adják az előbb említett Őfelségének."[30] Ludovico il Morónak ezen Budára írt levele a Sziklás Madonna fönt kifejezett problémáját megoldja, a következők miatt.

Először is, nyilvánvaló, hogy az a legjobb „optimo" festő, akinek lángeszű műveit látván Ludovico il Moro párját nem ismerte, csak Leonardo da Vinci lehet, mert kisebb művészeknek, különösen az 1485-ben Milánóban lévő művészeknek, beleértve Ambraio de Predist, a herceg könnyen lelhette volna párját, éppen Leonardo da Vinci személyében.

Másodszor, mert Ludovico il Moro azt írta, hogy elrendelte Leonardónak, hogy semmi költséget nem kímélve a Szűzanyának olyan szép, kiváló és ájtatos képét fesse meg, amilyet csak tud. Márpedig a Sziklás Madonna párizsi változatánál Leonardo nem festett szebb, kitűnőbb és ájtatosabb képet a Szűzanyáról, és ezért nyilvánvaló hogy Ludovico il Moro pontosan arról írt. Elképzelhetetlen ugyanis, hogy a ferences kolduló barátokhoz csatolt testvérület többet tudjon fizetni, mint az erre a célra semmi költséget nem kímélő milánói herceg, vagy hogy Leonardo, a renaissance, s valójában Castiglioni udvari emberének megtestesülése ennek a testvériségnek szebb, kitűnőbb és ájtatosabb képet festett volna, mint az uralkodójuknak. Ténylegesen az első, a Párizsban lévő változat szebb, kitűnőbb és ájtatosabb, mint a második változat, amely a Szeplőtelen Fogantatás testvériségének, majd pedig Londonnak jutott.

Harmadszor, megerősíti ugyanezt, hogy az idézett levélben 1485. április 13-án Ludovico il Moro azt írta múlt időben, hogy „elrendeltük": „havemo dato ordine" Leonardónak, hogy a Miasszonyunknak a szóban forgó képét megfesse, s ő már „ezen munkálkodik és nem készít semmi más munkát, amíg ezzel el nem készül". Ez azért döntő jelentőségű, mert a Szeplőtelen Fogantatás testvériségével való megállapodás 1483. április 25-én bízta[31] meg Leonardót, hogy

30 „... et perche havemo inteso, che la Sua Maesta se delecta molto de belle picture presetim, che habino in se qualche devotione, ritrovandose de presente qua uno optimo pictore, al quale havendo veduto experientia del ingenio suo, non cognoscemo pare, havemo dato ordine cum epso pictore, che ne facia una figura de Nostra Donna quanto bella excellente et devota la sapia piu fare, senza sparagno de spesa alcuna, et accinga ad l'opera de presente, ne facia altro lavoro finche l'abia finita, la quale poi madaremo ad donare alla prefeta Sua Maesta." (A milánói herceg, Ludovico el Moro levele budai követének 1485. április 13-án. Lásd: Nagy Iván, Báró Nyáry Albert: Magyar diplomácziai emlékek Mátyás király korából, III. kötet, Budapest, 1877, 44. oldal.

31 della Chiesa, op. cit. 93. oldal, (15. számú kép), harmadik hasáb, 84. oldal, szintén harmadik hasáb.

részükre a festményt megfesse, ami – mint már láttuk – még 1505-ben sem került oda. Jól tudott viszont, hogy Leonardo évekig küszködött egy-egy mesterművével, s az alatt gyakorlatilag minden más munkát félbehagyott. A milánói Utolsó Vacsorát két évig festette 1495–1497-ben[32] s az Anghiari Csatát három év alatt sem fejezte be 1504–1506 között.[33] Ebből az következik, hogy a milánói Szeplőtelen Fogantatás testvériség azért nem kapta meg az 1483. április 25-én megállapodott képet, mert fönt idézett levele szerint a milánói uralkodó herceg – nézete szerint nyilván államérdekből – arra, vagy Leonardo munkájára igényt tartott.

Negyedszer, Ludovico il Morónak 1485. április 13-án írt szóban forgó levele azt is világosan mutatja, hogy azt a Madonnát, amely olyan szép, kitűnő és ájtatos volt, amilyet Leonardo csak festeni tudott, és amit 1484–1485-ben festett, semmi máson nem munkálkodván, amíg az el nem készült, a milánói herceg Budára küldte. Ebből elkerülhetetlenül az következik, hogy a Sziklás Madonnának első változatát, amit a művészettörténészek szerint Leonardo az 1483–1486 évek folyamán festett, amikor a művészettörténelem semmi más Leonardo által festett Madonnáról nem tud,[34] a milánói herceg, Ludovico il Moro Mátyás királynak küldte el Budára, és ezért nem jutott el az sohasem a San Francisco Grande-templom Szeplőtelen Fogantatás-kápolnájába. Ludovico il Moro idézett levele a Louvre-ban lévő Sziklás Madonna számos sajátságát megmagyarázza. A képen lévő angyal arcvonásai is jelzik, hogy az a festmény Mátyás király budai udvara számára készült. Ennek az angyalnak az arca enyhén ívelt szemöldökével, viszonylag rövid és némileg Beatrixra emlékeztető, de hegyesebb orrával, Beatrixénál szélesebb, különösen az alsó ajkában húsosabb szájával, göndör gesztenyebarna hajával mindenben megegyezik Este-i Izabella arcával Tiziánnak Bécsben őrzött képén, amely tulajdonképpen Francesco Francia 1511-ben készült arcmásának

32 ibidem, 96–97. oldal, 19. kép. Carlo Pedretti szerint is Leonardo 1495 körül kapta a megbízást a milánói Utolsó Vacsora festésére, viszont a milánói hercegnek még 1497. június 29-én is siettetni kellett, hogy ezt a falfestményt befejezze (Carlo Pedretti: Leonardo, London 1973, 68. és 75. oldal.)

33 della Chiesa, op. cit. 106. oldal 33. kép.

34 della Chiesa, op. cit. 94. oldal második hasáb, 92–95. oldal, 84. oldal.

a változata.[35] Mármost láttuk, hogy Ludovico il Moro levele szerint a párizsi Sziklás Madonna 1485-ben még készült, és a művészettörténészek szerint is az 1483–1486. években készült el. Isabella d' Este 1486-ban 12 éves volt,[36] tehát megközelítőleg annyi, amennyinek az angyal látszik a párizsi Sziklás Madonnán.[37] Márpedig Este-i Izabella 1486-ban a magyar királyi udvarban tartózkodott, mert abban az évben igyekezett őt Mátyás király Barankovics György azonos nevű unokájával összeházasítani.[38] A magyar udvarban lévő ferrarai követnek, Valentin Cezárnak 1486. október 30-án kelt levelében említett Izabella nyilvánvalóan a magyar udvarban tartózkodott. Minthogy őt a követ Magnifica Madonnaként[39] említi Izabella anyjának írt levelében, aligha különbözhetett Este-i Izabellától. Az ugyanabban a mondatban említett Aloysa Magnifica Madonna ugyanis szintén Beatrix királyné unokatestvére és egyben udvarhölgye is volt.[40]

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35 Színes képe a David Chambers & Jane Martineau: Splendors of the Gonzaga című katalógus 53. oldalán (47. kép). Azt a tényt, hogy Tizián ezt az arcképet Francesco Francia sokkal korábbi képe alapján festette, Harold E. Wethey részletezte „The Paintings of Titian" című művének II. kötetében a 95. oldalon, a 27. szám alatt (lásd a 72. képet).

36 Isabella d' Este 1474. május 19-én született este 9 óra körül. Lásd: George R. Marek: The Bed and the Throne, New York (1976) 11. oldal.

37 Dr. David Baum az oxfordi egyetem gyermekgyógyászati osztályának vezetője, feleségével és kollégájával egyetértve, az angyal korát megközelítőleg 13-15 évre tette 1983. augusztus 23-án kelt levelében.

38 Szekulics Géza: Beatrix királyné emléke a délszláv népköltészetben, Századok 1912, 612. oldal, ahol ennek a házassági kísérletnek az évét kifejezetten 1486-ra teszi a később Maxim érsekké lett Brankovics György életrajza alapján. Azt A. Vukonovic közli a ГЛАСНИКДРУШТВА СРБСКЕ СЛВСТНОСТИ XI. kötetében 1859-ben, a 125–129. oldalon.

39 „... le Magnifice Madone Aloysa, Isabella attincte ad Vostra Signoria Nardella et altere de tal nova, me hano adimandato il beveragio, che ha ad esser forsice coltelli e borchai de quelli dorati da Modena, si che ala Signoria Vostra tocha fare provisione de tal cosa...". Nagy, Nyáry...

40 Berzeviczy Albert: Beatrix királyné, Budapest, 1908, 177–178., 131., 376–377., 387. oldal.

Különben 1478-ban a négyéves Isabella d'Este anyjával nagyapjához utazott Nápolyba. (Marek, op. cit. 20 és 240. oldal)

Ezenkívül Beatrix királyné négy évvel fiatalabb öccse, Ferenc, Bisaglia őrgrófja és S. Angelo hercege, 1476-tól 1484-ig Beatrix királyné udvarában tartózkodott. (Lásd: Berzeviczy: op. cit. A nápolyi királyi család családfája a 24. oldalnál.)

Megfigyelhetjük még, hogy a párizsi Sziklás Madonnán a kis Keresztelő Szent János arcvonásai Este-i Izabella legidősebb öccse, Alfonz ferrarai trónörökös, bronzérméről könnyen felismerhető arcvonásaira ütnek.[41] Az a tény viszont, hogy ezen a festményen az angyalt Este-i Isabella, Keresztelő Szent Jánost pedig öccse, Alfonz személyesítette meg, arra mutat, hogy a Kis Jézust is testvérük jelenítette meg a képen. Ezt a következtetést megerősíti az, hogy a Kis Jézus arca a képen erősen hasonlít Keresztelő Szent Jánoséra, amint arra Dr. David Baum is rámutatott Oxfordban 1983. augusztus 23-án kelt levelében. Az is nyilvánvaló, hogy a képen a Kis Jézus fiatalabb Szent Jánosnál. Mindez szükségképpen arra a megoldásra vezet, hogy a párizsi Sziklás Madonnán főpapi áldást osztó Kis Jézust Este-i Hyppolit személyesítette meg. Hyppolit ugyanis a harmadik fiú volt a családban,[42] és már egészen kis korától fogva papi, vagyis inkább főpapi pályára szánták.[43] Az is mutatja, hogy a Kis Jézust Hippolyt arcáról mintázták, mert följegyezték, hogy „Olyan szép csecsemő jött a világra, amilyen még sose volt a világ kezdetétől."[44] Utóbb Bonfini is megjegyezte azt hogy „Hippolyt... szép arcú fiú"[45] **volt.**

Az viszont, hogy Este-i Hyppolit az arcvonásai a párizsi Sziklás Madonna kompozíciójában ilyen központi szerepet nyertek, megint azt jelzi, hogy Leonardo a képet Mátyás király udvara számára festette. Gradualéja 30. levelének tanúsága szerint ugyanis Mátyás király (is) Este-i Hyppolit keresztapja volt. Má-

41 Jóllehet az érme a British Múzeumban Alfonzo bal profilját mutatja, a kissé kampós orrocska, magas homlok, a pufók orcácskától hátrább eső kicsi áll mindkét ábrázoláson felismerhetetlenül azonos. Ezen érme képe megtalálható George Francis Hill: A Corpus of Italian Medals című, Londonban 1930-ban kiadott művében a 24. táblán 118. számmal. Az érem fölirata szerint 1477-ben készült, amikor Alfonzo csak egyéves volt, a Sziklás Madonnán viszont Keresztelő Szent János fejét Dr. David Baum, az oxfordi gyermekgyógyászati osztály vezetője háromévesre becsülte, testtartásának egésze viszont szerinte még idősebb korra vall. (1983. augusztus 23-án kelt levele.)

42 Berzeviczy, op. cit. családfa a 80. oldal után.

43 Este-i Hyppolit már 1484-ben, tehát ötéves korában megkapta a Canalnovo-i apátságot, ami világosan mutatja, hogy már akkor egyházi pályára szánták. (Lásd: Raffaele Belvederi cikkét R. Aubert, E. van Cauwenbergh (ed.): Dictionnaire d'histoire et geographie ecclesiastique, 15. kötet, Paris 1963, 1049. hasáb.

44 Ariosto: Orlando furioso, XLVI. ének, 85. versszak

45 Bonfini 4.8.62–74

tyás ugyancsak kedvelte keresztfiát, amit a szemtanú, Bonfini leírásán kívül az is mutat, hogy még kisgyermekként „választott" prímássá nevezte ki 1486-ban,[46] tehát akkor, amikor a párizsi Sziklás Madonna elkészült. A kettő tehát aligha független egymástól, talán éppen a kép szépsége indította Mátyást arra, hogy annak így külön jelentést adjon.

A párizsi Sziklás Madonnán a Kis Jézust megszemélyesítő Este-i Hyppolit viszont a Keresztelő Szent Jánost megszemélyesítő Este-i Alfonzót áldja meg, s ugyanőrá mutat az angyalt megszemélyesítő nővérük, Este-i Izabella is, ami annak felel meg, hogy ő volt az Este-i házban a ferrarai trónörökös, hiszen a szokásos ikonográfia szerint inkább Keresztelő Szent Jánosnak kellene az Üdvözítőre mutatnia. A kép különös szerkezete ezért megerősíteni látszik az azon ábrázolt személyeket megszemélyesítő Esték azonosságát.

Ebben az összefüggésben, s fönti következtetéseinket illetően rendkívül jelentős, hogy pontosan 1486-ban, mégpedig 1486. augusztus 4-én, Beatrix királyné levelet küldött Pozsonyból a gyermekek atyjának, Este-i Hercules ferrarai hercegnek. Ebben azt írta, hogy „...az egész igen nagyon tetszett, s megválaszolván neki" (mármint a ferrarai követnek) „aki, tudjuk, hogy az egészet megírja Önnek, nem írnánk más miatt, hanem mert a fiai, akiket természet után lefestettek, ugyancsak tetszenek, s hasonlóképpen tetszenek Őfelségének, uramnak a Királynak, aki nem tud megelégedni nézésükkel s mondogatja, hogy... Don Hyppolito őfensége sokkal szebb, mint az elsőszülött Don Alfonso őfensége: s az országnagyok is mind hasonlóképpen mondják és vallják, hogy ez a fiúcska, akit Fejedelemségtek érsek úrnak adott, sokkal szebb, mint az elsőszülött, s nekünk magunknak is ez a benyomásunk..."[47]

Márpedig kétségtelen, hogy a párizsi Sziklás Madonnán a Kis Jézus ábrázolása sokkal megnyerőbb, mint a kis Keresztelő Szent Jánosé, éppen amint Beatrix királyné írta Pozsonyból. Ő akkor csak a szóban forgó festményről ismerhette unokaöcscseit, s ezért említi csak őket, ami megfelel azon föltételezésünknek is, hogy abban az időben nővérük, Izabella még a magyar királyi udvarban tartózkodott. Ezért Izabellát nem említi a levélben, mert az ő képére nem volt szüksége, hogy megismerje.

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46 Aragóniai János esztergomi érsek, Beatrix testvére 1485. október 17-én halt meg Rómában. A halálhírének vétele utáni napon Beatrix már kérte Mátyás királyt, hogy helyébe Hyppolitot nevezze ki, amint azt Fraknói kifejtette. Fraknói a modenai levéltárból Mátyásnak 1486. április 1-jén kelt levelét is idézi, amely szerint Mátyás Hyppolitot akkor már kinevezte. VIII. Ince pápa azonban Hyppolit kinevezését csak 1487. május 21-én fogadta el. (Lásd: Sándor Szilágyi (ed.): A magyar nemzet története, IV. kötet, Budapest 1896, 297–299 oldal: Conradus Eubel: Hierarchia Catholica, II. kötet, Monasterii 1901, 267. oldal.)

47 Nagy, Nyári: Diplomácziai emlékek..., op. cit. III. kötet (Budapest, 1877) 155. oldal.

Mindenesetre azt, hogy Este-i Hyppolitnak a magyar udvarba érkezett ábrázolását – Valentini Cesar ferrarai követ jelentése szerint – Mátyás király az egész udvar előtt megcsókolta, s azután a jelenlévő zászlósurakkal is megcsókoltatta,[48] aligha magyarázhatja meg más, mint hogy a képen Este-i Hyppolit a Kis Jézust személyesítette meg, amint azt a föntiekben kifejtettük.

A Párizsban őrzött Sziklás Madonna ezért jól tükrözi a szoros kapcsolatot a renaissance budai és ferrarai udvar között. Ezt a Beatrix és nővére, Eleonóra[49] között volt és a fönnmaradt sűrű levelezésen[50] kívül Izabellának a magyar udvarban való tartózkodása, és Este-i Hyppolitnak prímássá való kinevezése is tanúsítja, és a Sziklás Madonna mintegy jelképezi. A Sziklás Madonna elkészülte utáni években már Este-i Hyppolit is megérkezett a magyar udvarba.

Azt is megfigyelhetjük, hogy a Sziklás Madonnán a sziklák a tenger partján természetes bolthajtást alkotnak. Ilyet Leonardo legkönnyebben a Magyar Szent Korona területén, mégpedig a Raguzához tartozó Lacroma szigetén láthatott,[51] amikor 1481-ben látszólag azért látogatott Ciprusra, hogy ott a milánói székesegyháznak csipkét vásároljon, valójában azért, hogy Cornaro Katalin ciprusi királynő arcképét megfesse.[52] Látni fogjuk még, hogy Leonardo másutt is az Adriával társította a magyar monarchiát,[53] és ezért a sziklák is alighanem a dalmát tengerpartról kerültek a Sziklás Madonnába. Sem Jeruzsálemben, sem Betlehemben, sem Názáretben nem voltak tengerparti sziklák, és ezért azok a bibliai történetből nem kerülhettek a képbe.

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48 Dümmerth Dezső: A két Hunyadi, Budapest, 1985, 251. oldal. Dümmerth, úgy látszik, nem jött rá arra, hogy a szóban forgó képen Este-i Hyppolit a Kis Jézus modellje, s ezért meglehetősen képmutató fölháborodással beszéli el a történetet, aminthogy könyvének nagy részében alig igyekezett Mátyás s még kevésbé Beatrix királyné megértésére.

49 A párizsi Sziklás Madonna Madonnája a gyermekek anyjának, Aragóniai Eleonórának lehet idealizált képe (cf.: Marion Johnson: The Borgias, London 1981, 75. oldal (miniatúra a Biblioteca Estense-ben Modenában)) és ezért hasonlít részben nővérére, Beatrix királynéra.

50 Nagy, Nyári op. cit. passim

51 Az Osztrák–Magyar Monarchia írásban és képben, VIII. kötet: Az osztrák tengermellék és Dalmácia, Budapest 1892, 424. oldalon lévő kép, amelyet a XIII. oldal szerint Stefánia volt trónörökösnő rajzolt.

52 „La Belle erroniere" arcvonásai Leonardo festményén a Louvre-ban (lásd: della Chiesa, op. cit. 101. oldal 28. szám LXI. színes táblakép) megegyeznek Judit arcvonásaival Giorgione képén az Ermitage-ban (lásd: Pietro Zapetti (Cecil Gould bevezetésével): The Complete Paintings of Giorgione, London 1970, 88–89. oldal 5. szám, XX. táblakép) ami azt jelzi, hogy Cornaro Katalin ciprusi királynő fiatalkori arcmása tulajdonképpen mind a kettő.

53 Windsor, Royal Library No. 12.496, (lásd: A. E. Popham: The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci, London 1946, 1952, 125. kép, melyet illetően lásd a továbbiakban következő fejtegetésünket.

Ha mármost a párizsi Sziklás Madonna föntiekben elemzett képtani programját összehasonlítjuk a milánói Szeplőtelen Fogantatás testvériségének Leonardóval és a de Predis-fivérekkel 1483. április 25-én kötött megegyezésével, nyilvánvalóvá válik, hogy a kettő teljesen elüt egymástól. Az 1483. április 25-én kötött megegyezés szerint ugyanis az oltárkép középső képén a Szűzanyát és a Kis Jézust angyalok *csoportjának* és *két prófétának* kellett volna körülvennie.[54] Márpedig a Sziklás Madonnának sem a párizsi, sem a londoni változatán nincs semmi jele a Szűzanyát és a Kis Jézust körülvevő angyalok *csoportjának* és a *két prófétának*. Valójában a kép a klasszikus és renaissance háromszögű képszerkesztésnek az egyik mesterművévé vált. Ez tehát tulajdonképpen azt mutatja, hogy a milánói Szeplőtelen Fogantatás testvériséggel 1483. április 25-én kötött megegyezés után a milánói herceg, Ludovico il Moro teljesen más, nagyigényű mű festésére rendelte – mégpedig a Sziklás Madonna Mátyás király részére való példánya elkészítésére –, s azalatt nem tudott semmi más munkával foglalkozni. A mesterműbe foglalt csodálatos és életteli arcmások azt mutatják, hogy emiatt Ferrarába kellett látogatnia, és ez volt a fő ok, hogy a Szeplőtelen Fogantatás testvériség képének festése teljesen abbamaradt, és tulajdonképpen sohasem készült el. Emiatt amíg Ludovico il Moro kormányozta Milánót, a testvériség Leonardo ellen nem sokat tudott kezdeni. Csak azután, hogy a franciák elfoglalták Milánót, tudta a testvériség 1503 és 1506 között Leonardót és Ambrogio de Predist arra szorítani, hogy a képet leszállítsák.[55]

Nyilvánvaló azonban, hogy akkor húsz év múlva az eredetileg megrendelt ikonográfiai programból semmi sem volt meg, s akkor annak a képnek a változatát készítették el, amit Leonardónak 1483–1486 között kellett festenie, Ludovico il Moro rendeletére, a Szeplőtelen Fogantatás testvériség képe helyett.

Leonardónak a ***windsori királyi kastélyban a 12534-es számon***[56] őrzött rajzán az arc megegyezik Beatrix arcvonásaival. Az Beatrixnek alig idealizált arcmása, mert majdnem fényképszerű hűséggel felel meg Laurana jelenleg Princetonban lévő szobrának.

54 della Chiesa, op. cit. 93. oldal, 3. hasáb alján (15. számú kép)

55 della Chiesa, op. cit. 94. oldal, 2. és 3. hasáb: vesd össze: 93. oldal 5. hasáb és 95. oldal 16. számú kép.

56 A. E. Popham: The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci, London 1946, 1952, 183. számú kép (cf.: 131. oldal)

Mindazonáltal az 12534-es számú windsori rajz, úgy látszik, nem tartozhatott a Sziklás Madonna előmunkáihoz, mert a Madonnának egyik változaton sincs fátyla.[57] Viszont a szóban forgó fej tartása teljesen megegyezik a Szűzanya fejével azon az „Angyali Üdvözlet"-en, mely a Vatikánban lévő és 1487–1492 között díszített Breviárium corvina 7. levelének a hátoldalán található[58]. Ez az „Angyali Üdvözlet" ebben a kéziratban Attavante ex Attavantibus remekművű ábrázolása szerint tulajdonképpen egy magas renaissance oltár fölött lévő félkörívet töltött ki, és a bolthajtás fölötti két Árpád-sávos címer mutatja, hogy az az oltár a magyar király udvarában volt. Senki sem kétli, hogy Attavanta a renaissance kéziratfestés legnagyobb mesterművészei közé tartozott. Ez ebben az összefüggésben azért fontos, mert képe elárulja, hogy miniatúrájának sikerült megragadnia az ábrázolt Leonardo-kép szellemét. Nem lehet ugyanis kétség afelől, hogy az oltár fölötti félkörben volt „Angyali Üdvözlet"-et eredetileg Leonardo festette. Ezt a Szűzanyának Windsorban lévő föntebb említett fején kívül kéztartása is mutatja, amely azonos a Leonardo párizsi „Angyali Üdvözlet"-én lévővel.[59] Azon a Szűz szintén lesüti szemét, és Szent Gábor arkangyalnak teljes megjelenése, személyisége, különösen pedig mozgásának üde kelleme ruháinak legkisebb fodráig bizonyítja, hogy annak eredetijét csak Leonardo festhette. Attavante képe tényleg megragadóan tükrözi az angyal földre szállásának pillanatát. Ez mutatja, hogy Leonardo eredetije ebben fölülmúlta másik két fönnmaradt „Angyali Üdvözlet"-ét. E kép már repüléstani tanulmányait előlegezi,[60] s akár a számothrakéi Nikével is versenyezhetne. Az angyal alakja szoros

57 della Chiesa, op. cit.: XXIX. és XXXVI. színes táblakép.

58 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Urb. Lat. 112, folio 7(verso) színes képe: Csaba Csapodi, Klara Csapodi-Gárdonyi: Bibliotheca Corviniana, Shannon 1969, 237. oldal

59 della Chiesa, op. cit. XVI. színes képtábla, vesd össze 91. oldal 11. számú kép elemzése, amely ezt a párizsi Louvre-ban lévő „Angyali Üdvözlet"-et 1478-ra keltezi.

60 Lásd a szárny rajzát a „B" jelű kódexben Párizsban az Institut de France gyűjteményében folio 74(recto), amit a késő 1480-as – 1490-es évekre kelteztek. (Martin Kemp: Leonardo da Vinci, London stb. 1981, 123. oldal) tehát a Cod. Urb. Lat 112-vel amely 1487 és 1492 között készült: Csapodi, Csapodi-Gárdonyi, op. cit. 66. oldal 120-as számú corvina.

Lásd még a 103. számú Leonardo-rajzot Popham könyvében, amelyet ő 1480–81-re keltez, s amely a British Museumban van (op. cit. 111. oldal).

Az angyal köntösének redőit illetően lásd Popham, op. cit. 1–7 számú kép.

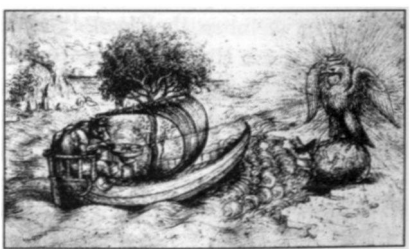
összefüggésben áll mind a Firenzében, mind a Párizsban lévő Szent Gábor alakkal s ruházatának redőzete tipikusan Leonardóra üt.

A miniatúra tanúsága szerint a szóban forgó „Angyali Üdvözlet" hátterében alacsony fal, és azon túl fák voltak. Ez ismét megegyezik Leonardo „Angyali Üdvözlet"-einek az ábrázolásával. Különösen áll ez a miniatúra közepén lévő fenyőfára.

Ezen fejtegetésünket úgy foglalhatjuk össze, hogy a Vatikáni Könyvtár „Cod. Urb. 112" számú kézirata 7. levelének hátoldalán Leonardo ismeretlen „Angyali Üdvözlet"-ének a mását mutatja, amely Mátyás király részére készült, s Leonardo ennek a képnek az előmunkálata során rajzolta a Windsorban őrzött 12534. számú rajzot, s az Beatrix királyné arcvonásait tükrözi.

Leonardonak a hermelint, mint a tisztaság jelképét megjelenítő rajza[61] valójában Beatrix királynénak a Bonfini Syposion kézirat címlapján található jelmondatát ábrázolja: μάλλον θνήσκαν ἢ μιαίνειν (inkább meghalni, mint beszennyeződni), mely jelmondat a kéziratban a fehér hermelin képét veszi körül.[62]. Ezen jelmondatának megfelelően eleven hermelint találunk a hitvese mellett trónoló Beatrix királyné közelében található kis ülőhelyen kuporodni a Ransanus kézirat címlapján is[63].

Leonardo egy másik és híres rajzát Windsorban 12496 számon tartják nyilván. Az jelképes hasonlatosságot ábrázol, és sok fejtörést okozott a művészettörténészeknek annak rejtélyes talánya, amit eddig valójában nem fejtettek meg. A rajzon lévő földgömb azonban világosan föltünteti az



61 Popham, op. cit. 109A kép (cf.: 114. oldal.)

62 Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Clmae 421. folio 1recto Képét lásd: Ilona Berkovits: Illuminated Manuscripts from the Library of Matthias Corvinus, Budapest 1964, XXXVII. színes táblakép.

63 Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár, Clmae 249. Képét lásd: Ilona Berkovits: Illuminated Manuscripts from the Library of Matthias Corvinus, Budapest 1964, XXXIX. színes táblakép.

Adriai-tengert és a Balkánt, és abból világos, hogy a kép eszmei gyújtópontjában álló sas Litvániánál áll a földgömbön. Ez a tény, valamint ezenkívül az, hogy ez a sas fehér, koronás, egy- és nem kétfejű, Leonardo Windsorban lévő rajzán cáfolhatatlanul bizonyítja, hogy a Jagellók sasa[64].

A rajzon lévő hajót viszont szemmel láthatóan erre a sasra irányítja a hajó kormányosa, s a hajónak pedig, a kutatók egybehangzó megállapítása szerint, farkas a kormányosa. Márpedig jól tudott, hogy a Szapolyaiak régi családi címere éppen farkas volt, amint azt sírköveik és János király pénze bizonyítja[65]. Leonardo szóban forgó rajza tehát azt jelenti, hogy Magyarország hajóját Szapolyai István II. Ulászló megválasztásával a Jagellók vizére kormányozta. Ulászló megválasztása valóban nagyrészt Szapolyai Istvánon múlott,[66] aki

64 Mátyás király korában már a német-római császárok sasa kétfejű volt, amit többek között kortársa, III. Frigyes császár bécsi síremléke is bizonyít. (Lásd Sándor Szilágyi [szerkesztő]: A magyar nemzet története, IV. kötet, Budapest 1896, a 336. oldalnál lévő kép.) Igaz ugyan, hogy a római király címerén császárrá koronázása előtt egyfejű sast találhatunk, a sas azonban abban az esetben is fekete volt, s a XV. század végén már Ausztria szívcímerét viselte. Lásd Niklas Türing innsbrucki domborművét 1497–1500-ból (A. G. Dickens [szerkesztő]: The Courts of Europe, London 1977, 1., 4. oldal.)

Ezzel szemben II. Ulászló király, imakönyvében, melyet ma az oxfordi egyetemi könyvtár őriz (Bodleyan Library, MS. Rawl. Liturg d. 6), tucatnyi alkalommal tünteti föl a Jagellók címerét, s az minden esetben vörös mezőben fehér (címertanilag „jobbra néző") koronás sas (folio 1r, 8r, 15r, 42v, 47r, 49r, 52v, 58r, 61r, 65v, 72r, 74v).

65 Johannes Gründler, Gottfried Stangler, Moritz Csáky et alii (szerkesztők): „Schallaburg '82 Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn," (1982. május 8. – november 1.) kiállítási katalógus, 18–19, színes kép a 128. oldal után, 685–684. oldal, 836–837. szám. A farkas alakját jobban fölismerhetjük Domanovszky Sándor (szerkesztő): Magyar művelődéstörténet, II. kötetének 91-es 569. oldalán (cf.: 650. és 662. oldal).

János király 1527-ből való 16 mm-es ezüst dénárjának képét lásd Lajos Huszár: The Art of Coinage in Hungary, Budapest 1963, 39.kép (cf.: 47. oldal).

Lásd még az Alberti kódexet az olmützi káptalani könyvtárban:

Cod. Lat. CO 330, folio 2recto (Csapodi, Csapodi-Gárdonyi, op. cit. 199. oldal).

66 Fraknói Vilmos: A Hunyadiak és Jagellók kora. Szilágyi Sándor (szerkesztő): A magyar nemzet története, IV. kötet, Budapest 1896, 343. oldal.

azután, ennek eredményeként, 1491-től egészen 1499-ben bekövetkezett haláláig nádorispánként[67] az országot ugyanebben az irányban kormányozta. A rajz különben azt is kiválóan jelképezi, hogy Ulászló magyar királlyá választásával a Jagellók uralma egész Kelet-Közép-Európán keresztül az Adriára is kiterjedt. A képen lévő partvidék ténylegesen az Adriának a dalmát és a horvát partokon lévő csatornáira emlékeztet. Ez, valamint az Adriának a jelzése a földgömbön mutatja, hogy Leonardo da Vinci Magyarországot az Adriával társította, amire előbb, a Sziklás Madonnával kapcsolatban már hivatkoztunk.

A szóban forgó windsori rajz természetesen azt is tanúsítja, hogy Leonardót foglalkoztatta Magyarország sorsa. Ez már csak azért is érthető, mert, mint láttuk, Beatrix és Mátyás király eljegyzésében neki is része volt. Azon eljegyzés horderejét pedig Magyarország sorsára és a magyar művelődés fejlődésére nehéz fölülbecsülnünk.

Beatrix királyné hathatós pénzügyi, katonai, diplomáciai és társadalmi támogatása nélkül 1490-ben Ulászló sohasem lett volna magyar király.[68] Éppen azért, hogy további támogatását biztosítsa, kötött vele Ulászló házasságot 1490. október 4-én. Azt persze elhallgatta előtte, hogy előzőleg gondosan biztosította, hogy a szertartás érvénytelenné váljék.[69] Ilyeténképpen Ulászló magyar királlyá választása Leonardót régi ismerőse, Beatrix, személyén keresztül is foglalkoztatta, már csak azért is, mert Beatrix királyné nagynénje volt Beatrice d'Este-nek, a tényleges milánói hercegnének, akinek az udvarában élt Leonardo da Vinci. A szóban forgó windsori rajz szempontjából azonban sokkal nagyobb jelentőségű az a tény, hogy amikor Corvin János elvesztette a trónutódlás reményét, a milánói udvar Bianca Maria Sfrorzát éppen II. Ulászlóval igyekezett összeházasítani.[70]

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67 Fügedi Erik: „Uram, királyom...", Budapest 1974, 252. oldal.
Hóman Bálint, Szekfű Gyula: Magyar történet, II. kötet, Budapest 1935, 683. oldal szerint Szapolyai István 1492-től 1499-ig volt Magyarország nádora.

68 Maffeo Treviglio Budán 1490. július 15-én és 21-én kelt levele. Lásd Nagy-Nyáry, op. cit. IV. kötet 1878. 242–248. oldal. „Az kétségtelen, hogy Ulászló kizárólag neki köszönte magyar királlyá választását." Wenczel Gusztáv: II. Ulászló magyar és cseh király házasélete. Századok, 1877, 638. oldal.
Beatrix anyagi támogatását Ulászló megválasztására lásd Berzeviczy, op. cit. 504. oldal. Lásd még előbbi 4. fejezetünk 105. jegyzetét.

69 Óváry Lipót: II. Ulászló és Beatrix házassága. Századok, 1890. 761. oldal. Berzeviczy, op. cit. 505. oldal.

70 Berzeviczy, op. cit. Az aragóniai uralkodóház családfája a 24. oldalnál, az Este-k családfája pedig a 80. oldalnál található. Este-i Beatrix 1491. január 17-én tartotta menyegzőjét Ludovico el Moro-val Milánóban, amelyen részt vett nővére, Este-i Izabella, mantuai őrgrófné is, aki, mint láttuk, korábban nagynénjének, Beatrix királynénak udvarhölgye volt (Marek, op. cit. 48. és 241. oldal). Leonardo viszont 1483-tól 1499-ig tartózkodott a Sforzák milánói udvarában. (Pedretti, op. cit. 8. oldal).

Lehetséges, hogy ***Leonardo Windsorban 12505-ös számon őrzött rajza***[71] is Beatrix királyné késői, idősebb kori arcélét mutatja, mert az hasonlít Beatrix többi ismert arcélére.[72] Lefelé forduló ajka széle és szomorú tekintete pedig kitűnően tükrözi a királyné szerencsétlen késői sorsát. Sforza Bianca és Miksa császár 1493. évi házassága után a milánói udvar viszont ismét Beatrix oldalára állt, és segítette Ulászlóval való házasságának elismertetésére való törekvéseiben. 1493 és 1501 között Beatrix unokaöccsének, Este-i Hyppolit magyar prímásnak, esztergomi várában élt,[73] ahonnan tíz éven keresztül elkeseredett és kemény diplomáciai s jogi küzdelmeket folytatott a különböző európai udvarokkal, és főként a pápai curiával, hogy Ulászlóval való házasságának érvényességét elismertesse. Természetesnek látszana, hogy Hippolyt nővére, vagy férje Milánóból Leonardót titkos küldetésben Esztergomba küldte, s akkor készült a szomorú rajz, amin talán 1497-es évszám van. Beatrix találkozhatott Leonardóval Nápolyba való visszatérése során is, amikor évtizedes küzdelmét elveszítve végleg elhagyta Magyarországot, ahol úgy szeretett és törekedett élni, s melynek trónja, úgy tartotta, hogy megilleti őt az Árpádok és az Anjouk vére miatt. A windsori arcmás szomorú hangulata valóban inkább olyasvalakit ábrázol, aki már elvesztette a küzdelmet, mint olyat, aki kész volt tíz éven keresztül makacsul harcolni. Beatrix 1500 december 31-én már velencei területen volt Porto Gruaroban, amit csak január 21-én hagyott el. A Pón utazott Ferrarába, ahova január 30-án vonult be. Onnan

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A Bianca Maria Sforza és II. Ulászló tervezett házasságára irányuló tárgyalásokat illetően, amelyeket Budán éppen Maffeo Treviglio vezetett, lásd: Óváry, op. cit. Századok 1890, 762., 766–768. oldal.

Óváry azonban forrásait idézve arra is rámutat, hogy Sforza Bianca és I. Habsburg Miksa császár házasságát követően, a milánói udvar ismét Beatrix királyné pártjára állt, és a nápolyi udvarral egyetértésben Beatrix és II. Ulászló házasságának érvényességét igyekeztek bizonyítani 1493 után (Óváry, op. cit. 770., 772. oldal). Miksa és Sforza Bianca házassági szerződését 1493. június 24-én kötötték.(Dizionario Biografico delli Italiani, 10 kötet, Róma 1968, 24. oldal.). Jellemzően Miksa is érvényesnek tekintette Ulászló és Beatrix házasságát.

71 Popham, op. cit. 128. Kép. (cf.: 121. oldal).

72 Beatrix jobb oldali arcéle Francesco Laurana szobrán a Frick-gyűjteményből a princetoni múzeumban (a Frick-gyűjtemény 1495–2. számú fölvétele). Beatrix domborműve a Szépművészeti Múzeum gyűjteményéből a királyi várban (Balogh, op. cit. II. kötet 403. kép.).

73 Óváry, op. cit., Századok 1890, 762., 767., 773. oldal.

csak február 10-e táján utazott tovább s február 13-án volt Ravennában- hogy tovább hajózzék az Adrián.[74]

A francia megszállás alá került Milanóból 1499 december 14-én Leonardo 600 forintot küldött firenzei bankszámlájára, majd 1500 elején Beatrix unokahugához Isabellához utazott Mantuába, ahol elkészítette arcélének rajzát. 1500 március 13-én pedig Velence szolgálatába lépett erődítési munkák végett, többek között Friauliban. 1502 nyarától 1502 októberéig Cesare Borgia erődítéseit ellenőrizte a fennhatósága alatt álló területeken.[75] Leonardo tehát találkozhatott az 1501 januárjában és februárjában velencei és ferrarai terülten tartózkodó Beatrixszel.

Azt, hogy a Windsorban 12505-ös számon őrzött arcél Leonatrdo és Beatrix 1500 elején történt találkozását tükrözi az mutatja, hogyha figyelembe vesszük az évek és a csapások változását, jól megegyezni látszik Beatrix közel 30 éves korában Dalmata műveként készült arcmásával, és Laurána Bécsben fönnmaradt portréjával, amelyet már Berzeviczy Albert is Beatrix szobraként ismert, s amit Laurana 1490 körül készíthetett, amikor John Pope-Hennessy szerint nincs adat Laurana működéséről.[76] Ez a Bécsben 3405-ös számon őrzött szobor szemből viszont jól megegyezik a Széchenyi Könyvtár Agathias corvinájában található miniatúrával 1483–84-ből[77].

II. Ulászló és Beatrix házasságának érvénytelenségét VI. Sándor pápa 1500. április 3-án mondta ki.[78] Addigra Ulászló már mélyen belemerült a francia király-

74 Berzeviczy Albert, Beatrix királyné, Budapest 1908, 607 és 610. oldal. {Óváry szerint 1501. február 3-a körül érkezett Chioggiába Óváry Lipót: II. Ulászló és Beatrix házassága. Századok, 1890. 773. oldal. Marino Sanudo 1500. november 27-én tett följegyzése szerint Beatrix 1500. október 31-én már nem volt Esztergomban. Bécsbe ment, s Nápolyba menet Paduába szándékozott volna zarándokolni (I diarii, III. Kötet, Velence 1880, 1102. hasáb)}.

75 Martin Kemp: Leonardo da Vinci, London etc. 1981, 212.oldal, 215.-216. oldal

76 John Pope-Hennessy: Italian Renaissance Sculpture, Oxford 1986, 314 oldal (cf.:105 tábla)

77 Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Clmae 413, folio1^{recto}.

78 Wenczel, op. cit. Századok 1877, 638. oldal; Philipp Ernst Spiess: Aufklärungen in der Geschichte und Diplomatik, Bayreuth 1791, 284–285. oldal.

lyal, XII. Lajossal való tárgyalásokba, hogy tőle nyerjen új menyasszonyt. Végül így vette el Candala-i Annát 1502. szeptember 29-én.[79] Ennek kapcsán aligha kerülhette el, hogy XII. Lajosnak bőséges királyi ajándékot küldjön különböző kincsekkel.[80] Könnyen lehet, hogy azok között volt a Sziklás Madonna ma a Louvre-ban lévő változata, mert akármilyen vallásos is volt II. Ulászló, sehogy sem eshetett kedvére, hogy olyan Madonnánál imádkozzék, aki házasságszédelgésére emlékeztette. Lehetséges azonban, hogy a Sziklás Madonnát is Mária királyné menekítette el Budáról a mohácsi csata után, s utóbb magával vitte Belgiumba. Mária belgiumi kastélyait ugyanis II. Henrik francia király 1554-ben csapataival kifosztotta majd pedig fölgyújtotta.[81] A kép jelenléte ugyanis csak 1625 óta mutatható ki Franciaországban.[82]

Lauranának Princetonban lévő szobrán Beatrix arcvonásai megegyeznek ***Leonardónak a Louvre-ban lévő Szent Anna ábrázolásával***[83], amely szorosan tükrözi Beatrixnak nem csak a szobron való alakját, hanem egész megjelenését, arckifejezését

79 A francia követek már 1499. decemberében is II. Ulászló újraházasodásának útját egyengették, és ilyen irányú tevékenységüket 1500. februárjában és áprilisában is folytatták (Marino Sanudo: I diarii III. kötet,... 1880, 62–63, 117., 194 hasáb) Sanudo 1499. szeptember 27-én tett följegyzése szerint Ulászló Velencének azt üzente, hogy mást nem fog nőül venni, mint kit a Signoria neki tanácsoland [I diarii, II. kötet, Velence 1879, 1369. hasáb]).

Lásd még: Kropf Lajos: Anna királyné, II. Ulászló neje. Századok 1895. 695–696. oldal.

80 II. Ulászló nagyon hálás lehetett a francia diplomácia támogatásáért Beatrix-szal való házasságának érvénytelenné nyilvánításában (Ld. Marino Sanudo: I. diarii, III. kötet, Velence 1880, 62–63, 117. és 197. hasáb), majd pedig a francia menyasszonyért.

81 Mária királyné Marmion nevű valamint Binch nevű kastélyát II. Henrik francia király csapatai kifosztották, majd fölgyújtották. Théodore Juste: Les Pays-Bas sous Charles-Quint. Vie de Marie tirée des papiers d'état. Nouvelle édition revue et augmentée. Brüsszel 1861.

Marmiont 1554. július 21-én gyújtották föl. Ortvay Tivadar: Mária királyné, Budapest 1914, 405. oldal.

Beatrix királynénak a párizsi Sziklás Madonnán ábrázolt rokonai azt jelezhetik, hogy az a kép is a királyné ingóságai közé tartozott, mint a gobelinek, amiket Mária biztosan magával vitt Belgiumba.

82 Raffaele Monti: Leonardo, London 1967, 32. oldal.

83 Della Chiesa, op. cit. LVIII. színes képtábla (cf.: 109. oldal, 35. számú kép).

mosolyát és személyiségét. E szobor éppen ezért Leonardo ezen művével áll a legszorosabb kapcsolatban

Ennek valószínűleg az az oka, hogy a művészettörténészek szerint az a festmény 1510–1511 körül készült,[84] tehát azután, hogy Beatrix királyné 1508. szeptember 12-én Nápolyban a Castel Capuanóban meghalt.[85] Leonardónak akkor modellként, úgy látszik, éppen ezt a szobrot kellett használnia. Mindenesetre csodálatos az a mód, hogy ennek ellenére Szent Anna a képen ennyire él.

A képet ugyanis Richelieu bíboros 1629–30-ban Casale Monferratóban találta, tehát Gonzaga területén éppen a Gonzaga örökösödési háború során.[86] Ez csak úgy lehetséges, hogy e képet Gonzaga Ferenc mantuai őrgróf hitvese, Este-i Izabella rendelte[87] nagynénje emlékére, akinek udvarában az antik művelődés, a renaissance művészet és a velük járó csillagfejtés igézetébe került.[88] Nyilvánvaló ugyanis, hogy a Szent Annát a képen megszemélyesítő Beatrix királyné ölében ülő Szűz Máriát éppen Este-i Izabella személyesíti meg. Arcéle ugyanis teljesen megegyezik a mantuai őrgrófnő ábrázolásával egykorú jól ismert érmén, sőt, magának Leonardónak a Louvre-ban őrzött rajzán.

Leonardo a bibliai rokonok képében egyúttal megragadóan ábrázolta Beatrixnek és unokahúgának szeretetét és Budán kifejlődött barátságát, aminek ez a mű örök emléket állított. A régi szép budai napok élnek a képen Beatrix mosolyában is, éppen úgy, ahogy Bonfini írta a Symposionban: „Derültségedet nem

84 Carlo Pedretti: Leonardo, London 1973, 110. oldal.

85 Óváry, op. cit. Századok 1890, 774. oldal.

86 Della Chiesa, op. cit. 109. oldal harmadik hasáb.

87 Izabella menye, Palaelog Margit révén ugyanis Izabella Gonzaga leszármazói örökölték a Palaiologoszok Montferrati fejedelemségét (cf.: XVIII. 198–199. oldal).

88 Isabella d'Este emlékérmén a Nyilas csillagképét tüntette föl, és a csillagok állása máskülönben is érdekelte (lásd Jean T. Martineau cikkét a David Chambers és Jane Martineau szerkesztette katalógusban: „Splendors of the Gonzaga", London 1981, 160. oldal, 29–30. oldal, amely szerint azonban Izabella nem mindig követte az asztrológusok tanácsát.

A csillagfejtés jelentőségére a neoplatonikusoknál lásd Miklós Pál: Janus Pannonius egy verséről (Ad animam suam) Kardos Tibor, V. Kovács Sándor: Janus Pannonius (Tanulmányok.) (Memoria saeculorum Hungariae, szerkeszti V. Kovács Sándor), Budapest 1975, 481–490. oldal.

A csillagfejtés jelentőségére Mátyás udvarában lásd: Decades, op. cit. IV. kötet, Budapest 1941 (decas IV., Liber VIII.) 152. oldal, 79. szám.

csak az erények legteljesebb serege ékesíti és boldogítja, hanem a testnek mérhetetlen bájjal párosított alakja, egy bizonyos isteni derű, arckifejezés és jókedv, amit látva nincs, aki vagy mély bámulattal meg ne zavarodnék, majd pedig derűs vidámsággal föl ne üdülne."[89] Leonardo Szent Annája tulajdonképpen Bonfininek éppen ezeket a szavait és azt illusztrálja, hogy Bonfini ebben nem túlzott, és tényleges élményét vagyis a leonardói mosolyt írta itt le. Laurana Princetonban lévő Beatrix szobra ugyanis még 1476. szeptember 15. előtt készült, mert a fóliraton egyáltalán nem jelzi, hogy Beatrix királynévá lett,[90] viszont a leonardói mosoly már azon is jelentkezik, Leonardo előtt természetesen még igen halványan. A leonardói mosoly tehát Beatrix ajkán született, s Beatrix mosolya volt.[91]

89 „Serenitatem tuam excolit et beat non solum completissima turba virtutum, sed corpori forma cum ingenti venustate coniuncta, divina quaedam serenitas vultus et hilaritas, in cuius conspectum nemo venit, qui non aut reverentia nimia confundabatur aut mox serena alacritate recreetur". Antonius de Bonfinis: Symposion de virginitate et pudictia coniugali. Basel 1572, 3. oldal.

90 Lásd: Balogh, op. cit. II. kötet, 402. kép. Beatrix eljegyzését és házasságát illetően lásd ezen fejezetünk 50. jegyzetét.

91 Az igaz, hogy Szent Anna haja a képen nem szőke. Megfigyelhetjük azonban, hogy a Sziklás Madonnának is csak ott szőke a haja, ahol az a fényben fölvillan. A Louvre-ban lévő Szent Anna haja viszont teljesen árnyékban marad.

Különben is láttuk, hogy a művészettörténészek szerint Leonardo a szóban forgó képet már két évvel Beatrix királyné halála után festette, s ez is hozzájárulhatott ahhoz, hogy a képen a haja árnyékban maradt.

Arra is rámutathatunk, hogy legalább három olyan corvina van, amelyben Beatrix királyné haja, legalább is az elérhető reprodukciókon, *inkább barnás, mint szőkés árnyalatú*, mégpedig az Agathias corvinában az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban (Clmae 413 folio 1^{recto}, amely Nápolyban készült 1483–84 körül); a Marsilius Ficinus corvinában, amely jelenleg Wolfenbüttelben van (Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod 73. Aug 2^{0}, folio 2^{recto}), amely Firenzében 1488–90 körül készült; s a Didymus corvinában 1487-ből, amely a New York-i Pierpont Morgan Könyvtárban van (Morgan MS 496, folio 1^{verso}), amelyen azonban Beatrixnek vöröses árnyalatú barna haja van. (Lásd Csapodi, Csapodi–Gárdonyi, op. cit. 101, 353., 195. oldal.)

Beatrixnek *szőke a haja* a Milánóban őrzött corvinán (Biblioteca Trivulziana Cod. no. 817 folio 1^{recto}, a Parmában lévő Caraffa corvinán (Biblioteca Palatina, G.G. III. 170. 1654, folio 4 ^{recto}), a Vatikánban lévő Breviariumban (Cod. Urb. Let. 112, folio 8^{recto}) (cf.: Csapodi, Csapodi–Gárdonyi 141., 219., 239. oldal) és a Széchényi Könyvtárban lévő Ransanus codexben (OSZK, Clmae 249, folio 17^{recto}; lásd: Ilona Berkovits: Illuminated Manuscripts from the Library of Matthias Corvinus, Budapest 1964, XXXIX. kép).

Beatrixnek *vöröses a haja* a brüsszeli Missalében (Bibliotheque Royale, Ms 9008, folio 8^{verso}), a firenzei Bibliában (Biblioteca Medicea–Laurenziana, Plut. 15. Cod 17, folio 1^{verso} a lap alján lévő képsávban), a bécsi Regiomontanus corvinában, (Hofbibliothek Cod. Lat. 44. folio 1^{recto}), a bécsi Aquinas corvinában (Hofbibliothek Cod. Lat 2458,

folio 1^{recto}) (cf.: Csapodi, Csapodi–Gárdonyi, op. cit. 93., 119., 291., 337. oldal) és Bonfini Symposion-jának budapesti példányán (OSZK Clmae 421, folio 1^{recto}, lásd Berkovits op. cit. XXXVII. kép).

A Mátyás Graduale 3. levelének előoldalán Beatrix haja *vöröses szőke*, a 119. levél hátoldalán és a 184. levél előoldalán pedig *barnásszőke*. (Lásd: Soltész Zoltánné: A Mátyás Graduale, Budapest 1980, 55., 11., 141. oldal és a csatolt melléklet a kötet elején.)

Ezzel kapcsolatban arra is rá kell mutatnunk, hogy jóllehet Bonfini következetesen följegyezte a jelentősebb férfiak hajszínét (Bonfini: Decades, op. cit. Decas III. Liber III. 324–327. Liber VII. 302, Liber VIII 136–137. 255, 326) (Tomus III. Lipcse 1935, 73., 154., 190., 197., 202. oldal.) Decas IV Liber VII. 126–128, Liber 61–71, Liber 244–249 (Tomus IV. [Budapest 1941] 139, 150–050, 166. oldal), éppen Beatrixnak nem említi a hajszínét, pedig három helyen is kitér Beatrix megjelenésének a leírására (Decas IV. Liber IV, 37–38, 58 (Tomus IV. 67. és 69. oldal) Symposion de virginitate et pudicitia coriugali (Stephanus Apró kiadásában, Budapest 1943, Bibliotheca scriptorum medii recentisque aevorum bevezetés.) Ez arra utal, hogy Beatrix legalább is időnként festette a haját, hiszen a haj *szőkére festése nagy divat volt a renaissance-korban*, például Velencében (cf.: Paola Ojetti [et alii] Palladio, Veronese and Vittoria at Maser, Milan 1963 93. oldal) és Catarina Cornaro ciprusi kirlynőről is azt jegyezték föl, hogy menyegzője-kori képén szőke volt, pedig Budapesten lévő képén erősen gesztenyebarna a haja. Beatrix időnként talán *különböző színű parókát is hordhatott*, különösen, ha mint láttuk, színdarabokban játszott. (Sánkfalvi Antal nyitrai püspök 1492. novemberében Rómában praetextu sterilitatis és egyéb okból, amit „azonban a pápa gyengédségből elhallgatott", kérte Ulászló házasságának a fölbontását. Óváry, op. cit. Századok 1890. 765. oldal.)

Aspetti sconosciuti di Ajtòsi Albrecht Dürer

Varaljai Csocsany Jeno

Castelli-Fortezze

prof. Varaljai Csocsany Jeno

L'opera più famosa di Lord Clark, intitolata "Civilizzazione", che è conosciuta anche attraverso la televisione, in lingua ungherese viene tradotta "Culturizzazione", nomina solo l'Ungheria, ma non Buda, nel capitolo città dell'era della borghesizzazione[1]. L'autore nomina l'Ungheria[2-3] con simpatia, ma nel suo libro non esiste Eszterháza che è sparita dalla carta geografica dell'Ungheria e finisce nel Principato germanico. Naturalmente di questo fatto sono colpevoli coloro che hanno cancellato dalla carta geografica del territorio magiaro un centro così importante della cultura ungherese. Così è naturale che gli studiosi stranieri non trovino Eszterháza sulla carta geografica anche se è rimasta entro i confini del Trianon[4]. Invece oltre i confini segnati dal trattato di pace del 1920 sono rimasti tutti i monumenti nazionali, ma sono state cancellate solamente le loro origini ungheresi, così ad es. S. Ladislao è divenuto rumeno[5] (sepolto nel Duomo di Nagyvárad oggi Oradea). Pertanto diventa comprensibile come nelle raccolte storiografiche europee e ad es. nell'Enciclopedia Nipponica non appaia nemmeno l'arte ungherese.[6] Se gli storici della storia della cultura fossero meno superficiali, ci troveremo di fronte a meno errori sulle questioni irrisolte, soprattutto nelle analisi dei grandi geni del rinascimento.

Tra l'altro gli studiosi del rinascimento fino ad ora non hanno ancora individuato quale sia il castello presente nei due disegni acquerellati di Ajtosi Dürer Albert, che si conservano a Vienna sotto i numeri 3057 e 3058[7]. I palazzi presenti nel disegno 3057 "Giardino senza nuvole" (imm. 6.1) corrispondono nella cronaca di Schedel, Cronaca Mondiale, alle lettere 138-139, incisione del castello di Buda[8] (imm. 6.2). Il Palazzo Reale che si trova al lato est della cappella secondo la xilografia di Ajtosi Dürer prima si legava ad una costruzione di torri di legno e ad una costruzione di pietra dell'ala est del palazzo stesso come risulta nel disegno acquerellato di Ajtosi Dürer.

In secondo luogo su esempio colorato della stessa epoca [9] sulla costruzione lunga, sul lato est, si trova un tetto alto con tegole rosse. In terzo luogo egualmente si trova una torre alta come sull'acquerello di Ajtosi Dürer. In quarto luogo nel disegno acquerellato di Ajtosi Dürer, nella parte centrale, la torre e le finestre sporgenti sono di forma rotonda, evidentemente sono simili all'incisione di Schedel dove, accanto alla cappella, si trova una costruzione di legno tra la Torre mozza con torri, così chiamate "torri figli", che si sviluppano su più di un piano, le quali non si vedono sull'angolo della costruzione ma solo da un lato. Inoltre sia sull'incisione di Schedel che su quella di Dürer sopra le "torri figli" le decorazioni erano a forma di sfere e di cerchi.

1. Kenneth Clarck: Civilisation, London 1969,1980, pag. 354 e 350.
2. ibidem pag. 305-306.
3. ibidem pag. 238.
4. Non si trova in Ungheria una cartina geografica nuova che segnala la presenza di Eszterháza.
5. In "Enciclopedia Slovenska" nei vari tomi che sono stati stampati in Pozsony tra il 1977 ed il 1982 tutti i castelli magiari del Felvidek (Altapianura) diventano slovacchi, come similmente anche nei manoscritti. La scrittura "Il King S.Ladislao of Romania" in affresco è stata riportata in un libro inglese riccamente illustrato di una decina di anni fa.
6. Encyclopedia Japonica (Dai Nihon hyakka jiten) Tokio 1972-73 volume 21.
7. Entrambe le immagini si trovano nel libro di Walter Koschatzky: Albert Dürer, The Landscape Watercolours, London 1973, sotto il num. 5.6.8. Hartmannus Schedel: Libri cronicarum, Nunberg 1493, foglio 138 verso, 139 retro
9. Bayerische Statsbibliothek, Munchen, Titolo 187. Questo libro era proprietà dell'autore stesso, Dr. Hartmann Schedel, nota: Adrian Wilson: The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle, Amsterdam,1976, pag. 207.

Questa somiglianza viene rafforzata dalla xilografia di Erhardt Schön del 1542 (imm.6.3)[10] perché anche quest'ultima proprio nel suo centro espone e mostra le "torri figli" del Castello-fortezza di Buda.

Possiamo osservare inoltre che dalle finestre della torre citata si poteva osservare solo il cielo stellato, non invece il nemico, per la loro posizione rispetto ad altre costruzioni del palazzo. Sia sull'esempio di Schön, sia sulla xilografia di Schedel e sul disegno acquerellato di Ajtosi Dürer venivano quindi osservate le stelle del cielo. Per questo motivo il disegno di Ajtosi Dürer corrisponde alle testimonianze dell'epoca giunte fino a noi.

Secondo Miklós Olah[11], secondo il Barone Wenzel Wratislaw von Mitrowicz [12] e secondo la testimonianza di Bonfini la biblioteca del Re Mattia era nell'immediata vicinanza della cappella fortezza di S.Giovanni Elemosiniere come Bonfini descrive nella sua opera "Rerum Hungaricarum Decades" e sopra questa cappella il Re Mattia "aveva fondato una biblioteca ricca in entrambe le lingue, i quali libri venivano tenuti in considerazione con grande fasto. Davanti a questa c'erano delle stanze a forma di cerchio da dove si poteva osservare il cielo" [13].

10. L'unico esempio conosciuto della stessa epoca si trova nel Museo dell'Albertina a Vienna è della misura di 366 mm x 1475 mm. Le lastre originali erano conservate nel gabinetto di Kupferstichabineten e di questo è stato fatto un esemplare per i Quadri della Galleria Storica del Museo Nazionale. L'immagine di quest'ultima si trova nel libro di Sándor Domanowsky (ed.): Magyar Müvelödés történet, Budapest 1939-1943, vol. III. pag. 228 (confronta con la pag. 666).

11. Nicolaus Olahus: Hungaria–Athila (ediderunt Colomannus Eperjessy et Ladiszlaus Juhász) Budapest 1938, pag. 8-9.)
Ex latere interioris bibliotecae ad sacellum divi Joannis perforatum, unde rez sacrum audire consuevit, duae obviae sunt aedes concameratae; altera voluminibus Greacis... referta est; altera interior, continebat codices totius linguae Latinae..."

12. „ ... von da aus (gelangten wir) in ein kreisförmiges Zimmer, wo zu Zeiten des König Matthias eine Kapelle war; aus dieser Kapelle trant man in ein anderes Zimmer, wo der König seine Bibliothek hatte. In diesem Zimmer war die Himmelsbahn mit dem Planeten und zwei gegeneinander stehenden Astronomen aufgemalt, unter welchen dieser Versgeschreiben wurde:

Cum rex Mathias suscepit sceptra Boemae
Gentis, erat similis lucida forma poli."

Il Manoscritto citato di lingua ceca è del 1599 e si basa della sua pubblicazione del 1906: Prihody Vaclava Vratislava 2 Mitrovic. Prága 1906, pag.10. „These we went up a winding staircase into a handsome and spacious gallery, and thence into a circular room, which in the time of King Mathias had been a chapel, out of this chapel you go into another room, in which King Mathias Corvinus had his library, where the ecliptic is painted with the planets, and two astronomeres facing each other. Underneath this couplet is written: When King Mathias took Bohemia's crown,This was the form the radiant skies did own."
„Adventures of Baron Wenceslas Wratislaw of Mitrowity" „literally translated from the original Bohemian by A. H. Wratislaw M. A.", London 1862. pag. 18-19.

13. „...a Danubii parte ediculam statuit hydraulicisque organis, item sacro fonte duplici marmoreo et argenteo decoravit; collegium adiecit honestissimus sacerdotum; supra bibliothecam statuit mira utriusque linque fecunditate completam; cultus librorum luxuriosissimus. Ante hanc cubiculum est in absida curvatum, ubi celum universum suspicere licet, qua spectat ad Austrum"
Antonii Bonfinii Asculani: Rerum Hungaricarum Decades, Decas IV. Liber VII. num. 92-93.
num. 93 (I. Fogel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász nell' edizione, vol. IV. Budapest 1941, pag. 136.

Qui bisogna notare che Gáspár Heltai definiva il palazzo „qua spectat ad Austrum" e „qua spectat ad Austrum palatia haud parum a Romano luxu differentia" con le parole„ e guardando verso sud fece costuire dei bei palazzi alla maniera di Roma" (Heltai Gáspár: Chronica az magyaroknac dolgairol, Kolozsvár 1575, lettera 168 pag. I. parte avanti).

Questo fatto è importante perché sia nell'opera di Schedel, come anche nella xilografia di Schön e sull'acquerello di Ajtósi Dürer viene dimostrato egualmente che quelle torri avavano delle sporgenze verso le quattro parti del mondo. E' rilevante che nel suo scritto Gaspare Heltai ha annotato la definizione di Bonfini „E soc darabokból annac utána mue vedoenkbe egybe szedegettuec és rendbe hosztuc mind az egész koenyuet, nagy munkáual; és nagy nehezen. Mert az egész koeny el veszet Bonfiniusnál és László Királynál." Questa biblioteca creata con grande fatica è stata dispersa come scrivono Bonfini e Re Vladislao. Nella xilografia di Schön la Torre per osservazione stellare rispetto alla Torre-mozza e alla Torre Stefano appare a metà strada, ciò dimostra che si trovava più a sud della Torre-mozza e che era più vicino alla Cappella ed alla Biblioteca.

3

Possiamo allora indicare che sull'acquerello num. 3057 dell'Albertina le piccole torri sul muro portante destro in realtà non sono torri ma sembrano piuttosto nidi di piccioni, perchè questo palazzo consta di solo un livello e quindi non necessitava di undici camini, dove tra l'altro le file sono tre volte interrotte da finestre, questo viene interpretato da Bonfini[15], il quale descrive che Elisabetta Szilágyi spediva le sue lettere con piccioni postali a Praga per Mattia, (scritto da Tibor Kardos. Budapest 1959, pag. 347. Nota 1-2). Questa nota spiega che nella pag. 68 dove Bonfini ha scritto, la lettera di Erzsébet Szilágyi è arrivata in sei ore a Praga (Bonfini: Rerum Hungaricarum Decades, Decas III. Liber IX.) e a sua volta dimostra che raffigura Buda. Il Palazzo che sembra in degrado però corrisponde allo scritto di Bonfini Ad occasum vetustum opus[16] Balogh Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Budapest 1966, vol. II. Imm. 46). L'acquerello di Dürer raffigurava questi nidi dove tenevano i piccioni reali postali.

Ancora su questo acquerello sulla facciata sul lato sinistro, sopra le finestre tardo gotiche, le pietre d'orlo, dei cigli della muratura, sono identiche a quelle che furono trovate al palazzo reale di Buda[16]. Il Palazzo corrisponde alle affermazioni di Bonfini: "Ad occasum vetustum opus nondum instauratum "[17] ovvero al fatto che l'ala ovest non era stata ancora ristrutturata, era piuttosto di aspetto decadente e a sua volta dimostra che il quadro raffigurava il Palazzo Reale di Buda [17] . Dalla descrizione di Bonfini si deduce allora che poi abbiano dato inizio alla ristrutturazione della vecchia ala ovest del Palazzo. Sia lo Shwiegger nel 1577 [18] che in seguito Leilhold Lubenau nel 1587 [19] avevano descritto che con ogni probabilità l'ala ovest del *palazzo era stata ricostruita da Vladislao II. nel 1502* (o nel *1507?*) [20], perché fu decorato con una formazione stellare che indicava la sua elezione, in seguito alla sua incoronazione come Re Magiaro [21]. Da qui viene dedotto che questo nuovo Palazzo rinascimentale, che si trovava allo stesso posto, (imm. 6.5, 6.6) al pian terreno, verso il giardino, poggiava su una fila di colonne, costruzione attribuita al progetto di Jiseph de Haüeynek [22] (imm. 6.7a), secondo lo schizzo turco (imm. 6.7b) [23], mentre secondo Elias Nessenethaler (imm. 6.7c) questo era già stato fatto costruire da Vladislao II. dopo il soggiorno del 1490 di Ajtosi Dürer a Buda e come lo stesso Palazzo fu descritto da Bonfini nella sua opera "Rerum Hungaricarum Decades".

Invece, Franciscus Omichius vide la porta di marmo rosso fatta costriure da Vladislao II. nel 1502, porta che si trovava al pian terreno, all'uscita della Cappella dell'ala est, entrando nel corridoio. Così si deve attribure a Vladiaslao II. anche il colonnato che cingeva il corridoio davanti alla cappella. Quindi Omichius descrive che nel 1502, nell'ala sinistra del Palazzo, accanto alla Cappella, entrando nel corridoio ha trovato la porta di marmo rosso. Questo assieme agli altri esempi ci fa capire che ha trovato anche un giardino di forma trapezioidale circondato dal colonnato, che può essere anche rapportato alla descrizione di Johannes Dominicus Fontana (Balogh, op. cit. vol. II. imm. 33, 28, pag. 34 e 31).

Bisogna anche annotare che, durante gli scavi archeologici, sono venute alla luce solo quattro delle colonne sopra citate, delle quali i basamenti potevano essere anche il corridoio di scale raffigurato da Dürer. Da Sweigger e Lubenau veniva inoltre annotata la porta con la scritta "Mattias Rex Unghariae„ prima della scala dell'incoronazione di Vlasdislao II. segnata dalla sigla di porta „MVII." (loci citatis) decorata dall'oroscopo dell'incoronazione. Con ogni probabilità quindi, già il Re Mattia Corvino aveva dato inizio alla decorazione della porta e Vladislao II. ha mantenuto questa porta proprio per la bellezza della sua decorazione, ma si arriva alla stessa conclusione se si legge il diario di viaggio di Franciscus Omichus descritto nelle pagine del 1572. Le annotazioni di Omichus sono importanti perché lasciano capire lo studio del Palazzo Reale e sottolineano le sale una dopo l'altra in fila dall'inizio fino alla loro conclusione e descrivono anche la costellazione stellare al momento dell'incoronazione del Re Mattia in Re Boemo, con la scritta:

Cum Rex Matthias suscepit sceptra Bohema(e)
Gentis erat similis lucida forma poli

Di questa sala della Biblioteca sappiamo dal Barone Von Mitrowicz (1) che si trovava nella vicinanza della Cappella e secondo Miklos Olah questa era proprio la Biblioteca greca (2), (i numeri si riferiscono ai progetti architettonici). Dalle annotazioni di Omichus viene esplicitato chiaramente che il globo terrestre era sorretto da due angeli, inoltre sul muro di fronte alla porta, ovvero sul muro a nord della Cappella c'erano, secondo la descrizione del barone Wratislav, due astrologi, coloro che avevano calcolato la formazione stellare del giorno della sua incoronazione e che non potevano essere altro che Regiomontanus e Martino da Bilica di Olkusz, i quali erano al servizio del Re Mattia nell'anno 1468.

Dalle poesie di Naldo Naldinus sappiamo che la Biblioteca di Re Mattia era quadrata, alta ed ancora erano presenti volte gotiche e dall'incisione di Schedel, deduciamo che il lato est era illuminato e tagliato da altre due grandi finestre gemelle, le quali vetrate, secondo il Naldinus, erano decorate da dipinti e tra queste due finestre si trovava il letto del Re, ricoperto da un tessuto d'oro. Sull'altro lato della Biblioteca i libri erano raccolti in lunghe file e si differenziavano da tende di color rosso, viola e d'oro.
I libri più pesanti erano conservati nell'armadio di Firenze, sottostante alle file della Biblioteca, dove erano collocate delle sedie con tre gambe che ricordavano il tempio di Apollo (Jolan Balogh: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Budapest 1966 vol. I. pag. 63-65).

Questa Biblioteca così riccamente decorata doveva essere la sala latina, che veniva usata anche dal Re e rispetto a questa, secondo Miklos Olah, la sala greca era più lontana (3) („duea obviae aedes sunt concameratae, altera volunibus Graecis ... referta est; altera interior, continebat codices totius linguae latinae").

Secondo Omichus a fianco della Biblioteca si trovava una sala che raffigurava le costellazioni stellari e preciasamente la costellazione del 23 febbraio 1443, quando il Re Mattia naque a Kolozsvar (vedi l'oroscopo nota: Zofia Ameisenowa: The Globe of Martin Bylica of Olkusz, Varsó 1959, imm.4. dopo la pag. 59), con la seguente scritta:

"Aspice Matthiae micuit quo tempore regis
Natalis coeli qualis imago fuit," (4)

14. Vedi nell'opera quadrata, nell'opera di Hevelius „Machina Coelestis". Questo quadro si trova anche nell'opera di Walter W. Bryant: „A History of Astronomy" edito a Londra nel 1907, pag. 32.
15. Bonfini: Mátyás király, tradotto da László Gereb, note: Secondo la definizione di Bonfini indica che era già in atto la costruzione dell'ala ovest del vecchio palazzo, lo descrivono anche lo Schweigger nell'1577- e Reinhold Lubenau in seguito nel 1587- potevano fare queste descrizioni perchè hanno trovato delle sale costruite da Vladislao II. Quindi parlavono entrambi dei luoghi che Vladiaslao ha fatto costruire dopo il 1502-ben (vagy 1507-ben?), l'altra parte del palazzo invece, dopo essere stato incoronato Re d'Ungheria, dimostrato dalla costellazione stellare. Le nuove costruzioni rinascimentali (imm.6.5, 6.6) sul piano terreno guardavano al giardino con lungo colonnato appaiono nel disegno attribuito a Joseph de Haüynek (imm. 6.7a) , nel disegno turco (imm. 6.7b) e nell'incisione di Elias Nessenethaler (imm.6.7c) quindi vennero costruite da Vladislao II., dopo la partenza da Buda di Ajtósi Dürer nel 1490 e dopo che Bonfini ha descritto le sale del palazzo nella sua opera „Rerum Hungaricarum Decades". E anche secondo la descrizione citata di Franciscus Omichius. 9, 10
16. Balogh Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Budapest 1966, vol. II., imm. 46 pag. 45.
17. Bonfini op.cit. Decas IV. Liber VII. Num. 95. (Nell'edizione di I. Fogel et alii vol. IV. 1941, pag 136.).
18. Salamon Schweigger: Ein newe Reissbeschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem. Nürnberg 1639.
19. Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau, herausgegeben von W. Sahm, Mitteilungen aus Stadtbibliothek zu Königsberg i. Pr. Königsberg i. Pr. 1914.
20. „Und aber über einer Thür: Vladislai hoc magnificum opus Anno M.V.II." (Schweigger op. cit. pag. 22.), con ogni probabilità questo è un errore di stampa „ Anziche Anno MDVII" poteva essere scritto „MDII": nello scritto di Lubenausi si trova solo la notazione „Valdislai hoc magnificum opus" (op. cit. pag. 85.) senza specificare l'anno.
21. „In einem andern Gewelb zu nechst dabey ist wider ein gemahlte Sphera oder Himmelskugel die das ganz Gemewr von allen orthen einnimt inn welcher anzeigt wird das ansehen oder gestalt dess Gestrirns der Zeit da Vladislaus König in Ungern worden ... (Stephan Gerlachs des Aeltern Tage-Buch Herfür gegeben durch Seinem EncGerlachium. Frankfurt am Mayn 1674, pag. 12)
Also hat Vladisslaus zwey Königrech gehabt daher steht bey jetz gedachter Sphera diese Schrifft:
Magnanimus princeps diademate gaudet utroq
Valdislaus, tollit ad astra Caput."
(Schweigger, op. cit. pag. 21-22: cf: Lubenau, op. cit. pag. 85).
22. Nota: Balogh Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Budapest 1966, vol. II. imm 11., (pag.15 cf: I. pag. 37 num 35.)
23. ibidem,vol. II. , imm. pag.14., vol. I., pag 35. num 15.
24. ibidem, imm.33. pag. 34, vol. I. pag. 37. pag 34.
25. „Im herausgehen aus dem demelten Biblioteken auff dem Gang ist ein schoene grosse Stiege sampt einer hohen Thuer von rothen Marmorsteingehawen darob srehet dieser verss: Wladislai Regis hoc Munificum opus 1502"
Franciscus Omichius: Beschreibung Einer Legation und Reise von Wien aus Östereich auff Constantionel, Guestrow 1582 (nell'edizione le pagine non hanno la numerazione) (nell'edizione nota 21. e 22.), il corridoio chiuso sul primo piano (confronta: Johannes Dominicus Fontan).
26. W. Sahm (ed): Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau Cap.1. Mitteilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek zu Königsberg i. Pr. IV. und V. Königsberg i. Pr. 1914, pag. 84-85.
27. Franciscus Omichius: Beschreibung Einer Legation und Reise von Wien aus Österreich auff Constantinopel Durch den Herrn David Vngnadn Anno (15)72 verrichtet. Güstrau 1582. B 4b-C ia
A. H. Wratislaw (ed.) Adventures of Baron Wenceslaw WrStephan Gerlachs des Aeltern Tage-Buch Herfür gegeben durch Seinem Enckel Samuelem Gerlachium. Frankfurt am Mayn 1674, pag. 12).

Le argomentazioni esposte nel sesto capitolo vogliono indicare che le due citazioni scritte da Janus Pannonius si trovano anche sopra il dipinto del Mantegna, a Roma (Campo di Fiori). Omichus davanti a questa sala della Biblioteca descriveva ancora un'altra sala in cui il Re Mattia conservava alcune migliaglia di libri, come ha osservato anche Miklos Olah (Balog pag. 67), oltre alla biblioteca principale, si trovavano altre due sale adibite a biblioteche più piccole. Una di queste poteva essere la Biblioteca privata del Re (5) perchè secondo Omichus a fianco di questa si trovava la sala del letto della Regina (7) dove la Regina Isabella ha fatto scrivere „Isabella Regina sic fata volant" (questa frase l'aveva fatta incidere anche nel suo anello). Questa sala si congiungeva alla sua abitazione privata. Nella sala da letto della Regina, Omichus è entrato da una scala „Magnanium Principem victoria sequitur Anno 1479" e dove, sempre in questa stanza da letto, si trovava un camino di marmo rosso, il quale era decorato dallo stemma di marmo, magiaro e boemo di Mattia, con lo scudo degli Hunyadi a forma di cuore (9). Questa era la sala all'interno del palazzo Realae di Buda dove Omichus lesse questo scritto „Magnanium Principem victoria sequitur Anno 1479 ".

.... Sia lo scitto della Regina „Izabella Regina. Sic fata volunt", sia lo scritto della stessa stanza di Schweigger annotano che la stanza era decorata con le sette virtù cardinali e teologali, la Prudenza, la Temperanza, la Fortitudo, la Giustizia, la Speranza, la Fede e la Carità (7).

.....Mattia Hunyadi il Giusto naque nel segno della Bilancia, perciò fu dipinta proprio la bilancia quando il sole punta al meridiano (come annota il Barone Wratislaw e per questo motivo sapeva esattamente la data di nascita anche il Cervinus di Ragusa).

28. Evlia Cselebi magyarországi utazásai. Kiadta: Karácsony Imre. vol. I. (Török-magyar kori emlékek, classe II., vol. III.) Budapest 1904, pag. 241.
29. Nota: Óváry L.: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történeti Bizottságának oklevélmásolatai vol. II. Budapest 1894, pag. 6 num. 10 diploma.
30. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, Titolo 187, foglio 138 verso 139 recto.
Questo volume era il libro privato di Dr. Hartmann Schedel, nota: Adrian Wilson: The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle, Amsterdam 1976, pag. 206. Questo esempio si trova anche nel Palazzo dei Dogi di Venezia e descrive egualmente i tetti sia del Duomo di S.Marco che del palazzo dei Dogi, colorati di tonalità celeste (folio 43v-44r), come anche nel dipinto di Carpaccio del Leone di S. Marco, nota: Jane Martieau, Charles Hope (editori): The Genius of Venice, London 1983, pag. 49-50 (pag. 166 num. 32).
31. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Történelmi képcsarnok 6744.
Nota: Wolfgang Jahn et alii (szerk.): Bayern – Ungarn. Thausend Jahre, Augsburg 2001, pag.
Dalle vicende del Principe di Gisismondo di Jagellone(1500-1505) in Viktor Szombathelyi. Evezredek Budapest 1973 pag. 217-245
„Sigismundi ambulacrum, quod totam fere arcem ambitat, ne pari quidem sumptu prodequi cepit. Ille eternitatis destinatione hic temporaria in ambulacro mora edificavit. Laxos longosque ibi tractus instituit, specularia quoque multa, item atrium murorum minis impositum ex lignario opere confectum, ubi triclinium, cubiculum, praeterea apodyterium et paulo retractius lucubratorium graphiariumque locum perfecit..." Bonfini: Decades, op cit. Vol. IV. pag. 137 num. 102-103.

Al momento della nascita del Re Mattia La coda del Drago si trovava nella Luna Nuova, sull'orizzonte, nel segno del Capricorno; la testa del Drago invece stava calando verso la costellazione del Cancro sull'orizzonte occidentale, il Sole e Marte, invece, si trovavano nella costellazione dei Gemelli (Zofia Ameisenowa: The Globe of Martin Bylica of Olkusz, Varsó 1959, Figura 4; Stephanus Hegedűs: Anacleta recentiora ad historiam renescentium, in Hungaria litterarum spectantia, Budapest 1906, pag. 51 A.H. Wratislaw: Adventures of Baron Wenceslas Wratislaw of Mitrowitz, London 1862, pag. 19: „Next to the library was the royal chamber, in which the kings of Hungary used to live. It is very handsomely painted and hung with fine tapestry along the sides, where stands a kind of throne, covered with an awning of handsome carpets, under which the pasha sits and holds his council, when he comes to the castle"). Il tracciato del cielo della nascita del Re Mattia era pertanto dipinto sulle volte (W. Sahm: Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau. Mitteilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek zu Königsberg i. Pr. 1914, pag. 84).

Secondo gli scritti di Schwegger e Libenau le annotazioni riguardanti „la Sala decorata riccamente" (Nehest dabei in einem andern Gemach, ibidem pag. 85) descrivevano invece la volta nel momento in cui Vladislao II. è divenuto Re (14). Ciò significa che questa sala si trovava nell'ala occidentale e che quindi si trattava di un palazzo più o meno simmetrico, già fatto costruire da Vladislao II..

Schweigger e Lubenau qui hanno trovato una porta con la scritta „Mathias Corvinus Rex Ungariae" che faceva parte dell'ala di una precedente costruzione riutilizzata (7) per congiungersi alla nuova ala (15). Infatti sulla porta seguente già si trovava una seconda iscrizione notata da Schwegger „Vladislai hoc magnificum opus. Anno MVII" (16) ...

Per il riconoscimento del disegno di Ajtósi Dürer „Il Giardino con le nuvole" risultano gli scritti dello Shweigger e Lubenau, che indicano 209 passi dalla sala segnata dal numero „MVII" per poter raggiungere il corridoio. La lunghezza di questo corridoio è stata calcolata da Laszlò Gerevich in 145 metri e da Dezsö Dercsényi (nell'edizione: Magyarország műemléki topográfiája IV.). Entrambi avavano affermato in concordanza che questa sala del castello corrisponde al disegno raffigurante "Il Giardino con le nuvole„ di Ajtósi Dürer che si trova nel museo dell'Albertina sotto il num. 3058- come anche al disegno denominato „Il Giardino senza nuvole" sotto il num. a 3057- che ne è la copia e descrive lo stesso castello, naturalmente da un altra angolazione[32] (imm.6.8). In realta sia nel „Il Giardino con nuvole" che nel „Il Giardino senza nuvole" si trovano due scale con torri, questo eslcude il fatto che si tratti di due diversi castelli-fortezze...

32. Koschatzky, op. cit. Analizzando l'imm. del quadro del num. 6 Angela Ottino Della Chiesa (prefazione di Giorgio Zampa): L'opera completa di Dürer, Milano 19 „delle scale si distungono l'uno dall'altro che sul primo disegno di Ajtósi Dürer si trovano delle finestre mentre sul secondo sotto il tetto si trova uno stiscione rosso" pag. 68, pag. 90 num.11...

Nell'esempio di Schedel, risalente alla stessa epoca di Ajtósi Dürer, che si trova nel Museo Nazionale di Budapest, il corridoio che cinge il palazzo è coperto da un tetto egualmente colorato di color rosa scuro e di celeste, precisamente come nel disegno di 3058 di Ajtósi Dürer chiamato „Il Giardino con le nuvole". Inoltre sulle punte più sporgenti dei tetti risultano delle sfere celesti, ad una ad una, come sull'incisione di Schedel. Queste considerazioni infatti risulatano confermate anche dai risultati degli scavi archeologici eseguiti dopo il 1945 in loco. Viene perciò chiaramente dimostrato che, negli anni in cui ha compiuto i suoi viaggi e pellegrinaggi, Ajtósi Dürer è stato anche nel Palazzo Reale di Buda e che „Il Giardino con le nuvole" raffigura il Palazzo Reale di Buda non rimaneggiato, con la presenza sia della torre che delle scale rappresentate in entrambi i disegni.

Possiamo osservare inoltre che su „Il Giardino con nuvole" nella stanza successiva al corridoio con la volta di stile ancora gotico si trova una finestra tipicamente Rinascimentale, che non poteva essere costruita che dal Re Mattia, anche questo corrisponde alle annotazioni di Bonfini. Questo corridoio interrotto da diverse costruzioni, piaceva molto al Re Gisismondo perché apriva una vista su un panorama molto piacevole, per tale motivo abitava qui anche il Re di Polonia [33], naturalmente quando Gisismondo era ancora giovane e viveva nella corte di suo fratello Vladislao II. [34]. Tuttavia la torre nel quadro „Il Giardino senza nuvole" e nel quadro „Il Giardino con le nuvole", non è esattamente identica, perché nel primo è quasi disegnata con precisione fotografica, nel secondo è raffigurato un muro di sostegno, il quale esclude la possibilità che si tratti della stessa torre, inoltre i due torrioni hanno le scale che si distinguono dalle finestre, perchè nel secondo disegno queste hanno uno stiscione rosso che passa nella parte sottostante. Il disegno aquarellato di Ajtósi Dürer dimostra che quella torre mozza aveva una grande portata e dimensione poderosa.

Gli scavi archeologici (imm. 9) dimostrano che i sei punti trattati precedentemente su questa torre sono identici in tutti e due i disegni. Evidentemente Ajtósi Dürer aveva scelto come centro primario del suo quadro questa torre mozza perché era una costruzione importante e poderosa „di cui parlavano tutti in lungo e per largo" [36] ed anche perché questa torre era stata fatta costruire da Sigismondo di Lussemburgo l'Imperatore [37] di cui lui, che era cresciuto a Norimberga, avava sentito parlare molto. Dalle cartoline antiche, risalenti ad epoche coeve ed immediatamente successive, possiamo parlare innanzitutto delle incisioni di Wilhelm Dillich (imm. 6.10) datate 1600 e 1606, che rappresentavano la torre mozza con „torri figli" con tutti i sei elementi sopra citati [38].

L'incisione del libro di Zolnay (imm. 6.11) dovrebbe mostrare ancora uno stato preesistente perché non si trovavano ancora le finestre della torre mozza ed anche le coperture dei tetti nei torrioni figli sono intatti [39]. Anche sull'incisione di Schedel come anche sul disegno di Ajtósi Dürer le finestre sono quadrate. Gli scavi più recenti dimostrano che non c'erano altre torri così possenti, con corridoio mediano [40]...

Infine dobbiamo anche far osservare che le coperture sono identiche al Palazzo della sala dei Cavalieri di Vajdahunyad, fatto costruire dal governatore Giovanni Hunyadi nel 1452 ...

33. „Erant ambulacra duo, extra castrum prominentia, tamquam duo brachia, in quorum uno serenissimus dominus rex Poloniae habitaverat" Nella lettera scritta ad Antal Verantius nel 1541- nota: Monumenta Hungariae Historica, classe II., vol. 2, Pest 1857, pag. 177.
34. Nota: László Zolnay: Budai „szép napok", budai „jó éjszakák" a középkorban (Jagelló Zsigmond herceg sáfárkönyvéből, 1500-1505) In: Szombathy Viktor: Évezredek hétköznapjai, Budapest 1973

.... Sul quadro „Il Giardino senza nuvole" nella parte destra del disegno, la cornice di aspetto gotico appartenente alla vecchia costruzione è stata modificata mentre si stava procedendo al rinnovamento, corrisponde così esattamente alla desrizione di Bonfini del 1490-1496 dove scrive "l'ala occidentale del palazzo ancora non è stata rinnovata, è ancora di vecchia costruzione" [42] „Ad occasum vetustum opus nondum instaurantum". Tale ragionamento viene rafforzato anche nel disegno de „Il Giardino con le nuvole" perchè la Fortezza di Buda sul tratto del corridoio mediano viene interrotta da un palazzo di pietra, che si nota esattamente anche sull'incisione di Siebmacher (6.13)[43]. Questa torre poderosa e la costruzione verso sud sono attaccate alla torre sul corridoio mediano, come si nota anche sulla xilografia di Schön (10). Come dimostra il disegno di Ajtósi Dürer è eseguita con tratti più reali ed esatti rispetto all'immagine di Schön perchè quest'ultimo la disegna con meno precisione nella parte più alta e spostata più verso nord. Questa xilografia per l'aspetto troppo riempito rappresenta con ingenuità gli aspetti prospettici, infatti ad es. il Palazzo degli Ussari si trova verso est rispetto al palazzo principale e scende verso il Danubio, mentre sull'immagine di Schön si trova verso sud. Il quadro di Ajtósi Dürer viene anche confermato dalla lettera di Antonio di Verantius che scrisse: „ i tedeschi tiravano le bombe dappertutto, fuori del palazzo di fortezza si ergevano due corridoi mediani come due braccia, in cui abitava sua Altezza Reale di Polonia... mentre nel secondo dipinto hanno cominciato a demolire le parti sporgenti coperte del tetto" [44] ....
Sull'acquerello di Ajtósi Dürer la torre ed il corridoio mediano sono identici alle annotazioni di Schweigger e Lubenau.

... Sull'acquerello di Ajtósi Dürer sembra che il giardino si stringa, ma questo non viene confermato dagli scavi archeologici che si riferiscono alla costruzione fatta da Vladiaslao II., mentre il disegno di Ajtósi Dürer evidentemente si riferiva ad uno stato precedente.

35. Nota le diverse fonti che cita Jolan Balogh, Balogh, op. cit. vol. I. pag. 53-55.
36. Bonfini: Decades, op. cit. vol. III. Lipcse 1936, Decas III. Liber III. pag. 75, pag. 346.
37. Balogh, op. cit. vol. II. Pag. 19 ed imm. 20.
38. Zolnay László: Az elátkozott Buda, Buda aranykora, Budapest 1982, pag. 349.
39. Balogh, op. cit. È stato costriuto più tardi e dimostra una tarda goticità, ma sempre rispecchia il concetto di Gisismondo di Buda cit. vol. II. imm. 12; Zolnay: „Ünnep és hétköznap..." op. cit. pag. 92-93.
40. La tipologia delle „torri figli" di Vajdahunyad, nota: Balogh, op.cit. vol. II. pag, imm.187-188. La numerazione dell'anno 1452 si trova sulla seconda colonna della Sala dei Cavalieri. Nota: Barone Förster Gyula (ed.): Magyarország műemlékei, vol. I., Budapest 1905, pag. 88, vol. III, Budapest 1913, pag. 86.
41. Bonfini: Decades, op. cit. vol. IV., pag. 136.
42. Bonfini: Decades, op. cit. vol. IV., pag. 136.
43. Lásd: Szilágyi Sándor (ed.): A magyar nemzet története, vol. V. 1897, quadro nella pag. 180.
44. „Cum Germanis proditio infeliciter cessisset, ira et odio perciti coeperunt in omnes fere partes globos conjicere. Erant ambulacra duo, extra castrum proeminentia, tamquam duo brachia, in quorum uno serenissimus rex Poloniae habitaverat, quae coeperunt demoliri, et superiores partes una cum testudinibus dijecerunt..." A lettera scritta ad Antal Verantius nel 1541: Monumenta Hungariae Historica, classe II. vol. 2, Pest 1857, pag 177.
45. Balogh Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Budapest 1966, vol. II., imm. 12, pag. 17, che fa vedere il disegno di Kornel Seitl fatto nel 1954.
46. Spiegazione per i quadri 5 e 6 di Koschatzky, op. cit.
47. Gerevich László: Gerő László (ed.): Várépítészetünk, Budapest 1975, pag. 90
48. Il disegno di Kornel Stein (vedi la nota prima citata num. 44) dimostra chiaramente che il basamento del corridoio mediano non è venuto alla luce.
49. In queste cantine, durante gli scavi, hanno trovato solamente alcuni scritti incisi sulle pareti nel 1945 dai prigionieri. (Zolnay László: Ünnep és hétköznap a középkori Budán, Budapest 1975, pag. 80.

B. Giovanni da Corvino Principe di Lipto ed Oppein

Secondo Erwin Panofsky, Ajtósi Dürer ha dipinto „Il Giardino con le nuvole" ed „Il Giardino senza le nuvole" attorno all'anno 1490 „any other dating was impossible for stylistic reasons" [50]. Per questo motivo si può pensare che suo padre l'abbia mandato in un viaggio di apprendimento nel 1490, dato che il giorno di Pasqua, l'11 aprile [51], egli ha lasciato la città di Norimberga - e che nel 1492 si ferma a Colmar, quest'ultimo dato fino ad ora sconosciuto. Inoltre possiamo intuire che il padre avesse già intenzione di mandarlo a Buda, in quanto il vecchio Ajtósi Dürer era orafo, nato in Ungheria a Gyula [53] e questo dato rafforza la tesi che avesse mandato il figlio nel suo paese natale, dove erano rimasti il fratello Ladiszlao, sellaio ed il fratello maggiore Janos, prete nella cittadina di Nagyvarad (Oradia).

Tutta la famiglia era originaria di un paese che si chiamava Ajtos che significa Porta [54], vicino a Gyula, e per questo nello stemma familiare era presente una porta (6.14) [55]. La famiglia di Ajtósi Dürer di Norimberga teneva i contatti con il figlio di Ladiszlao il sellaio e Miklos, cugino del pittore, che a sua volta aveva raggiunto i parenti a Norimberga, quindi nulla di più probabile è che il giovane Ajtósi Dürer nel suo viaggio sia stato mandato nella città di Buda. Inoltre li si trovava la corte del Re Mattia, già conosciuta per il suo mecenatismo e unica corte a nord delle Alpi dove nel 1490 era già in uso il Rinascimento. Il giovane pittore era quindi venuto a trovarsi proprio nella Corte di Buda "dove neanche cercando si poteva trovare un posto migliore per il suo sviluppo artistico".

Inoltre sia il Re Mattia [56] che la Regina Beatrice [57] parlavano il tedesco, spesso infatti si trovavano a Vienna [58]. L'annotazione di „paragrata germanica" [59] si doveva quindi riferire proprio a Vienna, in quanto per andare a Colmar bisognava attraversare la Germania ed in seguito raggiungere Vienna.

50. Erwin Panofsky: Albrecht Dürer, Princeton, 1948 (3. edizione) vol. II., pag. 132, num. 1370.
51. Nota: Angela Ottino Della Chiesa (con la prefazione di Giorgio Zampa): L'opera completa di Dürer, Milano 1968, pag. 83.
52. ibidem. Vedi ancora nel testo di Dr. Willi Kurth: The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer, 1927, New York 1963, pag. 10.
53. ibidem. Lásd még Marcel Brion: Albrecht Dürer, London 1960, 1964, pag.16
54. Della Chiesa, op. cit. pag. 83-84; pag. 89, imm. 6B Willi Kurth, op. cit. imm. 327.
55. „Germanorum autem sermonem puer adhuc et in carcere didicit, auxitque iam natu grandis continuam cum principibus Germaniae habens consuetudinem." Galeottus Martius Narniensis: De egregie, sapienter, iococe dictis ac factis regis Matthiae ad ducem Johannem eius filium liber. Ed. L. Juhász, Lipcse 1934, pag. 27.
56. „Inest et eidem tuae Majestati prumptum et verstile ingenium, ut illico intelligat, quidquid oratoribus seu privatis coram proponatur, respondeatque opportune et Latino sermone aut idiomate Hungaro seu Pannonio aut Theutonico prompte et expendite ac semper comiter et perbane". Iacobus Philippus Bergomensis: De claris selectisque mulieribus, Ferrara 1497, Prologus folio 3recto.
57. Albert Berzeviczy: König Matthias Corvinus und Königin Beatrix in Wien und Österreich. Ungarische Jahrbuch, Berlin 1932 (A királyi pár 1485. június 1-től, Bécs elfoglalásától fogva lakott Bécsben, lásd Révai Nagy Lexikon, vol. 13, Budapest 1915, pag. 496), Bonfini: Decades, op. cit. vol. IV., Budapest 1941 (Decas IV, Liber VIII) pag. 159 e pag. 173-203.
58. Della Chiesa, op. cit. pag. 83.
59. Cita la lettera scritta alla moglie del più vecchio Ajtósi Dürer, Ajtósi Dürer da Linz: Wilhelm Waetzoldt: Dürer and his Times, London 1955, pag. 3: Marcel Brion: Albrecht Dürer, London 1960, 1964, pag 21.

Il vecchio Albert doveva mandare il figlio dal Re Mattia per portare delle opere di oreficeria, come anche alla Corte di Federico III. nel 1492 [60], poiché il giovane Albert aveva imparato anche il mestiere di orafo da suo padre, tra gli anni 1483- 1485 [61], come Angela Ottino della Chiesa scrive ed il periodo di istruzione del giovane Albert, dal maestro pittore Michele Wohlgemut, si concluse il giorno 30 novembre del 1489, così dopo Pasqua dell'anno seguente è accertato che lavorasse presso suo padre. Costui lo mandò in viaggio dalla famiglia Haller di Hallerko di Norimberga, infatti due membri di questa famiglia, Erhardt e Paolo furono insigniti del titolo di Cavalieri dell'Ordine del Drago [63] nel 1433 sul Ponte del Tevere a Roma dall'Imperatore Gisismondo [64], in seguito anche Ruprecht Haller trasferitosi a Buda ha fatto diventare Cavaliere il Re Mattia.

La Madonna-Haller di Ajtósi Dürer, che dapprima faceva parte della collezione di Thyssen-Bornemissa della raccolta dei Rohoncma, attualmente si trova a Washington nella National Gallery (nota: Della Chiesa, op. cit. pag. 95, num. 50, tavole colorate IX., e X.) dove questa Madonna viene così numerata „1498?".

Haller Bertalan, era lo zio di Guglielmo e Ruprecht, egli cominciò il libro di famiglia, dove viene citata anche una lettera di saluto Papale risalente circa al 1518-1520, nella quale viene menzionato nella famiglia Haller anche il giovane pittore Ajtósi Albert Dürer (Dr. Boncz Ödön: A Haller-grófok nemzetségkönyve, Turul, 1886 pag. 110), dove viene menzionato il ramo tedesco, tavola III. pag. 51 e dopo segue il ramo famigliare magiaro tavola I. dopo la pag. 69.

La valle degli Haller appare vicino al fiume Pegnitz nel suo acquerello „Folyóparti malmok" (I mulini dei fiumi), datato 1495-1497 e anche sul dipinto ad acquerello „Huzal-húzó (Trotszich Mull)" del 1489-1490 (nota Della Chiesa, op. cit. pag. 93 num. 37 e pag. 88-89 num. 3 Koschatzky, op. cit. pag. 30 num. 4). Durante la II. Guerra Mondiale uno dei due disegni di Kalchreuth è scomparso dal Kunsthalle di Brema, l'altro si trova nel Kupferstichkabinet di Berlino e nello stesso posto si trova il „Trotszich Mull". Il „Folyóparti malmok" (I mulini dei fiumi) si trova a Parigi nella „Bibliothèque Nationale".

Il viaggio di Ajtósi Dürer era probabilmente appoggiato anche dalla famiglia Haller perchè suo fratello Guglielmo era diventato fedele „servitore" ed era ammesso nella corte del Re [65]. Con la famiglia Haller di Hallerko aveva stretti legami anche il giovane Albert Ajtósi Dürer, per essi infatti dipinse una Madonna (imm. 6.15) e due acquerelli, rimasti di loro proprietà (imm. 6.16- 6.17). La valle degli Haller di Norimberga si vede anche su altri due quadri di Ajtósi Dürer [66]. Con ogni probabiltà era arrivato anche lui nella città di Buda con la cerchia degli Haller, che li si dirigevano.

60. 1483-1486. Apprendista nella bottega paterna. Della Chiesa, op. cit. pag. 83.
61. 1489, il 30 Novembre, scade il triennio di apprendistato presso Wohlgemut. Ibidem.
62. 1489. ibidem.
63. Dr. Szádeczky Lajos: Il libro che tratta la genealogia della famiglia Haller, Turul, 1886, pag. 50.
64. Della Chiesa, loco citato. Wilhelm Waetzoldt: Dürer and his Times, London 1955, pag. 2.
65. ibidem pag. 3 e 57, come cita il libro di famiglia nella prefazione „La genealogia della famiglia Haller" nel testo di Lajos Dr. Szádeczky: A Haller-grófok nemzetség-könyve, (Il libro della genealogia della famiglia Haller) Turul, 1886, pag. 50.
ibidem. pag. 3 e 57, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Germ. Fol. num. 31 Imhoff-Konrád. Citazione del libro sopra della genealogia della famiglia Haller nota 1. op. cit. pag. 57, secondo cui Guglielmo Haller è stato messo sotto la protezione del Re Mattia nell'anno 1490, scritto nel libro della famiglia, sotto il documento diploma del num. 7, citazione di nota.
66. Citazione dal testo Della Chiesa, op. cit. pag. 107 num. 132-133. Quando Ajtósi Dürer si trovava nel castello dei Kalchreut, 14 km a nord di Norimberga, nel 1511 la signora Haller scrive che dipinse gli acquerelli nel suo Castello.

Dimostrato chiaramente che in uno dei due quadri si vede il Castello di Prum a Regensburg di cui Ajtósi Dürer ha ideato un secondo dipinto, del quale gli storici dell'arte non riuscivano ad identificarne la località che invece corrisponde al castello[67].

Abbiamo visto che il padre di Ajtósi Albert Dürer è nato a Gyula e che lo zio Ladislao ha continuato a vivere a Gyula, mentre il figlio, cugino di Ajtósi Dürer, si è trasferito da Gyula a Norimberga, dove ha preso il nome Unger, divenuto anche lui quindi un orafo con nome ungherese...

Questa notizia è molto importante perchè Giovanni da Corvino era il Signore di questa terra nel 1490 e anche da tempo precedente ed il centro della sua tenuta era proprio a Gyula [68], fatto che ha dato l'occasione ad Ajtósi Dürer di entrare in contatto con la corte. Inoltre, che il giovane Ajtósi Dürer nel 1490 si trovasse a Buda, è dimostrato anche dal ritratto del giovane Principe Govanni da Corvino, che attualmente si trova a Monaco di Baviera, dipinto proprio dall'artista [69] (6.18). La posizione della testa ricalca il modo di dipingere i soggetti di Ajtósi Dürer [70], inoltre il tono di fondo è scuro, eguale al tono dei fondi del padre (imm. 6.19) che ha eseguito un dipinto lo stesso anno, nel 1498, ora esposto agli Uffizi di Firenze[71]. *In terzo luogo, i capelli di Giovanni da Corvino sono ondulati allo* stesso modo di come appare nel suo autoritratto (imm. 6.20) conservato nel Museo del Prado a Madrid. Anche lo sguardo così mite denota il suo pennello (la sua mano), proprio solo di un grande artista, con uno sguardo così profondo che evidenziava la personalità dei personaggi che ritraeva. Inoltre lo possiamo confrontare con lo sguardo mite del suo autoritratto che si trova al Museo del Prado, oppure anche con lo sguardo di freddezza tagliente e metallica del Signore cha ha dipinto nel 1624 [73].

Similmente è utile accostare l'immagine del Principe Giovanni da Corvino con l'immagine di Federico il Saggio, Pricipe di Sassonia, che si trova nel Museo di Dahlem di Berlino (imm. 6.22) che Ajtósi Dürer ha dipinto solo sei anni dopo nel 1496 [74].

67. Koschatzky, op. cit. num.18 vedi progetto geografico a pag. 18.

68. Veress E.: Gyula város oklevéltára (biblioteca dei diplomi nel Comune di Gyula), Budapest 1938, pag. 24; Scherer F.: Gyula város története (Storia della città di Gyula) I. Gyula 1938, pag. 60 (Parádi Nándor in: Gerő László (szerk.): Városépítészetünk (L'architettura della città di Gyula), Budapest 1975, pag. 170...). Che la città di Gyula fosse il centro del Principato è affermato anche da Erik Fügedi nel suo libro ("Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek" című könyvében nella pag. 83), tesi rafforzata anche dal fatto che in seguito alla morte di Giovanni da Corvino avvenuta nel 1509 viene scritto nella genealogia dei Imhoff-Konrad Museo Nazionale (Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum) Germ. Fol. 31 (nota 1 sotto). Dopo la morte del giovane Giovanni da Corvino avvenuta nel 1509 la sua vedova Beatrice Frangepan si risposò a Gyula con il Marchese Giorgio da Brandeburgo (Paradi, loco citato). La lettera di diploma di Giovanni da Corvino datata 31 luglio del Calvario di Mattia Corvino è stata scritta a Gyula (nota: Veress E. op. cit. pag. 39, 40).

69. Il numero di catalogazione del quadro a Monaco di Baviera è 12441, misura 60 x 45,5 cm.

70. Si può vedere il quadro a colori di Erik Fügedi: „Uram, királyom..." cimű, Budapest pubblicato nel 1974 dopo la pag. 160 dove viene segnato con num. VI. Relazione dettagliata scritta da: Balogh, op. cit. vol I. pag. 310 inoltre nel catalogo della mostra, Schallaburg '82, Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn 1458-1541, l'edizione diretta da Dr. Johannes Gründler, Vienna (Bécs) 1982, pag. 229-230 num. 117.

71. Il suo quadro a colori si vede da Marcel Brion: Albrecht Dürer, London 1960, pag. 15 e questo quadro ad olio misura 47 cm x 39 cm. Nota Della Chiesa, op. cit. pag. 89 num. 6

72. Della Chiesa, op. cit. Quadro su tavola XI. num. 94, pag. 48. Questo autoritratto ad olio misura 52 x 41 cm

73. ibidem, LVII. Quadro su tavola a colori (cit: 113 pag. 179) Questo autoritratto ad olio misura 50 x 36 cm

74. Quadro a colori in: Brion, op. cit. pag. 140 (cit.: Della Chiesa, op. cit. pag. 93 num. 40 dove si vede che il ritratto di Federico il Saggio, Ajtósi Dürer lo ha fatto a tempera (cit.: pag. 82) e la sua misura è 76 x 57 cm. Che il ritratto di Giovanni da Corvino anch'esso è fatto con la tempera lo cita Jolan Balogh nel catalogo di Schallaburg nella citazione della nota sopra num 83

Entrambi i quadri sono stati dipinti con la tecnica della tempera che, a quanto sembra, Ajtósi Dürer adoperava solo per l'esecuzione dei ritratti principeschi. In entrambi i dipinti, i Principi si appoggiano ad una ringhiera di legno, entrambi hanno i capelli castani. La differenza che si nota è che Federico il Saggio ha lo sguardo pungente e determinato, mentre il principe Giovanni da Corvino ha lo sguardo triste e melanconico, questo ci dice che il giovane aveva un intelletto troppo consapevole del fatto che non poteva confrontarsi con l'altro per la successione al trono. Pertanto questo quadro che si trova a Monaco di Baviera ci confida sorprendentemente il carattere della persona. Questo giustifica l'autore che non può essere altro che Ajtósi Dürer [75]. Il ritratto fa notare e rispecchia la tristezza di Giovanni da Corvino [75], infatti Ajtósi Dürer è arrivato nella corte magiara poco dopo la morte del padre, Mattia Corvino, proprio questo ci indica la notevole qualità d'artista che riusciva così profondamente a descrivere lo stato d'animo dei suoi personaggi. Questa profonda tristezza testimonia il pennello dureriano. Loro potevano comunicare in lingua tedesca perché la madre di Giovanni da Corvino, Borbala Edelepech, era originaria di Vienna [76].
La tristezza di Giovanni da Corvino si riferisce quindi al periodo successivo alla morte del padre avvenuta circa nel 1490, quando non aveva più di 17 anni. Sulla serie degli arazzi dell'Unicorno, che il giovane Ajtósi Dürer raffigura perfettamente, sembra che Giovanni da Corvino non abbia un carattere triste, quindi si riferisce prima della morte del padre, perchè il Re Mattia Corvino e sua nonna Elisabetta Szilagyi (13) lo circondavano di ogni cosa. Tanto più che si sposò il giorno 25 novembre del 1490 [77], pertanto il quadro non poteva essere nato in questo tempo, ma solo dopo la morte di suo padre. Naturalmente la corona di fiori e il fazzoletto di fidanzamento nella mano indicano che era promesso sposo a Bianca Sforza, infatti erano già promessi sposi nell'aprile del 1490, ma erano anche marito e moglie per procura [78]. In realtà come designatario Re aveva tanto bisogno di un matrimonio protettivo e del potere della famiglia Sforza. Secondo Berzeviczky il principe di Milano scrisse alla Regina Beatrice che i familiari del Re Mattia dovevano essere uniti per conservare il trono (13)[79]. Ciò indica che il fidanzamento si è sciolto non per causa della famiglia Sforza, o per Bianca, ma che la Regina avrebbe potuto far valere il suo peso in tal senso, quindi il matrimonio si è sciolto proprio per gli intrighi di Beatrice. Il bassorilievo (imm. 6.23) [80] che è rimasto nel castello Sforzesco non raffigura il Re Mattia ma il giovane Giovanni da Corvino (14) [81], perchè il Principe, secondo Bonfini, somigliava molto a suo padre, ma il suo volto era più fine, il naso più curvo, quindi più somigliante al ritratto di Monaco di Baviera e al Breviario che si trova in Vaticano (13) [82].

75. Il Re Mattia è morto il giorno 6 aprile del 1490. Bonfini: Decades, op. cit. (Decas IV. Liber VIII.) Tomus IV. Budapest 1941, pag. 162 num. 203 (cit.: pag VIII.) Invece il Dürer secondo la sua annotazione è partito il giorno 11 aprile da Norimberga dopo la Pasqua (Nota: Della Chiesa, op. cit. pag. 83).
76. Maschek F.: la madre di Giovanni Da Corvino. Turul 1942.
77. Il matrimonio è stato celebrato da Giovanni Olkuszi Filipec a Milano Cit.: Antonin Kalous: Csehek és morvák Mátyás király udvarában in: Hunyadi Mátyás, a király, 2008, pag. 72, Fügedi Erik: „Uram, királyom...", Budapest 1974, pag. 209 e pag. 189 (Cechi e Morvavi nella Corte di Re Mattia in Mattia Hunyadi il Re) Berzeviczy Albert: La Regina Beatrix , Budapest 1908, pag. 31.
78. I festeggiamenti matrimoniali si svolgevano il 25 novembre 1487 a Milánóban— naturalmente ad procuratorem. Nota Berzeviczy, op. cit. pag. 423.
79. Berzeviczy Albert, La regina Beatrix, Budapest 1908, pag. 466, 470-471, secondo cui anche il Re di Napoli Ferrante appoggiava il Principe Giovanni da Corvino nel maggio del 1490 Nota: Ivan Nagy, I ricordi del Barone Albert Nyáry (Magyar diplomácziai emlékek). Ricordi diplomatici magiari nell'epoca del Re Mattia, vol IV. Budapest 1878, pag. 161-171, 76, 199.
80. Questo altorilievo marmoreo misura 50 x 27,5 cm e si trova nel Castello Sforzesco a Milano sotto il numero di catastazione I-20121. (Nota: Schallaburg '82, op. cit. pag. 202-203, num. 83.)
81. Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Urb. Lat. 112. folio 555 verso. Quadro a colori, nota: Csaba Csapodi és Csapodiné Klára Gárdonyi: Bibliotheca Corviniana, Shannon 1969, pag. 249. Il volto del giovane che si trova nella parte sinistra verso il centro con l'abito celeste, nei suoi tratti è identico ai tratti dell'altorilievo di Milano, e a quelli del ritratto di Monaco di Baviera.
82. Margaret B. Freeman: The Unicorn Tapestries, New York 1976, pag. 209.

Anche la serie di Gobelin dell' „Unicorno" dimostra la somiglianza con il padre come ha descritto anche il Bonfini „simile la bocca in fronte e anche la mano" [83].

Nel ritratto di Giovanni da Corvino che si trova a Monaco di Baviera non possiamo non notare gli elementi quasi da oreficeria rappresentati, in quanto gli oggetti vengono così fortemente illustrati che quasi brillano dal contorno oscuro. Tutti i quattro elementi di oreficeria hanno lo stesso stile: la croce, il „nasfa" con il corvo, la corona ed il bracciale che evidentemente li ha portati da casa, da Norimberga, mandato da suo padre proprio perchè li portasse a corte. Innanzitutto per proporre le sue opere di orafo, in secondo luogo voleva dare un biglietto da visita al figlio, giovane orafo nella rinomata corte rinascimentale magiara, in terzo luogo voleva trovare gradimento presso il Principe del territorio di Gyula dove tra l'altro vivevano anche i suoi fratelli.

Qui dobbiamo rilevare anche il fatto proprio del Calvario di Mattia Corvino (imm. 6.24), si tratta dell'oggetto più importante del Rinascimento magiaro, che il „Giudice della Nazione" Pál Kinizsi non ha ritenuto opportuno farlo restituire assieme al resto degli oggetti reali della famiglia del Re, anche se il suo valore definito allora era precisato nel 1498 in 40000 fiorini ungheresi e su di esso si trova ben tre volte lo Stemma Reale Magiaro. Quindi Pál Kinizsi sapeva benissimo che questo oggetto era lasciato da Giovanni da Corvino e che questi lo mise su un pegno [87] , che Mattia Corvino aveva ordinato, ma non ancora pagato. E dobbiamo ancora notare il fatto che questo oggetto era composto di due parti [88]: la parte sotto il piedistallo rinascimentale era ritenuta un lavoro dell'Italia settentrionale da Jolan Balogh, mentre invece il Dr. Zolatn Nagy riteneva che era disegnato da Antonio del Pollaiolo. Ma sicuramente l'oggetto si trova in stretto contatto con il libro corviniano, così chiamato Ambrosiano [89] di Modena, decorato da Attavante. Inoltre anche con il libro di Beatrice „Il volume di ragiomontanus [90]„ ed anche con la traduzione di Philostratus di Bonfini [91] decorato a „candelabro" (imm. 6.25), questi ultimi due sicuramente scritti a Buda [92], ma non solo, sono stati anche decorati a Buda.

83. „Patrem enim non solum ex omni parte, verum etiam Corvini avi oculus referebat, quibus nihil unquam serenius visum esse aiunt. Eadem cum patre facies eademque manus, os obtutus frons et nasus caput uti illi sine menda." Bonfini, op. cit. (Decas IV. Liber VII.) Tomus IV. Budapest 1941, pag. 139. num. 126-127. „Verba quandoque sic gravia subiecit, ut non minus oratio, quam similitudo oris verum et dignum filium patre indicavit." ibidem num.132.

84. „dedi unam crucem auream, quam puto prevalere florenos quadraginta milia..." Cita il giovane Giovanni da Corvino nella lettera di Vladislao II. Nel documento del 5 giugno del 1498 (Alsó-szopori) Nagy Imre (et alii): Hazai Okmánytár (Codex diplomaticus patrius). Vol. IV., Győr 1867, 311. diploma, pag. 439.

85. Schallaburg '82, op. cit. imm. 62. è il quadro collocato successivamente alla pag.128.

86. Ludovicus Tubero: Commentaria suorum temporum, Rhacusii 1784, pag. 58 di nuovo citato Lásd szintén idézve Csaba Csapodi: The Corvinian Library, Budapest 1973, pag. 59, pag. 195.

87. Dai codici diplomatici lettera scritta a Gyula da Principe Giovanni da Corvino il 31 luglio 1494. Nota: Veress E.: Gyula város oklevéltára (codici diplomatici della biblioteca cittadina di Gyula), Budapest 1938 pag. 39-40 num. 46. Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Cod. lat. 439, folio 2 recto; lásd Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi: Bibliotheca Corviniana, Shannon 1969, pag.159.

88. Quadro a colori vedi Schallaburg 82, op. cit.

89. Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Cod. lat. 439, folio 2 recto; vedi Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi- Gárdonyi: Bibliotheca Corviniana, Shannon 1969, pag. 159.

90. Bécs, Hofbibliothek Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) Cod. Lat. 44 foglio 1 recto. Nota: Csapodi, Csapodi-Gárdonyi, op. cit. pag. 291, la quale indica chiaramente che sul basamento ci sono gli stessi delfini come sul piedistallo del Calvario di Mattia Corvino.

91. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, (Bibliteca Nazionale Szechenyi) Clmae 417 folio 1 verso. Nota: Ilona Berkovits: Illuminated Manuscripts from the Library of Matthias Corvinus, Budapest 1963, XXIV. Tavola a colori.

92. Csaba Csapodi: The Corvinian Library, Budapest 1973, pag. 344, num. 572 (dove è presente la seguente scritta H. J. Hermann: Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich. Neue Folge: Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Nationalbibliothek in Wien, vol. 5-7, Vienna 1928-1938 citazione) e pag. 317 num. 503.

Nella decorazione della Corvina di Regiomontanus [93] si trovano lo stesso i delfini come nella parte sottostante il piedistallo del Calvario. Le sfingi tengono due scudi a forma di testa di cavallo, simili alla decorazione smaltata di chiusura della Corvina Agostiniana, che attualmente viene conservata nella Biblioteca Nazionale Szechenyi [94] . Oltre a ciò le sfere celesti sono simili nella loro creazione al globo celeste di Marton Bylicza da Olkus, che è stato creato a Buda nel 1480. Una particolarità dell'ideazione dei lavori eseguiti a Buda è che i personaggi come Jupiter vengono vestiti con una corazza di stile gotico [95] come anche la corazza di Bylicza da Olkus eseguita a Buda. Qui Héraclés (oppure in latino Hercules) [96] porta altrettanto abiti in stile gotico, differenziandosi dai lavori eseguiti in Italia dove gli dei dell'Olimpo vengono raffigurati senza abiti. Diversamente dal piedistallo la parte sopra è ancora fortemente in stile gotico propriamente la parte del Calvario [97] , l'elemento rilevante è che questi soggetti hanno una spiritualità notevole che solo veri maestri orafi hanno saputo dare, la mano dolce e morbida della Vergine, la testa leggermente piegata dal dolore profondo che si notano nelle xilografie di Ajtósi Dürer [98] (imm. 6.26). Il volto di S.Giovanni in meditazione sulla Crocifissione è simile a quello della persona di S.Francesco di Assisi che ha ricevuto le stigmate di un'altra xilografia del Dürer, lo stesso volto di Cristo è simile al volto del Redentore con la xilografia della Deposizione[99]. Il Cristo della Crocifissione del Calvario di Mattia Corvino non sembra neanche un'immagine gotica, ma porta già in se la conoscenza anatomica e rinascimentale che troviamo nelle xilografie di Dürer [100]. Pertanto sul Calvario di Mattia Corvino di Esztergom si intravvede una grande maestria come nelle xilografie di Ajtósi Dürer, solo questa può essere la spiegazione per la sua partecipazione nella creazione del Calvario di Mattia Corvino di Esztergom, perchè negli anni precedenti, come è stato scritto, egli ha imparato anche il mestiere dell'orafo [101].

Bisogna anche notare che il più vecchio Ajtósi Dürer Albert, l'orafo, nel suo autoritratto, eseguito nel 1486, che si trova nel Museo di Albertina a Vienna, tiene in mano delle figure usate in oreficeria come simboli e segni del suo mestiere, come le figure che si trovano nella parte sopra del Calvario di Esztergom [102]. Il Calvario manifesta così la fama di orefici della famiglia di Ajtósi Dürer originari di Gyula[102].

93. La possibilità che la decorazione del libro corviniano di Buda sia di Philostratus è stata supposta anche da Csaba Csapodi Csaba (The Corvinian Library, Budapest 1973, pag. 317 num. 503). Ciò potrebbe essere logico anche considerando che il libro è stato tradotto in lingua latina e copiato nella stessa Casa Reale Magiara. Così la sua decorazione e la sua pittura dovevano essere state realizzate proprio in quel luogo. Questa considerazione risulta ancora più logica per il libro di Regiomontanus, perchè la sua decorazione è più semplice della Corvina di Philostratus.

94. OSZK (Biblioteca Nazionale Szechenyi) Cod. Lat. 121. Balogh, Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Volume II., pag. 404, figura 570.

95. Cséfalvay Pál: Az Esztergomi Bazilika, Kincstár és Vármúzeum, (Tesoro della Basilica di Esztergom e del Museo del Palazzo Reale) Budapest 1992, pag. 33.

96. Zofia Ameisenowa: The Globe of Martin Bylica of Olkusz, Wrocklaw etc., 1959, figura 10. pag. 60.

97. Balogh Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Budapest 1966, vol. II. imm. 596, espone il Calvario di Mattia Corvino, la sua immagine. Zoltán Halász: Hungary, Budapest 1980, pag. 90 imm. 130.

98. Dr. Willi Kurth: The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer, New York 1963, imm. 186, è l'immagine della „Beata Vergine della Benedizione delle candele" (Gyertyaszentelő Boldogasszony) della serie „Vita della Vergine" „Szűz életé" la quale viene datata 1505, [ibidem pag. 26]) e l'immagine 221, è l'incoronazione della Vergine, che fa parte del completamento della serie della „Vita della Vergine", che è stata pubblicata nel 1511. Nota: il doppio velo della Vergine-Madre nel quadro 302 (Missale del Canone di Eichstätti, Missale di Crocifissione datato 1516).

99. Kurth, op. cit. imm. 195 (Stigmatizzazione di S. Francesco di Assisi, che viene datata al 1502, ibidem pag. 27).

100. Kurth, op. cit. imm. 127 (Cristo viene messo nella grotta, dal ciclo della serie delle sette xilografie della „Grande sofferenza" che viene datata intorno al 1497-1500, ibidem pag. 21).

101. Dr. Willi Kurth: The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer, New York 1963, immagini num. 208, 302, 85, 192.

102. Marcel Brion: Dürer, London 1960, 1964, pag 23.

E' probabile inoltre che le vicissitudini del Calvario avessero fatto perdere la passione per l'oreficeria al giovane Ajtósi Dürer, perchè il Re Mattia morì proprio allora, quando questa opera venne portata nella corte magiara senza un corrispettivo pagamento[103].

Il giovane Ajtosi Albert Dürer è così entrato nella corte del Principe Giovanni da Corvino e, come abbiamo già visto, ha eseguito anche il suo ritratto. Così la magnifica opera di oreficeria, il Calvario di Mattia Corvino, è rimasta nella Corte di Giovanni da Corvino e così anche il suo ritratto, che oggi viene conservato a Monaco di Baviera. Allora, il giovane Giovanni da Corvino non poteva pagare l'oggetto così costoso perché doveva spendere ogni sua rendita per la conquista del trono e non poteva ricompensare lautamente il giovane Ajtosi Dürer...

103. Il padre di Albert Ajtósi Dürer prima di emigrare a Norimberga era orafo a Gyula e suo figlio ha imparato il mestiere di orafo dal padre: Angela Ottino Della Chiesa (prefazione di Giorgio Zampa): L'opera completa di Dürer, Milano 1968, pag. 83. Ajtósi Dürer dunque ha imparato l'oreficeria magiara da suo padre. La tradizione dell'oreficeria ungherese ha una lunga e profonda origine ed in particolare la tecnica dello smalto: Sándor Mihalik: Old Hungarian Enamels (translated by Lily Halapy) Budapest 1961.

104. A questo riguardo vedi la nota precedente num. 74, anche le vicissitudini del Calvario di Mattia Corvino: Balogh Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Budapest 1966, vol. I. pag. 337-338.

105. Non ha escluso la veridicità della medaglia il conoscitore più famoso dell'epoca, George Francis Hill: Medals of the Renaissance, Oxford 1920, pag. 108. Invece non la riteneva autentica George Habich: Die deutschen Schaumünzen des XVI. Jahrhundert, Parte I., Erster Band Erste Hälfte, München 1929, pag. 16, imm. 7, quadro II. imm. 1. La misura della medaglia è 72-80 mm, che è stata donata da Elias Ashmole Cavaliere del Nastro al ginocchio 105.

106. Fügedi Erik: „Uram, királyom...", op. cit. pag. 231 e 191. Balogh, op. cit. Vol. I. pag. 351, 75 e 418.

107. Secondo le annotazioni proprie di Ajtósi Dürer, nota: Della Chiesa, op. cit. pag. 83.

108. Marcel Brion: Albrecht Dürer, London 1960, 1964, 162. Ajtósi Dürer Albert il vecchio è morto nel 1502.

109. Csaba Csapodi: The Corvinian Library, Budapest 1973, pag. 47 e pagg. 93-95. All'inizio la Regina Beatrice aveva anche economicamente appoggiato l'ascesa al trono di Vladislao II. credendo che lui l'avrebbe sposata. Berzeviczy, op. cit. pag. 504. Óváry Lipót: II. Ulászló és Beatrix házassága (il matrimonio di Beatrice e Valdislao II.) Századok 1890, pag. 762-762, 772; per ciò che riguarda la rendita di Beatrice nota: Horváth Mihály: Töredékek a bányák történetéből (elementi della storia delle miniere) (Kisebb történeti munkái) Pest 1868, vol. III. pag. 369-374. La rendita di Esztergom di Hyppolito d'Este era di 15950,15 fiorini nel 1488, di 22275,05 fiorini nel 1489 e di 15005,91 fiorini nel 1490. La rendita annua della Regina di Anna Candala annua era 30000 in oro (Berzeviczy, op. cit., pag. 265) (Fügedi Erik: „Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek", Budapest 1981, pag. 207 e pag. 202). A riguardo le fonti dimostrano che la Regina Beatrice e Hyppolito d'Este nel 1492 e nel 1495 avevano sostenuto il pittore Martinus Strigoniensis. Ciò dimostra che il mecenatismo d'arte si era trasferito alla corte di Esztergom (Nota: Balogh, op. cit. Vol. I. pag. 526). Più tardi quando dovette lasciare l'Ungheria, Beatrice viveva grazie alla rendita di Hyppolito. D'altro canto è risaputo che a Vladislao II. non interessava la biblioteca del Re Mattia, e con l'inizio del suo Regno è andata dispersa. (Csaba Csapodi: The Corvinian Library, Budapest 1973, pag. 57- 62). Per questo dal nostro punto di vista quei libri che hanno lo stemma e il *monogramma* di Vladislao II. (ad es. Le Corvine di Cassius e di Aristoteles che si trovano a Parigi; Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Lat. 2129; H 1660) erano in realtà regali di Beatrice a Vladislao, che allora non conosceva in realtà. Per questo motivo è impensabile che Vadislao II. si interessasse di opere teatrali latine. A riguardo del trasferimento di Beatrice ad Esztergom nota: Berzeviczy, op. cit. pag. 508.

110. Dr. Willi Kurth: The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer, pag. 11-12, imm. 23-35.

111. Ad es. nell'opera di Davus della „ragazza di Andros (Andria)". (Nota: Erich Roemer: Dürer Ledige Wanderjahre. Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen 1926, quadri 4, 5, 9 dopo la pag. 136). Particolarmente nell'opera Aeschinus a „Testvérek (Adelphoi)" Roemer, op. cit. 1927, quadro 28 dopo la pag. 119).

112. Brüsszel, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms 9008 foglio 8 verso. Nota: Csaba Csapodi e Csapodiné Gárdonyi Klára: Bibliotheca Corviniana, Shannon 1969, pag. 93.

113. Iohannes de Thwrocz: Chronica Hungarorum, Ágosta 1488, foglio 35 recto. *Nell'edizione pubblicata a Budapest nel 1978* e tradotto da *Janos Horváth, il quadro si trova alla pag. 102.*

114. Il Pamphilus nell'opera della „ragazza di Andros (Andria)". Nota: Roemer, op. cit. quadri 3-9, dopo la pag. 136. Questo modello di cappotto lo troviamo all'incirca nel 1510 nell'opera dipinta conosciuta con il nome „Bravo", conservata a Vienna, che in realtà raffigura l'aggressione di Claudius Luscius contro Celius Plotinus. Questo quadro da lunga tradizione si ritiene sia stato eseguito da Giorgione, ma solo negli ultimi tempi sono stati messi in discussione anche i migliori quadri di Giorgione proprio a causa di questo cappotto con lo spacco. Possiamo notare che questo genere di cappotto è stato già osservato anche sui lavori di Dürer attorno al 1490 e tra il 1493. Anche sul quadro di Giorgione la „Tempesta" è dipinto lo stesso spacco sul pantalone. Quadro 17-20 a, dopo la pag. 119, dove l'abito e il cappello di Syrus corrispondono all'uso e alla tradizione della nobiltà ungherese del sec. XVI.
115. Syrus nell'opera de „l'autolesionista" e nell'opera (Eatontimoroumenos) nota: Roemer, op. cit. 1927, porta abiti che ricordano i tradizionali abiti dell'inizio del secolo (vedi la xilografia coeva nel libro di: Sándor Szilágyi (a cura di): A magyar nemzet története vol. IV. (Storia del popolo magiaro), Budapest 1896, pag. 367). Il quadro di Tiziano datato all'incirca 1532, raffigura il Cardinale Medici in abito magiaro lo troviamo nel testo di: Ugo Fasolo: Tizian, Firenze 1980, pag. 42. Simeone porta abiti con la chiusura di bottoni con gli alamari come nell'opera della „ragazza di Andros" (Roemer, op. cit. 1926 Tafel Quadro 5), come sono portati da Miklos Miklós nel Graduale di Mattia nella 76. lettera. (Nota: Soltész Zoltánné: A Mátyás Graduale, Budapest 1980, pag. 91).
116. Phaedria nell'opera di „Eunuchus" (nota: Roemer, op. cit. 1926 Tafeln Quadro 10-15).
117. A „Phormio" nell'opera di Demiphónak porta il mantello con il simbolo dell'Ordine del Drago (Roemer, op. cit. 1927, Tafeln Quadro 30-34 a, dopo la pag. 119) nel manoscritto di Ulrich von R[e]ichental: Das Konzil zu Konstanz, (editato da O. Feger nella città di Starnberg nell'anno 1964: nota nel volume nell'edizione „Facsimile" nella parte davanti alla 77. lettera) come anche il cappello che è identico a quello del dipinto sull'altare del Duomo di Colonia, dipinto dal pittore Stephan Lochner (vedi la nota sopra nel 1. Capitolo, 22. nota) come anche la mantella del Re Albert nella scultura trovata nel Palazzo Reale di Buda (opera fatta più tardi).
118. Vedi la lapide di Mahl meister Henrik sirkövét nota: Altmann Julianna et alii: Medium Regni, Budapest 1996, pag. 107
119. Valadislao II. non era molto interessato alla Biblioteca dei classici greco-latini di Re Mattia, infatti sotto il suo Regno è iniziata la sua dispersione: (circa: Csaba Csapodi: The Corvinian Library, Budapest 1973, pag. 59-60 e in generale pag. 57-62). Pertanto era impensabile che si fosse interessato alle opere teatrali latine di Terentius.
120. „Adiecti quoque histriones et mimi, quibus regina nimium indulsit" Bonfini, op. cit. vol. IV. Budapest 1941 pag. 135, punto 86. (Decas IV Liber VII) la lettera di „Udis" per Antal Sánkfalvil „Tantam in histriones, mimos et cytharedos... nummorum profusionem toleravit (Rex Mathias) ut hos sumptus et allatam dotem id ex decuplo superavit" (Abel E. Hegedüs St.: Analecta nova ad historiam renastium in Hungaria litteratum spectantia, Budapest 1903, pag. 457) Berzeviczy, op. cit. 94-95, pag. 139-140, pag. 313. Al riguardo la conoscenza della lingua latina di Beatrice: ibidem pag. 69, 86 e sopra il 71. nota.
121. Csaba Csapodi: The Corvinian Library, Budapest 1973, pag. 365, num. 625, dove si dimostra che anche nella Biblioteca di Giovanni Vitez si trovava Terentius. Il quadro si trova a Parigi al Louvre, nota: Della Chiesa, op. cit. I. quadro a colori di legno, pag. 90, num.1.
122. Brüsszel, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms 9008 foglio 8 verso (Csaba Csapodi, Klara Csapodi-Gárdonyi: Bibliotheca Corviniana, Shannon 1969, pag. 93).
123. Bibiliotheca Apostolica Vaticans, Cod. Urb. 112. foglio 8recto (ibidem pag. 239).
124. Angela Ottino Della Chiesa (con prefazione di Giorgio Zampa), L'opera completa di Dürer, Milano 1968, pag. 91-115 (fig. 13, pag. 202).
125. Il profilo di Antipho nell'opera „Phormio" nella seconda immagine è identico nella medaglia con il profilo di Hippolit d'Este (nota [Sir] George Francis Hill: A Corpus of Italian Medals, London 1930, late 173, num. 1045. Il profilo di Antipho vedi: Roemer, op. cit. 1927 quadro 32 a pag. 119. Il profilo di Antipho è identico in sostanza con il profilo di Hyppolito nella Corvina di S.Tommaso di Aquino, Modena, Bibliotheca Estense, Cod. Lat. 432. foglio 6 recto (nota: Csapodi-Csapodi: Bibliotheca Corviniana, op. cit., pag. 151).
126. Il profilo di Antipho pure assomiglia ad Hyppolito nelle tavole 33. e 34. nell'edizione Roemer: quadro 10. I tratti del volto di Thais sono eguali al profilo della seconda tavola nell'opera di „Eunuchus" che a sua volta è identica al volto della Regina Beatrice, confrontando l'immagine sua con la scultura di Francesco Laurana, la quale attualmente si trova nel Museo dell'Università di Princeton in prestito dalla collezione Frick. Nota Wilhelm Rolfs: Franz Laurana, Berlin 1907, Quadro 49; nota ancora la maschera di gesso di Beatrice nel Museo Cittadino di Chambery quadro 63. I tratti di Beatrice sorprendentemente si ritrovano nella parte di Thaisz sulle tavole di Roemer quadri 13-15 e anche nella parte di Bacchus nell'opera la „Suocera" (Hecyra), (Roemer, op. cit. 1927 quadro 39 dopo la pag. 182) e anche nell'opera „I Fratelli" -Adelphoi (Roemer, op. cit. 1927, quadro 22 dopo la pag. 119).
127. Nella 184. lettera del Graduale la Regina impersonava „la mutazione dei popoli" (Mutatio populi) probabilmente erano i cosidetti „Giochi Misterici", mentre nella lettera 119. impersonava la Misericordia, (nota: ZoltannèSoltész: Il Graduale di Mattia, Budapest 1980, pag. 140-141. e pag. s 110-111.
128. Nelle immagini Esztergom del XVI. secolo non si trovano palazzi con più piani. Nota Szilágyi, op. cit. Vol. V. Budapest 1897, imm. 514 e 515, le quali raffigurano le battaglie di Esztergom del 4 agosto dell'anno 1595, che si trovavano nella Collezione di Lajos Ernst..

D I temi magiari

I temi magiari che compaiono nelle opere di Ajtósi Dürer durante il percorso della sua vita ricompaiono anche nelle sue opere più tarde con predilezione proprio per questi temi magiari.

Possiamo ringraziare l'artista per la rappresentazione dell'abito magiaro descritto minuziosamente nel 1518 (imm. 6.38 b) e anche con ogni probabilità per la rappresentazione dei Santi Ungheresi (imm. 6.38 c) perchè questi sono molto vicini ai Santi Austriaci incisi nell'anno 1515 e nel 1527, ad esempio nella formulazione dei volti, nella corazza di S. Ladislao, simile a quella di S. Floriano nell'incisione di Ajtósi Dürer (imm. 6.38 d). Inoltre c'è una singolare sella tipicamente magiara (imm. 6.38 e) la quale è molto importante, perché lo zio di Ajtósi Dürer, Ladislao, era maestro sellaio e fabbro a Gyula.

Nell' 8. capitolo vedremo che nell' occasione del Congresso di Vienna nell'anno 1515 Ajtósi Dürer ha raffigurato l'immagine di Vladislao II. e di sua sorella Anna (imm. 6.38 f) e nel capitolo 7. vedremo che nell'anno 1505 ha dipinto l'immagine di Giorgio Thurzo da Bethlenfalva (imm. 6.38 g), ciò indica che, per quanto rigurda il dipinto eseguito nello stesso anno, ovvero la donna con l'abito verde, poteva essere la „figlia adottiva di Venezia" e raffigura Anna da Candala (imm. 6.38 h), della quale Gyorgy Thurzo era fedele ed indiscusso sostenitore. In ogni caso anche nell'immagine dei Tre Re dipinta nel 1504 la figura centrale porta abiti dell'Ordine del Drago Magiaro con i simboli specifici della duplice testa dei draghi (imm. 6.38 i).

I ricordi rinascimentali ungheresi dell'epoca

La tipologia della scrittura che si trova su quella colonna, che in generale ritengono sia la colonna della Biblioteca di Mattia Corvino, si puo definire come totalmente evoluta secondo la forma rinascimentale che si collega nell'espressione della decorazione delle foglie dell'acanto. Questo fatto è importante perchè nel 1955 Miklós Héjj ha trovato i resti di un monumento marmoreo con la decorazione dei leoni e dello stemma con il corvo di Mattia a Visegrád. Sopra lo stemma era indicato un numero di un anno incompleto. E' rimasto solo il numero 3, si presume così che questa iscrizione risalisse ai primi decenni degli anni del 1400. Tale monumento, comunque, ha delle fessure ancora gotiche e anche la tipologia della scrittura non presenta ancora un aspetto del Rinascimento evoluto come la didascalia della Biblioteca. Pertanto non può essere datato 1473, ma solamente 1463. Infatti, prima della data del 1473, la sola data plausibile durante il suo regno che terminava con la cifra 3 è 1463..

Questo monumento è chiamato dagli archeologici „Fontana dei leoni", ma erroneamente, perchè in quell'epoca questi tipi di fontane servivano per immergerci dentro delle brocche o delle canne, invece la ricostruzione del bravo Ernő Szakál testimonia che in questo monumento (6.39 imm.) non era possibile immergere nè delle canne, nè delle brocche, perchè non era costituito da alcuna parte che fungeva da vasca e comunque la parte superiore era così bassa "che non si potevano nemmeno far nuotare dentro le papere", pertanto questo monumento non era una fontana reale.

Nel confronto del grande e doppio timbro reale di Mattia Corvino usato nel 1464, dove è rappresentato il monumento (imm.6.40), possiamo vedere che proprio questo monumento rappresentava il suo trono, innanzitutto perché dalla tipologia della costruzione del doppio timbro, risultano delle colonne sottili e inoltre esso risulta decorato con questi leoni, come dimostra anche il monumento di Bautzen (imm. 6.41). In secondo luogo sia il timbro nominato che, secondo la testimonianza del monumento di Bautzen, il trono del Re Mattia erano decorati con stemmi sia sopra che lateralmente (imm. 6.41 b), ovvero decorati con dei leoni egualmente al monumento di Visegrád, anche se questi stemmi non vennero collocati esattamente secondo la ricostruzione. In terzo luogo il monumento di Bautzen del Re Mattia ci fa vedere sotto il trono il leone che presenta sul basamento dei leoni uguali alla posizione di quelli del trono trovato a Visegrád (imm. 6.41 c). In quarto luogo, il fatto che questo trono si trova all'esterno, rafforza la teoria secondo la quale si tratta proprio di un trono, perché il palazzo di Visegrád era innanzitutto un palazzo di villeggiatura estiva, per questo è naturale che il trono del Re fosse esposto all'esterno, dove poteva godere dell'aria buona, del panorama e del paesaggio.

Veritieramente le descrizioni dell'epoca nominano questo terrazzo in alto, da dove il messaggiero turco poteva vedere anche da lontano, già dalla porta di entrata, il suo trono reale, che si raggiungeva attraverso dei giardini e delle piccole corti [139]. I dipinti di Vittore Carpaccio[139] e di Pinturicchio della stessa epoca (imm. 6.43) dimostrano che in quel periodo i troni dei Re del XV. sec. spesso si trovavano all'esterno[140], questo fatto *risolveva anche il problema di aerazione della folla che dovevano ricevere a corte, quando non* si conoscevano nemmeno lontanamente norme igieniche e la possibilità di pulizia delle persone. In quinta istanza lo stemma dell'elmo die Anjou (imm. 6.43), trovato assieme al trono, testimonia che era quello li il suo posto, perchè il Re Mattia non poteva sedere sul trono con lo stemma degli Anjou e doveva invece sostituirlo con il suo stemma di marmo rosso con i Corvi.

Alla loro identificazione non si oppone il fatto che alla stessa opera si aggiungono le teste di leone che sputano l'acqua. Secondo Istvan Werbőczy, che nella sua giovinezza lavorava nella Cancelleria del Re Mattia, lo stemma del Re magiaro rappresentava i quattro grandi fiumi del bacino dei Carpazi e questi spruzzi d'acqua avevano un significato simbolico. Questo fatto non faceva diventare il trono del Re fontana o monumento. Altrimenti, nell'epoca rinascimentale, il rumore del suono delle acque era di moda ed era un passatempo, questo effetto del gettito d'acqua aumentava il fasto della Reggia, era sontuoso senza dimenticare anche la comodità del suo uso. Ma bisogna anche notare che i tubi sotterranei che lo collegavano con i leoni non sono rinvenuti alla luce.

Quindi, queste deduzioni ci chiariscono che il monumento di marmo rosso era il suo trono con i leoni. La sua veridicità è dimostrata anche dalla ricostruzione emblematica di Ernő Szakál che descrive come il trono avesse due sedute. Questo fatto è dimostrato anche dalla datazione dell'anno 1463 perchè Mattia ha tenuto il suo matrimonio di fatto con Katalin Kunigunda di Pogyebrádl il 1 maggio del 1463 e da quel momento quindi aveva bisogno di un trono a due posti per potersi sedere assieme alla Regina. Da questo si deduce anche che lo stemma con i Corvi datato 1463 componeva la spalliera del trono e non invece il suo apice, come dimostra invece la sua ricostruzione attuale. Originalmente anche dietro la spalliera del trono era presente uno stemma della Regina di Katalin Pogyebrád.

Nel 1961 Gárdonyi Klára Csapodi ha già affermato che il quadro del Codice di Petrarca della Regina Beatrice venne ispirato dal Castello Fortezza di Visegrád con il Danubio, anzichè da Avignone, come vorrebbero i bibliotecari Avignonesi. Perchè nella città papale di Avignone non esiste una torre vecchia come quella di Visegrád, ciò si può benissimo constatare se la osserviamo dall'altra parte di Nagymaros, infatti il territorio avignonese è in pianura e dietro alla zona non ci sono montagne come nella miniatura qui sopra citata (imm. 6.45). Nell'incisione di rame di Zimmermann del 1595 e nell'incisione di rame di Dilich del 1600 si nota che anche a Visegrad erano presenti delle volte come quelle che si notano nella parte destra della miniatura, ma ciò non significa che esse raffigurino il ponte di Avignone (imm. 6.46)...

139. Miklós Oláh, che era il segretario della Regina Maria, conosceva bene Visegrád ha annotato cosi: „... Turcarum quidam legatus, dum ut moris est, ab aulicis regis ex oppido legationis suae exponendae gratia in aulam deduceretur et in porta, unde rectus patet ad hanc pensilem aream aspectus, parumper substitisset, circumspiciens tantam loci illius amaenitatem splendoremque aulicorum tam in inferiore, quam in superiore, ubi rex erat area infinitam multituninem ... tanta subito admiratione stupore percussus est ... et dum per gradue in conspectum regis ascendisset..." Nicolaus Olahus: Hungaria-Athila, op. cit. pag. 11 num. 11.

Malgrado ciò non viene molto valutata dagli studiosi l'importanza della 1. lettera della Bibbia eseguita per Mattia Corvino nel 1489-1490, che attualmente si trova a Firenze. E' proprio sul suo retro che il Re Mattia spiega il paesaggio[152] al Re di Francia Carlo VIII. E al suo sucessore, che diverrà poi Re con il nome di Luigi XII., (imm.6.47) pag. 46-249 imm. 21-24...

Mattia, il Re, non ha mai lasciato il territorio del suo Regno, di conseguenza i corvi raffigurati che volano sopra la sua testa dimostrano che "stanno a casa", nella loro città, per questo è chiamata nel suo impero la città dei Corvi. La corrispondenza nella detta miniatura del giovane volto di Davide, dai capelli del colore castano chiaro, con i tratti del giovane primate d'Ungheria Hyppolito d'Este [155] (imm. 6.48 a) viene altresì rafforzata anche nel quadro di cui stiamo parlando e appare ben due volte sia sulla prima pagina della 4. lettera della Corvina di Dionysius Halicarnasseus, conservata a Modena, che sull'immagine della prima facciata della seconda lettera della Corvina di Greorgius Merula Corvina [156] (imm. 6.48 b). Qui nella scena dove Davide vince su Golia, dietro al personaggio di Davide, si notano gli eserciti di Hyppolito d'Este con la bandiera di Gerusalemme della Regina Beatrice[157] che rappresentano gli eserciti ebraici. In virtù di queste considerazioni e deduzioni dobbiamo orientare il nostro pensiero alla città di Buda, perchè i Corvi del Re Mattia „stavano a casa" innanzitutto a Buda. Dietro l'immagine in primo piano la montagna che si eleva sul resto deve essere il Monte di Giovanni. La collina, che invece sta davanti a sinistra, deve essere il Monte di Dio, sempre stante tra le catene dei Monti di Buda. A destra invece davanti al fiume Danubio si notano le colline delle Rose. Da queste osservazioni allora ci risulta che i fratelli Gherardo e Monte Di Giovanni nella loro opera avevano voluto raffigurare l'immagine di Buda secondo la loro volontà artistica, liberamente, anche per il fatto che avevano eseguito l'opera in un luogo lontano da Firenze. Il Re Mattia non aveva preteso l'immagine raffigurata con la precisione fotografica assoluta.

Nel dipinto di Botticelli, nella Cappella Sistina (imm. 6.49), ad esempio sono rappresentati il Septizonio e l'arco di Constantino il Grande vicini l'uno all'altro, e vicini a qualche bordo di fiume, che nella realtà non è nemmeno li vicino ad essi, ma altrettanto raffigura Roma. Verosimilmente nei dipinti di Pinturicchio, negli appartamenti dei Borgia, dietro l'arco di Constantino il Grande, non sono raffigurate soltanto le colline, ma anche il Colosseo.

152. Firenze Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 15. Cod. 17, foglio, verso. vedi Klara Gardonyi Csapodi: Biblioteca Corviniana Shannon 1969 pag.117.
153. Margaret B. Freeman: The Unicorn Tapestries, New York 1976, pag. 158-159 (Cf.: Oliver Millar: The Queen's Pictures, London 1977, I. Quadro a colori, vedi ancora pag. 17).
154. Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Cod. Lat. 435, folio 4 recto. Vedi: Csapodi, Csapodi-Gárdonyi, op. cit. pag. 153, miniatura in basso a destra sul foglio.
155. Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Cod. Lat. 441 folio 2 recto. Vedi: Csapodi, Csapodi-Gárdonyi, op. cit. pag. 161. miniatura sul margine a destra nel centro.
156. La regina Beatrice era fiera di portare tra i suoi stemmi i colori di quello del Regno di Gerusalemme che meglio dimostra la Corvina di St. Ambrogio a Parigi nella Bibliothèque Nationale-ban (Cod. Lat. 1767, folio 1 recto, vedi: Csapodi, Csapodi-Gárdonyi, op. cit., pag. 203), si trova inoltre la fontana ottagonale di pietra calcarea della Fortezza Reale di Buda nella parte sud „in situ" (vedi: Gerő László: A helyreállított budai vár, Budapest 1980. pag. 165), oppure si tratta dei resti delle orme del Palazzo in marmo rosso immagine nel Museo storico del Palazzo Reale sotto il num. codificato 632) vedi: Balogh, op. cit. Vol. II. imm. 67, vol. I. pag. 109).
157. Mandel Gabriele (con la prefazione di Carlo Bo): L'opera completa del Botticelli, Milano 1978, Tavola XXXIII (pag. 94. num. 63), quale dimostra la condanna di Koráh e dei suoi compagni, che Botticelli ha dipinto negli anni 1481-1482.

Anche il Pinturicchio ha dipinto questo quadro proprio a Roma come quello del Botticelli [158] (imm 6.50) della Madonna di Giorgione Tallard (imm. 6.51), che aveva dipinto tra il 1496 e il 1500, quindi in tutto 6-8 anni dopo del dipinto dei fratelli Di Giovanni che raffigura Buda. Anche nel Palazzo dei Dogi a Venezia dipinto nella Madonna di Tallard, che si trova ad Oxford, sono inesatti sia le colonne che le finestre, ma nessuno mette in discussione che il quadro raffiguri Venezia. In questa raffigurazione anzichè il muro si trova erroneamente il mare [159]. Malgrado ciò nessuno dubita che il dipinto che si trova ad Oxford, cioè la Madonna di Tallard, raffiguri Piazza San Marco.

La miniatura qui citata, malgrado l'interpretazione libera e poetica dei fratelli Di Giovanni, è stata ispirata dalla città di Buda che risulta importante proprio perché nella parte centrale si vedono i palazzi delle Colline delle Rose e il quartiere di Vizivaros. Gaspare Haltai, proprio su questo punto, descrive il luogo dove Mattia il Re ha dato inizio alla costruzione dell'Università. Heltai annota ben due volte che la costruzione dei palazzi era situata verso sud rispetto a Buda [160].

Proprio per questo il Re Mattia spiega con così grande entusiasmo al Re di Francia Carlo VIII. il motivo per cui il suo figlioccio Hyppolito d'Este, in veste di Davide, uccide Golia e perchè nel retro del quadro mostra il progetto più caro al proprio cuore, il progetto dell'Università che era già iniziato e si potevano vedere alcune delle costruzioni. I palazzi che si vedono nella miniatura rispecchiano come il Rinascimento del quattrocento italiano era proprio nello stato più florido in quegli ultimi anni del suo Regno. Sul muro di cinta, nel centro del lato est, si trova una grande porta, secondo Heltai sul progetto dell'università di Buda „questa porta si trovava sul punto centrale" dove sorge il sole („az naptámadati oldalban jedzette vala az egyik nagy kaput középben..."[161]).

Nella miniatura dei fratelli Di Giovanni, sulla quale domina la città sopra ogni costuzione di tipo torre, si trova una scultura segno tipico della tipologia di architettura propria della costruzione di Filarete, il cui libro fu tradotto in latino per il Re Mattia. Quasi ogni apice delle torri è decorata da sculture (imm.6.52). Anche la stessa costruzione rotonda del tipo torre verosimilmente si trova descritta nel diociottesimo libro di Filarete ossia di Averulinus „Casa del Vizio e della Virtu" o meglio nella modificazione della costruzione quadrata tralasciando il pianterreno de „ la casa dei vizi".

158. Enzo Carli: Il Pintoricchio, Milano 1960. imm. 68, la quale raffigura la dicussione di S. Katerina nel 1492-1493 nell'ala dei Borgia al Vaticano (pag. 43).

159. Pietro Zampetti (prefazione di Cecil Gould) The Complete Paintings of Giorgione, London 1970, Plate XVII-XVIII (cf.: pag. 89, num. 11). Anche in altre ricerche è dimostrato che la Madonna di Tallard è stata fatta tra il 1496 e il 1500.

160. „... abban az oldalban akarta a doktoroknak és a lektoroknak házait csináltatni minden szükséges szobákkal és kamorákkal, hogy az ablakok azoknak házainak lönnének napkeletre a küssebbik piacára, napnyugatra az hosszú piacra az oszlopok felé, éjszakra a Dunára, délre pedig Budára." ..." In questo lato voleva fare le camere dei dottori e degli insegnanti che guardavano a sud." „Az naptámadati oldalban jedzette vala az egyik nagy kaput kezépben; az felső részre délre Buda felé jedzette vala a műveseknek házait..."
La Cronaca Magiara di Gáspár Heltai è stata pubblicata a Kolozsvár nel 1575. Il tutto si trova nel libro edito di: Ferenc Toldy: La storia della cronaca dei magiari del sedicesimo secolo „Tizenhatodik századbeli magyar történetirók" dal titolo Bibliotaca Nazionale Nuova (Újabb Nemzeti Könyvtár, III. anno), Pest tomi:1854, 534.

161. Ibidem, tomi 534.

La descrizione dimostra che nei piani superiori dei disegni le piante a cerchio sono suddivise in sette parti eguali che simboleggiano le sette libere arti che servivano allo scopo dell'insegnamento universitario (imm. 6.23) [162], pertanto sembrerebbe che questo abbia ispirato il Re Mattia con qualche modifica sulle descrizioni [163] delle idee di Averulinus troppo utopiche. Perciò a questa costruzione di torre poderosa, di forma rotonda, si riferisce nel disegno dei fratelli Di Giovanni, nella miniatura, la descrizione seguente: „si trovano dei gradini larghi a forma rotonda, dopo ci sono delle camere che sono molto larghe dove gli studenti entrano tutti"

"Voleva far costruire delle colonne riccamente decorate, al fianco delle colonne, voleva mettere le sedie dei lettori, in modo che i dottori leggessero uno la grammatica, a fianco nella seguente colonna la dialettica, nella terza la retorica, nella quarta l'aritmetica, nella quinta la musica, il sesto dottore doveva rappresentare la geometria e il settimo l'astronomia. E sopra ogni colonna voleva far costruire ed accendere una lampada a cristalli perchè voleva che i lettori potessero leggere anche di notte, illuminati come se fosse giorno. E voleva ordinare che da ogni stanza si potesse passare ad un'altra per arrivare al Danubio" [164] („Úgy jedzette vala pedig, hogy ott kerengő volna köröskörnyül, és ez kerengőkbe mennének a széles grádicsok fel a földről egyikről a másikra, és hogy a kerengők a kamorák előtt oly szélesek volnának, hogy a deákok mind bele férnének, és ott hallgathatnának leckét.
Ahoz pedig a piacit egybe akará szorítani. És hét részre akarta azt szakkasztani egyegy általkőfallal; és mindenik szakkasztásnak az ő").

La descrizione di Gaspar Heltai sulla tipologia della costruzione dell'università è più facile da interpretare attraverso lo scritto di Averulius, tradotto in latino per il Re Mattia. Nell'edificio per prima cosa c'è un corridoio cinto rotondo, in secondo luogo l'edificio ha almeno quattro livelli e ci sono dei gradini che vanno da un piano, sopra l'altro, sempre tradotto in latino per il Re Mattia, inoltre corrisponde al torrione presente nella miniatura del dipinto dei fratelli Di Giovanni, in terzo luogo il disegno di pianta del palazzo che secondo Averulnius è di forma rotonda con divisori che sezionano altri cerchi in gradi 51,4 per guadagnare altri sette cerchi di stanze[165] precisamente come lo ha descritto Gaspar Heltai: "voleva suddividere con sette muri di pietra" [166], („és hét részre akarta azt szakkasztani egyegy általkőfallal").

162. Anna Maria Finoli e Liliana Grassi: „Antonio Averulino detto il Filarete: Trattato di Architettura", Milano 1972. Vedi nella seconda edizione i seguenti fogli: 42 recto, 73 verso, 99 recto, 108 recto, 119 verso, 123 recto. Nel libro edito „La Casa del Vizio e della Virtu" si trova nelle pagine 529-562. nell'edizione fac-simile dalle lettere 142r alle lettere fino alla 151r. Nella 145. lettera nella pagina 539-550 avanti, si trova descritto l'insegnamento delle sette libere arti e lo sviluppo delle sette libere arti nel XV. sec. Nelle pagine delle lettere 144. e 145. si trovano le descrizioni che però non coincidono con quelle di Gaspar Heltai. Comunque il Palazzo di cui sopra, nella Corvina di Firenze, rispecchia anche altre costruzioni di Filarete come ad es. nella parte avanti della lettera 99. e nel retro della lettera 73. Le piante dei disegni nella loro forma si trovano tutte in collegamento con le costruzioni.

163. Lo scritto della „Casa del Vizio e della Virtu" si trova nell'edizione alla pag. 529-562 e nella parte fac-simile che va dalla lettera 142r alla lettera 151r . Nella prima parte della lettera 145. nelle pagine 539-540 troviamo le spiegazioni delle sette libere arti, le quali facevano parte nel XV. sec. dell'insegnamento universitario.
Le suddivisioni delle sette forme le troviamo sulle lettere 144. e 145. diversamente concepiti da Gaspar Heltai. La costruzione qui citata nella Corvina di Filarete a Firenze rispecchia anche gli effetti delle costruzioni di altri palazzi, sia nella prima facciata della lettera a 99. sia sul retro della lettera 73. E sono in stretta correlazione con i disegni che riguardano la costruzione di Buda.

164. Heltai, op. cit. trattati 533-534.

165. Finoli e Grassi, op. cit., parte fac-simile, foglio 144 verso-145 recto.

166. Heltai, op. cit. trattati 533.

In quarto luogo se analizziamo la lingua di Gaspar Heltai la parola „mercatale" significa nella lingua attuale piazza o spazio, la parola „kamoraszék" invece significa terazza, in somiglianza al pulpito. Analizzando il dipinto miniatura dei fratelli Di Giovanni si spiega come, secondo Heltai, era possibile sia al primo piano che al secondo passare da una „piazza all'altra e attraverso le camere arrivare al Danubio". Il dipinto dei fratelli Di Giovanni dimostra allo stesso tempo come i progetti teorici talvolta fantasiosi di Averulinus si siano realizzati nella pratica, necessariamente adeguati e semplificati in relazione alle circostanze, nella costruzione dell'Università di Buda. Del dipinto qui citato, delle 8 file di Averulinus ne sono rimaste solamente due secondo le file dei piani [167] e delle cariatidi di Averulinus al piano superiore sotto il tetto sono rimaste solo delle costruzioni del tipo mansarde.

Con ogni probabilità gli insegnamenti delle sette libere arti si sarebbero svolti nei primi piani e nei piani superiori gli insegnamenti di filologia e di teologia. Se consideriamo per tipologia di base la biblioteca dell'Università di Oxford e prendiamo ad es. la Biblioteca[168] di Re Mattia, che è stata costruita sopra la sala delle conferenze, notiamo che furono concepite anche con una ragione di sicurezza, perchè i codici tanto costosi dovevano essere messi al sicuro, qui erano difesi anche dall'alluvione del Danubio. Heltai non tratta questi aspetti perchè il suo scritto rispecchia solo la pianta della costruzione:

"... Questo racconto l'ho sentito dal Vescovo István Brodoric che custodisce sia tutta la pianta che la descrizione, ed il Palazzo aveva anche due piazze.." („Ezt hallottam Brodoric István püspektől, kinél vala az egész épületnek jedzésének a képe is... és mejedzette vala nagy papirosra az fondálókkal minémű lönne az az épület.[169] Úgy jedzették vala, hogy az épületnek két piacca lönne..."[170]).

La miniatura dei fratelli Di Giovanni che è conservata a Firenze nella Corvina della Bibbia, nel retro della prima lettera viene decorata da un piccolo nastro[171], anche questo nastro viene a rafforzare l'immagine superire che raffigura Buda (imm. 6.54) e intendeva simboleggiare le montagne che la circondano. L'unica figura che si trova su questo nastro è l'immagine femminile identica al profilo di Beatrice come anche nel Missale che si trova a Bruxelles nel retro dell'ottava lettera [172] e come anche sulla parte destra. La persona che invece somiglia al Re Mattia nella prima pagina della Corvina di San Geronimo, affiancata alla sua destra da un giovane, che è il giovane Principe Giovanni da Corvino, suo figlio, è simile ad entrambe le sue raffigurazioni come anche al dipinto dei fratelli Di Giovanni nella miniatura del libro [173].

167. Finoli e Grazioli, op. cit. Parte fac-simile folio 145 recto.
168. H. E. Salter, Mary D. Lobel (curatori): The Victoria History of the County of Oxford, Volume III. The University of Oxford, London 1954, pag.15-16 e 44-45. Secondo quest'ultimo di Duke Humphrey la biblioteca si trovava sul piano superiore costruito tra il 1483 e il 1490. "... upper story some time between 1483-1490..." (pag. 45).
169. Heltai, op. cit . parte 533.
170. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenzina, Plut. 15. Cod. 17, foglio 1 verso, sotto vedi: Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi: Bibliotheca Corviniana, Shannon 1969, pag. 117.
171. Brüsszel, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms 9008. Foglio 8verso; nota: Csapodi, Csapodi-Gárdonyi, op. cit., pag. 93.
172. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 930, foglio 1 recto; nota: Csapodi, Csapodi-Gárdonyi, op. cit., pag. 323.
173. Firenze, Bibilioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 15. Cod. 17, foglio 2 recto; vedi: Csapodi, Csapodi-Gárdonyi pag. 119. Nella parte anteriore del quadro il giovane sul cavallo bianco che senz'altro è il Principe di Opel e di Liptó Giovanni da Corvino, anzi anche l'immagine in alto nel margine destro della miniatura corrisponde sempre a lui.

La coppia reale si trova confortevolmente in questo corridoio dove la scena si svolge e questo significa che raffigura il corridoio simile ad un ballatoio, lungo 60 metri cinto da colonne rinascimentali, sviluppato nel Palazzo di Re Mattia, che si intravvede a destra nella parte in secondo piano dell'immagine, simile anche al Castello di caccia di Nyék (imm. 6.55). L'archeologo Sándor Galagi ha rinvenuto le fondamenta durante gli scavi del 1931-1932 [174]. Gli scavi dimostravano anche che le costruzioni a fianco erano state modificate da Valadislao II., spostando la loro asse per liberare il fronte della costruzione lunga rinascimentale [175]. E' probabile che la miniatura raffiguri l'aspetto frontale del castello di caccia di Nyék e non invece l'ala sud ovest. Il castello di caccia di Nyék naturalmente si trovava tra i monti di Buda verso il Monte Giovanni che si trova sopra la fascia di nastro che cinge il quadro, cosicchè nel loro programma i due disegni sono identici e accompagnano nell'identificazione l'uno con l'altro.

Sembrerebbe inoltre che nel nastro, nella parte centrale del gruppo di persone a sinistra, si trovi una persona in abito rosso e con una mantella nera con gli alamari magiari, che potrebbe essere la prima raffigurazione delle vesti ungheresi con alamari giunte fino a noi [176].

Bisogna notare che anche la figlia di Vladislao II. Anna, che nella sua giovinezza doveva essere legata ai ricordi del castello di caccia Nyék del padre e del Re Mattia, a Praga aveva un corridoio con un ballatoio cinto da un lungo colonnato che esiste tutt'oggi [177] (imm. 6.56). La cosa più sorprendente è che il Palazzo del „Belevedere" della Regina Anna di Praga è stato costruito nello stesso stile rinascimentale come mostra il libro della Corvina di Firenze del castello di caccia di Nyék, anche se è stato costruito 50 anni dopo attorno al 1538-1563, nello stile del pieno rinascimento, evidentemente ispirato all'immagine del castello di Nyék [178]. Ciò che sorprende di più è che il progetto della costruzione viene avanzato dopo sette anni che Anna ha lasciato definitivamente Buda nel 1527 [179].

174. Balogh, op. cit. vol. I. pag.162-163.

175. László Gerevich: The Art of Buda and Pest in the Middle Ages, Budapest 1971, pag 123. Plate CXIX, 313-314.

176. Fino ad ora sulla tradizione dell'usanza della tipologia dell'abito con gli alamari magiari erano comunemente meglio conosciute le xilografie dei disegni di Hans Burgmair pubblicate tra il 1505-1519, fatte per l'Imperatore Miksa nel libro dell'edizione di Weisskünig (vedi: László Zolnay: Ünnep és hétköznap a középkori Budán, Budapest 1975, pag. 73 e 76 imm. dopo la pag. 160), oppure nel percorso trionfale dell'Imperatore Miksa (vedi: Szilágyi Sándor [curatore]: A magyar nemzet története, vol. IV., Budapest 1896. pag. 496 e pag. 682), che viene datato al 1518. Il giovane Luigi II. porta alamari magari nei disegni di Burgmair (che si trovavano nella biblioteca fiduciaria della famiglia di Thun-Hohensteinek a Tetschen. Szilágyi, op. cit. Vol. IV. pag. 492, e pag. 681). Altrettanto troviamo alamari magari sugli abiti disegnati da Ajtósi Dürer „Dy ungarisch troffea" del 1518 nell'Albertina di Vienna (codice di registro: 3156, D 128). Nota: Walter Koschatzky, Alice Strobl: Dürer Drawings in the Albertina, London 264-265. pag. (num. 107). Anche nella nota citata sopra nella 111. nota, le xilografie sono datate all'inizio del „XVI. sec".

Possiamo annotare inoltre che l'abito decorato con alamari magiari dalla bottonatura di Miklós Garai nella 111. nota, già è apparso anche nel manoscritto del Libro dei Consigli di Ulrich von R[e]ichental (Konziliumbuch) il quale era nella Biblioteca della Accademia Belle Arti dell'Imperatore di San Pietroburgo nel 1874 sotto il titolo (M[arie] Brosset [et al.] Concilum Constantiense, Szentpétervár 1874, imm. 7, 18, 31).

Altrettanto hanno abiti tipicamente magiari degli ungheresi che portano regali all'Imperatore Sigismondo nel manoscritto Viennese di R[e] ichental, vedi: Domanovszky Sándor (curatore): Magyar művelődéstörténet, vol. II., pag. 145.

Questo tipo di abito con gli alamari magiari è simile a quello appartenente all'usanza degli abiti degli antichi bulgari, parenti dei magiari. Si nota sull'abito di Basilio II. Imperatore di Bisanzio che si conserva nella Biblioteca Vaticana nel libro di Menologipna (Vat. Gr. 1613, pag. 345 [január 22.] nota „Codices ex Vaticano Selecti", vol. VIII., Turin 1907. Una fotografia più nuova si trova nell'Istituto Giovanni XXIII. della Pontificia Università Lateranense: Bibliotheca Sanctorum, vol.VIII, Roma 1967, parte 635-636, dove erroneamente la pagina 345, del codice viene citata come lettera.

177. Nello scritto e nell'immagine dell'Impero Austo-Ungarico (Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia), vol. XII., Budapest 1896, pag. 282.

178. Jan Białystoki: The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe, Oxford 1976, pag. 74-75, imm. 279-282.

179. Il pian terreno del Palazzo Belvedere ha costruito Paolo della Stella di Genova e dopo la sua morte avvenuta nel 1552 nel piano superiore ha lavorato anche Bonifac Wohlmuth tra il 1556-1663.

Nella storia del Rinascimento europeo, la Cappella di Bakócz di Esztergom "che nessuno può scordare dopo che la si è vista una volta" è collocata in una posizione molto più elevata e la sua immagine doveva essere ancora più fasta quando l'illuminazione veniva dalla cupola [180]. L'architettura della cappella e la sua decorazione hanno caratteristiche fiorentine [181] anche se il costruttore Tamás Bakócz di Erdőd nella sua politica era orientato verso Venezia [182]. Sembra che il suo stile si sia formato quando ancora lavorava come segretario del Re Mattia che invece era orientato a Firenze [183]. La cappella di Esztergom di Tamás Bakócz di Erdőd è stata fatta costruire dal Primate di Ungheria, secondo la scritta nel 1507 [184], dunque quando è poi divenuto il Patriarca di Constantinopoli [185]. Per questo motivo i delfini gemelli di marmo rosso nella cappella hanno un'importanza molto elevata [186] ossia perchè quelli sono simboli della chiesa di Hagia Sophia di Bisanzio, che sono ben conosciuti [187] sia nell'architettura di Constantinopoli, che in quella di Esztergom e qui decorano il palazzo sul lato ovest. Il significato dei delfini è reso indiscutibile *in entrambi i casi, perchè dietro di loro appare il tridente, che è il simbolo di Costantinopoli.*

La data della costruzione della cappella di Bakócz è antecedente a tutte le altre costruzioni rinascimentali delle cappelle che si trovano nel centro dell'Europa, *quindi esse sono state costriute sulla base di questo prototipo. Questo è dimostrato anche dalla cappella di Sigismondo di Cracovia, Re di Polonia. Sigismondo ha fatto erigere alla morte della sua sposa magiara, la Regina Borbála di Szapolya, un monumento* funebre che ha iniziato a costruire nell'anno 1517 [188].

180. Ha espresso apprezzamento per la bellezza della Cappella anche il Re di Polonia Jan Sobieski che ha liberato Esztergom. Il Papa Innocenzo XI. nella sua lettera scritta nel 28 ottobre dell'anno 1683: sacello nihilominus singulari et maxime ex antoquo ornato. Balogh Jolán: La capella Bakócz di Esztergom. Acta historiae artium, 1956, nelle pagine 12. e 176. Sobieski ha visto la Cappella ancora nella sua originaria illuminazione. A riguardo ha scritto le seguenti informazioni nell'anno 1688-1695: "in lanternae sunt quasi columnae angulares (prouti unius fragmentum exhibetur) unius orgiae altitudinem adminus habentes No 16, quibus intersertae sunt fenestrae 8 ferreis listis inclusae". Balogh, op. cit., pag. 117. 5o. Balogh Jolán: La capella Bakócz di Esztergom. Acta historiae artium, 1956, 12. pag. 176-117. La finestra attuale nella parte nord guardava originariamente a sud ed esprimeva un'illuminazione del tutto diversa.

181. Schallaburg '82, op. cit. pag. 664.

182. vedi l'inizio del capitolo 8.

183. Ágnes Kenyeres (a cura.).: Magyar életrajzi lexikon, (Enciclopedia delle vite degli ungheresi) vol. I., Budapest 1967, pag. 77.

184. Secondo la pietra iniziale del palazzo ritrovata all'inizio della sua costruzione segna con l'anno 1506 (Schallaburg'82, op. cit. , pag. 669. num. 817). Nel fregio della cappella c'è scritto con numeri di bronzo "THOMAS BAKOCZ DE ERDEVD....EXTRUXIT ANNO M CCCCC VII" (op.cit.pag. 660.) e qusta scritta si trova sopra i delfini sopra citati.

185. Tamás Bakóczdi di Erdőd divenuto Patriarca di Costantinopoli il 3 ottobre dell'anno 1507. (Raymond Janin in: Alfred Baudrillart (et alii curatore capo.): Dictionaire d'histoire et de géographie eclésiastique, vol. XIII., Paris 1956, parte 754). Queste trattative evedentemente ebbero inizio molto prima come viene dimastrato dalle annotazioni di Marino Sanudo (I diarii, vol. VII. Venezia 1882, pagine 195, 169, 164 e parte 176).

186. Ian Białostocki: The Art of the Renaissance in Easrtern Europe, Oxford 1977, imm. 96-97.

187. Heinz Kähler and Cyril Mango (translated by Ellyn Childs): Hagia Sophia, London 1967, imm. 63. e 68. Il delfino e il forcone-tridente erano già i simboli anticamente di Byzantion, che dovevano avere un significato particolare nel rinascimento ed essi si sono conservati anche sulle monete. (Carolus du Fresne du Cange: Historia Byzantina, seconda parte: Constanopolis Christiana, tavole I. e II. avanti alla prima pag. 1). Nell'epoca del Sinodo sullo stemma del patriarca di Johannes (de la Rochetaillée) troviamo in tre strisce bianche sbiege e tre delfini e anche nel manoscritto più antico. R(e)ichent(h)al, Otto Feger (a cura di): Ulrich Richental Das Konzil zu Konstanz, Starnberg, Konstanz 1964, fac-simile, foglio 88 verso. Il manoscritto di Konstanz viene datato al 1465 o al 1460 (Feger, op. cit., pag. 92-93). Vedi ancora Dr.Hermann Sevin: Oolrich Richental Concilium ze Costanz (Carlsruhe ?) 1881, pag. 212..

188. Ian Białostocki: The Art of the Renaissance in Easrtern Europe, Oxford 1977, pag. 35.

La pianta della cappella di Cracovia è identica alla cappella di Esztergom ed anche per la sua decorazione è stato fatto pervenire dalla lontana Ungheria il marmo rosso di Süttő, lo stesso materiale con cui hanno costruito anche la Cappella di Bakócz [189]. Ciò che è importante in questo fatto è che il marmo rosso di Süttő veniva scoperto per la sua bellezza artistica, con grande effetto per il suo uso nel Rinascimento. Sopratutto nella Cappella di Cracovia i delfini gemelli sono simili a quelli di Esztergom ma il forcone-tridente è storto, evidenetemente non hanno compreso il suo significato[190].
Nella cappella di Cracovia ci sono ancora altri elementi ricollocabili all'Ungheria ad es. il fratello di Borbála di Szapolya, Giovanni di Szapolya, viene raffigurato nella veste di Re Davide sotto il suo santo protettore che è S. Giovanni Evangelista, eseguito in marmo rosso, che abbiamo visto nel precedente capitolo. Su esempio della cappella di Sigismondo sono stati costruiti moltissimi monumenti rinascimentali in Polonia[191]. A Gyulafehérvár su esempio di Bakócz, János Laszói eseguiva un altro monumento nel 1512 [192]. La diffusione del Rinascimento in Ungheria è testimoniata da molti esempi tra gli anni 1500 e gli anni 1537 [193]. Purtoppo nella Chiesa di Belvaros sia il monumento del Vescovo di András Nagyrévi, eseguito tra gli anni 1503 e il 1506, come anche il pastoforio della città di Pest del 1507 sono stati collocati tra le due guerre in luoghi dove la loro bellezza non può più essre osservata. Scompare la loro prospettiva che era il punto centrale della costruzione del Rinascimento. La via lunga che conduceva al Corpo Santo è stata fatta scomparire [194]. L'importanza dello spazio nell'arte invece è dimostrata bene nel monumento dei Báthoryak a Nyirbátor che è stato eseguito nel 1511 da Roberto? Marone [195]. La madonna rinascimentale di András Báthory è stata eseguita nell'anno 1526 [196].

Salvatasi dall'occupazione turca la regione Erdély (Transilvania) ha goduto della possibilità di costruire dei veri castelli rinascimentali, eseguiti da György Fráter dell'Ordine dei Paolini Ungheresi, a Szamosújvár, a Alvincen e in Branyicska. A Szamosújvár è stato fatto lavorare l'italiano Domenico da Bologna, così sono stati costruiti veri palazzi dallo stile „dell'antico italico" [197]. A Branyicska sulla riva sinistra del fiume Maros, vicino a Déva, l'immagine del palazzo è stata riprodotta nella serie di edizioni Storia dei Millenni „Ezredévi történelem" [198].

189. op. cit., pag. 46 e 35.
190. op. cit., imm. 96., 97., 103. e 105., l'immagine antecedente alla copertina. A Cracovia il Tridente diventa a cinque punte corte.
191. Białostocki ha dimostrato che il Re Davide impersonato da Jan Boner o da suo nipote Seweryn Boner non ha testimonianze visive. Op. cit. pag. 39.
192. Białostocki, op. cit., pag. 44, X. Carta geografica.
193. Białostocki, op. cit.,pag. 33; Schallaburg '82 op. cit., pag. 647-650, opera 793.
194. Schallaburg '82, op. cit., pag. 605-606, opera 725-726. pag. 653-659, opera 800-808; pag. 674-675, opera 827.
195. Prima del trasferimento del pastoforium sulle immagini era ben visibile il loro effetto spaziale...Vedi i disegni di Károly Cserna: Sándor Szilágyi: A magyar nemzet törtténete (Storia della nazione Ungherese), vol. IV., Budapest 1896. pag. 620. e 621; cf.:pag. 685.
196. Mária Zlinszky-Sternegg: Renaissance inlay, Budapest 1966, imm. 20-22.
197. Schallaburg '82, op. cit., pag. 584-586, opera segnata con questo numero 655.
198. Szamosújvár, o meglio come lo chiamavano allora Új-Bálványosvár. La sua costruzione era stata ordinata e fatta iniziare ancora dal Re János Szapolyai. Dopo la sua morte è stata cantata la sua storia da Sebestyén Tinódi Lantos nella Corte del Cardinale Endre Báthory nell'anno 1548. Nella canzone descrive che Fráter György avrebbe voluto la corona e per questo motivo ha fatto costruire la poderosa fortezza dall'Italiano Domenico da Bologna.."szertelen erős várat ott fondáltatá mert alattomban a Koronát vadászá, ezért Újvárat olasszal csináltatá." vagyis Domenico da Bolognával.. Nota : Bíró József: Erdélyi kastélyok (Fortezza di Erdély), Budapest 1943, pag. 40. Vedi la sua painta: B. Nagy Margit: Várak kastélyok udvarházak, Bukarest 1973, imm. 20. B. Nagy Margit: Reneszansz és barokk Erdélyben (Rinascimento e Barocco in Erdély), Bukarest 1970, pag.19. ed imm. 200. e 202. nella pag. 224. Szilágyi Sándor (a cura di.): A magyar nemzet története, (La Storia della Nazione Ungherese) vol. V. Budapest 1897, il disegno di Dörre Tivadar nella pag. 295 e il disegno di Cserna Károly nella pag. 300.

Anche il castello di Alvilncz [199] è stato costruito sullo stile rinascimentale Europeo e negli ultimi decenni è stato lasciato a lenta distruzione come molte altre magnifiche opere sotto l'Impero balcanico.

Il Cardinale György Fráter per il trattato di Unificazione di Erdely (Transilvania) con l'Ungheria è stato ucciso dagli emissari di Castaldo proprio in questo castelli di Alvilncz il 17 dicembre del 1551 [200]. Il Primate Miklós Oláh, il più grande umanista magiaro del suo tempo, successe alla poltrona del frate György. Egli aveva un legame stretto con Erasmo da Rotterdam finchè era segretario della Regina Maria nei Paesi Bassi [201].

Dapprima Érsekújvárt veniva chiamato Olahújvár [202] in quanto la sua edificazione era legata al suo nome. La pianta regolare a sei punte e la piazza lo testimoniano [203], così Érsekújvár era la progettazione ideale del Rinascimento. Questa città con le sue sei angolazioni, con le sue tre piazzette, con le sue vie quadrate e con il suo asse, è stata ideata da Pietro Cataneo. E si trova descritta nell'opera „ I Quattro Primi Libri di Architettura", volume apparso a Venezia nel 1554, che si può osservare nei vari progetti [204]. Più tardi Scamozzi consigliava sole tre piazze nella progettazione delle città più piccole, così anche Érsekujvár nel suo asse aveva solo tre piazze [205] oltre alla piazza principale con due porte.
Questo magnifico progetto rinascimentale è veramente degno dell'amico di Erasmo...

199. Szilágyi, op. cit. vol.V. Budapest 1897,pag. 240.; Bíró, op. cit. pag. 41.
200. Bíró. op. cit. pag. 41.; Szilágyi, op. cit., vol. V., Budapest 1897, il disegno di Dörre Tivadar nella pag. 315. B. Nagy Margit: Várak, kastélyok, udvarházak, op. cit., imm.124.-129.
201. secondo Bir: " nel dicembre del 1551 i soldati di Castaldo "grande uomo di stato": Ferreri, Sforza, Pallavicini e lo spagnolo Ferdinánd Mercada, cacciatore dei falchetti, con due revolverate e con 75 pugnalate uccisero il cardinale; è possibile vedere la finestra da dove lo avavano buttato giù, nel fossato della Fortezza. Egli rimase li fino a settenta giorni nella bara di legno senza essere sepolto...." op. cit. pag. 41.
202. Horváth János: Az irodalmi műveltség megoszlása, Budapest 1935, pag. 239.. Schleicher Pál: Oláh Miklós és Erazmus, Budapest 1941. Le lettere di Miklós Oláh, edito da Ipolyi Arnold, Monumenta Hungariae Historica, classe. II. vol. 25. Budapest 1875.
203. Balint Hóman , Szekfű Gyula: Magyar történet, vol. III., Budaperst 1935, pag. 118.
204. Ogni lato della pianta a sei angolazioni, quindi era di 230 öl, dunque erano 436 m secondo il László Fehérpataky. "I cannoni di Érsekújvár- ágyúi 1685" Századok 1877, pag. 180... (Nel 1685 hanno trovato 99 cannoni nella fortezza). Gerő László: Magyarországi várépítészet, Budapest 1955, pag. 395 mostra l'immagine vecchia della città vista dall'alto. La pianta della città si trova ancora presso Białostocki, op. cit., imm. 271.
205. Helen Rosenau: The Ideal City, London 1974, pag. 6l.
206. Helen Rosenau: The Ideal City, London 1974, pag. 61. Vincenzo Scamozzi: l'opera di "L'idea dell'Architettura universale è stata pubblicata il 1615".
207. Gerő László: Magyarország várépítészete, Budapest 1955, pag. 395.
208. Ian Białostocki: The Art of the Renaissance in Easrtern Europe, Oxford 1977, pag. 71 e l'imm. 271.
209. Oláh Miklós è divenuto Arcivescovo di Eger il 4 luglio del 1550 ed è morto il 3 agosto del 1554. L'Arcivescovo di Esztergomi è morto il 14 gennaio del 1568. Il suo sucessore Antal Verantius ha preso il suo posto il 25 settembre del 1570 ed è morto il 16 luglio del 1573. (Guglielmus van Gulik, Conradus Eubel: Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi, vol. III., Monasterii (Münster) 1910, pag. 111 e pag. 323. Secondo il loro lavoro nella pag. 359 non viene riconosciuto il dato di Gams: prima di Eger Miklós Oláh è stato vescovo di Zagabria dal 1543 al 1548 (Pius Bonifacius Gams: Series episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae, Ratisbonae 1885, pag. 388). A Katolikus Lexikon (vol. III., Budapest 1932, pag. 432) e secondo anche l'Enciclopedia Révai Nagy Lexikon (vol. XIX., Budapest 1916 , pag. 672) nella data segnata da Gams, Miklós Oláh era vescovo di Zágráb.

E' anche vero che il 6 giugno del 1578 la commisssione mandata da Érsekújvár ha comunicato che ad Oláhuújvár tutta la fortezza di sicurezza è stata costruita in legno[210] ma questo non si può prendere alla lettera perché "Oláh Miklós ha fatto inserire nelle mura 200 q di ferro che ha ricevuto dal Re":

„Érsekújvár, come similmente anche la città di Győr, era la linea di difesa fortificata ed era il pilastro più forte e più sicuro di questa linea. Già il primo Arcivescovo di Esztergom dell'era turca, Várdai, iniziò la sua costruzione e che venne continuata dai suoi successori Miklós Oláh e Verancsics. Miklós Oláh lavorò dal 1554. Dal Csallóköz fece portare con 40 navi il legname per la costruzione della difesa, perché fosse più forte e resistente. Il materiale che utilizzò per legare i bastioni anzichè di fili di vimini lo fece rafforzare con 200 q di ferro dati dal Re. Verancsics innalzò le mura esterene di difesa, nell'interno fece costrire delle case, delle stalle e restaurò il mulino che serviva per riempire il fossato d'intorno, alla fine della costruzione lavorarono anche maestri italiani. Nemmeno Miklós Oláh potè sostenere da solo le ingenti somme, allora il Re gli venne incontro in parte, poichè lo prendette in uso totalmente, quando fu finito nel 1572 dall'Arcivescovo. Dopo qualche anno continuò la fortificazione sotto la guida di Miklós Salm per costruire ancora una nuova fortezza dietro Oláhújvár e queste due fortezze unite diverranno l'Érsekújvárrá" [211]

Ogni disegno giunto fino a noi comunque raffigura questa fortezza con sei angolazioni e non c'è traccia delle due fortezze supposte da Gyula Szegfű [212]. Ma i lavori iniziati dal 1554 fino al 1572 per 18 anni avrebbero dovuto lasciare molta terra intorno, tanto che gli operai di Ottavio Baldigera non avrebbero potuto demolirla in otto anni, anzi anche non avrebbero potuto costrire nemmeno una fortezza di pietra..

Baldigara modernizza già la fortezza esistente a sei angolazioni, ricostruendo e rafforzando i bastioni in pietra italica, così chiamata rondella o „ bastioni con le orecchie", secondo i concetti più moderni dell'epoca. Le mura medioevali di pietra erano divenute indifendibili e non erano più adeguate, in quanto i cannoni le potevano distruggere facilmente. Per questo motivo è divenuta indifendibile sia la fortezza di Constantinopoli come anche quella di Buda. La Regina Maria "ha scelto bene" anche dal punto di vista militare e ha abbandonato Buda portando con se i suoi tesori nel 1526.

210. già sopra: "tota munitio omniaque in illa arce existencia aedificia ex sola lignea materia constat" Relatio commissariorum ad Ujvár expeditum, 1578 június 6. idézi a közös pénzügyi levéltár Hungarica anyagából Takáts Sándor: A magyar vár, Századok, 1907, pag. 816. nota 5.

211. Hóman Bálint, Szekfű Gyula: Magyar töténet, vol. III., Budapest 1935, pag. 118. In questa pagina Sándor Takáts: disegni del mondo dei turchi (Rajzok a törökvilágból, Budapest 1915-1917, 2.1. con questo segno indica i risultati di ricercha degli archivi).

212. vedi l'immagine di Érsekújvár secondo il Jacob Hoefnagel apparsa nel 1617, nota: Soltész Erzsébet: Régi magyar várak, Budapest 1993, imm. 5. Nell'edizione di János Varga J.: Magyarország különösen híres erőditményeinek ábrázolása (fortificazioni particolarmente famosi in Ungheria) del 1664, Budapest 1995 (Icon sive delineatio praecipvorvm et maxime notabilium Hvngariae vtrivsque superioris et inferioris munimentorum Vrbium et Castellorum Wolfenbüttel-I manoscritto) foglio 7 recto. Gerő László: Magyarország várépitészete, Budapest 1955, pag. 395. Az osztrák-magyar 1:25000 carte militari dal num. 4860.
Klara Krajcdvicova: "Nove Zamsky vo setle ikonografickych pramenov 16 a 17 storocia Érsekújvár a 16.e 17. sec. Alla luce di fonti iconografiche, Sbornik slovackeho narodniho Muzea v Bratislave (Historia) LXVIII, 1974, pag. 203-274. Szilágyi Sándor (a cura di) A magyar nemzet története, vol. VI. Budapest 1898, pag. 313, vol. VII., Budapest 1898, nelle pag.177 e 703, 412 e 706 e nell'imm. della pag. 434. (pag. 700).

Contro i cannoni invece, dietro le mura, erano necessarie delle „dighe" di terra per vanificare gli attacchi, per questo motivo erano molto considerate le fortificazioni fatte di terra e di ferro di Miklós Oláh [213].

Dobbiamo notare che la fortezza di Lenti nel 1650 era ancora composta da bastioni di terra che formavano una regolare angolazione di cinque lati [214] e questi bastioni erano della tipologia antica-italica. I bastioni regolari di Lenti potevano essere costruiti tra gli anni 1556-1570, secondo le annotazioni dell'epoca dal cistercense Vidor Pataki [215]. Così doveva essere anche la fortezza di terra a sei angolazioni di Oláhújvár, poichè quando il Miklós Oláh era vescovo di Eger, tra il 1548 e il 1553, aveva speso i due terzi delle sue entrate nella difesa della città, contribuendo quindi alla sua vittoria. Quando il capitano della fortezza di Eger era Miklós Dobó, egli difese con sucesso la fortezza contro il nemico turco [216-217]. E' evidente che Miklós Oláh ha cercato di usare queste esperienze quando è divenuto Arcivescovo di Esztergom, ma questa città è caduta sotto i turchi. Poichè la fortezza iniziata dal primate Várdai ha preso il suo nome, ciò dimostra che egli ha fatto molto per questa fortificazione. Secondo la cronologia di Vidor Pataki, dapprima la fortificazione di Lenti era chiamata antico-italico fino al 1556-1570, similmente era costruita con terra, mentre i bastioni erano costruiti con pietra rinforzata con ferro [218].
Così è evidente che Baldigara ha ricostruito i bastioni esistenti del tipo antico-italico, in pietra, chiamati rondella o „bastioni con le orecchie":

„Érsekújvár secondo i progetti di Ottavio Baldigar è stata ricostruita nel 1580-1588. Questa era la fortezza più modrna della nazione, costruita secondo la concezione italiana di allora" [219].

La nuova fortezza di Oláh ha retto per 119 anni (arrotondato centoventi anni), ha fermato il nemico turco che non potè avanzare nel Kisalföld, oltre la riva occidentale del Danubio. Questo sistema di angolazione regolare del bastione a sei lati ed il suo ordine di case a scacchiera era modello anche per Zagabria e per il progetto delle fortezze delle regioni Károlyváros [220], all'incrocio dei fiumi di Kulpa e Korana, delle quali, il principe del Tirolo, il fratello minore del Re Miksa e suo padre Ferdinando II. hanno posato la pietra di fondazione nel 13 luglio 1579 [221].

213. Cf.: Gerő László: Várépítészetünk, op. cit. pag. 35, imm. 27.
214. Gerő László, Várépítészetünk, op. cit. pag. 339, imm. 253.
215. Pataki Vidor: A XVI. századi várépítészet Magyarországon. A bécsi Magyar Történeti Intézet (Annuario) Évkönyve 1913;
Gerő László: Magyarországi várépítészet, Budapest 1955, pag. 9 e pag. 356.
Gerő László: Várépítészetünk, op. cit. pag. 334.
216. Oláh Miklós era vescovo di Eger dal 4 luglio del 1550 al 3 ag. 1554 Guglielmus van Gulik, Conradus Eubel: Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi, vol. III., Monasterii (Münster) 1910, pag. 111 e pag. 323.
217. *Gerő László: Várépítészetünk, op. cit., nelle pag. 140-144.*
218. Gerő László: Magyarország várépítészete, Budapest 1955, pag. 9 e pag. 356.
219. Gerő László: Magyarország várépítészete, Budapest 1955, pag. 394. Gerő László: Nel suo lavoro del Várépítészetünk la costruzione veniva fatta risalire al 1580-88, Budapest 1975, pag. 337.
220. Enciklopedia Jugioslavije, vol., Zágráb 1962, imm. 216-217.
221. Negli scritti e nelle immagini dell'Impero Austro-Ungarico. XXI. Le nazioni della Sacra Corona di Santo Stefano (Szent István koronája országainak) vol. VIII., Budapest 1901, pag. 391.

Sembrerebbe che sia ad Érsekújvár [222] che a Károlyváros [223] i palazzi furono progettati a due piani. La costruzione di Károlyváros, costata 845000 fiorini nel 1594, ha difeso la città nel 1672 ed ha vinto il nemico contro il turco che tentava di prenderla [224].

Alla fine del XVI. sec. esistevano già due delle fortezze regolari con angoli a sei bastioni della tipologia del Rinascimento nel territorio della Sacra Corona Unghrese, ciò rispecchia benissimo lo sviluppo e la diffusione dell'ideale del Rinascimento nel nostro paese. Così è evidente che oltre al territorio della „Sacra Corona Ungherese" la diffusione dell'architettura rinascimentale aveva influenzato anche le città della Polonia come quella della fortezza di Zamosc [225], perchè nessuno oltre al suo costruttore Jan Zamoysk avava migliori rapporti con la terra magiara e anche perché, grazie a Zamoyski, István Báthory è stato eletto divenendo Re della Polonia il 14 dicembre del 1575 [226]. Nel 1583 ha sposato la principessa Grizeldisz Báthory, la figlia di Kristóf Báthory, Principe di Erdély [227].
Zamoyski il giorno del 1. luglio 1578 affida all'architetto Veneziano Bernardo Motrando la costruzione della fortezza di Zamosc, costui lavorò dal 1587 al 1605 [228], fino alla morte di Jan Zamoyski, così la fortezza di Zamosc non è divenuta una costruzione geometrica perfetta di sei angoli come sono state Ersekújvár e Károlyváros [229].

Infine dobbiamo ancora citare il progetto rinascimentale annotato da György Szerémi, della città di Buda degli anni 1530-1534:

"Due commercianti uno italico e uno greco avavano promesso che avrebbero decorato la città di Buda, come nessun altra in tutta la terra. Una fila di palazzi nel centro sarebbe stata coperta d'oro sulla facciata, l'altra fila di palazzi dalla parte del Danubio sarebbe stata ricoperta di piombo bianco, i palazzi sarebbero dovuti essere tutti della stessa altezza (quindi con quattro file di finestre, ossia tre piani). Un altro commerciante ha promesso che le parti della città verso i monti, meglio dalla fortezza di Buda fino a Szombathelyig (fino alla piazza della porta di Vienna), sarebbero stati ricoperti da tegole rosse trattate con la cera. Il Signor Gritti voleva così decorare la città attraverso i commercianti che promisero che Buda sarebbe stata unica al mondo. Talvolta anche il cavallo che ha quattro gambe si inciampa, tanto più l'uomo che ne ha solo due" [230].

222. Ad Érsekújvár l'incisione di Romein de Hooghe mostra i palazzi con due piani. Vedi: Sándor Szilágyi:(curatore): A magyar nemzet története, vol. VII., Budapest pag. 432 e l'immagine vista dall'alto del XVII. Sec.: Gerő László: Magyarország várépítészete, Budapest 1955, pag. 395.
223. Enciklopedia Jugioslavije, vol. 5, Zágráb 1962, l'immagine sotto le pagine 216-217, la quale raffigura la piazza.
224. Negli scritti dell'Impero Austro-Ungarico. XXI. Le nazioni della Sacra Corona di Santo Stefano (Szent István koronája országainak) vol. VIII., Budapest 1901, pag. 391.
225. Ian Białostocki: The Art of the Renaissance in Easrtern Europe, Oxford 1977, pag. 71.
226. Révai Nagy Lexikon, vol. XIX., Budapest 1926, pag. 636.
227. Nagy Iván. Magyarország családai Czímerekkel, Le famiglie magiare con i loro stemmi. Vol. I., Pest 1857, pag. 224.
228. Białostocki, op. cit., pag.71-72.
229. Białostocki, pag. 72., imm. 271-274.
230. "Et alii duo polliciti erant Italus fucar et Grecus fucar, quod ita debent adhornare civitatem, quod in toto orbe terrarum non fuisset similis. Prima pars fuisset vici sub vna testitudine de ere lamine deaurata, et esset in medio civitatis; altera vicus de parte Ister flui de albo stanno sub vna testitudine et sub vna mensura domi palacie, et altitudo fuisset ad quatuor partes fenestrarum. Et alter fucar pollicitus erat ex parte promonthorio idem palacia sub vna testitudine de arce Budensi vsque ad Zombathel de rubeo pingere testas cum gyantar. Ita volebat dominus Gritti hornare civitatem mercimonialibus, quod similis non fuisset Bude. Interea labit quattuor pes, non est mirum bipes."
Szerémi György: Emlékirat Magyarország romlásáról, 1484-1543 (Epistola de pedicione Regni Hungarorum), Közli Wenzel Gusztáv. Monumenta Hungarae Historica, Classe Seconda, ScrittoriMásodik osztály, Írók, vol. I., Pest 1857, Capitulum XCVII, pag. 339-340.

Eugene Csocsán de Várallja

GIORGIONE AND THE ROYAL COURT OF BUDA*

8.0 Giorgione, Cesare Borgia. (Pinacoteca Comunale, Forlì)

In sharp contrast to the reign of King Matthias Corvinus, the foreign policy King Wladislav II of Hungary led by his Chancellor Thomas Bakócz de Erdőd maintained very friendly relations with Venice throughout his reign.[1] In September 1499 Wladislav wrote to the Serenissima stating that he will not marry anybody else, but only as he will be advised by Venice.[2] Marino Sanuto spoke with the painter, who travelled into France in order to paint the future bride of Wladislav on the 14th August 1500 in Venice, and he recorded, that the painter was Italian.[3]

In this connection we ought to survey shortly the system of diplomatic links developed in that period. Thomas Bakócz de Erdőd became Cardinal on the 28th September 1500 with the help of Venice[4] at the same time, when from Queen Caterina Cornaro's court in Asolo his 18 years old cousin Marco Cornaro, as well as Amanien d'Albret, the brother of the King of Navarre[5] were raised to the purple by Alexander VI. Previously on the 1st May 1499 Charlotte d'Albret from the same dynasty of Navarre was married by Cesare Borgia in Blois,[7] and Cesare Borgia's

* Pubblichiamo un capitolo dell'opera *La Monarchia ungarica e il Rinascimento europeo*, tradotto in inglese dall'autore.

[1] B. Hóman, Gy. Szekfű, *Magyar történet*, Volume II, Budapest, 1936, pages 582-583 and 596.

[2] "... maridar non vol la reina...ni altra dona, ma torà qurella consejerà la Signoria nostra ..." M. Sanuto, *I diarii*, September 1499, Volume II, Venice, 1879, column 1369.

[3] M. Sanuto, *I diarii*, Volume III, Venice, 1880, column 630.

[4] M. Sanuto, *I diarii*, 19th July 1500, Volume III, Venice, 1880, column 567 and column 596 30th August 1500.

[5] "De Libret frater regis Navarre", M. Sanuto, *I diarii*, Volume III, Venice, 1880, columns 857-858.

[6] Conradus Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, Volume II, (1431-1503), Münster, 1901, page 25. See also M. Sanuto, *I diarii*, Volume III, Venice, 1880, columns 857-858.

[7] M. Johnson, *The Borgias*, London, 1981, pages 139-140. In 1484 Jean d'Albret married Catherine de Foix, Queen of Navarre. See Grand Larousse encyclopédique en six volumes, Volume VII, Paris, 1963, page 689.

8.1a Giorgione, self-portrait in Braunschweig.

8.1b Giorgione, on the IInd Unicorn Tapestry in New York.

8.1c Giorgione, self-portrait in Budapest.

portrait preserved in Forlì was painted by Giorgione[8] from the court in Asolo[9] *(picture 8.0)*. In the middle of August 1500 the Hungarian King's envoys had to travel just into Blois,[10] because King Wladislav intended to marry a princess from the dynasty of Navarre, a niece of the French king. This was the reason, that Hungarian envoys travelling through Venice had to bring an exceptional painter with them in order to paint such portraits of Germaine de Foix and Anna de Foix-Kendal,[11] from which portraits King Wladislav could choose a bride in Buda by the 28th November 1500.[12] This system of diplomatic links gives the clue of the events investigated and confirmation of the following conclusions.

Namely on the IInd tapestry of the Unicorn-Hunt tapestries we can see an especially elongated head behind Duke Johannes Corvinus and Duke Lawrence de Újlak. *(picture 8.1b)* This head appears behind the two dukes and between them, just as Rafael appears in the background of the School of Athens in the Stanza della Segnatura[13] between Bramante and Zoroaster (Pietro Bembo) showing that this person on the Unicorn Hunt tapestries as well must be an artist. This face differs completely from the other 62 heads represented on all the seven pieces of the tapestry series because of his exceptionally elongated head-structure. In addition to his elongated head-structure, his very slightly bent nose, slightly bent eyebrow, dark hair and dark-brown eyes as well as his fleshier and more sensual lower lip identifies him with Giorgione represented on his portraits in Braunschweig[14] *(picture*

[8] M. Johnson, *The Borgias*, London, 1981, pages 142 and 226.

[9] Sir E.K. Waterhouse, *Giorgione* (W.A. Cargill memorial lecture in Fine Arts), Glasgow, 1974.

[10] "è zonti li oratori stati in Hongaria, con uno orator di quel re per vider la fiola dil conte di Foys neya dil re..." This information sent by the Venetian envoy from Blois on the 29th September 1500 was recorded by Sanuto ("Sanudo") already on the 9th October. M. Sanuto, *I diarii*, Volume III, Venice, 1880, columns 888-890.

[11] The nieces of Queen Catherine of Navarre.

[12] M. Sanuto, *I diarii*, 28th November 1500, Volume III, Venice, 1880, column 1111.

[13] G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architetti*, Volume IV, Florence, 1976, page 167.

[14] Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, inventory number 454.

8.2a

8.2b

8.2a Ann de Foix-Kendalon the VIth Unicorn Tapestry in New York.

8.2b Giorgione, Anne de Foix-Kendal in Pasaderna.

8.2c

8.2d

8.2c Giorgione, Laura in Vienna.

8.2d Giorgione, Anne de Foix-Kendal in Pasaderna.

8.1a) and in Budapest[15] *(picture 8.1c)* Giorgione's appearance on the Unicorn-Hunt tapestries showing the participants of Anne de Foix-Kendal's marriage can not mean hardly anything else, but that he was among the participants of her marriage celebrations, and the only reason, that this very young painter from Castelfranco at the beginning of his very short carrier appeared among the participants of this royal marriage in Hungary in 1502, could not be anything else, but that he was the painter sent to paint the portraits of the possible brides.

The appearance of Giorgione on the IInd tapestry is inseparably connected with the fact, that the profile of Anne de Foix-Kendal on the VIth tapestry *(picture 8.2a)* is identical with the profile of the *Portrait of a Lady* by Giorgione belonging to the Norton Simon Museum in California[16] *(picture 8.2b)*, the purpose and significance of which has been misunderstood by dull and Philistine hypocrisy. Anne de Foix-Kendal's slightly curved forehead, fine and only very slightly snub nose, identically long maxilla, fleshier lower lip and slightly bent eyebrow on the VIth tapestry is identical with Giorgione's portrait in the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena. It was pointed out by E. Verheyen already in 1968, that the uncovering of Laura's bosom *(picture 8.2c)* was connected precisely with contracting a marriage,[17] and the picture in Pasadena is much more tactful in this respect, because it represents a future queen *(picture 8.2d)*. It ought to be realised as well, that Anne de Foix-Kendal was raised in the court of Anne de Bretagne, whose monument in Saint Denis represents her completely naked.[18]

[15] Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, inventory number 86.

[16] 31.7 cm x 23.1 cm.

[17] E. Verhayen, *Der Sinngehalt von Giorgiones "Laura"*, Pantheon, 1968, pages 220-224.

[18] S. Mck. Crosby, *L'abbaye Royale de Saint-Denis*, Paris, 1953, pictures 108-109; J.F.

8.3a

8.3b

8.3c

8.3d

8.3a Wladislav II of Hungary on the VIth unicorn Tapestry in New York.

8.3b Giorgione, Wladislav II of Hungary in Munich (inv. n. 845).

8.3c Wladislav II's black hair on the Unicorn tapestry and on his prayerbook in Oxford.

8.3d Emperor Maximilan wears fur coat on Dürer's portrait similarly to Wladislav.

Meanwhile it has to be also noticed, that the profile of King Wladislav II on the same VIth tapestry *(picture 8.3a)* is identical with Giorgione's portrait in Munich known as *Young Gentleman with Fur*[19] *(picture 8.3b)* which has an inscription on the back already from the end of the XVIth Century: Giorgion De Castel Franco F(ecit)/Maestro De Titiano.[20] The subject of the portrait in Munich is identified by the mentioned VIth tapestry in the Cloisters in New York, as the head on both representation has the same fine aquiline nose, backwards strongly bending dark eyebrows and fleshy lower lip. Wladislav II is distinguished on both representations also by his long strait and dark hair, just as in his prayer book preserved in Oxford,[21] *(picture 8.3c)* where his profile similarly shows that he was painted on Giorgione's portrait in Munich. This portrait identifies his royal rank by his fur coat, because Emperor

Noël et P. Jahan, *Les Gisants*, Paris, picture XIX.

[19] 70 cm x 54 cm. Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inventory number 524.

[20] P. Zampetti, introduced by C. Gould, *The Complete Paintings of Giorgione*, London 1970, page 101, picture 80.

[21] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. liturg. d 6, folio 49^{recto}.

8.4a

8.4b

8.4a Round window and narrow arched doorway on Wladislaw's portrait.

8.4b Wenceslav Hollar's copperplate shows clearly the masonry of the round window and of the narrow arched doorway in the background of Giorgione's painting.

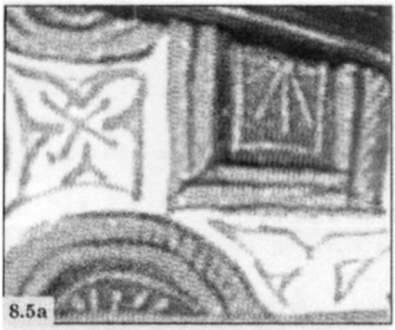
8.4c Round windows and the masonry of the narrow arched doorway in the Frish Palace's thron room in Buda according to the Mathias Graduale, OSZK Clmae 414, folio 103[recto].

8.4c

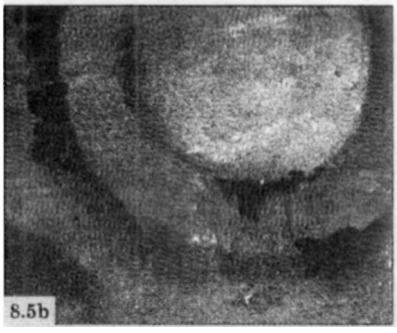
Maximilian wears similary a fur coat on Dürer's portrait now in Vienna[22] *(picture 8.3d)*, just as the oldest king on Dürer's Adoration of the Magi in Florence.[23] Giorgione turned the King's head with good intuition to show his face at his advantage. In this way Giorgione's portrait shows, that Wladislav was a beautiful man as noticed by Cesar Valentini, the envoy of

[22] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inventory number 845.

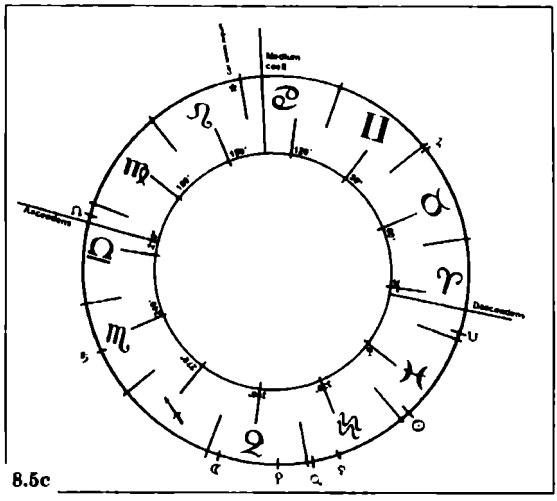
[23] Florence, Uffizi, inventory number 1434.



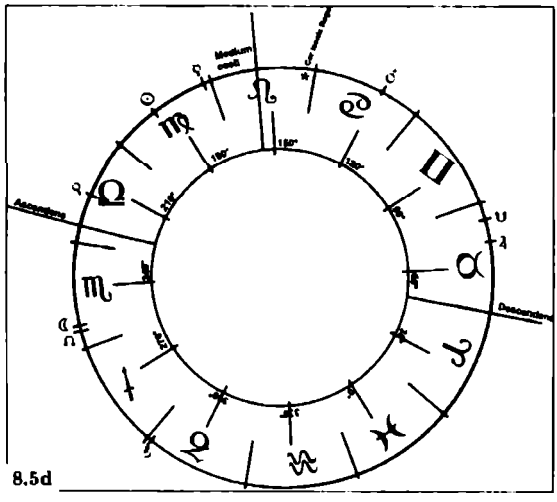
8.5a



8.5b



8.5c



8.5d

8.5a Stars in the rounded windows of the thron Room in the Fresh Palace in Buda.

8.5b There was probably a star in the window on Giorgione's painting in Munich.

8.5c The Cor Leonis stood near to the Meridian at the time of Wladislaw II's birth Crakow(?) 1st March 1456, 9h 7' 26" after sunset.

8.5d The Cor Leonis stood near to the Meridian at the time of Wladislaw II' s Hungarian coronation at Székesfehérvár (Alba Requalis Stuhlwissenburg) on the 18th September 1490 22 hours after sunset.

Ferrara at the meeting of Iglau on the 11th September 1488,[24] when his good looks elicited Queen Beatrix' sympathy already according to Dubravius.[25] Giorgione's composition turned the King towards a round window. This round window and the small arched door opening on his left represented on

[24] L. Óvári, *A modénai és mantuai kutatásokról*, "Századok", 1889, page 395.

[25] "prospectante e fenetra Beatrice regina, amoremque tacitum ex conspectu novi hospitis forma conspicui hauriente", Johanni Dubravii, *Historica Boiemica*, Bale, 1575, page 293.

8.6

8.6a

8.6b

8.6 Giorgione, Adoration of the Magi in London (NG 1160).

8.6a Bernard Streigel Wladislav II of Hungary (Budapest inv.no 7502).

8.6b Wladislav II of Hungary on Giorgione's Adoration of the Magi in London.

the painting in Munich *(picture 8.4a)*, and more clearly seen on Wenceslav Hollar's copperplate *(picture 8.4b)*, is identical with the round windows with stars on the glass, and the similar small arched door openings in the throne room of the Fresh Palace shown in the Matthias Gradual[26] *(picture 8.4c)* This demonstales as well, that the person represented is the King of Hungary, as in that throne room was the most important and most representative seat of his power. The miniature shows that there were stars in the round windows of the Fresh Palace *(picture 8.5a)*. Therefore this implics an allusion to Wladislav's star: the Cor Leonis, which was at the zenith, when Wladislav was born *(picture 8.5c)* and at the times of his coronations both in Bohemia, as well as in Hungary[27] *(picture 8.5d)*, as the Cor Leonis was the Royal Star also known as Regulus in Latin. His

[26] National Széchényi Library, OSZK Clmae. 414, folio 103^{recto}.
[27] Krakkow, Jagellonian Library, MSS 3225.

8.6c

8.6d

8.6e

8.6c The longest man at the peak of the triangle composition of the London Adoration.

8.6d Giorgione's self-potrait on the Three philosophers in Vienna (inv. n. 111).

8.6e Giorgione's Armoured man in Vienna (inv. n. 1526).

8.6g

8.6g

8.6f Gaston de Foix's face and straight hair on Bambaia's monuments in Milan.

8.6g Francois Foix-Kendal's face and curling red hair on Giorgione's Adoration of the Magi in London.

8.6h

8.6i

8.6h Red curly hair of Gaston de Foix-Kendal on the Ist Unicorn Tapestry in New York.

8.6i Giorgione's Fluting young gentleman at Hampton Court (inv. n. 101) has brown hair.

recorded inscription in Latin written in the royal castle of Buda stated "Magnanimus princeps diademate gaudet utroque Vladislaus, tollit ad astra caput"[28] similarly indicated, that Wladislav raised his head to the stars just as in the painting in Munich.

However nothing can demonstrate better Wladislav's identity on the Munich portrait than the description of the character of the person represented by Wolf-Dietzer Dube's considerable insight:

[28] S. Schweiger, *Ein newe Reissbeschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem*, Nürnberg, 1639, page 21-22; W. Sahm (ed.), *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau. (Mitteilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek zu Königsberg i. Pr. IV und V. 1. Teil)*, Königrsberg i. Pr., 1914, page 85.

8.7 Giorgione, King Wladislav's consolation before cleaning.

8.7bis Giorgione, King Wladislav's consolation after cleaning.

"The gentle romantic, indecisive character of this young man is reminiscent of Giorgione: intelligent and dreamy apparently timid and lethargic, yet also capable of energetic action..."[29] No one could characterise knowingly Wladislav's personality better, while it is obvious, that Wolf-Dietzer Dube did not know, whom the portrait represented in the reality. Nonetheless this is perfect intuition into Wladislav's personality, and this shows and confirms, that the portrait represents this Hungarian king.

Wladislav II also appears as the youngest king on Giorgione's *Adoration of the Magi* in the National Gallery in London[30] *(picture 8.6)*, where his appearance *(picture 8.6ba)*, is almost identical with his representation on Bernhard Strigel's painting in Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest[31] *(picture 8.6a)*. The person in armour in the background of this Adoration, but at the centre of the painting and at the top of the composition's triangle is the highest person on the entire picture. Because his name Giorgione means "Big Giorgio" in italian. His profile *(picture 8.c)* correspond to the youngest scholar on Giorgione's "Three philosophers" in Vienna[32] *(picture 8.4d)*, whose figure is a self-portrait of Giorgione according to Pietro Zampetti,[33] and also to the profile of "The warrior" in Vienna[34] *(picture 8e)*.

[29] W. D. Dube, *The Munich Gallery - Alte Pinakothek*, London 1970, page 165.

[30] 30 cm x 81 cm. London, National Gallery, inventory number NG 1160.

[31] Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, inventory number 7502.

[32] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inventory number 111.

[33] P. Zampetti, introduced by C. Gould, *The Complete Paintings of Giorgione*, London, 1970, page 83, picture in the second column at the bottom the page.

[34] Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, inventiry number 1526. See S. Ferino-Pagden, G. Napi Scirè (ed), *Giorgione Myth and Enigma*, Wien, 2004, page 213.

8.7a

8.7b

8.7a King Matthias' laurel-wreath on the binding of the Bibel of Erlangen MS 6.

8.7b King Matthias laurel wreath on his MARTI FAUTORI medallion.

8.7c

8.7d

8.7c King Matthias' oak-leaves wreath on his relief by Giovanni Dalmata now in the royal palace in Buda, but belonging to Museum of Art History in Budapest (Szépművészeti Múzeum inv.no 6712).

8.7d King Wladioslav wears oak-leaves wreath, and not laurel leaves, on Giorgione's painting.

The Madonna's model on the left side of this Adoration was most probably Queen Anna de Foix-Kendal, and it seems to follow from the structure of composition, that the finely clad young gentlemen on the opposite place on the right side of the composition *(picture 8.4g)* was her relation. His head structure is very quite to the head of Gaston de Foix on his monument by Bambaia in the Moseo Civico in Milan, but on Bambaia's monument Gaston de Foix has strait hair *(picture8.6f)*. On the other hand Gaston de Foix-Kendal on the I[st] Unicorn-Hunt Tapestry in New York has similarly red and curly hair, *(picture 8.6h)* as the investigated young person on the Adoration in question, but he seems to have much more elongated head. This seems to imply, that Anne de Foix-Kendal's relation on the Adoration in London was her half-brother François, who accompanied Anne de Foix-Kendal to the court of Buda *(picture 8.6g)*. The head structure of this youth on the painting in London is similar to the head the "Shepherd with Flute" in the Royal Collection at Hampton Court,[35] but his hair is not red, but rather very light brown, almost fair. *(picture 8.4i)*.

[35] 61 cm x 51 cm. Hampton Court, inventory number 101. P. Zampetti, introduced by C. Gould, *The Complete Paintings of Giorgione*, London, 1970, page 90, picture 15. The similarity is less striking in the case of a painting measuring 39 cm x 27 cm, showing a knight

8.7e

8.7f

8.7g

8.7h

8.7e King Wladislav's oak-leaves wreath before cleaning of the painting.

8.7f King Wladislav oak-leavs wereath after cleaning of the painting.

8.7g King Wladislav II shaven on the charter of John Pető de Gersc on the 22nd November 1507.

8.7h King Wladislav IInd after the cleaning of the painting.(?????????)

These considerations again confirm the tradition, that Giorgione painted members of the dynasty de Foix.[36] Modern entmythologisierung should like to believe, that there was no connection between the painter of Castelfranco and any Gaston de Foix, but it only shows the superficiality of this fashion, and their negligence of the various historical details and diplomatic links.

A painting of the National Gallery in London is now named as *"Homage to a poet"*[37] *(picture 8.7)*, was qualified by Pignatti as a painting belonging to the close circle of Giorgione.[38] This picture used to be known as "King Salomon" earlier, but it was renamed "Homage to a poet" because of the laurel wreath on his head.[39] As a matter of fact precisely

in shining armour, also known as San Liberale in the National Gallery in London (inventory number NG 269). It is thought to be identical with the painting believed to represent Gaston de Foix in the collection of Lord Bessborogh until 1801, in 1809 it was bought from Wilde by the Smith collection, in the collection Rogers in 1820, in the National Gallery since 1855. See L. Coletti, *Tutta la pittura di Giorgione*, Milan, 1955, page 56, and Tavola 47 after page 86.

[36] See for example L. Coletti, *Tutta la pittura di Giorgione*, Milan 1955, page 56, Tav. 47 mentions a painting of 39 cm x 27 cm. P. Zampetti, introduced by C. Gould, *The Complete Paintings of Giorgione*, London, 1970, page 101, n. 81 mentions a painting of 18 cm x 14 cm.

[37] 59 cm x 48 cm. London National Gallery, inventory number NG 1173.

[38] "For the time being the attribution must remain a cautionary one, in the close circle of Giorgione and during his lifetime". T. Pignatti, *Giorgione* (Complete edition), London, 1971, page 125.

[39] P. Zampetti, introduced by C. Gould, *The Complete Paintings of Giorgione*, London, 1970, page 97, picture 44.

8.7i

8.7j

8.7k

8.7i Cheetah prominetly displayed in the foreground on the left of King Wladislav's Consolation.

8.7j Cheetahs accompanying Emperor Manuel IInd Palaiologos on folio 52[recto] of the Très riches heures de Duc de Berry.

8.7k Cheetahs accompanying the Byzantine rulers meeting before the buildings of Paris on folio 51[verso] of the Très riches heures de Duc de Berry.

this "laurel wreath" identifies him as Wladislav II, because he wanted to imitate his contemporary, predecessor and rival for the throne of Bohemia, King Matthias Corvinus in this. Namely King Matthias was represented usually with laurel wreath following the antique emperors' custom. The investigation King Matthias Corvinus' representations show, that he wore laurel wreath on the Bible of Erlangen[40] *(picture 8.5a)* and on the medallion "Marti fautori"[41] *(picture 8.7b)*, but his wreath was made from oak leaves on his marble relief Giovanni Dalmata now in the Royal Palace in Buda[42] *(picture 8.7c)*, and on the title page of the corvina Bible now in Brussels.[43] This investigation actually reveals, that the laurel leaves cover each other in these laurel-wreaths, but on the oak-leaves wreaths the oak leaves appear separately, letting the hair to appear between them. The latter is the case on the London painting under discussion, where therefore the wreath is not made of laurels, but of oak-leaves *(pictures 8.7d-e)*. This clearly demonstrates, that the person sitting on the throne is not a poet, but the successor of King Matthias, Wladislav II.

[40] Leather binding of the Erlangen Bible (Erlangen Universitätsbibliothek Ms 6). See Cs. Csapodi, K. Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana*, Shannon, 1969, page 111.

[41] J. Balogh, *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában*, Budapest, 1966, volume II, page 292, picture 420.

[42] Szépművészeti Múzeum (Museum of Fine Arts), Budapest, inv. n. 6712.

[43] Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale, Ms 9008, folio 8[verso]

8.8a

8.8b

8.8c

8.8a The one year four months and 20 days old Louis II of Hungary was fair haied on the 22 November 1506 according to the charter given to John Pethő de Gerse.

8.8b Louis II of Hungary was still fair haired on Bernhard Striegel's painting.

8.8c Louis II of Hungary was already dark haired by 1509 on the Consolation of Wladislav II.

His head on the London painting in question *(pictures 8.7f, 8.7h)* corresponds to his representation on the charter given to the family Pethő de Gerse issued on the 22nd November 1507[44] *(picture 8.7gf)* and in his Prayer book in Oxford.[45] The picture in London however reveals, that according to Dubravius Wladislav grew beard after his consort's death, and his subjects tried to console him in various ways.[46] This is mirrored exactly by the composition in London, where his beard made his face to appear longer, and where a page brings him flowers, a minstrel plays lute, poetry books are placed at the steps of his throne next to the minstrel, and there is his young son as well to console him, just as a peacock, a cheetah and stag from his game park. Therefore the painting could be better called *"The consolation of Wladislav II"*. Namely the cheetah prominently displayed in the picture foreground on the left side *(picture 8.7i)* does not distinguish a poet, as chetahs were more usual in the royal courts. Already in 1413-1415 the Limbourg brothers marked the royal rank of the Three Kings impersonated by the Byzantine and apparently by the Trebizontine Emperors by accompanying them in their journey with cheetahs[47] *(picture 8.7j-k)*.

[44] See: Dr. J. Gründler et alii, *Schallaburg '82, Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn*, catalogue of exhibition 8th May-1st November 1982, coloured picture 47 after page 128; cf.: page 527 n. 571.

[45] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. liturg. d 6, folio 15.

[46] "Huius adeo reginae decessum cum diutius lugeret, moerorique; insignia vestes pullas deponere, aut barbam incanam adradere non sustineret, circumstat cum magna consolantium frequentia ex Hungaris, Boiemis, Moravis Budam aggregata ex quibus pro se quisque consolatorem agit, alius alio modo atque in hoc omnes conveniunt". Johanni Dubravii, *Historica Boiemica*, Bale 1575, page 301.

[47] J. Longnon, introduced by M. Miess, *Les très Riches Heures de Duc de Berry*, London 1969, pictures 48 (folio 51verso) and 49 (folio 52recto). Jean Longnon already indicated, that the oldest king on these miniatures is Manuel II Palaiologos (loco citato), who travelled to Paris

8.8d

8.8e

8.8f

8.8d Louis II of Hungary is clearly dark haired on his portrait preserved in Brussells.

8.8e Louis II is dark haired on his painting now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest inv. n. 67.83.

8.8f Louis II is dark haired on his painting now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest inv. n. 77.6.

This painting in London represents excellently Wladislav's lethargy after his consort's death, and when the complete system of his diplomatic alliances started to collapse as fate develops in Greek tragedies, and the masterwork makes perceptible the psychological distance between the King and his forty-one years younger son. Therefore the picture betrays Giorgione's brush.

Wladislav II is also identified by the appearance of his son Louis II as well as by the large age difference between him and his small son on the picture, as Louis II was 52 years younger, than his father. The identity of small Louis II is shown by his closeness to his father next to his throne, as well as by his dark hair. It is true, that Louis II had extremely fair hair on the charter given to the family Pethő de Gerse issued on the 22nd November 1507 *(picture 8.8a)*, when he was one year four months and 20 days old, and on Bernhard Strigel's painting in Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest *(picture 8.8b)* both quoted above. Nonetheless Louis II has quite dark hair on his grown up portraits, for example on the one brought by his consort into the Low Countries, and now in Brussels[48] *(picture*

in 1400 shown by the Notre Dame and the Sainte Chapelle in the miniatures background. The third and youngest king with golden fair hair might be Alexios IV of Trebisond born in 1382, as the Comnenoi of Trebizond were fair haired, for example already Manuel I Comnenos (1238-1263) and Alexios III (1349-1390). See: G. Gagarin, *Recueils d'ornement et architecture Byzantines*, St. Petersbourg, 1897, Table XXV, C. Texier, R.P. Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture*, London, 1864, Plate LXVI and page 202.

[48] S. Domanovszky (ed.), *Magyar művelődéstörténet*, Volume II, Budapest, 1939, page 77; cf.: page 650.

8.9 The Horoscope formerly inv. n. 186 in Dresden.

8.8d), as well as on his pictures in the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest[49] *(picture 8.8e-f)*. These portraits demonstrate, that the colour of his hair changed, in his childhoodas he grew older, and this dates "The consolation of Wladislav II" into the years around 1509, which correspond to the date given by Pignatti.[50] Louis II's young personality and his dark hair also appear to be the same, as on his portrait in the Ambrosiana in Milan investigated below. Curiously just as Wladislav is consoled by poetry on the composition in London, he appointed two poets to be teachers of his small son, Louis II.[51]

The identity of Wladislav II on this painting in London is confirmed by the very appearance of his dark haired son, because of which, the picture belongs to a certain group of Venetian compositions distinguished by the

[49] Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, inventory number 77.6; see Dr. J. Gründler et alii, *Schallaburg '82, Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn*, catalogue of exhibition 8th May-1st November 1982, page 505, n. 523.

[50] T. Pignatti, *Giorgione* (Complete edition), London, 1971, pages 124-125, picture A22. (cf.: picture 141).

[51] One of them was the Venetian Hieronymus Balbi, the other Jacob Piso from the

8.9a

8.9b

8.9c left

8.9c right

8.9d

8.9a crownless white eagle with plant-like decorations at the tail on the Horoscope.

8.9b crownless eagle with plant-like decorations at the tail on the gold dollar of Wladislav IInd of Hungary struck at Körmöcbánya (Kremnitz).

8.9c left, **8.9c right** crownless white eagle with plant-like decorations at the tail on the Beda Venerabilis manuscrpit in Munich Bayerrische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 175 folio 1^{recto}.

8.9d crownless white eagle with plant-like decorations at the tail on the Aristotle incunable in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, H 1660.

appearance of the same young dark haired boy on them. Namely the fact, that this dark haired boy is Louis II of Hungary is made undeniable by one of the members of this group, called the Horoscope.

A painting titled *"Horoscope" (picture 8.9)* was destroyed or disappeared from Gemäldegalerie in Dresden in 1945.[52] Pietro Zampetti has found that "the subject is somewhat obscure,"[53] but there is a conspicuously represented white eagle occupying a large part of the lower right corner of the painting *(picture 8.9a)*. This white eagle was represented without crown and had a tail with plant-like decorations. Meanwhile the white eagle of the Hungarian Jegellons is quite often crownless, and its tail developed into plant-like decorations on the gold dollar of Wladislav II struck at Körmöcbánya[54] *(picture 8.9b)*, and on his Beda manuscript[55] *(picture 8.9c)* as well as on his Aristoteles incunable[56] *(picture 8.9d)*, perhaps in order to distinguish (or heraldically speaking to differentiate) their eagle from

Medgyes és Transylvania. Á. Kenyeres (ed.), *Magyar életrajzi Lexikon*, Volume II, Budapest, 1969, page 15.

[52] It was 132 cm x 192 cm. Its inventory number was 186 in Dresden. A copy survived in Pillnitz.

[53] P. Zampetti, *op. cit.*, page 101, picture 78.

[54] L. Huszár, *The Art of Coinage in Hungary*, Budapest 1963, picture 41.

[55] Beda Venerabilis, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 175, folio 1^{recto}, Cs. Csapodi, K. Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana*, Shannon, 1969, page 179.

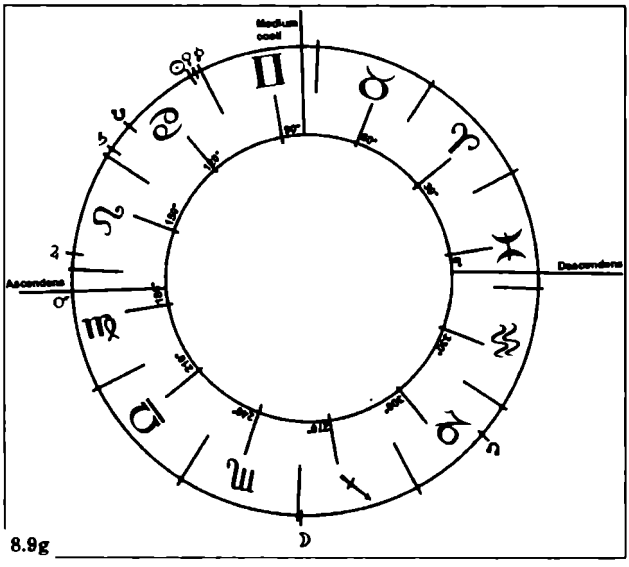
[56] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, H 1660. See Cs. Csapodi, K. Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana*, Shannon 1969, page 217.

8.9e

8.9f

8.9e The mother of the new born child on the Horoscope.

8.9f Queen Bona Sforza on her medallion by G.M. Mosca detto il Padovano from 1532.



8.9g

8.9g The Stand of stars at the birth of Louis II Buda, on the 2nd July 1506 11h 30' A.M.

the Polish Jagellons. As the painting destroyed in Dresden in 1945 was painted in the first two decades of the XVIth Century, the 13-14 years old boy[57] playing a prominent part on the composition can not be anybody else, but only Louis II of Hungary, because he was the only person of this age in the entire Jagellon family at the time.[58] This places the date of the picture into 1520. Therefore the infant on the picture is his cousin Sigismund August born on the 1st August 1520 securing the survival of the Jagellon dynasty in Poland. This is confirmed by the profile of the infant's mother, *(picture 8.9e)* as it is identical with Queen Bona Sforza's

[57] The age of the older boy on the Horoscope was estimated to be about 13-14 years by Dr. David Baum the head of Paediatrics in Oxford in his letter dated 10th November 1983.

[58] See J. Louda, M. Maclagan, *Lines of Succession*, London, 1981 and *Révai Nagy Lexikon*, Volume X., Budapest, 1914, page 741.

8.10a The 3 years old Louis IInd on the Consolation of Wladislav IInd in 1509.

8.10b The 10 years old Louis IInd on Dürer's woodcut from 1515.

8.10c The 11 years old Louis IInd on Titian's portrait in the Ambosiana in Milan (in. n. 89) in 1516.

appearance on her medallion[59] *(picture 8.9f)*. The statue of Venus occupies the highest point in the triangle of the composition corresponding to the horoscope of Louis II[60] *(picture 8.9g)* but the Venus must have occupied an important place at the birth of Sigismund August as well, as he placed his monument in the Wavel in such a way, that his eyes turn towards the planet Venus.[61] The representation of an event of 1520 on this painting destroyed in Dresden obviously excludes the possibility, that it could have been painted by Giorgione, who died in 1510.

It was however pointed out by art historians, that the features of 13-14 years old Louis II on the Horoscope are identical with *two further portraits*.[62] One, on which he was about 10-11 years old,[63] has been preserved in the *Ambrosiana in Milan*[64] *(picture 8.10c)*, the other on which he was about

[59] J. Grabski, "Le immagini del re di Polonia Sigismundo I e della famiglia reale sulle serie di medaglie del 1532 di G.M. Mosca detto il Padovano nella collezione già Estense a Modena", in V. Branca e S. Graciotti (ed.), *Italia, Venezia e Polonia tra medio evo e età moderna* (Civiltà Veneziana, Studi 35), Florence 1980, Figura 31 and 26.

[60] Louis II was born on the 2nd July 1506 at 11[h] 30' according to G. Weczel, *II. Ulászló király házas élete*, Századok, 1877, page 836, and M. Sanuto, *I diarii* at 14th July 1506, where the text of Sanuto recorded: "et culsi a di hora 13 di zuoba la fece uno fiol masculo con gran letitia". The position of the Venus could be calculated from B. Tuckerman, *Planetary, Lunar and Solar positions A.D. 2 to A.D. 1649*, Philadelphia, 1964, page 771.

[61] Sigismund August raised the effigy of his father in their funerary chapel, and his recumbent statue occupies his father's original place. In this way his eyes turns towards the statue of Venus above the altar.

[62] T. Pignatti, *Giorgione* (the complete edition), London, page 150; cf.: page 131.

[63] The age of the boy on the painting in the Ambrosiana was estimated to be about 10-11 years by Dr David Baum the head of Paediatrics in Oxford in his letter dated 10th November 1983.

[64] 23 cm x 30 cm. Milan, Ambrosiana, inventory number 89. L. Coletti, *Tutta la pittura di Giorgione*, Milan 1955, page 63, Tavola 98.

8.10d

8.10e

8.10d The 13 years old Louis II in 1519 on his portrait formerly in Oxford and later in New York.

8.10e The 14 years old Louis II on the Horoscop in 1520.

11-12,[65] was brought from Oxford to New York[66] *(picture 8.10d)*. The attractive personality and the profile especially on the excellent portrait in Milan *(picture 8.10c)*, are identical with the representation of Louis II on Dürer's nearly contemporary woodcut from 1515[67] *(picture 8.10b)*. This confirms our conclusions, and excludes the possibility that these excellent portraits could have been painted by Giorgione. The introversion and the feeling of loneliness on the portrait in the Ambrosiana shows it surprisingly well, and with great artistry, that the small Louis II was left orphan not only by the death of Anne de Foix-Kendal at his birth, but by the death of his father in March 1516. This shows that his portrait must have been painted by a very great Venetian artist of the period, as the Serenissima obviously took care that her godchild, Louis II [68] should be portrayed by the best Venetian painter of the period.

[65] The age of the boy on the painting brought from Oxford to New York was estimated to be about 13-14 years by Dr. David Baum the head of Paediatrics in Oxford in his letter dated 10th November 1983.

[66] 24,1 cm x 20,6 cm New York, Gallery Knoeders, see T. Pignatti, *Giorgione*, Milan, 1955, page 135.

[67] Dr. W. Kurth, *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer*, New York, 1963, picture 289.

[68] Venice was the chief god-parent of Louis IInd according to G. Wenzel, *II. Ulászló magyar király házasélete*, Századok, 1877, page 837 quoting M. Sanuto, *I diarii*, Volume VI. Venice 1881, column 388. (cf.: columns 291 and 309, which show that Queen Anne de Foix-Kendal had extremely good relations with Venice, where she was enthusiastically received

Because of the Giorgionesque character of the painting this very great Venetian artist could not be anybody else but the young Titian still under the influence of Giorgione.

when travelling into Hungary. She was lodged in the Palace of the Dukes of Ferrrara - now Fondaco dei Turchi - and magnificently entertained in the city of lagunas for three weeks between 31st July and 21st August 1502. She embarked at 8pm on the 21st August and reached the territory of the Holy Crown of Hungary at Segnia at the 23rd August 1502. Wener, *op. cit.*, pages 740-749)

Csocsán Jenő:

Három Pest megyei falu népesedése a XVIII. század második felében

(Sződ, Vácrátót és Csomád)

Bármely társadalom fölépitését megismerni kivánván, nem mulaszthatjuk el népmozgalmának elemzését. Egy-egy népszámlálás föltárja a népesség keresztmetszetét, de ez a keresztmetszet állókép marad, és egyedül ebből nem is tükröződik vissza semmilyen társadalom életének lüktetése egyértelmüen, és még kevésbé következtethetünk ugyanennek a közösségnek korábbi vagy későbbi állapotára. Csak, ha láttuk, miként pereg le a népesedés jelenségeinek üteme, lesz meg a fölhatalmazá sunk arra, hogy itéletet alkothassunk valamely nép virágzásáról vagy hervadásáról.

Mindezek ellenére a hivatalos statisztika megindulása előtti időkből alig ismerjük nemzetünk fejlődésének ezeket az alapvető adatait. A feldolgozások rendkivül szórványosak (1), és a helytörténeti monográfiák is elhanyagolták ezeknek a kérdéseknek taglalását.

Pedig források bőven állnának rendelkezésre. Hazánkban a tizennyolcadik században országszerte megindul az anyakönyvezés, sőt egyedül az esztergomi érsekség területén 123 helységben vannak XVII. századból való bejegyzések, (2) igy Pozsonyban 1600 óta. (3) Schwartner Márton szerint a veszprémi egyházmegyében már 1515-ben is készitettek ilyen jellegű lajstromokat. (4)

Márpedig az anyakönyvek alapján meghatározhatjuk a születések, halálozások és házasságkötések adatait. Pontosabban csak az anyakönyvekből ismerhetjük meg hosszú évtizedek füzérén keresztül folyamatosan az elmult évszázadok népmozgalmának lefolyását. Jelentőségüket emeli, hogy okleveleknek tekinthetők, és igy felhasználásuk esetén érvényesül a bizonylati elv is.

Ezen források demográfiai szempontból történő feldolgozásának elmaradása annál is inkább sajnálatos, mert külföldön már hosszú idő óta folynak az ilyen irányú munkálatok. (5)

Az alábbiakban a sződi plébánia anyakönyvelt igyekeztünk feldolgozni, melyeket a közelmultban huzamosabban tanulmányozhattunk. Ezeket a könyveket 1740 augusztusától kezdve vezették. Eleinte csak a keresztelteket tartották nyilván, de 1757 áprilisában megindult a halálozások és a házasságok bejegyzése is.

Mivel továbbá a sződi plébániához alapitásakor leányegyházként két másik falut is csatoltak, vizsgálódásainkat erre a két falura is kiterjeszthettük, és igy Sződön kivül Rátóth - tal /ma: Vácrátót/ és Csomáddal is foglalkozhattunk. (6)

Vác környéke a XVII. század végén.

Forrásként felhasználtuk még az 1784/5. és az 1804/5. évi népszámlálás (7) továbbá a váci püspöki levéltár egyházlátogatásainak (8) és numerus animarumainak, (9) valamint az úrbérrendezésnek (10) adatait.

A HÁROM KÖZSÉG TÖRTÉNETÉNEK ÖSSZEFOGLALÁSA

A középkorban Sződ először mint Sceuden tünik fel. Gewddel: Göddel együtt a Gyula-Zombor nemzetség birtoka 1255-ben. (11) A két falut 1317-ben a Balogh nembeli Széchy család kapja meg, és a Széchyeké a vegyesházi királyok alatt is. (12)

Rátót/h/ot Kézai krónikája szerint a Casertából származó és Könyves Kálmán uralkodásának idején hazánkba jött Rátold lovag alapította. IV. László király 1293-ban említi templomát. A Rátold nemzetség egyik ágáé, a Tary családé még az Anjouk, és részben még Mátyás király korában is. (13)

Csomád 1219-ben Sunád néven az ugyanilyen nevü család jószága. (14) 1430-ban pusztaként szerepelt és még mindig az előbbi familia birtokában maradt. (15)

A sződi határban fekvő Csörög a XVI. században bukkan fel, és akkor a váci püspökség tulajdona. (16)

A ma Vácrátóthoz tartozó Haraszti puszta egybeesik Kigyóssal, amelyet egykor a

Domonkosok birtokoltak, 1579-ben pedig Mágócsi Gáspár vett meg. (17)

A környék 1544-ben került a törökök uralma alá, akik 1559-ben Sződön 47, Rátóton 32, Gödön 20 adóköteles házat találtak. Az ozmán fennhatóság azonban itt is elsorvasztotta a falvakat, mert 1633/4-ben az adóköteles házak száma Sződön 8-ra, Rátóton pedig 6-ra apadt. A hódoltság 1685-ben ért véget, amikor a török hadak végleg elhagyták Vácot. (18)

A török időket és a kuruc-labanc háborúkat az említett helységek közül, - bár erősen megfogyatkozva- egyedül Sződ vészelte át: 1690-ben 4 lakosát mutatták ki. (19)

A tizennyolcadik század elején, amikor Sződ a Madách családé volt, (20) csak lassú ütemben indult meg a falu benépesedése. 1715-ben 10 jobbágyot és 4 zsellért irnak össze a faluban, akik akkor magyarok és bizonyára reformátusok voltak, mert a középkorból származó kápolnát ők használták (21)

1718-ban katolikus plébániát szerveznek Sződön, és annak joghatóságát kiterjesztik Dunakeszi, Váchartyán és Bottyán falvakra. Ugyanakkor a sződi templomot elveszik a reformátusoktól és a katolikusoknak adják. Az újonnan alakult parochiának azonban csak rövid ideig marad a székhelye Sződön, mert még abban az évben áthelyezik Váchartyánba.(22)

1720-ban még mindig csak 19 jobbágya van a községnek. (23)

Valószinűnek látszik, hogy a helység benépesedése nagyobb lendületet csak azután vett, miután 1735-ben Grassalkovich Antal Sződöt és a gödi pusztát megvette a Madáchoktól (24), akik híjával voltak a telepitésekkel járó beruházásokhoz szükséges anyagi lehetőségeknek. Ezen birtokaikat is azért kényszerültek eladni, mert a neoacquistica commissio által rájuk kirótt 500 forintot se tudták kifizetni azért a jószágért, amelyet tőlük a királyi személynök 14 500 forintért vett meg. (25)

A lakosság növekedésére mutat, hogy hamarosan a birtokcsere után sürgetővé lett egy nagyobb befogadóképességü egyház épitése. "Abban az időben, amikor bevezették a plébánost Sződre, mégpedig 1740 augusztus 11-én, létezett már egy bizonyos templomocska, amely, amidőn szükebbé vált, minthogy a népességet be tudja fogadni, rögtön a következő évben, - amint azt kellő megfontolással megállapithatjuk- nagyméltóságú gróf gyaraki Grassalkovits Antal úr az előbbinél jóval tágasabb és attól mintegy háromszáz lépésre levő másik (templom) épitéséről gondoskodott, és elérte, hogy az 1744. évre az elkészüljön, amint azt a hivatal levéltárában őrzött egyházlátogatás mutatja". (26)

Különben a sződi parochiának az iménti idézetben jelzett és most már végleges önállósítása szintén a falu lélekszámának egykorú megduzzadására vall.

Rátót a tizennyolcadik században több földesúr kezén van, közülök a Mágócsiak voltak a legjelentősebbek. A község 1720-ban még lakatlan, 1740-ben már biztosan virágzó falu volt. Temploma 1743-5-ig épült. (27)

Csomádot 1729-ben telepitik be. Előbb a Beniczkyeket utóbb gróf Fekete György országbirót uralta. (28)

A telepitések nyomán kialakuló lakosság nemzetiségi és vallási összetételével alább fogunk foglalkozni a népesség alakulásának részletezése során.

A házak száma 1746-ban Sződön már 69, Rátóton pedig 39 volt. (29) Kőfejtője csak Rátótnak volt. Sződön az épületek anyaga vályog, fedele nádból készülhetett, mert ilyen volt még a plébánia is. (30) Ezért könnyen érthető, hogy a nem egyszer kitörő tűz nagy pusztítást okozott a faluban. Így 1744-ben majdnem az egész község leégett (31), 1775 augusztus 5-én pedig egy kenyeret sütő lány gondatlanságából fél óra alatt 36 ház hamvadt el. A tűz délután 2 órakor ütött ki, amikor a lakosság kint dolgozott a földeken, és így alig tudott a veszély meggátlására bármit is tenni. (32)

Közben földrengés sujtotta a falut, mert egy 1766-ból származó leirás szerint a templomtorony ennek következtében helyreállitásra szorul. (33)

Mindezen viszontagságok ellenére a házak száma az 1785. évre Sződön 114-re, Rátóton 64-re, Csomádon pedig 60-ra szaporodott. (34) Ebben az évben egy házra Sződön 1,27, Csomádon 1,28, Rátóton 1,36 (országos átlagban 1,22) háztartás jutott, átlagos lélekszámuk Sződön és Rátóton 4,9, tehát kisebb, mint Csomádon, ahol 5,9 ; az országos átlag pedig 5,3. (35). A jelenség valószinűleg arra vezethető vissza, hogy Csomádon inkább együtt élt az idősebb és a fiatalabb nemzedék, mint a másik két faluban. Erre mutat az is, hogy mig Rátóton és Sződön egy-egy háztartásra 0,95 illetve 0,96 nős férfi jut, addig Csomádon 1,23. Egy házra különben Sződön 6,2, Rátóton 6,9, Csomádon 7,6 lélek jutott.

1785 után úgy látszik Sződön és Csomádon egészen lelassult, Rátóton pedig megszünt az épitkezés. Az 1804/5. évi népszámlálásban Sződ ismét 114, Rátót 59, Csomád pedig 70 házzal szerepel (36). Sződ számában azonban biztosan nincsenek benn a külterület házai (37). Ha a Rátóton kimutatott házak számához hozzáadjuk a falu három nemesi kúriáját, akkor ott kettővel fogyott a házak száma. Egyedül Csomádon tudjuk kimutatni számszerüen a házak szaporulatát, aholis húsz év alatt 10 új ház épült. Ebben az évben Sződ belterületén 6,3, Rátóton 8,2, Csomádon pedig 7,3 személy lakott egy házban.

Ki kell még térnünk arra is, hogy a plébániának ma álló emeletes téglaépületét 1778-81-ig épitették a parochia átszervezése kapcsán. Grassalkovich özvegyének, Klobusiczky Teréz grófnőnek kezdeményezésére ugyanis, - az anyakönyvek bejegyzéseiből következtethetően 1781 augusztusában vagy szeptemberében - Kisszentmiklóst Sződnek, Csomádot pedig az előbbi helyett Veresegyháznak leányegyházává tették. Kisszentmiklós azonban csak átmenetileg tartozott Sződhöz, mert 1811 április 24-én újólag, most már másodszor a plébániához kapcsolják. Ezen átcsatolások miatt Csomád 1782 utáni adatainak feldolgozásától, valamint Kisszentmiklós népmozgalmának tanulmányozásától el kellett tekintenünk. (38)

Mivel a három faluban II. József népszámlálása szerint összesen csak 8 mesterember élt, és ugyanakkor nemesek is csak Rátóton voltak, (szám szerint kilencen) a falvak társadalmi fölépitését főképen a parasztnépesség összetételének elemzéséből ismerhetjük meg.

A Mária Terézia által elrendelt úrbérrendezés során Sződön 68, Rátóton 35, Csomádon pedig 45 úrbérest irtak össze. (39) Jobbágy volt Sződön az úrbéreseknek 61,8, Rátóton 42,9, Csomádon 97,8 %-a. A többiek házas zsellérek voltak. (Az urbáriumok egyik faluban sem mutatnak ki házatlan zselléreket.)

Sződön 32, Rátóton 14, Csomádon 15 jobbágytelek volt összesen. Ezek azonban nem oszlottak meg egyenletesen birtokosaik között. Sződön a telkek 51,6 %-a az úrbéresek 16,2 %-ának, Rátóton pedig a jobbágy gazdaságok területének 92,9 %-a az úrbéresek 37,2 %-ának

a kezén volt. Még legegyenletesebb volt a megoszlás Csomádon, ahol nem volt egésztelkes jobbágy; az úrbéreseknek 42,2 %-a féltelkes (övék a sessiók 63,0 %-a), 40,0 %-a pedig negyedtelkes és a paraszti földeknek 29,8 %-át müvelte.

Ha az egyházi összeírások adatait összevetjük az urbáriumokkal, akkor megállapíthatjuk, hogy az úrbérrendezés során összeírt családfők számát Sződön 8,69-el, Rátóton 12,48-al, Csomádon 9,11 el kell megszoroznunk, hogy a lakosság lélekszámát nyerjük.

A tizenkilencedik században a történelem eseményei Sződöt is meglátogatják.

A franciaországi változások távoli,eltévedt hullámai Sződre vetnek egy fogoly francia tábornokot, J. Bapt. Graindorsche-t, aki 1805 dec.3-át követő néhány napon a plébánián tartózkodott. (40)

Az 1849. évi Vác körüli hadmüveletek részben a község területén zajlottak le, amint azt az ott 1849. júl. 3-án elesett orosz tiszt keresztje mutatja. (41)

A tűzvész ebben az században sem kerülte el falvainkat. 1810-ben Csomád, 1891-ben Sződ nagy része égett le. (42)

Rá kell még mutatnunk, hogy a jelenlegi község területileg nem azonos a XVIII. századbeli Sződdel, mert három új falu vált azóta ki belőle, mégpedig Felsőgöd 1914-ben, Alsógöd 1921-ben és Sződliget 1950-ben.

MÓDSZERTANI PROBLÉMÁK

Az 1. tábla második oszlopa Sződ népességének alakulását mutatja, mindig az adott év december 31-ére számolva. (vö. I. ábra)

Kiindulásul számitásainkban a II. József által elrendelt népszámlálást vettük, amely a korabeli összeírások közül a legnagyobb felkészültséggel készült, a népesség minden rétegére kiterjedt, és éppen ezért a legmegbizhatóbbnak látszik. Ezen népszámlálás szerint Sződ népessége 713 lélek volt. (43)

Az első nehézség mindjárt a kiindulásnál jelentkezik. Mint tudjuk ugyanis, II. József népszámlálása az összeírást nem vonatkoztatta az egész országban azonos eszmei időpontra, hanem összeírta a népességet úgy, amint azt a bizottság a helységeken áthaladtában találta.

Kiindulópontunk időbeli meghatározásában ez nem jelentene nehézséget, ha ismernők Pest megyében a népszámlálás tényleges időrendi lefolyását. Thirring Gusztáv szerint "Pest megyében, ahol 272 000 lelket kellett összeírni, 28 számlálóbiztos volt alkalmazva, úgymint 4 szolgabiró, 7 alszolgabiró, 12 esküdt és 5 tiszteletbeli esküdt, akik között volt olyan, aki 3 742 házat és 25 193 lelket írt össze, természetesen 7-8 hónapig tartó munkával". (44) Sajnos Thirring nem jelzi forrását, amelyből valószinüleg legalábbis megközelitőleg meg lehetne határozni Sződre és a két szomszédos községre vonatkozóan a népszámlálás tényleges időpontját.

Szerencsére a népesség száma Sződön a népszámlálás lefolyása alatt azonos szinten maradt.

A népszámlálást ugyanis 1784. november 1-én kezdték meg országszerte. (45) Igy például a váci püspöki levéltárban elfekvő iratok szerint az összeírást a Pest megyei Sorokháron már 1784. november 20. és december 10. között végezték el. (46) Ha november 1-hez hozzáadjuk a Thirring által föntebb emlitett 8 hónapot, akkor Pest megyében legkésőbb 1785. június 31-én a népszámlálás befejeződött. Ezekben a hónapokban abszolút számokban így alakult Sződön a természetes szaporodás:

1784.	november:	+ 1
	december:	+ 1
1785.	január:	- 1
	február:	- 2
	március:	+ 1
	április:	+ 1
	május:	+ 1
	június:	+ 3
	összesen:	+ 5

Számitásaink során úgy vettük, mintha Sződ népét 1784. december 31-én számolták volna meg. Ha bármely más hónapra esett volna Sződön a bizottság munkája, a természetes szaporodás alapján számítva a lakosság száma december 31-hez viszonyítva alig változott volna. A különbség 0 és 3 között mozog, vagyis legfeljebb 0,4 %-ot tesz ki.

Sződ népességét tehát 1784. december 31-én 713 léleknek tekinthetjük. Müveleteinket ebből kiindulva úgy végeztük, hogy az adott év természetes szaporodását kivonva nyertük a megelőző év évvégi lélekszámát, míg a következő évekre ugyanezt mindig hozzáadtuk.

Meg kell mármost vizsgálnunk, hogy a t e r m é s z e t e s s z a p o r o d á s milyen p o n t o s a n t ü k r ö z ő d i k f o r r á s a i n k b a n. Milyen mérvű az eltérés a jelenség és a jelenség följegyzése között, nem lépett-e föl közöttük bizonyos kallódás?

Kérdéses először ugyanis, hogy a sződi anyakönyvezés, amelyet a katolikus plébánia vezetett, mennyiben jegyezte be a m á s v a l l á s ú a k a t. Eme nehézség Sződre és Rátótra nézve elesik, mert ezt a két falut, mint az a 3. táblából kitűnik, tisztán katolikusnak tekinthetjük. A csomádiak azonban majdnem kizárólag evangélikusok voltak.

Viszont Csomád népmozgalmi arányszámait az anyakönyvek alapján számítva nagyságrendileg ugyanolyan értékeket kapunk, mint a másik két községben. Következésképen a protestánsokat éppen olyan mértékben anyakönyvezték, mint a katolikusokat. A kánonjog különben minden megkereszteltet ante usum rationis, tehát az értelem használata előtt tulajdonképen katolikusnak tekint, és az összes keresztény házasságát érvényes és fölbonthatatlan szentségi köteléknek tartja, ami megmagyarázza, vagy legalább is magyarázatot ad az evangélikusok és a reformátusok házasságainak és kereszteléseinek bejegyzésére. De a följegyzett halálozások aránya is azonos a két filiában, sőt Csomádon lényegesen magasabb, mint Rátóton. Ha tehát valakinek az anyakönyvezése elmaradt, az nem azért maradt el, mert protestáns volt.

El kell továbbá birálnunk, hogy anyakönyvi kútfőink alapján mennyiben határozható meg a természetes szaporodás. A természetes szaporodás tudniillik, már meghatározásánál fogva is, az élveszületések és a halálozások különbségét jelenti, ámde forrásaink nem a születéseket, hanem a kereszteléseket, és nem a halálozásokat, hanem a temetéseket lajstromozták.

Kérdéses tehát egyrészt az, hogy a keresztelések száma mennyiben fedi az élveszületések számát.

Erre nézve az egyházlátogatások általános kérdései felvilágositást nyujtanak. Ezekből ugyanis kitűnik, hogy a keresztséget nem szabad elhalasztani, hanem mielőbb fel kell adni. Igy a születések és a keresztelések között rövid idő telt el, és az ezalatt meghaltak száma csekély lehetett. Az eltérés lehetősége tovább csökken, ha figyelembe vesszük, hogy az imént emlitett kérdések között állandóan ismétlődik és visszatér: ellenőrzik-e a plébánosok, hogy a bábák tudnak-e keresztelni, és szükség esetén (vagyis amikor félő, hogy az újszülött meghal, mielőtt a plébános föladná a szentséget), ténylegesen keresztelnek-e?

A sződi anyakönyvekben valóban gyakran fordul elő, hogy a keresztség kiszolgáltatójaként a bába, vagy esetleg az iskolamester szerepel. Sőt olyan bejegyzéseket is találunk, mely szerint a bábák még a születés előtt "in utero" megkeresztelték a magzatot, ha az még élt, de nem volt remény arra, hogy élve megszülessék. (47)

A fentiek alapján tehát az élveszületések és keresztelések száma közötti különbség elenyészőnek tekinthető.

Kérdéses marad azonban még a temetéseknek és a halálozásoknak egymáshoz való viszonya. Ebben a vonatkozásban nagyobb nehézségek jelentkeznek. Nem mintha a temetések és a halálozások száma ténylegesen nem fedné egymást, hiszen egészen rendkivüli eseteket leszámítva, aki meghal, azt el is kell temetni.

A tulajdonképeni nehézség abban mutatkozik, hogy a temetések száma és a temetések lajstromozása a leányegyházakban és részben a csecsemőhalandóságot tekintve nincs teljesen összhangban.

Ami a leányegyházakat illeti, az ott elhaltak anyakönyvezése nyilvánvalóan hiányos. Sokszor 8-10 éven keresztül egyetlen bejegyzés sincs, a halálozások arányszáma pedig számos éven keresztül Rátóton 12, Csomádon 18 ezrelék körül mozog. Olyan alacsony tehát, ami csak az orvostudomány és a betegellátás mai fejlettsége mellett lehetséges, de aligha hihető el a XVIII. századról. Utóbbi megállapitásaink az 1790 előtti időkre vonatkoznak, attólfogva a Matricula mortuorum a rátótiakat illetően is megbizhatóvá és teljessé válik.

Az anyaegyházban viszont ilyen jellegű hiányosság nem jelentkezik. A halálozások száma magas és arányban van a lakosság számának alakulásával. Lehetséges, hogy a temetéseket Sződön mindig a plébános végezte, de a filiákban gyakran pap nélkül temettek, és az ilyen temetések anyakönyvezése maradt el.

Azonban az egyházközség székhelyén sem volt az elhalt csecsemők bevezetése átfogó bizonyos szakaszokban. Ha ugyanis a csecsemőhalandóságot a bejegyzésekre támaszkodva számoljuk, annak mértéke 1765 és 1771 között 89,6, 1788 és 1794 között pedig 101,6 ezrelék, tehát jóval alacsonyabb, mint a többi években, amelyeknek átlagában ezer élveszülettre 200 egy éven alul meghalt jutott. Sőt kisebb volt, mint általában hazánkban az 1940-es években.

A csecsemőhalandóság csökkenése mindkét esetben egy-egy plébános müködésének függvényeként lép fel: hivatalba lépésükkel kapcsolatban kezdődik, és távozásukkal megszűnik. Közelebbről megvizsgálván az általuk vezetett anyakönyveket, kitűnik, hogy a pár napos csecsemők halálozását rendszeresen nem írták be. Ez alatt a tizenegy év alatt, - más évektől eltérően, - például egyetlen 1 napos újszülött sem szerepel a halottak között, jóllehet halandóságuk akkor is nyilván magas volt.

Ezért ebben a két időszakban a többi ismert év átlaga alapján számoltuk a csecsemőhalandóságot, és a halálozások számát ennek megfelelően kiigazitottuk.

A temetések anyakönyvezésének hiányait az magyarázza, hogy kánonjogilag sokkal nagyobb jelentősége van a keresztelésnek, és annak bizonyíthatóságának, mint a halálozás, illetve az eltemetés tényének. Nem mintha az utóbbinak nem lenne egyházjogi fontossága, de az csak részleges, és elsősorban a házasságban meghaltakra terjed ki, akiknek házastársa így a halál tényével szabadállapotúvá lesz. A halálozás, illetve az eltemetés megtörténte azonban annak anyakönyvezése nélkül is, általában, amikor az még esedékessé válik, könnyen bizonyítható, mert a sir megmarad, és a temetésen sokan vesznek részt, akik nehézség nélkül tanuskodhatnak.

Nem így a kereszteléseknél, melynek nem marad fizikai nyoma, és igazolására állandóan, néha majd egy emberöltő mulva is szükség van. Hiszen csak a keresztelés által válik bárki az egyháznak tulajdonképeni és kánonjogilag teljes jogú tagjává, csak a megkeresztelteknek bérmálkozhatnak, gyónhatnak, áldozhatnak, csak ők szentelhetők papokká, és köthetnek egyházi házasságot.

Különben főképen éppen ezek a most felhozott szempontok voltak azok, amelyek miatt a tridenti zsinat 1563-ban elrendelte az anyakönyvezést (48).

Aggályaink merülhetnének még fel a szegények temetését illetően is. Azonban az egyházlátogatások előírták, hogy a szegényeket ingyen kell eltemetni, és a sződi bejegyzésekben valóban nem egyszer előfordul az eltemetett neve mellett: mendica (koldusasszony). Máskor: "pro Deo gratis", tehát ingyen temették. Az igy adódó hibaforrás ezek alapján elhanyagolhatónak látszik.

Mint láttuk, Sződön a csecsemőhalandóság kiigazításával a halottak anyakönyve teljesnek tűnik. Mivel azonban a filiák révén Sződdel szemben is kétségeink támadhatnának, meg kell vizsgálnunk más kútfők alapján is, hogy miként fejlődött a falu népessége a XVIII. század folyamán.

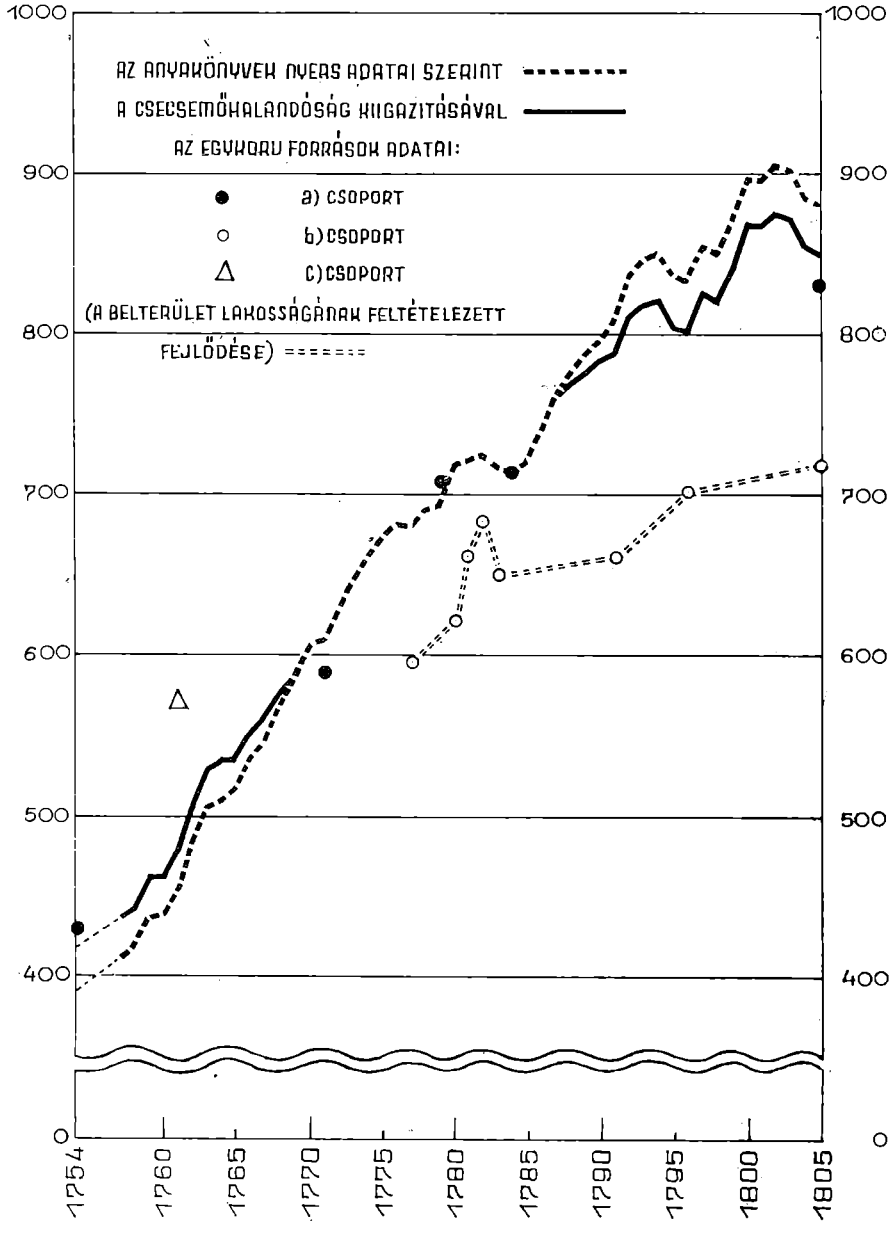
Ezt annál inkább meg kell tennünk, mert sem anyakönyvi, sem pedig más forrásaink önmagukban nem derítenek fényt a ki- és bevándorlásokra. Mivel a vándormozgalom a lakosság alakulását nyilvánvalóan befolyásolja, és mivel a népmozgalom arányszámait a nép tényleges nagysága alapján kell számítanunk, a költözések mértékét meg kell határoznunk. A különböző eredetű adatok összevetése nyomán viszont föl tudjuk állítani a ki- és betelepedések mérlegét.

Ha pedig a más forrásokból merített számértékek egyezni fognak eredményeinkkel, akkor nemcsak ezeket fogják igazolni, hanem egyben eloszlatják a keresztelések és különösen a halálozások anyakönyvezésének pontossága körül keletkezett kételyeinket is.

Az összehasonlításhoz mármost kútfőkül elsősorban az egyházi összeírásokat, valamint az 1804/5. évi népszámlálást használhatjuk. Az előbbieket legalább tíz évenkint, de máskor, főleg II. J ó z s e f uralkodásának elején, sűrűbben is megismételték: részleteiket és végösszegüket az egyházlátogatási jegyzőkönyvek, továbbá a numerus animarumok fasciculusai tartalmazzák. Mindezeknek adatai (I. táblán az egykorú források oszlopa) azonban a természetes szaporodáson alapuló számításainkkal (ugyanott a második oszlop) egybevetve az első pillanatban meglehetősen tarka képet mutatnak (ugyanott az eltérések oszlopai). Ezek a források egyrészt egymás között sincsenek összhangban, másrészt viszont időnként megegyeznek az általunk nyert lélekszámokkal.

I. ÁBRA

A LÉLEKSZÁM ALAKULÁSA SZŐDÖN 1754-1805



Az eltéréseket nagyságrendjük alapján három csoportba oszthatjuk. (I. ábra)

a./ Azok az eltérések, amelyek alig mutatnak különbséget, így 1754-ben, 1771 ben, és 1805-ben. A különbözet nem hágja át a 3,1 %-ot.

b./ Nagy negativ irányú eltérések. Ilyenek tapasztalhatók 1777-ben, 1780 és 1783 között, valamint 1791-ben és 1796-ban. Nagyságuk 9 és 12 % körül ingadozik. Feltünő, hogy amíg Csomádon hiányoznak, addig Sződön és Rátóton ugyanazokban az években ugyanilyen irányban lépnek fel. Ebből, valamint abból, hogy Sződhöz és Rátóthoz több puszta és tanya tartozott, viszont Csomád határában nagy kiterjedésű erdő volt, de ott településekről nem tudunk, arra következtetünk, hogy ezek az összeírások nem tartalmazzák a külterületek lakosságát. A II. J ó z s e f korabeli katonai térképfölvételen már kimutatható Haraszti és Hosszuvölgy puszta Rátóton, Sződ területén Göd és még négy, főként a Duna mellett fekvő majorszerű épületcsoport: Csörög pedig az anyakönyvekben 1787 óta szerepel.(49) Igy az ezen években tapasztalható eltérések nem mondanak ellent számításainknak.

c./ A fennmaradó 1761. évi adat Sződ községben 91 fővel magasabb lélekszámot mutat fel, mint ahogy a természetes szaporulat alapján várható volna. Eme egyházi összeírás megbízhatóságát erősiteni látszik a népmozgalmi arányszámoknak 1760 körül nyert magas értéke. Ezek azonban az egyházlátogatás alapján számolva sem csökkennének nagyságrendileg lényegesen. Az 1758 és 1765 közötti évek átlagában a

	Házasságkötések	Élveszületések	Halálozások	Természetes szaporodás
	1 000 lakosra			
A term. szap. nyomán számítva	16,2	78,9	53,5	25,3
Az egyházlátogatás alapján	13,9	67,4	45,7	21,7

Tehát a canoncica visitatio-tól függő ezrelékek változatlanul igen magasak. Meg kell azt is emlitenünk, hogy magának a kimutatásnak keltezése hiányzik, és időpontját csak a plébános életadatainak segitségével tudjuk meghatározni, amelyek azonban nem teljesen ellentmondásmentesek. A forrás hitelét csökkenti továbbá, hogy azt elfogadva az 1761-et megelőző évek bevándorlásának mértéke pontosan megegyezne a következő évek kivándorlásával, úgyhogy 1771-ben a falu népessége gyakorlatilag pont annyi, mintha 1754-től fogva a lakosság száma csak a természetes szaporodás alapján alakult volna.

Az 1746-ból ismert adat szintén magasnak látszik, de nem kivánjuk részletesebben elemezni, mert nem ismerjük az összekötő évek halálozását. Ha 1746-ban is annyian éltek egy házban, mint 1785-ben vagy 1805-ben, akkor a lakosság száma 70-nel volt kisebb, mint amennyit az ugyanezen évi falu-összeírás a hét éven alulilakkal kiegészitve mutat.

Ha a b./ és c./ csoportba tartozó adatokat fogadnánk el minden további nélkül egész Sződre érvényes lélekszámoknak, akkor a községből a vizsgált hatvan év irányvonalát tekintve, állandóan kivándoroltak volna, amit viszont a helységnek nemcsak az egész országhoz, hanem a környékhez viszonyitott rendkivül alacsony népsürüsége nagyon valószinütlenné tesz. Földje nem volt silányabb, mint a szomszédos falvaké, sőt alkalmas volt a legmunkaigényesebb földmüvelési ágra, a szőlészetre is. Az úrbérrendezés 9 kérdőpontjára adott válaszokból kitünik, hogy "minden gazdának és sellérnek vagyon szőlleje". (50) Külön-

ben is "Váctól 1 mértföldnyire, Pesttől 3 mértföldnyire laknak, aholis magok jószágokat könnyű fáradsággal pénzé fordithatják". (51) Éppen a bor volt legfontosabb árucikkük. (52) Azonkívül a marhák "pascuumából vásári alkalmatossággal vagyon segedelmünk". (53) Olyan nagyok a legelők, hogy még a környékbeli községek, például Csomád is, Szódön legeltet. (54)

Vizsgálódásainknak az egykorú kutfőkkel való összevetéséből a következő következtetéseket vonhatjuk tehát le:

1./ A számításainkból folyó lélekszámok 1770 és 1805 között elfogadhatóknak igazolódtak. Ugyanis az a./ csoport összeírásainak számításunk kezdőpontjától időbelileg távolevő adatai is gyakorlatilag megegyeznek számításaink eredményével. A b./ csoportbeli lélekszámok pedig nem cáfolják meg azokat.

2./ Következésképen Szódön mind a keresztéseknek, mind pedig a temetéseknek anyakönyvezése megbízhatónak bizonyult, vagyis a csecsemőhalandóság kiigazitásával teljesnek tekinthető.

3./ A ki és bevándorlás ugyanezen 1770 és 1805 közötti időszakban alacsony lehetett, és mértékét valószinűleg a számításainktól alig elütő numerus animarumok eltérései adják meg.

4./ Az egykorú összeírások forrásértékét illetően pedig mindig meg kell vizsgálnunk, hogy a vonatkozó község településének milyen volt a szerkezete. Nem volt-e több települési magja, melyeket távolságuk, esetleg a községhatárok bizonytalansága miatt nem tekintettek a községhez tartozónak, mert ilyenkor a lélekszámban mutatkozó nagyságrendi különbségeket ennek kell tulajdonitanunk. (55) Viszont ezekből a különbségekből is fontos megállapitásokat vonhatunk le a falun kivül élők számát illetően. Igy Szódön a külterületek lakossága általában az össznépesség 9-12 %-át tette ki.

5. / Az 1770 előtti évekre vonatkozó számításaink nem mentesek a vándormozgalmakból eredő hibalehetőségektől, amelyet azonban a rendelkezésre álló kútforrások segítségével nem tudtunk kiszűrni. Ha a c./ alatt felsorolt adatokat megbízhatóknak tekinthetjük akkor ebben az időszakban a vándorlások Szódön két hullámban zajlottak le. 1746-tól 1745-ig a korábban betelepedettek közül mintegy százhuszan továbbköltöztek. Ezt követően ismét átvonult a falun egy 90 főnyi telepes-csoport, akik viszont 1770 előtt elhagyták a helységet. A szlovákoknak ilyen vándorlásáról tudunk például Nyiregyháza, Szarvas és Heves vármegye történetéből (56)

6./ Mivel pedig a más forrásokban szereplő lélekszámoknak számításainkhoz viszonyitott eltérése egyszer pozitiv, máskor negativ, mind a ki és betelepüléseknek, mind pedig módszerünk hibalehetőségének hatását egymást kiegyenlitőnek tekinthettük, és ezért a népmozgalom arányszámait legalábbis 1770 után, nyugodtan számolhattuk az általunk nyert népességszámok alapján. Tehettük ezt annál is inkább, mert másmilyen minden évre kiterjedő alapszámmal nem rendelkezünk. Az 1770-nél korábbra vonatkozó demográfiai viszonyszámok lehetséges torzításának mértékét a fontiekben már közölt összehasonlítás mutatja.

A f i ó k e g y h á z a k b a n egyedül Rátóton, ott is csak 1790 után ismerjük a halálozások pontos számát. Igy csak ebben a faluban, és csak az emlitett időpont után, az azévi numerus animarumból kiindulva számolhattunk úgy, mint Szódön. Ezért ezekben a közsé-

ekben az egymással egybehangzó egyházi összeírásokat közöljük a 2. tábla második oszlopában. A népmozgalmi arányszámok alapszámait az ezen adatok között fönnálló dinamikus viszonyszámok segítségével nyertük. A születések nagyságát ebben a két helységben is ismertük. Szaporodásnak a két lélekszám között fennálló eltérést, a halálozások számául pedig csak a születések és a népesség számában mutatkozó szaporodás különbségét vehettük.

A jövevények népmozgalmi adatait úgy tekintettük, mintha a helybeli lakosokra vonatkoznának, mert semmilyen más lehetőség nem mutatkozott a sződi illetőségüeknek más plébániákon való anyakönyvezése által létrejövő eltérések kiegyenlitésére.

A NÉPESSÉG ALAKULÁSA

A népesség számának fejlődése mind Sződön, mind pedig Rátóton és Csomádon 1783-ig állandó emelkedést mutat (V. ö. az 1. és 2. tábla utolsó oszlopát és az I. ábrát.) Az az emelkedés Sződön és Csomádon egyenletesebb, mint Rátóton.

1783-ban azonban nagyobbarányú visszaesés mutatkozik, mégpedig mind a három falubban. Ugyanerre a jelenségre különben más Vác környéki falvakban Petróczi is felhívta a figyelmet, (57) és oka a fiatalkoruak közt fellépő járványos betegség lehetett.

Ugyancsak csökkent a népesség 1794-5-ben és 1797-ben is. Ezekben az években nagy szárazság és ennek nyomán éhinség sujtotta a vidéket. "Valóban nagy volt akkor a nyomorúság! - irja a Historia domus. - Az emberek ugyanis, különösen akiknek sok gyermekük volt, napokon és napokon, sőt ahogy én tudom, majdnem egy héten keresztül kenyeret nem ettek, hanem gyomokkal és más hasonló termékekkel táplálkoztak." (58) Lehetséges, hogy az éhinséghez még ragály is járult.

Apadás jelentkezik még az 1803-5. években is. Mindezen visszaesések ellenére a fejlődés irányvonala Sződön alig változott meg, és a falu lakossága 45 év alatt megkétszereződött. Rátótnak és Csomádnak a lélekszáma azonban 1783 után lényegében egy szinten maradozott.

A három helység közül a legnagyobb népsűrűségű Csomád volt. 1784-ben 36,6 lélek jutott egy négyzetkilométerre, ami magasabb volt az országos átlagnál (31 km^2-ként). Rátót népsűrűsége ugyanakkor valamivel csekélyebb, mint a pestmegyei átlag: 23,9 km^2-ként. (Pest megyéé 26.) Sződnek viszont rendkivül alacsony volt a népsűrűsége az egész századon keresztül. (1. az 1. táblát, valamint az 59. jegyzetet)

A nemek szerinti megoszlást (4. tábla) vizsgálva megállapíthatjuk, hogy a férfiak száma Sződön általában valamivel magasabb, mint a nőké. A nőknek 1784-ben mutatkozó többsége a század folyamán csak egyszer, 1761-ben fordult még elő. A férfiaknak az egész vizsgált korban mutatkozó túlsúlya általános jelenség volt a XVIII. században, amint azt a II. József által elrendelt népszámlálás az ország legtöbb megyéjére kimutatta (60) A férfitöbbletet az ujoncozás sem szüntette meg, sőt figyelembevételével az 1784 előtt még nőne is. 1784

után a katonaállítás nagyságát számításainknak az 1804-5. évi ö: szeírással történő összevetéséből álliapíthatjuk meg. A közöttük fönnálló 20 fényi különbség ugyanis kizárólag férfiakból áll. Ekkor tehát, a napoleoni háborúk korában, a férfiaknak 4,45, a lakosságnak 2,35 %-a volt katona, minek folytán többletüket a toborozás sem szüntette meg. Mivel 1770 és 1805 között a bevándorlás mértéke elhanyagolható volt, a nőhiány valószinűleg a gyermekággyal kapcsolatos betegségeknek akkoriban nyilván lényegesen nagyobb halandóságából eredt.

Nemzetiségi összetételére nézve mind a három községet teljesen szlovák anyanyelvűnek tekinthetjük. Ilyennek minősitik az egyházlátogatások minden esetben: 1754-ben, 1761-ben, 1777-ben, és 1828-ban, továbbá a Lexicon locorum populosorum. Számszerü adatokat ezek a források 1754-ben és 1828-ban közölnek. Bár ez utóbbi már későbbi korból való, mégis azt bizonyitja, hogy az általunk vizsgált időszakban a falvak nemzetiségi összetétele lényegében nem változott.

Az 1754-es jegyzőkönyv ezt irja: "Mind az anyaegyházban, Sződön, mind pedig a leányegyházaiban, Rátóton és Csomádon, mindenki a szláv nyelvet használja, leszámitva 15 személyt, akik mindkettőt beszélni tudják." (61) A második nyelven nyilvánvalóan a magyart kell érteni. 1828-ban pedig a három falura 12 olyan lélek jut, akik magyarul beszélnek.

Mivel a lakosság jelentékeny hányadának magyar volt a családneve, (62) ezek az adatok egyben rámutatnak arra is, hogy legalább is Sződön ebben a korban a vezetéknevek alapján nem következtethetünk a lakosság nemzetiségére. Hasonló tapasztalatra tett szert P e t r ó c z i is az általa vizsgált községekben. (63) A 1770. évi úrbéri összeirás szerint ugyanis Sződön az úrbéreseknek 60,3 %-a magyar, 11,8 %-a német és 27,9 %-a szláv nevű volt. A másik két faluban nincsenek német nevűek, de még Rátóton is a neveknek 54,3 %-a magyar, és csak Csomádon kerülnek a szláv nevűek 75,6 %-os túlsúlyba. (64)

A sződiek úgy tudják, hogy őseik magyarok, részben erdélyiek voltak, és szlovák hajadonokat vettek feleségül, amikor letelepedtek. Az asszonyok nyelve lett azután a falu nyelve. (65) Ha ez a hagyomány igaznak bizonyulna, megmagyarázná a lakosság neve és nyelve között mutatkozó ellentétet, amely az 1828-ban egyházlátogatást végző gr. N á d a s d y F e r e n c váci püspöknek is föltünt, aki különben szintén magyaroknak tartotta a sződiek őseit. (66)

Mindenesetre szláv anyanyelvén kivül a lakosságnak jelentős része tudhatott magyarul, mert 1761-ben a canonica visitatio kérdéseire a plébános többek között ezt felelt: "A hétköznapi beszédben leginkább a tót nyelvet használják, a szentgyónásban azonban többnyire a magyart." (67) Az 1761. és az 1754. évi adatok megegyeznek abban, hogy a lakosság általában szlovákul beszél, de eltérnek ugyanannak magyar nyelvtudását illetően. Azonban 7 év alatt sokan megtanulhattak annyira magyarul, hogy a gyónásukat el tudják végezni. Egyébként az anyanyelv szóval nincs egyenértékű kifejezés a latinban, pedig valószinűleg annak fogalmát kivánta a plébános 1754-ben kifejezni, amint az a mondat kontradisztinkcionális felépitéséből kitűnik. Ugyanez vonatkozik 1828-ra is, amikor is linguae hungaricae gnari meghatározáson szintén a magyar anyanyelvűeket kell érteni, mert a jegyzőkönyv végén azt olvashatjuk, hogy a magyar nyelvet "a szomszédokkal való sűrű kapcsolatok révén majd minden sződi megtanulta megérteni". (68)

Az egyházi összeírások alapján, az eredeti csoportosítás szerint közöljük a népesség alakulását a kormegoszlás szempontjából, az 5. táblán. Maguk az egykorú csoportosítási ismérvek nem egészen tisztázottak. A confessionis capax illetve incapax, azaz gyónásképes és gyónásra még nem képes megkülönböztetés mesgyéjét Petróczi a 10 éves korba helyezi (69). A sződi összeírások elemezéséből azonban úgy tűnik, hogy ez a határvonal egy évvel korábban, a betöltött kilencedik évnél van. Abból indulunk ki, hogy az adulti: felnőttek megnevezés a 15 éven felülieke vonatkozik, amint arra ugyancsak Petróczi mutatott rá (70), és amint az a sződi 1771. évi numerus animarumokból is megállapítható. Mármost a három falu összes ismert évének átlagában a 15 éven aluli népesség a lakosság 45,2 %-át tette ki, és az egyik ismert év adata sem tér el lényegesen az átlagtól, ami azt mutatja, hogy ennek a megkülönböztetésnek korhatára az idők folyamán nem változott. Ennek alapján egy évjáratra a lakosságnak 3,05 %-a jut.

A gyónásra még nem képes lakosság aránya is általában azonos szinten mozog. Ha vi szont elfogadnók erre a korcsoportra a 10 éves korhatárt, akkor így egy évfolyamra 3,6 % jutna, ami kevésnek látszik, mert az egy-egy évjáratra esők arányának a tizennyolcadik század különösen magas ifjúkori halandósága folytán az idősebbek között csökkeni kellett. Ha pedig ebben a korcsoportban is 3 %-ot számítanánk az azonos években születettekre, - pedig inkább többet kellene számítanunk! - akkor így a gyónásképtelen korosztályra (valamivel kevesebb, mint) 9 évfolyam esik.

Márpedig az ifjabb korúak egy-egy évjáratára 3 %-os arányszámot kapunk akkor is, ha az anyakönyvek adatait dolgozzuk fel, amit azért is elvégeztünk, hogy összehasonlíthassuk II. József népszámlálásának megfelelő rovataival. Az utóbbiak ugyanis a nők korbeli megoszlását egyáltalán nem részletezik, és a férfilakosságot sem bontják fel átfogóan életkor szempontjából.

Az összehasonlítás (6. tábla) azt mutatja, hogy a legnagyobb eltérés a 13-17 évesek korcsoportjában van, aminek okát abban találjuk, hogy leginkább ebből a korosztályból kerültek ki azok, akiket a II. József által elrendelt összeírás a közvetlen örökösök között mutatott ki. A kormegoszlás kimutatására nézve éppen ez az 1784/5. évi népszámlálásnak legnagyobb bizonytalansági forrása. (71) Táblázatunkból ugyanakkor az is kiviláglik, hogy a nők 17 éves kor után kerülnek kisebbségbe, ami igazolni látszik a gyermekágyi halandóságról fentebb mondottakat.

Mivel pedig az anyakönyvek alapján végzett számításaink szerint a 0-17 évesek a népesség 47,8 %-át teszik ki, egy évjáratra így is 3,06 %-ot nyerünk.

A NÉPMOZGALOMNAK A LÉLEKSZÁMRA VONATKOZTATOTT ARÁNYSZÁMAI

(7. és 8. tábla és II. ábra)

a./ A házasságok arányszáma körülbelül azonos szinten ingadozik az egész évszázadban: legalacsonyabb 1700-75 valamint 1790-95 között, de általában felülmúlja a házasságkötések mai arányszámát. Ezt a jelenséget a korai haláiozással magyarázzuk. Álláspontunkat igazolja az özvegyek új családalapitásának magas aránya, amely Sződön az összes házasságok 28,7 %-át tette ki. 1938-ban 19,2 %, 1955-ben 21,7 % volt a második és későbbi mennyegzők részesedése az összes házasságok számában, de ezen újraházasodásoknak több mint felét elváltak kötötték.

b./ A születések Sződön csökkenő irányvonalat adnak. A legmagasabb viszonyszámok a hatvanas évek elején fordultak elő. Ezek még akkor is magasabbak a többi évnél, ha a föntebb már emlitett egyházlátogatás alapján számolunk: ugy 1758-60-ig 66,4, 1761-65-ig 67,8 o/oo-et kapunk. Eme arányszámok olyan nagyok, amilyenekről eddig hazai vonatkozásban nem tudtunk, de elfogadhatók, mert nem hágják át az élettani lehetőségek határát. Föltétlenül összefüggésben vannak a megelőző években föllendülő házassági ezrelékekkel, és nagyságukat annak köszönhetik, hogy a negyvenes évek telepeseinek gyermekein kivül a már fölnövekedett második nemzedék, valamint az újonnan bevándoroltak újszülöttei felduzzasztották a születések számát, a községek tágas határa pedig nem vetett féket a lakosság szaporodásának. Legalacsonyabb a születések mértéke az utolsó tizenöt évben. A két szélső érték között a tizévi átlagok lépcsőzetesen süllyedő szinten helyezkednek el. Ez az apadás valószinűleg annak következménye, hogy a kezdetben még fiatal betelepülőkből álló falu korösszetétele fokozatosan átalakult. A jelzett csökkenés különben, éppen úgy, mint ami a házasságok között jelentkezett, a gazdasági viszonyok függvénye is lehet. Erre vonatkozó számításokat azonban a megfelelő gazdaságtörténeti kutatások hiánya miatt nem tudtunk végezni. A helységek növekvő népsűrüsége ilyen gátló tényezőként szerepelhetett.

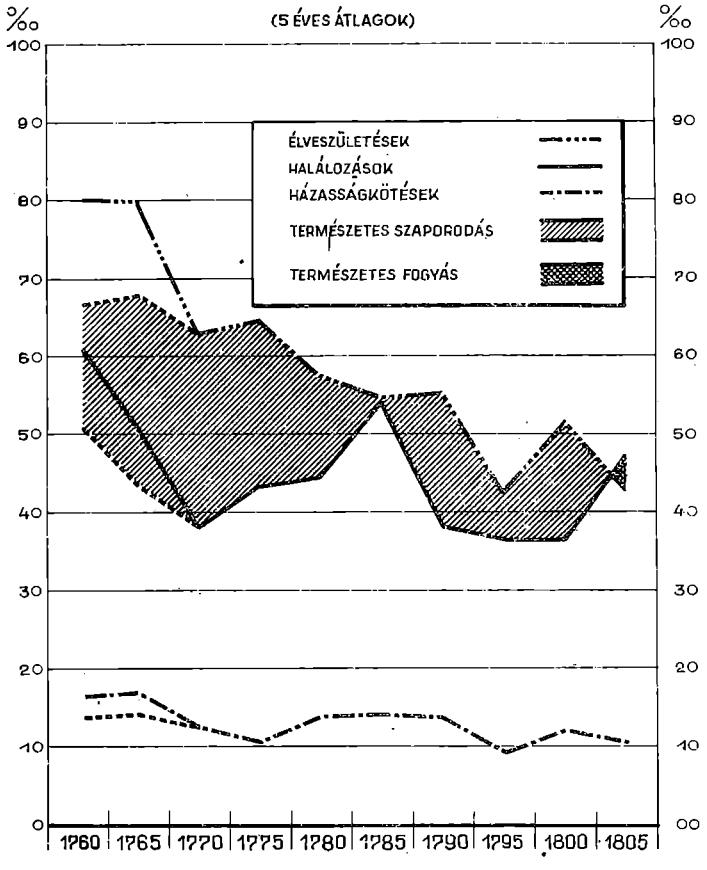
A 48 év átlaga 56,2; az 1771-1805 közötti időszaké pedig 52,0 o/oo. Ugyancsak 50-55 o/oo-et mutatnak egy 1777-ből származó kéziratnak, továbbá Egyednek és Téglásnak a Dunántúl egykorú népesedését vizsgáló számitásai is (72). Ezen születési arányszámok magasságát is a korai halálozások folyományának tekinthetjük, amely miatt ugyanis a népesség jelentékenyebb százaléka volt termékeny korban, mint ma. Kifejlődésüket előmozdította továbbá a hajadonoknak alább kimutatott korai férjhezmenetele, akik tehát az emlitett életszaknak nagyobb részét töltötték házasságban.

c./ A halandóság Sződön a születésekkel szemben bizonyos állandóságot mutat. Az összes ismert év átlaga 43,6, az utolsó 35 évé 42,6 o/oo, és az egyes évtizedek szóródása sem jelentős. A lakosság korösszetételének átalakulása valószinűleg azért nem befolyásolja ezt a számot, mert mint alább látni fogjuk a halálozások túlnyomó része a 10 éven aluli korra esett. (73) Szintén 40 o/oo-et némileg meghaladó eredményeket tüntetnek

fel az említett Dunántúllal foglalkozó kimutatások is (72). Schwartner Márton magán adatai a Délvidék akkor mocsaras és egészségtelen éghajlatát tükrözik. (74)

60 o/oo-et fölülmúló vagy megközelitő halálozási arányszámukkal kiemelkednek az 1760. és 1764. évek, továbbá az 1778-as, 1782-84-es, 1795-ös az 1803-05-ös esztendők. Az egészségügyi statisztika szempontjából ezeket az éveket kellene alaposabban megvizsgálni, mint amelyek bizonyos járványok időpontját jelezhetik.

II. ÁBRA
A NÉPMOZGALOM ALAKULÁSA SZŐDÖN
1758 - 1805 KÖZÖTT
(5 ÉVES ÁTLAGOK)



d./ A természetes szaporodás görbéje is meglehetősen ingadozó vonalat mutat. Legmagasabb pontját 1761-65-ben éri el (75), majd a következő években visszaesik, amikor is 1783-84-ben, 1794-95-ben, 1797-ben és a XIX. század első évében természetes fogyás mutatkozik. Emiatt az utolsó két évtized átlaga lényegesen alatta marad az előző éveknek. Érdekes, hogy a göcseji falvakban is megtörik a természetes szaporodás lendülete a nyolcvanas években. (76)

Sződön az egész időszak folyamán a halálozások aránya bizonyult állandóbbnak, és így a természetes szaporodás a születések számának alakulásától függött. Természetes fogyás a XVIII. században járványoknak és éhinségnek a következménye.

e./ A csecsemőhalandóság az egész vizsgált korszak átlagában 20,3 %-os (77), ami alacsonynak látszik, mert Láng Lajos műve szerint (78) 1878-80. évekre 18,4 % mutatható ki országos átlagban: és ez a szám a következő években csak lassan kezd

süllyedni. Nézetünk szerint azonban ezekből az évekből kiindulva nem lehet elbírálni Mária Terézia és II. József korának népmozgalmát. Egyrészt éppen a Láng által vizsgált években a halálozások aránya is emelkedett: másrészt ezért az igen magas csecsemőhalandóságért az akkoriban hirtelen kifejlődő tőkés gazdálkodás embertelen szociális viszonyai felelősek, ami abból is kitünik, hogy például Budapest aránya jóval az országos átlag fölött állt: 100 élveszülöttre 27, 29 egy évnél fiatalabban meghalt jutott.

A hibaforrás egyébként, mint azt föntebb már láttuk, az 1 héten aluli halálozások hiányos lajstromozása folytán keletkeznék. Hiszen, amint az a föntiekből szintén kitűnik, az idősebbek biztosan meg voltak keresztelve, és különben is az anyakönyvezés elmaradásának valószinűsége az újszülött korának emelkedésével együtt csökken. Viszont éppen az 1 héten alul elhaltak az egész csecsemőhalandóságnak olyan kis hányadát tehették ki akkoriban, hogy elmaradásuk lényegesen nem befolyásolhatta magának a csecsemőhalandóság arányszámának alakulását. Az utóbbinak nagymérvü csökkenése az orvostudomány fejlődésének következményeként ugyanis éppen az egy hétnél idősebb korcsoportokban jött létre. Mig tudniillik ma az 1 hétnél korábban elhaltak a csecsemőhalandóságnak 36,8 %-át teszik ki, addig 1920-ban csak 18,3 %-ot. Pedig 1920-ig a közegészségügyi viszonyok már sokat fejlődtek. Ezért a XVIII. században az 1 héten alul elhaltak az első esztendőt meg nem érőknek még kisebb részét tették ki.

Végül, ha a csecsemőhalandóság lényegesen magasabb lett volna az általunk kimutatottnál, a természetes szaporodás alapján számított népességszámaink nem jöhettek volna összhangba az egykorú összeírások lélekszámaival.

Mindettől eltekintve az újszülöttek halálozása 1777 ben, 1798-ban, 1803-ban rendkivüli méretű.

Mig tehát a csecsemőhalandóság nagyságát általában nem tekinthetjük különösen kirívónak, hiszen alig tért el az 1920-as évek mértékétől, ugyanezt nem mondhatjuk el a gyermekhalandóságról.

Megkiséreltük ugyanis becslésszerűen megközeliteni a 20 éven aluli korcsoportok halálozási arányszámait.

Kiindultunk a Szödön 1758 és 1800 között történt élveszületések számából. Az egész időszak 43 naptári évet, tehát viszonylag hosszú időszakot ölelt fel. Az élveszülöttek számához viszonyitottuk először a csecsemőhalottakat és kiszámitottuk a csecsemőhalandóságot. Majd levontuk az élveszülöttek számából az egy éven aluli meghaltak számát és ennek az összegnek, valamint az 1 éves korban történt halálozásoknak alapján számítottuk ki az egy évesek elhalálozási valószinűségét. Ugyanigy jártunk el a további életkorok elhalálozási valószinűségének meghatározásánál.

Tekintettel a viszonylag hosszú megfigyelési időszakra a legfiatalabb korokra nézve a kiszámított elhalálozási valószinűségek bizonyára igen jó mutatók. A további életkorok halálozási arányszámai természetesen már egyre bizonytalanabbak, de tájékoztató értékük nyilván van; annál is inkább, mert mind a születések, mind a halálozások száma eléggé állandónak bizonyult.

A számítás eredményeit a 8. táblán foglaltuk össze. - A számitást a 20. életévig végeztük, a további korok esetében az eredmények már csak igen megbizhatatlanok volnának. Az adatok tanúsága szerint a csecsemőhalandóság alig különbözik a jelen század kezdetén észlelt értékektől. Rendkivül magas azonban a halálozás a gyermek és ifjúkorban.

A gyermekhalandóság nagysága még jobban kitűnik, ha a jelenlegi értékek százalékban fejezzük ki 8. tábla). Mig ugyanis a csecsemők halandósága csak háromszorosa, a 2 éveseké negyvenháromszorosa, a 3-4 éveseké harminckilencszerese. az 5-6 éveseké pedig ötvennégyszerese volt a mainak. Ezek az adatok rávilágítanak arra, hogy a gyermekkori fertőző betegségek milyen döbbenetes arányokban szedték áldozataikat.

Az élők oszlopa szerint az 1678 élveszülöttből csak 849 érte el a 20 életévet, ami annyit jelent, hogy a valószinű életkor csak mintegy 20 év lehetett, az élveszülöttek várható élettartama még ennél is kevesebb.

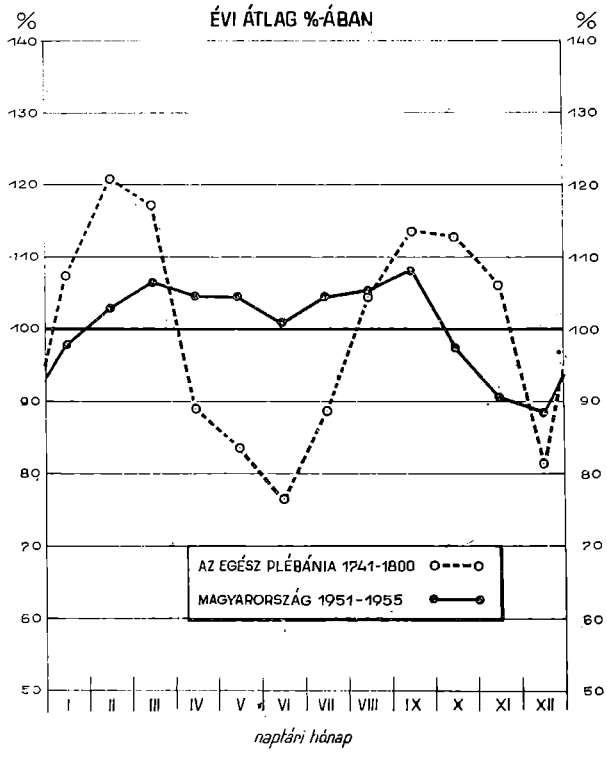
f./ Rátótnak és Csomádnak a rendelkezésre álló források segitségével csak kevésbé részletesen kidolgozható népmozgalmi viszonyszámai nagyjából azonos szinten mozognak Sződdel (9. tábla).

A három falu népesedési arányszámai tehát igen magasak a mai, vagy akár a húszharminc év előtti viszonyokhoz képest. Az öt-tiz évi átlagok, azonban, mint láttuk, nagyságrendileg nem különböznek jelentősen más egykorú adatoktól. Eredményeink nem tűnnek magunnak akkor sem, ha meggondoljuk, hogy a polgárosodás előtt álló, vagy alig polgárosult nemzetek fejlődése még a legújabb korban is hasonló számokban tükröződik. Ilyen a születések ezreléke napjainkban nemcsak Délkelet-Ázsiában, ahol Malájföldön 43,7, Singapoorban 40,0, Formosán 49,9 volt, hanem inkább Latin-Amerikában, ahol Venezuela 47,0. Guatemala pedig 52,3 o/oo-et ért el (79). A halálozások mértéke Indiában 1901-1920 esztendőben 42,6 - 47,2 o/oo között, Kina egyes tartományaiban a harmincas években 41,4 és 52,0 o/oo között ingadozott. (80). Hazánk népének sorsa a barokk korban nyilvánvalóan közelebb állt az említett országok többé vagy kevésbé hübéri jellegű társadalmi életéhez.

A NÉPMOZGALOM LEFOLYÁSÁNAK A NÉPESSÉG SZÁMÁTÓL FÜGGETLEN VIZSGÁLATA

III. ÁBRA

ÉLVESZÜLETÉSEK HAVONKÉNT AZ ÉVI ÁTLAG %-ÁBAN



1. A **születések havi** (III. ábra, 10-14. tábla) csoportosulása évenként két hullámot vetett, mint ma is. Sőt a 2 hullám időbelileg is egybeesett, csak az elsőnek a tetőpontja egy hónappal előbb fejlődött ki, a másodiké pedig egy hónapot késett, napjainkhoz viszonyítva. Ezenkívül az első kilengés meghaladta a másodikat, míg ma fordított a helyzet. Egyébként az ingadozások jelen évtizedünkhöz képest nagyobbak voltak: az évi átlag százalékában Sződön 48,3, Rátóton 38,3 Csomádon 64,0 %-ot tettek ki, viszont 1951-55 között csak 19,7 %-ot.

2. A születésekre általában jellemző fiútöbblet kimutatható mind a három falu végösszegére (15. tábla). A részletekben mutatkozó bizonytalanság onnan származik, hogy kisebb időközökben az egyes falvakban a számok kicsinyek, mert a határozatlanság eltűnik, ha az egész plébániát együtt vizsgáljuk.

Összehasonlítván Sződön a születések és a halálozások **nemek szerinti megoszlását**: a nők mindig nagyobb arányban szerepelnek a halálozásokban, mint a születésekben.

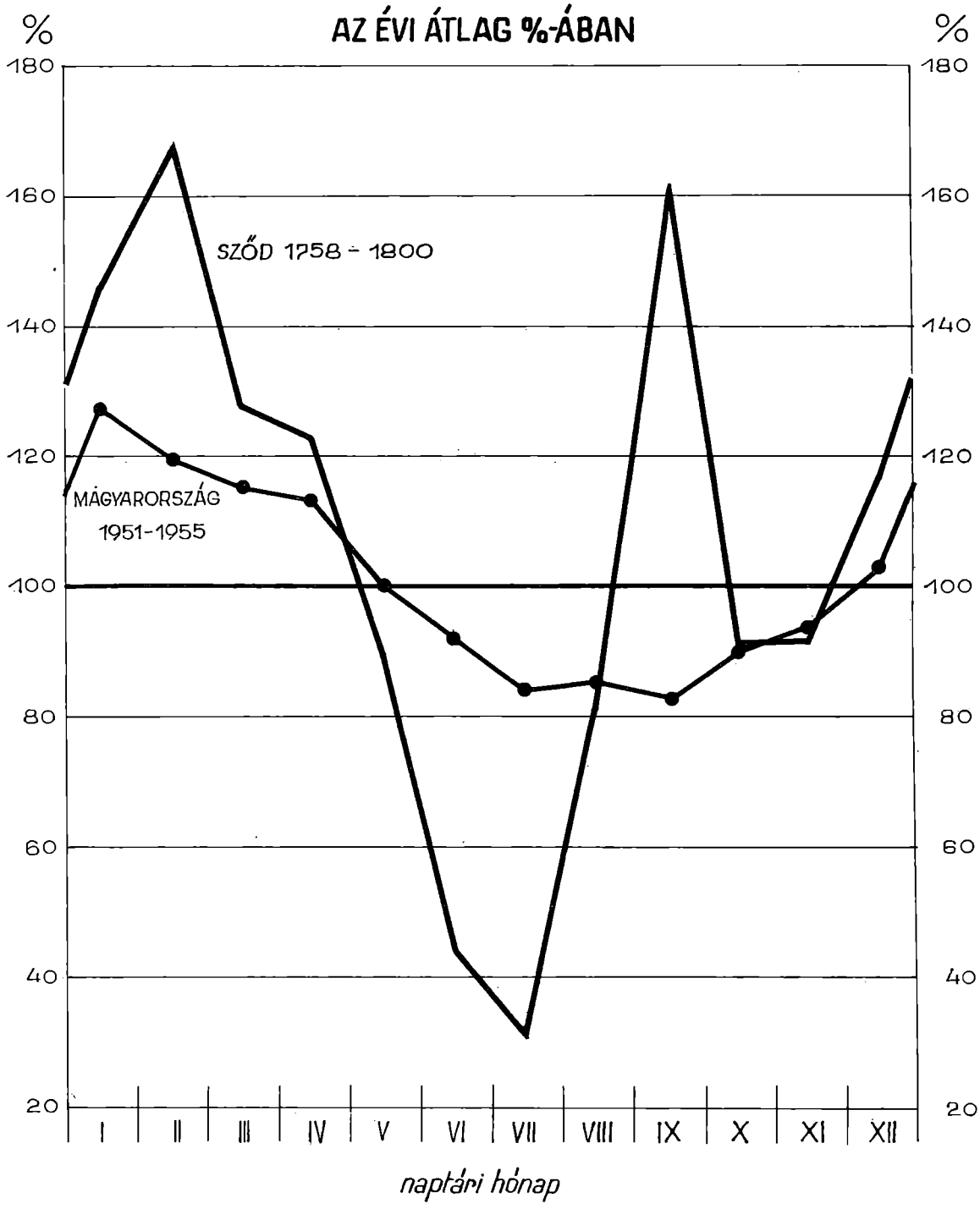
Időszak	A születésekben		A halálozásokban	
	Fiúk	Leányok	Férfiak	Nők
		száma		
1761-80	388	394	249	254
1781-1800	401	386	304	303
1761-1800	789	780	553	557
		százaléka		
1761-80	49,6	50,4	49,5	50,5
1781-1800	51,0	49,0	50,1	49,9
1761-1800	50,3	49,7	49,8	50,2

Az előzőkben már jelzett férfi-többlet kialakulása tehát bevándorlások nélkül is érthetővé válik, mert a születésekben kialakult fiútöbblet nem enyészik el a halálozások révén.

3. A **halálozások idényhullámzása** (IV. ábra 16. tábla) két nagyobb hullámban folyt le. Az első tetőpontja februárban volt, és kifejlődése a szervezetnek télen csökkent ellenállókészségének, vitaminhiánynak, részben pedig a fekete himlőnek tulajdonítható. A második csúcspontját szeptemberben érte el, és a bélcsatornán át (enteralis) fertőző betegségekre - tifusz, vérhas -, vezethetjük vissza, melyek mindig nyáron, kora ősszel tizedelték meg a lakosságot. Ma már a 2. hullám eltűnt, és a szélső értékek közötti különbségek is tetemesen csökkentek, míg akkor az évi átlag százalékában 136,5 %-ot tettek ki, ma csak 44,8 %-ot.

IV. ÁBRA

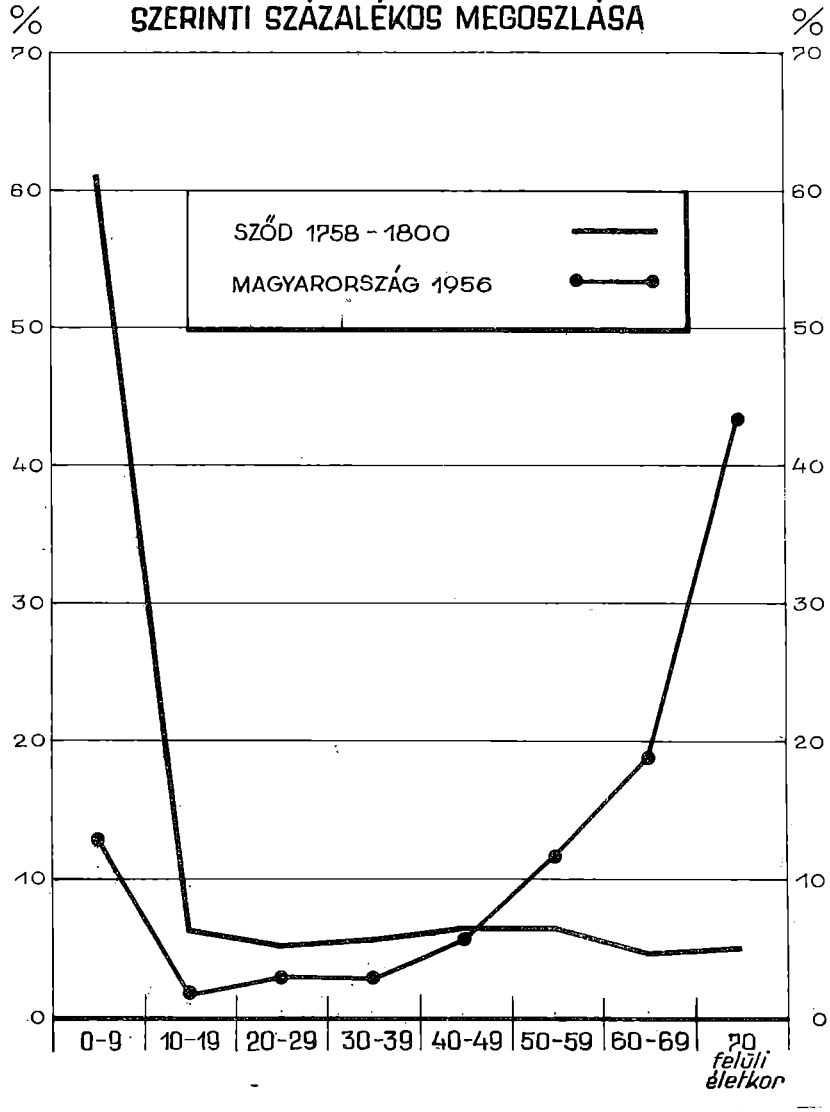
HALÁLOZÁSOK HAVONKÉNT AZ ÉVI ÁTLAG %-ÁBAN



Mivel a föntiekben becsléseinket nem terjeszthettük ki a 20 éven felüli korosztályok halandóságára, a halálozások kor szerinti csoportosulását az egyes korcsoportok lélekszámától függetlenül, önmagában is elemeztük (V. ábra-17. tábla). Az első tíz év alatti korra esett a halálozásoknak Sződön 61 %-a. Minden további 10 évre megközelítőleg ugyanannyi haláleset jutott, mindössze 5 - 6,5 %.

V. ÁBRA

A HALÁLOZÁSOKNAK KORCSOPORTOK SZERINTI SZÁZALÉKOS MEGOSZLÁSA

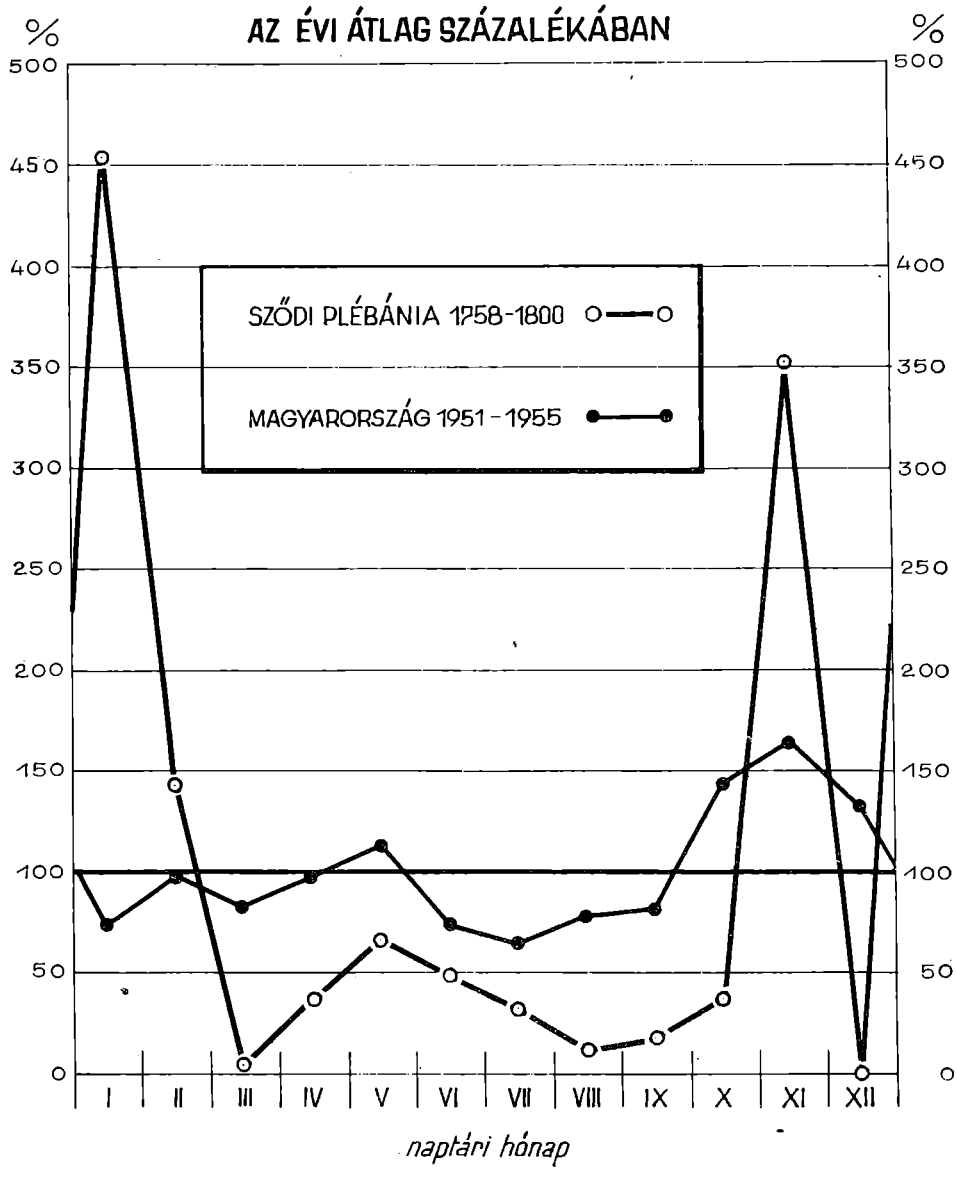


Ma az első tíz évre csak 13 % esik, a következőkre csupán 1,5 %, és innen előbb enyhén, később hirtelen emelkedik a halálesetek százaléka, úgyhogy a 70 éven felüli korosztályra 43 % jut, míg a XVIII. században Sződön 5 %! Az aggkorúaknál természetesen jelentkezik megközelítési módszerünk korlátoltságának torzítása is, hiszen ezt a kort a népességnek csak csekély hányada érte meg. Mindazonáltal semmi sem zárja ki, hogy azoknak halandósága, akik túlélték a fiatalabb kornak válságos évett, csak kisebb mértékben különböhetett a maitól.

4. A házasságok idénycsoportosulása lényegében azonos volt mind a 3 faluban, és miként a mi emberöltőnkben is, három hullámot hozott rendszerint létre (VI. ábra-18-19. tábla) Az első lüktetés csúcspontja januárban, mélypontja márciusban: a másodiké májusban, illetve augusztusban, a harmadiké novemberben, illetőleg decemberben volt A két utóbbi kilengés tetőpontja, az első hullám völgye egybeesik időbelileg a maival.

VI. ÁBRA

HÁZASSÁGKÖTÉSEK HAVONKÉNT AZ ÉVI ÁTLAG SZÁZALÉKÁBAN



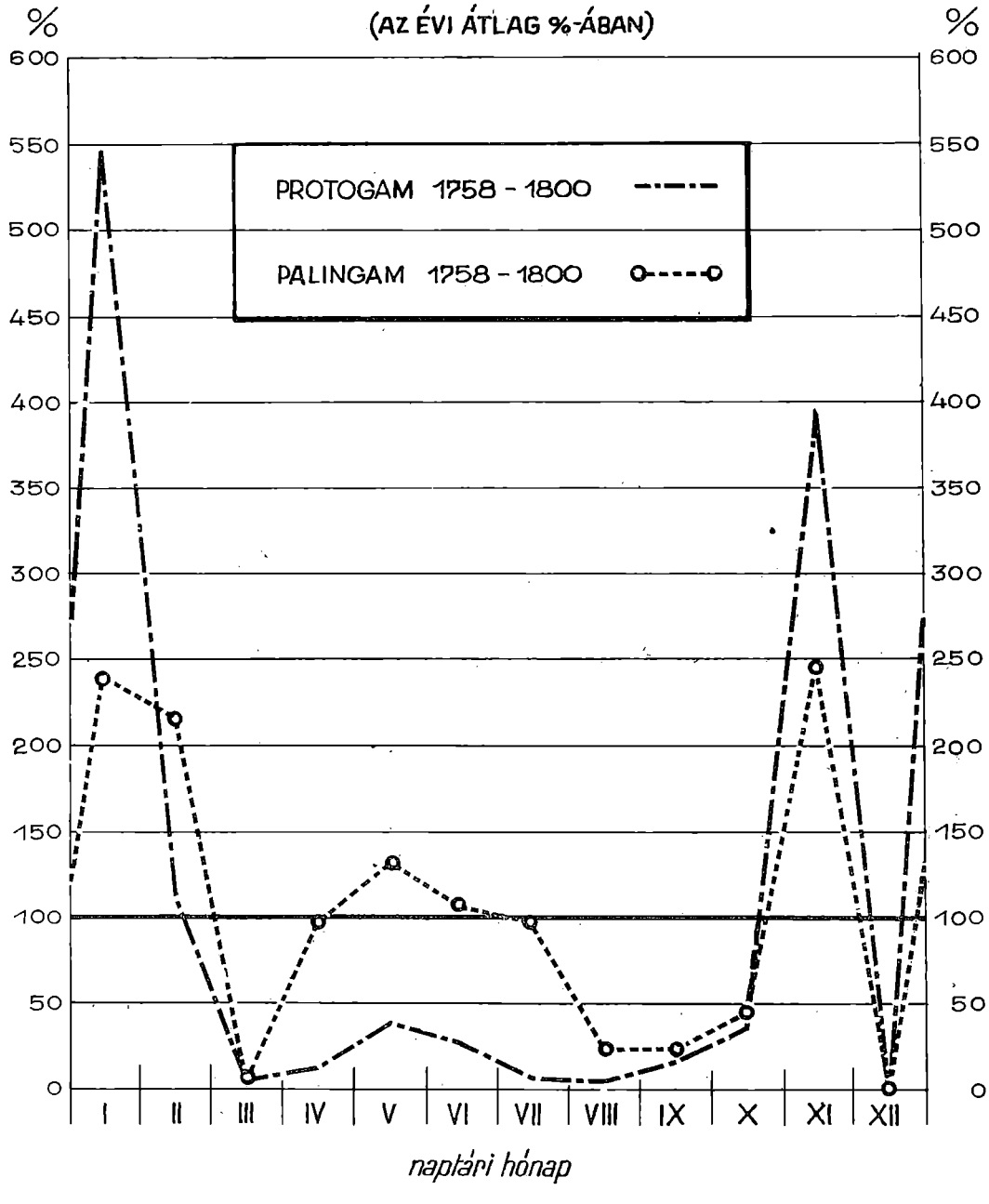
Ennek ellenére a két irányvonalnak egészen más a lefutása. Míg ma mind a három ingadozás nagyjából azonos nagyságrendben és az átlag körül mozog, addig a XVIII. században a januári és a novemberi hullám majdnem hatszorosa, sőt nyolcszorosa volt a májusinak. A menyegzők száma januárban és novemberben sarkosodott, ebben a két hónapban tartották az esküvőknek Sződön 72,7, Rátóton 59,5, Csomádon 71,3 %-át: a többi hónap viszont mindig az átlag alatt maradt. Decemberben pedig egyetlen pár sem kelt egybe, márciusban 43 év alatt az egész plébánia területén mindössze három, augusztusban is csak hat.

A házasságkötések decemberben és márciusban a magyar kánonjogi előírások miatt szüneteltek, melyek bőjti időben ezt megtiltották (81). Érdekes azonban, hogy ezekben a hónapokban a protestáns Csomádon és Kis-szentmiklóson sem volt lakodalom, holott a protestáns egyházjog nem ismer ilyen tilalmat (82). Augusztusban a mezei munka köthette le a lakosságot, amely a termelőeszközök fejletlensége és a robot miatt igen elhúzódott. Amikor 1773 augusztusában a fél falu leégett, az egész termés kint volt még a határban (83).

VII. ÁBRA

AZ ELSŐ HÁZASSÁGOK ÉS AZ ÚJRAHÁZASODÁSOK IDÉNYHULLÁMZÁSA A SZŐDI PLÉBÁNIÁN

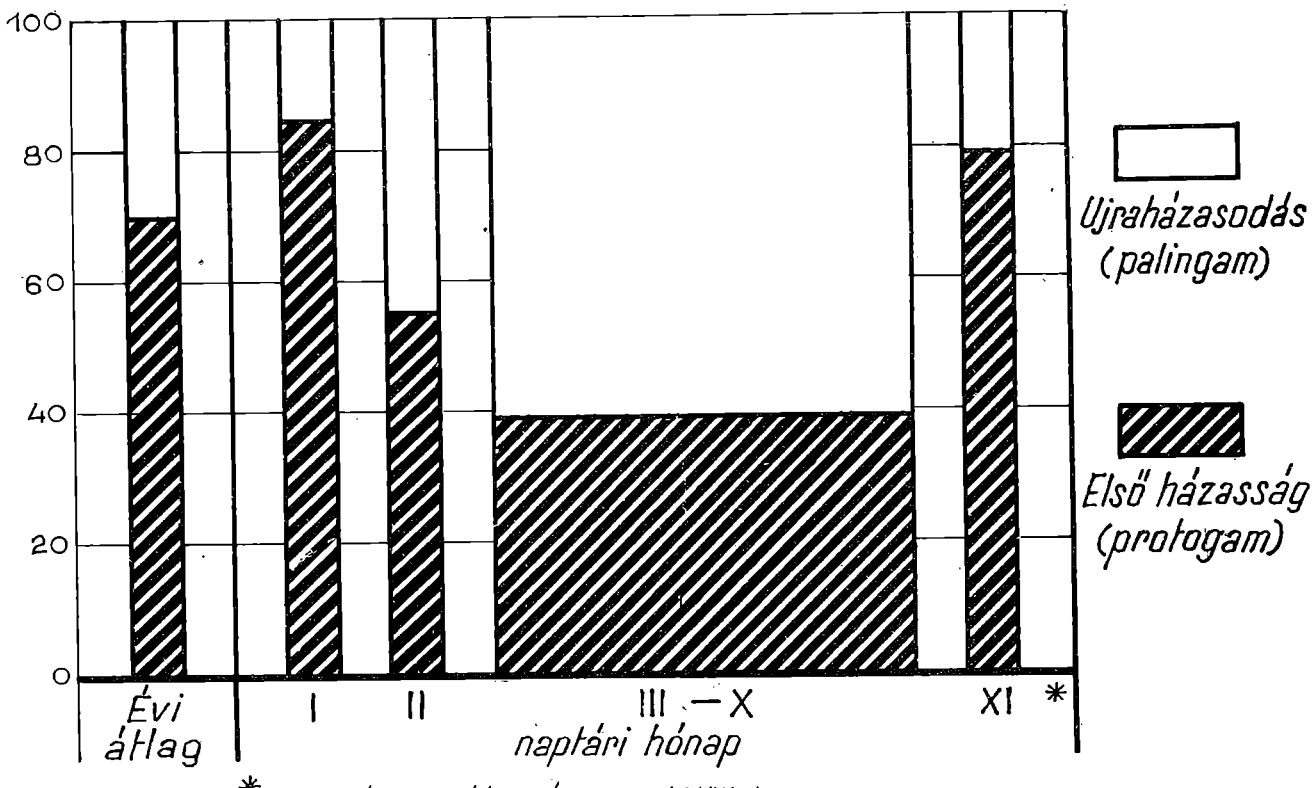
(AZ ÉVI ÁTLAG %-ÁBAN)



Végül érdekes megfigyeléseket tehetünk, ha az első és az újraházasodások megoszlását vizsgáljuk. (VII. ábra) Ezek lényegében követik az összes házasság irányvonalát. Míg azonban az első és harmadik hullámban az esküvőt még egyáltalán nem tartottaknak a menyegzői felülmúlják az egyéb menyegzők számát, az újraházasodások a második hullámban jutnak túlsúlyra, sőt ezeknek görbéje februártól októberig magasabb szinten van, mint az első házasságoké.

VIII. ÁBRA

A PROTOGAM ÉS PALINGAM HÁZASSÁGOK %-OS MEGOSZLÁSA A SZŐDI PLÉBÁNIÁN 1758 - 1800



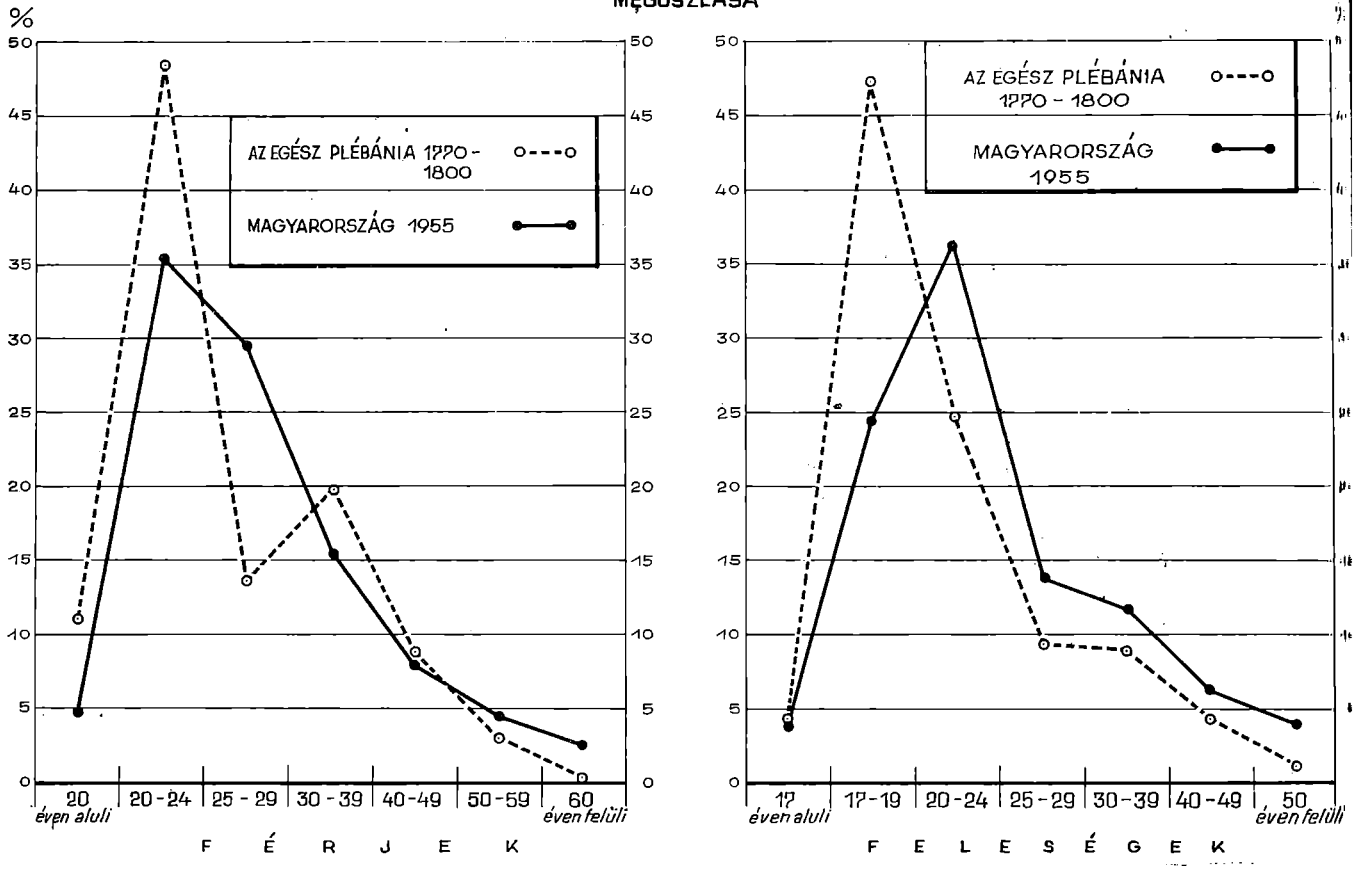
* A XII. hónapban házasságot nem kötöttek

Ha pedig az egyes hónapokon belül az ugyanazon hónapban megkötött frigyeket vizsgáljuk, (VIII. ábra, 19. tábla) akkor azt észlelhetjük, hogy az átlagot meg nem ütő hónapokban, vagyis a márciustól októberig terjedő időszakban, - 8 havon keresztül -, az özvegyek esküvői vannak fölényben, ilyen az esküvők 60,6 %-a, míg - decembert nem számítva - a többi 3 hónapban a nőtlenek és hajadonok egybekelése az összes családalapitás 78,2 %-át érte el. A jelenségben nyilvánvalóan kifejezésre jut a házastársukat vesztetteknek fokozott és sürgető igénye segítségre mind családjukban és háztartásukban, mind pedig gazdaságukban.

A házasságok korcsoportokba való osztályozásából kitűnik, hogy a férfiak akkor is általában ugyanabban a korban nősültek meg, mint ma: 20-24 év között. A hajadonok azonban egy korcsoporttal korábban mentek férjhez: legnagyobb részük 17-19 év között, míg ma 20-24 éves korukban (IX. ábra, 20-21. tábla).

IX. ÁBRA

A HÁZASULANDÓK KOR SZERINTI MEGOSZLÁSA



A házasságok korosztályok szerinti görbéje még egy sajátosságot mutat a XVIII. században, ami a mi nemzedékünkben nem jelentkezik. A görbe ugyanis a 30-39, illetve a 40-49 esztendősök életkorában mégegyszer fellendül. Az emelkedés oka tagadhatatlanul a korai halálozásokban gyökerezik. A jelenség tehát az özvegyek újraházasodásában nyeri magyarázatát. Bár a növekedés mind a férfiaknál, mind pedig az asszonyoknál észlelhető, a férfiakén mégis kifejezettebb, ami azt bizonyítja, hogy az özveggyé lett férjek közül többen házasodtak meg ismét, mint az ugyanilyen nők.

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Összefoglalásként megállapíthatjuk, hogy vizsgálódásainkból egyrészt forráskritikai következtetések folytak. A sződi plébánia anyakönyvelt a születések és házasságok lajstromozásában megbizható kútfőknek találtuk mind a három falut illetően, de a halálozások bejegyzése a leányegyházakban nem látszik teljesnek.

Az egykorú összeírások lélekszámának ingadozásakor pedig figyelembe kell venni az összeírt falu településének szerkezetét.

Vizsgálódásainkból másrészt kitünt, hogy a három falu népesedésének előzőleg gyors üteme 1782-3 után megváltozott és meglassult. A születéseknek és a természetes szaporulat-

mak korábban magas száma a telepesekből álló községek szerencsés korösszetételével, valamint a kedvező mezőgazdasági lehetőségekkel magyarázható. A népmozgalomnak mai tól eltérő képe főképpen a korai halálozásokban (részben az asszonyok nagyobb halandóságában) gyökerezett.

Természetesen három község anyakönyvének feldolgozásából nem keletkezhetnek olyan eredmények, amelyek feljogosítanának országos érvényű következtetések levonására. Ilyen általánosítások csak számos további anyakönyv elemzésével, a más területekről származó, különböző jellegü helységek adatainak összehasonlításával és egybevetésével válnak majd lehetővé.

Jegyzetek.

1./ Acsádi-Nemeskéri: Történeti demográfiai vizsgálatok a kérpusztai XI. századi temető anyagából. Arch. Ért. 79. 134-146 o.

Synopsis conscriptionis animarum pro anno 1777 cum calculo proportionali ilonali nota. Egykorú kézirat. KSH könyvtár VB 31. sz.

Schwartner: Statistik des Königreichs Ungern Pest 1798. 81-89. o.
Fáy András: Adatok Magyarország bővebb ismertetésére Pest 1854.
Téglás J.B.: Dunántúl népességének változása a török uralom megszünése óta Történetírás 1937. 294. oldaltól
Marjalaki Kiss L.: Régi népszámlálások Miskolcon.
Egyed Ferenc: Göcsej népessége a XVIII. században Dunántúli szemle 1944.

2./ Aschenbrier: A plébániai anyakönyvek 21. oldal

3./ Ugyanott

4./ Schwartner: Statistik des Königreichs Ungern 73. o.

5./ V.ö. Michel Fleury-Louis Henry: Des registres paroissiaux a l'histoire de la population.

6./ Lásd a mellékelt térképet, amely az 1857. évi kataszteri felmérés alapján készült. OSZK Térképtár Ta 307

7./ Orsz. Levéltár: Kancelláriai lt. Acta generalia 4772/1786 n 6. (Pest megye). 1785-ben készült kivonat a váci járásra: Conscriptio animarum militaris a. 1785. Váci püspöki lt. Numerus animarum 4. fasciculus.
Az 1804/5. évi népszámlálás adatai a pestmegyei lt. népességi könyvében találhatók, amelyben a II. József által elrendelt népszámlálás összesítése szintén megvan.

8./ Liber V. Canonicarum Visitationum 398-409. o. valamint Liber VII. tomus 2. Canonicarum Visitationum 264. o. és 307 o. Váci püspöki levéltár.

9./ Váci ppki lt. numerus animarum 1-6. fasciculus, és Sződ község fasciculusa.

10./ Orsz. Levéltár: Kancelláriai lt. 1786 n 3688 (országos összesítés). Az urbáriumok egyik példánya ugyancsak a Kancellária levéltárában (ebben vannak az úrbérrendezést megelőző szerződések), második példánya a pestmegyei levéltárban. A responsa ad 9 puncta szintén megvan a megyei archivumban.

11./ Dercsényi Dezső: Magyarország műemléki topográfiája V. kötet: Pest megye műemlékei II. 159. p.

12./ Chobot: A váci egyházmegye történeti névtára 1. kötet 131-133 o.

13./ Galgóczy: Pest, Pilis és Solt törvényesen egyesült megye monográfiája. III. kötet 138. o.

14./ Dercsényi: Magyarország műemléki topográfiája V. kötet: Pest megye műemlékei I. 308. o.

15./ Chobot: A váci egyházmegye történeti névtára I. kötet 138. o.

16./ Dercsényi: Magyarország műemléki topográfiája V. kötet: Pest megye műemlékei II. 159. o.

17./ Schmidt: Episcopi Agrienses fide diplomatum concinnati. Tyrnaviae 1758. 123. o.

18./ Galgóczy: Pest, Pilis és Solt törvényesen egyesült megye monográfiája. III. kötet 141. o. 138. o.
Borovszky: Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun vármegye I. kötet 136. o.

19./ Galgóczy: Pest, Pilis és Solt törvényesen egyesült megye monográfiája, III. kötet 141. o.

20./ Succincta historia domus 51. o. a sződi plébánián.

21./ Acsády: Magyarország népessége a Pragmatica Sanctio korában, 1720-21. o.

22./ Chobot: A váci egyházmegye történeti névtára I. kötet 131-133. o.

23./ Acsády: Magyarország népessége a Pragmatica Sanctio korában. 1720-21.

24./ Az urbariumhoz csatolt szerződés. Orsz. Levéltár Kancelláriai lt., pestmegyei urbáriumok: Sződ.

25./ Wellmann: A gödöllői Grassalkovich-uradalom gazdálkodása. 11. o.

26./ Succincta historia domus. 5. o. a sződi plébánia irattárában.

27./ Dercsényi: Magyarország műemléki topográfiája, V. kötet: Pest megye műemlékei II. 378. (A templom építését illetően.)
Acsády: Magyarország népessége a Pragmatica Sanctio korában, 1720-21. Még nem mutatja ki Rátótot. Az anyakönyvi bejegyzések sűrűsége már 1741-ben népes falut tételez fel.

29./ Vági püspöki levéltár, a sződi plébánia fasciculusa.

30./ A rátóti kőfejtőről: Responsa ad 9 puncta Pilisi járás 88. o. Pestmegyei levéltár.
A parochia "e crudis tegulis arundine tecta" volt. Succincta historia domus 13. oldal. A sződi plébánia irattárában.

31./ Pestmegyei levéltár, Responsa ad 9 puncta Processus Vaciensis. 143. p.

32./ "Hic annus iterum Sződiensi possessioni infelix exstitit. 5 a enim augusti mensis . . . . . hora pomeridiana secunda incuria certae puellae Drab panem coquentis ex domo sexta ab aedibus parochialibus versus Vacium prodivit validum incendium, cui horribili vento celeritatem adaugente duos ordines domorum versus Vacium intra mediae horae spacium flamma adsumpsit et 36 domos una cum praeterea stabulis miserabiliter incineravit. Cum enim in aestinis laboribus constituta plebs ex campo vix occurrere pro suarum salvatione potuerit, omnia in domibus voravit flamma, et in mendicitatem deduxit incolas. Forte fortunati, quod fruges iam demessas necdum de campo convexerint" Succincta historia domus 56-57 oldal. A sződi plébánia irattárában.

33./ Dercsényi: Magyarország műemléki topográfiája V. kötet: Pest megye műemlékei II: 159. p. 1753-ban állitották fel a templom orgonáját. l. ugyanott.

34./ Orsz. Levéltár, kancelláriai lt. Acta generalia 4772/1786 n. 6 (Pest megye)

35./ Dr Thirring Gusztáv: Magyarország népessége II. József korában 27-31. oldal.

36./ Az 1804/5 évi népszámlálás pestmegyei összesítése a pestmegyei levéltár népességkönyvében.

37./ Göd ugyanis külön rovatba került. Igaz ugyan, hogy ebben a rovatban egy házat sem tüntetnek fel, annak ellenére, hogy az egykorú térképek szerint már voltak épületek ezen a pusztán, ezek szerint nemesi tulajdonban. A térképeket illetően lásd alább a 49. jegyzetet is.

38./ Succincta historia domus 25., 58., oldal és az 1811. évi bejegyzések.

39./ Orsz. Levéltár, kancelláriai lt pestmegyei urbáriumok. Második példány a pestmegyei levéltárban.

40./ A Succincta historia domus feljegyzése az 1805. évről.

41./ Freiherr Emerich von Offenberg K. Russ. Stabrittmeister. Geb.: zu Ilgen in Kurland, gefallen bei Waitzen am 3ten Juli 1849.

42./ A sződi háztörténet azévi feljegyzései.

43./ Orsz. Levéltár, kancelláriai lt. Acta generalia 4772/1786-n. 6 (Pestmegye)

44./ Magyar Statisztikai Szemle IX. évfolyam (1931) 117. oldal.

45./ Dr Thirring Gusztáv: Magyarország népessége II. József korában 6. oldal.

46./ Váci püspöki levéltár Numerus animarum 4. fasciculus.

47./ Az igy megkereszteltelket természetesen nem vettük élveszületetteknek. Egyébként a keresztelés nélkül meghalt csecsemők nem részesülhettek egyházi temetésben, így számuk az eltemetetteknél sem jelentkezik, és ezért nem módosítja a falu lélekszámának alakulását.

48./ Aschenbrier: A plébániai anyakönyvek. 15-17. o.
Megjegyezhetjük még, hogy az 1828. évi can. vis. szerint sohasem temettek a halál utáni 48 óra eltelte előtt. (32. oldal.) A plébánia irattárában.

49./ Hadtörténelmi Levéltár, Josephinische Aufnahme XIV. és XV. 18, 19. Fényképmásolatok. A XIV. oszlopban a filmnegativot kellett használni. Eredeti a bécsi Kriegsarchiv-ban.

50./ Pestmegyei levéltár, Responsa ad 9 puncta 143. o. Processus Vaciensis.

51./ Pestmegyei levéltár, Responsa ad 9 puncta. Pilisi járás. 88. o.

52./ Ugyanott.

53./ Pestmegyei levéltár, Responsa ad 9 puncta. Váci járás 144. o.

54./ Ugyanott 40. o.

55./ A határok bizonytalanságát illetően: "Villongásban volt határunk minden felől" Responsa ad 9 puncta. Processus Vaciensis 144. o. (Sződ)
Ha a mellékelt térképen megfigyeljük a sződi egyházközséghez tartozó településeknek egymástól való távolságát, kitűnik, hogy egy-egy összeírás alkalmával mindegyikük bejárása kisebb fajta utazás számba ment, az akkori utakon és közlekedési eszközökkel! Pedig a plébánosnak az összeírás nem a legelsődlegesebb feladatát jelentette, és huzamosabban nem is hagyhatta el székhelyét.

56./ A vándorlásokat tekintve: Soós: Heves megye benépesülése.

57./ Történeti statisztikai közlemények I. évfolyam (1957) 113. oldal.

58./ "Vere magna tunc erat miseria! Homines nempe, praecipue proles magni numero habentes per dies et dies, imo ut mihi constat per septimanam fere penem non degustarunt, sed ceraris et aliis id genus fructibus vescebantur." Succincta historia domus. 64. oldal.

59./ Az országos és pestmegyei átlagra nézve: Dr Thirring Gusztáv: Magyarország népessége II. József korában, 25 oldal.

60./ Ugyanott 36-38. oldal.

61./ "Tam in matre Sződ, quam in eius filia Rátoth et Csomád cuncti utuntur idiomate slavico personis 15 desumptis, quis utrasque fari possunt." Váci püspöki levéltár, Liber V. can. vis. 409. oldal.
Az 1828. évi egyházlátogatás jegyzőkönyve a sződi plébánia irattárában 27. oldal.

62./ Ilyen nevek Sződön: Juhász, Erdély/1/, Kelemen, Mészáros, Szerencsés, Czinege, Mikes, Bárány, Serfőző, Pásztor, Virág, Deák.
Rátóton: Horváth, Dudás, Fehér, Lévai, Fazekas, Hollósi, Lukács, Molnár, Majsai.
Csomádon: András, Vigyáz, Szirom, Szabó.

63./ Történeti statisztikai közlemények I. évfolyam (1957) 115. oldal.

64./ Az úrbéresek összesitő táblázata az urbáriumokban. Pestmegyei levéltár, és orsz. Levéltár, Kancelláriai lt.

65./ Igy tudja Sződön ifjú Tárnyikné.

66./ 1828. évi egyházlátogatási jegyzőkönyv 101. oldal. A sződi plébánia irattárában.

67./ "Lingua in communi sermone utuntur a potiori slavonica, in sacro tamen tribunali plerique ungarica." Váci püspöki levéltár, Liber V. can. vis. 402. oldal.

68./ A magyar nyelvet "quam per frequens vicinorum confortium, iam fere omnes Sződienses intelligere didicerunt." Az 1828. évi egyházlátogatási jegyzőkönyv a sződi plébánia irattárában. 101. oldal!

69./ Történeti statisztikai közlemények, I. évfolyam (1957) 100. oldal.

70./ Ugyanott.

71./ V. ö. ezzel kapcsolatban alább az átlagos élettartamról mondottakat.

72./ Egyed: Göcsej népessége a XVIII. században. Dunántúli Szemle 1944. 203. oldaltól
Téglás: Dunántul népességének változása a török uralom megszűnése óta. Történetírás 1937. 294. oldaltól.
Synopsis cons. anim pro anno 1777 cum calculo proportionali nota.

73./ V. ö. 12. tábla.

74./ Schwartner: Statistik des Königreichs Ungern. 75-81 oldal.

75./ Még a magasabb alapszámra vonatkoztatva is 24,7 o/oo!

76./ Egyed: Göcsej népessége a XVIII. században. Dunántúli Szemle 1944. 204. oldal.

77./ Ennek az arányszámnak megbízhatóságát természetesen nem befolyásolja az 1760-as évek lélekszámának bizonytalansága.

78./ Láng: Magyarország Statisztikája. I. 407. o.

79./ UNO Demographic Yearbook 1954-1956.

80./ Horace Belshaw: Population Growth and Levels of Consumption 16-17. o.

81./ A püspökök azonban adhattak ez alól a tilalom alól felmentést, amit a püspöki székhellyel szomszédos Sződön emlékezetben tartottak. "Tempore sacrato si cum licentia episcopi copulandi nefors forent, benedicitur iis forma per SS Concilium Tridentinum praescripta: sponsa tunc traduci, vel convivia nuptialia celebrari non consueverunt." Az 1828.évi egyházlátogatás a sződi plébánia irattárában. 32. oldal. - Valószinü, hogy a katolikus plébános előtt a protestáns csomádiak és kisszentmiklósiak is ilyen felmentés alapján esküdhettek meg a nagyböjtben, mert a 3 márciusi házasság erre a két falura esett.

82./ Csecsetka: Egyházjogtan (evangélikus) Pozsony 1888. 758. oldal. Az erdélyi reformátusokat illetően ld. ugyanott.

83./ V. ö, a 32. jegyzet végét.

1. A népesség alakulása Sződön 1746-1805.

Év	A népesség száma az anyakönyvek nyers adatai alapján	A népesség száma az a csecsemő halandóság kiigazításával	Lélekszám az egykorú forrásokban	Eltérés	Eltérés %-a	Népsűrűség 1 km^2-re	Lakosság száma az 1757. év százalékában
1746	..		395				
1754	392	417	428	+ 13	3,1	8,2	95,4
1757	411	435				8,5	100,0
1758	418	442				8,6	101,6
1759	436	460				9,0	105,7
1760	437	461				9,0	106,0
1761	455	479	500	+ 91	19,0	9,4	110,1
1762	483	507				9,9	116,6
1763	504	528				10,3	121,0
1764	509	533				10,4	122,5
1765	516	535				10,4	123,0
1766	536	550				10,7	126,4
1767	546	559				10,9	128,5
1768	568	575				11,2	132,2
1769	583	586				11,4	134,7
1770	605	605				11,8	139,1
1771	610	610	591	- 19	3,1	11,9	140,2
1772	628	628				12,3	144,4
1773	643	643				12,6	147,8
1774	661	661				12,9	152,0
1775	673	673				13,1	154,7
1776	682	682				13,3	156,8
1777	680	680	597	- 83	12,2	13,3	156,3
1778	690	690				13,5	158,6
1779	695	695	707	+ 12	1,7	13,6	159,8
1780	717	717	622	- 95	13,2	14,0	164,3

+/ Hét éven felüli népesség.

(1. tábla folyt.)

Év	A népesség száma az anyakönyvek nyers adatai alapján	A népesség száma a csecsemőhalandóság, kigazításával	Lélekszám az egykorú forrásokban	Eltérés	Eltérés %-a	Népsűrűség 1 km²-re	Lakosság száma az 1757. év százalékában
1781	720	720	662	-58	8,5	14,1	165,5
1782	724	724	684	-40	5,5	14,1	166,4
1783	717	717	650	-67	9,3	14,0	164,8
1784	713	713				13,9	163,9
1785	719	719				14,0	165,3
1786	740	740				14,4	170,1
1787	760	760				14,8	174,7
1788	776	769				15,0	176,8
1789	787	775				15,1	178,2
1790	797	784				15,3	180,2
1791	808	788	660	-128	16,2	15,4	181,1
1792	836	810				15,8	186,2
1793	844	818				16,0	188,0
1794	851	821				16,0	188,7
1795	835	805				15,7	185,0
1796	831	801	701	-100	12,5	15,6	184,1
1797	854	824				16,1	189,4
1798	849	819				16,0	188,3
1799	870	840				16,4	193,1
1800	897	867				16,9	199,3
1801	896	866				16,9	199,1
1802	904	874				17,3	200,9
1803	902	872				17,0	200,5
1804	885	855				16,7	196,5
1805	880	850	830	- 2o	2,3	16,6	195,4
			Ebből				
			Sződ 718 Göd 97 Csörög 15	-112	13,2		

Csörög lélekszáma az egyházi összeírásokból, mert a népszámlálás nem mutatta ki.

2. A népesség alakulása Rátóton és Csomádon.

Év	Össz-népesség	Népesség száma az egykorú forrásokban	Eltérés	Eltérés %-a	Népsürüség lkm2 -re	Lakosság száma az 1754. év százalékában
			Rátót			
1741	218				12,2	64,1
1746	242	193+/			13,4	71,2
1754	340	339	-	-	18,8	100,0
1761	356	356	-	-	19,7	104,7
1770	437	437	-	-	24,1	128,5
1771	430	430	-	-	23,8	126,5
1777	457	315	- 142	31,0	25,3	134,4
1779	466	466	-	-	25,8	137,1
1780	480	340	- 140	29,2	26,5	141,2
1781	494	368	- 126	25,5	27,3	145,3
1782	467	421	- 46	9,8	25,8	137,3
1783	448	367	- 81	18,6	24,8	131,8
1784	433	433	-	-	23,9	127,4
1790	450	450	-	-	24,9	132,3
1791	460	460	-	-	25,4	135,3
1792	468				25,9	142,9
1793	476				26,3	140,0
1794	479				26,5	140,9
1795	474				26,2	139,4
1796	490	437	- 53	10,8	27,1	144,1
1797	500				27,6	147,1
1798	498				27,5	146,5
1799	519				28,7	152,6
1800	522				28,9	153,5
1801	535				29,5	157,4
1802	551				30,4	162,1
1803	527				29,1	155,0
1804	526				29,1	154,7
1805	513	490			28,4	150,9
		+ 18 nemes				
		508	- 5	0,9		

Az eltérés itt is férfiakból áll.

			Csomád			
1741	245				19,8	79,5
1754	308	306	-	-	24,9	100,0
1761	353	353	-	-	28,5	114,6
1770	410	410	-	-	33,1	133,1
1771	412	412	-	-	33,3	133,7
1779	466	440	- 26	5,6	37,6	151,3
1780	477	478	+ 1	0,2	38,5	154,8
1781	494	494	-	-	39,9	160,4
1782	491	493	+ 2	0,4	39,7	159,4
1784	453	453	-	-	36,6	147,1
1805	509	509	-	-	41,1	165,3

+/ Hét éven felüli lakosság.

3. A lakosság vallási megoszlása.

Év	Kat.	Prot.	Ebből		Izr.	Összesen	Kat.	Prot.	Ebből		Izr.	Összesen
			Ref.	Ev.					Ref.	Ev.		
	száma						százalékos megoszlása					
						Szőcdön						
1754	421	7	-	7	-	428	98,4	1,6	-	1,6	-	100,0
1771	586	5	"	"	-	591	99,1	0,9	"	"	-	100,0
1779	707	-	-	-	-	707	100,0	-	-	-	-	100,0
1796	700	1	-	1	-	701	99,9	0,1	-	0,1	-	100,0
						Rátóton						
1754	331	8	-	8	-	339	97,6	2,4	-	2,4	-	100,0
1771	406	24	"	"	-	430	94,4	5,6	"	"	-	100,0
1779	451	15	5	10	-	466	96,8	3,2	1,1	2,1	-	100,0
1796	437	-	-	-	-	437	100,0	-	-	-	-	100,0
						Csomádon						
1754	3	303	-	303	-	306	1,0	99,0	-	99,0	-	100,0
1771	3	409	"	"	-	412	0,7	99,3	"	"	-	100,0
1779	4	436	-	436	-	404	0,9	99,1	-	99,1	-	100,0

4. Az álló népesség nemek szerinti megoszlása Sződön 1757-1805.

Év	Férfiak	Nők	Férfiak	Nők
	száma		%-os megoszlása	
		..	..	..
		..	..	..
	..	..	..	
1757	229	206	52,6	47,4
1758	229	213	51,8	48,2
1759	234	226	50,9	49,1
1760	236	225	51,2	48,8
1761	239	240	49,9	50,1
1762	258	249	50,9	49,1
1763	265	263	50,2	49,8
1764	275	253	51,6	48,4
1765	281	254	52,5	47,5
1766	287	263	52,2	47,8
1767	289	270	51,7	48,3
1768	294	281	51,1	48,9
1769	298	288	50,9	49,1
1770	310	295	51,2	48,8
1771	315	295	51,6	48,4
1772	320	308	51,0	49,0
1773	333	310	51,8	48,2
1774	338	323	51,1	48,9
1775	342	331	50,8	49,2
1776	346	336	50,7	49,3
1777	351	329	51,6	48,4
1778	352	338	51,0	49,0
1779	357	338	51,4	48,6
1780	364	353	50,8	49,2
1781	369	351	51,2	48,8
1782	365	359	50,4	49,6
1783	361	356	50,3	49,7
1784	356	357	49,9	50,1
1785	361	358	50,2	49,8
1786	375	365	50,7	49,3
1787	390	370	51,3	48,7
1788	394	375	51,2	48,8
1789	395	380	51,0	49,0
1790	401	383	51,1	48,9
1791	411	377	52,2	47,8
1792	421	389	52,0	48,0
1793	424	394	51,8	48,2
1794	431	390	52,5	47,5
1795	423	382	52,6	47,4
1796	423	378	52,8	47,2
1797	439	385	53,3	46,7
1798	430	389	52,5	47,5
1799	435	405	51,8	48,2
1800	447	420	51,6	48,4
1801	449	417	51,8	48,2
1802	452	422	51,7	48,3
1803	457	415	52,4	47,6
1804	449	406	52,5	47,5
1805	449	401	52,8	47,2

5./ A lakosság korcsoportok szerinti megoszlása.

Év	Adulti	15 éven alului	Confessionis		Összesen	Adulti	15 éven alului	Confessionis		Összesen
			cap.	incap				cap.	incap	
	szám szerint					százalékban				
					Sződön					
1754	..	..	325	103	428	..	..	75,9	24,1	100,0
1761	..	..	412	158	570	..	..	72,3	27,7	100,0
1771	354	237	..	..	591	59,9	40,1		..	100,0
1779	..	..	514	193	707	..	..	72,7	27,3	100,0
1780	345	277	..	..	622	55,5	44,5		..	100,0
1781	345	318	..	..	663	52,0	48,0	..	..	100,0
1782	342	342	..	..	684	50,0	50,0	..	..	100,0
1783	330	320	..	..	650	50,8	49,2		..	100,0
1796	..	..	523	178	701	..	..	74,6	25,4	100,0
Összes ismert év	1 716	1 494	1 774	632	3 210 2 406	53,6	46.4	73,7	26,3	100,0
					Rátóton					
1754	..	..	256	83	339	..	..	75,5	24,5	100,0
1761	..	..	235	104	339	..	..	69,3	30,7	100,0
1771	204	226	..	..	430	47,4	52,6		..	100,0
1779	..	..	345	106	451	..	..	76,5	23,5	100,0
1780	208	132	..	..	340	61,2	38,8			100,0
1781	207	161	..	..	368	56,7	43,3	..	..	100,0
1782	251	170	..	..	421	59,6	40,4	..	..	100,0
1783	233	134	..	..	367	63,5	36,5	..	..	100,0
1796	..	..	317	120	437	..	..	72,5	27,5	100,0
Összes ismert év	1 103	823	1 153	413	1 926 1 566	57,3	42,7	73,7	26,4	100,0

(5. tábla folytatás)

Év	Adulti	15 éven aluli	Confessionis cap.	Confessionis incap.	Összesen	Adulti	15 éven aluli	Confessionis cap.	Confessionis incap.	Összesen
	szám szerint					százalékban				
	Csomádon									
1754			232	74	306			75,8	24,2	100,0
1771	243	169	..		412	59,0	41,0			100,0
1780	251	227	..		478	52,5	47,5			100,0
1781	257	237			494	52,0	48,0			100,0
1782	229	264	..		493	46,4	53,6			100,0
Összes ismert év	980	897	232	74	1 877 306	52,2	47,8	75,8	24,2	100,0
	A három falu együtt									
Összes ismert év	3 799	3 214	3 159	1 119	7 013 4 278	54,2	45,8	73,8	26,2	100,0

A tizenöt éven aluli korosztályban egy évjáratra jut:

45.8:15=3,05 %

6. Az anyakönyvek és a II. József által elrendelt népszámlálás összehasonlítása a korcsoportok szempontjából Sződön.

	0 - 12 éves			13 - 17 éves			18 éven felül			Összesen		
	férfi	nő	összesen	férfi	nő	összesen	férfi	nő	összesen	férfi	nő	összesen
II. József összeírása												
számszerint	114	..		15		..	(227)			356	357	713
%-ban	32,0	..		4,2		..	63,8	..	..	100,0	..	..
Anyakönyvek												
számszerint:	131	146	277	57	59	116	168	152	320	356	357	713
%-ban	36,8		38,8	16,0		16,3	47,2		44,9	100,0		100,0
		40,9			16,5			42,6			100,0	
	47,3	52,7	100,0	49,1	50,8	100,0	52,5	47,5	100,0	49,9	50,1	100,0

Az első tizennyolc évjáratban egy évfolyamra jut: 55.1:18 = 3,06 %

A korcsoportok korhatárait illetően l.: Thirring: Magyarország nép. 42. o. 28. j.

7./ A népmozgalom fontosabb adatai.
Sződ 1758-1800.

Év	Házasságkötések	Élveszületések	Halálozások	Természetes szaporodás	Egy éven aluli meghaltak	Házasságkötések	Élveszületések	Halálozások	Természetes szaporodás	Csecsemő halandóság: 100 élveszülöttre jutó 1 éven alul meghaltak száma
	száma					1 000 lakósra				
1741-50	..	341	..	..	..	..	..			
1751-57	..	339		..	..	..	..			
1758	7	32	25	7	8	..				
1759	7	42	24	18	5	..				
1760	8	34	33	1	8	..				
1758-60	22	108	82	26	21	16,2	80,0	60,7	19,2	19,4
1761	12	36	18	18	6					
1762	4	51	23	28	7					
1763	12	36	15	21	5	16,5	79,7	50,7	29,0	15,8
1764	5	46	41	5	7					
1765	9	34	32	2	7					
1766	8	37	22	15	7					
1767	6	37	28	9	9					
1768	8	38	22	16	7	12,3	62,7	38,1	24,6	20,2
1769	7	30	19	11	6					
1770	6	36	17	19	7					
1761-70	77	381	237	144	68	14,3	70,7	44,0	26,7	17,8
1771	8	38	33	5	8					
1772	5	44	26	18	13					
1773	15	43	28	15	9	10,4	64,5	43,1	21,4	21,9
1774	2	44	26	18	6					
1775	3	36	24	12	9					
1776	14	41	32	9	5					
1777	3	41	43	- 2	17					
1778	8	45	35	10	13	13,7	57,2	44,4	12,8	21,8
1779	14	30	25	5	4					
1780	8	40	18	22	4					
1771-80	80	402	290	112	88	12,1	60,7	43,8	16,9	21,8

Év	Házasságkötések	Élveszületések	Halálozások	Természetes szaporodás	Egy éven aluli meghaltak	Házasságkötések	Élveszületések	Halálozások	Természetes szaporodás	Csecsemő halandóság: 100 élve szülöttre jutó 1 éven alul meghaltak száma
	száma					1 000 lakósra				
1781	6	41	38	3	7					
1782	16	46	42	4	7					
1783	9	33	40	- 7	8	13,9	54,5	54,0	0,5	20,9
1784	7	44	48	- 4	8					
1785	12	32	26	6	11					
1786	12	50	29	21	13					
1787	..	51	31	20	10					
1788	..	43	34	9	9	13,5	55,1	38,0	17,1	21,5
1789	..	33	27	6	7					
1790	7	32	23	9	6					
1781-90	69	405	338	67	86	13,8	54,8	45,8	9,0	21,2
1791	6	31	23	8	6					
1792	5	40	18	22	8					
1793	6	25	17	8	7	9,2	42,4	36,2	6,2	21,1
1794	7	42	39	3	8					
1795	13	33	49	-16	7					
1796	9	30	34	- 4	5					
1797	6	50	27	23	10					
1798	9	35	40	- 5	13	11,9	51,2	36,2	15,0	21,8
1799	10	50	29	21	10					
1800	15	46	19	27	8					
1791-1800	86	382	295	87	82	10,5	46,8	36,2	10,7	21,4
1758-1800	334	1 678	1 242	436	345	12,5	58,1	43,0	15,1	20,5
1801	7	38	39	- 1	9					
1802	9	51	43	8	7					
1803	4	39	41	- 2	7					
1804	11	28	45	- 17	6					
1805	14	33	38	- 5	5					
1801-1805	45	189	206	- 17	34	10,4	43,7	47,6	- 3,9	18,0
1758-1805	379	1 867	1 448	419	379	12,3	56,2	43,6	12,6	20,3
1771-1805	280	1 378	1 129	250	290	11,6	52,0	42,6	9,4	21,1

8. A 20 éven aluliak halálozásai Sződön 1758-1800.

Életkor betöltött években	Az élők száma az életkor kezdetén	Meghaltak	Évi (átlagos) elhalálozási valószínüség		Korcsoport
			%	1956 = 1	
0	1 678				
		345	20,5	3,5	0 - 1 éves
1	1 333				
		117	8,8	19,1	1 - 2 "
2	1 216				
		95	7,8	43,4	2 - 3 "
3	1 121				
		91	4,2	37,7	3 - 5 "
5	1 030				
		77	3,8	54,9	5 - 7 "
7	953				
		26	0,9	15,2	7 - 10 "
10	927				
		35	0,8	11,1	10 - 15 "
15	892				
		43	0,9	3,8	15 - 20 "
20	849				

9. A népmozgalom fontosabb adatai.

Év	Házasságkötések	Élveszületések	Halálozások	Szaporodás	Egy éven aluli meghaltak	Házasságkötések	Élveszületések	Halálozások	Szaporodás	Csecsemő halandóság: 100 élveszülöttre jutó 1 éven alul meghaltak száma
	száma					1 000 lakósra				
					Rátót					
1741-50	..	176	125	51	..	..	73,8	52,4	21,4	
1751-60	9+	219	140	79	..	9,0	71,6	45,8	25,8	
1761-70	41	226	143	83	..	10,5	57,8	36,6	21,5	..
1771-80	49	281	238	43	..	10,9	62,6	53,0	9,6	..
1781-90	36	283	309	-26	..	8,0	62,7	68,4	- 5,7	..
1791	5	24	24	-	4					
1792	9	30	4	26	1					
1793	5	8	18	-10	6	12,7	50,3	44,4	3,9	22,7
1794	6	32	29	3	9					
1795	5	25	30	- 5	7					
1796	7	29	13	16	5					
1797	10	28	18	10	3					
1798	5	27	29	- 2	8	12,0	56,9	37,8	19,1	16,8
1799	6	37	16	21	6					
1800	7	22	19	3	2					
1791-1800	60	262	200	62	51	12,3	53,8	41,1	12,7	19,5
1741-1800	195+	1 447	1 155	292	..	10,4	62,3	49,7	12,6	..
1801	6	30	17	13	5					
1802	3	28	12	16	1					
1803	10	19	43	-24	9					
1804	5	25	26	- 1	4					
1805	12	20	33	-13	4					
1801-5	36	122	131	- 9	23	13,5	45,9	49,3	-3,4	18,8
					Csomád					
1741-50	..	150	104	46	..	..	57,0	39,5	17,5	..
1751-60	15	160	101	59		14,8	50,8	32,1	18,7	..
1761-70	40	243	173	70	..	10,6	64,4	45,9	18,5	..
1771-80	39	280	209	71	..	8,9	63,8	47,6	16,2	..
1741-82	101+	882	622	260	..	10,0	59,1	41,7	17,4	..

A házasságok száma csak 1758-tól fogva ismeretes.

10. Születések időszakos megoszlása
Sződön 1741-1800.

	1741-1750	1751-1760	1761-1770	1771-1780	1781-1790	1791-1800	1741-1800
	Születések száma						
Januárban	32	36	30	35	38	30	201
Februárban	23	43	38	43	42	31	220
Márciusban	37	33	40	31	39	43	223
Áprilisban	27	31	32	27	32	22	171
Májusban	25	21	34	26	32	24	162
Júniusban	26	26	19	22	22	29	144
Júliusban	29	23	19	38	27	30	166
Augusztusban	26	20	34	34	40	48	202
Szeptemberben	24	25	38	41	36	40	204
Októberben	30	32	34	43	39	36	214
Novemberben	29	33	33	43	28	31	197
Decemberben	33	24	30	19	30	18	154
Összesen	341	347	381	402	405	382	2 258

11. Születések időszakos megoszlása
Rátót 1741-1800.

	1741-1750	1751-1760	1761-1770	1771-1780	1781-1790	1791-1800	1741-1800
	Születések száma						
Januárban	17	28	29	27	29	18	148
Februárban	11	17	28	36	18	18	128
Márciusban	18	23	24	21	34	28	148
Áprilisban	11	12	17	22	25	16	103
Májusban	21	15	18	18	28	14	114
Júniusban	15	11	12	18	18	23	97
Júliusban	11	17	19	23	16	19	105
Augusztusban	12	19	20	25	22	25	123
Szeptemberben	13	20	17	22	26	29	127
Októberben	22	22	17	33	21	24	139
Novemberben	16	19	9	16	27	26	113
Decemberben	9	16	16	20	19	22	102
Összesen	176	219	226	281	283	262	1 447

12. Születések időszakos megoszlása
Csomád 1741-1780.

	1741-1750	1751-1760	1761-1770	1771-1780	1741-1780
	Születések száma				
Januárban	15	12	12	24	63
Februárban	12	11	25	28	76
Márciusban	11	11	34	26	82
Áprilisban	9	13	15	24	61
Májusban	8	7	18	15	48
Júniusban	7	10	14	13	44
Júliusban	11	17	23	21	72
Augusztusban	9	11	20	32	72
Szeptemberben	14	18	30	26	88
Októberben	15	19	19	28	81
Novemberben	22	21	17	25	85
Decemberben	17	10	16	18	61
Összesen	150	160	243	280	833

13. A születések időszakos megoszlása a sződi plébánián 1741-1800

Időszak	1741-1750	1751-1760	1761-1770	1771-1780	1781-1790	1791-1800	1741-1800
Január	64	76	71	86	82	49	428
Február	46	71	91	108	74	49	439
Március	66	67	98	78	87	71	467
Április	47	56	64	74	63	39	343
Május	54	43	70	59	69	38	333
Június	48	47	45	53	49	53	295
Július	51	57	61	82	54	49	354
Augusztus	47	50	74	92	78	76	417
Szeptember	51	63	85	91	79	69	438
Október	67	73	70	104	75	61	450
November	67	73	59	84	68	58	409
December	59	5o	62	57	57	40	325
Összesen	667	726	850	968	835	652	4 698

14. A születések idényhullámzása.

Időszak	Az élveszületések napi átlagos száma x/				Az élveszületések napi átlagos sz az egész évi átlag %-ában			
	Sződ+/	Rátót+/	Csomád++/	Az egész plébánia+/	Sződ+/	Rátót+/	Csomád++/	Az egé plébán
Január	6,47	4,77	2,03	13,80	104,6	120,4	89,1	107,1
Február	7,79	4,53	2,69	15,54	126,0	114,4	118,0	120,8
Március	7,19	4,77	2,65	15,06	116,3	120,4	116,2	117,1
Április	5,70	3,43	2,03	11,44	92,3	86,6	89,1	89,0
Május	5,22	3,68	1,55	10,74	84,5	93,0	68,0	83,5
Június	4,80	3,23	1,47	9,83	77,7	81,6	64,5	76,4
Július	5,35	3,39	2,32	11,42	86,6	85,6	101,8	88,8
Augusztus	6,51	3,97	2,32	13,45	105,3	100,2	101,8	104,6
Szeptember	6,80	4,23	2,93	14,60	110,0	106.8	128,5	113,5
Október	6,90	4,48	2,61	14,51	111,6	113,2	114,5	112,8
November	6,56	3,77	2,83	13,64	106,1	95,2	124,1	106,0
December	4,97	3,29	1,97	10,48	80,4	83,1	86,4	81,4
Évi átlag	6,18	3,96	2,28	12,86	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

x/ A 43 év összegét egy év eredményének tekintve.
+/ 1741-1800.- ++/ 1741-1780.-

15. Élveszületések nemek szerint

(az ismeretlen neműek nélkül.)

	Fiú	Lány	Együtt	Fiú	Lány	Együtt
	számszerint			százalékban		
Sző d						
1741-60	349	337	686	50,9	49,1	100,0
1761-80	388	394	782	49,6	50,4	100,0
1781-1800	401	386	787	51,0	49,0	100,0
1741-1800	1 138	1 117	2 255	50,5	49,5	100,0
Rátót						
1741-60	196	198	394	49,7	50,3	100,0
1761-80	280	227	507	55,2	44,8	100,0
1781-1800	288	257	545	52,8	47,2	100,0
1741-1800	764	682	1 446	52,8	47,2	100,0
Csomád						
1741-60	170	140	310	54,8	45,2	100,0
1761-80	260	263	523	49,7	50,3	100,0
1741-80	430	403	833	51,6	48,4	100,0
Egész plébánia						
1741-60	714	675	1 389	51,4	48,6	100,0
1761-80	928	888	1 816	51,1	48,9	100,0
1781-1800	759	727	1 486	51,1	48,9	100,0
1741-1800	2 401	2 290	4 691	51,2	48,8	100,0

Ismeretlen nemű volt 7, az összes élveszületések 0,2 %-a.

16. A halálozások időszakos megoszlása
Sződön 1758-1800

Időszak	1758-1760	1761-1770	1771-1780	1781-1790	1791-1800	1758-1800	1758-1800 között a halálozások napi átlaga +/	napi átlagos száma az egész évi átl.%-ában
	Meghaltak száma							
Január	11	35	37	31	33	147	4,74	145,4
Február	11	29	48	37	29	154	5,45	167,2
Március	15	26	23	43	22	129	4,16	127,6
Április	7	28	20	40	25	120	4,00	122,7
Május	4	15	13	30	28	90	2,90	89,0
Június	3	9	10	7	14	43	1,43	43,9
Július	3	4	8	7	9	31	1,00	30,7
Augusztus	4	10	21	25	22	82	2,64	81,1
Szeptember	4	10	25	26	32	97	3,23	160,5
Október	2	10	27	26	27	92	2,97	91,2
November	8	10	31	23	17	89	2,97	91,2
December	10	27	27	30	24	118	3,80	116,6
Összesen	82	213	290	325	282	1 192	3,26	100,0

+/ 43 év összegét egy év eredményének tekintve.

17. A halálozások korcsoportonkénti megoszlása Sződön 1758-1800.

Életkor	1758-1760	1761-1770	1771-1780	1781-1790	1791-1800	1758-1800	A meghaltak %-os megoszlása (ism.korúak nélkül) 1758-1800
	A meghaltak száma						
1 éven alul	21	68	88	86	82	345	28,0
1 éves	7	22	33	30	25	117	9,5
2 éves	10	21	16	22	26	95	7,7
3-4 éves	9	12	17	31	22	91	7,4
5-6 éves	8	13	18	18	20	77	6,3
7-9 éves	-	4	5	7	10	26	2,1
10-14 éves	-	5	8	15	7	35	2,8
15-19 éves	4	10	12	9	8	43	3,5
20-29 éves	-	11	14	19	19	63	5,1
30-39 éves	1	12	17	14	22	66	5,4
40-49 éves	5	18	18	20	17	78	6,3
50-59 éves	7	13	16	26	17	79	6,4
60-69 éves	4	9	9	22	11	55	4,5
70 éves és idősebb	6	14	17	17	8	62	5,0
Ismeretlen korú	-	5	2	2	1	10	-
Összesen	82	237	290	338	295	1 242	100,00

18. A házasságkötések idényhullámzása a vizsgált falvakban.

Időszak	A megkötött házasságok								
	száma	napi átl.+/	napi átlaga az egész évi átl. százalékában	száma	napi átl.	napi átlaga az egész évi átl. százalékában	száma	napi átl. +/	napi átlaga az egész évi átl. százalékában
	Sződön			Rátóton			Csomádon		
1758-1800 között összesen	334	0,91	100,0	200	0,55	100,0	94	0,26	100,0
Ebből									
Január	138	4,45	489,1	71	2,29	416,4	37	1,19	457,6
Február	36	1,27	139,5	15	0,53	96,4	13	0,46	176,9
Március	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0,06	23,1
Április	10	0,33	36,3	11	0,37	67,3	-	-	-
Május	16	0,52	57,1	16	0,52	94,5	4	0,13	50,0
Június	11	0,37	40,7	14	0,47	85,5	2	0,06	23,1
Július	5	0,16	17,6	6	0,18	32,7	5	0,16	61,5
Augusztus	-	-	-	5	0,15	27,3	-	-	-
Szeptember	5	0,16	17,6	3	0,10	18,2	-	-	-
Október	8	0,26	28,6	11	0,35	63,7	1	0,03	11,5
November	105	3,50	384,7	48	1,60	290,9	30	1,00	384,6
December	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

+/ A 43 év összegét egy év eredményének tekintve.

19. A házasságkötések idényhullámzása a Sződi plébánia területén 1758-1800 között+/

Időszak	A megkötött házasságok			A protogam házasságok			A palingam házasságok			A protogam	A palingam
	száma	napi átlag ++/	napi átlaga az egész évi átlag százalékában	száma	napi átlag ++/	napi átlaga az egész évi átlag százalékában	száma	napi átlag ++/	napi átlaga az egész évi átlag százalékában	házasságok száma az összes házasságkötések százalékában	
1758-1800 között összesen	661	1,81	100,0	462	1,27	100,0	199	0,54	100,0	69,7	30,3
Ebből											
Január	255	8,22	454,2	215	6,93	545,6	40	1,29	238,9	84,3	15,7
Február	73	2,58	142,5	40	1,42	111,9	33	1,17	216,6	54,8	45,2
Március	3	0,09	4,9	2	0,06	4,7	1	0,03	5,6		
Április	20	0,67	37,0	4	0,13	10,2	16	0,53	98,2		
Május	37	1,19	65,7	15	0,48	37,8	22	0,71	131,5		
Június	27	0,90	49,7	10	0,33	26,0	17	0,57	105,5		
Július	18	0,58	32,1	3	0,09	7,1	15	0,48	88,9	39,4	60,6
Augusztus	6	0,19	10,5	2	0,06	4,7	4	0,13	24,1		
Szeptember	10	0,33	18,2	6	0,20	15,7	4	0,13	24,1		
Október	21	0,67	37,0	14	0,45	35,5	7	0,23	42,6		
November	191	6,37	351,9	151	5,03	396,1	40	1,33	246,2	79,1	20,9
December	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

+/ Az ismeretlen hónapban kötött házasságok nélkül.
++/ A 43 év összegét egy év eredményének tekintve.

20. A házasulandók kor szerinti megoszlása 1771-1800 +

Életkor	A házasságot kötők megoszlása							
	számszerint				százalékában			
	Sződ	Rátót	Csomád ++/	Plébánia	Sződ	Rátót	Csomád ++/	Plébánia
	a/ férjek							
20 éven aluli	23	18	7	49	10,0	12,2	18,4	11,1
20 - 24 éves	122	65	14	214	53,1	44,2	36,9	48,4
25 - 29 "	34	15	7	60	14,8	10,2	18,4	13,6
30 - 39 "	31	26	4	66	13,5	17,7	10,5	14,9
40 - 49 "	15	16	6	39	6,5	10,9	15,8	8,8
50 - 59 "	4	7	-	13	1,7	4,8	-	2,9
60 éves és idősebb	1	-	-	1	0,4	-	-	0,2
Összesen	230	147	38	442	100,0	100,0	100,0	-
	b/ feleségek							
17 éven aluli	6	8	6	19	2,6	5,5	15,8	4,3
17 - 19 éves	109	67	16	208	47,4	45,9	42,2	47,3
20 - 24 "	69	29	8	109	30,0	19,9	21,1	24,8
25 - 29 "	17	21	2	41	7,4	14,4	5,2	9,3
30 - 39 "	17	10	4	39	7,4	6,8	10,5	8,9
40 - 49 "	8	11	1	19	3,5	7,5	2,6	4,3
50 éves és idősebb	4	-	1	5	1,7	-	2,6	1,1
Összesen	230	146	38	440	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

+/ Az ismeretlen korúak nélkül. ++/ 1771-1780.

21. A házasulók korcsoportjai egymással összevetve

Sződi plébánia 1771-1800

A férj életkora	A feleség életkora								Férjek összesen
	17 éven aluli	17-19	20-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	50 éves és idősebb	Ismeretlen korú	
		éves							
20 éven aluli	8	32	8	1	-	-	-	-	49
20 - 24 éves	10	141	54	1	5	1	1	1	214
25 - 29 "	-	22	24	11	3	-	-	-	60
30 - 39 "	1	9	18	22	13	2	-	1	66
40 - 49 "	-	4	5	6	16	7	1	-	39
50 - 59 "	-	-	-	-	2	9	2	-	13
60 éves és idősebb	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Ismeretlen korú	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	16
Összesen	19	208	109	41	39	19	5	18	458
	Százalékos megoszlás								
20 éven aluli	1,7	7,0	1,7	0,2	-	-	-	-	10,7
20 - 24 éves	2,2	30,8	11,8	0,2	1,1	0,2	0,2	0,2	46,8
25 - 29 "	-	4,8	5,2	2,4	0,7	-	-	-	13,1
30 - 39 "	0,2	2,0	3,9	4,8	2,8	0,4	-	0,2	14,4
40 - 49 "	-	0,9	1,1	1,3	3,5	1,5	0,2	-	8,5
50 - 59 "	-	-	-	-	0,4	2,0	0,4	-	2,8
60 éves és idősebb	-	-	-	-	-	-	0,2	-	0,2
Ismeretlen korú	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,5	3,5
Összesen	4,1	45,5	23,8	9,0	8,5	4,1	1,1	3,9	100,0

LA POPULATION DE TROIS VILLAGES HONGROIS SZOD, RATOT ET CSOMAD AU XVIIIe SIECLE *

Les trois villages de Szod, Ratot et Csomad sont situés dans la région de Vac, près de la rive orientale du Danube au nord de Budapest.

Entre 1544, date de l'occupation par les Turcs et 1634, le nombre des maisons habitées est passé de 47 à 8 à Szod, de 32 à 6 à Ratot et ce dernier village, au départ des Turcs en 1685 est totalement dépeuplé.

Après la guerre de libération de Rakosczi en 1714, Szod ne compte que 14 serfs mais le peuplement connait alors un essor rapide : on dénombre 20 serfs en 1720 ; peu après, Ratot est repeuplé et le village de Csomad est fondé en 1729.

En 1740, on construit une nouvelle église à Szod qui devient paroisse avec Ratot et Csomad comme annexes. La population d'après les recensements était peu dense 1784, 13,9 habitants par km² à Szod, 24 à Ratot, 36,6 à Csomad (moyenne nationale 31/km²) ; elle a évolué de la façon suivante

	Szod	Ratot	Csomad
1754	428	339	306
1784	713	433	453
1804	830	526	509

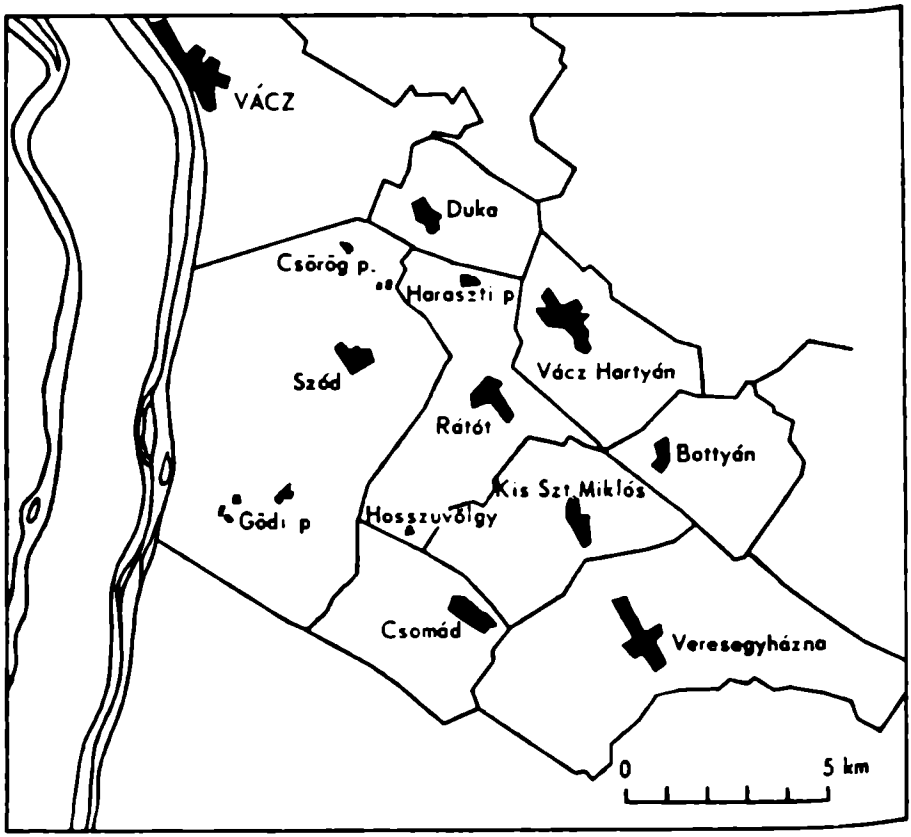
Comme dans l'ensemble du pays il y avait toujours une majorité masculine formant environ 51 % de la population totale [1].

En 1784, il n'y avait que 8 artisans et 8 nobles dans l'ensemble des trois villages, la population étant presque entièrement paysanne : on comptait à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, 68 serfs à Szod, 35 à Ratot et 45 à Csomad ; parmi ces serfs 61,8 % étaient métayers à Szod, 42,9 % à Ratot et 97,8 % à Csomad, les autres ne possédaient que leur mai-

* Résumé d'un article de E. Csocsan de Varallja, paru en hongrois dans *Történeti statisztikai hőszlemények*, 1-2, 1959, p. 58-107.

1. Non compris 4,45 % des hommes qui servent dans l'armée, tant en 1784 qu'en 1804.

Graphique 1. — *Carte de la région de Szod.*



son. En outre, presque tous ceux de Szod possédaient une vigne et vendaient leur vin à la ville épiscopale de Vac ou à Pest.

Les registres paroissiaux donnent les naissances à partir de 1741, les mariages et les décès à partir de 1757. Szod et Ratot sont presque entièrement catholiques alors que Csomad est presque exclusivement luthérien, mais l'enregistrement des actes des protestants est fait par les curés avec autant de soins que pour les catholiques. Les baptêmes sont bien enregistrés dès le début à Szod, en particulier, ils sont assez souvent administrés par la sage-femme, parfois par le maître d'école, et on trouve même mention de quelques baptêmes « sous la mère » c'est-à-dire « in utero ».

Si les baptêmes sont correctement enregistrés, les décès, par contre le sont moins surtout dans les annexes : avant 1790 le taux de mortalité n'est que de 12 ‰ à Ratot, de 18 ‰ à Csomad et même à Szod, le sous-enregistrement des décès d'enfants est manifeste à certaines périodes. Le taux de mortalité infantile n'aurait été que de 89,6 ‰ entre 1765 et 1771 et de 101,6 ‰ entre 1788 et 1794 alors

qu'il est en moyenne un peu au-dessus de 200 ‰ les autres années.

Cette baisse correspond au passage de deux prêtres et le sous-enregistrement porte surtout sur les enfants morts avant une semaine, en particulier ils n'ont enregistré aucun enfant mort à 1 jour.

Pour les adultes, l'enregistrement des décès semble satisfaisant, on trouve des sépultures de mendiants et les pauvres sont ensevelis avec la mention marginale : *pro deo gratis*.

Pour Szod on peut corriger le sous-enregistrement des décès d'enfants avec une approximation suffisante pour établir la balance annuelle des naissances et des décès.

En reconstituant la population annuelle de la paroisse à partir du recensement de 1784 et du mouvement naturel, on obtient une série que l'on peut comparer aux autres recensements, spécialement aux dénombrements ecclésiastiques, et d'après les différences observées, avoir des indications sur les mouvements migratoires.

Avant 1757, la croissance de la population est beaucoup plus rapide que ne le voudrait l'accroissement naturel et correspond à une immigration importante qui a commencé aussitôt après l'expulsion des Turcs et s'est intensifiée après la guerre de libération de Rakosczi l'accroissement moyen a dû atteindre alors 7 % par an. La population de Szod devait être d'environ 136 habitants en 1715, 184 en 1720 et 530 en 1746. Vers 1757, un groupe de 150 à 200 habitants a quitté le village pour émigrer plus loin, et un second groupe de 90 personnes en 1764-1785. De 1757 à 1775, la population est restée à peu près stationnaire malgré un très fort excédent de naissance à cause de ces départs massifs. Après 1765, l'accroissement naturel toujours très élevé, de l'ordre de 2 % par an juqu'en 1775, s'abaisse à environ 1 % par an, interrompu parfois par des mortalités exceptionnelles : comme, par exemple, une maladie infectieuse qui frappe tous les enfants de la région en 1783, ou la disette en 1794-1795 et 1797. « La misère fut grande, écrit un annaliste contemporain. On n'eut pas de pain pendant bien des jours, surtout ceux qui avaient beaucoup d'enfants, et on mangea des racines et de l'herbe. »

Cette histoire résumée du peuplement, explique bien des particularités ethniques, linguistiques et religieuses.

En 1715, Szod était calviniste et hongrois mais après l'immigration intense de la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle, le slovaque devient la langue courante. Le rapport de la visite ecclésiastique de 1754 spécifie que « dans la paroisse principale et ses deux annexes, tout le monde parle slave et 15 personnes seulement parlent aussi le hongrois ». En 1828 encore le slovaque est la langue courante, il n'y a que 12 personnes qui parlent le hongrois chez elles, mais tous comprennent cette langue et l'utilisent en particulier pour la confession.

Cependant la majorité des patronymes est hongroise à Szod en 1770 : 60,3 % des noms sont hongrois, 11,8 % allemands et 27,9 % slaves. A Ratot, 54,3 % des noms sont hongrois, 45,7 % slovaques et

à Csomad seulement, les noms slovaques sont majoritaires avec 75,6 % contre 24,4 % hongrois. Selon une tradition locale, les habitants sont en majorité des hommes hongrois venus de Transylvanie qui ont épousé des femmes slovaques et la langue maternelle a prévalu dans la paroisse pour les rapports quotidiens. De même, la religion calviniste a presque disparu : il n'y avait plus que 5 calvinistes à Ratot en 1779 et aucun à Szod et à Csomad : la religion catholique a prévalu à Szod et à Ratot, la confession luthérienne à Csomad.

La structure par âge est mal connue, seulement par les dénombrements ecclésiastiques qui distinguent les adultes et les enfants. Le « numerus animarum » de 1771 de Szod spécifie que l'on considère comme adultes les plus de 15 ans, (âge exact) ; dans ces conditions, les moins de 15 ans représentent en moyenne, pour l'ensemble des trois villages, 45,2 % de la population totale, avec de faibles variations autour de ce chiffre moyen pendant toute la période étudiée.

Parmi les enfants, on distingue ceux qui se confessent et les « incapaces confessionis ». Beaucoup d'auteurs placent à 10 ans la limite d'âge de ces deux groupes, d'autres la placent à 7 ans et nous pensons que c'est vraisemblablement celui qui doit être retenu[2] il y aurait alors environ 26,2 % d'enfants de moins de 7 ans dans la population totale, ce qui paraît normal.

Les mouvements de la population sont en rapport avec l'évolution générale, peut-être, les taux élevés que l'on observe résultent d'un certain sous-enregistrement des recensements, bien qu'ils donnent une pyramide des âges vraisemblable.

La nuptialité, malgré quelques fluctuations reste élevée et très constante pendant toute la période : en moyenne 11,2 ‰ à Szod, 10,4 à Ratot et 9,9 à Csomad. Les remariages de veufs et de veuves entrent pour 28,7 % dans le total des mariages contre 9 à 10 % seulement aujourd'hui, ce qui s'explique par la forte mortalité de l'époque[3]. (Voir les âges au mariage sur le graphique 2.)

La répartition mensuelle des mariages est presque la même dans les trois villages et présente trois pointes en janvier, mai et novembre ; le minimum se situe en mars, août et décembre. Pour les catholiques, on sait que le droit canon interdisait le mariage pendant l'Avent et le Carême, mais on retrouve les mêmes caractéristiques chez les protestants de Csomad. Peut-être pour des raisons familiales ou économiques, les remariages de veuves sont beaucoup plus fréquents de mars à octobre que de novembre à février.

La natalité atteint des taux très élevés dans les décennies qui suivent la grande immigration : 66,4 ‰ en 1751-1760 et même 66,8 ‰ en 1761-1765. Puis à Szod elle descend par paliers à 62,7 en

2. Le « numerus animarum » de 1746 distingue les enfants de plus et de moins de 7 ans, mais sans préciser s'il s'agit bien des « confessionis capaces » et « incapaces confessionis ».

3. Noter qu'aujourd'hui il y a aussi 9 à 10 % de remariages de divorcés, alors qu'au XVIIIe siècle le divorce était inconnu chez les catholiques et presque inexistant chez les protestants.

1766-1770, 60,7 en 1771-1780, 54,8 en 1781-1790 et 43,7 en 1801-1805, comme à Ratot et à Csomad.

La répartition mensuelle des naissances présente deux pointes en février et en septembre-octobre, cette deuxième pointe étant peut-être accentuée par la forte pointe des mariages en nov. et janvier.

Pour l'ensemble de la période 1741-1800, la masculinité à la naissance est normale : 1 049 garçons pour 1 000 filles.

La mortalité est très élevée, elle atteint 42,6 ‰ pour la période relativement bien enregistrée 1771-1805. Des taux du même ordre sont avancés par plusieurs auteurs pour l'ensemble de la Hongrie à cette époque[4].

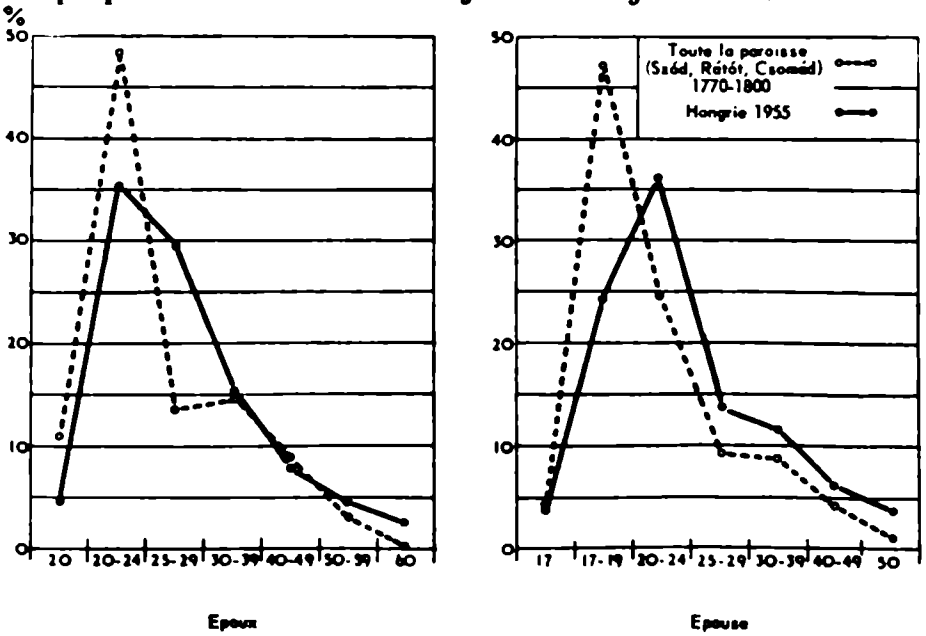
Certaines années exceptionnelles, d'épidémies ou de disettes, la mortalité atteint ou dépasse 60 ‰, c'est le cas en 1760, 1764, 1778, 1782-1784, 1795 et 1803-1805.

La mortalité infantile n'est que de 203 ‰, en moyenne, en rapport avec le sous-enregistrement déjà signalé pour les enfants décédés avant 7 jours. Parfois, d'ailleurs le taux s'élève énormément 414 ‰ à Szod en 1777.

La distribution saisonnière des décès fait apparaître deux points, en février et en septembre, la première est peut-être due à la variole, la seconde au typhus.

E. Csocsan de Varallja.

Graphique 2. — *Distribution des âges au mariage à Szod* (1770-1800).



4. Teglas et Egyed ainsi qu'un manuscrit de 1777.

TABLEAU I.- Mouvements de population.

(taux pour mille habitants)

	Mariages	Naissances	Décès	Décès -1an	Nuptialité	Natalité	Mortalité	Mortalité infantile
					S Z O D			
1700								
41-50	-	341	-	-	-	63,6	-	-
51-57	-	339	-	-	-	-	-	-
58-60	22	108	82	21	13,4	66,0	50,1	19,4
61-70	77	381	237	68	13,1	64,8	40,3	17,8
71-80	80	402	290	88	12,1	60,7	43,8	21,8
81-90	69	405	338	86	13,8	54,8	45,8	21,2
91-00	86	382	295	87	10,5	46,8	36,2	21,4
1800								
01-05	45	189	206	34	10,4	43,7	47,6	18,0
					R A T O T			
1700								
41-50	-	(176)	(125)		-	-	-	-
51-60	(9)	219	(140)		-	64,7	-	-
61-70	41	226	(143)		10,3	57,0	-	-
71-80	49	281	238		10,9	62,6	53,0	-
81-90	36	283	309		8,1	63,9	69,7	-
91-00	60	262	200	51	12,3	53,8	41,1	19,5
1800								
01-05	36	122	131	23	13,5	45,9	49,3	18,8
					C S O M A D			
1700								
41-50	-	150	(104)	-	-	58,4	-	-
51-60	15	160	(101)	-	14,7	50,5	-	-
61-70	40	243	(173)	-	10,5	63,7	-	-
71-80	39	280	(209)	-	8,8	63,2	-	-

TABLEAU II.- Mouvements mensuels de la population des 3 villages ensemble.

Période 1758-1800 (pour 100 par mois en moyenne).

	Nuptialité	Natalité	Mortalité
Janvier	454,2	107,3	145,4
février	142,5	120,8	167,2
mars	4,9	117,1	127,6
avril	37,0	89,0	122,7
mai	65,7	83,5	89,0
juin	49,7	76,4	43,9
juillet	32,1	88,8	30,7
aout	10,5	104,6	81,1
septembre	18,2	113,5	99,1
octobre	37,0	112,8	91,2
novembre	351,9	106,0	91,2
décembre	0,0	81,4	116,6

TABLEAU III. - DECES PAR AGE A SZOD 1758-1800

	décès	%
0 an	345	280
1	117	95
2	95	77
3-4	91	74
5-6	77	63
7-9	26	21
10-14	35	28
15-19	43	35
20-29	63	51
30-39	66	54
40-49	78	63
50-59	79	64
60-69	55	45
70 et +	62	50
âge non indiqué	10	
TOTAL	1242	1000

Csocsán (váralljai)

A családtörténet feldolgozása eltérő a Nobilitas évkönyvekben közölt családokétól, de mivel tagtársunk dr. prof. Váralljai Csocsán Jenő munkája, ezért csorbitatlanul tesszük közzé.

Daróczy a család eredetét illetően rámutatott, hogy a *Gyulafalviak* családfáján "az első nemzedékekben a "Tatár" nemzetnév kétszer, a "Gyula" keleti méltóságnév pedig többször is előfordul", de tévesen azt tételezte fel, hogy a család csak 1335-ben *Róbert Károly* rendeletére telepedett volna Besszarábia tatár előkelői közül Máramarosba.[1]

Ezzel szemben az oklevelek azt bizonyítják, hogy a család már 1317-ben Gyulafalván élt. „Az 1317. évi *Károly* király által kiadott adománylevél, mely megyénkben az első ilyen természetű okmány a *Rednik* család őseinek adja Gyulafalva és Nyires birtokát" amint azt *Joódy* hangsúlyozta.[2] Azt, hogy a *Gyulafalviak* már 1317-ben Gyulafalván voltak, *Bélay* is kifejtette.[3] Történetesen maga *Nagy Lajos* király írta 1349 szeptember 15-én, hogy „a Máramaros folyó vize mellett létező Gyulafalva és Nyires birtokát egykor legszeretettebb atyánk, a jóemlékű legkiválóbb fejedelem *Károly* úr, Isten kegyelméből Magyarország neves királya adta ugyanannak a Gyulának Mo".[4]

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[1] királydaróczi Daróczy Zoltán: Nemesi Évkönyv 1929-34-es kötetében 257. oldal.

[2] Joódy Pál: Máramaros vármegye 1749-1769. évi nemesség vizsgálata, Máramarossziget 1943, 10. oldal.

"Az 1317. évi Károly király által kiadott adománylevél, amely az első ilyen természetű okmány" (márminti Máramarosban) ", a Rednik család őseinek adta Gyulafalva és Nyires birtokát" Joódy Pál: Máramaros vármegye 1749-1769. évi nemességvizsgálata, Máramarossziget 1943, 10. oldal (vesd még össze a 178. oldal 6. pontjával, amely kifejti, hogy "bemutatták azt az oklevelet, mely szerint Lajos király Dragumérnak, Drágus fiának részére, Károly király 1317. évi Gyulafalva és Nyires birtokokra kibocsájtott adománylevelét megerősíti").

Bélay Vilmos: Máramaros megye társadalma és nemzetiségei a megye betelepítésétől a XVIII. század elejéig, Budapest 1943, 57. oldal, apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 27-28. oldalon a 13. és 14. számú oklevél, melyeket Nagy Lajos bocsájtott ki említi "Karolus Dei Gratia Inclytus Rex Hungariae Genitor noster" adományát.

A Máramaros vármegye levéltárában őrzött "Productio Nobilium Anni 1752" kötet 60. lapja említette, hogy Róbert Károly király ezen oklevelét 1317-ben bocsájtotta ki. Mihályi, op. cit., 27-28. oldal 5. lábjegyzet

[3] Bélay Vilmos: Máramaros megye társadalma és nemzetségei, Budapest 1943 57. és 142. oldal.

[4] quas olim excellentissimus Princepsdpminus Karolus Dei Gratia Inclytus Rex Hungariae Genitor noster charissimus bonae recordationis eidem Gyula pro fidelissimus et meritoris servicris

A Máramaros vármegyei levéltárában őrzött „Productio Nobilium Anni 1752" című kötet 60. lapja szerint *Károly* király Gyulafalvát és Nyírest illetően adományt tett Drágus és fia Dragumér és ennek testvérei részére 1317-ben.[5]

Az az elképzelés, hogy Drágus az 1317-ben már birtokában levő Gyulafalvát fiáról nevezte volna el[6] elképzelhetetlen képtelenség, hiszen akkor még meg se születhetett, és az akkori gyermekhalandóság miatt kérdéses kellett hogy legyen, hogy felnő. A helységeket az elődökről szokták elnevezni, vagy valamely élő nagyságról, de aligha egy gyermekről, akiknek a fele a nagy középkori halandóság miatt meghalt mielőtt felnőtt. Egyébként is már 1317-ben (*Róbert*) *Károly* idézett okirata, már eleve, Gyulaházának nevezte a helységet, tehát nem Drágus adta a falunak a nevét. Történetesen *Nagy Lajos* király 1349 szeptember 15-én kelt szóban forgó oklevelét Lukinich úgy érti, hogy „Drágus fils de Gyula" vagyis hogy Drágus apja szintén Gyula volt.[7] Maga Nagy Lajos király szerint tehát Gyula volt az a személy, aki Róbert Károlytól az adományt kapta.[8] Ez azonban nincs ellentétben azzal, hogy Drág és fiai kapták Gyulafalvát 1317-ben, hiszen az a Gyula Drágus fia volt. Mindez azonban ismét arra mutat, hogy a Gyulafalviak elődei már 1317-ben is a helységben éltek, és a helységet már korábban is Gyulafalvának nevezték. Erre már apsai *Mihályi* János is rámutatott: „Miután Gyulafalvát Drágus őseitől örökölte, a birtok nevezetét a XIV. század előtt élt egyik tulajdonosától vette."[9] Ezt illetően maga *Nagy Lajos* király írta, hogy a Máramaros folyó vize mellett már „létező

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suis contulisset.Nagy Lajos király Besztercében 1349 szeptember 15-én kiállított oklevele. apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 27. oldal.

[5] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 27. (és 28.) oldal, 5. lábjegyzet.

[6] Bélay Vilmos: Máramaros megye társadalma és nemzetségei, Budapest 1943, 57. és 142. oldal
Emericus Lukinich adiuvante Ladioslao Gáldi, ediderunt Antonius Fekete Nagy et Ladislaus Makkai: Documenta historiam Valachorum illustrantia, (Études sur l'Europe Centre-Orientale No 29), Budapest 1941, 115. oldal, 3. lábjegyzet.

[7] Emericus Lukinich adiuvante Ladioslao Gáldi, ediderunt Antonius Fekete Nagy et Ladislaus Makkai: Documenta historiam Valachorum illustrantia, (Études sur l'Europe Centre-Orientale No 29), Budapest 1941, 115. oldal, 82. oklevél.

[8] de possessionibus eorum Gyulafalva juxta fluvium Maramorisii existenti et Nyires vocatis, quas olim excellentissimus Princeps Dominus Karolus Dei Gratia Inclytus Rex Hungariae Genitor noster charissimus bonae recordationis ei dem Gyula pro fidelissimis, et meritoriis serviciis suis contulisset,
apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 27. oldal.

[9] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból. Máramarossziget 1900,34. oldal, 2. lábjegyzet.
Mihályi másutt így ír: „A nova donatio kifejezés mutatja, hogy ezen birtokok az előtt is övéik voltak: ezen Drágustól a Gyula fiától származnak a gyulafalvi és deszei Drágus, Rednik, Pap, Perse, Fejér és más családok." op. cit. 40. oldal, 3. lábjegyzet.
A „novae donationis nostrae titulo dedimus" kifejezés a 38. oldalon található Nagy Lajos király 1360 március 20-án kelt oklevelében, amely arra mutat, hogy Lajos király akkor nemesi birtoknak adta a szóban forgó falvakat a Gyulafalvaiaknak, amiken korábban a pásztormépekre jellemző quinquagesimalis adfózással adóztak.

Gyulafalva és Nyíres birtokát" adta egykor (*Róbert*) *Károly* király Gyulának.[10] Történetesen Gyulafalva területén volt Gyulaháza is,[11] ami mutatja, hogy az Gyulafalvánál régebbi, Árpádkori település volt, és azt egyáltalán nem nevezhették el az 1317-ben élt Drágus fiáról.

Fényes Elek azt jegyezte föl, hogy Gyulafalva "nevezetesebb birtokosai a' *Pap* és *Rednik* nemzetségbeliek, kik a közvélemény szerint, Gyulától, ama híres magyar hőstől ágaznak le, még pedig fiágon"[12] Ugyanezt a hagyományt bizonyítja másodszor *Kubinyi* Ferenc és *Vahot* Imre is, akik szerint Tuhutum "ivadékai a Gyulák, Máramarosban is bírtak földeket, a Szigethez közel eső Gyulafalva-hegység arra látszik emlékeztetni."[13] *Kubinyi* és *Vahot* hozzátették még, hogy a Gyulafalván "bíró *Rednik*-nemzetség Gyula vezér fejedelmi véréből származtatja magát."[14] A Gyulák máramarosi megtelepedését mutatja a Gyulák nevezetű két csúcsú hegy (az egyik 566 méteres, a másik 501 méteres) szintén Máramaros vármegyében,[15] a Dolha

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[10] de possessionibus eorum Gyulafalva juxta fluvium Maramorisii existenti et Nyires vocatis, quas olim excellentissimus Princeps Dominus Karolus Dei Gratia Inclytus Rex Hungariae Genitor noster charissimus bonae recordationis ei dem Gyula pro fidelissimis, et meritoriis serviciis suis contulisset,
apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 27. oldal.

[11] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 35. oldal

[12] Fényes Elek: Magyarországnak és a hozzá kapcsolt tartományoknak mostani állapotja statisztikai és geográphiai tekintetben, V. kötet, Pest 1839, 205. oldal.

[13] Kubinyi Ferencz és Vahot Imre: Magyarország és Erdély képekben, Pest 1853, II. kötet, 143. oldal.

[14] ibidem 145. oldal

[15] Szilágyi István (szerk.): Máramaros vármegye egyetemes leirása, Budapest 1876, 43. és 61. oldal, ahol a Gyulák hegyét 560,27 méteresnek mondja és meghatározza pontosan földrajzi helyzetét a Buzsora 1079,01 méteres csúcsához képest, megjelölve a közben levő hegyeket..
Györffy idézi Thietmárt, aki szerint vitéz Boleszló lengyel királynak "volt egy nagy vára ill. városa (urbs, civitas) saját országa és Magyarország végein, melynek őrzését Prokuj fiurra, a magyar király nagybátyjára bízta, kit a király székéből, úgy mint most, régebben is elűzött", vagyis az erdélyi gyulára....Hogy melyik várat bízta Boleszló Gyulára, biztosan el nem dönthető kérdés" (Györffy György: István király és műve, Budapest 1977, 281. oldal.) Ilyen vár az Árpádházi Szent Kinga történetében kétszer is: 1239-ben és 1287-ben szereplő Csorsztin Vára Gácsországban a Dunajec fölött Nedeccel szemben és Podolin közelében (Szentek Lexikona Bp 1994, 200. oldal, Prokopp Mária: Újabb magyar szent - Kinga, Új Ember 1999, június 20, 2. oldal.;Molnár Imre: Árpádházi Boldog Kingát szentté avatják, Napi Magyarország 199 június 12 17. oldal.).Tudni kell azonban, hogy Boleszló a Kievi Oroszországgal is hadban állt, s lehetséges, hogy ez a vár éppen a Máramaros szomszédságába esett.
Drágnak nyilván azért esett a választása Moldvabányára, mert a szomszédságában szintén a Moldva vize mellett feküdt Gyula, „hasonnevű vezértől alapított város volt akkor, midőn 744-ben (?) a' magyarok Scythiából Pannoniába másodikszor kijöttek, és Sarmatiának ezen részében ideiglenesen letelepedtek"[85] Gyulán „hajdan kastélyok és kiemelkedő tetőzetű, zászlós tornyú paloták büszkélkedtek." [93] Ezen Gyula helység neve Bandinus szerint a honfoglalás koraból az erdélyi Gyula vezér emlékét őrzi,[85] akitől a Gyulafalvi nemzetség származott, és, mint láttuk, valójában ebből a nemzetségből vezeti le Makkai László[134] meg Lukinich Imre[135] a Moldvát alapító, utóbb bélteki Drágffyak családfáját. Abból, hogy Drág Moldvát éppen a Gyula nemzetség

közelében levő Zárnya helység fölött. Alighanem a mögötte fekvő egész hegységet eredetileg szintén a Gyulákról nevezték el.[16]

A *Gyulafalviak* Gyuláktól való származását mutatja harmadszor az is, hogy *Gyulafalviak* legrégibb ismert nemzedékeiben a Gyula személynév ismételten visszatér. *Daróczy* családfájukon ténylegesen nyolc Gyulát sorolt föl 1505 előtt,[17] s hozzájuk kell adni azt a Gyulát is, akiről a *Róbert Károly* korában már létező Gyulafalva a nevét kapta. *Györffy* György azt is kifejtette, hogy *Gyulafalvi* Gyula testvérének az Ige neve szintén valójában ősi magyar név: Üge(k)[18]. Ténylegesen *Anonymus* szerint Ügek Álmos vezér apja,[19] a *Képes Krónika* szerint Álmos nagyapja volt.[20] Üge tehát a Gyula nemzetségre jellemző, és nevezetes nevet alkotott. Ugyanis mind *Hóman* Bálint,[21] mind

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ősi területén alapította, ismét kitűnik, hogy nemzetsége a Gyula nemzetségéből származott, és eredetileg is magyar volt.[15]

A Moldvabánya közelében fekvő Gyulán kívül ugyanis a Balhoj völgyében is feküdt egy másik Gyula, amit a románok Hodorának neveznek.[201]

[16] A német nyelvű 1:75000-es katonai térlépen (XII. sor, XXVIII. oszlop, vagyis 4670-es számú Bilke szelvény az 1894. évi fölvétel 1915 június 19-én kelt kiadása) a hegynek mind a 566 méteres, mind pedig az 560 méteres csúcsát, tehát kétszer is, "Djilok"-nak nevezi.

Ez a név nyilván szoros összefüggésben áll a mögöttük fekvő egész hegységnek nevével, amely "Borló Gyil" elnevezéssel található az 1884-ben kiadott "A magyar állam közigazgatási térképé"-nek III. szelvényén. Ezt az 1:360 000 méretarányú térképet "a magy. kir. államnyomda szerkesztette és sokszorosította. A már említett 1:75 000-es méretarányú 4670 Bilke szelvényen ugyanis a Gyulák= Djilok hegytől észak-északnyugatra a Bereg és Máramaros váregye határán fekvő 1086 méteres Buzsora mellett a "Beragyi Djil" megjelölést találjuk, és nyugatabbra a Smoligovica helység közelében a "Kameni Djil" megjelölést, majd pedig fölöttök, a 850 méteres Globski Vreb fölött közvetlenül meglehetősen nagy betűkkel a "Veliki Djil" elnevezést.

Nyilvánvalónak látszik, hogy ahogyan a Gyulák név "Djilok"-ká ferdült a mögöttük levő Gyil hegység neve szintén a Gyula szó további elferdítéséből alakult..

Az 1943-ban Bene András főhadnagy helyesbítette 1:50000-es méretarányú és 1844-ben kiadott 4670 Kelet szelvényen szóbanforgó hegy két csúcsának a nevét mind a kétszer "Gyilok" fölírással jelölik és a helységet mellette Zádnya (a Zadnyoje)-nek írják. Nyilvánvalónak látszik, hogy Bene főhadnagy nem ismerte Szilágyi István nak az előző lábjegyzetben idézett Máramaros monográfiáját., amely világosan meghatározta, hogy ennek a két csúcsú hegynek "Gyulák" a neve.

[17] királydaróczi Daróczy Zoltán: Nemesi Évkönyv 1929-34-es kötetében családfa a 264. oldalnál.

[18] Györffy György: Az Árpádkori Magyarország történeti földrajza, IV. kötet Liptó, Máramaros, Moson, Nagysziget, Nógrád, Nyitra, Pest és Pilis megye. Budapest, 1998, 120. oldal.

[19] Emericus Szentpétery: Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, I. kötet, Budapest 1937, 38. oldal, 1-6 sor; 39. oldal, 1-5 sor.

[20] Emericus Szentpétery: Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, I. kötet, Budapest 1937, 284. oldal, 21-22 sor.

[21] Hóman Bálint és Szekfű Gyula: Magyar történet, I. kötet, Buzdapest 1928, 65-67, 70. és 103. oldal.

Hóman Bálint, Szekfű Gyula: Magyar történet, Budapest 1941, 56. oldal.

„A magyar eredetmonda nyilvánvalóan hún és ó-bolgár hagyományokon alapszik s a húnok legkiválóbb uralkodójának, az ó-bolgár Dulo-dinasztia legendássá vált ősének, Attilának neve történetileg pontosan beleillik ebbe a magyarok eredetéről fennmaradt és minden idegen forrástól független hagyományba. (Hóman Bálint: A magyar hún-hagyomány és hún-monda. a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Rökk Szilárd-jutalmával kitüntetett pályamunka. A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia támogatásával, Budapest 1925, 54. oldal és passim) 1058-ban Hersfeldi Lambert

pedig *Györffy* György[22] kifejtették, hogy az *Árpádok* szintén a Gyula nemzetségből származtak, hiszen az ó-bolgár királylista tanúsága szerint maga Attila is a Gyula nemzetséghez tartozott.[23] Ismeretes, hogy a régi családokban az ősök neve után szokták nevezni az újszülötteket, és a Gyulafalviak ezen névadása is tanúsítja, hogy nemcsak a XIX. században, de a XIV. században is a Gyulák nemzetségéből származóknak tudták magukat. Ennek nem mond ellen a családjukban akkoriban előforduló Drágus név, mert hiszen már *Szent István* korában is a nemzetség egyik prominens tagját Prokujnak nevezték.[24] Ezek a nevek a görög keleti egyházhoz való tartozásuk révén kerültek a családfájukra.

A Gyula nemzetség *Árpádok* korabeli máramarosi szállására, sőt megtelepedésére mutat negyedszer az is, hogy *Györffy* György szerint Máramarosban „a térség korai víz és hegynevei olyan mértékben egységesen magyar eredetűek, amilyenhez hasonlóra a kárpáti térségben másutt alig akadunk. Ennek oka nyilván az, hogy a hegylábi alföldek magyar állattartói nyaranta ide hajtották csordáikat, nyájaikat, s ilyen módon nevezték el a vizeket, hegyeket, melyek nevét a XIV. századi oklevelek fenntartottak. Jellemző, hogy volt olyan kisebb folyó, amelynek 1363-ban az oklevél szerint neve sem volt (1353/60 fluvium sine nomine Konyha, Visó és Oroszvíz térségében),[25] ami cáfolja azt a célzatos állítást, hogy a neveket az oklevélírók vagy birtokosok találták ki."[26]

A Tisza vízgyűjtő területébe tartozik valójában az egész Máramaros vármegyének mind a 9716 km^2 területe. A vármegyét mégsem a Tiszáról nevezték el, hanem Máramarosról, aminek 284.3 km^2-es a vízgyűjtő területe mindössze 3 % pontosabban 2.9 %-a az egész vármegyének. Ennek csak az lehetett a magyarázata, hogy a Máramaros vízgyűjtő területe volt a gyulák eredeti szállásterülete, és így a vezér által s egyúttal a legrégebben lakott vidék Máramarosban.

A *Gyulafalviaknak* Gyula vezértől való származását erősíti meg ötödször az is, amint azt *Györffy* György hangsúlyozta, hogy a hét vezértől származó családok címere oroszlánt ábrázolt,[27] és *Gyulafalviak* nemzetségének

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Magyarországon járva megtudta, hogy a magyar királyi családban örökség révén őrizték Attila kardját, II. Béla leánya, Zsófia hercegnő testvérét 1146 körül a hunok királyának nevezte, (op.cit., 31. oldal) 1270-ben is az Árpádház Attilát ősének tartotta (op.cit. 55. oldal, [130] lábjegyzet).

[22] Györffy György: Tanulmányok a magyar állam eredetéről, Budapest 1959, 79. oldal; Györffy György: István király és műve Budapest 1977, 60. és 55-60. oldal.

[23] Omeljan Pritsak: Die Bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren, Wiesbaden 1955, 76. oldal.

[24] Györffy György: István király és műve, Budapest 1977, 60. oldal.

[25] annectit quendam fluvium qui estbsine nomine apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 32. oldal.

[26] Györffy György: Az Árpádkori Magyarország történeti földrajza, IV. kötet Liptó, Máramaros, Moson, Nagysziget, Nógrád, Nyitra, Pest és Pilis megye. Budapest, 1998, 112. oldal.

[27] Györffy György: Tanulmányok a magyar állam eredetéről, Budapest 1959, 4-6 és 117. oldal, valamint az 5. oldalon levő ábra.

mind a négy főágának jóformán minden címerváltozatán megjelenik az oroszlán, és az oroszlán az, ami mindezekben a címerváltozatokban közös.[28]

Döntő jelentőségű hatodszor, hogy a középkorból Gyulafalva határából fönnmaradt még Gyulaháza elnevezés is, aminek a neve jelzi, hogy Gyulafalvánál régibb Árpádkori település, valamint Gyulamonostor, amiről *Daróczy* azt is följegyezte, hogy a Gyulafalviak "ősi temetkezőhelye a máragyulafalvi Gyulamonostor."[29] Így tehát nemzetségi kolostoruk neve is azt mutatja, hogy a Gyula nemzetségből származtak. A monostort a Főangyaloknak szentelték,[30] ami annyit jelent, hogy a bizánci rítusban búcsúnapja „*Szent Mihály* és az összes mennyei erők ünnepe" volt november 8-án.[31] Ebből ismét kitűnik, hogy a *Gyulafalviak* nemzetségének temetőhelyéül szolgált, mert *Szent Mihály* a megholtak és temetők védőszentje.[32]

Még lényegesebb ennél, hogy Gyulafalvával és Aknasugataggal a hegység gerincén határos Nagybánya, amit többek között Gyulafalva 1553-ban történt határjárása bizonyít.[33] Nagybányának az eredeti neve azonban a középkorban Asszonypataka volt. Ez a név, ha össszevetjük a Királyhágóval vagy Királyházával nyilvánvalóan a Szent István-i keresztény királyságot megelőző korban keletkezett, és *Géza* feleségét Sarolt asszonyt jelölte meg, akinek nyilván a hozományát alkotta fejedelemasszony korában. A város nevét latin formában Rivulus dominarumnak írták többes számban, de mindenütt, ahol a magyar nevet illesztették a latin szövegbe Asszonypataka egyesszámban áll,[34] és így csak a nagyfejedelemasszonyra vonatkozhat, már csak azért is, mert Nagybánya templomát éppen nem a Nagyboldogasszonynak, hanem *Szent*

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[28] Daróczy, op.cit. 259. oldal; Borovszky Samu: Bihar váremegye és Nagyvárad, Budapest 1901 643. oldal.
(Gyulafalvi Rednik Sándor címere 1789-ben:) "A pajzsmezőben két ágaskodó oroszlán áll szemközt s első jobb lábaikban kardot tartanak. Sisakdísz: páncélos kar kardot tart "
Gyulafalvi Rednik Sándornak ugyanez a cimere (Máramaros) Szigeten 1785 június 12-én kelt levelén a a marosvásárhelyi Teleki Levéltárban "Dipl 8468" jelzettel, jelenleg a budavári Országos Levéltárban, ahol "P. 657, 79. csomó, folió 3" megjelöléssel található.

[29] királydaróczi Daróczy Zoltán: Nemesi Évkönyv 1929-34-es kötetében 259. oldal.
Lásd Cserna Károly rajzát: „Csúcsíves fatemplomok Máramaros megyében: Gyulamonostoron...." Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia írásban és képben XV. kötet (Magyarország V. kötete), Felsőmagyarország I. rész, Budapest 1898, 111. oldal
Györffy György rámutatott, hogy a " korai urasági templomok még többnyire fából épültek, mint pl. a "(XI.) "század második felében Merkur fehérvári őrkanonok birtokán a szentjobbi monostor" (Györffy György: István király és műve, Budapest 1977, 264. oldal.)

[30] Schematismus cleri dioecesis Szamosújváriensis Graeci ritus Catholicorum pro anno a Cristo (sic!) nato 1898, 216. oldal.

[31] "November 8-án: Szent Mihály arkangyal és az összes mennyei erők ünnepe" Melles Emil, Szántay-Számán István és Kozma János: Görögkatolikus szertartástan, Budapest 1937, 150. oldal.

[32] Bangha Béla (szerk.): Katolikus Lexikon, III. kötet, Budapest 1932, 317. oldal.

[33] „1553. Eszt. Midőn Gyulafalva helységnek, és Nyírjessi pusztának határjai járattak, Nagy-Bánya Várossa Éleskő nevezetű forduló eránt ellent mondott. Lelesz. Konv." Szirmai Szirmay Antal: Szathmár vármegye, Budán 1809, 224. oldal.
Ebből nyilvánvaló, hogy Gyulafalva és Nagybánya határos helységek voltak

[34] Szirmai Szirmay Antal: Szatmár vármegye, Budán 1809, 215-223. oldal.

István királynak szentelték. *Szirmay* Antal már 1809-ben fölsorolta a Nagybányára vonatkozó régi jogi szövegeket, amelyből kitűnt, hogy „....Asszony-Pataka a' Királynék jószágai közzé sehol...sem számláltatik."[35] Ez is tehát azt mutatja, hogy az Asszonypataka kifejezés a keresztény királyságot megelőző időből eredt.

Mindez alighanem szoros kapcsolatban áll azzal, hogy Sarolta fia, Szent István király a bizánci arany solidussal egyenlő súlyú arany pénzt is bocsájtott ki,[36] s hogy Nagybánya középkori legnagyobb templomát utóbb éppen Szent István királynak szentelték, amiből sajnos csak a nagytorony, az úgynevezett István torony maradt meg a város főterén, valamint, hogy Nagybánya címerén a bányászok magyar ruhát viselnek.[37]

Így tehát Gyulaházával, Gyulafalvával és Gyulamonostorral harántosan találjuk a Gyula nemzetségből származó Sarolta birtokát, Asszonypatakát, ami így megerősíti hogy Gyulaháza eredetileg a Gyulák szállláshelye volt. Az Asszonypataka helység neve ezenkívül arra is utal, hogy ott akkoriban az aranyat még elsősorban mosták. A helység nevében ugyanis akkor még a „-bánya" helyett „-patakot" találunk, amiből kitűnik, hogy Sarolta idejében az aranyat még nem bányászták, hanem mosták. Igen jellemzően az 1200-ban alapított Moldvabányát már bányának nevezték és a román neve is ebből a magyar névből származik.[38]

Anonymus írta a szittyákról: „Arany ezüst, drágakő: annyi volt nekik mint a kavics, mivel saját földjük folyamaiban találhatták mindezt."[39] Tudni kell, hogy a régibb századokban, sőt "egészen 1875-ig a világ összes aranytermelésének 3/4 részét torlatok mosásából nyerték."[40] Az 1308-ban írt „Anonymi descriptio Europae Orientalis a következőket jegyezte föl Magyarország folyóiról: „Ezek a folyók a Vissó, a Tarac, a Talabor, a Tisza, a Szeret, a Prut, a Lápos, a Szamos, az Aranyos, a Maros, a Beszterce. E folyók nagyobb része a fövényében aranyat is sodor magával, és ezért Magyarországon az említett folyók mellett lakó főrangúak és más nemesemberek szakadatlanul mosatják és gyűjtik az aranyat."[41]

Máramarosban még a XIX. században is mostak aranyat, nemcsak Husztnál és Visknél a Tiszában, hanem éppen Gyulafalva alatt Farkasrévnél a

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[35] Szirmai Szirmay Antal: Szatmár vármegye, Budán 1809. 215-215. oldal.

[36] Gedai István: Szent István aranypénzvetése, Budapest 1999.

[37] Duo sunt matallici fossores malleis suis petram secant, praeter Metallicidarum Insignia, veste Hungarica amicti. (Josephus Koller): Cerographia 176. oldal; vide Tabella IV. Numerus XVI.

[38] Enciclopedia Italiana XXIII kötet, Róma 1934, 546. oldal.

[39] Aurum et argentum et gemmas habebant sicut lapides, quia in fluminibus eiusdem terrae inveniebantur. Emericus Szentpétery: Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum I. kötet, 36. oldal, 8-10. sor cf,: Nam ibi habundat azrum et argentum et inveniuntur in flumininus terre illius pretiosilapideset gemme. op. cit., 34. oldal, 17-19. sor.

[40] Új Idők Lexikona, 2. kötet, Budapest 1936, 473. oldal.

[41] Domokos Pál Péter:A moldvai magyarság, Budapest 2001, 237. oldal.

Máramarosban,[42] s Farkasréven a Gyulafalviak birtokosok voltak.[43] Ezenkivül Daróczy Budfalvát a Gyulafalviak birtokai között sorolja föl,[44] márpedig Fényes Elek szerint annak határában "vagyon igen gazdag aranybánya Zsárapony nevezett alatt 's privát uraságoké."[45] A Gyulafalviak törzsbirtokait képező Máramarosvölgyét valójában aranybányák sora övezi: Budfalvából kiindulva Kapnikbánya, Felsőbánya, Kisbánya, Nagybánya vagyis Asszonypataka, Alsófernezely, Láposbánya, Misztbánya és Felsőfernezely veszik körül a Mára folyó völgyét.

A Képes Krónikában fönnmaradt Árpádkori gesta is pontosan azt hangsúlyozta, hogy a Gyulák területén aranyat mostak. „Azt az országot Erdélynek nevezik, amit igen sok folyó öntöz, melyek homokjából aranyat gyűjtenek, és annak a földnek az aranya igen jó."[46] Láttuk, hogy Asszonypatakon kívül Gyulafalva alatt Farkasréven is mostak még aranyat a XIX. században is.[47] Anonymus is azt emeli ki, hogy amikor a Gyulák őse, Töhötöm az Érmellékről kikémleltette a Szamosvölgyének vidékét, Apafarkas Ogmánd azt jelentette, hogy „azt a földet a legjobb folyók öntözik, s azok nevét és hasznát sorjában elmondta, és hogy homokjukban aranyat gyűjtenek, s hogy annak a földnek az aranya a legjobb, valamint hogy ott sót bányásznak..."[48]

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[42] " Hosszúmezőnél átellenben a Tisza jobbpartrján fekszik Körtvélyes község, a megye egyik legszebb völgyében. Határában kitűnő gyümölcs terem. A múlt század első felében és a későbbi évtizedekben is a községben, úgyszintén Lonkán, Farkasréven, Felső-Visón, Técsőn, Visken és Huszton kincstári telepítvényesek a Tisza partjain aranymosásra alkalmaztattak. Körtvélyesen hajdan apátság volt." Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia irásban és képben, XVIII. kötet (Magyarország VI. kötet), Budapest 1900, 454. oldal. Lásd még a térképet Eugene Csocsán de Várallja: La poputation de la Hongrie au XXe siecle, Revue d'études comparatives est-ouest, volume VIII, n 3, septembre 1977, 108. oldal.
Farkasrévnél a Mára, vagyis a Máramaros ömlött az Izába. Lásd: Szilágyi István (szerk.: Máramaros vármegye egyetemes leirása, Budapest 1976, 102. oldal.

[43] Daróczy, op.cit. 258. oldal.

[44] op.cit., 258. oldal.

[45] Fényes Elek: Magyarországnak és a hozzá kapcsolt tartományoknak mostani állapotja statisztikai és geográphia tekintetben, IV. kötet, Pest 1839, 204. oldal.
(Lásd még: Fényes Elek: Magyarország leírása. II. Magyarország részletesen, Pest 1847, 370. oldal.)

[46] „Universum vero regnum eius" (scilicet Gyulae) „latissimum et opullentissimum monarchie Hungarie adiunxit. Dicitur autem regnum illud Hungarice Erdeelw quod irrigastur plurimis fluviis, in quorum arinis aurum colligitur et aurum illius terre optimum est." Emericus Szentpétery, (szerk.): Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, I. kötet, Budapest 1937, 315. oldal, 3-7 sor.

[47] " Hosszúmezőnél átellenben a Tisza jobbpartrján fekszik Körtvélyes község, a megye egyik legszebb völgyében. Határában kitűnő gyümölcs terem. A múlt század első felében és a későbbi évtizedekben is a községben, úgyszintén Lonkán, Farkasréven, Felső-Visón, Técsőn, Visken és Huszton kincstári telepítvényesek a Tisza partjain aranymosásra alkalmaztattak. Körtvélyesen hajdan apátság volt." Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia irásban és képben, XVIII. kötet (Magyarország VI. kötet), Budapest 1900, 454. oldal.
Farkasrévnél a Mára, vagyis a Máramaros ömlött az Izába. Lásd: Szilágyi István (szerk.): Máramaros vármegye egyetemes leirása, Budapest 1976, 102. oldal.

[48] Quod terra illa irrigaretur optimis fluviis, quorum nomina et utilitates seriatim dixit, et quod in arenis eorum aurum colligerent et aurum terre illius optimum essetz et ubi fodetur sal et salgenia.

Igen lényeges, hogy Anonymus a Gyulák területeként Erdélyből éppen csak a Szamos völgyét említi, és éppen Zilahot, aminek a körzetében található Nagybánya, helyesebben Asszonypataka. Rá kell mutatni arra, hogy a Gyula-Zsombor nemzetség más ágainak birtokain[49] sehol sem lehetett aranyat bányászni,[50] és ezért Anonymus és a Képes Krónika csak a máramarosi Gyulaházát és az ahhoz kapcsolódó területeket jelölheti meg Asszonypatakával, mint ahol a Gyulák birtokán aranyat bányásztak és mostak, de sót is termeltek.

Anonymus idézett helyén ugyanis arra is rámutatott, hogy a Gyulák birtokain nemcsak aranyat mostak, hanem sót is bányásztak,[51] és Kubinyi András professzor szerint a középkorban a sóbányászat jövedelmezőbb volt, mint az aranytermelés.

Az Anonymus által említett sóbányászatot illetően Fényes Elek följegyezte, hogy „Akna Sugatag a 'Pap és Rednik nemzetségnek extravillánuma volt, de ahol a' régibb időkben az említett nemzetségek k. adománylevélben foglalt Szlatinkaháza nevezetű falu állott. Ez nevét vette a' sós kúttól (oláhul Szlatyine), mellyet mint nemesi birtokon levőt, a máramarosiak tetszésük szerint használják. Minthogy pedig ezen sós kút mellett, mintegy 50 évvel ezelőtt sóbánya nyittatott, azon környéket a' kamara megszerezvén, az illető birtokosok kifizettettek. Itt igen szép fejér só vágatik"[52] Gyulafalviak sóbányáját Gyulafalva határában már az egri káptalan 1355-ös határleírása is említi: annectit quendam rivulum Soospatak, ubi exit, et modicum currendo intrat in quendam viam in fodinas salium ducentem.[53] Az a

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Anonymus 25. fejezet. Emericus Szentpétery: Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, I. kötet, Budapest 1937,66. oldal, 1-4 sor.

[49] A Gyula-Zsombor nemzetség birtokait illetően lásd: Karácsonyi János:A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig, Budapest 1901, 109-114. oldal.

[50] Lásd "Magyarország földtani térképé"-t a Révai Nagy Lexikonában, XIII. kötet, Budapest 1915, 192. és 191. oldal; valamint Hóman Bálint, Szekfű Gyula: Magyar történet, II. kötet, Budapest 1936, 97. oldal.

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Lásd még Fényes Elek: Magyarország leírása. II. Magyarország részletesen, Pest 1947, 431. és 434. oldal.

Révai Nagy Lexikona, XI. kötet, Budapest 1914, 811 oldal (Kolozs vármegye természeti kincsei); XVII. kötet, Budapest 1925, 602-603. oldal (Szilágy vármegye természeti kincsei), 698-699. oldal (Szolnok-Doboka vármegye természeti kincsei; Erzsébetbánya a Lápos völgyében van, tehát nem a Szamos és Almás völgyében, ahol a Gyula-Zsombor nem birtokai feküdtek).

[51] „...terra illa „ Ultrasiluana) 2irrigatur optimis fluviis, quorum nomina et utilitates seriatim dixit, et quod in arenis eorum aurum colligerent et aurum terre illius optimum esset et ibi foderetur sal et saligena et habitatores terre illius viliores homines essent tocius mundi, quia essent Blasii et Sclavi...." Emericus Szentpétery, (szerk.): Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, I. kötet, Budapest 1937, 66. oldal, 1-6 sor.

[52] Fényes Elek: Magyarországnak és a hozzá kapcsolt tartományoknak mostani állapotja statisztikai és geográphiai tekintetben, V. kötet, Pest 1839, 206. oldal

[53] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 36. oldal.

tény, hogy a Gyulafalviak máramarosi birtokain illetve birtokainál mind sót, mind pedig aranyat lehetett lelni hatodszor bizonyítja, hogy a Gyulafalviak a Gyuláktól származtak, mert a Gyula-Zombor nemzetség másutt ismert birtokain lehetett sót találni, de aranyat nem.[54] Ezért Anonymus és a Képes Krónika igazolja a közvélemény hagyományát, amit Fényes Elek, Kubinyi Ferenc és Vahot Imre jegyeztek föl, amint azt ez előzőkben idéztünk, hogy a Gyulafalviak a Gyuláktól származnak.

Ebben az összefüggésben az is számottevő, hogy amikor Anonymus a művét írta, és amikor a Képes Krónika Árpád-kori szövege keletkezett, Máramaros még Erdélyhez tartozott, amit az bizonyít, hogy az erdélyi püspök joghatósága az Árpád-korban kiterjedt Máramarosra, és csak III. András korában kezdte az egri püspök joghatóságát erre a területre kiterjeszteni, de 1299-ben III. Endre azt még megakadályozta, és az erdélyi püspök javára döntött,[55] vagyis Máramaros akkor még Erdélyben volt.

Daróczy följegyezését már említettük, hogy a Gyulafalviak ősi temetkezőhelye a máragyulafalvi *Gyulamonostor*,[56] tehát nemzetségi kolostoruk neve is azt mutatja, hogy a Gyula nemzetségből származtak.
Daróczy tanúsága szerint így Gyulafalva határában Gyulamonostor volt a család nemzetségi monostora, ahova temetkeztek.[57] Ennek felel meg az is, hogy a monostor templomát a Főangyaloknak szentelték.[58] Búcsúnapjuk neve ugyanis valójában a görög egyházban "Szent Mihály arkangyal és az összes mennyei erők ünnepe," Szent Mihály pedig a megholtak és temetők védőszentje.[59] A monostort jelzi Korabiszky János Mátyás 1804-ben kiadott Atlas regni Hungariae portatilis.[60] Gyulamonostor képét Cserna Károly rajzolta

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[54] A Gyula-Zsombor nemzetség birtokait illetően lásd: Karácsonyi János:A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig, Budapest 1901, 109-114. oldal.

[55] Bélay Vilmos: Máramaros megye társadalme és nemzetiségei, Budapest 1943, 13.oldal.

[56] op.cit 259. oldal

[57] Daróczy, op.cit. 259, oldal. Cserna Károly rajza "Csúcsíves *fa* templomok Máramaros megyében: Gyulamonostoron, Bárdfalun és Szandán" címmel (Az Osztrák-Magyar monarchia írásban és képben, XV. kötet (Magyarország V. kötete), Felsőmagyarország I. rész, Budapest 1898, 111. oldal) mutatja a gyulamonostori templomot, amit a Főangyaloknak szenteltek a következő lábjegyzetben említett Schematismus szerint.

[58] Eccl(esia) Mur(alis) ad Assumptionem B. M.V. aedific(ata) 1888. Nota: In territorio hujus parochiae existit monasterium quondam Basilitarum. cum Eccl(esia) lign(ea) ad SS. Archangelos. Schematismus cleri dioecesis Szamosújváriensis Graeci ritus Catholicorum pro anno a Cristo (sic!) nato 1898, Szamosujvárini 1989, 216. oldal

[59] Bangha Béla (szerk.): Katolikus Lexikon, III. kötet, Budapest 1932, 317. oldal.

[60] Joh(annes) Matth(ias) Korabinszky: *Atlas Regni Hungariae portatilis*, [Bécs] 1804], LVIII. C(omitatus) . Maramarus. lapján Kloster-t jelöl Gyulafalva és Bártfalva között. Eszerint Gyulamonostor Gyulafalvától északra esett volna, a Mára(maros) folyó balpartján, viszont Bassa Gizella, Fodor Andrea...Kováts Zsolt (et alii): *Erdély térképe és helységnévtára*, Budapest 1993, Gyulafalvától délre, Gyulafalva és Aknasugatag között jelöli meg Gyulamonostort.

meg,[61] melyen szép fatemplomot látunk. Ez nem lehet meglepő, hiszen eredetileg a szentjobbi apátság temploma is fából épült. [62] Györffy György ugyanis rámutatott, hogy a "korai urasági templomok még többnyire fából épültek, mint pl. a "(XI.) "század második felében Merkúr fehérvári őrkanonok birtokán a szentjobbi monostor"[63]

Gyulafalván a Gyulafalviak azonban a Nagyboldogasszonynak[64] bizánci rítusú kőtemplomot is emeltek. Apsai Mihályi János szerint az „góth stílben" épült a XIV-XV. században.[65] Az 1890. évi szamosújvári Schematismusban az áll, hogy Eccl(esia) mur(alis) ad Assumptionem B. M. V. aedific(ata) 1509.,[66] vagyis a parochiában a „Nagyboldogasszonynak 1509-ben épült kőtemplom." Ez a följegyzés azonban pontatlan, mert Mihályi Jánostól tudjuk, hogy a gyulafalvi gótikus kőtemplomot 1880-ban lebontották,[67] és 1888-ban új kőtemplomot építettek ismét a Nagyboldogasszonynak szentelve[68] az 1898. évi szamosújvári Schematismusok szerint.

A Gyulafalvi ősi udvarházat is átépítették a XIX. században, ami abból derül ki, hogy Kubinyi Ferenc és Vahot Imre 1853-ban a gyulafalvi" hidalgói kastély félig bevégzett épületében édes álomra" hajtotta fejét,[69] tehát akkor a gyulafalvi *kastély* még építés illetve átépítés alatt állt. Sajnos a II. világháború és az azt követő rendszer gondoskodása nyomán a gyulafalvi kastély elpusztult.

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[61] Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia írásban és képben, XV. kötet (Magyarország V. kötete) Felsőmagyarország I. rész, Budapest 1898, 111. oldal.

[62] Máramarosszigeten kívül "A XIV. és XV. századból származó kőtemplomok voltak még négy városban, Remetén, Szarvasszón (sic), ezek máig is állnak, továbbá Uglyán, Gyulafalván, mely 1880-ban lett lebontva és Fejéregyházán, mely 1738. év april 29-éig állott fenn, midőn a Tisza árja alá mosta.(Lásd: Historia Collegii Szigetiensis Scholarum Piarum pag. 16 apud Innoc. Simonchich: Dissertatio de Voivodis Maramarosiensibus) ...Mindezek a templomok, kivéve a szarvasszóit, góth stílban épültek...s" apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból. Máramarossziget 1900, 25. oldal 1. számú lábjegyzet.

[63] Györffy György: István király és műve, Budapest 1977, 264. oldal.

[64] "Eccl(esia) Mur(alis) ad Assumptam BMV." Aloysius Reesch de Lewald: Universalis Schematismus pro anno 1842/43, Buda 1842/43, 593. oszlop.

[65] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból. Máramarossziget 1900, 25. oldal 1. számú lábjegyzet.

[66] Schematismus venberabilis cleri dioecesis Szamosújváriensis Graeci ritus Catholicorum pro anno a Christo natu 1890, Szamosújvárini 1890, 208, oldal.

[67] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból. Máramarossziget 1900, 25. oldal 1. számú lábjegyzet.

[68] Eccl(esia) Mur(alis) ad Assumptionem B. M.V. aedific(ata) 1888. Nota: In territorio hujus parochiae existit monasterium quondam Basilitarum. cum Eccl(esia) lign(ea) ad SS. Archangelos. Schematismus cleri dioecesis Szamosújváriensis Graeci ritus Catholicorum pro anno a Cristo (sic!) nato 1898, Szamosujvárini 1989, 216. oldal

[69] Kubinyi Ferencz és Vahot Imre: Magyarország és Erdély képekben, II. kötet, Pest 1853, 145. oldal.

A gyulafalvi gótikus Nagyboldogasszony templom görög rítusú volt és egyike volt a Máramaros vármegyében a középkorban igen ritka kötemplomoknak, mert az óriási, 9716 km^2 területű, törvényhatóságban csak hat templomot építettek kőből a XIV. és XV. században, köztük az egyik éppen Gyulafalván emelkedett.[70] Ezért ez a templom és a szomszédságában álló Gyulamonostor fontos központja volt a keleti egyháznak Máramarosban és világosan tanúsítják, hogy a Gyulafalviak rendkívül erősen támogatták a görög egyházat.

A Gyulafalviaknak ez a ragaszkodása évszázadokon keresztül fönnmaradt, és így a XX. században, is a bizánci rítust követték.[71] A rájuk ragadt Eretnek név is tulajdonképpen ezt mutatja, mert a Keleti Egyház követését a régibb századokban tévesen eretnekségnek igyekeztek beállítani. Az

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[70] A máramarosszigeti jelenleg református templomon kívül „A XIV. és XV. századból származó kötemplomok voltak még más négy városban, Remetén, Szarvaszón, ezek máig állnak, továbbá Uglyán, Gyulafalván mely 1880-ban lett lebontva és Fejéregyházán, mely 1738. év április 29-éig állott fenn, midőn a Tisza árja alá mosta... Konyha mellett is látható egy kőhalom, mely valószínűleg templom romjaiból keletkezett.
apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból. Máramarossziget 1900, 25. oldal 1. számú lábjegyzet.
„A jódi fatemplom a legrégibb máramarosi fatemplom. 1364-ben épült." Mátyás Vilmos: Utazások Erdélyben, Budapest 1977, 89. oldal.
A kegyesrendi Simonich Ince "Noctium Marmaticarum Vigiliae" című kéziratát idézve Kubinyi Ferenc és Vahot Imre a következőket írta: Máramarosszigeten a "város alsó részén van a reformátusok fallal körülkerített ősrégi temploma, melyet hihetőleg a XII-ik században kezdtek építeni, mely eredetileg a görög katholikusok sajátja volt, s a XV. század közepe óta, midőn a reformatio az őt koronaváros annyira elterjedt, a reformátusok birtokában van. Ez eredetileg román, utóbb góth stylben épült..."[70]
Ugyanezt írta Szilágyi István is: "tekintettel építészeti stílusára, tornyának alakjára, falfestményeire és arra, hogy kezdetben sekrestyével ellátva nem volt, a XII. században épültnek állítja, és constatálja, hogy kezdetben görög keleti szertartás szerinti istenmtiszteletre épült és a szerint volt díszítve." (Szilágyi István igazgató a Magyar Akadémiai értesítő 1850. évi folyama 234. lapján. idézi apsai Mihályi János:Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból. Máramarossziget 1900, 25. oldal l. lábjegyzet, ahol Dr Mihályi János rámutat, hogy a templom a reformátusok előtt a katolikusoké is volt, és akkor Szent Imréről volt nevezve, és 1859. augusztus 10-én tűz martalékává lett.
Ezzel kapcsolatban azonban rá kell mutatni arra, hogy Szent Imre jegyese görög hercegnő volt a Margit legenda szerint: gevrek chazarnak leyanya (Moravcsik Gyfula Görögnyelvű monostorok Szent István korában in: Serédi Jusztinian (szerk.). Emlékkönyv Szent István király halálának kilencszázadik évfordulóján, Budapest 1938, I kötet, 413. oldal). Álmos hercegnek 1109-ben Konstantinápolyban azt mondták, hogy Szent Imre halálakor egy görög érsek látomásában azt látta, hogy Szent Imrét égbevitték angyaloknak magasságbeli éneke során. (Emericus Szentpétery: Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, II. kötet, Budapest 1938, 456. oldal,6-19. sor). Így tehát Szent Imrét a Keleti Egyházban is tiszteltték, és így templomot is szentelhettek neki.
[71] "Vallás: gör. kath." Daróczy, op.cit. 259. oldal.
A teljesség kedvéért azonban meg kell említeni, hogy gyulafalvi Gyulafalvy Sándor és családja Erdély visszatérése (1942) után rítust változtatva latin rítusú római katolikus lett, ez a kivétel azonban nem változtat a tényen, hogy az egész Gyulafalvi nemzetség e kivételtől eltekintve mindig a görög rítust követte.

1349-ben[72] és 1355-ben[73] említett Gyulafalvi *Miriszlót*, Gyulafalvi Gyula fiát, Nagy Lajos király 1364. február 10-én Myoslawo presbitero megjelöléssel nevezi meg.[74] Így tehát ő az oklevelekben legrégebben kimutatható bizánci rítusú pap Máramarosban és környékén.[75] Azt, hogy ő a keleti egyházhoz tartozott, az mutatja, hogy Daróczy szerint fia volt Nán Pap de Gyulafalva,[76] akiről Mátyás király 1462. október 6-án Köhalmon azt írta, hogy „a királyi fölségünk személyes jelenlétébe jött Gyulának mondott János, Naannak, másnéven Gyulafalvi Jankó papnak a fia."[77] Ebből tehát kitűnik, hogy családjában a papság hivatása öröklődött, mint az a Keleti Egyházban szokott. 1517-ben II. Lajos a gyulafalvi Rednikek osztályos atyafiai között említi *János* presbitert.[78] Ő Daróczy családfáján „János 1500: Fejér de Gyulafalva 1517: Papp de Gyulafalva" megjelöléssel jelenik meg Gyulafalvi Jankó pap leszármazottai között.[79] 1763-69-ben Gyulafalvi Rednik *András* főpresbiter volt.[80] Gyulafalvi Rednik *Athanázt* Mária Terézia 1764-ben fogarasi püspökké nevezte ki.[81]

A Gyulafalviak ezen ragaszkodása a bizánci rítushoz döntő jelentőségű, mert hetedszer mutatja, hogy a Gyulák nemzetségéből származtak. A bizánci Joannész Szkylidzész tanúsága szerint ugyanis az erdélyi Gyula vezér a bizánci császár meghívására 952-ben megkeresztelkedvén Bíborbanszületett

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[72] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból. Máramarossziget 1900,26. oldal .

[73] op. cit. 33. oldal.

[74] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból. Máramarossziget 1900, 53. oldal

[75] Makkai László: Erdély a középkori Magyar Királyságban (896-1526) in Köpeczi Béla: Erdély története, 29. számú térkép a 400. és 401. oldal között valamint 396. oldal.

[76] királydaróczi Daróczy Zoltán: Nemesi Évkönyv 1929-34-es kötetében családfa a 264. oldalnál.

[77] Ioannes Gyula dictus filius quondam Naan alio nomine Ianko Pap dicti de Gyulafalua pwersonaslier in nostrae majestatis personalem veniens praesentiam apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból. Máramarossziget 1900, 445. oldal.

[78] Joódy Pál: Máramaros vármegye 1749-1769. évi nemesség vizsgálata. Máramarossziget 1943, 179. oldal. Ez a János presbiter feltehetően az 1487-88-ban alispán Gyula Ficze de Gyulafalva már 1475-ben említett fia. Daróczy op.cit. 264. oldalánál található nagy genealógiai táblán.

[79] királydaróczi Daróczy Zoltán: Nemesi Évkönyv 1929-34-es kötetében családfa a 264. oldalnál.

[80] Joódy, op.cit., 177. és 179. oldal. Daróczy munkájában nem azonosítható.

[81] Athanáz püspök az 1764. évi balázsfalvi püspökválasztáson a legkevesebb szavazatot kapta, mégis őt nevezte ki Mária Terézia királynő, (Pirigyi István: A magyarországi görögkatolikusok története, Nyíregyháza 1990, 132. oldal. Gyulafalvi Gyulafalvy Sándor a családi hagyományból úgy tudta, hogy Athanázt az segítette a püspökséghez, hogy testvére akkoriban Mária Terézia a nemesi testőrségéhez tartozott. Daróczy családfáján Athanáz püspöknek csak két fitestvérét említi: az 1767-től 1787-ig alispán Istvánt (272. oldal) és az 1767-69-ben főszolgabíró Lászlót (276. oldal). Esetleg Athanáznak unokatestvére volt a nemesi testőrségben. Athanáz éppen Bécsben tartózkodott, amikor ellene Balázsfalván gyűlést tartottak, és gróf Hadik András főparancsnok és Erdély kormányzója érvényesítette a királynő akaratát. (Pirigyi, op.cit. 132. oldfal)

[81] Schematismus venarabilis cleri Graeci ritus Catholicorum dioceseos Fogarasiensis in Transilvania pro anno a Christo nato MDCCCV, Balázsfalva 1835, X. oldal.

VII. Konstantin emelte ki a Hagia Szophia keresztelő medencéjéből. Ezen Gyula vezér a keresztségben István nevet nyert, *s Konstantinápolyból (a 2000-ben Budapesten szenttéavatott) Hierotheosz bizánci rítusú püspökkel tért haza* Erdélybe, ahol Hierotheosz sokakat megtérített.

"De a türkök (=magyarok) sem hagytak fel betöréseikkel, és szüntelenül pusztították a rómaiak (=bizánciak) területét, míg csak vezérük, Bulcsú színleg a keresztény hit felé hajolva, Konstantinápolyba nem jutott. Megkeresztelkedvén, Konstantinos császár lett a keresztapja" (=a görög szöveg valójában szószerint: Konstantinos császár mártotta alá a keresztvízbe és emelte abból ki)"és a patrikiosi méltósággal megtiszteltetvén, sok pénz urakénti tért vissza hazájába. Nem sokkal utóbb Gyula is, aki szintén a türkök (=magyarok) fejedelme volt, a császári városba jön, megkeresztelkedik s ő is ugyanazon jótéteményékben, és megtiszteltetésekben részesül. Ő magával vitt egy jámborságáról híres, Hierotheos nevű szerzetest, akit Theophylaktos Turkia (=Magyarország) püspökévé szentelt s aki oda érkezvén, a barbár tévelygésből sokakat kivezetett a kereszténységhez. Gyula pedig megmaradt hitében, ő maga nem intézett soha betörést a rómaiak (=bizánciak) területére és az elfogott keresztényekről sem feledkezett meg, kiváltotta azokat, gondja volt rájuk és szabaddá tette őket. Bulcsú azonban az Istennel való szövetséget megszegvén, sokszor egész népével a rómaiak (=bizánciak) ellen ment. Amidőn ugyanezt forralta a frankok ellen is, fogságba került és Ottó császáruk által fára húzatott." [82]

Szent István azonban a Bizáncban megkeresztelt István gyula utódát Prokujt, Sarolta nagybátyját legyőzte és Prokujnak Thietmár szerint kétszer is el

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[82] Moravcsik Gyula fordítása Moravcsik Gyula: Görögnyelvű monostorok Szent István korában in: Serédi Jusztinián: Emlékkönyv Szent István király halálának kilencszázadik évfordulóján. Budapest 1938, I. kötet, 392-394. oldal

Οὐ διέλιπον δ'ε καὶ οἱ Τοῦρκοι εἰσβολὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ποιούμενοι καὶ ταύτην δηοῦντες, μέχρις οὗ Βουλοσουδὴς ὁ τύτων ἀρχηγὸς τὴν τῶν χριστιανῶν πίστιν ἀσπάζεσθαι ὑποκριθεὶς κατειλήφει τὴν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ βασπισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναδεχέται Κωνσταντίνου, τῇ τῶν πατρικίων ἀξίᾳ τιμηθεὶς καὶ πλείστων χρημάτων ὑπάρξας κύριος ε᾽ιτ᾽ αὖθις οἴκαδε ὑποτρέψας. μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δ'ε καὶ Γυλᾶς ἄρχων ὢν καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν Τούρκων, ε᾽ισεισιν εἰς τὴν βασιλίδα καὶ βαπτίζεται τῶν ᾽ισων ἀξιωθεὶς καὶ αὐτὸς εὐεργεσιῶν καὶ τιμῶν. ἀναλάβετο δ'ε μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ καί τινα μοναχὸν ᾽Ιερόθεον τοὔνομα, δόξαν εὐλαβείας ᾽εχοντα, ἐπίσκοπον Τουρκίας παρὰ τοῦ Θεοφυλάκτου χειροτοναθέντα, ὃς ἐκεῖσε γενόμενος πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς βαρβαρικῆς πλάνης εἰς τὸν χριστιανισμὸν ἐπῖνήγαγεν. ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μ᾽εν Γυλᾶς ἐνέμεινε τῇ πίστει μήτ᾽ αὐτὸς ᾽εφοδον κατὰ ᾽Ρωμαίων ποτ᾽ε πεποιηκώς, μήτε τοὺς ἀλισκομένους χριστιανοὺς ἀτημελήος ἐῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξωνούμενος καὶ ἐπιμελεάς ἀξιῶν καὶ ἐλευθερῶν.

Βολοσουδὴς δ'ε τὰς πρὸς Θεὸν συνθήκας ἠθετηκὼς πολλάκις σὺν παντὶ τῷ ἔθνει κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐξήλασε. τὸ αὐτὸ δ'ε τοῦτο καὶ κατὰ Φράγγων ποιῆσαι διανοηθεὶς καὶ ἁλοὺς ἀνεσκολοπίσθη ὑπὸ ᾽Ωτου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν. Johannes Skylidzes: Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν. Moravcsik Gyula: Görögnyelvű monostorok Szent István korában in: Serédi Jusztinián: Emlékkönyv Szent István király halálának kilencszázadik évfordulóján. Budapest 1938, I. kötet, 392. oldal

kellett menekülnie Erdélyből. Szent István kortársa, Merseburgi Thietmar szerint Vitéz Boleszló lengyel királynak "volt egy nagy vára ill. városa (urbs, civitas) saját országa és Magyarország végein, melynek őre az idősebb Prokuj, a magyar király nagybátyja volt, kit a király székéből, úgy mint most, régebben is elűzött"[83] Györffy György kifejtette, hogy a szóban forgó Prokuj valójában az erdélyi gyula volt Szent István korában,[84] akit tehát Szent István kétszer is elűzött. Azt a várost, melynek az őre a Thietmár által Prokujnak nevezett, a Heldesheimi évkönyvekben Iulus rex-ként szereplő és a magyar krónikákban Gyulának mondott gyula volt, a későbbi Moldvabánya szomszédságában található Gyula alkotta. Erről Bandinus Moldvában azt jegyezte föl, hogy „Moldva magyar város volt, melyet Gyula kapitány emlékére építettek. Ez a hét kapitány közül való volt akkor, mikor a magyarok a Szent Szűz szülésének 744. évében Szittyaországból másodszor törtek be Pannóniába, és a Szarmata föld e részén kevés időre megállapodtak volt. Németvásártól északra menve, Moldvabánya és Németvásár között fekszik, félnapi út a Moldava vize mellett. A templom romjait láttuk, és amint az alap a maga körvonalát mutatja, hosszúsága ötven lépés volt, szélessége húsz, három oltár volt benne. Eltelvén 1645, egy hatalmas görög hiten levő főnemes lerontatta, a köveket a katolikusok fájdalmára saját kastélyának felépítésére elszállítatta. Ez a város kellemes és termékeny helyen volt. Most eke hasogat itt, ahol hajdan kastélyok és kiemelkedő tetőzetű, zászlós tornyú paloták büszkélkedtek, most szelekkel játszó kalászok hullámzanak. Ez a kapitány nagyon dicsvágyó volt, mert Pannóniában is épített a Tisza folyó mellett egy, a maga nevéről Gyulának nevezett várost és várat, melyet a magyarok ellen harcoló török zsarnokság erődítményül használ."[85]

Tekintettel arra, hogy Hildesheimi és Altaichi Évkönyvekben Iulus rex-ként említett[86] Prokuj gyulának Thietmar szerint ismételten is el kellett menekülnie Szent István miatt a Moldva menti Gyula kellett hogy legyen az város, melynek Prokuj gyula az őre volt, és melybe ismételten Erdélyből könnyen elmenekülhetett és a magyar király és Vitéz Boleszló lengyel király határán helyezkedett el. Boleszló ugyanis „ismételten harcolt a „vörös városok" birtokáért Vlagyimir kijevi fejedelemmel,[87] majd 1018. július 22-én[88] a Búg

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[83] Györffy György: István király és müve, Budapest 1977, 281. oldal.
Habuit hic quandam urbem in confinio regni suimet et Ungariorum sitam, cuius erat custos Prokui senior, avinculus regis Pannonici, a suis sedibus ab eodem, út modo, antea expulsus. Qui cum uxorem suam a captivitate non posset absolvere, gratiutu nepotis sui, quamvis inimici, suscepit eam ex munere.Nunquam audivi aliquem, qui tantum parceret victis;...Robert Holzmann (szerk.):Die Chronik des Bischops Thietmar von Merseburg, Berlin 1935, 496. oldal, 21-278. sor.

[84] Györffy György: István király és müve, Budapest 1977, 281. oldal.

[85] Domokos Pál Péter: A Moldavai magyarság, Budapest 2001, 363. oldal.

[86] Kristó Gyula (szerk.): Az államalapítás korának írott forrásai, Szeged 1999, 214 oldfal,707. lábjegyzet,238. oldal

[87] Kristó, op. cit, 346. oldal,1188. lábjegyzet

[88] Robert Holzmann (szerk.):Die Chronik des Bischops Thietmar von Merseburg, Berlin 1935, 528. oldal,23-24. sor.

folyónál[89] legyőzte I. Bölcs Jaroszlav kijevi fejedelmet. Augusztus 14-én[90] Kijevet is elfoglalta és ott vejét Szvjatopolkot ültette trónra. Így Boleszló keleti határa a Dnyeszer fölső folyásáig és a Búgig terjedt Jan Dabrowski professzor szerint.[91] Ebből a szempontból az is jelentős, hogy Thietmar tanúsága szerint Boleszlót ezen hadjáratában 500 fős magyar sereg segítette.[92]

Figyelembe véve, hogy Bandinus szerint a Moldva menti Gyula városát Gyula kapitány emlékére építették, ide menekülhetett Prokuj gyula a Thiertmár által fölsorolt két menekülése közül először. A másik menekülése során jutahatott a Mára menti Gyulaházához, ahol a máramarosi gyepükben leszármazói meghúzták magukat, hiszen Prokuj felesége Thietmár tanúsága szerint csatlakozott urához, és utóbb az Anjouktól kaptak falvaikra királyi okleveleket.

Az 1355. évi gyulafalvi határjárás azért is jelentős, mert az abban felsorolt gyulafalvi helymegjelölések a latin szövegben mind magyar nyelvűek: Egruspatak, Eurpatak, Fuizesmező, Hydegkut, Kühát, Magosmart, Nádaspathak, Soospatak, lacus Zekfew.[93] Ezek a helymegnevezések jórészt magyarok maradtak legalábbis 1533-ig, amikor Gyulafalván Egrespathaka, Eleskew, locus Kewhat, Magosmarth, Pokolthó, Sowtha (=Sóuta), Tuwyesmezeo (nyilvánvalóan elírás Fuwyesmezeo helyett) Zekfewto helyneveket jegyeztek föl.[94] Ebből csak arra lehet következtetni, hogy Gyulafalva lakosai magyarok voltak, és ezért aligha képzelhető el, hogy a falu birtokosai ebben a határvédelmi szempontból oly fontos gyepű zónában[95] ne lettek volna magyarok. Jellemzően a Hermán nembeli kerekegyházi Lackfi

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[89] A. Gr.: Boleslav the Brave,or the Great (966 or 977-1025) Encyclopaedia Britannica Volume 3 Chicago etc, 1972,

[90] op.cit. 530. oldal,11-13. sor

[91] J(an) D(abrowski): Boleslao Chobri il Grande, Enciclopaedia Italiana, 299. oldal

[92] Robert Holzmann (szerk.):Die Chronik des Bischops Thietmar von Merseburg, Beerlin 1935, 530. oldal, 22-23. sor.

[93] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 35-37. oldal.

[94] Bélay Vilmos: Máramaros megye társadalma és nemzetségei, Budapest 1943, 143. oldal.

[95] Az ugocsai Felszász (ma Királyháza) népei 1272-ben szabadon halászhattak a Tiszán "usque ad indagines sylvae Maramarosi"(Bélay, op.cit. 10. oldal, 5.lábjegyzet idézi Georgius Fejér: Codex diplomaticus Hungariae, Tomus V., Volumen 1., Buda 1829, 177. oldalt¤) vagyis a máramarosi erdők 1272-ben még gyepűt alkottak. Ennek megfelelőleg Bélay Vilmos szerint "A XII. század utolsó évtizedei előtt néptelen Máramaros nemtartozott határozottan egyik püspökséghez sem" (Bélay, op.cit. 14. oldal)

A gyepük (latinul indagines) honvédelmi jelentőségét illetően lásd: Kristó Gyula, Makk Ferenc, Szekfű László: Szempontok és adatok a korai magyar határvédelem kérdéséhez, Hadtörténeti Közlemények, 1973, 639-658. oldal.

¤ Adhuc concessimus, quod vsque ad indagines sylvae Maramarosi (sic!) de terminis terrae ipsorum incipiendo piscaturam in Ticia omnimodam possint exercere, V. István királynak 1272 kalendis vltimis Januarii kiállított oklevele, Georgius Fejér: Codex diplomaticus Hungariae, Tomus quintus, Volumen I, Buda 1829, 177. oldal.

Endre, az 1345-ban Othlamon Szent László segítségével győzedelmeskedő székelyek ispánja, tehát a határvédelemben oly kiváló hadvezér volt a szintén határmenti Máramaros főispánja is.[96]

Az korántsem véletlen, hogy a gyulafalvi határnevek és dűlő nevek mind magyar szóból keletkeztek, hiszen a Gyulafalván a XIV. és XV. században keletkezett családnevek is mind magyarok voltak, ami szintén azt tanúsítja, hogy a helység lakói magyarokból álltak és magyarul beszéltek. A Gyulafalvi nemzetség ugyanis az évtizedek során több ágra oszlott, és ezek az ágak Gyulafalván idővel családneveket nyertek. Ezen Gyulafalván kialakult családnevek azonban mind magyarok voltak, amint az kitűnik a királydaróczi Daróczy Zoltán által kiadott nagy családfából.[97] valamint Máramaros vármegye 1749-1969. évi nemességvizsgálatának anyagából.[98] Gyulafalvi László fia Mihály és utódai ugyanis Ficze[99] de Gyulafalva néven lettek ismeretesek, sőt László György nevű unokájának a fia, Péter Fekete de Gyulafalva néven szerepelt az iratokban. Gyula de Gyulafalva unokája Péter és leszármazottai Péter Nemes de Gyulafalva néven fordulnak elő az okmányokban. Miriszló papnak az utódai Fejér de Gyulafalva és valamint Pap de Gyulafalva nevű családokká alakultak. Gyulafalvi László fia Miklós ága Sugatagi Mikle néven élt tovább. A Gyulafalviak főágára pedig László menyének, (E)retnek Annának a neve ragadt. Mindezek a családnevek nyilvánvalóan magyar családnevek és bizonyítják, hogy Gyulafalva lakossága, ahol ezek a családnevek a XIV és XV. században kialakultak, magyar volt.

Az is jellemző, hogy a Gyulafalviak másik legrégibben, már 1317-ben írottan kimutatható birtokának a neve szintén teljesen magyar név: Nyres. Nyíres Bélay szerint „elpusztult, ma Gyulafalva határrésze, romjai a faltól délre ¾ órányira láthatók (Pesty)."[100] Bélay könyvéhez csatolt térképén Gyulafalva a Mára(maros) folyó bal partján, Nyíres pedig Gyulafalva közvetlen közelében, de a Mára(maros) folyó jobbpartján található. Mihályi ezzel szemben azt írta, hogy Nyres „helység régóta nem létezik, miként Rednik Pétertől hallám,

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[96] éppen 1344 és 1350 között, majd erdélyi vajda lett + 1359 körül.
Emericus Lukinich adiuvante Ladioslao Gáldi, ediderunt Antonius Fekete Nagy et Ladislaus Makkai: Documenta historiam Valachorum illustrantia, (Études sur l'Europe Centre-Orientale No 29), Budapest 1941, 116. oldal,5 lábjegyzet

[97] királydaróczi Daróczy Zoltán: Nemesi Évkönyv 1929-34-es kötetében családfa a 264. oldalnál.

[98] Joódy Pál:Máramaros vármegye 1749-1769. évi nemesség vizsgálata, Máramarossziget 1943, 10. oldal, 81. oldal: Fejér (Gyulafalván162-163. oldal Pap(Gyulafalván).
„Egyéb oklevelekkel pedig azt bizonyítják, hogy Ficze Mihállyal vérszerinti kapcsolatban is álltak, mert Ficse Mihály a Gyula fia volt,Gyula pedig testvére volt magának Ivánkának." Joódy. op. cit. 178. oldal, 7.) pont.

[99] ficzere a régi magyar nyelvben cicomát jelentett, ficzos pedig felcicomázottat. Lásd:.Benkő Loránt (főszerk. et alii): A magyar nyelv történeti etimológiai szótára, I. kötet, Budapest 1967, 904. oldal.

[100] Bélay Vilmos: Máramaros megye társadalma és nemzetségei, Budapest 1943, 57. oldal 8. lábjegyzet.

Desze és Krácsfalva közt feküdt, azon a helyen, mely Valemare nevet visel, hol a templom helye s a házak helyei mai napig felismerhetők. 1475-ben még előfordul Níres név alatt 1368. és 1517. években Kopách alias Nagy-Patak néven említtetik."[101] Desze négy faluval, Krácsfalva öt faluval esik följebb, vagyis délebbre a Mára(maros) folyó mentén, mint Gyulafalva. Ezt a helységet azonban 1561-ben Újfalú (Nagi Patak alias Wyfalw) néven fordul elő, s ezért nem lehet azonos azonos az 1317-ben már létező Nyíressel.[102] Az egri káptalan 1355. évi határjárása is egyetlen határjárással és határvonallal zárta körül Gyulaháza és Nyres birtokok határát,[103] tehát Nyíresnek Gyulafalvával határosnak kellett lennie. Ugyanezt igazolja Zsigmond király 1405. november 6-án kelt oklevele, amelyből kiderül, hogy Nyíres Bartfalvával határos.[104]

Bélay Vilmos megállapította, hogy Máramaros vármegyében „A Tisza partját Bocskó vidékéig, a balparti Visót, Izát Kaszót és Máramarost egészen a forrásvidékéig megszállta a magyarság, vagy legalábbis felkereste és a patakoknak nevet adott."[105] A Gyulafalviakat illetően ebből a szempontból a Máramaros, vagy mint később mondtak a Mára vizének völgye a jelentős, mert az volt a Gyulafalviak szállásterülete, és végülis a Máramaros vízgyüjtőterületét tudták nemesi birtokukként maguknak biztosítani. Mindez azért jelentős, mert a Máramaros vízgyüjtő területe valójában csak elég kis, és félrecső része az egész vármegyének, mégis az egész 9716 km^2 területű Máramaros vármegye erről a mindössze 284.3 km^2-es völgyről kapta a nevét, vagyis területének 2,9 %-ról. Ennek csak az lehet a magyarázata, hogy az ott lakó Gyula nemzetség miatt az volt a vármegye legfontosabb, legnevezetesebb és legrégebben lakott területe. Egyébként utóbb hasonló folyamatot figyelhetünk meg Kúnország esetében, ahol a Moldva folyócska mellett megtelepedő Drágffyak miatt utóbb egész Kúnországot Moldvának nevezték el, jóllehet a Szeret és a Prut is sokkal nagyobb folyók voltak, mint a Moldva.

Az előbb említett helynevek és családnevek azért azért fontosak, mert a Gyulafalviakat az oklevelek oláhoknak nevezik. Bélay Vilmos azonban már 1943-ban kifejtette: „Az «oláh» szónak ugyanis a középkorban nincs pontos a

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[101] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 27. oldal, 4. lábjegyzet.

[102] Bélay Vilmos: Máramaros megye társadalma és nemzetségei, Budapest 1943, 200-211. oldal

[103] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 35-37. oldal.

[104] ..ab hinc descendendo ad fluvium Maramaros et versus modicum Spacium pertransiens dewmum tendit ad campum Mosharos dictum, de quo transit ad montes inter possessiones Bartfalva et Nyires per unam viam ad partes Avas pergentem ad montem Keuhat, super quem usque ad modicum spacium transiendo, de quo cadit ad lapidem Tiszakeu dictum usque ad Rivulzm Turczad et deinde venit ad praeniminatum campum Kajtármezeu ibique terminatur tota meta praedictorum Possesionum finaliter.
apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 134. oldal.

[105] Bélay Vilmos: Máramaros megye társadalma és nemzetségei, Budapest 1943, 12. oldal.

népséget kifejező jelentése, csak «hegyi pásztor» értelemben használják,"[106] és történetesen például biztosan ruténeket is oláhoknak neveztek.[107] Történetesen idősebb gr. Andrássy Gyula Oláhpatakon született Gömör várvegyében, amelynek a lakossága sohasem volt román. Szekfű Gyula térképe és fejtegetése bőségesen mutat vlachokat a Felvidéken és Kárpátalján is.[108] Ferdinánd stájer főherceg a végvidék katonai kormányzója 1611. március 23-án a Körös vármegyei délszávokat nevezte latinul vlachoknak, tehát oláhoknak.[109] II. Ferdinánd magyar király 1630. október 5-én jogokat és kiváltságokat állapított meg a Szlavónia királyságában a Száva és a Dráva között élő oláhok számára.[110] Szekfű Gyula a következőket állapította meg: „ a marhatenyésztés és a még tejgazdaság előtti juhtenyésztés minden történeti és nyelvészeti jel szerint magyar eredetű, s az Alföld ősi magyar állattenyésztésének késői hajtása. A hegyeken vándorló szláv és oláh népek a magyartól vették át, a további fejlődés során pedig ez a vándorpásztorkodás mindenütt a vlachok neve alatt folyt, bár a pásztorok nemzetisége lengyel, tót, rutén vagy magyar volt."[111] Hóman Bálint is kimutatta, hogy az «oláh» kifejezéssel nem román, szláv és ural-altáji népeket is megjelöltek, mint a kúnokat és más török fajú népeket.[112] Történetesen Gyulafalva határában volt „Tatár nevű szép mezőség vagy prédium" is,[113] amint a Gyulafalvi nemzetség két tagjának a nevét Tatár de Gyulafalva néven említik az oklevelek.[114] A Máramarosi Kárpátok területe

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[106] Bélay Vilmos: Máramaros megye társadalma és nemzetségei, Budapest 1943, 16. oldal.104; Szabó István: ugocsda megye 1937, oldal.

[107] „A szomszédos Bereg és Ung megyék területén megtelepedett vlachok – itt még bizonyosabban rutének és nem románok – vajdái a később Máramarosban birtokossá lett Bilkei és Lipcsei, illetve Dolhay család XIV. század derekán élt ősei." Bélay Vilmos: Máramaros megye társadalma és nemzetségei, Budapest 1943, 19. oldal

[108] (Hóman Bálint,) Szekfű Gyula: Magyar történet, III. kötet, Budapest 1936, 448. oldalnál levő térkép "Vlachi" népeket jelöl az egész Felvidéken, tehát az akkori megjelölés szerint Felső-Magyarországon, ahol soha nem lakott román-ajkú népesség.
Szekfű a III. kötet 1943.évi kiadásának a 477. oldalán részletezi a vlachok jelenlétét Árva, Turóc és más környékbeli vármegyékben.

[109] Pirigyi István: A magyarországi görögkatolikusok története I. kötet, Nyíregyháza 1990, 89. oldal;

[110] Joannes Kukuljevic aliter Bassani de Sacchi: Jura regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae & Slavoniae, Pars I. Zagrabiae 1862, 308-318. oldal.

[111] (Hóman Bálint,) Szekfű Gyula: Magyar történet, III. kötet, Budapest 1943, 477. oldal.

[112] hogy az oláh népességben a hatalom „a kenézek kezében volt. Ezek a – személynevekből, a kenézi intézmény bolgár-szláv eredetéből és bulgáriai havaselvi analógiákból következtetve, jobbára bolgár, szláv, kún-besenyő eredetű – kenézek (kenezii valachi) a pásztorkodó oláhok egy-egy települő csoportjának, közösségének bírái, katonai és közigazgatási elöljárói voltak, s maguk már földmíves gazdálkodást folytattak."
Hóman Bálint, (Szekfű Gyula): Magyar történet, II. kötet, Budapest 1935, 289. oldal.
Hóman a 290. oldalon is „ bolgár-, szláv-, kúneredetű" kenézekről írt.

[113] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 27. oldal, 2) lábjegyzet.

[114] királydaróczi Daróczy Zoltán: Nemesi Évkönyv 1929-34-es kötetében családfa a 264. oldalnál.

ugyanis általában inkább csak állattenyésztésre lehetett alkalmas, és ezért az ottani lakosság nem adózhatott tizeddel és kilenceddel, hanem csak az állatállomány után fizetett ötveneddel,[115] és az ilyen népességet hívták oláhnak, amely szó egyébként az ól-lal egy gyökről származhat. Megfigyelhetjük, hogy a Gyulák területén folyó aranymosást és sóbányászatot illetően Anonymus is megjegyzi, hogy annak a területnek lakói oláhok.[116] Azt, hogy ezek milyen oláhok voltak, kiderül Kézai Simonból, aki szerint a székelyek az „oláhok" közé keveredve, azok betűit használják,[117] vagyis a székely rovásírást. A székely rovásírást azonban a románok még véletlenül se használták, hiszen minden középkori irásuk cirilbetűs, és amennyiben a rómaiaktól származnak volna, csak a latin betűket használhatták volna. Nyilvánvaló ugyanis, hogy Trajanus, de még Romulus és Remus sem használtak soha székely rovásírást, még álmukban sem. Azok az oláhok tehát, akik Kézai Simon, majd pedig a Képes Krónika szerint,[118] és az ő korukban székely rovásírással rótták a sorokat, csak magyar hegyipásztorok lehettek, akik a Gyulák népéből még nem tértek át a földművelésre, és ezért magyarok a helymegjelölések mind Gyulafalván 1355-ben, mert ezek az oláhok magyarok, magyar pásztorok voltak.

Fényes Elek följegyezte, hogy az utóbb görög katolikusnak nevezett vallásúakat orosznak, a görög keletieket pedig oláh vallásuaknak nevezték,[119] ami mutatja, hogy a közbeszédben erre nem volt más kifejezés. Még 1825-ben is megjelent „Imádságos könyvecske a magyar oroszok lelki hasznára" tisztán

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[115] Az ötvenedet census debitus quinquagesimalis-nak illetve quinquagesima-nak nevezték. Lásd: apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 38. és 34. oldal, valamint a 34. oldal, 3. lábjegyzet.
Bélay Vilmos: Máramaros megye társadalma és nemzetségei, Budapest 1943,57. oldal

[116] „..terra illa irrigatur optimis fluviis, quorum nomina et utilitates seriatim dixit, et quod in arenis eorum aurum colligerent et aurum terre illius optimum esset et ibi foderetur sal et saligena et habitatores terre illius viliores homines essent tocius mundi, quia essent Blasii et Sclavi...." Emericus Szentpétery, (szerk.): Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, I. kötet, Budapest 1937, 66. oldal, 1-6 sor.

[117] „Isti etenim Zakuli Hunorum sunt residui, qui dum Hungaros in Pannoniam itertato cognoverunt remeasse, redeuntibus in Rutheniae finibus occurrerunt, insimulque Pannonia conquestata partem inin ea sunt adepti, non tamen in plano Pannoniae, sed cum Blackis commixti literis eorum uti perhibentur." Emericus Szentpétery, (szerk.): Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, I. kötet, Budapest 1937, 162. oldal,18.sor 163. oldal 1. sor.

[118] „Isti etenim Zekuli Hunorum sunt residui, usque ad aliorum Hungarorum reditum in campo prefato" (Chiglamezei) „commorantes. Dum ergo Hungaros iterato in Pannoniam redire cognovissent, in Rutheniam eis occurrerunt, conquestrantes simul Pannoniae regionem. Qua conquestrata in eadem sorte remanserunt, ut tamen Hungari voluerunt, non in plano Pannonie sed cum Vlachis in montibus confinii sortem habuerunt. Unde litteris ipsorum uti perhibentur." Emericus Szentpétery, (szerk.): Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, I. kötet, Budapest 1937, 279. oldal, 5.-19. sor.

[119] Fényes Elek: Magyarország statisztikája, Pest 1842-1843, I. kötet, 91. oldal.

magyar nyelven.[120] Ebből világos, hogy a könyv használói nem lehettek oroszok, mert azok nem értenek magyarul, hanem csak magyarok lehettek, és az „orosz" kifejezés a címben valójában görög katolikust jelentett. A XIV és XV. századi gyulafalvi magyar helynevek és családnevek tehát azt mutatják, hogy az esetükben használt oláh kifejezés arra vonatkozik, hogy ez a magyar lakosság mai szóhasználat szerint görögkeleti vallást követte, mert arra akkoriban nem volt jobb szó. Láttuk ugyanis, hogy Gyula vezér Konstantinápolyban keresztelkedett meg, és a Gyulafalviak családjában Miriszló és leszármazói pontosan a keleti egyháznak voltak papjai. Ez a magyarázata annak is, hogy Hóman Bálint éppen idézett megfigyelésének, hogy a források szláv és kún népességet oláhnak vagyis görög keletinek neveznek. Azt hogy az oláh görög keletit jelent kitűnik Mátyás király 1479. március 20-án Budán kiadott okleveléből, melyben a nándorfehérvári görögkeleti metropolita Joannicus alá tartozó máramarosi papokat Valachos presbyteros nevezi.[121] Ferdinánd stájer főherceg a végvidék katonai kormányzója 1611. március 23-án a Körös vármegyei délszáv görög keletieket nevezte latinul vlachoknak, tehát oláhoknak.[122] Ezzel szemben 1491. július 31-én II. Ulászló király a Máramarosi Szent Mihály kolostorban, tehát Körtvélyesen levő püspököt Joannes Episcopus Ruthenorum-ként nevezi meg, és az alá tartozó papokat in medio vestro plurimi Rutheni presbyteri et pluriui item coloni Graecam fidem tenentes et sub jurisdictione sua existentes commorarentur.[123] Hajdudorogi Papp György kanonok ugyanis kimutatta, hogy a munkácsi püspökséget a Monemvásziából való és a firenzei zsinaton résztvevő Izidor bíboros kijevi metropolita hozta létre magyarországi tartózkodása során,[124] és ezért a munkácsi püspökség alapításától görögkatolikus volt. Ezért nevezi az munkácsi püspök hitét követő papokat Ulászló Rutheni presbyteri néven, mert ők görögkatolikusok voltak, amint ez a terminológia a XIX. századig fönnmaradt Fényes Elek szintén idézett tanúsága szerint. Ugyanezért állapította meg II. Ulászló 1494. május 14-án, hogy a Hilarius körtvélyesi apát episcopo de Munkats sui ordinis reverentiam, archiepiscopo vero de Transilvania, modernis et futuris, veluti superioribus suis debitam subjectionem, et obedientiam

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[120] Imádságos könyvecske a magyar oroszok lelki hasznára, Kassa 1825 Ellinger kiadásában. Lásd: Szabó Jenő: A görögkatolikus magyarság utolsó kálvária útja, Budapest 1913, 246. oldal facsimile másolattal.

[121] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 536. oldal.

[122] Pirigyi István: A magyarországi görögkatolikusok története I. kötet, Nyíregyháza 1990, 89. oldal;
Nicolaus Nilles: Symbolae ad illustrandum historiam Ecclesiae Orientalis in terris Coronae Ysti Stephani Oeniponte 1885, II. kötet, 704-705. oldal, (cf.: 698-818.oldal).

[123] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 600. oldal.

[124] (hajdudorogi) Papp György dr.: A mukácsi püspökség eredete, Miskolc 1940.

praestare debeant et teneantur.[125] A szóban forgó oláh illetve a rutén elnevezésnek az idézett forrásokbani jelentésének megértéséhez a csángóknak a szóhasználatát kell figyelembe vennünk, akik számtalan régi archaizmust őriztek meg, és akik ugyanilyen értelemben arra a kérdésre milyen nemzetiségűek, azt válaszolják, hogy katolikusok.

Abból természetesen, hogy Gyulafalva lakossága magyar volt csak az következhet, hogy a földesuraik, a Gyulafalvaiak is csak magyarok lehettek, mert az elképzelhetetlen, hogy magyarok a határvédelmi gyepű zónában idegen földesurak alá kerülhettek volna a XIV. században.

Kubinyi Ferenc és Vahot Imre még 1853-ban is azt jegyezték föl, hogy a gyulafalvi "papot, a pópát egészen magyar embernek találtuk, szintúgy a többit is."[126] A szerzők nem nevezik meg a lelkész nevét, de 1842/43-ban idősebb Papp Basil volt a parochus Gyulafalván,[127] aki nyilván mint alighanem számos elődje, a gyulafalvi Pap familiából, tehát a Gyulafalviak törzséből származott,[128] mint az őt megelőző gyulafalvi Rednik Tivadar is, akiről kimutatható, hogy parochus volt Gyulafalván 1814-ben.[129] Kubinyi és Vahot arra is rámutattak, hogy a gyulafalviak „viselete különbözik a többi oláhokétól:"[130] Valójában akkor még a helység lakosai a környéktől eltérőleg magyaros jellegű viseletet hordtak: a férfiak bő inget, gatyát és csizmát meg nagy karimájú kalapot hordtak, a lányok pedig gazdagon kirakott pártát virágokkal kivarrott prémes ujjatlan ködmönt, piros vagy fekete csizmát, amit Kubinyinak és Vahotnak a 140. oldalon megjelenő képe mutat.[131]
Ezt a képet érdemes összehasonlítani Barabás Miklósnak teljesen egykorú, 1843-44-ben festett, "Vásárra ballagó erdélyi bérci oláhok" című képével jelenleg a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában,[132] mert abból kitűnik az óriási különbség a korabeli román és gyulafalvi viselet között. Az utóbbi sokkal

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[125] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 607. oldal.

[126] Kubinyi Ferencz, Vahot Imre Magyarország és Erdély képekben II. kötet, Pest 1843, 145. oldal.

[127] Aloysius Reesch de Lewald: Universalis Schematismus pro anno 1842/43, Buda 1842/43, 593. oszlop.

[128] A gyulafalvi Pap család nyilvánvalóan a gyulafalvi Rednikekkel egy törzsből származott, mert azonos birtokokon osztoztak. (Lásd: Joódy Pál: Máramaros vármegye 1749-1769. évi nemesség vizsgálata, Máramarossziget 1943, 162-163. és 177-180. oldal.). A gyulafalvi Pap családot Joódy Pap-nak írta egy pével, de például Daróczy családfáján két pével szerepel "Papp de Gyulafalva," (op.cit. a 264. oldalnál), ahol kimutatja mindkét ág azonos leszármazását.

[129] Daróczy, op.cit, 266. oldal, "I"-es bejegyzés szerint 1749-ben született és a felesége Gyulafalvi Rednik Auxenia volt János ágából, János szolgabírónak és Gyulafalvi Rednik Ilonának, Athanáz püspök testvérének leánya.
Gyulafalvi Rednik Tivadar volt Gyulafalvy Sándor máramarosszigeti polgármester szépapja.
Mihályi szerint 1785-ben már esperesi tisztséget töltött be Mihályi, op.cit. 40. oldal, 5. lábjegyzet.
1814-ben Gyulafalván volt parochus Catalogus venerabilis cleri almae dioecesis Munkatsiensis pro anno MDCCCXIV (1814), 94. oldal; cf.76. o

[130] Kubinyi Ferencz, Vahot Imre Magyarország és Erdély képekben II. kötet, Pest 1843, 145. oldal.

[131] ibidem, II. kötet, 145. oldal és a 140. oldalnál levő kép.

[132] Szvoboda D. Gabriella: Barabás Miklós 1810-1898, Budapest 1983, 26 kép.

közelebb állt az akkori kalotaszegi viselethez Kubinyi-Vahot idézett II. kötetének 136. oldalánál található képen.

A gyulafalviak viselete tehát szintén bizonyította a románoktól eltérő magyar eredetüket. A Gyulafalvával határos Sugatag, amely szintén a Gyulafalviak törzsbirtokához tartozott gyakorlatilag *teljesen magyar maradt 1941-ig*. Ott a lakosság 94,9 % volt magyar anyanyelvű 1910-ben és 91,2 % 1941-ben. 1910-ben magyarul tudott a népesség 98,4 %-a, 1941-ben pedig 98,7 %-a. Az 1941-ben ugyanott talált 331 görögkatolikus közül 310 volt magyar anyanyelvű vagyis 93,7 %.[133]

Mindez azért is jelentős, mert Gáldi László és Makkai László szerint a bélteki Drágffyak őse Szász, Gyulafalvi Gyulának, tehát Drág fiának a testvére volt, és azért pusztította Bogdán vajda Gyulafalvi Gyula Mára menti birtokát.[134] Ugyanezt már Lukinich Imre által kiadott munka is részletesen kifejtette, családfán föltüntetve kimutatva ezt a rokoni kapcsolatot.[135]

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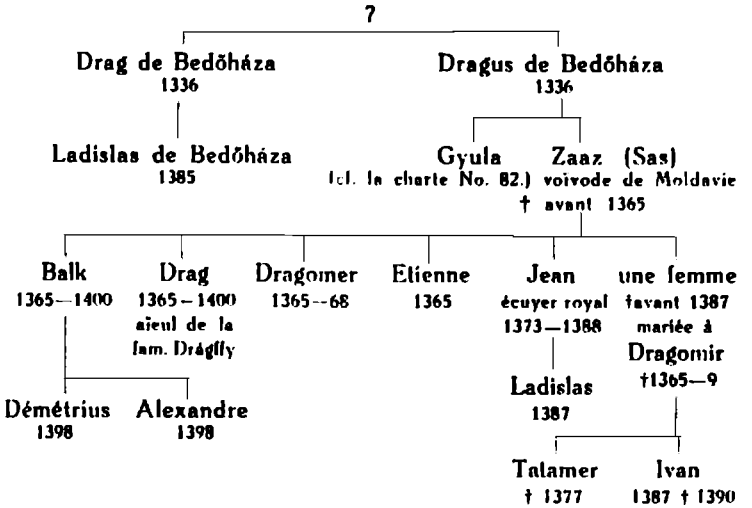
[133] *Aknasugatagnak* 1900-ban 1792 magyar lakosa volt a Révai Nagy Lexikona I. kötetének 247. oldala szerint.
Aknasugatag helységben
Az 1910-es népszámlálás 1713 magyar, 68 német, 19 oláh, 2 rutén és 3 egyéb anyanyelvűt írt össze. Magyarul beszélni tudott 1777.
Az 1941-es népszámlálás 1443 magyar, 117 jiddis, 21 oláh, - rutén, és 1 horvát anyanyelvűt írt össze. Magyarul beszélni tudott 1563.
Ezzel szemben *Gyulafalván*
az 1910-es népszámlálás 32 magyar, 174 német és 1615 oláh anyanyelvűt talált, s magyarul is csak 120 tudott.
az 1941-es népszámlálás 132 magyar, 130 jiddis és 1853 oláh anyanyelvűt talált és magyarul viszont 164 tudott beszélni.
Forrás 1910-re: Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények, 42. kötet, 301. oldal (A kötet teljes címe: A magyar Szt. Korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása, I. rész. A népesség főbb adatai községek és népesebb puszták, telepek szerint, Budapest 1912.)
1941-re: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal: 1941. évi népszámlálás. Demográfiai adatok községenként. Országhatáron kívüli terület. Kézirat gyanánt, Budapest 1990, 280-281. és 362. oldal.

[134] Makkai László: II. Az északi románság bevándorlása megtelepülése in: Gáldi László és Makkai László: A románok története (A Magyar Történelmi Társulat könyvei VI.), Budapest (1941 -1942 között) 54. oldal. (cf.: 428. oldal.)

[135] Emericus Lukinich adiuvante Ladioslao Gáldi, ediderunt Antonius Fekete Nagy et Ladislaus Makkai: Documenta historiam Valachorum illustrantia, (Études sur l'Europe Centre-Orientale No 29), Budapest 1941, 179. oldal, 1 lábjegyzet és 115. oldal,2. lábjegyzet.



1. kép A Drágffyak családfája Lukinich:Documenta 179. oldalán

A Gyulafalviak és a Drágffyak ezen kapcsolatáról apsai Mihályi János még ezt írta: Bedői Drágus „Fiaitól Szász vajdától unokája volt Drág mester és elég példa van arra, hogy az unokák nagyatyjuk nevét viselik, miként az 1317. évben említett Gyulafalvi Drágusnak fiától Drágustól származó unokája volt Drágus, ez azonban nem lehetett azonos a hasonnevű moldvai vajdával, mert amaz 1359-1360-ban és utóbb is Máramarosban élt. Bedői Drág nevével találkozunk az 1355. évi oklevélben, melyben Drág comes-nek neveztetik fia; László az 1385. évi oklevél szerint szolgabíró volt. A bedői Drágus nevét csak itt találjuk."[136]

Bélay Vilmos ugyanerről azt írta, hogy „Makkai L(ászló) Gyulát Szász unokatestvérének tartja (Gáldi-Makkai 54-5). Lehetséges, de a Drágus név nem bizonyít,"[137] Valójában a Bélay által idézett helyen Makkai Gyulafalvi Gyulát Szász testvérének tartja[138] és azt teszi Lukinich Imre is,[139] majd utóbb Györffy György.[140]

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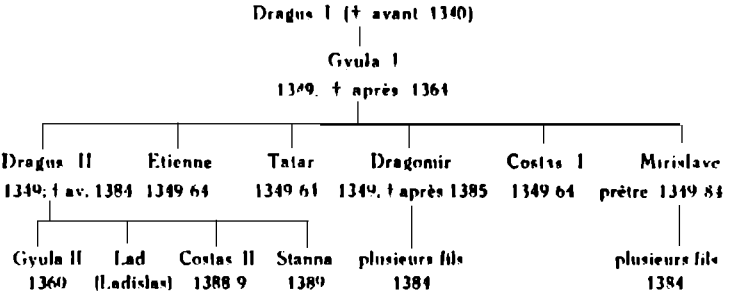
[136] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 15. oldal, 1) lábjegyzet.

[137] Bélay Vilmos: Máramaros megye társadalma és nemzetségei, Budapest 1943, 57. oldal, 8. lábjegyzet.

[138] Makkai László: II. Az északi románság bevándorlása megtelepülése in: Gáldi László és Makkai László: A románok története (A Magyar Történelmi Társulat könyvei VI.), Budapest (1941 -1942 között) 54. oldal. (cf.: 428. oldal.)

Mindenesetre tény, hogy 1355. november 29-én amikor Gyulafalva határát Gyula fia Drágus és testvérei részére bejárták jelen volt Comes



2. kép A Gyulafalviak családfja Lukinich:Dokumenta 115.oldalán.

Drag de Bedeuhaza, [141] aki Lukinich Imre családfája szerint Gyula apjának a testvére, tehát nagybátyja volt.[142] Úgy tünik 1474-ben, Drágffy Miklós és fiai elcserélték a középszolnoki Oláh-Kékes birtokukat örökre Gyulafalvi Ivánka Györgynek több máramarosi birtokáért.[143] Sugatagi Mikle János utóbb máramarosi birtokait elcserélte bélteki Drágffy Miklós szurdokápolnoki birtokáért Szolnok-Doboka vármegyében és odaköltözött, ami szintén a Gyulafalviak és Drágffyak kapcsolatát mutatja 1477-ben.[144] Ezek a birtokcserékből tehát kitünnek a Gyulafalviak és Drágffyak rokoni kapcsolatai.

Drágffyak és a Gyulafalviak tehát egy törzsről származnak Makkai László és Lukinich Imre szerint, ez azonban azt jelenti, hogy valójában a Drágffyak sem voltak román eredetüek. Ez kitünik abból is, hogy mind apsai

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[139] Emericus Lukinich adiuvante Ladioslao Gáldi, ediderunt Antonius Fekete Nagy et Ladislaus Makkai: Documenta historiam Valachorum illustrantia, (Études sur l'Europe Centre-Orientale No 29), Budapest 1941, 179. oldal, 1 lábjegyzet
és 115. oldal, 2. lábjegyzet.

[140] „ A máramarosi [Gyula fia] Dragus leszármazottai az átköltözés emlékét évszázadok után egy mitikus történeztbe ágyazva tartották fenn:..."Györffy György: Az Árpádkori Magyarország történeti földrajza, IV. kötet Liptó, Máramaros, Moson, Nagysziget, Nógrád, Nyitra, Pest és Pilis megye. Budapest, 1998,

[141] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 35. oldal.

[142] Emericus Lukinich adiuvante Ladioslao Gáldi, ediderunt Antonius Fekete Nagy et Ladislaus Makkai: Documenta historiam Valachorum illustrantia, (Études sur l'Europe Centre-Orientale No 29), Budapest 1941, 179. oldal, 1 lábjegyzet
és 115. oldal, 2. lábjegyzet.

[143] Engel Pál Középkori magyar genealógia, (12). lábjegyzet szerint Lelesz, Prot. Parvi foliis 50., 51.

[144] Daróczy, op. cit. 258. oldal.

Mihályi János,[145] mind pedig Lukinich Imre[146] szerint a Drágffyak ősének, Szásznak apja Dragus de Bedeuhaza volt, tehát a Drágffyak Bedőházáról származtak, ami sohasem volt román nyelvterület. Bedőháza az 1335.évi határjárása szerint Drag és Dragus de Bedeuhaza birtokában volt: ad reambulandum quandam posessionem Dragh et Dragus...Bedeuhaza vocatam. [147] nincs szó azonban arról, és arról nincs oklevél, hogy ki adományozta nekik, ami arra mutat, hogy ősfoglalás nyomán került birtokukba, és ezért ősük kellett, hogy legyen Bedő, akiről a falut elnevezték. Bélay azt írja, hogy „Első – oklevélben ismeretlen ura – Bedő bizonyosan magyar, éppenígy középkori lakóinak többsége."[148] Lukinich Imre kifejtette, hogy Bedőháza 1335. évi határjárásában található nevek magyarok: Malumvize, Rekegyebokor, Anyafamezew, Fanyasmezey (=faanya mező) Keserewpathaka Berk, Thechhewvyze Tharazwyze.[149] Bélay arra is rámutatott, hogy Mihályi kiadásában szereplő Cherchyespatak neve valójában Cheresnyéspatak, és a „calvwosus monticulus vulgo Pod"[150] valójában a magyar Pad (domb), tehát ezek a bedőházi helynevek is magyarok.[151] Bedőháza eredeti lakói tehát, akiktől a Drágffyak származtak szintén magyarok voltak. A helységből ismert családnevek is többnyire magyarok, csak 1715 után jelentkeznek rutén nevek, és utóbb a falu elruténesedett.[152] Az a tény azonban, hogy Bedőháza a XVIII. század után elruténesedett, egyáltalán nem azt mutatja, hogy az onnan eredő Drágffyak román származásuk lettek volna.

Valójában Bedőházát az 1300-as évek elején nemcsak Técső és Taracköz, Körtvélyes és Hosszúmező teljesen magyar lakosságú helységek vették körül, hanem azok közé az 1300-as években magyar lakosságú falvak sorához tartozott, melyek Visktól Körtvélyesen keresztül Szarvaszóig a Tisza mentén megszakítás nélkül húzódtak.[153]

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[145] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 15. oldal, 1) lábjegyzet.

[146] Emericus Lukinich adiuvante Ladioslao Gáldi, ediderunt Antonius Fekete Nagy et Ladislaus Makkai: Documenta historiam Valachorum illustrantia, (Études sur l'Europe Centre-Orientale No 29), Budapest 1941, 179. oldal, 1 lábjegyzet.

[147] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, p 13.

[148] Bélay Vilmos: Máramaros megye társadalma és nemzetségei, Budapest 1943,125. oldal 10. Bedő

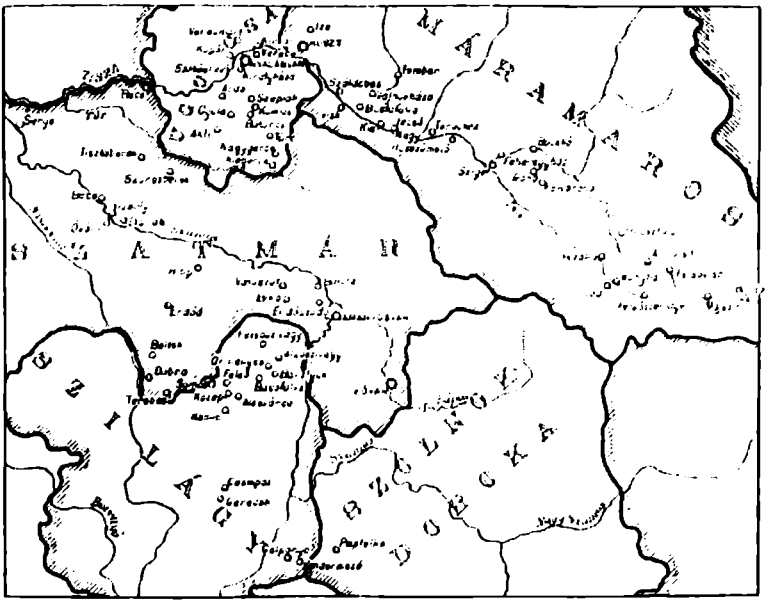
[149] Emericus Lukinich adiuvante Ladioslao Gáldi, ediderunt Antonius Fekete Nagy et Ladislaus Makkai: Documenta historiam Valachorum illustrantia, (Études sur l'Europe Centre-Orientale No 29), Budapest 1941, 78 oldal és 78. oldal 2. lábjegyzez; cf.: 68. oldal 2. lábjegyet.

[150] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 15. oldal.

[151] Bélay Vilmos: Máramaros megye társadalma és nemzetségei, Budapest 1943,126. oldal (10. Bedő-re vonatkozó cikk vége)

[152] Bélay Vilmos: Máramaros megye társadalma és nemzetségei, Budapest 1943, 125-126. oldal (10. Bedő)

[153] Bélay Vilmos: Máramaros megye társadalma és nemzetségei, Budapest 1943,12. oldal.



3. kép A Drágffyak birtokai a XIV.században.
Fekete Nagy Antal és Glaser Lajos térképe
Lukinich:Documenta 200. oldalánál.

Jellemzően a Drágffyak, jóllehet számtalan román és rutén falu uralta őket,[154] szintén Szent Mihálynak szentelt[155] nemzetségi[156] monostorukat

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154 [Les Drágffy] „furont comtes de plusieurs comitats et possesseurs d'un grand domaine D'environ 100 villages qui occupait la majeure partie des com. de Máramaros et Szatmár (cf. la carte ci-joint)." Emericus Lukinich adiuvante Ladioslao Gáldi, ediderunt Antonius Fekete Nagy et Ladislaus Makkai: Documenta historiam Valachorum illustrantia, (Études sur l'Europe Centre-Orientale No 29), Budapest 1941, 180. oldal, 1 lábjegyzet.
A térképből kiderül, hogy Máramarosnak nemcsak román, hanem rutén és magyar részeire is kiterjedtek a Drűágffyak birtokai és Szatmáron kívül Ugocsa jórésze valamint Szilágynak főként északkeleti vidéke őket uralta.(„les proprietés des familles Drtágffy et Bélteky au XIVe siècle." című térkép a 200. oldalnál.

155 ἔχουσι μοναστήριον ἀπὸ γονικότητος περὶ τόπον Μαραμόρεσο εἰς ὄνομα τιμώμενον τοῦ τιμίου ταξιάρχου τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων Μιξαὴλ,
Franciscus Miklosich, Joseph Mülleer:Acta et diplomata Graeca, Bécs 1860, -1862, II. kötet, 156. oldal;
apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 109-110. és 606-607. oldal.

156 ἔχουσι μοναστήριον ἀπὸ γονικότητος
Ezt a kifejezést II. Ulászló 1494 május 14-én kelt oklevele monasterium perpetuum-mal fordította. (apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 109-110. és 606-607. oldal.)

pontosan magyar helységbe, Körtvélyesre helyezték. Ezt illetően idézhetjük Bélay Vilmost: "A Tisza-jobbparti Körtvélyes a XIV. század első felében keletkezett magyar falu. Határában valószínűleg Bogdán vajda, de nem lehetetlen, hogy csak Szász fia Balk vagy Drág görögszertartású monostort alapított szent Mihály arkangyal tiszteletére. A magyar falu korábbi fennállását az a körülmény igazolja, hogy a falunév nem a kolostorra utal, mint például a közeli Remete neve a pálosokra.....a XVIII. sz.-ban azonban még mindig tartotta magát a körtvélyesi magyarság." Ezt követően fölsorolja a körtvélyesi birtokosokat illetve lakosokat, akik jóformán mind magyar nevűek,[157] és tulajdonképpen azt is mutatja, hogy az ott keletkezett nevek is magyarok voltak,[158] tehát a helység anyanyelve magyar volt.

Sajátságosan éppen a Moldvát alapító Drágról és népéről a legrégibb 1504 körül följegyzett névtelen szláv moldvai krónika a következőket jegyezte föl: „ ....Máramarosban adott nekik földet, a Mores és a Tisza között a Krizs nevű helyen. Ott gyültek össze és telepedtek le a régi rómaiak és ott magyar nőket kezdtek elvenni és a maguk keresztyén hitébe vezetni. S így élnek máig. Volt közöttük egy értelmes és vitéz férfi, Drágos. Ez elindult egyszer társaival vadászni. A havasok alatt egy bölény nyomaira bukkantak..."[159]

Ezen idézetben említett helyneveket illetően Lükő Gábor megjegyezte, hogy a „Mores és Krizs nevek a Maros és a Körös folyók oláh

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II. Ulászló udvarában (Corvin Jánoson kívül, aki aligha végzett fordításokat a kancellárián)Bonfini tudott görögül és a Tripartitumban említett Michael Keserew de Gybarth választott boszniai püspök (Stephanus Werbóczy: Tripartitum opus iuris consuetudinarii inclíti regni Hungariae, Bécs 15217, yiiii levél előeldala) tudott görögül Taurinus István Stauromachiája szerint. Lásd Christianus Engel: Monumenta Ungarica, Bécs 1809, 127. oldal; Váralljai Csocsán Jenő: A magyar monarchia és az európai renaissance, Pomáz 2005 208-209. oldal 223. lábjegyzet.

γονή, ἡ nemzés szülés; eredet,származás; nemzedék gyermek; nemző, mag;

γονικός 3. nemzési; szülei;

Soltész Ferenc, Szinyei Endre: Görög-Magyar Szótár, Sárospatak 1875, 128. oldal.

γονικότης -ητος (ἡ) μσν

τὸ εἶναί τι γονικὸν βλ. λ., ἡ ἐκ γονέων κληρονομία: Σάθ(ας Κ. Μεσαιων Βιβλιοθήκη (+1914 μ(ετὰ) Χ(ριστόν))) Ι 142.

Χρυσοβ(έργης Λουκᾶς (1156 μ(ετὰ). Χ(ριστόν)) ἵνα .. κατέχῃ.. ἀναφαιρέτως..κατὰ λόγον γονικότητος

Δ Δημητρακου Μέγα Λεξικον ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλενικῆς γλώσσης τόμος β' Ἀθῆναι 1964, 1676. oldal.

[157]:1600: Prépostvári, 1574:Sim. Keorthwelyessy 1649:Orozföldi, 1666:Fejér Illyes, Sanr. Lazar, Fr. Ötvösfalusi alias Hosszu 1673 Sim Hoszszu, Proc Illyes Alex Lazar; 1684: Bocskai György, Janos, Laszlo, Tamas; Dombai 2 György, István; Domboi Demeter; Fejér András, Ferencz, Ignat, Illyes, Janos, Mate, Simon; Fekete Janos, Mihály; Ferencz, János; Ganya Koszta Hosszu 2 Janos Mihály, Sándor, 2 Simon; Kövér, Kondor Lengyel Országi Demeter Siro Szilágyi Apsai Hoszu Lengyelországi, Bocskoi Bocskai Bodnar, Dombo, Fekete, Kozma, Hoszu, köver (Köves), Lakatos, Pap, Siro, Szilágyi, Varga, Dombai, Rézműves

Bélay Vilmos: Máramaros megye társadalma és nemzetiségei a megye betelepülésétől a xviii. század elejéig. Budapest 1943, 167-168. oldal.

[158] ilyennek tekinthető az előbb fölsorolt nevek közül Orozföldi Lengyel Országi

[159] Lükő Gábor: Moldva alapításának mondája, Ethnographia 1936, (47. évfolyam), 1-2. szám, 49. oldal.

neveinek felelnek meg (vö., oláh: Mures, Cris), bár a folyók elég távol esnek Máramarostól."[160] Valójában azonban jól illenek Máramarosra ha a „Mores"-en éppen a Máramores folyót értjük, ami éppen Máramarosban torkollik a Tiszába és a Fekete-Tisza mellett fekszik Körös-Mező, ami pontosan a Drágffyak birtokát alkotta. Bélay a következőket fejtette ki: „ A Fekete-Tisza felsőfolyása meletti Körösmező a bocskói uradalom XVI. századi telepítése. Alighanem a kihalt Drágffiak örökét zálogban birtokló valamelyik magyar ura (Büdi Mihály vagy Károlyi László) ültette meg rutén jobbágyokkal."[161] A magyar nevű Körösmezőn tehát románok sosem voltak, az idézett névtelen moldvai krónika azoban világosan mondja, hogy Drág olyan népességből való volt, mely magyar asszonyoktól származott, akiket a bizánci egyházba térítettek, vagyis magyar nyelvű görögkeletickből. Bárnnely népességnek az anyanyelvét ugyanis az asszonyok határozzák meg. Rámutathattunk arra, hogy a Sződ lakosságának családnevei többnyire magyarok voltak a XVIII. századi újratelepítések nyomán, de a püspök látogatások jegyzőkönyveiből kitűnt, hogy a faluban tótul gyónt a népesség, mert a magyar bevándorlók tót asszonyokat vettek feleségül, és így a falu Magyarország kellős közepén tóttá vált.[162]

II. Manuel bizánci császár koronázásán 1391. február 11-én díszesen öltözött magyar küldöttség állt a Hagia Sophiában a velencei, római, spanyol, génuai képviseletek között két oldalt, különböző piros árnyalatú viseletük mellére a címerüket hímezték Smolenszki Ignác feljegyzése szerint.[163] Antal konstantinápolyi pátriárka 1391. augusztus 13-án pedig azt írta, hogy a legnemesebb származású Drág, a Drágffy család őse, Konstantinápolyban személyesen hozzá járult.[164] Ez arra mutat, éppenúgy, mint az éppen említett

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[160] Lükő Gábor: Moldva alapításának mondája. Ethnographia 1936. (47. évfolyam), 1-2. szám, 49. oldaíl, 5. lábjegyzet.

[161] Bélay Vilmos: Máramaros megye társadalma és nemzetiségei. Budapest 1943, 166. oldal, 81. pont.

[162] Három Pest vármegyei falu népesedése a XVIII. század második felében. Történeti statisztikai szemle, Budapest 1959, 1-2 szám, 70, 85-86. oldal, lábjegyzet 62-68.

[163] In the year 6899, the eleventh day of February, the Sunday of the Prodigal Son, His Holiness the Patriarch Antony vrowned Emperor Manuel and the Empress.....
Romans and Spaniards were there, Franmks from Galata, Byzantines and Genoese, Venetians and Hungarians, and they were splendid to look at. They stood on either side; the costumes of some were of purple velvet, while those of the others were of cherry-coloured velvet. Their arms were embroidered on their chests and many of them were decorated with pearls....."
Philip Sherrard: Constantinople, Icopnography of a Sacred City, London 1965, 50-51. oldal. A 133 oldalon a [26]lábjegyzet forrásként "Itinéraires russes en Orient, trans. for the Societé de l'Orient Latin by Mme B. de Khitrowo (Geneva 1889), pp 143ff" bvalamint Nikon Chronicle (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, Vol. XI, pp 101-4" munkákat jelöli meg.

[164] παρεκάλεσαν ἐνταῦθα ἐλθὼν τὴν ἡμῶν μετριότητα καὶ ἐπιδημήσας εἰς τὴν βασιλίδα τῶν πώλεων ὁ εὐγενέστατος Νδράγος
Franciscus Miklosich, Joseph Müllcer:Acta et diplomata Graeca, Bécs 1860-1862, II. kötet, 157-158. oldal;s
II Ulászló 1494. év május 14-én kelt fordítása szerint Drág testvére, Balicza is vele ment volna :"...Vajvoda Balicza et Drag Mester...venerunt ad nos et humilitati nostrae...." apsai Mihályi János:

oklevélben elnyert ritka kiváltsága, hogy a bélteki Drágffy család szóbanforgó őse képviselte Magyarországot a megelőző császárkoronázáson. Antal konstantinápolyi pátriarkának ezen éppen Szent László leányának, Szent Piroska-Irén bizánci császárnénak a napján[165] kiállított oklevele ugyanis a már korábban fölállított nemzetségi monostoruknak,[166] a máramarosi Szent Mihály, tehát körtvélyesi apátságnak a görög kánonjog szerint ténylegesen a sztauropégia jogát adja,[167] vagyis főapáti rangra emeli, és így főapátjának püspöki joghatóságot ad a világi papok fölött is[168] a görög szöveg szerint Szilágyságban, Erdődön, Ugocsában, Beregben Csicsóvárott, Bálványosvárott és Bisztrában [169] tehát valójában jelentős magyar anyanyelvű területek görög ritusú lakossága fölött. A pátriárka oklevele egyúttal a főapátot a stauropégia jogának megfelelően közvetlenül saját magának, a konstantinápolyi pátriarkának veti alá.[170]

Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 109. oldal, de a görög eredetiben a ὁ εὐγενέστατος Νδράγος állítmánya παρεκαλεσεν auristos-ban, egyes szám harmadik személyben áll.

[165] Et heac scripta sunt XIII. die mensis Augusti Mihályi, op.cit. 110. oldal; cf.: 109. oldal II. Ulászl 1494 május 14. kelt és erdődi Bakócz Tamás által kiállított fordítása szerint. Mihályi, op.cit. 606-607. oldal.

A görög szöveg azonban csak κατὰ μῆνα αὔγουστον, τῆς ιδ' ἰνδ . τοῦ ,ςωqθ' ἔτους -ról (vagyis a 6899=1391. évről, ami az indictióban a 14. év) beszél. (Miklosich, op.cit., 157. oldal) Az ιδ' jelzést a fordítók semmiesetre sem érthették félre 13-nak.

Piroska -Irene-Xené-t alighanem az oxfordi Christ Church College Aedes Christi Iarch. w. gr. 2 kézirat említheti talán 191 folio^{verso} táján.

[166] ..... ἡ μετριότητος ἡμῶν, τὴν αὐτοῦ προσδεξαμένη δέησιν δικαίαν οὖσαν καὶ εὔλογον, ἅμα δ'ε καὶ συνήθη τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τῷ οἰκουμενικῷ πατριάρχῃ, τὸ μὴ μόνον σταυροπήγια γίνεστθαι πατριαρχικὰ (Miklosich, op.cit. p 156.)

ἔχουσι μοναστήριον ἀπὸ γονικότητος (Miklosich, op.cit p 156).

[167] A pátriárka idézett oklevelében az ".....ἐπὶ σταυροπηγίῳ πατριαρχικῷ" kifejezés a körtvélyesi főapátra vonatkozóan még kétszer fordul elő, tehát a pátriárkális stauropégia összesen tehát háromszor. Jellemző, hogy II. Ulászló 1494. évi fordításában ez a kifejezés egyetlen egyszer sem jelenik meg. Így tehát azon fordítást, ellentétben a Télfy slvánt idéző apsai Mihályi Jánosal, (op.cit. 111. oldal 5. jegyzet) a latin szöveget nem tekinthetjük a görög eredi hű fordításának. Valójában azt meglehetősen szabadon, és sokszor elég pontatlanul fordítja.

[168] ἔξαρχος τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος ἐπιβλέπειν τοὺς εὑρισκομένους ἐν ταῖς εἰρημέναις χώραις ἱερεῖς καὶ τὸν λαὸν

(Miklosich, op.cit. p. 157).

[169] ἔξαρχον εἰς τὰς ὑποκειμέᾳας τῷ μοναστηρίῳ χώρας, ἤγ ουν τὸ Σελατζίον, τὸ Ἀρτούτιν, τὸ Ὄγγοτζα, τὸ Ἰουμπερέκιν, τὸ Τζτζόβιν, τὸ Παλβανέτζιν καὶ τὴν Πίστραν (Miklosich, op.cit., pp 156-157).

(cf.:Mátyás Gyóni: Die Streudenkmaeler der Ungarischen Sprache in Griechischen Texten, Magyar-görög tanulmányok, 1943, n° 24 20-21, 97-98, 133-134. oldal).

II. Uászló latin fordítása Erdőd helyett Megyesalját, Bereg helyett Bersavát, Bisztra helyett Alamzigyet vagyis Almaszeget említ. Biharban Almaszeg közelében van Bisztra, és a Borsava völgye valóban Bereg vármegyének jelentős részét alkotja, azonban Erdőd 25 kilométerre esett a Szatmár vármegyei (Aranyos-) Meggyestől, amivel -úgy látszik- apsai Mihályi János azonosította (Mihályi, op.cit. 111. oldal, 3. jegyzet.). Mindkettő azonban akkoriban túlnyomóan magyar vidéken feküdt.

[170] lásd följebb a 147. lábjegyzet görög idézetét; Miklosich, loco citato.

Fontos az is azonban, hogy a firenzei zsinatot követően, (ahol VIII. János bizánci császár és IV. Jenő pápa kimondták az úniót a görög és a latin egyház között), a Drágffyak, a körtvélyesi kolostor kegyurai, a kolostort az erdélyi katolikus püspök joghatósága alá helyezték 1494-ben.[171] Ezt tulajdonképpen II. Ulászló rendelte el 1494. május 14-én Kassán.[172] Körtvélyesen meg is jelenik a Filioque használata a Hitvallásban, például az úgynevezett schei-i zsoltároskönyvben,[173] ami azt mutatja, hogy akkorra már áttértek a görög keleti hitről a görög katolikus egyházba. Ez egybevág azzal, hogy mint föntebb kifejtettük, 1491. július 31-én II. Ulászló király a Máramarosi Szent Mihály kolostorban, tehát Körtvélyesen levő püspököt Joannes Episcopus Rurhenorum-ként nevezi meg, és az alá tartozó papokat in medio vestro plurimi Rutheni presbyteri et pluriui item coloni Graecam fidem tenentes et sub jurisdictione sua existentes commorarentur.[174]

A körtvélyesi kolostor a Thököly-féle felkelés során 1664-ben elpusztult.[175] „Szentmihálykörtvélyese monostorának romjait benőtte a fű, helyét kis halom és egy kereszt jelzi."[176] Ez arra mutat, hogy a Körtvélyesen épült kolostortemplom is fából épült, mint a Gyulamonostor,[177] hiszen a korai nemzetségi templomok fából épültek, mint a még a szentjobbi apátsági templom is, amint arra Győrffy György kifejtette. Györffy György ugyanis rámutatott, hogy a " korai urasági templomok még többnyire fából épültek, mint pl. a "(XI.) "század második felében Merkur fehérvári örkanonok birtokán a szentjobbi monostor" [178] Történetesen Apsai Mihályi János szerint csak hat kőből épült templom volt Máramaros vármegyében és ezek között nem említi a

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Eugene Csocsán de Várallja: La population de la Hongrie au XXe siecle, Revue d'études comparatives est-ouest, 8. évfolyam, 1977 n 3, 104-105. oldal.

[171] Makkai László:Erdélyi a középkori Magyar Királyságban (896-1526) in: Köpeczi Béla (főszerk.): Erdély története: I kötet, Budapest 1987, 405. oldal.

[172] Ita tamen, quod ipse frater Hilerius Prior, et sui successores episcopo de Munkats sui ordinis reverentiam, archiepicopo vero de Transilvania, modernis et futuris, veluti superioribus suis debitam subjectionem et obedientiam praestare debeant, et tenerantur.
apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 607. oldfal.

[173] Ez a zsoltároskönyv Brassó kölvárosába Scheibe került, ahol már 1480-ban volt román iskola, de föltételezik, hogy a szóbanforgó zsoltároskönyvet Körtvélyesen írták a máramarosi dialektusa miatt.

[174] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 600. oldal.

[175] Dudás Bertalan, Legeza László, Szacsvay Péter: Bazilitták, Budapest 1993, 17. oldal.

[176] Dudás Bertalan, Legeza László, Szacsvay Péter: Bazilitták, Budapest 1993, 21. kép a 40. oldal után.

[177] Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia írásban és képben XV. kötet (Magyarország V. kötete), Felsőmagyarország I. rész, Budapest 1898, 111. oldal.

[178] " korai urasági templomok még többnyire fából épültek, mint pl. a "(XI.) "század második felében Merkur fehérvári örkanonok birtokán a szentjobbi monostor" Györffy György: István király és müve, Budapest 1977, 264. oldal.

körtvélyesi templomot.[179] Úgy tünik, hogy a Körtvélyesen lakó magyar bizánci ritusuak a kolostor pusztulása után szomszédos koronavárosba, Hosszúmezőbe húzódtak, ahol 1910-ban a görögkatolikusok 63 %-a volt magyar, és 1941-ben pedig 87 %-a. Magyarságukat talán legjobban az mutatja, hogy a máramarosi görögkatolikus magyarságnak talán a legszebb emléke éppen az az 1848-as honvédzászló, amit a Bach korszakban ikonként rejtettek el Hosszúmezőn a görögkatolikus templomban, és azt így őrizték meg.[180]

A Drágffyak magyar eredetét mutatja az is, hogy a XV. század kezdetén éppen a Drágffyak voltak azok, akik bevezették a magyar levelezést.[181] Magyarul kezdtek levelezni, ami nehéz kezdeményezés volt, amikor a levelezésben a latin nyelv használata teljesen bevett évszázados szokássá vált. Ezért a Drágffyak kezdeményezése elárulja, hogy nem volt latin a vérük. A Mohácsnál hősi halált halt Drágffy János országbíró írta az első magyar nyelvű végrendeletet.[182]

Radu Rosetti már 1905-ben kifejtette, hogy a román országalapítás előtt kellett magyaroknak lenniök Moldvában.[183] Moldvabányát magyarok alapították, hiszen annak eredeti neve nem Baia, hanem Bania volt,[184] vagyis jelenlegi betűzéssel Bánya, ami nyilvánvalóan magyar szó. A város pecsétjén 1200-as évszám olvasható.[185] Moldvában igen sok helynév magyar eredetű:[186]

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[179] Máramosszigeten kívül "A XIV. és XV. századból származó kőtemplomok voltak még négy városban, Remetén, Szarvasszón (sic), ezek máig is állnak, továbbá Uglyán, Gyulafalván, mely 1880-ban lett lebontva és Fejéregyházán, mely 1738. év április 29-éig állott fenn, midőn a Tisza árja alá mosta.(Lásd: Historia Collegii Szigetiensis Scholarum Piarum pag. 16 apud Innoc. Simonchich: Dissertatio de Voivodis Maramarosiensibus) ...Mindezek a templomok, kivéve a szarvasszóit, góth stílban épültek...s" apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból. Máramarossziget 1900, 25. oldal 1. számú lábjegyzet.

[180] Kerekes Zoltán: "Az 1848-49-es forradalom és Szabadságharc hadi zászlói" Hadtörténeti közlemények 1972, 648. oldal. A zászló eredetileg az 1. vadászezred 2. zászlóaljának volt a zászlója. Jelenleg a Hadtörténeti Múzeum őrzi 0932/Z1 számon, de ma már a Szüzanya ábrázolásának mintegy egy negyede hiányzik.Tulajdonképen ugyanennek a zászlónak az ikonográfiájat tükrözi a budapesti Rózsák-terei magyar görögkatolikus templom főoltárképe, amit Roskovics Ignác festett, lásd: a Görög Katolikus Szemle kalendáriuma 2000 címlapján; cf. Eugene Csocsán de Várallja, 1977, op.cit, 83-85. oldal.

[181] „Au début du XVe siècle ce sont les Drágffy qui écrivent le plus souvent les lettres hongroises, initiant par là une innovation assez hardie, à cause de la prédomininance de la langue latine." Emericus Lukinich adiuvante Ladioslao Gáldi, ediderunt Antonius Fekete Nagy et Ladislaus Makkai: Documenta historiam Valachorum illustrantia, (Études sur l'Europe Centre-Orientale No 29), Budapest 1941, 180. oldal, 1 lábjegyzet.

[182] „Le premier testament rédigé en hongrois est celui du grand justicier Jean Drágffy qui mourout à la bataille de Mohács (1526)"
Emericus Lukinich adiuvante Ladioslao Gáldi, ediderunt Antonius Fekete Nagy et Ladislaus Makkai: Documenta historiam Valachorum illustrantia, (Études sur l'Europe Centre-Orientale No 29), Budapest 1941, 180. oldal, 1 lábjegyzet.

[183] Radu Rosetti: Despre Ungari si episcopiile catolice din Moldova. Analelée Acaemiei Romane, Memorie sectiei istorice, seria 2, XXVIII kötet, Bukarest 1905, 249-251. oldal.

[184] Makkai László: A milkói (kún) püspökség és népei, Debrecen 1936, 25. oldal, 28. lábjegyzet

[185] Makkai László: A milkói (kún) püspökség és népei, Debrecen 1936, 22. oldal.

„Rosetti megállapította, hogy a moldvai magyarok legkésőbb a fejedelemség alapítása idején már ott voltak s igen sok helyt megelőzték a románokat. Bakó megye toponimiája magyar alapokra vezethető vissza szerinte is és a községnevek első okleveles előfordulásai az első moldvai írásos emlékekkel esnek egybe."[187] Jellemző, hogy a román krónikák Simion dascal és Misail calugar által leírt román nyelvű szövege szerint Moldva egyik legnagyobb folyójának, a Szeretnek neve magyar nyelvi eredetű: „a folyót Szeretnek nevezték el a király szava után, ki azt mondta: szeretem."[188] Az, hogy az ilyen nagy folyónak a neve magyar maradt arra mutat, hogy az még a magyaroknak Etelközben-i tartózkodása idejéből ragadt meg. „Rosetti leszögezi, hogy a XV. század közepén, a román államalapítás évtizedeiben Moldva nyugati felében magyar lakosság volt, mégpedig szervezett életformák között, földesúri jellegű falvakban, melyeknek urai is magyarok voltak. Ez a [magyar] település kiterjedtebb volt, mint arra a mai viszonyokból következtetni lehetne."[189]

Jellemző, hogy Drágos Kunországban nem a más népelemek által lakott központokba, hanem pontosan a magyar nevű, és így magyar alapítású Moldvabányába helyezte központját,[190] amikor Moldva megszervezését megkezdte. Ha más nem, már ez is azt bizonyítja, hogy valójában magyar és magyar eredetű volt, mert másküllönben kézenfekvő lett volna, hogy román vagy kún közösséget válasszon a vajdaság alapítására. Drágosnak nyilván azért esett a választása Moldvabányára, mert a szomszédságában szintén a Moldva vize mellett[191] feküdt Gyula, „hasonnevű vezértől alapított város volt akkor, midőn 744-ben (?) a' magyarok Scythiából Pannoniába másodikszor kijöttek, és Sarmatiának ezen részében ideiglen letelepedtek"[192] Gyulán „hajdan kastélyok és kiemelkedő tetőzetű, zászlós tornyú paloták büszkélkedtek." [193] Ezen Gyula

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[186] Makkai László: A milkói (kun) püspökség és népei, Debrecen 1936, 22. oldal.

[187] Makkai László: A milkói (kun) püspökség és népei, Debrecen 1936, 28. oldal.

[188] Lükő Gábor: Moldva alapításának mondája, Ethnographia 1936, (47. évfolyam), 1-2. szám, 50. oldal.

[189] Makkai László: A milkói (kun) püspökség és népei, Debrecen 1936, 29. oldal.
cf.: „Ezen a területen azonban a kunok mellett jász és magyar szórványtelepek is voltak valamint nagy számban éltek románok és szászok is."Selmeczi László: Régészeti-néprajzi tanulmányok a jászokról és kunokról.167. és 182. oldal 12. lábjegyzet.

[190] La missione d'impedire il ritorno offensivo dei Tartari fu affidata al voivoda Dragos...Ma per Drtagos fu scelta un altra positione, piu adata agli scopi militari che si avevano in vista: la cittadina di Baia (dall'ungherese banya «miniera») dove gia dal principio del sec XIII i Sassoni avevano stabilito una colonia
N(icola) I(orga) :Storia in: Enciclopedia Italiana XXIII kötet, Róma 1934, 546. oldal.

[191] Moldvabánya és Németvására között félnapi útra a Moldva vize mellett. Domokos Pál Péter: A moldvai magyarság, Budapest 2001, 363. és 138. oldal;

[192] „P. Bandin után" P. Gerő Elek: A' moldvai magyar telepekről, Budán 1838, 139. oldal.

[193] Domokos Pál Péter: A moldvai magyarság, Budapest 2001, 363. és 138. oldal; a 489. oldalon levő térképén (a kinagyított részletet jelző keret fölső szaggatott vonala fölött) .

helység neve Bandinus szerint a honfoglalás korából az erdélyi Gyula vezér emlékét őrzi.[194]

Ezt magyarázza meg Thietmár följegyzése, aki szerint vitéz Boleszló lengyel királynak "volt egy nagy vára ill. városa (urbs, civitas) saját országa és Magyarország végein, melynek őrzését Prokuj főúrra, a magyar király nagybátyjára bizta, kit a király székéből, úgy mint most, régebben is elűzött"[195] Györffy György kifejtette, hogy a szóbanforgó Prokuj valójában az erdélyi gyula volt Szent István korában,[196] akit tehát Szent István kétszer is elűzött, és eszerint elűzetései során alapította a későbbi Moldvabánya szomszédságában levő Gyulát.

vagyis az erdélyi gyulára....Hogy melyik várat bízta Boleszló Gyulára, biztosan el nem dönthető kérdés" (Györffy György: István király és műve, Budapest 1977, 281. oldal.) Ez a vár alighanem az Árpádházi Szent Kinga történetében kétszer is 1239-ben és 1287-ben szereplő Csorsztin Vára a Dunajec fölött Nedeccel szemben és Podolin közelében (Szentek Lexikona Bp 1994, 200. oldal, Prokopp Mária: Újabb magyar szent - Kinga, Új Ember 1999. június 20, 2. oldal, Molnár Imre: Árpádházi Boldog Kingát szentté avatják, Napi Magyarország 1999. június 12, 17. oldal.).Tudni kell azonban, hogy Boleszló a Kijevi Oroszországgal is hadban állt, s lehetséges, hogy ez a vár éppen a Máramaros szomszédságába esett.

A Gyulafalvi nemzetség, mint láttuk, az erdélyi Gyula vezértől származott, és valójában ebből a nemzetségből vezeti le Makkai László[197] meg Lukinich Imre[198] a Moldvát alapító, utóbb bélteki Drágffyak családfáját. Abból, hogy Drágos Moldvát éppen a Gyula nemzetség ősi területén alapította, ismét kitűnik, hogy nemzetsége a Gyula nemzetségéből származott, és eredetileg is magyar volt.[199] Történetesen Drágos fiát és utódát a moldvai vajdák székében, s egyúttal a Drágffyak ősét, Szásznak nevezték, ami mindent mutat de nem azt, hogy román lett volna. Neve egyébként kapcsolatban állhat azzal, hogy

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[194] „Bandinus úgy beszéli el, hogy ama Gyula kapitány alapítása, ki a Tisza mellett is Gyula névvel várost alapított."Domokos Pál Péter: A moldvai magyarság. Budapest 2001, 138. oldal; cf.: 363. oldal

[195] Györffy György: István király és műve, Budapest 1977, 281. oldal.

[196] Györffy György: István király és műve, Budapest 1977, 281. oldal.

[197] Makkai László: II. Az északi románság bevándorlása megtelepülése in: Gáldi László és Makkai László: A románok története (A Magyar Történelmi Társulat könyvei VI.), Budapest (1941 -1942 között) 54. oldal. (cf.: 428. oldal.)

[198] Emericus Lukinich adiuvante Ladioslao Gáldi, ediderunt Antonius Fekete Nagy et Ladislaus Makkai: Documenta historiam Valachorum illustrantia, (Études sur l'Europe Centre-Orientale No 29), Budapest 1941, 179. oldal, cf.: 115. oldal.

[199] Gyula fia Drágus Radautz mellett Volloveczben épített templomot és ott temették el . Onciul Dömötör: (Bukovina története) Az egyesülés előtt in : Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia írásban és képben, Bukovina, XVII. kötet, Budapest 1899, az 64-65. oldal.

Moldvabánya lakosai abban az időben főként szászok voltak, a neve alighanem éppen azt jelzi, hogy édesanyja volt szász.[200]

A Radu Rosetti és Makkai László által fölsorolt számos Árpádkori moldvai magyar helység valójában arra vall, hogy az erdélyi Gyula nemzetség és népének egyes részei és pásztorai Moldvában maradtak, vagy oda tértek vissza, és ők alkották a moldvai magyarság eredetét. A Moldvabánya közelében fekvő Gyulán kívül ugyanis a Balhoj völgyében is feküdt egy másik Gyula, amit a románok Hodorának neveznek.[201] A Drágffyak ősei ezen Gyula nemzetségi kapcsolataik nyomán és azok miatt tértek vissza Kunországba és alapították a moldvai vajdaságot, amit éppen a Moldvabánya melletti kis folyócskáról neveztek Moldvának, ahelyett, hogy a tartomány hatalmas folyóiról, a Szeretről és a Prútról nevezték volna.

A Drágffyak magyar eredetére mutat Moldva címere és alapításának legendája is, mert a szerint Drág bölényt üldözve jutott a Bölény nevű helységhez a Moldva vizénél, és ott alapította Moldvát,[202] ami nyilvánvalóan Hunor és Magor csodaszarvas vadászatát tükrözi.[203] Ezen túlmenően a Bölény név éppen a Gyula nemzetségben kedvelt névként élt, ami mutatja, hogy ősi hagyományaikhoz tartozott. Tuhutum genuit Horcam, Horca genuit Geulam et Zu(m)bor, Geula genuit duas filias quarum una vocatur Caroldu et altera Saroltu et Sarolt fuit mater sancti regis Stephani.[204] Zombor előfordul a Gyula nemzetségből való Etele ősei között is, mégpedig Etele szépapjának a nagyapja is ezen a néven található a családfán. Zombor neve viszont magyarul pont bölényt jelent. [205] Még jellemzőbb, hogy Máramarosban, ahonnan Drág Moldvába jött, éppen a vármegye lagmagyarabb helységeinek, mégpedig mind az öt koronavárosnak, Técsőnek, Husztnak, Visknek, Hosszúmezőnek és

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[200] Szász Szeret városában Szentháromságnak szentelt templomot alapított, melynek egyik helységét legalábbis a legutóbbi időkig Sasca-nak (vagyis Szaszkának) nevezték. Onciul Dömötör: (Bukovina története) Az egyesülés előtt in : Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia írásban és képben, Bukovina, XVII. kötet, Budapest 1899, az 65. oldal..

[201] Domokos Pál Péter: A moldvai magyarság, Budapest 2001, 136. oldal; a 489. oldalon levő térképén (a kinagyított részletet jelző keret fölső szaggatott vonala fölött,) Hodora névvel jelezve.

[202] Onciul Dömötör: (Bukovina története) Az egyesülés előtt in : Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia írásban és képben, Bukovina, XVII. kötet, Budapest 1899, 64. oldal.

[203] Emericus Lukinich adiuvante Ladioslao Gáldi, ediderunt Antonius Fekete Nagy et Ladislaus Makkai: Documenta historiam Valachorum illustrantia, (Études sur l'Europe Centre-Orientale No 29) , Budapest 1941, cf.: R Vuja: Legenda lui Dragos. Anuarul institului de Istorie Nationala, Kolozsvár, I (1921-22), 300-309. oldal.

[204] Anonymus, 27. fejezet. Emericus Szentpétery: Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, I. kötet, Budapest 1937,
68. oldal,6-sor-69. oldal, 1-3. sor. Cf.: Anonymus 20. fejezet, Szentpétery, op. cit. 61. oldal,12-13. sor.

[205] Emericus Szentpétery: Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, I. kötet, Budapest 1937, 69. oldal, 11-15. sor.

Máramarosszigetnek a címere pontosan bölényfej.[206] Történetesen Moldva címerében, például IV István (1517-1527) pecsétjén,[207] a bölényfej mellett csökkenő félholdat s fölötte csillagot találunk,[208] s ezek az égi testek szintén az Árpádkorra visszamenő magyar címerek jellemzője Carl Alexander von Volborth szerint.[209]

A névtelen ószláv nyelvű moldvai krónika szerint „Volt köztük egy értelmes és vitéz férfi Drágos. Ez elindult egyszer társaival vadászni. A havasok alatt egy bölény nyomaira bukkantak Követve azt átkeltek a havasokon és egy igen szép sík helyre jutottak. Itt egy folyó partján utolérték a bölényt, egy fűzfa alatt megölték és lakomát rendeztek belőle.....

Drágos vajda pedig először a Moldva partján szállott meg egy helyen, később Bányát alapította és más helyeket a folyók és források mellett. És fejedelmi pecsétet csinált az egész ország részére: egy bölényfejet. És Dragos vajda két évet uralkodott. Utána fia Szász négy évet."[210] Drágos a Szeret fölső folyása mentén is telepített, amint azt a Dragos mezeje nevű terület mutatja ott, ahol a Szeret elhagyta az egykori Bukovina határát.[211]

Onciul Dömötör szerint Drágos „templomot épített Volloveczben Radautz mellett, ahol el is temették. Utódjának S(z)ás(z)nak, tulajdonítja a hagyomány a szertethi, ma is meglevő Szent Háromság templomot, melynek egyik egyik helyiségét „Sasca"-nak neveznek.""[212] Ez arra mutat, hogy a Moldvabányával szomszédos, attól északnyugatra eső Sasca Mare és Sasca Micu helységek is az ő nevét őrzik.

Szász uralmát Moldvában a máramarosi Konyhából Moldvába vonuló Bogdán vajda támadta meg, akinek szövetségesei 1349-ben Gyulafalvi Gyulát

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[206] Altenburger G. és Rumbold B., a szöveget írja Tagányi Károly: Magyarország czímertára, Budapest 1880, I. 48. Máramarossziget; II. 12. Hosszúmező.
Técső, Huszt, Visk, Hosszúmező és Máramarossziget címerét 1701 június 28-án I. Lipót oklevele írta le. Lásd: Darvasy Mihály: Középkori városaink cimereinek eredete és fejlődése (Palaestra Calasantiana, a Piaristák doktori értekezései az 1932. évtől 39. szám) Budapest 1942, 54. oldal.

[207] Onciul Dömötör: (Bukovina története) Az egyesülés előtt in : Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia írásban és képben, Bukovina, XVII. kötet, Budapest 1899, 93. oldal.

[208] Révai Nagy Lexikona, IV. kötet, Budapest 1912, VI. oldal második oszlop az 504. oldal után és Románia címere a „Címerek I" című színes tábla. Lásd még Bukovinának Moldvától függő címerét, amelyben három csillagot találunk, op. cit., V. oldal, első oszlop vége és XIV. kötet, Budapest 1916, 17. címer a 874. és 875. oldal közötti képen.

[209] „Even before these first Hungarians invaded the country they are supposed to have various tribal totems or insignia of chiefdom, traces of which are discovered in the eleventh century, and these may be the origin of some charges which are most common in the arms of the old Hungarian aristocracy: griffin and bear, as well as sun, moon and stars (Figs 618 and 621)." Carl Alexander von Volborth:Heraldry of the World, London 1973, 208. oldal és 116. oldal 618. és 621. címer.

[210] Lükő Gábor: Moldva alapításának mondája, Ethnographia 1936, (47. évfolyam), 1-2. szám, 49-50. oldal.

[211] Onciul Dömötör: (Bukovina története) Az egyesülés előtt in : Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia írásban és képben, Bukovina, XVII. kötet, Budapest 1899,64.oldal.

[212] Onciul Dömötör: (Bukovina története) Az egyesülés előtt in : Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia írásban és képben, Bukovina, XVII. kötet, Budapest 1899, 64-65..oldal.

és fiait kivetették Gyulafalva és Nyíres birtokából. Román történetírók ezt a támadást egyidejűnek tartják Bogdán vajda moldvai trónralépésének idejével, és ebből visszaszámlálva a névtelen ószláv moldvai krónika adatai alapján Moldva alapítását, vagyis Drágos moldvai vajdaságának kezdetét 1343-ra teszik. Arra is rámutatnak, hogy ezt követte hamarosan Othlam tatárjainak támadása 1345 februárjában, amit Lackfi Endre Szent László király segítségével legyőzött.[213] Ennek a kronológiának az a fő hibája, hogy 1360-ban Nagy Lajos személyesen vezetett hadjáratot Moldvába s ott sikerrel megverte Bogdán seregeit, és azon harcokban nyert érdemeiért kapták a Gyulafalviak nemesi birtokként a Gyulafalvát környező települések.[214] Ezenkívül Szásznak a fia Balk (és testvérei: Drág Dragumér és István) csak 1365. február 2-án kapták meg Bogdán vajda korábbi máramarosi birtokát Konyhát, miután elvesztették hatalmukat Moldvában.[215] Ezért valószínűbbnek látszik, hogy a Drágffyak 1360 és 1365 között még uralkodtak Moldvában. Hóman Bálint a Drágffyak őseinek moldvai uralmát szintén az 1346-1364-ig terjedő évekre teszi.[216]

A Drágffyak föntiekben vizsgált magyar eredete adhatja a magyarázatát annak is, hogy végül is Szász fia Balk elvesztette a moldavi vajdaságot a román Bogdán vajdával szemben, akinek sikerült a tartomány déli részén lakó román népességet a Drágffyak ősei ellen fordítani.

Nagy Lajos király 1349. szeptember 15-én elrendelte, hogy Gyulafalvi Gyulát és fiait a tőlük erőszakkal elvett Máramaros menti Gyulafalva és Nyíres birtokába ismét beiktassák.[217] Gyulafalvi Gyula résztvett Nagy Lajos király moldvai hadjárataiban és vitézségéért Nagy Lajos király 1360. március 20-án írott, és 1364. szeptember 1-én újra megerősített, oklevele szerint nemesség jogán még a következő helységek birtokában erősítette meg: Szlatina, Sugatagfalva, Hernécsháza, Deszeháza, Kopácsháza és Hódpatak.[218] Az hogy Nagy Lajos szerint a szóbanforgó helységek teljes területét a Gyulafalviaknak adta, kitűnik abból, hogy ezen helységekben nem maradt olyan királyi jog, amibe bárkit be lehetett volna iktatni..[219]

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[213] Onciul Dömötör: (Bukovina története) Az egyesülés előtt in : Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia írásban és képben, Bukovina, XVII. kötet, Budapest 1899,63-64. oldal.

[214] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV ás XV. századból. Máramarossziget 1900, 3740. oldal (19. okirat).

[215] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV ás XV. századból. Máramarossziget 1900,56-59. oldal.(29. okirat)

[216] Hóman Bálint, (Szekfü Gyula): Magyar történet, II. kötet, Budapest 1942, 226. oldal.

[217] apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból. Máramarossziget 1900, 26-28 oldal (13. okirat.) A 27. oldalon az 5 lábjegyzet említi, hogy Gyulafalvát és Nyirest már Károly Róbert 1317-ben adta a Gyulafalviaknak a Máramaros vármegyei levéltárban levő Productio Nobilium Anni 1752" című kötet 60. lapján található följegyzés szerint.

[218] ibidem 38. oldal sorolja föl a szóbanforgó helységeket. Ez Mihályi gyűjteményében a 19. oklevél és teljes szövege a 37-40. oldalán található.

[219] Apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák Máramarossziget 1900, 552-554. oldal, 321.. oklevél.

4. kép A Gyulafalviak birtokai.

Magyarország közigazgatási térképéből[220] *(lásd a 3. képet)* megállapítható, hogy Nagy Lajos korában 1360-ban a Gyulafalviak már fölsorolt községekből álló törzsbirtoka 49.403 katasztrális holdat, vagyis 284,30 km^2-ct tett ki.

Ebből	Aknaszlatina	2020 katasztrális hold	=	11,63 km^2
	Gyulafalva	6158 katasztrális hold	=	35,44 km^2
	Sugatag	9961 katasztrális hold	=	57,32 km^2
	Aknasugatag	991 katasztrális hold	=	5,70 km^2
	Hernécs	1577 katasztrális hold	=	9,08 km^2
	Hotinka	895 katasztrális hold	=	5,15 km^2
	Desze	3588 katasztrális hold	=	20,65 km^2
	K(a)rács(on)falva	18205 katasztrális hold	=	104,77 km^2
	Hódpatak	6007 katasztrális hold	=	34,57 km^2

vagyis a távolabbeső Aknaszaltina nélkül a Gyulafalviak összefüggő törzsbirtoka 1360-ban 47383 holdra, tehát 272,67 km^2-re rúgott.

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[220] A magyar állam közigazgatási térképe szerkesztetett és nyomtattatott a magy. kir. államnyomdában 1884, 1:360000; III, IV., VII. és VIII. szelvény. A számításokat az említett térkép alapján Reményi György végezte a Pest megyei Földhivatalban, Budapest 1051, Sas-utca 19

1457-ben a máramarosi alispánok Ezeni Gergely és társa Nyíresre mentek szolgabíró nélkül és onnan ítélet nélkül bizonyos javakat igyekeztek elvinni. Ezért Gyulafalvi Ficze György és Nyíresi Drágus Ezeni Gergely alispánt megölték. Ezt követően Máramarosszigeten 1457. november 23-án Zakay Bálint és Nagy Bertalan alispánok valamint Gurhes Péter, Slatinai László, Farkasrévi Mihály és Ficze Mihály szolgabírók azt az ítéletet hozták, hogy Gyulafalvi Ficze György és Nyíresi Drágus bűntelenek, mert az alispánok ítélet nélkül és igaztalanul jártak el.[221]

Láttuk már, hogy Kunországban két helységnek a neve is Gyula volt az elmult századokban, és a névadójukról feljegyezték, hogy az erdélyi Gyula volt,[222] akitől a Gyulafalvi nemzetség származott. A Gyulafalviak a későbbi századokban is vitézkedtek ezen a területen. Nagy Lajos korában Gyulafalvi Gyula a Kúnországban tanúsított vitézségéért kapott oklevél a Mára folyó egész vízgyűjtő területét nemesi birtokaként határozta meg. Utóbb nemzetségből Mátyás királlyal harcolva Sugatagi Mikle János szintén Moldvában kitűntette magát, mégpedig az 1467. december 15-én lezajlott moldvabányai ütközetben,[223] amint az Mátyás király Budán 1469. szeptember 17-én kelt okleveleből kitűnik.[224] Ezen oklevélből világos, hogy István moldvai vajda éjjeli támadásából[225] Magyarország Szent Koronájának tett szolgálataival máramarosi harcosok mentették meg a királyi Fölséget. A családi hagyomány szerint kétszáz máramarosi baltás szabaditotta ki a moldvabányai csatában az ellenség gyűrűjébe került Mátyás királyt. Sugatagi Mikle János utóbb máramarosi birtokait elcserélte bélteki Drágffy Miklós szurdukkápolnoki birtokáért Szolnok-Doboka vármegyében és odaköltözött, ami szintén a Gyulafalviak és Drágffyak kapcsolatát mutatja 1477-ben.[226] Úgy tűnik 1474-ben, tehát néhány évvel korábban Drágffy Miklós és fiai már elcserélték a középszolnoki Oláh-Kékes birtokukat örökre Gyulafalvi Ivánka Györgynek több máramarosi birtokáért.[227] Ezek a birtokcserék szintén mutatják a Gyulafalviak és Drágffyak rokoni kapcsolatait, mint már említettük.

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[221] Apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák Máramarossziget 1900, 404-405. oldal, 237. oklevél.

[222] a Moldva völgyében Moldvabánya alatt Gyula(Gyulesti) [lásd: Domokos Pál Péter: A moldvai magyarság, Budapest 2001, 363. és 138. oldal] valamint a Balhoj völgyében Kotnár közelében Gyula(Hodora) [ibidem 136. oldal.]
Mindkét helység megtalálható Domokos 489. oldalon levő térképén (mind a kettő a kinagyított részletet jelző keret fölső szaggatott vonala fölött,) bár a másodikat Hodora névvel jelzi.

[223] Daróczy, op. cit., 258. oldal.

[224] "...primum sacrae hujus regni nostri Hungariae coronae denique nostri maiestati....Ioannem Mikley de Sugatagh " lásd: apsai Mihályi János: Mármarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból, Máramarossziget 1900, 498. oldal.

[225] praesertim in partibus Moldaviae, dum pro recuperatione earundem partium laborassemus, et quadam nocte....loco citato.

[226] Daróczy, op. cit. 258. oldal.

[227] Engel Pál Középkori magyar genealógia, (12). lábjegyzet szerint Lelesz, Prot. Parvi foliis 50., 51.

1480-ban azonban bélteki Drágffy Bertalan királyi adományként igyekezett megszerezni Gyulafalva, Karácsonyfalva, Hernécsfalva, Doroszlófalva Deszefalva Alsó-Nyíres és Felső-Nyíres helységeket. 1480 augusztus 14-én azonban, amikor leleszi konventből Domonkos pap valamint bothfalvi Both Mihály be szándékozták iktatni bélteki Drágffy Bertalant és atyját Mklóst, valamint testvérét Pétert, fejérfalvi Ficze Gyula, gyulafalvi Perse Dömötör és Nyíresi Mózes ellentmondottak,[228] és a szóbanforgó helységek megmaradtak a Gyulafalviak birtokában. 1517-ben ugyanis II Lajos király szerint Gyulafalva, Sugatag, Hernécs, Kopács másként Nagypatak, Krácsfalva (vagyis Karácsonyfalva) és Hontinfalva egészében, valamint Hódpatak és Desze fele részben a Gyulafalviak birtokát alkotta,[229] tehát tulajdonképpen ugyanazok falvak, amelyeket már Nagy Lajos király is említett, kivéve Szlatinát.

Az okiratokban a család neve eredetileg de Gyulafalva formában található, és csak azután, hogy Ivánka de Gyulafalva, akit az oklevelek 1421-től 1464-ig említenek, és aki 1475 előtt halt meg, Rethnek Annát vette feleségül, nevezték a gyermekeit és leszármazóit Rednik de Gyulafalva néven a latin oklevelek.[230] Rá kell azonban mutatni, hogy a családból származó Athanáz fogarasi püspököt még 1835-ben is Athanasius de Gyulafalva formában nevezi meg a fogarasi Schematismus.[231] A Rednik név tehát utólag (E)Retnek Anna nevének az elferdítésével ragadt a familiára. "Anka de Rethnek relicta condam Iuanka et Georgius similter Rethnek filius ejusdem Iuanka de Gyulafalva coram nobis personaliter adstantes" [232] A családi hagyomány szerint a Retnek név tulajdonképen az eretnek szónak a változata, amint azt gyulafalvi Gyulafalvy Sándor kifejtette.[233] A régi család nevének betűzésénél ugyanis előfordult, hogy az első betű elmaradt.[234] Az Eretnek névvel kapcsolatban még lényegesebb, hogy a magyar rovásírásban a magánhangzókat csak ritkán tették ki. Kézai Simon szerint ugyanis az erdélyi pásztor népek a székely rovásírást használták: "Sicules Blachis commixti

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[228] Apsai Mihályi János: Máramarosi diplomák Máramarossziget 1900, 552-554. oldal, 321. oklevél

[229] Joódy Pál: Máramaros vármegye 1749-1769. évi nemességvizsgálata, Máramarossziget 1943, 179. oldal.

[230] lásd a családfa tábláját Daróczy idézett munkájában a 264.és 265. oldal között.

[231] Schematismus venerabilis cleri Graeci ritus Catholicorum diocceseos Fogarasiensis in Transilvania pro anno a Christo nato MDCCCV, Balázsfalva 1835, X. oldal.

[232] "Anka de Rethnek relicta condam Iuanka et Georgius similter Rethnek filius ejusdem Iuanka de Gyulafalva coram nobis personaliter adstantes" 1475 december 5 (Máramaros)Szigeten kelt oklevél. Mihályi, op.cit. 527. oldal

[233] 1960-1963 táján történt családtörténeti megbeszéléseink során.

[234] mint például a kisenyedi és alsószentmihályfalvi 'Sigmond család nevének írásánál (cf.: Nagy Iván: Magyarország családai czímerekkel, XII. kötet, Pest 1865, 452. oldal; lásd még a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia: A magyar helyesírás szabályai, hatodik kiadás, Budapest 1937, 25. oldal.)

litteris ipsorum uti perhibentur"[235] A Gyulafalviakra azért ragadhatott az eretnek név, mert görög keletiek maradtak, akkor is, amikor a Drágffyak például már elfogadták a florenci uniót. A görög keletieket pedig eretnekeknek minősítette Ferdinánd stájer főherceg a végvidék katonai kormányzója 1611. március 23-án kelt oklevelében, ahol a Körös vármegyei délszláv népességről beszél[236] A görög keletiek eretnekeknek tartásában Ferdinánd főherceg korántsem volt egyedül az elmúlt századokban.

A (E)retnek szót azonban a közhasználat Rednikre ferdítette el. Hangsúlyozni kell, hogy a Rednik név sem román szó. Annak ellenére, hogy a "Rednik de Gyulafalva" betűzést a latin oklevelek addigra már négyszáz éves és kivételt nem mutató jogszokása szentelte meg, a románoknak ez nem felelt meg, és "Rednicu"-vá facsarták a nevet[237]

Győrffy György kifejtette, hogy a rednik a középkori magyar nyelvbe átvett szláv jövevény szó és Sopron vármegyében mutatható ki ebben a formában. Az ércművest, vagyis kohászt jelentő rudnik szót magyarosították rednik formára.[238] Ez kapcsolatban állhat a Gyulák arany-keresésével, aranyművességével és nevűkben a gyúl szóval.

A nemzetségnek egyházilag legnevezetesebb tagja Gyulafalvi Rednik Athanáz.

Athanáz 1721-ben született.[239] 1743 és legalábbis 1747 júniusa között a Pazmaneumban tanult Bécsben.[240] Athanáz bazilita szerzetes is volt[241] s kézenfekvő, hogy szerzetesi hivatása családjának a gyulamonostori Főangyalok

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[235] Emericus Szentpétery: Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, I. kötet, Budapest 1937, 162-163. oldal

[236] Pirigyi István: A magyarországi görögkatolikusok története I. kötet, Nyíregyháza 1990, 89 oldal;
Nicolaus Nilles: Symbolae ad illustrandum historiam Ecclesiae Orientalis in terris Coronae Ysti Stephani Oeniponte 1885, II. kötet, 704-705. oldal, (cf.: 698-818.oldal).

[237] Sciematismulu veneratului cleru alu archidiesesei metropolitane Greco-catolice a Alba-Juliei si Fogarasiului pre anulu 1871, XXIV. oldal.
Az 1867. évi szamosujvári Schematismus pedig "Rednik de Giulesci" formára alakította a nevet. (Siematismulu veneratului cleri a nou infiintiatei diecese Greco-catolice A Gherlei pre anulu dela Christosu 1867, Szamosújvár 1867, 217. oldal.

[238] Győrffy György: István király és műve, Budapest 1977, 441. oldal.

[239] 1981 február 7-én Gyulafalvi Rednik Katalin unokájának, Dr Ijjas-Jankovits Antalnénak tulajdonában Budapesten, a VIII. kerület Mária-u 3/b szám alatt, volt az Atanáz püspököt ábrázoló festmény Cop FCDomsa jelzettel. Ezen a következő föliratot olvashattuk:
ATHANSIUS REDNIK
EPPUS FAGARASIENSIS
OBIIT 3ma MAJI 1772
EPPATUS 7 AETAT: 51
A festmény azóta Bécsbe került, s jelenlegi lelőhelye ismeretlen.

[240] Szabó Miklós, Szögi László: erdélyi peregrinusok.Erdélyi diákok európai egyetemeken 1701-1849, 378. oldal, 3208.

[241] "Athanasius II. de Gyulafalva, Ord. D. Bas. M. installatus 13. Januarii 1765." Schematismus venerabilis cleri Graeci ritus Catholicorum Dioeceseos Fogarasiensis in Transilvania pro anno a Christo nato MDCCCXXXV, editio prima, Balázsfalva, 1835, X. oldal.

illetve Szent Mihály kolostorából indult, és a kolostorral később is kapcsolatban maradt, amikor a gyulafehérvár-fogarasi egyházmegyének vikáriusa[242], majd pedig püspöke lett. Ez magyarázza, hogy hogyan maradt fönn a pecsétje Gyulafalván, hiszen azt gyulafalvi Gyulafalvy Sándor egyik rokonától, az 1877. szept. 26-án született Gyulafalvi Rednik Sándortól[243] vette át Gyulafalván.[244] Előzőleg ezt a pecsétnyomót Gyulamonostoron őrizhették. Lehetséges, hogy ezt a pecsétet Athanáz, mint a kolostor (címzetes?) higumenje, vagyis apátja használta, mert a pecsétnyomón ábrázolt hat rojt az apátoknak is kijárt,[245] püspökként ugyanis más pecsétnyomót (is) használt.[246]

Balázsfalvára költözve előbb az újonnan épült Szentháromság kolostor első lakói között tartják számon.[247] Athanáz a balázsfalvi teológián dogmatikát, egyháztörténelmet és a "szent unió" igazságát tanította,[248] úgy látszik, annak megnyitásától 1754-ben.[249] Aron Péter Pál püspök Balázsfalván 1758 és 1760 között szemináriumot és az azzal kapcsolatban álló "Angyali üdvözlet" kolostort építette fel, és annak praefectusa a püspököt segítő Rednik Atanáz lett, aki kitartóan a szent unióra lelkesítette a növendékeket.[250] Rednik Athanáz a "szigorú szerzetesi szellemű" Aron püspökhöz hasonlóan "szintén szigorú felfogású" volt.... és a növendékeket a "legszigorúbb szerzetesi életmódra fogták."[251]

Áaron Péter Pál püspök 1764. február 25-én halt meg Nagybányán.[252] Halála után a vikárius generális gyulafalvi Rednik Athanáz lett.[253] Ezen

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[242] Dr Pirigyi István: A magyarországi görögkatolikusok története, I. kötet, Nyíregyháza 1990, 132. oldal

[243] Daróczy, op. cit. 270. oldal c_7, akinek apja Péter megyei csendbiztos volt Daróczy, op.cit., 269. oldal b_6.

[244] Gyulafalvi Gyulafalvy Sándor leánya, Erzsébet adta Gyulafalvi és Váralljai Csocsán Jenőnek 1991-ben, amikor Magyarországra jött azzal kapcsolatban, hogy a pápa 1991 augusztus 18-án Máriapócsra zarándokolt.

[245] "Their hats are black with black cords on each side ending in six black tassels. "Bruno Bernhard Heim: Heraldry in the Church, Gerrerds Cross 1981, 114. oldal

[246] 1965-1966 években a Propaganda Kongregáció levéltárában a Piazza di Spagnánál Rómában, gyulafalvi Rednik Athanáz fogarasi püspöknek több levelét megtaláltam, és azok közül az egyiken legalábbis, a püspök vöröspecsétviaszba nyomott pecsétjét akkor világosan meg tudtam különböztetni. Az a pecsét a bazilita szerzetesek lángoszlop cimerét mutatta, és annak rajza különbözik a szóbanforgó és Gyulafalván fönmaradt főpapi pecséttől, aminek a pajzsán hársfalevél fölött bárány ül. A cimerpajzs cimertani baloldalánál fölül pásztorbot vége, jobboldalánál a latin püspöksüveg. Ezenkívül a címerpajzs fölött középen a szokásos főpapi kalap, ami a magyarországi görögkatolikus püspöki cimereken is sokszor megtalálható, mindkét oldalon hat-hat rojttal. Ezen kalap és a címerpajzs között fénylő háromszögben Isten szeme.

[247] I. Tóth Zoltán:A balázsfalvi művelődési központ kialakulása in:Matolcsy Ildikó (et alii szerk.): Ódon Erdély, I kötet Budapest 1986,400. oldal.

[248] ibidem 404. oldal.

[249] ibidem 403. oldal.

[250] ibidem 407. oldal

[251] ibidem 407. oldal.

[252] Pirigyi István: A magyarországi görögkatolikusok története, Nyíregyháza 1990, 132. oldal.

vikáriátusa folyamán a balázsfalvi püspöki és szemináriumi kápolnában a képállvány[254] Kis Jézust tartó Szűzanya ikonján verítéket vettek észre 1764. március 18-án vasárnap a reggeli istentisztelet kezdetekor,[255] azután, hogy azt előtte való éjjel Áaron Péter Pál püspök holttestét a kápolnába vitték.[256] Ezt az ikont körülbelül harminc évvel korábban két ujjnyi hársfára görög módon festették [257] 1764. március 23-án pénteken az előszentelt liturgia[258] kezdetén pedig a Szűzanya említett ikonja mindkét szeméből könnyezett, [259] és a könnyek a Kisjézus lábáig folytak.[260] Mindkét alkalomnak szemtanúja volt gyulafalvi Rednik Atanáz,[261] a könnyezést azonban még sokan mások is látták

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[253] Nicolaus Nilles: Symbolae ad illustrandum historiam Ecclesiae Orientalis in terris Coronae Sti Stephani (Kalendarium manuale Pars III., Additia. Ecclesia Rumenorum Ruthenorum,Serborum et Armenorum sub Sacra Hungariae Corona)Vol I. Oeniponte 1885, 622. oldal.

[254] stante a dextris in frontispicio sanctuarii ex lignis erecto a terra duarum ulnarum
P. Philotheus László: Relatio in nota facti contingentia, intuitu imaginis Beatissimi Matris in Capella episcopali et Seminarii dioecesani ecclesia existentis, quae a pluribus anno praesenti 1764 mense Martii sudasse et lacrymas fudisse conspecta est.Balázsfalván 1764 június 23 keltezéssel. in: Nilles, op. cit.627. oldal.
Úgy tűnik, hogy a frontispicium sactuarii ex lignis erecto képállványt jelentett. A képállványoon a Szüzanya ikonjának a helye csak szentélyből nézve lehetett a jobboldalon, de ott volt a papság és az ecclesiarcha P. László Philotheus helye.helye ahol a papság tartózkodott
ivit ad celebrantem Religiosum P Nicolaum sed ille ex sanctuario exire nequiverit László in: Niles, op. cit. 628. oldal.

[255] currentuis anni die 18. Martii ante horam quartam matutinam dum inchoaretur Matutinum László in: Niles, op. cit. 627. oldal.

[256] unde quum post undecimam noctis horam, cui proximus erat oracdictus 18. dies nempe Dominicus, pie defuncti nostri Presulis exangue corpus huc ad terminum allatum est, creditur, quod eodem plane tempore inceperit sudare dextera pars praedictae imaginis Sanctissimae Virginis Mariae László in: Niles, op. cit. 627. oldal.
nisi cum ipsa plane pie defuncti Oraesulis Nostri corporis huc ad Nos praeter naturae ordinem coincidentia, ipsius nimirum corporis, manuum et digitorum mira flexibilitas.
Rednik Atanáz 1764 április 29-én kelt levele gr Barkóczy Ferenc hercegprimáshoz, Nicolaus Nilles: Symbolae ad illustrandum historiam Ecclesiae Orientalis in terris Coronae Sti Stephani (Kalendarium manuale Pars III., Additia. Ecclesia Rumenorum Ruthenorum,Serborum et Armenorum sub Sacra Hungariae Corona)Vol I. Oeniponte 1885, 623. oldal.

[257] in icone Beatissimae Virginis Mariae in tiliaceo duorum digitorum crasso a triginta circiter annis exsiccato sine ullo cica oculos nodo, ac sine ullis naturalibus ejusmodi humoris vestigiis dolato assere, more Graecorum depicta.. László in: Niles, op. cit. 627. oldal.

[258] die autem 23 ejusdem mensis, qui erat dies Veneris, quum inciperet praesancticatorum sacrum, confestim incoepit lacrimari ex utroque oculo László in: Niles, op. cit. 627. oldal.

[259] confestim incoepit lacrimari ex utroque oculo László in: Niles, op. cit. 627. oldal.

[260] Ex quibus lacrymis et Vestra Paternitas Rma. una mecum et aliis quattuor episcopalibus Religiosis professis, et uno novitio Stephano Kalnoki unam ad pedes Jesului defluentem vidit, László in: Niles, op. cit. 628. oldal.

[261] cuius mirabilis sudoris mox tunc fuit oculatus testis Vestra quoque Paternitas Rma. László in: Niles, op. cit.627. oldal.
Ex quibus kacrymis et Vestra Paternitas Rma una mecum et aliis quatuor epscopalibus Religiosis professis, et uno novitio Stephano Kalnoki unam usque ad pedes Jesuli defluentem vidit quae defacto recens út antea apparet cum multarum aliarum reliquiis et vestigiis; haec vero lacryma est

beleértve a latin és görög főespereseket és báró Bajtay Antal József erdélyi latin püspököt is.[262] A balázsfalvi Szüzanya ikonon csak az említett két napon (1764. március 18-án és 23-án) veritékezett illetve könnyezett.[263]

Áaron Péter Pál püspök halálát követő püspökválasztáson Grigoriu Maior 90, Micu Klein 72, Sylvester Kaliani 16, Rednik Athanáz pedig 9 szavazatot nyert.[264] Ennek ellenére, s alighanem a Szüzanya ikon vikriátusa alatti könnyezése miatt Mária Terézia a Rómában élő Micu Kleinre adott szavazatokat érvénytelenítve Athanázt 1764-ben fogarasi püspökké nevezte ki, és kinevezését XIII. Kelemen 1765 május 15-én megerősítette.[265] Az, hogy a román szavazók közül olyan kevesen szavaztak Athanázra elárulja, hogy Athanázt nem tekintették románnak. Jellemző, hogy a legrégebbi fogarasi Schematismus még Athanius II de Gyulafalva néven ismerte.[266] Ugyanerre jellemző, hogy ellentétben püspök elődjétől és utódától, akik a Rómába küldött és ott őrzött leveleiket éppen nem írták latinul a dákóromán elmélet megcsúfolásával, Athanáz a magyar nemesek módjára klasszikus latinul fogalmazta minden Rómába küldött értesítését.[267] Athanázt, azután, hogy Bécsbe látogatott, Olsavszky Emmánuel munkácsi püspök szentelte püspökké

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ad instar olei olivarum alba, mundissima cujus coloris erant et cacterae. László in: Niles, op. cit.628. oldal.

quaeque in ea de me et de episcopalibus idem refert Religiosis, ea et ipse ultro verissima esse assantior et confiteor

gyulafalvi Rednik Athanáz levele gr. Barkóczy Ferenc hercegprímáshoz 1764. június 24-én.Niles, op. cit.625. oldal.

[262] Fixas vero lacrymas qui vederunt etiam magnates imo Excellentissimus Dominus Episcopus Transilvaniensis latini ritus L.B. Bajtay; item Rmi.Archidiaconi latini et graeci ritus una cum plebanis, sacerdotibus ac Religiosis extraneis... László in: Niles, op. cit. 628. oldal.

[263] nec postea observatum, eam repetitis vicibus aut sudasse aut lacrymis fudisse nisi praefatis diebus. László in: Niles, op. cit.627. oldal.

[264] Pirigyi István: A magyarországi görögkatolikusok története, Nyíregyháza 1990, 132. oldal.

[265] Athanáz püspök az 1764. évi balázsfalvi püspökválasztáson a legkevesebb szavazatot kapta, mégis őt nevezte ki Mária Terézia királynő, (Pirigyi István: A magyarországi görögkatolikusok története, Nyíregyháza 1990, 132. oldal. Gyulafalvi Gyulafalvy Sándor a családi hagyományból úgy tudta, hogy Athanázt az segítette a püspökséghez, hogy testvére akkoriban Mária Terézia a nemesi testőrségéhez tartozott. Daróczy családfáján Athanáz püspöknek csak két fitestvérét említi: az 1767-től 1787-ig alispán Istvánt (272. oldal) és az 1767-69-ben főszolgabíró Lászlót (276. oldal). Esetleg Athanáznak unokatestvére volt a nemesi testőrségben. Athanáz „éppen Bécsben tartózkodott, amikor ellenfelei Balázsfalván gyűlést tartottak, melyen tiltakoztak kinevezése ellen." A királynő parancsára gr. Hadik András főparancsnok és Erdély kormányzója Maiort és társait börtönbe záratta. Később Maior kivételével valamennyit szabadon engedték. Maiort a munkácsi kolostorba internálták, hogy ott penitenciát tartson.

[265] Schamatismus venarabilis cleri Graeci ritus Catholicorum dioceseos Fogarasiensis in Transilvania pro anno érvényesítette a királynő akaratát. (Pirigyi, op.cit. 132. oldfal)

[266] Schamatismus venarabilis cleri Graeci ritus Catholicorum dioceseos Fogarasiensis in Transilvania pro anno a Christo natu MDCCCXXXV, Editio prima, Balázsfalva 1835, X. oldal. A következő lábjegyzetben említett Schematismus 1871-ben már teljesen kiforgatta a nevét "Athanasiu II Rednicu"-vá formálta az 1871-es kiadás XXIV. oldalán, amilyen formában a családja azt a megelőző 400 év során sohasem használta.

[267] A fogarasi püspökök Rómába küldött leveleit a Propaganda de fide levéltára őrzi.

Munkácson a csernekhegyi Szent Miklós monostor székesegyházában 1765. május 15-én.[268] Athanáz „szerzetesi életet élt püspöki tisztségében is, egyszerű ruhában járt, nagyon sokat böjtölt....."[269] A szegény egyházközségek segélyezésére az udvartól 10 000 forintot eszközölt ki és a Pazmaneumban papnövendékek számára két alapítványi helyet.[270] 1771-ben 144 lapból álló emlékiratot nyújtott be XIV. Kelemen pápának ....a jezsuiták részéről jelentkező latinosítási törekvések ellen. Hangsúlyozta, hogy az unitus egyháztól nem szabad többet kivánni, mint amennyire az uniós okmányban kötelezte magát.[271] „Gyulafalvi Rednik Athanáz "1772 május 2-án halt meg. Vagyonát az egyházmegyei szemináriumra hagyta".[272]

A Gyulafalviak közül kettő lett Máramaros vármegyében *alispán*: Gyulafalvi és Fejérfalvi Ficze Gyula 1487-88-ban, és Gyulafalvi Rednik István 1767-1785-ig, (aki Gyulafalvi Rednik Athanáz püspök (1764-1772) testvére volt). A nemzetség családfáján összesen 29 szolgabirót találunk, köztük 14 volt főszolgabiró, egy tiszteletbeli főszolgabíró és 14 pedig szolgabíró.

Gyulafalvi Rednik Gábor főszolgabíró (1856. május 5 - 1924) Nagyváradon tanult jogot és államtudományt. 1883 végén szolgabíró, 1895-ben főszolgabíró, 1910-ben nemzeti munkapárti tehát Tisza István párti képviselő a belényesi kerületben, Tisza István párti *országgyűlési képviselővé* választották Bihar vármegyében, Belényesen 1910-ben 2150:967 szavazatarannyal.[273] Nagyváradon halt meg 1924-ben.

Fia Gábor Endre ügyvéd, törvényszéki biró, tüzérfőhadnagy III. osztályú érdemkeresztet nyert kardokkal és hadiékítményekkel az I. világháborúban. Felesége técsői Móricz Anna, leánya Marianna pedig 1956-ban Amerikába menekült és onnan tért vissza 1995-ben.

Gyulafalvi Gyulafalvy Sándor tb. főszolgabíró töltötte be *Máramarossziget polgármesterének* tisztségét a II. világháború alatt. Testvére Tibor gyógyszerész I. és II. osztályú vitézségi érmet és Károly csapatkeresztet nyert az I. világháborúban és vitézzé avatták. Ők és leszármazottaik a II. világháború alatt visszatértek a család legrégibb okleveleiben található ősi Gyulafalvy nevének használatához. Sándor fia Tamás orvost Budapest ostroma alatt 1945-ben, amíg a kórház működött, tüzérségi találat érte és hősi halált halt. A családfán összesen tíz *orvost* találunk, ideszámítva két fogorvost. Az orvosok közül Dr. Gyulafalvi Rednik János (1871-1928) Máramaros vármegye tisztifőorvosaként működött és Máramarosszigeten utcát neveztek el róla, Dr. Gyulafalvi Rednik József (szül. 1847) pedig Nagyvárad tisztifőorvosának

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[268] Siematismulu veneratului cleru alu archidiecesei metropolitane Greco-Catolice a Alba-Juéluiei si Fagarasiului pre anuluu 1871, Balázsfalva 1871, XXIV. oldal.

[269] Pirigyi István: A magyarországi görögkatolikusok története, Nyíregyháza 1990, 133. oldal

[270] Pirigyi, op. cit 132-133. oldal.

[271] Pirigyi, op. cit., 133. oldal.

[272] Pirigyi, loco citato

[273] Végváry Ferenc és Zimmer Ferenc: Sturm-féle Országgyülési Almanach 1910-1915, Budapest, 259. oldal.

tisztségét töltötte be. Dr Gyulafalvi Rednik András jelenleg is Veszprémben belgyógyász főorvos (címe H-8200 Veszprém, Cholnoky J-u 22).

A nemzetség szolgabírái közül ifjabb Gyulafalvi Rednik Jánosnak, akit Bethlen Gábor 1629. január 24-én említ[274], "Máramarosban egy ember meghalt a keze miá,"[275] és ezért Magyarországról "kék dolmányban szederjés nadrágban és bakantsban" menekült Váralljára[276] tehát más törvényhatóságba. Első felesége Sajói Dunka Mária a görögkeleti egyházjog szerint 1632-öt követően „ tsak hamar maga lovász legényéhez Goda Márkus paraszt emberhez ment férjhez",[277] gyulafalvi Rednik János pedig ugyancsak a görögkeleti egyházjog szerint a Bábon vagy Vaszkun családból házasodott másodszor Váralján.[278]

Fiai Váralljai Csotsán Lukács és Zakariás mind ketten táborba menvén szereztek erdélyi nemességet „a Csotsán jószágra donatiót és *armálist*," és mindenféle adótól és hozzájárulástól való mentességet (*litterae exemptionales*), amit I Apafi Mihály Segesvárott 1663. április 16-án bocsájtott ki katonai és más erényeik miatt és a hadsereg növelésére. [279]

Váraljai nemesi birtokukba 1663. október 28-án Viski György erdélyi kancelláriai főírnokok és Galambfalvi János és esküdt jegyző iktatta be őket. [280]

Sule Soysal török diplomata Oxfordban 1970-71-es tanév során azt mondta, hogy csok csán törökül sok csengőt jelent. Ezek a szavak egyébként a

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[274] erdélyi királyi könyvek 1629, 78 levél[ro.tu], 8. sor.

[275] nemes Kis Lázár szerint a 30. oldalon; ugyanezt állította nemes Kis Von a 28. oldalon Kővárvidék szüntelen follyó táblája előtt 1782 május 23-án és 25-én Kőváralján tett tanuvallomások jegyzőkönyvében, amit Nagysomkúton 1782 június 7-én Pelei Elek és Gál János aláírásával adtak ki.

[276] ugyanott Getze Gábor a 39. oldalon.

[277] Gyulafalvi öregbbik Rednik Gergely Máramaros vármegyének Kászó Járásának Fő Szolga Bírájának és hites assessorainak 1639. május 8-án kelt oklevele. Országos Levéltár, ("Táblai oszt. felebb. be nem fejezett perek") O 22, 19. csomó, C -24, folio 6 [ro.tu].

[278] Kis Von tanúsága a 28. oldalon és Kis Lázáré a 30. oldalon. Kővárvidék szüntelen follyó táblája előtt 1782. május 23-án és 25-én Kőváralján tett tanuvallomások jegyzőkönyvében, amit Nagysomkúton 1782. június 7-én Pelei Elek és Gál János aláírásával adtak ki.

[279] A marosvásárhelyi királyi táblán 1795. május 9-én ítéletre jutott perhez B) alatt csatolt Statutionis Relatoria szerint *I Apaffi (sic!) Mihály Segesvárott 1663 április 16-án* (2. és 9. oldal) váralljai Csocsán Lukács és Zakariás fejedelmi versenypuskásoknak (sclopetarii 5. és 6. oldal) a katonai és más erények elismerésére (militaribus et aliis virtutibus praeditos viros ornare, 6. oldal) és a hadsereg növelésére (in augendo militarium hominum numero, 5. oldal) *armálist* (6. és 7. oldal) és mindenféle adótól és hozzájárulástól való mentességet (*litterae exemptionales*, 7. oldal) adott. Apafi 1663. április 16-án kibocsájtott levelének szövege Viski György és Galambfalvi János erdélyi kancelláriai főírnokok és esküdt jegyzőknek Kisbonyban 1663. november 8-án kelt (10. oldal) és a fejedelemnek küldött jelentése tartalmazza, amelyben a testvéreknek a váralljai nemesi birtokukba 1663. október 28-án történt (9. oldal) szabályos beiktatásáról számolnak be. Ezen Statutionis Relatoriának hiteles szövegét a gyulafehérvári káptalan adta ki 1783-ban pünkösd után a nyolcadik vasárnapon. (12. oldal), vagyis az évben augusztus 3.-án (Lásd: Dr. Szentpétery Imre: Oklevéltani naptár, Budapest 1912, 117. oldal)

[280] op.cit., 9. oldal.

magyar nyelvben csok=sok, és a csán a csengő formában élnek tovább. Az Apafi által adományozott törökös névnek csak az lehet a magyarázata, hogy a táborába szállt Gyulafalvi Lukácsnak és Zakariásnak erdélyi nemességet adó ármális kiállítását megelőzően 1662-ben "április végén a maga nyolcezer főnyi katonaságával Apafinak csatlakoznia kell"(ett) "a Kolozsvárt ostrom alá vevő Kücsük Mehmedhez,"[281] a váradi pasához, és ezen (és az ezt követő) közös török-erdélyi hadműveletek során keletkezhetett a törökös Csocsán név és ragadhatott a családra.

Ehhez járulhatott, hogy a Nagysomkútról délre vezető úton (Kő)Várallja közelében találjuk Törökfalvát, s a "Bábon vagy Vaszkun" család erről a Törökfalváról török származású lehetett. Mindenesetre tény, hogy engem 1967-ben Manchesterben az autóbuszon törökül szólítottak meg, mert azt hitték, hogy török vagyok.

A fejedelmi versenypuskások zöld színű magyar sújtásos atillában, zöldszínű nadrágban s csizmában lovagoltak, amint az kitűnik Apafi Mihálynak éppen 1663. április 15-én oláhláposi Szina János részére valamint a Sósmezei Doma és a Boczik családok részére 1664-ben kibocsájtott ármálisok címeréből.[282]

A Kővárvidéki nemesek 1668-ban történt összeírásában Várallyán összeírták mind Csocsán Zakariást mind pedig öccsét Lukácsot, és Zakariás fiát Dánielt, aki az 1937-ben igazolt Váralljai Csocsánok ősatyja.[283]
Váralljai Csocsán Lukács utóbb (a későbbi szolgabíró) nemes Getze Jánossal a kurucokkal harcolt a labancok ellen és Budán halt meg, ahol az éppen említett Getze János temette el.[284] Váralljai Csocsán Zakariástól származott le fiágon a magyar királyi Belügyminisztériumban összeállított

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[281] R. Várkonyi Ágnes: Az önálló fejedelemség utolsó évtizedei (1660-1711) in:Köpeczi Béla (szerk.): Erdély története, II. kötet, Budapest 1987, 793. oldal.
Apafi 1663. szeptember 20-án indulva Radnótról Lippán Aradon és Budán át október 18-án érkezett meg Köprülü érsekújvári táborába" (ibidem 798. oldal). Az azonban valószínűtlen, hogy Váralljai Csocsán Lukács és Zakariás ezen az úton az érsekújvári török táborig kisérték volna Apafi fejedelmet, mert mindkettejüket 1663. október 28-án ténylegesen Viski György és Galambfalvi János kancelláriai főirnok és esküdt jegyző beiktatta váralljai nemesi birtokukba. Lásd a [4] lábjegyzetben is idézet Statutionis Relatoria 9. oldalát.

[282] Géza Csergheó de N.-Tacskánd und Oscar von Bárczay: Wappenbuch Siebmacher, der Adler von Siebenbürgen, (J(ohann) Siebmacher's Grosses und Allgemeines Wappenbuch ,Vierten Bandes XII. Abteilung), Nürnberg 1898 *(alábbiakban: Siebmacher:Siebenbürgen)* 233. oldal, Taf 169. Ugyanilyen zöld az egyenruhája a puskásoknak az 1664. február 10-én kibocsájtott Doma de Sósmező címeren (Tafel 88), és a Boczik címeren (Tafel 128).

[283] Országos Levéltár, Erdélyi főkormányszék, F 139 26. kötet, „I" jelzetű productionálisok 45730 filmtekercs, 13. oldal., Kiadta bilkei Gorzó Bertalan Szatmár vármegye főlevéltárosa: Szatmár vármegye nemes családjaihoz pótkötet, Nagykároly 1912, 39. oldal. Váralljai Csocsán Zakariás fia Dániel az 1842/3-ban a kolozsvári római katolikus főgimnáziumba járó Váralljai Csocsán János ükapja volt.

[284] A Kővár-vidéki Tábla idézett tanúvallomásában 38-39. oldal.

5. kép A Gyulafalvi és Váralljai Csocsán család birtokai az 1781. évi tanuvallomás szerint.

családfa szerint (az 51758/1937 szám alatt igazolt) Váralljai Csocsánok minden egyenes ági őse.

A XVIII. században a familia úgy látszik inkább már joggal foglalkozott, mert a család birtokában maradt fönn "Erdély országnak három részekre osztatott törvényes könyve, melly Approbata, compilata constitutioból, és Novellaris articulusokból áll. Kibotsáttatott a Reformatum Collegium betűivel 1779- esztendőben."[285]

A Váralljai Csocsán család nemességét illetően a Kővárvidéki Tábla 1782. május 23-án tizenöt tanút, és 26-án további három tanút hallgatott meg Várallján, összesen tehát tizennyolcat. A tanúvallomást „Kővár vidéke szüntelen follyó táblája" 1782 június 7-én Nagysomkúton adta ki. Pelei Elek és Gál János aláírásával.

Ebből a tanukihallgatásból kitűnt hogy Várallján kívül többek között Kisnyiresen, Kővárgarán, Tordavilmán volt nemesi birtokuk[286] és jobbágyuk volt még Szamosfericsén[287] és Szalmapatakon vagy másként Románfalván[288] is.

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[285] Cf.: Petrik Géza (Szilágyi Sándor bevezetésével): Magyarország Bibliográphiája 1712-1860, Első kötet, Budapest 1888, 662. oldal.
[286] op.cit.,32. oldal
[287] op.cit., 31. oldal.

A família nemességét a marosvásárhelyi királyi tábla 1794. március 17. és 1794. május 5 között vizsgálta, és Csernátoni Csernátoni Ferenc itélőmester 1795. május 9-én úgy itélte, hogy a Váralljai Csocsánok „törvényes és valóságos nemes személyeknek itéltetnek"[289]

1824-ben május 5-én Ad mandatum *Suae Majestatis Ludovicus* [archidux] aláirással legfölső helyen ismerték el a család nemességét[290]

Gyulafalvi és Váralljai Csocsán János (1824. augusztus 1- 1874. március 1.) mint 15 éves nemes ifjú a kolozsvári r.k. gimnáziumban járt kimutathatóan az 1842/3 években, ahol korábban széki gr. Teleki Sándor (Kolozsvár, 1821. január 27. - Nagybánya, 1892 április 18.) is tanult Koltóról. Ez lehet a magyarázata, hogy fiaik is kapcsolatban álltak. Váralljai Csocsán Jenő (1862. május 13. - 1917. július 31) aki 1880-ban Nagybányán érettségizett, élete végéig őrizte a "Csocsán Jenőnek 1880. oct. 8 gr Teleki László" ajánlású fényképet, ami most is megvan. Váralljai Csocsán Jenő mint rendőrfőtanácsos a magyar nyomozóhatóságot, és IV. Károly koronázásakor 1916 december 30-én a biztonságot vezette, azonban 1917. július 31-én meghalt.

Fia Győző Jenő Pál (1892. június 22. – 1947. június 6.) az I. világháborúban a tüzérségnél szolgált. Fényképei és levelező lapjai tanúsága szerint Tirolban kaphatott tüzértiszti képzést Rattenbergnél, és lakott Brixlegg mellett Reithben és Udinébe is ellátogatott. Herkulesfürdőnél a Cserna völgyében vetették be a románok ellen és a támadás során Havasalföldön az Oltnál harcolt. Albumában Odessza térképe tanúsítja, hogy odáig kellett eljutnia. Az I. világháború végén tüzérfőhadnagy volt és ütegparancsnok, majd mint m. kir. kulturmérnök működött. Kárpátalja visszatérte után a Tisza partján Feketehegynél bányát vezetett Királyházával szemben.

A Magyar Királyi Belügyminisztérium 51758/1937 számmal személy szerint is igazolta a Váralljai Csocsán Győző, Dr Váralljai Csocsán László ügyvéd valamint fiainak Jenőnek és Lászlónak régi magyar nemességét.291 Az említett eljárás során a Belügyminisztériumban kézzel írt családfát állítottak össze, amiről Vajay Szabolcs genealógus fénymásolatot küldött és az így fönnmaradt.

I. Dr. Gyulafalvi és Váralljai Csocsán László (1904. január 3. – 1972. április 23.) ügyvédet 1945. május 2-án az Andrássy-út 60-ban elfogták és internálva tartották *304 napon* keresztül minden vádemelés nélkül 1946. március 2-ig. Ezután rendőri felügyelet alá helyezték 1946. április 5-től 1946. szeptember 29-ig; majd pedig 1958. március 19-étől 1959. október 24-ig. Ügyvédi

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288 op.cit. 34. oldal

289 Országos Levéltár (a továbbiakban OL), F 46, erdélyi főkormányszék (Gubernium Transylvanicum), 1795:6397

290 OL, F 46, erdélyi főkormányszék, 1824:6618, OL, B2, erdélyi kancellária, Acta generalia, 1824:1542 .folio 21recto és folio 23recto.

291 lásd: Gerő József: A M. kir. Belügyminiszter által igazolt nemesek 1867-1937, Budapest 1938, 92. oldal.

Cf.: 897/1935 O.L. sz.; 79977/1935 III. BM sz. a.; bizonyítvány: 54758/1937 II BM sz.a.

működéstől eltiltották internálását követően *hét hónapon* keresztül 1946 október 26-ig, 1956 után pedig *hét éven* keresztül 1958 augusztus 23-tól 1965 december 1-ig. Az eltiltást befejező 1965 november 11-én kelt határozat engedélyezte jogtanácsosi működését 1965 december 1-től, és így annak az Óbuda-szentendrei termelőszövetkezetnek lett a jogtanácsosa, amely elvette izbégi földjeit.

Dr III. Jenő Csocsán de Várallja et Gyulafalva, született 1931. április 7. egyetemi tanár, gör. kat pap, a Jeruzsálemi Szent Lázár Lovagrend nemesi jogi keresztje: rangidős káplán, jogi lovag 1988. julius 29, egyházi nagykeresztje 2004. szeptember 25. A Vitézi Rend jubileumi érdemkeresztje 1990. szeptember 9. Az oxfordi egyetemen adott elő demográfiát 1969 és 1994 között. 1994 és 1997 között a Pázmány Egyetem bölcsészeti karának a szociológiai tanszékét (társadalomtudományi intézetét) szervezte meg Klotildligeten.

Leszármazás

A. Gyula
↓
I. Drág de Gyulafalva 1317.
↓
1. Gyula de Gyulafalva 1349. † 1368
↓
a1. Drág de Máramaros (1374) Drág de Gyulafalva (1389)
↓
b1. László de Gyulafalva
↓
c1. Ivánka *Vlád* de Gyulafalva +1475 előtt
= *Rethnek* Anna
↓
d1. György *Ivánka* de Gyulafalva, *Rednik* de Gyulafalva
↓
e1. György
↓
f1. István
↓
g1. Lázár *1516.
= *Ficze* de Gyulafalva Magdolna
↓
h1. János
= *Bandra* de Gyulafalva Paraszkéva
↓

i1. Johannes *Rednik* de Gyulafalva, Máramaros vm-ből Kővárvidékre származott.
= I. *Dunka* de Sajó Mária
= II. *Vaszkun* Bábon

/

j1. Zakariás **j2.** Lukács

Mindketten fejedelmi puskások, Apafi Mihálytól ármálist nyertek és adományt kaptak váralljai házukra és ősi jószágukra: 1663. október 16-án

/

k1. Dániel **k2.** Fülep **k3.** Vonka

↓

l1. Péter

↓

m1. Gábor

↓

n1. Dömötör
= *N.* Mária
Fia: o1.

o1. Váralljai *Csocsán* János, * 1824. aug. 13. † 1874. márc. 1. Községi jegyző Váralján.
= pusztahidegkúti *Pogácsás* Katalin, * 1836. okt. 29. † 1889.
Gyermekei: p1-p2.

p1. Jenő János, * Váralja, 1862. máj. 13. † Budapest, 1917. aug. 5. Tem. uo. Kerepesi úti temető. Rendőrfőtanácsos.
= Budapest IX. 1891. aug. 15. *Szám* Friderika Matild, * 1872. márc. 14. † Budapest, 1954. okt. 19. Tem. uo. Rákoskeresztúr, 1954. okt. 23.
Gyermekei: q1-q5.

q1. Győző (Viktor) Jenő Pál, * Budapest, 1892. jún. 22. † Eger, 1947. jún. 6. M. kir. mérnök, tart. Tüzérfőhadnagy. (Nemességét és előnevét a m. kir. belügyminiszter BM 55.763/1937. számon igazolta.
= *Tábori* Mária.
Leánya: r1.

r1. Mária Eugenia Julianna, * 1938. jan. 1.
= Eger, Szent János Bazilika, 1964. okt. 10. *Képes* László, dr.

q2. Jenő Sándor István, * 1893. júl. 16. † Budapest, 1920. febr. 24. Tem. uo. Kerepesi úti temető. Gépészmérnök.

q3. Júlia, * 1895. szept. 11. † Budapest, 1938. nov. 14. Tem. uo. Kerepesi úti temető. Okl. tanítónő.

q4. Ilona, * 1897. jún. 23. † Budapest, 1980. nov. 15. Okl. tanítónő.

q5. László, * Budapest, 1904. jan. 3. † uo. 1972. ápr. 23. Tem. Budapest, Rákoskeresztúr, 1972. máj. 2. Dr. jur., ügyvéd. (Nemességét és előnevét a m. kir. belügyminiszter BM 54.758/1937. számon igazolta.)
= Budapest V. 1930. jún. 21. Egyh. uo. Szent Domokos templom, 1930. júl. 29. *Goszleth* Katalin Edit Józsa Emma, * Budapest, 1909. nov. 28. † uo. 1993. okt. 25. Tem. Budapest, Rákoskeresztúr, 1993. nov. 11. (G. Gyula a Pápa Őszentsége udvari és kamarai fényképésze és a hercegprimás udvari szállítója és *Joó* Katalin leánya.)
Gyermekei: r1-r5.

r1. Jenő Gyula László Lajos, * Budapest IX. 1931. ápr. 7. Dr., görög katolikus lelkész, az oxfordi egyetem tanára, majd a *Pázmány Péter Egyetem* bölcsészeti karán a szociológiai intézetet megszervező tanszékvezetője, a *Szent Lázár Lovagrend* jogi lovagja.
(Nemességét és előnevét a m. kir. belügyminiszter BM 54.758/1937. számon igazolta.)

r2. László Gyula Viktor Lajos, * Budapest IX. 1933. márc. 27. Dr., a *Zeiss* cég magyarországi képviselője. (Nemességét és előnevét a m. kir. belügyminiszter BM 54.758/1937. számon igazolta.)
= Budapest, Krisztinavárosi Plébánia, 1960. júl.16. *Horváth* Emmy.
Leányai: s1-s2.

s1. Judit, * 1965. márc. 23. Építőmérnök.

s2. Eszter, * 1968. máj. 5. Tanárnő.
= Budapest, Zugligeti Szent Család Plébánia, 1989. szept. 9. Kispolányi *Perneczky* Tamás György, dr. med., szemorvos.

r3. Katalin Terézia Zsuzsanna Mária, * Budapest IX. 1937. okt. 4.
= Budapest, Egyetemi templom, 1959. szept. 8. *Marton* László Kálmán Artúr Antal, vitéz, gépészmérnök.

r4. Julianna Edit Mária Eugénia, * Budapest IX. 1938. dec. 11.
= Budapest, Szentlélek Lelkészség, 1969. júl. 22. Békési *Csanády* Pál, vegyészmérnök.

r5. Gyula Ferenc, * Budapest IX. 1941. febr. 27. Dr. dent., fogorvos, családtörténész.
= Budapest, Egyetemi templom, 1967. nov. 11. *Gombos* Erzsébet Anna, * 1940. okt. 24.
Fiai: s1-s3.

s1. Gyula Jenő György Gellért, * Budapest, 1968. okt. 24. Közgazdász.
= Budapest, Szent Gellért Plébánia, 1995. febr. 18. *Rosta* Zsófia, brácsaművész.
Leányai: t1-t3.

t1. Laura Zsófia, * Budapest, 1996. márc. 7.
t2. Barbara Katalin Erzsébet Johanna, * Budapest, 1998. nov. 13.
t3. Pelágia Julianna Sarolta Piroska, * Budapest, 2002. júl. 13.

s2. Balázs László, * Budapest, 1970. márc. 11.
= Piliscsaba-Klotildliget, Szent Szív Plébánia, 2002. máj. 11. *Tuzi* Krisztina Andrea
Gyermekei: t1-t3.

t1. Marcell Péter Gyula Etele, * Budapest, 2004. jan. 8.
t2. András Viktor József Balázs Lukács, * Budapest, 2007. jan. 15.
t3. Fruzsina Alexandra Erzsébet Mária Lea, * Budapest, 2007. jan. 15. (az előbbi ikertestvére.)

s3. Péter Pál, * Budapest, 1972. márc. 12.
= Budapest, Magyar Szentek Temploma, 2002. márc. 16. *Boldis* Ildikó Regina.
Fia: t1.

t1. Benedek Balázs László János Pál, * Budapest, 2004. szept. 6.

p2. Mária
= *Csora* György.

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