

Research Article

# The Economic Policy of Gábor Bethlen and Its Legal Implications

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## Abstract

The background for this research and the writing of this article is that the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Gábor Bethlen is approaching, and the Corpus Juris Hungarici and some representatives of the Hungarian scholarly elite (see e.g. Trócsányi) play a significant role in the literature researched. The role of Gábor Bethlen Hungarian and Transylvanian history can be, and probably should not be, disputed, because his domestic, foreign and economic policies served to maintain the "Hungarian" state of the Principality of Transylvania. Its practical implementation can always be subject to so-called "criticism". In this respect, it is worth examining both the theoretical and the practical aspects, as well as the legal and economic-historical aspects, as far as possible, including tax and economic policy and, where appropriate, the various (even sociological) aspects of these, since their outline may be of assistance to the legislators of today. As a result of the research, it can be concluded that the Transylvanian state tax system is particularly striking in this respect; the levying of taxes without regard to the material strength of the subjects is in stark contrast to the idea that Transylvania in this period can be equated with absolutism in the Western sense, nor does it elevate the Principality of Transylvania to the rank of Western absolutism, although it was an indication of the prince's unlimited power that he could "abolish" the Diet. The reason for this was that he did not change the structure of the estates and central government that had existed since 1541.

## Keywords

István and Gábor Báthory, Gábor Bethlen, Principality of Transylvania, Thirty Years' War, Economy, Public Law and Public Policy, Taxes, Legislation

## 1. Introduction

The background for this research and the writing of this article is that the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Gábor Bethlen (1613–1629) is approaching. In relation to the literature, the author has reviewed the Corpus Juris Hungarici and some works of the representatives of the Hungarian scholarly elite (see e.g. Trócsányi, Kosáry etc.) and these play a significant role in the literature researched.

Gábor Bethlen's role in the study of Hungarian and Tran-

sylvanian history cannot, but probably should not be disputed, because his domestic, foreign and economic policies served to maintain the "Hungarian" state of the Principality of Transylvania at the time of Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

In view of the above, the economic policy of the Transylvanian prince Gábor Bethlen should be examined and analysed from the perspective of legal history, economic history and sociology, and in addition from the socio-historical perspective.

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Practical implementation can always be the subject of so-called "criticism", but in that case the question always arises: "Who could be the better implementer...?". In this respect, it is worth considering both the theoretical and practical as well as the legal aspects as far as possible.

The author has written the paper in British English as he is not familiar with American English.

## 2. Contemporaries

Gábor Bethlen's contemporaries, the rulers who built up their power in the West, created the financial resources necessary for the organisation of a modern state primarily by increasing state taxes, at a time when taxation based on taxpayers' wealth distinguished the bourgeoisie, freed from feudal constraints, from the other classes of the population. This social class, capable of and able to accumulate wealth quickly, became the financial pillar of absolutist states, but it should be remembered that this practice was common throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

A mutual interest developed in the Principality of Transylvania: (1) the state relied on the financial strength of a small number of citizens, (2) and these citizens prospered by adapting to the new economic order. [1]

## 3. The Tax Base

Regardless of this, Gábor Bethlen was unable to use these means in the establishment of his state administration, as he had "inherited" a rather outdated tax system<sup>1</sup> from his predecessor – Gábor Báthory – which had already been introduced in 1609, [2] when the possibilities of levying state taxes were re-examined after the devastation of the Fifteen Years' War (1593–1606). Before that, people in the Principality of Transylvania paid state taxes according to their wealth, i.e. the number of cattle or the value of five oxen was the unit of calculation. In 1609, however, the regulations were changed and the Diet [3]<sup>2</sup> decided to levy a very simple so-called rationing (which means taxation per capita), on the basis of which it was decided that the census of livestock should be abolished and the new assessment should be made according to the persons of taxpayers, meaning that ten serfs should form one unit and five should form half, [4] regardless of the number of livestock, and each estate should be assessed separately, and if there were two or three more than ten or five, they should help the others. Apart from this change in the basis of assessment, the old peculiarities were retained: (1) the taxation of the nation<sup>3</sup> of Saxons [5] on a fictitious parcel of land, (2) the relatively very small number of towns with taxes and (3) the exemption of the nation of Szeklers from regular taxation.



(Source: <https://tinyurl.com/jdkeyyr4>)

Figure 1. Principality of Transylvania, Partium and the Principality's neighbours.

Thus, under the new system, the vast majority of the taxable population of Transylvania – with the exception of a few taxed towns, <sup>4</sup> [6] including Kolozsvár (nowadays: Cluj-Napoca) and Gyulafehérvár (nowadays: Alba Iulia) – were taxed regardless of their wealth. [1] It should be remembered that maintaining the army for the aforementioned wars cost a lot of money, but the state – which was relatively small – was able to bear this, even though the tax per capita rose to 16–24 forints (or florins), much more than in the western parts of Hungary. [7]

However, the state was able to assert itself under these administrative conditions and the burden was mainly borne by the subjects. The prince of Transylvania had numerous sources of income at his disposal: (1) his extensive private property, (2) including the levies on the seven Hungarian counties<sup>5</sup> in Partium. [8]

An important factor at the time was that, for once in Europe since the Middle Ages, the consideration of wealth was a general aim of taxation and its foundations were in the past, such as with the house tax of 1598, in the Hungarian kingdom<sup>6</sup> which was also introduced for reasons of war and destruction – like the Transylvanian rationing – and provided that the richer serfs should help the poorer ones. [9] After eleven years it was abolished altogether, but in 1609 that tax was reintroduced as a general practice in royal Hungary and levied according to the "field economy", which also reflected the level of wealth. [1] It should not be forgotten, however, that taxation unfortunately led to several rebellions (which further increased the fragmentation of Hungarian and Transylvanian society<sup>7</sup> throughout this period). [10]

#### 4. The Role of the (Political) Nations in Transylvanian Society and Economy

In contrast, taxation independent of property status was maintained in Transylvania from 1609, originally "forced" by Gábor Báthory by invoking the war, and he "accepted" it, although the new tax system was a serious defeat for the central power, which meant that the state renounced considering the property status of its subjects. Báthory recklessly made the retreat, and Bethlen, who was conceptual, did not invalidate his gesture as he avoided all utterances of the nobility and did not accept any confrontation here either, as he made no attempt to introduce the property tax, and also took note of the old traditions, namely that the Saxons participated in taxation and the soldiering Szeklers did not pay regularly. Although this meant that the towns of the Szeklers and Saxons, including the richest in the, Nagyszében (nowadays: Sibiu) and Brassó (nowadays: Brasov), were exempt from the tax, their inclusion would have required major legislative changes. [1]

The traditional social structure of Transylvanian society, based on the estates and the three nations, (and the three

classes in the case of the Szeklers) [1] would have had to be reorganised, tax policy would have required being based on the actual social stratification and not on the nobles' opinion, but the prince shied away from the latter, and Gábor Báthory exploited the wealth of the towns with simple "predatory agriculture" – similar to the Ottoman sipahi economy – and Bethlen left the towns undisturbed. The reform of 1614 of the Unio Trium Nationum (1437, Kápolna), had it been successful, could have changed the status quo of the Saxons and Szeklers, but, as it was ineffective, the problem of the three nations was neutralised. The consequence of the former was mutual disinterest, in that: (1) Bethlen's princely power, organised to fulfil modern functions, could not access the wealth of the richest elements of society, (2) for this reason, the social strata were neither interested in modernisation, nor supported their own development. [1]

As a result, the Saxon and Szekler social classes, since the reorganisation of the state did not help them to enrich themselves, remained a pillar of order against the central power. Only the few towns – above all Kolozsvár, which paid taxes according to their wealth – were in a relationship with Bethlen's reorganising state that was similar to the one that had developed between the central power and the bourgeoisie in the west. The consequences of this relationship hint at what economic reserves remained locked behind the bastions of the Transylvanian nobility, for the taxes of Kolozsvár, favoured by the economic measures of the prince, rose from 350 to 2400 forints between 1614 and 1624, (i.e. by 686%.) while the taxes of the Saxons, corresponding to the change in taxation, rose by only 275% by 1624 and by only 312% by 1629. Moreover, in exceptional cases, the Szekler towns even paid only a part of the tax. [1]

#### 5. The Economic Policy of Gábor Bethlen

In royal Hungary, the Diet regularly took measures to keep coins and mining ores in the country, and also took measures to protect the value of coins, by export bans or by fixing prices. The unprecedented fiscal conditions of the time forced Bethlen to pursue a very well thought-out economic policy that took all possibilities into account, and his measures were a synthesis of the ideas of all his conceptual predecessors. In practice, Bethlen utilised, for the first time, the special opportunity offered by the non-hereditary princely power in the Principality of Transylvania, namely the confiscation of land donated by his predecessor, and this means of "breaking" the power of the nobility, which had already been used by István Báthory. In 1571, the Diet decreed that all feudal donations of property by the deceased predecessor should be cancelled. In June 1607, the Diet of Kolozsvár decided that many unworthy donations, which had been made during the previous thirteen years of unrest,

should be revised. [1] Later, the Diet of Gábor Bethlen took measures in this direction so quickly that, by the time Bethlen was elected, the feudal estates had become accustomed to the recurring revisions. They themselves demanded that the new prince be required in the terms of his election to revise the land grants made by his predecessors. Compared to the earlier declaration, the conditions of election had the opposite content, as they imposed on the prince, among other things, that the lords, the nobility, the towns and the other two nations, the Szeklers and Saxons, shall retain their old and legally guaranteed privileges and endowments, which had been cancelled, as well as their titles. In 1615, the Diet then decided to revise the princely donations of 1588, meaning that Bethlen acted like all his predecessors in regaining the fiscal assets and other dominions. In contrast to the fact that, after István Báthory's reacquisitions, a new stratum of the ruling class had emerged, this was not the case with Gábor Bethlen, who in contrast sought direct results: he kept the reacquired goods as fiscal property [1]<sup>8</sup> or gave the assets away to his immediate family members but, despite the latter, achieved an increase in state revenues in this way. [1]

He also continued the initiatives of his predecessors in his economic policy by applying the methods of early mercantilism. These emerged in Transylvania during the reign of István Báthory. As if quoting a theorist, the Diet formulated the norm that the state in which merchants are not active is a poor state, but the state and its people in which they trade is rich. [1] It was a well-known doctrine that the measure of wealth was the amount of money and the means of its production was trade, a path that Transylvania had followed since the last third of the 16<sup>th</sup> century through mercantilist practice, being (1) through the state regulation of trade, including the withholding of valuable coins, gold and talers, and (2) the management of foreign trade with the aim of maintaining permanent income. [11]

Price controls and export bans had existed in the Kingdom of Hungary before 1571, [12]<sup>9</sup> but their elaborate system only became apparent after 1578, when the princely monopoly on trade first appeared, and from then on the decrees of the Diet preventing the outflow of good money were repeated with increasing intensity. This practice of state regulation, which shaped the wealth of the whole country in favour of trade, did not cease, not even during the wars, for as early as 1607 the Diet had taken measures against cattle traders from Moldavia, Wallachia and elsewhere, and in 1609 Gábor Bethlen repeated the Diet decree of 1588, according to which the free movement of Greek merchants meaning freedom in the Principality of Transylvania, was to be guaranteed. [13]<sup>10</sup> If one assumes that the theoretical thinking of István Báthory's learned politicians was perhaps still behind the first appearance of mercantilist practice in Transylvania, then state regulation of trade at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was inevitable.

In royal Hungary, the Diet regularly took measures to keep coins and mining ores in the country, and also to protect the

value of coins, export bans or prices. [14]<sup>11</sup> In Poland, the Sejm<sup>12</sup> had similar regulations. In the Ottoman Empire, on the other hand, the central organs of the High Porte decided that the Principality of Transylvania should apply to Istanbul as a "state" for preferential trading opportunities. [14] In the Romanian voivodeships, it was the voivodes (or princes) who made economic policy decisions: a very good example of this was Simion Movilă, who wrote to Beszterce in 1606 that he would maintain the exemption from customs duties for livestock purchased in his country, as his predecessor had done. [1]

In this context, it was natural for Gábor Bethlen to base his economic power on the regulation of production in the interests of trade, and in the spring of 1614 he immediately repeated the provision on the export ban on cattle, [1] which had been repeatedly renewed since the war; in other words, he declared the monopoly of the princely treasury on this most sought-after commodity in the remotest corners of the earth, meaning the export ban. Bethlen and his people were very sensitive to fluctuations in market demand, but the majority of Transylvanians might only notice the increase in demand caused by the arrival of princely buyers and the decrease caused by their absence. In addition to livestock, beeswax, animal skins, mercury, salt, iron and other mining minerals were also exported in the carts of Bethlen's men or foreign merchants who had received privileges from him. During Bethlen's reign, the Principality of Transylvania exported cattle, mercury and beeswax to Venice, salt and mercury to the Ottoman Empire and mainly iron to the Romanian voivodeships. The value of these shipments is practically impossible to determine, although estimates based on sparse data are available, but the aim of this study is to outline Bethlen's economic policy. [1]

## 6. Conclusions

Opinions on Gábor Bethlen's state vary widely, and it can be said that the state of the Principality of Transylvania has been defined both as absolutism and as a particular form of regulatory centralism. However, in the primary sense of the term, as it is defined in the western part of Europe, the prince certainly did not create absolutism. The Transylvanian state tax system is particularly striking in this respect; the levying of taxes without regard to the material strength of the subjects is in stark contrast to the idea that Transylvania in this period can be equated with absolutism in the Western sense, nor does it elevate the Principality of Transylvania to the rank of Western absolutism, although it was an indication of the prince's unlimited power that he could "abolish" the Diet. The reason for this was that he did not change the structure of the estates and central government that had existed since 1541. The powers of the various offices were not separated, just as they had often overlapped as before. As far as mercantilism was concerned in respect of the the Principality of Transylvania, it was only moderately applied by the prince, so it was

not an absolute exercise of power with regard to Bethlen, and the figure of the prince who became – relatively – independent of his subjects cannot be subsumed under the concept of centralism based on the co-operation of the estates, if such an adjective as "centralism" can be used here at all.

The most important feature of Gábor Bethlen's reign is that he, together with his predecessor István Bocskai, created the statehood of the Principality of Transylvania. [15]

Gábor Bethlen's principality and state are more similar to the absolutisms observed east of the Elbe, which, unlike those in the West, were not fuelled by internal social tensions, but, in any case, [16] the question can be asked – even if only "poetically" – was the "direction" the right one...? [17] Of course, we cannot answer this question, because we live in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and not in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup>

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## Author Contributions

Pál Szentpáli-Gavallér is the sole author. The author read and approved the final manuscript.

## Conflicts of Interest

The author declares no conflict of interest.

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<sup>13</sup> In English: "[...] (3) As the necessity of cattle-numbering is now a serious evil in our parish, although it was once necessary to do it for the present common

necessity, we have done away with it: that after this such a great numbering be abolished, but that a new connumeratio be made, so that every ten men, whether they have cattle or not, be charged on one gate, but the portions of every nobleman

be charged separately. And if there be five houses of serfs, they shall be charged for half a gate: if any man's serf exceed two or three tithes, it shall be done: to help the rest. [...]"

In the original language: "[...] (3) Minthogy peniglen a marha száma valórovás szegény romlott községünknek felette súlyos, noha ez egyszer az jelenvaló község és szűksége kellett megtenni, végeztük: hogy ennek utána efféle ünnö száma valórovás eltávoloztassék. hanem nova connumeratio legyen úgy, hogy minden tíz embert, vagy vagon marhája vagy nincsen, egy kapura rójjanak, de minden nemes ember portioját külön rójják. Ha pedig a jobbágyok vagon, fél kapura rójják; ha ki jobbágya kettővel vagy hárommal a tizedet meghaladja, végeztük: hogy segítse a többi. [...]"

<sup>2</sup> The Diet in Transylvania was the House of Representatives in a similar way to that in Japan.

<sup>3</sup> There were three (political) nations (in Hungarian: *natiok*) in the Principality of Transylvania: Szeklers, Saxons, and Hungarians or Hungarian counties (in Hungarian: magyar vármegyék/megyék).

<sup>4</sup> In other words: towns that were liable to pay tax (in Hungarian: tax és városok). Taxes in Hungarian: adék/taxák.

<sup>5</sup> Partium consisted of the following counties annexed to the Principality of Transylvania: Szatmár, Szabolcs, Ugocsa, Bereg, Zemplén, Borsod, Abaúj.

<sup>6</sup> In English:

"Act IV of 1598, for every house, they offer one Hungarian forint of aid for two periods, and as for the present year's taxation, and campaign:

§ 1 Although the wars of the preceding years, and the troubles and miseries of the soldiers, and the endless calamities and defeats, have brought not only the subjects but also the landlords of this country to the point of utter poverty, nevertheless, seeing and considering the need of the people:

§ 2. To his Majesty's orders, after every house, and after the serfs, as well as the hired servants, and after the other houses not built like a noble curia (which have inhabitants), which are in the cities and villages, both of his Majesty's, and of the other lords of the church and the world, the nobles, freemen, and Ruthenians, who have possession of land and property, with the houses of the churches, the churchmen, the Ruthenian, the Vlachs and the other villages not yet taxed, shall be counted (except, however, the noble estates, the houses of the village magistrates, the schools, the old houses and the cottages in which the wine of the lords is weighed and the houses of the poor and destitute living on the under-tax), shall be offered one hundred Hungarian denarii, which shall be paid in two periods, to be known: half of it to be collected on the coming St. George's Day, and the other half on the day of the birth of St. John the Baptist, and delivered into the hands of His Majesty.

§ 3 With the distinction that the wealthier serfs and villeins, as has been the custom among them, should help out the poorer.

§ 4 Although this census of houses and this tax has never been customary in Hungary before, nevertheless, in order to have more aid than ever for the continuation of the war, His Majesty's Households have wished to allow it for this year, while keeping their old customs and traditions intact.

§ 5 Knowingly so, that such census of houses shall never hereafter be applied."

In the original language:

"1598. évi IV. törvénycikk minden ház után, két időszakban felhajtás mellett egy magyar forint segédyt megajánlanak

A mi pedig a jelen évi adózást, segédyt és hadjáratot illeti:

1. § Jóllehet, hogy az előző évek háborúi és a katonák garázdálkodásai és nyomorgatásai, meg a végtelen csapások és vereségek miatt ebben az országban nemcsak az alattvalók, hanem a földesurak is mintegy a végső szegény-ségre jutottak, mindazonáltal láva és meggondolva a mostani szűkséget:

2. § A rendek őfelségének, minden ház után, és pedig egy jobbágy, mint a zsellér és a többi, nemesi curia módjára nem épült háza után (a melyekben tudniillik lakások vannak), a melyeket a városokban és falukban, úgy az őfelségéiben, mint a többi birtokos és telkes egyházi és világi urakban, az egyházi nemesek, szabadosok, rutások, olások házaival és a többi eddig meg nem adózott falukkal együtt, számba kell venni (kivéve mindazonáltal a nemesi fekvőségeket, a falusi bírák házait, az iskolákat, az agházakat és a korcsmákat, a melyekben az urak borát mérők és az al-misznából élő szegények és nyomorultak házait) megajánlanak száz magyar dénárt, a melyet két határidőben, tudniillik: a felerészét már a jövő szent György napkor; a másik részét pedig keresztelő Szent János születése napjakor kell fölszedni és őfelsége kezébe szolgáltatni.

3. § Azzal a megünnepeltéssel, hogy a vagyonosabb jobbágyok és zsellérek, a miképen az köztük eddig is szokásban volt, a szegényebbeket kiségezték.

4. § A házaknak ez a számbavétele és ez az adó ugyan Magyarországon eddigelő soha szokásban nem volt, mindazonáltal, hogy a háboru folytatósa most nagyobb segédlyel legyenek, mint valaha, őfelségének a hivatott, erre az évre, régi szabadságainak és szokásainak épségben tartása mellett, engedélyezni kívánták.

5. § Tudniillik úgy, hogy a házaknak az ilyen számbavétele ezután soha alkal-

mazásban ne jöjjön."

<sup>7</sup> The Szekler people were divided into three social classes (strata): Primores, Primpilii and ordinary Szekler people.

<sup>8</sup> In English:

"[...] in the country where the trader does not travel, money is scarce, but in the country where the man trades, money is increased [...]"

In the original language:

"[...] az mely országban áros ember nem jár, ott a pénz szűk, de az hul az áros ember kereskedik, ott bővül meg, az pénz [...]"

<sup>9</sup> In English:

"[...] dispersions are not to the detriment, but rather to the benefit of this country, [...] that it may be peaceful [...]"

In the original language:

"[...] széjjel járárok nemhogy kárára, de sőt inkább hasznára vagon ez országnak, [...] békességes járások lehessen [...]"

<sup>10</sup> In English: "Act XVIII of 1405 (I.)

the circulation of money and the punishment of offenders in this matter

Besides, as the kings of all countries have, by certain excellent prerogatives, the power of minting both gold and silver coin: we think it very unfair and damnable that coined money should not be in due circulation and use in the same dominions; but much more damnable still, if it be circumsised, or facilitated in its circulation, or in any way counterfeited.

§ 1 Wherefore, desiring to prevent these anomalies by salutary means, having sought the advice of our prelates, barons and nobles, and of all the citizens of the royal cities, who have personally appeared, on this subject, for the benefit and enrichment of our whole country, and for the maintenance of the authority of justice, we do resolve and decree:

§ 2 That no man of any position or fortune shall dare or attempt to withdraw or in any way to withdraw our royal money, whether of gold or silver, so that it may be ours and ours alone; nor to circumsise it, to separate the rich from the poor, or to make it false by any artifice.

3. § Whoever dares to attempt anything against this shall be punished in this way: That is, he or they who are unwilling to accept our money shall forfeit as a penalty the money which is due to them, or the thing for which they are to pay, in such a manner that the money or thing shall be for the judge and jury of the place; and the debtor shall be free and discharged from his creditor, and the buyer from the seller, as if he had paid the money due to him.

§ 4 And those who, as aforesaid, dare to circumsise and divide, separate, or counterfeit the king's money, as forgers and evildoers, shall be punished not only with their property, but also, according to the ancient custom of our country, with their persons.

§ 5 And if the judges and jurors, into whose hands such transgressors fall, should be unwilling to do this, and should let them go unpunished, they shall be fined the same amount of money or the value of the same thing for the remission of the money or thing to the royal fiscus; and for the discharge of the forgers they shall be fined such punishment, whether pecuniary or personal, as our Majesty shall see fit to lay down and inflict upon them."

In the original language:

"1405. évi (I.) XVIII. törvénycikk

a pénzek forgalma, és azok büntetése, a kik e tárgyban vádkezesnek

Egyébírát, minthogy minden ország királyainak, bizonyos kiváló előjónál fogva, szabad hatalmukban áll ugy arany-, mint ez üstpénzt veretni: elég tisztességtelen és átkos dolognak tartjuk azt, hogy a vert pénz ugyanazon uralom alatt levő területen, ne legyen kellő forgalomban és használatban; de ennél sokkal átkosabb még, ha azt körülmetszik, vagy súlyosan megünnitik, avagy valami módon meghamisítják.

1. § Miért is, e rendellenes dolgoknak üdvös eszközökkel elejét venni, miután e tárgyban főpapjainknak, báróinknak és előkelőinknek, nemkülömben a királyi városok szeméyesen megjelent összes polgárainak tanácsát kikérik egész országunk hasznára és gyarapodására és az igazság tekintélyének fentartására érdekében határozunk és el is rendeljük:

2. § Hogy egyáltalán semmiféle állású és sorsu ember se merje vagy kísértse meg a mi királyi, akár arany, akár ezüst pénzünket visszavetni vagy valami módon visszautasítani, csakhogy igazi és a miénk legyen az; sem pedig körülmetszeni, a súlyosakat a könnyűektől külön választani, vagy valami mesterséggel avagy furranggal meghamisítani.

3. § Aki mégis ez ellen merve valamit megkísérteni, azt ilyen módon kell büntetni: tudniillik, az vagy azok, kik pénzünket elfogadni vonakodnak, büntetéstől veszítékel a pénzt, melylyel nekik tartoznak vagy azt a dolgot, a melyt fizetniük kell akképen, hogy az a pénz vagy dolog az illető hely bírájé és esküdtjeié legyen; és az adós az ő hitelezőjével, a vevő pedig az eladóval szemben szabad és mentes legyen csakugy, mintha ennek a mondott pénzt megfizette volna.

4. § Azok pedig a kik mint előbb említettük, a királyi pénzt körülmetszeni és kisebiteni, különválasztani vagy meghamisítani merészkednek, mint hamisítók és

gonosztevők, ne csak vagyonukkal, hanem országunk régi szokása szerint, személyükkel is bünhődjenek.

5. § S ha ezt azok a birák és esküdtek, a kiknek kezére az ilyen ítéletek kerülnek, megtenni vonakodnának s azokat büntetlenül távozni engednék, akkor őket a pénz vagy dolog elengedéseért a királyi fiscus javára ugyanazon mennyiségű pénzben vagy annak a dolognak az értékében kell elmarasztalni; a hamisítók elbocsátását pedig olyan, akár pénz-, akár személyes büntetésbe essenek, a minőt a mi felségünk megállapítani reájuk róni jónak foglálni."

<sup>11</sup> Sejm: Parliament of Poland.

<sup>12</sup> Author's note: this is when the Hajdus really gain importance.

<sup>13</sup> In relation to time and centuries it is worth pointing out that according to the holy books of the three Abrahamic religions, Yahweh, God or Allah is the Lord of time, and therefore the quotations that refer to this fact are as follows:

Holy Bible King James Version (1611): Daniel Ch. 9. Verse 24: "[...] Seventie weekes are determined vpon thy people, and vpon thy holy citie, to finish the transgression, and to make an ende of sinnes, and to make reconciliation for iniquitie, and to bring in euerlasting righteousness, and to seale vp the vision and propheticie, and to anoynt the most Holy. [...]"

In the original language:

כד שבועים שבועים נחתך על-עמך ועל-עיר קדשך,  
לכללא הפשע ולחתם ולהתם חטאות חטאת ולכפר  
עון, ולהביא, צדק עלמים; ולחתם חזון ונביא, ולמשח  
קדש קדשים."

[Internet]. Available from: <https://mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/pt3409.htm> [Accessed 17. March 2024].

(2) The Quran Surah 2 Verse 185: "[...] Ramaḍān is the month in which the Quran was revealed as a guide for humanity with clear proofs of guidance and the decisive authority. So whoever is present this month, let them fast. But whoever is ill or on a journey, then let them fast an equal number of days after Ramaḍān. Allah intends ease for you, not hardship, so that you may complete the prescribed period and proclaim the greatness of Allah for guiding you, and perhaps you will be grateful. [...]"

In the original language:

١٨٥ شَهْرُ رَمَضَانَ الَّذِي أُنزِلَ فِيهِ الْقُرْآنُ هُدًى لِّلنَّاسِ وَبَيِّنَاتٍ مِّنَ  
الْهُدَىٰ وَالْفُرْقَانِ ۚ فَمَنْ شَهِدَ مِنْكُمُ الشَّهْرَ فَلْيَصُمْهُ ۖ وَمَنْ كَانَ مَرِيضًا  
أَوْ عَلَىٰ سَفَرٍ فَعِدَّةٌ مِّنْ أَيَّامٍ أُخَرَ ۗ يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ بِكُمُ الْيُسْرَ وَلَا يُرِيدُ بِكُمُ  
الْعُسْرَ وَلِتُكْمِلُوا الْعِدَّةَ وَلِتُكَبِّرُوا اللَّهَ عَلَىٰ مَا هَدَاكُمْ وَلَعَلَّكُمْ  
تَشْكُرُونَ

[Internet]. Available from: <https://quran.com/2?startingVerse=185> [Accessed 15. March 2024].