

Instructions to the Masters of Cluj Hospitals in the Early Modern Period

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THE PRE-MODERN history of Cluj/Kolozsvár coincides with the era of the “treasure city” (*kincses város*), when the city underwent an unprecedented development and became one of the most important urban centers within the Principality of Transylvania (1541–1699). For most of the period of the principality, Cluj remained one of the most significant cities in Transylvania, even when it temporarily lost its status of free royal town. The city’s economic, political, administrative and cultural development began to be increasingly mirrored by the growing amount of archival material created and preserved. The city’s archives hold a variety of primary sources from this period and even compete with other cities with an earlier development such as Braşov, Sibiu, and the towns of Upper Hungary. The institutional development of Cluj can be traced by analyzing the decisions, statutes and instructions formulated for the employees and servants of the city. These official decrees can be correlated in turn with the increasingly precise and diverse accounts and registers kept by the employees appointed by the city fathers. Various fragmentary documents concerning the records drawn up by the city of Cluj and its various officials appear as early as the fifteenth century, their number increasing from the second half of the sixteenth century. One model for urban administration and record keeping were for instance the statutes of Buda,¹ but also the developments in the Saxon cities to which Cluj belonged formally until the end of the sixteenth century. By this time, the urban institutions of government and administration in Cluj had taken shape, and the town council and the council of the hundred were responsible for managing all aspects of urban life.²

In the early modern administration, it became increasingly common to draw up instructions for various officials, be they royal, noble, or municipal employees. Instructions were provided to brief the individual assuming an office, detailing the expectations set forth by the authority or community responsible for appointing them to the position.³ There are countless examples of such instructions all over Europe, as they became increasingly common from the last third of the sixteenth century onwards. While these sets of instructions were initially shorter, they became more detailed and comprehensive over time.⁴ Briefs on job requirements and expectations were drawn up for officials of manors, state and municipal institutions. In the life of a town, the statutes and instructions for the operation of the various areas were mostly derived from community law.

In the early modern history of Cluj, such rules and instructions were becoming increasingly frequent already in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. At that time the

city already had municipal rights and thus had the right to issue statutes and regulations. The municipal administration was becoming more and more extensive and the leaders and elected councilors sought to regulate all fields of urban life. The end of the sixteenth century saw the city grow in economic strength and importance in every respect. As a consequence of this economic prosperity and development of urban life, there was a need for operational and working instructions that were consequently prepared not only for the hospital masters, but also for the wine merchants,⁵ market judges,⁶ the mill judge,⁷ the tax collectors,⁸ legal director,⁹ notary¹⁰ and bell ringers.¹¹

There are two essential sources of information on life in the hospitals in Western Europe, one of them being the statutes of the institution and the other the instructions given to the hospital masters. While the statutes set out the rules of operation of the institution, the instructions prescribed the duties and expectations of the person in charge of them. There were various types of instructions for European hospitals or almshouses, some of which concerned the conditions of admission to those institutions, others regulated life in the institution, and there were also instructions that set out the framework and expectations of the monks' activities. These instructions or statutes were not universal, but particular to a specific institution, despite the fact that they may have contained similar provisions. These similarities stemmed from their similar activities. In other regions of Europe, the writing of statutes or instructions relating to the operation of hospitals began earlier than in Transylvania, but in the early modern period the number of these texts increased, and they also became more detailed. A number of such instructions have been published in source editions. For instance, scholars studying Austrian hospitals have at their disposal the internal regulations and instructions of the early modern almshouses in published form, which may be important not only for them but also for understanding the functioning of welfare and care institutions in the region.¹²

At the end of the Middle Ages, the care of the poor in the town of Cluj fell under the responsibility of three hospitals, namely, St. Elizabeth's, the Holy Spirit, and St. Job's. From the second half of the sixteenth century, however, only the monasteries of St. Elizabeth's and the Holy Spirit survived, and after their merger, a single hospital remained active.¹³ St. Elizabeth's has been housing and caring for the poor, old people, and orphans from the fourteenth century to the present day. It is the hospital of Cluj with the most significant preserved source material. This large volume of documents is diverse: in addition to accounts and inventories, extant instructions also contain many important details about the institution and the numerous activities it carried out.

St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Cluj is certainly the oldest, largest and most important social institution in the city. Its operations were financed by considerable wealth, since the hospital could draw on the income of the mills in Cluj and Mera, the salt revenues from the princely donations, the wine and grain from the vineyards, the produce and income from the manor of Mera, and the income from its building in the main square of the town (income from the rent of the shop, cellar and rooms).¹⁴

The hospital masters of Cluj were chosen by the council of the hundred from among their own ranks. At the end of their mandate, each hospital master owed a dedicated town official an annual account: auditors elected by the city administration were vetted and they accepted or rejected the financial records. Within the city administration, in the last decades of the seventeenth century, the heads of the hospitals began to be called *ispáns*.¹⁵ The

elected head of a hospital could act with complete autonomy in the management of the hospital, but could not sell or exchange the hospital's property except with the permission or by order of the city council. Admission to the hospitals for those in need was granted solely by decision of the town council.

St. Elizabeth's hospital in Cluj was only registered in the regulations concerning the duties of the person entrusted with the management of the institution. Of the three monasteries, only the management of St. Elizabeth's was regulated, but similar requirements to those set out here may have applied to the other two institutions.

The first extant instructions for the hospital master in Cluj were written in 1586, at a time when the city was flourishing in all areas, and the administration of the city was expanding. It was the first instruction issued by the city during the office of Gergely Süveges, the almshouse master of Cluj.¹⁶

Contrary to the expectations one might have about the activities detailed in the instructions of the hospital master, they are in fact confined to the accounting techniques for the management of the institution. This general tendency is also reflected in the instructions of the almshouse (St. Elizabeth's), dated 1586, where the expectations of accounting for the results of management are noted.¹⁷ Here we learn of ideas intended to describe precisely the structure and chapters of the expected accounts and the succession of the various units. This instruction is recorded in the protocol book of the town, together with several other regulations.¹⁸ It comprises the rules meant to ensure that the accounting officer wrote the books in keeping with the desired structure and using the right rubrics. The instructions show that the city expected the master to record the revenues first and only after these had been completed, in the same sequence, he was supposed to write down the expenses. Since there are a few similar documents from the early modern period, but too few to cover all the realities of municipal accounting, the extant registers are therefore of great value for historical analysis.

In the instructions, the income of the hospital had to be recorded in nine chapters. First of all, the receipts from all kinds of cereals had to be listed, from those directly sown and harvested to those from the mills, including those from the tithe. The enumeration had to cover all forms of grains, whether they were already stored in bundles or as grain, and all cereals (wheat, barley, oats, spelt, flax, hemp, and millet) were to be listed separately. The second category included the revenues from grapes and wine, followed by the income from sheep and lambs. In the fourth chapter, the income from last wills and bakeries had to be reported. In chapter five, a description of the stock of hay produced and existing was given. Chapter six recorded the tithe in pigs. The seventh chapter of the income focused on horses. Chapter eight comprised the accurate number of the poor, and chapter nine contained a census of the entire livestock of the hospital. The importance of the accurate recording of all income was particularly emphasized in the instructions.¹⁹

It was expected that expenditure would be recorded in seven chapters. In the first chapter, it is stated that all expenditure on milling, ploughing, sowing and the farm was to be recorded since the previous census. Then the amounts spent on the cultivation of vines and the storage of wine were to be entered in the register. In the third chapter, the expenditure on sheep and shepherds were listed. The consumption of hay and the number of animals slaughtered for the poor were also accounted for in this section. The number of loaves of bread consumed was required in the fourth chapter, while the cost of mowing and hay

collection was intended for chapter five. The costs of feeding the poor were included only in chapter six. The instruction required them to write down how much meat, oil, fish were bought for them, in a weekly breakdown and, as the text puts it, “write it down in the usual way for the days of the week.”²⁰ This also shows that they were not setting new expectations, but were recording procedures that were already customary. The chapters of the edition were closed with the so-called “petty expenses” (for horses, wagons, and servants). The hospital master’s guide also expected the expenditure, or *exitus*, to have a final entry that can be interpreted as a summary.

The instructions indicate in their last article that if the accounts were not prepared in the prescribed form, the auditors would reject them. Considering the records preserved in the Cluj archives,²¹ we know that only one register was written in accordance with this instruction; moreover, the only point which was followed through was that until all revenues were recorded, they did not deal with the expenditures.

If we examine the structure of these instructions to the master of the hospitals, it is very surprising that they only focus on the way the accounts were to be prepared, on the precise order in which they were to be presented. This reveals that the hospital master was primarily required to manage the hospital’s assets carefully and to preserve them, to give a very clear account of his administration, and only in addition to this was he expected to take care of the poor.

The instructions of 1614 tell us more about the activities in the hospital and what was expected of the master.²² The text was written down by the town’s sworn notary, Gáspár Heltai the Younger.²³ The master of the hospital at that time was György Takács, and the instructions were in fact a requirement to make an inventory of the in-kind incomes of the hospital.²⁴ This document is more than just a description of the tasks for the administrator of the hospital, as the scribes make it clear in the preamble to the instruction that they are writing “an inventory and an instruction.” The four-page document first listed all the goods and assets handed over to the hospital master, but also set out in writing the duties of the staff employed in the hospital. Last but not least, they summarize in ten points the responsibilities of the main administrator of the hospital.

The first half of the instructions contains exactly how much and what the poor should be given. Thus, the instructors calculated that since the hospital usually had eight or ten poor people in its care, the hospital master should buy 28 florins worth of meat per year for the preparation of meals, set aside 45 buckets of wheat for bread, which he could use to feed the poor as well as for reapers and pickers. Every year, 50 small barrels of wine were ordered for consumption in the hospital, which he had to procure from the hospital’s own vineyards. The instructions further described in detail that the servant had the duty to cook, bake, wash, scour, weave, weave linen and make clothes from it, or have it sewn for the poor. In addition to tending to the oxen and ox-carts, it was also the servant’s obligation to bring in the wood for the poor.

In the second half of the instructions, the duties of the hospitals master were listed in ten points. Among these were some of the tasks and requirements that were formulated earlier, at the beginning of the text. The first point is more of an analysis of the situation and a suggestion on how to increase the income. We learn that, at the time of writing, the house in the town square was unused and it was proposed that the poor be moved there. In the same place, the vineyard worker was reprimanded and warned to do his job and

not to disturb the poor. The second point regulates the supply of wood to the poor and instructs that the small or large rooms for the poor should be supplied with firewood. In the third point, it is emphasized that the servant should serve the poor and not carry out the duties of the hospital master. In the fourth point, the duties of the servant, as stated earlier, are supplemented by the obligation to bring in water in pails, together with the water for cooking. A separate section then instructs the hospital master to grow oats on the farm, and the serfs to sow and harvest them. The hay is also to be 'produced on the lands of the institution'.²⁵ Likewise, the instructions encourage the hospital to make use of the potential of the farm by telling the hospital master to grow millet and to give it to the poor as porridge with prunes, three times a week. The seventh point sets out the manner of buying meat, such that two or three pounds should be given to each poor person and the meat cooked for them by the servant. The eighth point requires them to keep pigs for bacon, because after that the costs for bacon would not be accepted. The instructions entrust the pigs of the hospital to the village swineherd.

Points nine and ten of this part of the instructions also relate to farming. The hospital employees were required to grow cabbage, parsley, carrots, parsnips, onions, garlic and peas in a vegetable garden in the backyard. The master of the hospital was instructed to cultivate hemp and flax in such quantities as required for the needs the poor and the servants and to pay the laborers. The flaxseed should also be used to make oil to feed the poor.

Last but not least, the method of accounting is specified. Similarly to the previous instructions, the income should be recorded first, followed by the expenditure. The main streams of income of the hospital were the sale of wheat, wine, salt, the rent from the house in the town square, and the tax on the serfs. The expenditure was to be recorded in nine points. "Miscellaneous expenses" were the expenses for wheat, milling, the blacksmith's wages, the expenses for grapes, and a detailed account of all these was requested.

This document is much more complex than the first instructions, of 1586, not only because of the rules for preparing the account book, but also on account of the advice on managing the assets of the hospital and the food for the poor. It seems that the instructions drafted by the young Heltai cover all areas in detail, yet there are some customs and practices mentioned in the accounts, whereas they are not included in the instructions, such as the supply of meat to the patients of the hospital. In 1609²⁶ and in 1617²⁷ it is specifically recorded that meat was cooked twice a week for the poor. One of the records is from before the Instructions, while the second record came a few years later, in relation to the Instructions written by Heltai. The 1614 Instructions state that two pounds of meat should be given to the poor.

Contrary to our expectations, only a handful of instructions for the master of the hospitals survive from the period we have studied. The following text of this kind is a one-page document which has come down to us in a rather damaged state, in which some words were crossed out in several places and added in others. It is possible that this was just a draft, but the fact is that these instructions, dated 17 February 1623, are difficult to read. The content itself differs from the earlier ones: whereas the 1586 instructions were mostly concerned with the financial side of hospital administration, this 1623 text contains instructions in six-points to the hospital master, focused on the tasks to be performed in the hospital.²⁸ This was a new set of directions, prepared relatively soon after the 1614

instructions, and addressed to Benedek Szabó, the master of the hospital. It was drafted by the auditors for the purpose of keeping the accounts. They demanded that the master of the hospitals urge pious conduct among the hospital's residents, that he personally visit the poor every day to ensure that meat is put on their tables three times a week. In addition, a woman should be employed to prepare food and do other household chores (washing, carrying water, etc.), and the poor should be provided with adequate clothing.²⁹

As we can see, in two successive orders, more and more care was given to the poor housed in the hospital, requiring the master be there every day to look after the patients. The requirement that cooked meals be prepared remained in place, and by this time, meals containing meat were expected to be served three times a week. However, the accounts do not reflect an increased meat consumption, and in the financial records of the hospital from the following year the biweekly meat provision was the practice.³⁰

At that time, the hospital was still in charge of the preparation of the meals. A change in this practice can be observed from 1643 onwards, since from then on the hospital master no longer concerned himself with the preparation of food for the poor, but instead provided weekly money for meat, bread and wine or tips. However, we cannot document these changes with instructions because they have not survived, and we rely only on the entries in the account books. They show that in 1643,³¹ 1644,³² 1645,³³ 1646³⁴ and 1647³⁵ the patients of the hospital were given only money and no food. In 1644, the money given out was still mentioned as money for meat, but later it was recorded as *praebenda*. This simplified caring for the poor, but by the 1660s considerable effort was needed to raise and spend this amount. In the last decades of the seventeenth century, Cluj entered a difficult period in its history, when it lost its status as a free royal city. From this dark period, no instructions have survived for the mayor or any other official.

After the instructions of 1623, there was a long period when no instructions were issued to the hospital masters, even though the times were busy in the life of the city, especially when it lost its free royal status and when it was becoming increasingly difficult to manage the hospitals' assets. Certainly, rules were being drawn up but they have either been destroyed or have not yet been found. In these dark times, the city officials were obliged to merge the city's two hospitals, with the aim of managing their assets more efficiently. The merged institution continued to be administered by two masters, and they certainly wrote down how this was to be done, specifying exactly which of the hospital masters was to perform which tasks.³⁶

For the next remaining hospital masters to be briefed, it was necessary to wait until the town regained its freedom. Even if free urban life did not resume there, the citizens of the city sought to restore the lost rights in all areas. Subsequently, the only surviving instructions on the management of the hospitals from the eighteenth century are the 25-point rules for the hospital master dated 4 February 1743.³⁷ We owe this written record to the sworn notary Ferenc Bányai, and the relatively intact seal of the town guarantees their authenticity. In addition, there is an undated instruction, probably dating from the second decade of the 18th century.³⁸ It summarizes in 25 points what was to be done and we have the impression that they intended to continue, but that this was not done. These instructions for the hospital masters already date from the time when the two hospitals and the city's assets had merged. In fact, these instructions give an account of all the assets of the unified hospital.

An undated instruction dating from the early eighteenth century refers to the administrator of the hospital with different terms: *ispán*, *provisor*, and hospital master. The reason given for the issuing of the new instructions was that the hospital masters were often replaced in office, and the serfs belonging to the hospital could not keep track of who was in charge and therefore were not following orders and refused to perform their tasks. The text contains a mixture of provisions on the duties of the hospital master, mostly focusing on the management of property. First of all, it was stated that the hospital masters could accept new patients only with permission from the royal judge and the town council. The hospitals masters were accountable to these offices, and their financial records had to be submitted to the auditors for verification and acceptance.

The instructions provide for the management of the hospital's estate point by point. We learn that the hospital master lived in town and not on the rural estate in the village of Mera, since the major assets and revenue were located in town and on its outskirts. The hospital master was advised to appoint one of the serfs to be in charge of the duties in the countryside. The hospital master had to ensure that the lands were worked both in Mera and in the Cluj suburbs, and that sufficient autumn and spring wheat, oats, millet and maize were produced. The instructions introduce a novelty in connection with the organization of the work of the serfs. Superseding the previous custom, it simplifies the tasks of the hospital master, as during the previous major works, the serfs received supplies and food. This was now abolished, and in return they could deduct a certain amount of grain from the crop tax to be paid by the serfs.

The instructions requested that vine-growing and winemaking should take place according to the old practice, the vineyards being worked by day-laborers through vineyard-men, so as not to overuse outside labor. The wine must be kept by the hospital master only in the cellars of the hospital houses and must not be sold without permission.

Apiculture was another point touched upon in the instructions. The hospital master had to look after and increase the bee population, set frames for beehives in Mera and, if necessary, employ a competent person to be paid from the proceeds of the wheat production. In the farm of the hospital, a sufficient number of domestic animals should be kept: cows, sheep, pigs, mainly for the sake of supplying the patients of the hospital, and the income of the institution should be increased from the sale of the surplus.

The instructions tell the master of the hospitals to rent out different parts of the house in the town square, with the upstairs rooms, the shop opening onto the market and the cellar being used to store the wines of others, thus helping to increase the income for the poor. This house had been formerly owned by St. Elizabeth's hospital.³⁹

The bakeries used to generate income for the Holy Spirit Hospital, but during the eighteenth century they were providing for the needs of the merged hospital. The instructions advise the hospital master to run both bakeries, especially to improve the bakery on Middle Street (*Közép utca*). Furthermore, in order to keep the bakeries in constant operation, the hospital master had to hire good servants, knowledgeable in the baking craft, who had to be paid well and supplied with wood continuously. The bread collected from baking for the populace as "baking tax" (*vámkenyér*) should be given to the hospital's poor, and the surplus sold at the market.⁴⁰

The income from cutting and selling salt, which began at the turn of the sixteenth century, continued into the eighteenth century, so the hospital master had to take care of the

cutting of salt blocks and their transport.⁴¹ However, unlike previously, these instructions ordered that the hospital master notify the town council about the sale of salt.⁴²

Before the eighteenth century, the merged hospitals had two mills, one on the estate of Mera and the other outside the city walls on the Someș. In these instructions there is no mention of the mill that used to operate in Mera, while the mill on the Someș is noted to be in a dilapidated state and lying unused. This mill disappeared eventually and was rebuilt much later.⁴³ The estate of Mera also included forests and, according to the instructions, the hospital master had to apply to the council for permission to cut wood on a large scale.

From time to time, either the hospitals or its inhabitants left small or large testamentary donations to the hospitals, and the receipt of these and the accounting for them was also left to the hospitals.

As we have seen, the instructions for the hospital master focused mostly on the property management of the institution and only marginally dealt with the patients. The instructions ask the master not to allow the poor to beg outside the church, but to give them 12 denarii a week, a loaf of bread at Christmas, a pail of flour and footwear.⁴⁴ At the end of the instructions, another hand wrote that sufficient wood should be provided, and that this wood should be used to heat the houses belonging to the hospital and to run the bakeries. These guidelines suggest that the care of the poor had been reduced to a permanent cash allowance, shelter and periodic crop subsidies. The instructions show that the management of the hospitals was being made efficient, while the care of the poor or the organization of the work of the serfs was being taken off the shoulders of the hospital master.

The instructions dating from the mid-18th century were dated 4 February 1743 by the notary of the town, and in November of that year were brought to the attention of the accountants and the hospital master, probably with the expectation that the following year's accounts would be prepared on the basis of these instructions. In the period under analysis, these are the first instructions on which a fairly intact municipal coat of arms is displayed. The document, signed by Ferenc Bányai, town clerk, summarizes in 25 points the duties of the person who was then already called *ispán*, and who was responsible for the management of the hospitals. Like the other 18th century guides, this one calls for more efficient management and, to this end, stresses the importance of the personal presence of the hospital master in all areas of management. Similarly to the earlier instructions, it lists the various farming and agricultural holdings of the hospital and gives advice on maximizing revenue from them.

The instructions from 1743 show that the hospital was then still largely under the administration of the city and that the royal judge and the city council closely monitored the management of the institution. The hospital master was always required to notify the royal judge of any major expenditure. Compared with previous instructions, an accurate account of the bread baked for the poor and the serfs was also required. It remained the responsibility of the council to accept new beneficiaries into the care of the hospital.

In addition, in the event of the death of a poor person, an accurate record of the funeral expenses was expected. Furthermore, the hospital master was urged to farm in such a way that there was always enough grain, hay and firewood. The 2,000 cubes of salt contributed to the overall income, and provisions were made for their proper utilization. In these instructions, a hitherto unrecorded category is described, namely, the interest received on loans, and provision was made for its accounting and collection.

For his work, the hospital master was paid 40 Hungarian florins, 40 buckets of wheat, 40 buckets of wine, a calf at Christmas and 20 cubic meters of wood per year. At that time, the priests serving at the hospital were also paid from the institution's income. Priests for each religion were paid annually 4 florins, 16 buckets of wheat, 5 cubic meters of wood, a bucket of wheat and one of wine for Christmas.

Last but not least, at the end of the instructions, the care for the poor is also mentioned. Thus, they were given a bucket of wheat and a pair of boots, three pigs for the patients in the three houses in which they were cared for, and the order was for them to be given a loaf of bread and 12 denarii every week; for Christmas they received half a pint of wine. In the mid-eighteenth century, in addition to the abovementioned items, taking care of the poor meant providing them with housing, which was then provided in the three wooden rooms of the main house. All this is reflected in the inventory of the hospital from 1733.⁴⁵

In conclusion, the instructions written for the hospital masters of early modern Cluj faithfully reflect the relationship between the officials of this urban institution and the political authorities of the city. The changes in the city's leadership are equally well outlined. Whereas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the city council accounted for decision-making at all levels, in the eighteenth-century power was shared between the royal judge and the city council. Likewise, whereas previously a license was not required to sell salt or to clear the forest of the hospitals, in the eighteenth century this is almost taken for granted. In the previous period, the council only intervened in the management of the hospital in the event of alienation or exchange of property; later, major decisions were also taken by the royal judge and the council.

Until the mid-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the provision of cooked food was part of patient care. Later on, this was no longer the case, and the poor were provided with a variety of crops (wheat, bread, wine), housing, and money.

These instructions show that the first and most important task of the hospitals was to protect the property of the institution in perpetuity and in all circumstances. The maintenance, upkeep and utilization of the property was seen as the guarantee of the future of the institution. The guides were essentially the result of the constant care of the town council, and were designed to maximize the economic potential of the institution. The supervision by auditors was intended to prevent abuses by the hospital masters.

Following the instructions to the hospital masters over three centuries reveals a great deal about the life of the institution itself, the evolution of the municipal administration and changes in duties and requirements. These texts always highlight the tasks that were not clear enough at the time, i.e., caused problems.

The five instructions for the hospital masters of Cluj, which have survived from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, contain both general and specific expectations of the persons at the head of the institution. In addition to the constant, repetitive provisions, the changes in the management of the hospital are quite traceable, step by step: the masters were expected to manage the assets of the hospital as efficiently as possible, while more and more activities were outsourced, cooked food was no longer prepared for the poor, and later the serfs employed in more tasks were no longer fed at work. In the meantime, daily life was organized independently in the hospitals and the managers were accountable to the town, while the focus of the town's leadership underwent significant changes. Until 1661, the accounts of the hospitals were brought before the town council

together with the other accounts of the town after an audit. Afterwards, the accounts of the hospital masters had to be presented directly to the head judge.

The instructions to the Cluj hospital master, together with similar instructions to other offices of the city during that period, are evidence of the process of institutionalization of the urban administration. A parallel study of these could provide interesting insights into the dynamics of early modern institutions, and it could be a fruitful task for further research.



Notes

1. László Blazovich, “A budai jog és Kolozsvár egy 1488-as oklevél alapján,” in *Orășe și orașeni. Városok és városlakók*, ed. Ionuț Costea et alii (Cluj- Napoca: Argonaut, 2006), 342–348.
2. Ágnes Flóra, *The Matter of Honour. The Leading Urban Elite in Sixteenth Century Transylvania* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 31–42, 58–9; László Pakó, “Defending the Town’s Interest: The Council of the *Centumviri* and the Administration of Justice in Early Modern Cluj,” in *Towns between Empires. Good Governance and “Police” in Case Studies from Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia 1500s–1800s*, ed. Mária Pakucs-Willcocks and Julia Derzsi (Amsterdam: CEU Press, 2025), 33–5.
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4. For early modern Hungarian instructions see: Eszter Márta Baros-Gyimóthy, “A Batthyány-várak belső fegyvelme: a porkoláboknak szóló utasítások 1643-ból és 1663-ból/ The internal discipline of the Batthyány castles: instructions to the porters from 1643 and 1663,” in *Mindennapi élet a török árnyékában/ Everyday life in the shadow of the Turks*, ed. Zsuzsanna J. Újváry (Piliscsaba: Atlantisz, 2008), 169–84; Borbála Benda, “Egy főúrendtartás” (An house order of the overlord), *Lymbus. Magyarságtudományi forrásközlmények* (2007): 145–48, <http://epa.oszk.hu/01500/01500/00005/pdf/09benda.pdf>, accessed May 18, 2025; István Imreh, “Mezőgazdasági rendtartások, egyezségek, utasítások (1580–1635)” (Agricultural regulations, conventions, instructions, 1580–1635) *Erdélyi Múzeum* 1–4 (1991): 29–50 <http://epa.oszk.hu/00900/00979/00003/pdf/029-050.pdf>, accessed May 18, 2025; *Magyar udvari rendtartás. Utasítások és rendeletek 1617–1708* (Hungarian court regulations. Instructions and decrees) ed. András Koltai (Budapest: Osiris, 2001); *XVI. századi uradalmi utasítások. Utasítások a kamarai uradalnak prefektusai, udvarbírái és ellenőrei részére* (Sixteenth century manorial instructions. Instructions for the prefects, bailiffs and inspectors of the manors of the Chamber), ed. István Kenyeres (Budapest: Szentpétery Imre Történettudományi Alapítvány, 2002); Imre Nagy, “Gróf Nádasdy Ferencz két utasítása” *Századok* 5 (1871): 53–6; Károly Némethy, “Nádasdy Ferencz utasítása a mezei pásztorok számára (1649)” *Történelmi Tár* VIII (1884): 558–60; Magdolna Gáti, “Az instrukciók létmódja az irodalmi műfajok rendszerében: Teleki Mihály kercesesorai utasítása,” in *Színlelés és rejtőzködés: A kora újkori magyar politika szerepjátékai*, eds. Nóra G. Etényi and Ildikó Horn (Budapest: L’Harmattan, 2010), 183–201; Péter Illik, “A jó gazda szeme hizlalja a jószágot.” – Funkcionalitás és textualitás a 17. századi Batthyány-uradalmi instrukciókban,” in *A történelem peremén: adalékok Magyarországi történetéhez* (Budapest: L’Harmattan, 2012), 39–49.

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19. *De Liber Civitatis*: “Amaegh Capitulatom ez Kilencz Rendreol igazan Irast nem teszen, Es proventust nemchinal addegh Semmikeppen Existust Sohol ne Irhasson az Regestumot Sem acceptalliak az Zamweeo Uraim, ha ezen Rendel Nem chinalodik megh es mutatozik az Espotalj Jeowedelme.”
20. *De Liber Civitatis*: “az zokot Mod Zerent hét Nap Zamara meg Irja”
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37. SJAN CJ, PAG 1743, IV, 157, Instrukció, 1-5. (Fasc. IV, 157)
38. SJAN CJ, PAG, Fasc. IV, 156. I have established the date based on the following reasons: 1. I would date the instruction to around 1715, since its writing style is similar to its script. 2. The text mentions corn, which cannot be dated before the eighteenth century. 3. The hospital master and hospital governor use the terms simultaneously. 4. The hospital mill is always referred to as a mere standing building, the later instruction does not even mention the mill, and the first military survey does not even indicate the hospital mill, it reappears later.
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Abstract

Instructions to the Masters of Cluj Hospitals in the Early Modern Period

This text explores the historical and administrative evolution of Cluj during the pre-modern and early modern periods, particularly focusing on the formulation of statutes and instructions for the town's hospitals. The analysis delves into the operation and regulations of Cluj's social institutions, particularly St. Elizabeth's Hospital, which served as the city's primary welfare institution from the fourteenth century onward. Funded by revenues from mills, vineyards, and donations, the hospital played a key role in caring for the poor, elderly, and orphans. Detailed instructions for hospital masters first appeared in 1586, reflecting the growing complexity of urban administration and the need to regulate public welfare. The analysis of the instructions issued in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reveal the shifts in the administration of the welfare institution in parallel with changes in the urban governance of Cluj.

Keywords

Cluj, hospitals, welfare, hospital masters, instructions, early modern period